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Editors
A. P. Jamkhedkar
N. B. Patil
Indira Aiyar

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THE FOUR *CETIYAGHARAS* AT AJANTA
UNITY IN DIVERSITY

Yojana Bhagat

Introduction

The Buddhist rock-cut excavations of Ajanta is located 100.0 kms north of
Aurangabad, on the Ajanta Sātmaḷa mountain range, a sub-range of Sahyādri,
in the horseshoe shape valley, created by Wāghorā river, at the height of about
300'0" above ground level. There are more than 35 excavations at Ajanta
including all the water cisterns, rock-cut staircases etc but popularly ASI has
only numbered the large excavations and they are 29.

Location Plan of Ajanta
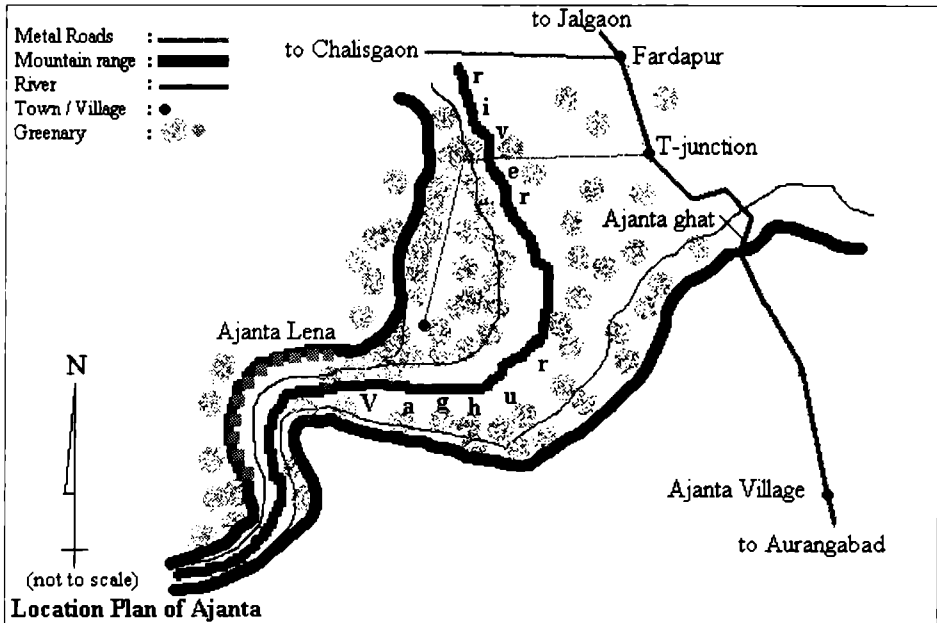
At Ajanta we have five *cetiyaghara*s of which excavation no. 29 is an incomplete *cetiyaghara*. The excavation no.11 cannot be called as *cetiyaghara* as it goes into that phase of architecture where it is combined with the vihāra, making it *cetiyaghara+vihāra*, where the *stūpa* was being converted into the image of the Buddha.

Therefore at Ajanta we have four *cetiyaghara*s which are apsidal planned [except one] and vaulted roofed- they are excavation no. 9, 10, 19 and 26. Of these the *cetiyaghara*s 9 and 10 belong to the early period of the Buddhism that is the 2nd BCE or the early Theravāda phase and the other two, the *cetiyaghara*s 19 and 26 belong to the 5th CE which is the later period of Buddhism also popularly called as the Mahāyāna phase. The architectural details of the four *cetiyaghara*s are as follows:

1. **Ajanta-9**: is a rectangular planned vaulted roof *cetiyaghara* facing south direction. The columns are placed in apsidal way. There is a possibility that the apse of the *cetiyaghara* is cut straight in later date to make it easier for painting. (Ajanta-9 and Aurangabad are the only examples of such architectural feature with rectangular plan and vaulted roof and apsidal column placing). The dimension of the *cetiyaghara* is 44'3" L x 22'9" W x 22'9" Ht. The *stūpa* is placed 29'1" from the entrance of the *cetiyaghara*. The *stūpa* is plain with the diameter of the medhi 7'4" and height

Plan of Ajanta Chaityagruha no. 9
Dist. Aurangabad
(not to scale)

4'5", no vedikā railing pattern is seen. The diameter of the anda is 6'5" and height is 4'11". The harmikā is 2'10" high. No chattra is seen. [Fig. 1.6] The vaulted roof over nave has wooden beams. The façade of the *cetiyaghara* has semicircular chaitya arch window at the centre top and at the bottom in the centre is the entrance door and on the two sides are windows, which lights the

aisles. No verandah in the front of the façade is seen [Ph.2]. Dr. Dehejia dates this *cetiyaghara* to 70-50 BC[1] and Dr. Nagaraju dates it to the 150–100 BC[2].

2. **Ajanta-10**: is an apsidal planned vaulted roofed *cetiyaghara* facing south-east direction. The dimension of the *cetiyaghara* is 95'6" L x 41'0" W x 36'1" Ht. The *stūpa* is placed 65'7" from the entrance of the *cetiyaghara*. The *stūpa* in the apse is with double medhi (drum). The diameter of the lower medhi is 17'1" and height 5'0". The diameter of the upper medhi is 16'5" and the height is 5'7". The diameter of the anda on top of the double medhi is 15'6" and the height is 10'0". There is a 6'3" high harmikā on top of the anda and no chattra is seen. The total height of the *stūpa* is 26'10". [Fig.1.7] The *cetiyaghara* is divided into aisle and nave with rows of columns and has vaulted roof. The façade of the *cetiyaghara* is a full open arch similar to Bhāje and no verandāh is seen in front. [Fig.1.3]. Dr. Dehejia dates this *cetiyaghara* to 90-70 BC[3]. Dr. Nagaraju dates this *cetiyaghara* to the 250-200 BC[4].
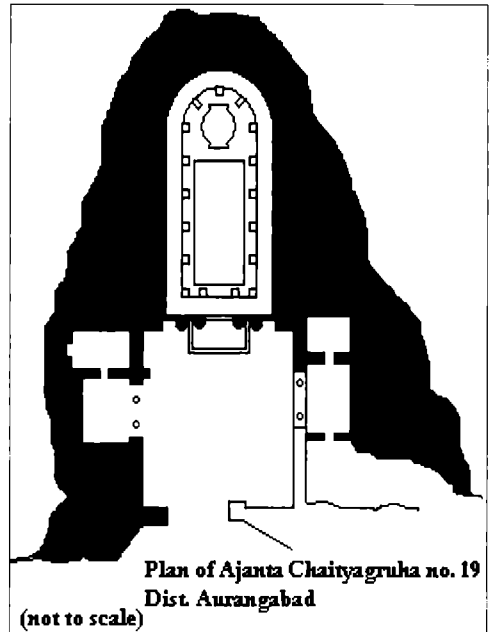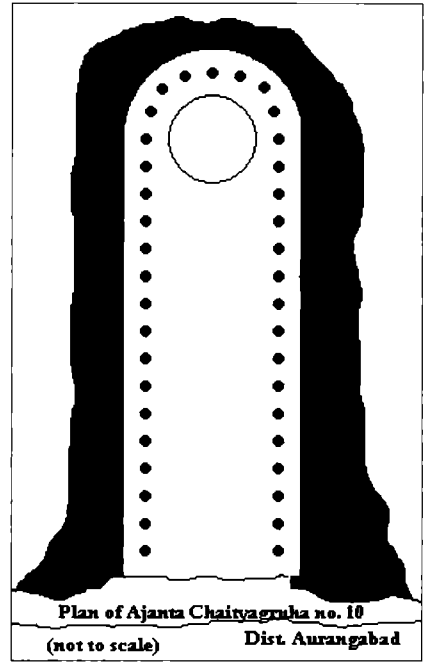
3. **Ajanta-19**: is an apsidal planned

Plan of Ajanta Chaityagruha no. 10
(not to scale)   Dist. Aurangabad

Plan of Ajanta Chaityagruha no. 19
Dist. Aurangabad
(not to scale)

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[1] Dehejia (1972: 158).
[2] Nagaraju (1981) Chart V.
[3] Dehejia (1972: 157).
[4] Nagaraju (1981) Chart V.

vaulted roof *cetiyaghara* facing east direction. The dimensions of the *cetiyaghara* is 46'0" L x 24'0" W x 23'0" Ht. The *stūpa* is placed 29'9" from the entrance of the *cetiyaghara*. The diameter of the *stūpa* is difficult to take as it is not a circular *stūpa* but has images of Buddha carved on it. It is about 9'0" in diameter. The height of the *stūpa* is equal to the height of the *cetiyaghara* as the decorative chattra touches the ribs of the vaulted roof. The medhi is about 12'6" high, with the anda 6'0" high and the harmikā and chattra blended into one forming a new design rising to touch the roof. [Fig. 1.8] The façade is very similar to the *cetiyaghara*-9 with the chaitya arch on the top centre and door in the lower center and no verandāh is seen in the front. But a kind of canopy is at the main door. [Fig. 1.1] Archaeological dept. dated this *cetiyaghara* to the end of 5th century AD[5]. Walter Spink dated this *cetiyaghara* between the 462-478 AD in "Ajanta in a Historical and Political Context'.[6] Many scholars like Karl Khandalwala do not agree to this date.[7]

4. **Ajanta-26**: is an apsidal planned vaulted roofed *cetiyaghara* facing north-east direction. The dimensions of the *cetiyaghara* is 67'9" L x 36'0" W x 30'6" Ht. The *stūpa* is placed 40'1" from the entrance of the *cetiyaghara*. The exact diameter of the *stūpa* is difficult to take as it is carved with the image of the Buddha. The *stūpa* is very tall and reaches up to the vaulted roof (though broken now). The height of the *medhī* is about 13'0" and the *anda* is about 5'0" and on top of it are the *harmikā* and the chattra touching the stones ribs of the vault. [Fig. 1.5] The façade of the *cetiyaghara* is similar

Plan of Ajanta Chaityagruha no. 26
(not to scale)   Dist. Aurangabad

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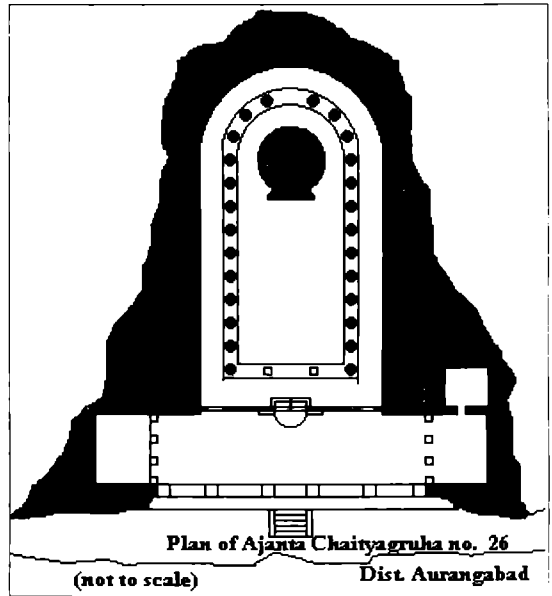
[5] Mitra (1980 : 69).

[6] Spink(1990: 5–17).

[7] Khandalwala (1990: 18–21).

to the Ajanta-19 and Ajanta-9, with a *caitya* arch in the top center and a door in the lower center. It doesn't have a verandah in front. [Fig. 1.4]. Archaeological dept dated this *cetiyaghara*-26 between 450 AD to 525 AD[8]. Walter Spink dated it between 462 to 478 AD and Khandalawala Karl dated it between 482 to 545 AD.[9]

It is to be noted that the *cetiyaghara* no. 9 and 10 has paintings on the walls and pillars while the *cetiyaghara* no. 19 and 26 are decorated with sculptures and paintings.

If all the four *cetiyagharas* are studied, architecturally not much changes are seen in the plans of the *cetiyagharas* except the *cetiyaghara* no. 9 is rectangular planned while all the other three are apsidal planned. The sections of all the four *cetiyagharas* are very much alike. The elevational façade of all the *cetiyagharas* differ. But it has been observed that the changes in the elevational façade are according to the development as seen in the Buddhist rock-cut architecture of Maharashtra.

Similarities in the four *cetiyagharas*

Though at the outset these *cetiyagharas* look different because of the images of the Buddha on the *stūpa* and the sculptures in the later period, all the four *cetiyagharas* are similar if we look at them through the architectural point of view of plan, elevation, and section and so on. The similarity is unexpected.

The reason why the similarity astounds is the 500 to 600 years of difference in the two phases of excavations. This is very surprising because in the interim 500 or so years the Buddhist rock-cut architecture especially the *cetiyagharas* had passed through many different phases and the development had reached a stage of 'shrine architecture' for the Buddha image as also seen at Ajanta at the later excavations.

At a glance the development of *cetiyaghara* with the approximate dating can be as follows:

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[8] Mitra (1980: 78).
[9] Khandalwala (1990: 5–21).

Circular *cetiyaghara* [2nd BCE] ----> apsidal *cetiyaghara* [2nd BCE- 1st CE] ----> apsidal *cetiyaghara* without columns [1st CE - 2nd CE] ----> rectangular *cetiyaghara* [2nd CE- 3rd CE] ----> *cetiyaghara+vihāra* [3rd CE- 4th CE] ----> *vihāra*+image of Buddha [5th CE-7th CE].

Looking at the development we can see that the apsidal planned *cetiyaghara* was lost in the 2nd AD itself.

Now the questions that arises are-

- Why these *cetiyaghara*s at Ajanta are similar and why the later two were executed in the same fashion as the earlier two and what does that signify?

- Why the so called lost old architectural features [apsidal plan, vaulted roof] are re-used in the excavation of the *cetiyaghara*s 19 and 26 at Ajanta, though with a difference?

- Is it a kind of revival of the old tradition or revival of any Theravāda School with the practice of *vipassanā* meditation again?

- Which school is responsible for this revival, if this is some kind of revival?

To get all the answers one has to know the background of the research and it is necessary to know that this paper is in continuity of the doctoral thesis *Impact of Vipassanā Meditation on the Buddhist Architecture* (degree awarded by the University of Mumbai in January 2005). In the doctoral research we have shown how the practical aspect of the teachings of the Buddha in the form of *vipassanā* meditation has made an impact on the architectural element of *cetiyaghara*, especially the circular and the apsidal planned vaulted roofed ones. It has also been proved that the architecture of the *cetiyaghara*s changed with the loss of the practice of the *vipassanā* meditation. Other way round it could be said that the *cetiyaghara*s seen after certain time period in different parts of the country are not conducive for the practice of *vipassanā* meditation and the reasons for the change in the architectural elements [like the rectangular planned and flat roofed *cetiyaghara* with no light on the *stūpa* and the *chattra* of the *stūpa* touching
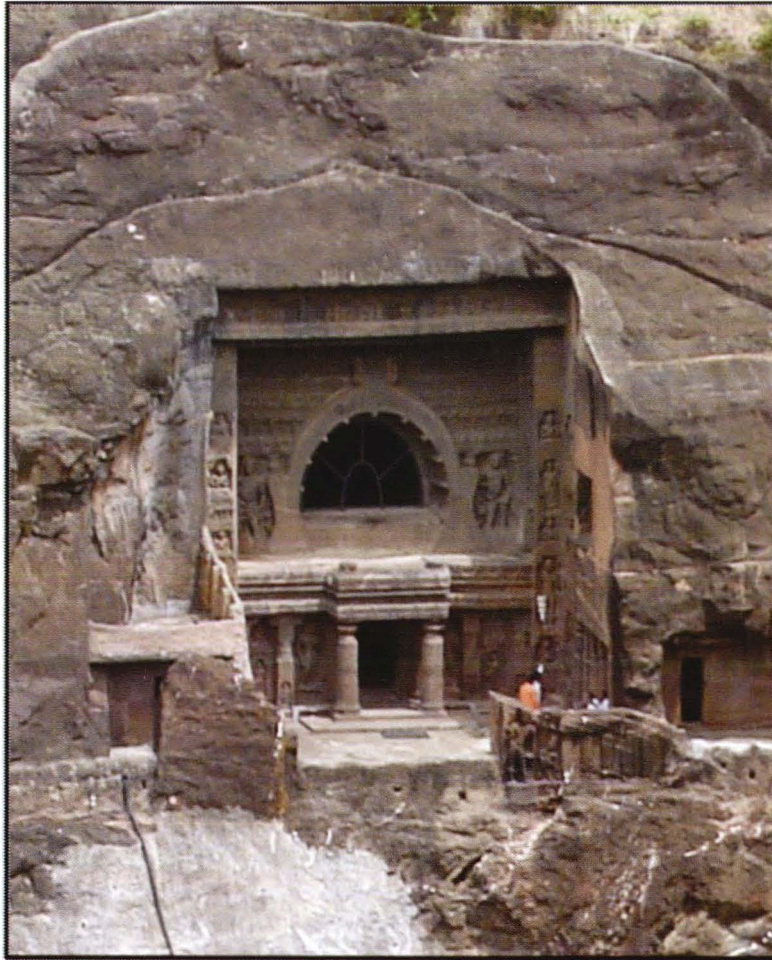
Fig. 1 . 1 - Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 19 (Front Elevation)

Fig. 1 . 2 - Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 9 (Front Elevation)

Fig. 1 . 3 - Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 10 (Front Elevation)
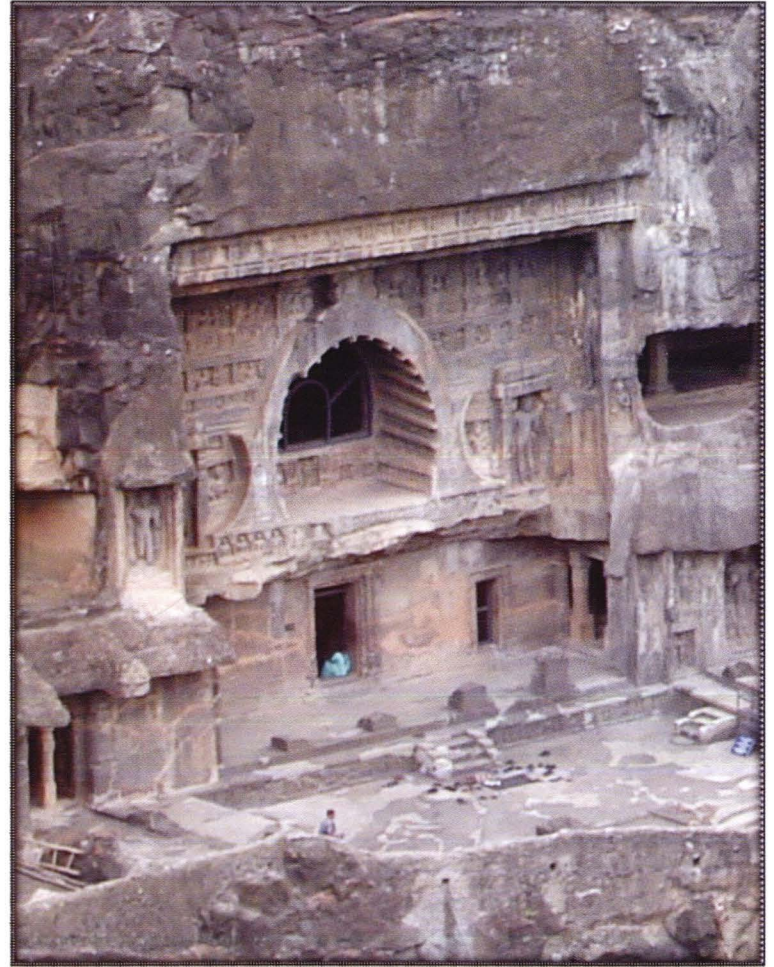
Fig. 1 . 4 - Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 26 (Elevation)

Fig. 1 . 5 - Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 26 (*stūpa* with the image)
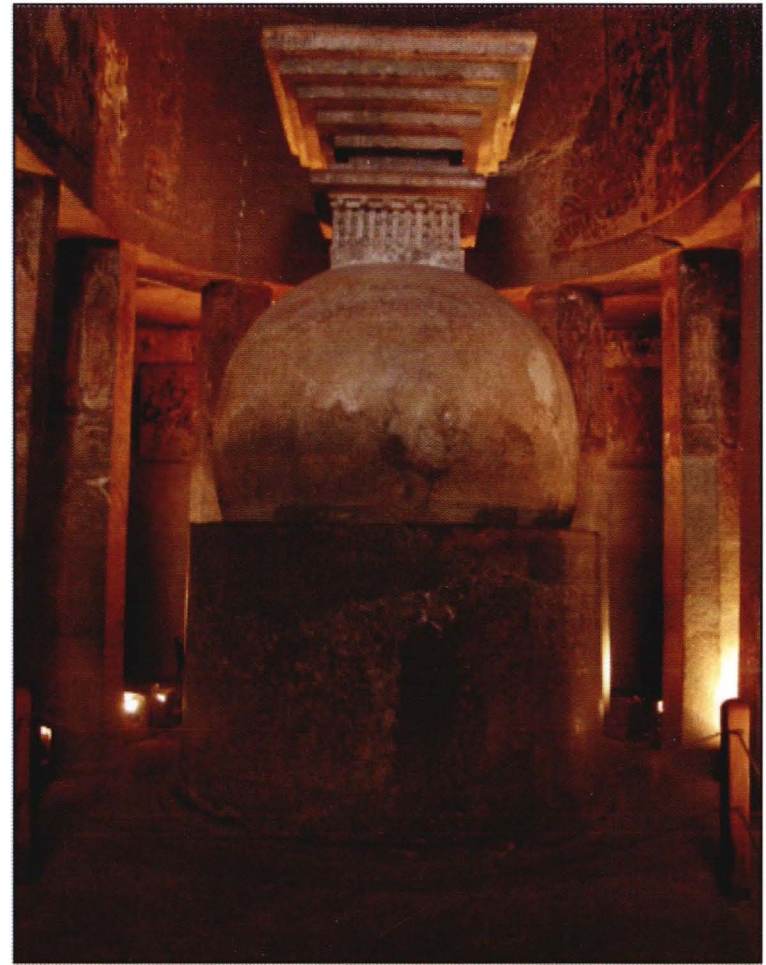
Fig. 1 . 6 - Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 9 (*stūpa*)
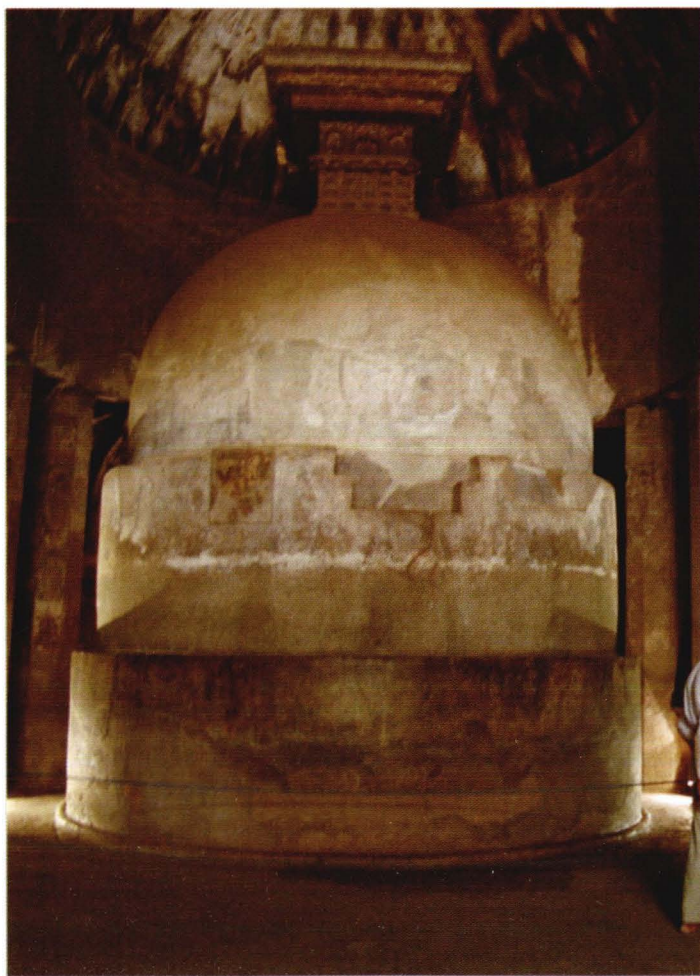
Fig. 1 . 7 - Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 10 (*stūpa*)

Fig. 1 . 8 - Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 19 (*stūpa* with image)

the roof] could be assigned to the loss of the practice of *vipassanā* meditation or to changing practices of the *Saṅgha*, according to the different Schools of Buddhism.

The four *cetiyagharas* at Ajanta are unique in their own way and in this paper we would like to throw light on the aspect that though the *cetiyagharas* are separated from each other by the time period of 500 years or so, they are alike in many ways for they are conceived from the same principles and philosophies. This could be said to be the revival of those meditational techniques which demanded the certain architectural features incorporated in the plan and the section of the *cetiyaghara* itself.

This is with the strong belief that 'the architecture is the manifestation of the teachings of the Buddha into concrete form'. Here we would like to stress *pativedhana* that is the practical experiential aspect of the teachings of the Buddha in the form of the *vipassanā* meditation, is the reason for the architectural features such as the apsidal plan, vaulted roofed *cetiyaghara* with the *caitya* arch for the light, the columns around the *stūpa* for circumambulation and the nave to sit in front of the Buddha which is in the form of *stūpa*, the object of meditation.

Here it could be noted that the differences are seen in the *stūpas* of the *cetiyagharas*. The earlier *stūpas* are plain and simple and the later *stūpas* are decorated, elongated and engraved with the image of the Buddha. This does not much change the architecture or the interior space, but at the same time fulfils the demand of the image of the Buddha inside the place of meditation, the modern trend developed in the 4th-5th CE. Incorporating the image of the Buddha in the *stūpa* itself, the architect has shown the inclination of adopting the new trends as long as it do not disturb the architectural need of the space. Another thing which is clearly indicated by the combining of the *stūpa* with the image is that, they could have easily removed the *stūpa* and placed the image in its place but that is not done, for they knew the importance of the *stūpa* and its place in the *cetiyaghara* and how it fulfils the requisites of *vipassanā* meditation.

What is *vipassanā* meditation? *Vipassanā* is one of India's most ancient meditation techniques taught by the Buddha. It is a practical method that purifies the mind, eventually leading to the eradication of all suffering. Etymologically the word *vipassanā* is derived from the root *pas* which means "to see", with the prefix *vi* which means *visesa*, "in a special manner" or *vividham*, "from different angles". Thus literally the term *vipassanā* communicates the sense of observing or seeing in a special manner[10]: *visesati passatiti vipassanā*[11] or *aniccādivasena vividhenā ākārena passati ti vipassanā*[12] (He sees from different angles as impermanent etc, is *vipassanā*).

The ability to see things as they really are is called *vipassanā*, meaning 'to see things in a special way'.[13] Ordinarily we tend to observe only the superficial apparent truth, to be able to properly observe inner truth; we need the penetrating expert vision- the special way of seeing. This special way of seeing is *vipassanā*; this is the development of wisdom by the practice of *vipassanā*.

Vipassanā meditation's aim is to gain Insight into things as they really are. Insight doesn't mean abstract understanding but direct experience of the real, ultimate nature of existence. This process is also described as seeing things as they really are (*yathā bhuta nānā dassanam*), not as they appear to be. *Paññāttim thapetvā, visesana passati ti vipassanā*[14] (Putting aside concepts, he sees in a special way, thus it is *vipassanā*).

Through this practice, the basic characteristics of *anicca* (impermanence), becomes clear. Thus the text states *aniccādivasena dhamme passati ti vipassanā*[15](He sees phenomenon as impermanent etc, thus it is *vipassanā*).

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[10] VRI (1990: 61).

[11] Visuddhimagga-Mahātikā 2.427, Dukamatikāpadavannanā.

[12] Atthasālini, 124–134.

[13] Modak (1995:11–12).

[14] Ledi Sayadaw (1990: 61).

[15] VRI- the discourses of Sayaji U Ba Khin

Once *anicca* has been well understood, the characteristics of *dukkha* (suffering) and *anatta* (egolessness) also become clear.

Now the question is how the *vipassanā* which is related to the 'mind' and 'experience of reality' be connected in any way to the concrete architecture, and that to, to the *cetiyaghara*?

Let us here only concentrate on the requisites of *vipassanā* meditation and how the architecture tries to fulfill it.

Human being and the sensations of the body or '*Vedanā*' is the meeting point of the architecture and *vipassanā*. The job of the architecture is to make the person aware and mindful, bring him into the present tense and make him face the truth or the reality of the existence and the final goal of *nibbāna*, with the help of sensations.

Here we would like to put forth two of the many features which shows how the requisites of the *vipassanā* meditation are fulfilled by the apsidal planned vaulted roofed *cetiyagharas*.

Climatology, Architecture and *Vipassanā* Meditation

Climatology is the study of wind, rain, sun on the architecture and in the interior space. In short it is the study of the effect the elements of nature, the immediate climatic conditions of the surrounding makes on the architecture and how the architecture is evolved or developed according to those elements.

Study of climatology is important in Buddhist architecture, especially of the rock-cut *cetiyagharas*, as the climatic condition of the area (Sahyādri mountain range) has played a major role in the evolution of the architecture. It is also important in relating architecture with *vipassanā*, as the climatic conditions are very inquisitively and intelligently used, to fulfill the requisites of meditation in the architecture.

The rain, sun, wind, light, heat, noise and dust have been controlled in the planning of the *cetiyagharas*, not only that, these elements of nature are

used productively and innovatively in the fulfillment of the requisites of the *vipassanā* meditation.

Rain: the torrential rain of the Sahyādri is successfully controlled with the projecting chajjās, overhanging roofs and the development of the verāndāhs in front of the structures. The evolution of the architecture can be studied from the development of the verāndāh in front of the structures, especially of the *cetiyaghara*s. The development of the chaitya arch, right from the open arch pattern of Bhāje to the 'chaitya arch window pattern' of Bedse and Kārle, upto the blind arch of Junnar is also the result of the development of the façade of the *cetiyaghara* due to torrential rain of the Sahyādri.

Wind: the strong wind of the mountains is controlled and used in such a way that, no direct wind enters the architecture, especially the *cetiyaghara*s. At the same time the wind is innovatively used to provide ventilation to the tunnel like *cetiyaghara*s excavated in the rock, which has opening on only one side. The dead end of the *cetiyaghara*s is circular and the vaulted roof of the *cetiyaghara*s, which is also circular, helps the wind rotate and move without creating negative air pockets inside the structure.

The height of the *cetiyaghara* helps in this flow of the wind. This circulation of the wind is the reason for the ventilation inside the rock-cut *cetiyaghara*s, which are almost 100'ft. inside the rock. This controlled flow of the wind is one of the requisites of the *vipassanā* meditation, where no direct wind on the body is preferred, but at the same time comfort in breathing is needed. With the loss of the technique and the reason for the excavation of such architecture, the later architecture with the flat roof is not so ventilated and wind flow is arrested at the front door itself.

Light: natural light in the depth of the apsidal *cetiyaghara*, on the *stūpa* is the achievement of the architect's genius. The one sided open tunnel like excavation in the rock, is lighted throughout the day with diffused light from the only one opening of chaitya arch. This lighting of the interior is the best example of lighting such structures in such a successful way. Not only that, the rays of the sun falls directly on the *stūpa* in the early morning if the *cetiyaghara* is east facing like the *cetiyaghara* of Bedse and in the evening

when it is west facing like the Bhāje. The orientation of the *cetiyaghara*
Ajanta 26 to the summer solstice is very close and the efforts taken to make it
so is seen in the façade of the *cetiyaghara* which is cut at an angle to the arc of
the site.

This system of lighting is also the requisites of *vipassanā* meditation,
where the *stūpa* is lighted from the front, but no direct light enters the
meditator's eye while sitting facing the *stūpa*. The height of the chaitya arch
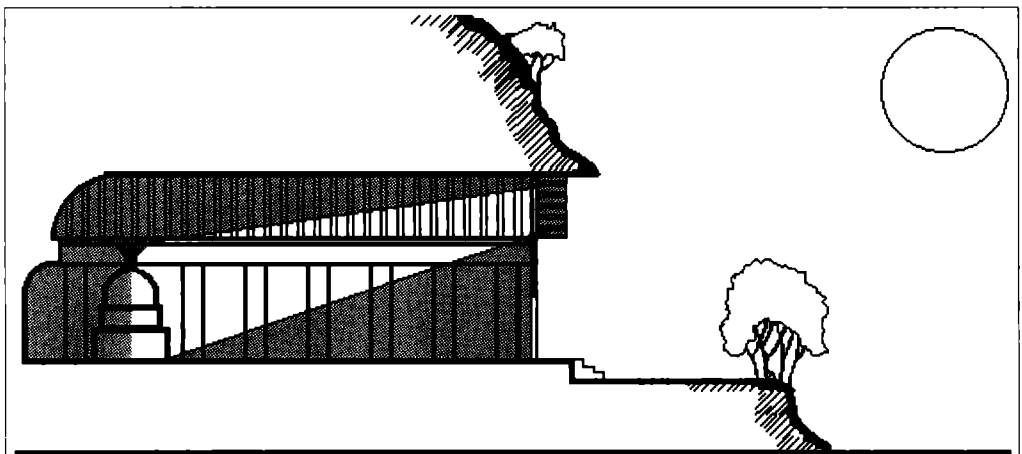
Study of Sun light on stupa inside the Chaityagruha

along with the height of the *cetiyaghara* with vaulted roof is the reason the
light reaches upto the end of the tunnel like structure. After the technique and
the reason behind the excavation of such large structures were lost, the
architecture, especially the *cetiyaghara*s of later period have inadequate light
inside the interior making the space stuffy and dark, where birds and insects
nest.

Temperature: the temperature of the interior, which is almost in the depth of
the rock, is bound to be lesser than the outside. Still care is taken that the
direct sunrays don't enter the interior increasing the temperature inside. The
main structure is in shade due to the overhangs, chajjās and the verandas. The
lining of the wooden ribs, planks and jāli in the façade, on the roof and on the
side kept the interior cool as well as sound proof.

Dust: with the earlier sites located on the higher altitudes facing the valleys and mountains the problem of dust was not faced. The beautiful locations with ample forest around, the whole atmosphere was conducive for meditation.

Discussion

Climatology of the *cetiyaghara* affects the practice of *vipassanā* meditation. The apsidal planned vaulted roofed *cetiyaghara*s which are excavated considering the climatology are found to be conducive for the practice of *vipassanā* meditation. They fulfil the requisites of the *vipassanā* meditation, of light on the *stūpa*, highlighting the *stūpa* in the *cetiyaghara*, giving the concentration on the object of meditation, but not on the eyes of the meditator while meditating in front of the *stūpa*. The rectangular *cetiyaghara* with flat roof doesn't fulfill this requisites as no light reaches the interior and on the *stūpa*. The *stūpa* chamber is fully in darkness as can be noted at *cetiyaghara*s at Kuda, Kanheri-31.

Wind flow or ventilation inside the apsidal planned vaulted roofed *cetiyaghara*s is best worked out. The height of the vault and the apsidal shape of the plan give the wind movement and it flows around the *stūpa* without creating negative air pockets. There is air movement always inside the *cetiyaghara* affecting in good ventilation, which keeps the interior fresh and alive for meditation. Breathing inside is no problem, as the air is fresh, moving and cooler than outside. This doesn't apply to the rectangular planned flat roofed *cetiyaghara*, as the height of the roof is low, with only the door for the air to enter and the squareness of the plan not giving the air the proper push for the flow. There is no movement of air inside the *cetiyaghara* and the whole result is hot and stuffy interior, not conducive for meditation.

Symbolism of *Cetiyaghara* and *Vipassanā* Meditation

Space is the medium and first concern of architecture.[16] Space formed inside the structure or structure creating the space in the nature, both the aspects is important for the negative space or positive space created by the forms and

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[16] Snodgrass (1992: 4).

shapes of the structure. The space inside carries profound meaning when related to the exterior and the mass of the structure. The space inside a structure at a symbolic level affects the mind and intellect at a very basic level. It can create favorable atmosphere conducive for the function or unfavorable disturbing the function of the structure. The space created inside the apsidal planned vaulted roofed *cetiyaghara* is the positive space created with the intense thought given to the symbolism of the structure. Meaning is read in the symbolic form in the space created inside the apsidal planned vaulted roofed *cetiyaghara*. The space inside the *cetiyaghara* is related to the space created by the form of the human being sitting for meditation, to the space created by the *stūpa* inside the *cetiyaghara*. All this is ultimately related to the space created in the universe, by the structure itself.

Symbolic Relation of a Meditator to the Stupa inside the Chaityagruha
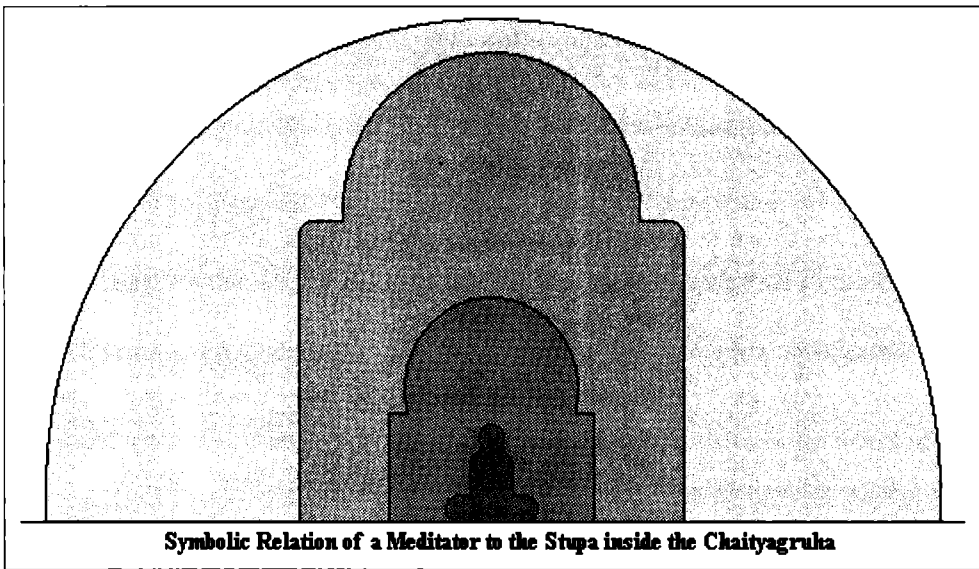
The figure represents the symbolism of space inside the *cetiyaghara* very aptly. The symbolism of the *cetiyaghara* with the *stūpa* inside goes even deeper level of "correspondence between human body, human building and whole world, so there is also a teleological correspondence. [17]It clearly shows

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[17] Coomaraswamy (1983: 13).

the relation of the *vipassanā* meditation and *cetiyaghara* with its space inside and symbolism.

Now let us assume why the revival of the old architectural plan was done at Ajanta-19 and 26.

Assumption: The one School or Schools, who chose to adopt the plan, were aware of the benefits of that architectural plan and were deliberately adopting the changes. But at the same time they were modern and intelligent enough to know the trends of the time and minds of the people who wanted the image of the Buddha in the place of the *stūpa*. So they found a very good solution of the *stūpa* with the image of Buddha on it.

Now again the question arises that why this was done only at Ajanta and Ellora and not in the entire architectural process. The answer again could be in the different Schools of Buddhism. It is seen from the inscriptional evidences from all excavations that different schools of Buddhism co-existed and also co-habited in the same complex.

May be those schools only became powerful or strong enough in that phase and again lost their power and the other school took over again.

Secondly it has to be understood that we have three such revived *cetiyagharas*, two at Ajanta and one at Ellora, so we can deduce that atleast three Schools of Buddhism were still practicing the *vipassanā* meditation and wanted the architecture conducive for the same as late as the 5-6th CE.

We generally call the later phase as the Mahāyāna phase but are not sure exactly which School is the one responsible for it, for we do not have the name of the particular School. Unfortunately Ajanta inscriptions also do not yield any name of the School of Buddhism. So we only have the architecture which is giving us the clue as to which School of Buddhism probably was prevalent at that time and where its location was. Also image of the Buddha and sculptures is generally equated with the Mahāyāna phase of the Buddhism. This theory doesn't stand to be true here at Ajanta. All the Schools who adopted the images of the Buddha need not be called as the Mahāyāna schools.

Dr. Walter Spink has worked on the different architectural details and pointed out the different existing groups at Ajanta. Though the scholar doesn't say that they are according to the different Schools, he states that they had different patrons and according to them they are executed at different periods. We agree to the architectural groups put forth by Dr. Spink and agree that the Ajanta site was in the later period worked on by different people. Instead of saying different people and patrons, here we would like to make a statement that each patron was sponsoring different School of Buddhism and that is the reason that though the work was going on simultaneously we see the differences in the architectural layout and execution.
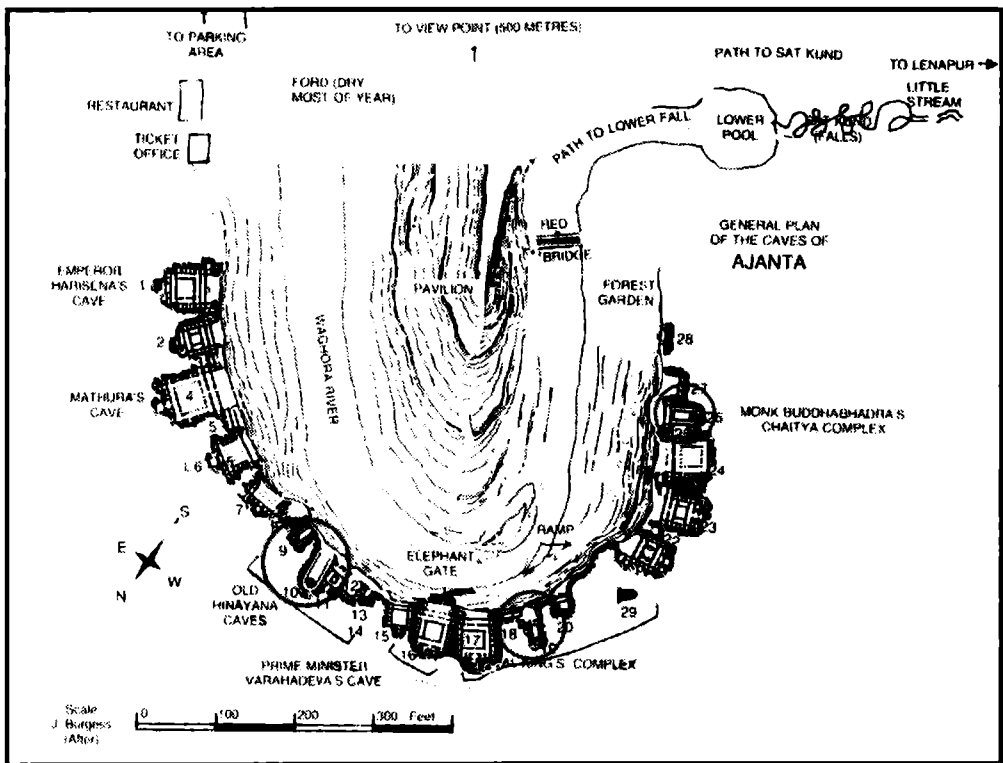
Plan [after J Burgess and Walter Spink] showing the positions of the 4 *cetiyagharas*

The known major patrons of the later phase and their excavations as given by Dr. Spink[18] are as follows:

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[18] Spink Walter M: Ajanta- A brief History and Guide, University of Michigan, pg. 41

Excavation no. 1	The Vākataka emperor Harisena
Excavation no. 4	Mathurdasa- a wealthy owner
Excavation no. 16	Varāhadeva- chief minister of Harisena
Excavation no. 17, 18, 19, 20 & probably 29	King of Rishika named Upendragupta
Excavation no. 25, 26 and 27	Buddhabhadra a monk, friend to the Asmakas

Now for this paper we are concerned only with the *cetiyaghara*s 19 and 26 and the two known groups and their patrons. One is the monk Buddhabhadra and other is the local king of Rishika Upendragupta. Both were the patrons of the *cetiyaghara*s and they are important because they were sponsoring those Schools of Buddhism who were the forerunners for the revival of the apsidal planned vaulted roofed *cetiyaghara*s.

They definitely have to be two different Schools for the same school would not go for *cetiyaghara*s side by side on the same site taking two different patrons. There is a possibility that there was also one third School which was also keen on the revival of the *vipassanā* meditation at Ellora. The possibility is, it could be one of the two Schools from the Ajanta which was responsible for Ellora- Visvakarma leni, having chosen as the second site and may be new patron too.

Conclusion

In conclusion we would like to state that the study of four *cetiyaghara*s at Ajanta is important because:

- They belong to different time period and still reflect the same architectural features.
- The architecture - apsidal planned vaulted roofed *cetiyaghara* with *stūpa* in the apse and a circumambulatory path going around the *stūpa* was lost in the end of the 2nd CE and here at Ajanta it is seen again in 5th-6th CE but with a difference.[with the image of the Buddha carved on the *stūpa* itself]

- When compared to the development of *cetiyagharas* across the Buddhist rock-cut excavations with time, the later phase of Ajanta do not show the development in the gradual way but is seen shifting to the old architectural tradition which could be called as the revival.

- As shown in the doctoral thesis the existence of apsidal plan vaulted roofed *cetiyaghara* is equal to the presence of *vipassanā* meditation, the re-introduction of the same plan but with the modern touch, signifies that it was done for the practice of the *vipassanā* meditation. Now when we see the revival of this feature in the architecture it is to be assumed that there was definitely the revival of that particular school of the Buddhism [probably Theravāda] which was practicing the *vipassanā* meditation.

- Fortunately or unfortunately such revival is only seen at Ajanta and then at Ellora and again the trend of the '*vihāra* with the image of the Buddha' is taking over the development as seen in the 7th–8th CE at Aurangabad groups in Maharashtra. In the rock-cut architecture of Rajasthan we see this School with 'image of Buddha on the *stūpa*' in apsidal planned vaulted roofed *cetiyaghara* at two places, but it is not so grand as Ajanta and Ellora, and are almost broken. Therefore these three *cetiyagharas*, two at Ajanta and one at Ellora are not only important but very much significant in the study of the Schools of Buddhism.

- Study of the Ajanta site indicates the existence of different groups. There is a great possibility of existence of a group probably from the Theravāda tradition still intent on the old traditional meditation of *vipassanā* and knowing the benefit of architectural details necessary for it, has gone for a revival taking a powerful patron and support of the laity for the same.

- It also shows that the Mahāyāna phase is not to be equated with the image of the Buddha for the Theravāda tradition and their Schools had also adopted the image of the Buddha in the *cetiyagharas*.

- Therefore the last phase of the Ajanta or rather these two *cetiyagharas* 19 and 26 cannot be assigned to the Mahāyāna phase and a new vision of the revival of the old tradition has to be incorporated into the study of the *Cetiyagharas*.

Plates

Fig. 1.1   Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 19 (Front Elevation)

Fig. 1. 2   Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 9 (Front Elevation)

Fig. 1.3   Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 10 (Front Elevation)

Fig. 1.4   Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 26 (Elevation)

Fig. 1.5   Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 26 (*stūpa* with the image)

Fig. 1.6   Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 9 (*stūpa*)

Fig. 1.7   Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no.10 (*stūpa*)

Fig. 1.8   Ajanta *Cetiyaghara* no. 19 (*stūpa* with image)

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NEW APPROACHES TO ARCHITECTURE AT PAṬṬADAKAL[1]

PIERRE-SYLVAIN FILLIOZAT

Paṭṭadakal is a well-known site, well-known in India and well-known internationally, as it is counted as a world heritage site on the list established by UNESCO. The concept of world heritage signifies that the responsibility of preserving a site or an art treasure pertains to all countries, all archaeologists, all historians of art, all researchers in the field of culture. Conservation work starts with improving knowledge about the site. With this view Vasundhara Filliozat and I have recently conducted a research on the monuments of Paṭṭadakal, as systematic as possible, with the help of the Archaeological Survey of India, Dharwar Circle under the supervision of Dr. Veeranna Halakatti and the Centre for Conservation Studies of the Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology CEPT University, Ahmedabad under the direction of Prof. R. J. Vasavada. To-day's presentation will be focused on a few aspects of architecture brought to light during this venture, thanks to this collaboration.

Paṭṭadakal is situated to the east-north-east of Badami and to the south-west of Aihole, half way between these most important townships from where the Cālukya kings governed a vast empire in the 7th and 8th centuries AD. It differs from them as being mostly a holy centre consecrated to Śiva worship. It is right on the west bank of the River Malaprabhā, in a curve where it takes a north direction, held as especially auspicious, as it evokes a link with the Gaṅgā. The river has found its way between two ranges of hills. The northern

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[1] Justice K.T. Telang Memorial Lecture delivered on 8th February 2012.

range offered an excellent building material, reddish sandstone of great quality. Inscriptions in Cālukyan script of that period and designs of masons are found on natural rocks indicating the location of the quarries exploited by the builders of the monuments. The river ensured the fertility of the land in the valley between the hills.

An Autocad plan recently established by ASI indicates well three places of archaeological interest (Fig. 2.1);

-- a high concentration of monuments along the river to the north of a village which contains several traces of ancient constructions, including a few remnants of a fort wall on its west limit; another major monument, the Pāpanātha temple, marks the southern limit;

-- at less than a km to the west are the ruins of a dilapidated temple of Lokapāleśvara, which has never been the object of any conservation;

-- at a greater distance of some 3km is a Jaina temple, recently restored, of Rāṣṭrakūṭa style, the latest monument in the site.

Orientations of Temples

The first group attracts the greatest attention (Fig. 2.2). Old site plans display four large monuments, three smaller and about forty very small structures all opened towards east and built on a west-east axis of symmetry. However a close observation on the site shows some slight deviations. The axes do not appear strictly parallel. It is slightly visible on a satellite photograph provided by Google maps. The recent survey conducted by ASI and presented in a well-done Autocad design (Fig. 2.3), shows slight deviations of less than 1 degree from the true east-west line. Taking the axes passing of the square *garbhagrha* cella, we see that the southern Lokeśvara/Virūpākṣa temple slightly deviates to the north-east, the Trailokyeśvara / Mallikārjuna, Kāśīviśvanātha, Vijayeśvara / Saṁgameśvara, Galaganātha and Kāḍasidhheśvara temples deviate to the south-east. Only the small Jambuliṅgeśvara temple has no deviation.

Fig. 2 . 1 - Plan of Paṭṭadakkal and surroundings (courtesy of ASI).

Fig. 2 . 2 - Plan of Paṭṭadakal main site of monuments (courtesy of ASI) ; red lines showing the orientation of the main monuments are added.

Fig. 2 . 3 - *Śaṅkusthāpana*, procedure of determination of cardinal points (B. Dagens, *Mayamatam*, vol. 1 p. xlviii)

Fig. 2 . 4 - Liṅga of the dilapidated Lokapāleśvara temple, *in situ* on the brahmaśilā exposed.

Fig. 2 . 5 - Tripartite *vimāna* of the Trailokyeśvara temple

Fig. 2 . 6 - Vimāna of the Kadambeśvara Temple at Raṭṭihaḷḷi (Karnataka), section, showing inside a platform at the level of the top of śukanāsī.

Fig. 2 . 7 - Miniature temples at Paṭṭadakal, to the north of Lokeśvara compound

Fig. 2 . 8 - Small temple near the north compound of
Lokeśvara complex with Lakulīśa on the south wall

Fig. 2 . 9 - Lakulīśa on the south wall of Lokeśvara temple

I propose a hypothesis to explain this fact. In several Sanskrit texts dealing with architecture of south Indian temples, Mānasāra, Mayamata, Ajitatantra, Maricisaṃhitā etc.[2] there is a chapter entitled *Dikparaccheda* or *Śaṅkusthāpanalakṣaṇa*. It teaches a method to determine the cardinal points, tracing first an east-west line, then its perpendicular south-north line. On a horizontal ground one traces a circle and fixes a gnomon called *śaṅku* in the centre. One observes the moment in the forenoon, when the tip of the shadow of the gnomon enters the circle and marks that point. The same is done in the afternoon and one marks the point where the shadow goes out of the circle. The line drawn between the two marks is the east-west line. From each of those two points marked on the circle one draws circles of same radius, designing what is called "a fish". The line between their points of intersection, the head and tail of the fish, is the north-south line.[3]

It is not an absolutely precise method. A small error is caused by the change of the declination of the sun during the day, between morning and evening. The determination of the east will be correct only on the solstice day when the declination is stabilised. On a particular date the declination of the sun is equal to the latitude of the location where the procedure is conducted, the sun passes to the zenith of the gnomon and there will be no shadow at noon. After that date the obtained line between morning and evening will be deviated to the south-east. Before that same date it is deviated towards north-east. From the position of the axes of temples we have observed, we may infer that the rite of determination of the east at the start of their construction, was conducted in different period of the years. For the temple of Lokeśvara deviated to north-east the rite was done before the said date of the passage of the sun to the zenith of the gnomon, for other temples deviated to south-east

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[2] Acharya (1995: 14–5) and (1994: 24ff), Dagens (1994: 28ff), Bhatt, Filliozat and Filliozat (1994 (vol. 1): 98ff), Colas (1986 (*paṭala* 6): 101 ff, 216).

[3] It is a simple procedure, universally known. The ancient form of the Chinese character for the name of the east, "dong", is a reproduction of that geometrical figure, simplified by suppressing the initial circle. See Filliozat (1977).

after. For the Jambuliṅgeśvara temple which has no deviation, it was done on a solstice day. Paṭṭadakal is at the latitude of 17°57'.[4]

Now, in some of those texts dealing with *śaṅkusthāpana*, the exposition of the procedure is followed by an exposition of measures of *apachāyās* along the year, firstly month after month, then decade after decade. The editor and interpret of Mānasāra, P. K. Acharya, proposed initially to understand *apachāyā* as a correction to the error caused by the solar declination and finally recognised that considering the given measures much too high, it was an untenable interpretation. The error is less than a degree. The tables of *apachāyās* give values of 2 to 8 *aṅgulas*. Jean Filliozat proposed to take *apachāyā*, on the basis of the diminutive value of the preverb *apa*, as referring to a "minimal shadow", namely to the shadow of the gnomon at noon.[5] The numbers given in the texts are quite acceptable for that. And all the texts say that the *apachāyā* is null when the sun is in *kanyā* (Virgo, August-September) and *vṛṣa* (Taurus, April-May). They do not say in which day of the month. During *kanyā* the sun will cover latitudes from 14° to 3°, during *vṛṣa* from 9° to 18°.

This large range of latitudes includes Paṭṭadakal at the end of *vṛṣa* and beginning of *kanyā*. The gap between these two dates is three months during which the sun is to the north of the latitude of this site. The temples whose axis is deviated to south-east must have had their rite of *śaṅkusthāpana* during this period, the Lokeśvara temple during the other part of the year.

The knowledge of the tables of *apachāyās* does not help directly for determining the east. It helps in choosing the date at which the rite can be performed. The considerations on which relies the rite are not only astronomical. They are also ritualistic. The Āgamic texts dealing with this topic treat it as a rite to ensure the sanctity of the monument. It is a rite performed by a priest called *ācārya* accompanied by a *śilpin*. The texts

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[4] Referring to a table of mean values of the declination of the sun for a leap year cycle provided by Internet, nowadays, the declination of the sun during *uttarāyana* is equal to that latitude around the 11th of May, or in the *dakṣiṇāyana* around the 5th of September.

[5] Filliozat (1951).

recommend performing the rite during *uttarāyaṇa*, in a *śuklapakṣa*, both held as most auspicious. On the basis of the preference for *uttarāyaṇa* we may infer that for the temples deviating towards south-east in Paṭṭadakal the rite was performed during *vaiśākha* or *jyaiṣṭha* before the solstice.

Place of the Foundation Stone, Door and Liṅga

After the *śaṅkusthāpana* the next rite is the placing of the first brick or stone (*ādyeṣṭakāvidhi*). The āgamic prescription in Śaivasiddhānta is to start the construction with the *garbhagṛha* cella and to place the foundation brick on the south side of the door. It is implied here that, once the east-west line is determined, the walls of the cella will be erected, leaving the opening for the future door. The construction starts on the south side of the opening. In principle the cella has its centre on the east-west line. Its axis is the point of reference of all the subsequent parts of the construction. There is no instruction about the position of the door. Generally it has its centre of the same axis. All the temples of Paṭṭadakal have a Śivaliṅga in their sanctum. The Liṅga is not always on the axis previously defined, i.e. not in the exact centre of the cella. In Paṭṭadakal the best example is the temple of Galaganātha, where it isslightly displaced to the north-east of the centre of the square cella. And this answers to another Āgamic instruction. A process described in *Ajita Tantra* XVIII.182-188 consists in designing in the middle of the cella a square whose side is the breadth of the door, dividing it in 441 squares. The central one will be divided in nine squares. After removing five of those squares on the south and west, the centre of the remaining four squares in the north-east angle is the centre of the foundation stone called *brahmaśilā* and of the Liṅga which is fixed in it. In Galaganātha the breadth of the door, including the massive doorjambs, is 250 cm. In a net of 441 squares the central square is near 12 cm. When it is divided again in 9 we obtain squares of 4 cm. Theoretically the deviation of the brahmaśilā should be 4 cm. The actual deviation of the Liṅga is 10 cm to the north and 20 to east.

Tripartition of the Liṅga and the *Vimāna*

It is well-known that the Liṅga is tripartite: Brahman portion of square section at the bottom, Viṣṇu portion of octagonal section in the middle and Rudra

portion of round section at the top (Fig. 2.4). A particular feature observed in the Trailokyeśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal illustrates the conception of the temple as representing the deity in body and soul. This temple has the same tripartition as the Liṅga (Fig. 2.5). The *vimāna*, base and tower, which envelops and caps the *garbhagṛha*, is of square section up to the last level of the tower below the crowning superstructure. The platform supporting the latter and the drum in recess, called *grīva* 'neck', are of octagonal section. The dome-like roof, called *śikhara* 'crest', is of round section. Such a feature is rare. It is observed in Gaṅgaicōḷapuram. There the octagon was a practical transition from a square base to a circular dome, and it is realised on a grand scale. In Paṭṭadakal, done at the top, in small dimensions, it was not a necessary recourse for the construction. The main intention may have been to reproduce the structure of the Liṅga in the monument.

There are Śaivasiddhānta texts which treat the full monument as an image of Śiva, body, mind and soul. The architectural terminology has words like *pāda* for pillars, *jaṅgha* for walls, *grīva* for the drum supporting a dome. The elaborate rite of *pratiṣṭhā* of the temple, as described in the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, composed at the end of 10th century, but reflecting older practices, shows the presence of the *ācārya* priest at every stage of the construction to conduct rites of installation of divine entities. Noteworthy is a rite of installation of the soul of the supreme Śiva. It consists in ritually placing the subtle body and the *ātman* in a pot which is the heart of the deity (*hṛtkumbhapratiṣṭhā*).[6] This is done when the construction of the tower has reached the level of the lion image which crowns the *śukanāsī*, just below the final *śikhara* dome (Fig. 2.6). The pot is deposited inside the tower on a small platform at this level, i.e. in a place which will never be exposed. An elaborate rite accompanies the end of the construction with the installation of the *stūpī* and *dhvaja* which are the object of almost the same ritual as the Liṅga. Thus the Liṅga and the entire *vimāna* are made into the full person of the deity.

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[6] Brunner-Lachaux (1998, vol. 4 : 321ff), P.-S. Filliozat (2008 : 90ff).

Pāśupata Faith and Worship at Paṭṭadakal

So far we have referred to Sanskrit Śaivasiddhānta literature, the period of whose formation is grossly the 6th to 12th centuries AD and which has been in current practice in all regions of India during that period. We have the indication of the presence of a probable Ācārya of this Śaiva school, inferred from his name, Jñānaśiva, who had come from the country of Mṛgathaṇikāhāra on the north bank of Gaṅgā to Paṭṭadakal and who installed a pillar with an inscription, in the time of Kīrtivarman. Jñānaśiva is an initiation name characteristic of Śaivasiddhānta literature.

The site of Paṭṭadakal was also honoured by the presence of Pāśupata or Kālāmukha worshippers. We have a sign of their presence in a specific feature of Paṭṭadakal site. In the space between the large temples, there are more than forty very small structures (Fig. 2.7). Most of them are dilapidated. Only wall bases remain and in a number of cases a Liṅga has survived. All these structures were miniature temples. An explanation of this high concentration may be found in a specific Pāśupata practice, the *Pāśupatavrata*, as described in *Śivapurāṇa* for instance.[7] It consists in the observance of rules of purity, diet, etc. and a regular worship of a Liṅga, in a sacred place or in a forest, under the instruction of a Guru, for a short duration or life-time:

> *kālaś caitrī paurṇamāsī deśaḥ śivaparigrahaḥ |*
> *kṣetrārāmādy araṇyaṃ vā praśastaḥ śubhalakṣaṇaḥ || 3 ||*

"The time (for Pāśupatavrata) is the full moon of Caitra month; the place is the surroundings of Śiva, praiseworthy and bearing good signs, sacred site of a temple etc. or forest."

The main component of the *vrata* is a *Liṅgapūjā*:

> *tatpadmakarṇikāmadhye kṛtvā liṅgaṃ kanīyasam |*

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[7] See Śivapurāṇa, VII (Vāyavīyasaṃhitā), *pūrvakhaṇḍa, adhyāya* 33 *Paśupativratavidhāna-varṇana*, 1–98 quoted in Vasundhara Filliozat, *Kālāmukha and Pāśupata temples in Dharwar*, p. 127–38.

sphāṭikaṃ pīṭhikopetaṃ pūjayed vidhivat kramāt || 30 ||

"In the middle of that lotus (designed previously on a *sthaṇḍila*) one should arrange a smaller Liṅga of crystal with a socle and worship it according to rule and process."

At the end of the *pūjā* "the Liṅga with its lotus and all its related material is presented to the Guru or placed in a temple of Śiva":

tatas tat sāmbujaṃ liṅgaṃ sarvopakaraṇānvitam |
samarpayet svagurave sthāpayed vā śivālaye || 60b-61a ||

This text speaks about small mobile Liṅgas deposited in Śiva temples at the time of a *vrata*. A similar act of devotion to install unmovable (*sthāvara*) Liṅgas seems to have repeatedly taken place in the vicinity of Paṭṭadakal temples. The presence of so many Liṅgas in a close disposition adjacent to the major temples suggests that it was a holy place, a pure Śivakṣetra. The entire site is consecrated to the cult of Śiva and the great number of such votive Liṅgas speaks a lot about the strength and fervour of the current of *bhakti* which flourished in their times. The installation of a Liṅga implied the building of an architectural structure consecrated to it. In Paṭṭadakal it has taken the shape of a small aedicule arranged according to regular Āgamic rules. There is a range of sizes between less than a metre to approximately 3 m for these miniature structures. Two among them, close to the north compound of Lokeśvara complex, have a size allowing the entrance of a priest inside the cella (Fig. 2.8). And they have been preserved in their entirety. One of them bears an image of Lakulīśa on its south side. That goes well with the idea of a Pāśupata origin. Another indication of the prominent Pāśupata influence in Paṭṭadakal is the fact that almost all monuments, including the larger temple complexes, on the south side, there is an image of Lakulīśa (Fig. 2.9).

The original Kannaḍa name of this Śivakṣetra was Kisuvolal, Raktapura in Sanskrit, the earliest mention of which is in an inscription of 686 in the reign of Vinayāditya. The name refers to the red colour of the stone, locally available and in ancient times generally reserved for religious

monuments, the most durable material for eternal entities. It illustrates the high density of religious structures in a small space and characterises it as a sacred centre. Worship remained active for centuries in this holy place and it was conducted by Kālāmukha ascetics, as attested in a long inscription on a stela in Vijayeśvara temple, in the times of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. We do not know at what time it was discontinued. We do not know from what time the name Paṭṭadakallu (Paṭṭadakal) became current. *Paṭṭa* is the emblem of royal consecration. The name *paṭṭada kallu* "stone of [the royal insignia] *paṭṭa*" reflects a tradition that the Cālukya kings of Bādāmi received their royal consecration in this *kṣetra*. The *rājābhiṣeka* is an important ritual requiring the most sacred environment and Paṭṭadakal may have been selected for this purpose, because of its sanctity. We know from the inscription of Jñānaśivācārya that the great temples of Vijayeśvara, Lokeśvara and Trailokyeśvara were royal foundations. We may formulate, on the basis of the affinity of the equally great temple of Galaganātha with the Alampur temples patronised by Vinayāditya, the hypothesis that it has also been founded by the same king. Thus, the presence of miniature temples in high concentration suggests that the old Kisuvoḷal was a centre of Pāśupata faith and worship. The presence of the great royal foundations suggests the recognition of the sacredness of the place by the last four Cālukya kings. That makes the specificity of Paṭṭadakal and differentiates it from the other important sites of Bādāmi and Aihole.

Nowadays, there is no regular worship. It is an archaeological site under the care of the Archaeological Survey of India and the World Heritage organisation. Its importance and exceptional beauty have won full recognition. Numerous measures of conservation have been taken for a century. A lot remains to be done to save the monuments from the ravages of time and it is recognised as a world responsibility. The thirteen centuries old red stone is fragile. Damaged masterpieces are a sore to the eye and some of them are so damaged that they are no more identifiable. Ceilings have suffered most, from bats and water seepage. Top expertise in appropriate conservation technology is required to stop the decay forever. Fortunately, some of the most beautiful sculptures of India and the world have miraculously resisted the passage of time: in the Lokeśvara temple, for instance, Aghoraśiva, sculpted by

Ceṅgamma, on the south wall of Lokeśvara temple; on his side smiling Śiva granting his grace; Śiva in meditation on the ceiling of the north porch; Vāmadeva on the north wall. Let us hope that they will be saved for all future generations of admirers.

Plates

All photos and designs by the author, unless otherwise stated.

Fig. 2.1   Plan of Paṭṭadakkal and surroundings (courtesy of ASI).

Fig. 2.2   Plan of Paṭṭadakal main site of monuments (courtesy of ASI); red lines showing the orientation of the main monuments are added.

Fig. 2.3   *Śaṅkusthāpana*, procedure of determination of cardinal points (B. Dagens, *Mayamatam*, vol. 1 p. xlviii).

Fig. 2.4   Liṅga of the dilapidated Lokapāleśvara temple, *in situ* on the brahmaśilā exposed.

Fig. 2.5   Tripartite *vimāna* of the Trailokyeśvara temple.

Fig. 2.6   *Vimāna* of the Kadambeśvara Temple at Raṭṭihaḷḷi (Karnataka), section, showing inside a platform at the level of the top of *śukanāsī*.

Fig. 2.7   Miniature temples at Paṭṭadakal, to the north of Lokeśvara compound.

Fig. 2.8   Small temple near the north compound of Lokeśvara complex with Lakulīśa on the south wall.

Fig. 2.9   Lakulīśa on the south wall of Lokeśvara temple.

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KĀLĀMUKHA AND PĀŚUPATA ŚAIVISM IN KARNATAKA[1]

VASUNDHARA FILLIOZAT

Of the four branches of Lākulaśaivism, Kālāmukha and Pāśupata entered Karnataka in the times of Cālukya kings of Badami, during the regnal period of Vikramāditya I (655–681AD) and continued to exercise their influence in the days of Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. They reached the summit of their glory when Vikramāditya VI adorned the throne of Cālukya kings of Kalyāṇa. Kālāmukha and Pāśupata were devotees of Śiva. Yet they did not look down upon other gods as inferior to Śiva. This is the main magnetism of this Śaivism. Who are Kālāmukha and Pāśupata? He or she who performs the *vrata* of one of these religions becomes a *sādhaka*, "practitioner of that śaivism." He is also called *vratin*. Yet there were differences in their mode of worshipping Śiva and in their practices. Where there were identical practices and where there were differences are the main points to be developed in this article. But before arriving at the main aim of the paper let us first see the origin of the Kālāmukha and Pāśupata Śaivism. To elucidate this point we have to learn first what is Lākulaśaivism and what is the connection between these two religions with Lākulaśaivism which does not exist any longer in India.

Even though there are not many literary sources on the history of this extinct Śaivism sufficient information can be gathered from the inscriptions of their temples and the available literary sources. As their temples are numerous, my study is restricted to the temples and inscriptions in the north

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[1] MM P. V. Kane Memorial Lecture delivered on 6th February 2012.

Karnataka, a god forsaken region. Not much work has been done although it deserves to be studied by the present day scholars.

According to the Lākulaśaiva thoughts Śiva comes in the form of Lakulīśa to impart the principles of Lākulaśaivism to the world. This is a well known fact. How, where and when he came to the earth are the points to be discussed. But as these topics have already been discussed by many scholars of yore we have nothing new to add to the work done so far. However, we have dealt with these subjects briefly in our latest, namely *Kālāmukha and Pāśupata Temples in Dharwar district*, *Kālamukha Temples of Karnataka* and *Karnāṭakadalli Lākulaśaiva Jakkaṇācāryaru* in Kannaḍa.

For the convenience of readers we recall the story that Lakulīśa (Fig. 3.1, Lakulīśa at Lokeśvara alias Virupaksha temple, Pattadakal) came to the earth holding a stick in his hand and that stick represents the four Veda. *Laguḍa* or *lakula* is a Sanskrit term meaning a "stick". And, he who holds the *laguḍa* or *lakula* is Lakulin. As he is none but Śiva so he is Īśa, Lakulīśa. There are differences of opinion with regard to the date of the propounder of the religion. The date varies from 2nd century BC to 2nd century CE. Whatever the case may be, inscriptions of Karnataka start mentioning the name of Śaiva saints of this religion right from the times of Cālukya Vikramāditya I (655–681) of Bādāmi.

Some purāṇa texts give the story of Lakulīśa and each one gives its own list of his disciples. But all agree that he had four pupils and these quadruple disciples are at the origin of four divisions in Lākulaśaivism. Of the four scions namely Pāśupata, Kālāmukha, Kāpālika and Kaula the first two are the followers of the Vedic path, whereas the latter two the Tantric. The Vedic path is known as Dakṣiṇācāra, Dakṣiṇapantha, Saumyamārga whereas the other as Vāmācāra, Vāmapantha. Being the true followers of Lakulīśa Kālāmukha and Pāśupata adepts opted for dakṣiṇapatha or saumyamārga. From the four corners of India came adepts of Pāśupata and Kālāmukha to impart the principles of the religion to the residents of Karnataka which was then one of the most flourishing regions.

Both, Kālāmukha and Pāśupata were worshippers of Śiva-Lakulīśa and followers of Lākulāgama. They were either building temples or inspiring others to raise temples. Wherever they had temples built a school used to be attached to it. The subjects that were taught in these schools are mentioned in inscriptions. Many a times while praising the qualities of a teacher, the subjects in which he had mastery are mentioned. Many inscriptions while enumerating his qualities say that he has mastery over Āgama texts and Lakulāgama. Now these Āgama texts are no more available. But a thorough study will reveal an interesting point.

A thorough study of the temples and their inscriptions reveal the fact that the *Lākuḷāgama* were what we now call as *upāgama*. These secondary texts do not give full information on the worship of Śiva or the architectural elements of a temple like the main Āgama. The principal ones have four *pāda*s namely, *caryā, vidyā, kriyā* and *yoga*. But the *upāgama* do not have such *pāda* or portion. Probably, for this reason Kālāmukha and Pāśupata adepts were following not only the principal Āgama texts in order to conduct the worship of their deity in the appropriate manner but also the *upāgama* for other aspects. One of the inscriptions hailing from Bijapur district mentions that along with the Lākulāgama, Śivāgama and Somaśambhupaddhati were in use in that maṭha.[2] Inscriptions from Balligave and other places also mention the subjects that were taught in their *maṭha* that is school. Some architectural elements found in the monuments also go to prove the influence of the principal Āgama. We show the evidences that one of the *upāgama* was very much followed by these Lākulaśaiva adepts.

To delve deep in the subject the first source which comes in handy is the Vātulaśuddhāgama. From the title itself, we can make out that it is a secondary Āgama of the main Vātulāgama. The main Āgama is yet to see the light of the day but in the meanwhile the Oriental Research Institute (ORI) in Mysore has already published the Sanskrit text of the *upāgama* in its integrality in Kannaḍa script with a *résumé* of commentaries in Kannaḍa.

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[2] *South Indian Inscriptions,* vol. XX, no.179; originally this inscription hails from *Pauṭhage,* modern Salotagi. Now the stela is kept in the Bijapur Museum.

There are many commentaries of the Vātulaśuddhāgama available in Karnataka written especially during the regnal period of Devarāya II of Karnataka Empire the capital of which was Vijayanagara that is modern Hampi. We have a feeling that probably, there was one master who has explained the text to a couple of scholars of that period. From our study it has come to our notice that at least three authors have commented the first chapter of the Vātulaśuddhāgama in their works. Amongst the commentaries the one by Gubbi Mallanārya is most important. The Liṅgalīlāvilāsacāritra is a work by Kallumaṭhada Prabhudeva. Another scholar and a general of Devarāya II also the contemporary of Gubbi Mallanārya and Kallumaṭhada Prabhudevaru was Lakkaṇṇadaṇḍeśa. He has authored a book entitled Śivatattvacintāmaṇi.

Kallumaṭhada Prabhudeva advocates in his work the Liṅgalīlāvilāsacāritra, "the story of the sports of Liṅga" the essence of Sanskrit treatises is told by the *vacanakāra,* "composers of Vacana" in a simple Kannaḍa language. *Vacana*[3] means parole, speech. *Vacana* are neither

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[3] This literature is a *genre littéraire par excellence* in Kannaḍa. When the Lākulaśaivism was in its full swing, the activities of building temples and making lavish donations to it for acquiring merit were at a full speed, Basaveśvara started a new movement to teach people the importance of accomplishing one's own duties. The religion is good to maintain a cultural society. But when it goes to extremes, it becomes dangerous to the security of the kingdom. Building temples and enriching them through donations emptied the king's treasury because the donors and the donees were exempted from paying taxes. That policy impoverished the king's treasury. When the king becomes financially weak his power is at stake. That is what happened with the Kalyāṇa Cālukya kings. Cālukya Taila III was disempowered by his own minister Kalacūri Bijjala who took all regal powers in his hands in 1162 CE. He nominated Basaveśvara as his finance minister. Basaveśvara found a via media to inculcate the subjects to accomplish their duties. And also he added that that is the best means to please Śiva and to acquire merit. He inculcated this idea through simple *vacana,* "parole, speeches". They are very brief but very meaningful. He also said *Kāyakave Kailāsa,* "work is worship, heaven". This movement started by Basava soon attracted many devotees from four corners of India and all walks of life. They all preached the theories of Basaveśvara through their *Vacana.* Now this *vacanasāhitya* has become a *genre littéraire par excellence* in Kannaḍa. It does not exist in any other language except in Kashmir. The poetess Lalla has composed her poems in Vacana form.

prose nor poetry. One may either read them in prose or sing them. He has quoted many *sloka* from the first *patala* of the Vātulaśuddhāgama to show the affinity between the verses in Sanskrit and the *vacana* in Kannaḍa. But on reading his commentary and the work of Gubbi Mallaṇārya it has come to our notice that one is the verbatim copy of the other. Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍeśa mentions the name of *śivamukhodita mahātantra vātūlākhyaparamāgamada modala tattvapaṭalada bhittiya kāntiya kalānilayavenipa nānātattvacintāmaṇiya*[4]... "First paṭala of the *Vātūla*, a *parmāgama* as pronounced by Śiva". All these points go to prove that they must have attended the same school in the capital city Vijayanagara and have written their commentaries in like manner. Whatever the case may be, their commentaries are very helpful for us to resolve the enigma of Pāśupata and Kālāmukha Śaivism in Karnataka. Another noteworthy point is that the composers of *Vacana* were the contemporaries of Pāśupata and Kālāmukha Śaivites. No wonder if the influence of this Āgama is found in the *vacanasāhitya* because the Āgama was very much in use during that period. As the Vātūlaśuddhāgama was current in the days of the adepts of the Lākulaśaiva religion we may not be far wrong if we categorise this text as one of the Lākulāgama.

The first paṭala (chapter) of the Vātūlaśuddhāgama deals with the Śiva, Sadāśiva and Maheśatattva. When the whole world was merged in darkness and covered with water without any life there came out a light. And from that light originated a reality called Śivatattva. And this Śivatattva was so subtle that it could be perceived only by the yogis through their yogic eyes. So for the benefit of the world emanated Sadāśivatattva from this Śivatattva.

This Sadāśivatattva is adorned with five faces and fifteen eyes and ten hands. (Fig. 3.2, Sadāśiva). Each face overlooks one direction and the fifth and most important is above all. Śivatattva is *anindita, avyaya*, neither

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Later in the times of the Karnataka kings of Vijayanagara the life story of Basaveśvara began to come out in the legendary form, saying that he was a Brahmin who revolted against Brahmanism etc. And during the British rule this legend received an impetus to such an extent that it is difficult to convince present day historians with the historical facts.

[4] Śivatattvacintāmaṇi, *sandhi* I, p. 5, verse 21st.

despicable, nor liable to changes, whereas Sadāśivatattva is both *sakala* and *niṣkala*. *Sakala* means having limbs and forms and *niṣkala* means the Supreme Being having no beginning, no end, no limit, no boundary and is pervading everywhere. Each face is referred to as *sādākhya*. The text gives the meaning of *sādākhya* as *lakṣaṇa*. So there are five *sādākhya*. Each face is associated with one *śakti* and there are five *śakti*s. These *śakti*s are also known as *kalā*. The association of five faces of Sadāśiva with five *śakti*s or *kalā*s becomes clear from the table given below:

Faces of Śiva	Names of Śakti & Kalā	Sādākhya	Figure	Direction
Īśāna	Parāśakti, Śāntyatītakalā	Śivasādākhya	Amūrta	Upper
Vāma	Ādiśakti, Śāntikalā	Amūrtasādākhya	Form of a pillar	North
Sadyojāta	Icchāśakti, Vidyākalā	Mūrtasādākhya	Ekavaktra	West
Aghora	Jñānaśakti, Pratiṣṭhākalā	Kartṛsādākhya	Caturvaktra	South
Tatpuruṣa	Kriyāśakti, Nivṛttikalā	Karmasādākhya	Pañcavaktra	East

Each one of these *sādākhya* is dependent upon its predecessor. Karmasādākhya being the last is dependent on all the previous *Tattva*s and gets its form from others. That is why this *tattva* has five faces and is more important than others. It is also Karmasādākhya and at the origin of the manifestation of the Maheśatattva and the Śaivāgamas.

Maheśatattva is *sakala* and is at the origin of *sṛṣṭi*, *sthiti* and *laya*. He takes different forms known as Līlāmūrti and they are twenty-five in number.

The list varies from Āgama to Āgama but in the Vātulaśuddha it starts with Somadhārī and ends with Liṅgodbhava.

With this information in hand let us examine the religious practices of the Pāśupata and the Kālāmukha adepts in Karnātaka. For both Śiva was the main god and worshipped in his *sakala* and *niṣkala* forms. As we have said earlier *sakala* means with form that is body and limbs etc. and *niṣkala* means without form. In other words they worshipped Śiva in the form of images choosing one out of the twenty-five *Līlāmūrti*s or sometimes in the form of a simple liṅga. From our observation during the survey of temples built in the times of Kalyāṇa Cālukya up to Sevuṇa kings of Devagiri, Sakalamūrti or images were installed in those temples which were built before Vikramāditya VI. From his times the installation of a liṅga in the sanctum becomes very common.

Who are Kālāmukha and Pāśupata? As we have said already, he or she who performs the *vrata* of one of these religions becomes a *sādhaka*, "practitioner of that śaivism" *viz.* either Kālāmukha or Pāśupata as per the case. The Liṅgapurāṇa & the Śivapurāṇa provide invaluable information on the *Pāśupatavrata* religion. But the information on Kālāmukha is very scanty. However, we gather important information from the Pampāmāhātmyā, a *sthalapurāṇa*, which deals in detail with the local purāṇic history of Hampi. While narrating the mythical stories about the different sacred spots of Hampi the last portion deals with the Kālāmukha śaivism in detail and their *pūjāpaddhati*, mode of worship of Śivaliṅga. The date of the text may not go beyond the 9th century when the Kālāmukha movement was in full swing during the period of the Kalyāṇa Cālukyan Empire. We shall deal with these two Śaivisms briefly.

Pāśupata

By and large it is said that he who worships *pati* liberator of *paśu*-hood from the *pāśa* "fetters" is a Pāśupata. Here *pati* is Śiva, *Paśu* is the soul and *Pāśa* is the fetters which bind the soul to *māya*, illusion or in other words that which binds the soul to this mundane world. Through devotion to Śiva a soul can be

Fig. 3 . 1 - Lakulīśa at Lokeśvara alias
Virupaksha temple, Pattadakal

Fig. 3 . 2 - Sadāśiva (Courtesy: Mr. Jean-
Luc Enguehard, Paris, France)

Fig. 3 . 3 - A Pāśupata saint worshipping a liṅga
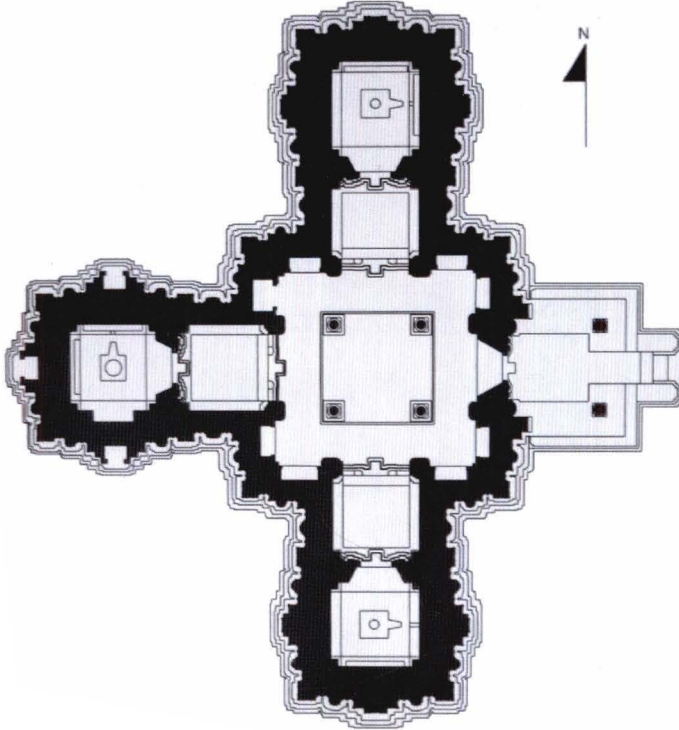
Fig. 3 . 4 - Lākula temple with triple sancta

Fig. 3 . 5 - Pattadakal site

freed from fetters of this mundane life. From the Liṅgapurāṇa and the Śivapurāṇa we gather the following information on *Pāśupatavrata*.

He who wants to be a follower of the Pāśupata religion has to observe a *vrata* (*Pāśupatavrata*) right from the thirteenth day of the *śukla pakṣa*, white fortnight of the month of Caitra. The Śivapurāṇa deals in detail about the proceedings of the *vrata*. The main feature of the *vrata* is that the observer of the vow will be given a *liṅga* at the time of the ceremony.

The process of the vrata is as follows: The ceremonies last for three days that is from the 13th day to the full moon of the month of Caitra, first month of the cyclic year. The *sādhaka*, practitioner has to perform first the *tattvaśuddhīkaraṇa* through *virajāhoma* at home in order to purify the *tattva* in the body. According to the Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣat these *tattva*s are: *pañcabhūta, pañcatanmātra, pañcendriya, saptadhātu and pañcaprāṇa*. With the *virajāhoma* he is free from his sins. Then he should put balls of cow dung in the pit of the *homa* and sprinkle holy water. First day he should eat only rice with ghee, "clarified butter". Next day also he should perform the same rituals but he should observe strict fast. On the third day after completing the same rituals as before he should extinguish the pit of the sacrifice. He should collect the *bhasma*, "ashes" with much devotion. From this day onwards either his head can be completely shaven or he may let his hair to grow into *jaṭā*, matted hair like that of Śiva. Or even he can shave his head completely except leaving a tuft in the centre. As dress he should wear only the waist cloth or if he is not subject to inhibition he can go all naked. In any case he should wear only one piece of cloth and it should be in red ochre colour. Then he should do the *ācamana*, after having washed his hands and feet. This ritual is followed by the smearing of *bhasma*, "the ashes" that was collected previously from the *virajāhoma*. While smearing the ashes all over the body he should repeat this *mantra*: *triyāyuṣaṁ jamadagneḥ kaśyapasya triyāyuṣaṁ agastyasya triyāyuṣaṁ yad devānāṁ triyāyuṣaṁ tan me astu triyāyuṣaṁ tryambakaṁ yajāmahe sugandhiṁ puṣṭivardhanam urvārukam iva bandhanān mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt.*[5] He should smear his body with the *virajāhoma*

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[5] Kālāgnirudropaniṣat, p. 41.

ashes from head to feet. With these rituals he will become like Śiva, he will resemble Śiva but he cannot become Śiva just like a child resembles his father but he cannot become husband to his mother. He should perform Śivayoga, *sandhyāvandana* thrice a day. With this rite he loses his *paśu* hood and becomes pure, apt to worship the *liṅga* that is given to him by his preceptor. (Fig. 3.3, A Pāśupata saint worshipping a *liṅga*)

Once all these rituals are accomplished the *sādhaka* should either hand over the *liṅga* which is in the company of the goddess to his guru or install it in a *maṭha* or in a sacred place. He has to perform the daily rituals there where his own Liṅga is installed. This may be the explanation why there are a good number of small shrines with a Śivaliṅga and Nandin in front, on the site of Pattadakal.

The practitioner of *Pāśupatavrata* can remain either a celibate or he can get married. But he should not have extra marital relations with other ladies and that too downtrodden ones. He should always think of *śama, dama, dayā* and *ahiṁsā*. He can carry out this *vrata* for a day or for a week or fortnight or a month or a year or till the fall of his body, whatever the case may be, he becomes a *naiṣṭhika* after the rites. This is a very important fact of which the purāṇa informs us, because very often we come across this term *naiṣṭhika, naiṣṭhikastāna*[6] etc. in the inscriptions.

This word *naiṣṭhika* is also very current amongst the Jaina *saṁnyāsins*. The difference between the Jaina *naiṣṭhika* and a Lākulaśaiva *naiṣṭhika* is that amongst the Jainas they are *ājīva-brahmacārin,* "life-long celibates" whereas amongst the Lākulaśaiva it is optional. Either they may lead the life of bachelor only during the period of their *vrata* or may remain life-long celibate. There are no restrictions for him not to lead the life of a *gṛhastha,* married man. There are plenty of inscriptions mentioning Pāśupata saints

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[6] Kundanagar (1939: 24), Ins. no. 8, line 40; Filliozat and Filliozat (2012: 252).

married and leading the life of a *gṛhastha* and being at the same time the head of a maṭha[7].

He who observes *Pāśupatavrata* is also *vratin* whether it is for a short period or whole life. He is also a *mahāvratin* who observes it till the last breath of his life with more severe vows. It may be recalled here that this term *mahāvratin*[8] occurs often in the inscriptions while speaking about these Lākulaśaiva saints. We will explain the Mahāvratin later.

Kālāmukha Śaivism

The *Pampāmāhātmya* is one of the rare texts which provides invaluable information on the derivation of the name Kālāmukha. According to the *Māhātmya*[9]:

kalā eva sadāmukhyā mahatkālamukham matam |
Kalāmukham mahāprājña kalā yatra pratiṣṭhitāḥ ||
Kalāmukhasambandhi yat kālāmukham matam |
Tadanuṣṭhānavanto ye te'pi kālāmukhāḥ smṛtāḥ ||

These *kalā*s are *nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *Vidyā*, *Śānti* and *Śāntyatīta*. According to the *Māhātmyam* for Kālāmukha adepts *kalā* is very important and those who worship those faces which are associated with these Kalā are Kalāmukhā and with the application of some grammar rules it becomes Kālāmukha. (For Kalā and their association with Sadāśiva's faces please see the table above) Amongst Kālāmukha there were again four classes and they are: Mahākāla, Kālavaktra, Kāla and Kevala. Irrespective of the group they belonged to, these Kālāmukha are bound to know the *Tattva* or realities of

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[7] *SII* Vol. XVIII, no. 133, lines 55-62a. The inscription hails from Asundi near Byadgi, on the way to Kadaramandalgi, in Ranebennur taluk, Haveri district. The pontiff of Siṅghapariṣematha was Brahmasiṅgipaṇḍita. His wife was Malliyakka, a jewel of a woman. This inscription is dated 1127 AD. In the *vilāsa*, semi-circular top portion of one of the stelas in this temple yard there is a representation of a *maṭha* below which is written *Siṅghapariṣematha*. Singhapariṣe belongs to Pāśupata religion.

[8] Filliozat and Filliozat (2012: 64).

[9] Ibid. (2012: 62) passim.

Śiva. He who knows these *pañcatattva*, five realities is the Ācārya and he is Dīkṣita. He can give *dīkṣā* to his disciples and thus free them from the fetters of the illusion. He should also know the *Daśāṅga* of Kālāmukhamata.

These *daśāṅga*s are: *brahmacarya, dayā, satya, akrodha, śānti, ārjava, śivabhakti, tapas, guruśuśrūṣā* and *japa*. He who observes these *daśāṅga* is liberated from the fetters of this mundane life and becomes *pūtātma*, "pure soul" and he is able to see Śiva in himself. As we have said above there are again four groups amongst the Kālāmukha religion namely Mahākāla, Kālavaktra, Kāla and Kevala.

Mahākāla are those who are always engaged in worshipping Aghoraśiva. They follow very strict rules.

Kāla are those who engage themselves in *Aṣṭāṅgayoga* and worship Śiva six times a day. And they apply Kṛṣṇabhasma on their body according to the advice of their *guru.*

Kālavaktra are those who smear their body with collected *bhasma* and decorate their face with black ashes. They worship Śiva five times a day.

Kevala are those who smear their body with the ashes available and worship Śiva four times a day.

Whether one is a Mahākāla or any other follower of Kālāmukha principles he must have a thorough connaissance of the following *aṅga*s, "limbs" of the religions. They are *brahmacaryā, dayā, satya, akrodha, śānti, ārjava, Śivabhakti, tapas, guruśuśrā* and *japa*. We give below in brief the principles of each *aṅga*.

Brahmacaryā, "celibacy" is very important and the first in the *daśāṅga*. With celibacy one attains the true knowledge and obtains *Śivasārūpya.*

Dayā, compassion, kindness is the root of the *Dharma*. A real saint is he who shows *Aprākṛta* or *asāmānya*, "extraordinary" kindness in all beings,

irrespectively mobile or immobile, is really considered to be an embodiment of Śiva himself.

Satya is truth. *Akrodha* is abstaining from anger. *Śānti* is peacefulness. *Ārjava* means speech and actions full of humility and devoid deceitfulness. Such a *kālāmukha* is even respected by gods. *Śivabhakti*, devotion to Śiva, is the supreme. There is nothing equal to it. *Tapas* should be observed with *kāya*, body, *vāc*, speech and *manas*, mind. *Guru* holds an important place in this religion. One can please Śiva if he is angry but if the Guru is angry then there is no solution to it. Guru can show Śiva but Śiva cannot show you a Guru. So Guru is more important. One should serve him without having any second thought. *Japa* is repeating the name of Śiva and meditate upon him.

Both Pāśupata and Kālāmukha were worshippers of Śiva. Both place the liṅga in the pericarp of a lotus on a previously prepared stage made of *sthaṇḍila*, unhusked rice (?). But there is a slight difference in their mode of placing various deities in five *āvaraṇa*. Decorating their faces with black ashes and placing different deities in a particular way distinguishes the Kālāmukha from the Pāśupata.

The table below shows the similarity and differences in placing various deities in different *āvaraṇa* for the worship of Śiva.

Kālāmukha & Pāśupata Pūjāpaddhati

The similitudes and differences are as follows:

Kālāmukha	Pāśupata
1st *āvaraṇa:* The devotee should worship eight śakti in eight lotus petals with Manonmanī in the pericarp. With *Sadyojātamantra*[10] he should invoke	1st *āvaraṇa:* In the pericarp a linga should be worshipped with *pīṭha*. In the *koṣṭha* Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya are worshipped. And

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[10] *Sadyojātaṁ prapadyāmi, sadyojātāya vai namaḥ, bhave bhave nātibhave bhajasva māṁ bhavodbhavāya namaḥ-* Vātulaśuddhāgama, *Paṭala* 7 (Brahmabheda), verse 35, see commentary in Kannaḍa, p. 227.

Śiva. This is followed by the worship of Heramba, ṣaṇmukha. Then Rudra with Śakti be worshipped with five *brahma* mantra.	also five images[11] (mantramūrti) of Brahman that is Sadāśiva to be worshipped.
2nd *āvaraṇa:* In the 2nd *āvaraṇa* the connoisseur should worship Śikhaṇḍin, Śrīkaṇṭha etc. the eight Vidyeśvara along with their *śakti*s. Also river goddesses should be venerated.	**2nd** *āvaraṇa*: Vighneśvara and Cakravartin are worshipped here.
3rd *āvaraṇa* Umā, Caṇḍeśvara, Mahākāla, Gaṇeśvara, Bhava, Śarva etc. all eight *mūrti*, Gajāsya, Ṣaṇmukha and Jyeṣṭhā are worshipped here. Bhṛṅgīśa is worshipped in the midst of Mātṛkā-s. Vīrabhadra is worshipped in between Gajāsya and Mātṛkā-s; between ṣaṇmukha and Gajāsya is Sarasvatī. Then Durgā is also worshipped here. All Ekādaśarudra are to be worshipped here.	3rd *āvaraṇa* Bhava, Śarva etc. the eight gods and Ekādaśa rudra are worshipped here.

[11] According to the Vātulaśuddhāgama, *Paṭala* ibid, verses 21–36. Īśānamantra: *Īśānaḥ sarvavidyānām īśvaraḥ, Sarvabhūtānāṁ brahmādhipatir brahmaṇo'dhipatir brahmā sadāśivom* ‖, Tatpuruṣamantra: *Tatpuruṣāya vidmahe, mahādevāya dhīmahi, tan no rudraḥ pracodayāt* ‖, Aghoramantra: *Aghorebhyo' tha ghorebhyo ghoraghoratarebhyo sarvataḥ sarvasarvebhyo namas te astu rudrarūpebhyaḥ* ‖, Vāmadevamantra: *Vāmadevāya namo, jyeṣṭhāya namo rudrāya namaḥ kālāya namaḥ kalavikaraṇāya namaḥ balavikaraṇāya namas sarvabhūtadamanāya namo manonmananāya namaḥ* ‖. For Sadyojāta see above.

4th *āvaraṇa* Here the devotee should worship Sūrya, Caturmukha Brahmā, Rudra and Viṣṇu. This rite is followed by the worship of Sarasvatī, *Devagaṇas*, Lakṣmī and all ten *dikpāla*s starting from Indra, their attributes and their Śakti.	4th *āvaraṇa* All Gaṇeśvaras are worshipped here.
5th *āvaraṇa* The practioner should worship in this āvaraṇa all *astra,* arms, and also Kṣetrapāla who is standing facing the deity. Then he should start worshipping all those who have divine origin such as Cāraṇa who walk in the sky, the ṛiṣi-s, Sidda-s, Night walkers (Niśacara), Rākṣasa, Śākini, ḍākini, great snakes, bhūta, Vetala, Bhairava, Yakṣa, other gravāsi, those which are mobile and immobile such as mountains, animals, reptiles, etc.	5th *āvaraṇa* In this image of lotus thus imagined in the Vth āvaraṇa ten dikpāla with their attributes and their entourage, *mānasaputra* of Brahmā, luminous bodies, gods, goddesses, those who walk in the sky, other grahāsins, Riṣis, yogis, yajña, birds, mātṛika, Ksetrapāla and their gaṇa and all other mobile and immobile in the world.

Mahāvratin

Inscriptions often mention some terms such as *Mahāvratin, Vratipa* etc. that is he who has made formidable vows. Mahāvratin also belongs to the Lākulaśaiva religion. "*Mahāvratin* is he who has renounced everything, smearing his body with ashes, wanders always holding a *kapāla* in his hands, asking alms" writes Rāmānujācārya. On reading the inscriptions and also the chapter on Mahāvratin in the 13th chapter, Uttarabhāga of the *Pampāmāhātmya* we have a feeling that our Ācārya has made a right remark.

According to the Pampamāhātmya, to become a *Mahāvratin* one must follow ten *caryā*s. By following these *caryā*s one steps towards *mokṣa*, "the

liberation". These *caryā*s are: *ahiṁsā, satya, asteya, brahmacaryā, akalpanā, akrodha, guruśuśrūṣa, śauca, santoṣa, ārjava.*

If some of the terms such as *brahmacaryā, guruśuśrūṣa, ahiṁsā* are mentioned as parts of *daśāṅga*s in Kālāmukha here they become *caryā* here. The idea of *ahiṁsā* is pushed to such an extent that even separating the seed from the fruit is also a *hiṁsā*, especially those fruits which have medicinal values. One must not pluck unripe fruits from the trees. One must wait till they are fully ripe and fall on the ground. Wood-apple should be consumed with its seeds. One should show kindness towards those seeds which have medicinal virtues. One must not drink water after the second *prahara* of the night. In the morning one must first fetch water for the service of *guru*, "preceptor". Flowers should not be plucked in the evening for the next day rituals. Many such obligations are laid on him who wants to become a *mahāvratin.*

Satya: Soft and pleasing words are called *satya, "the truth".* Always one should speak words full of softness and amicability.

Asteya: Abstaining from accepting grants due to *āśā, "greed"* either by the destitute or by the well to do is *Asteya.*[12] One has no fear, who remains aloof from desires. He has no fear even from the rulers. With the destruction of the desire petty-mindedness also vanishes. As the flame extinguishes when the oil is exhausted, in the same way villainy thoughts vanish with the extinction of desires.

Brahmacaryā: Even giving no thought to the union with women in mind or in words or with body is *brahmacaryā,* celibacy. One gets the purification of the mind through disinterest in women.[13] This is the best

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[12] In one of the inscriptions in the Mukteśvara temple at Caudadānapura we come across with this verse: "I swear Thee upon Thy devotees, O! Paśupati, that I shall not chide nor desire for anything even in my heart. I shall not beg even Śiva. If there is any rupture in this pledge let my head be the penalty." Filliozat (1995: 62), Ins. no. III, verse 15.

[13] "I will not embrace women with the arms which embrace Liṅga, nor will I cast greedy look on them, nor give place to them in my thoughts, nor give attention to them" (thus)

amongst the best means to the truth; supreme amongst the connaissance; siege to the *dharma,* best way to the liberation, holier than the holiest, the supreme.

Akalpanā: Showing compatibility or *avirodhatva* is the meaning of *akalpana.* Always filtering the faults in all *trikaraṇa,* "speech, physical and mental" and to be engaged in the renunciation, *japa* performing rituals without hankering for fruits.[14]

Akrodha: Showing no anger to anybody is *akrodha.* Having equal feelings towards the relatives, dear ones and enemies is *akrodha.* There is no relative who can be compared with the *akrodha,* "non anger". As the fire burns the tree in which it is, similarly the anger burns him who has anger.[15]

Guruśuśrūṣā: Serving the *guru,* "teacher" with *trikaraṇa,* "speech, mind and physical body" is the real attendance to the master. Obeying him, reading the portions taught by the *guru,* attending the *guru* etc. are the basic principles of *Guruśuśrūṣā.*

Śauca: There are two kinds of *śauca,* "purifications" *viz.* internal and external. Bathing and keeping the body clean is the external purification. Internal purification is to keep oneself away from not listening to the realities of Śiva, nor giving attention to the stories of Śiva, showing disinterest in them, *anācāra,* bad conduct, *ahita,* "not beneficial" etc. Always be engaged in doing *gurustotra,* eulogy of the preceptor, performing *Śivapūjā,* performing only beneficial actions are the elements of internal purification.

Śivadeva, the undisturbed saint gave pledges to Śaṅkara. See Filliozat (1995: 61), Ins. IV, verse 10.

[14] "Also he (Śivadeva) gave many other pledges to Īśa: 'capital punishment may be inflicted upon me if I desire the fruits, *svarga* and *mukti.* Śaṅkara, listen, only this is true: daily I shall perform pūjā without hankering after any fruit good or bad". Ibid. p. 61, verse 11.

[15] Basaveśvara propounds the same idea in one of his *Vacana: Tanage munivarige tā muniyalekayyā... maneyoḷagaṇa kiccu maneya suṭṭallade neremaneya suḍuvude Kūḍalasaṅgamadevā:"* "why should you manifest anger to those who are wrathful... The fire in (your) house burns yours and not the neighbour's. Hiremath (1968: 102–3), *Vacana* no. 248.

Santoṣa: Always remain satisfied, contented is *santoṣa,* "happiness". Not to think of others that is feel jealous about others, remain firm in happiness & sorrow, heat & cold, is the contentment.

Ārjava: Having full confidence in Śaṁbhu (Śiva), *niṣkāpatya,* "without deceitfulness" etc. is *ārjava.* This is the best amongst the ten *caryā.* There are four stages in the *ārjava.* He who knows this quartet is a *Dīkṣita* and he can give *dīkṣā,* initiate disciples. Thus initiated by the *guru,* the disciple to become a *ghanavirakta,* "greatly detached", offers his homage to his preceptor and memorizing the texts specified (by him) wanders. While wandering thus he will pick up a *kapāla,* "skull" and holds it in his hand. Then he is called *kapālin,* "skull holder." He should not be confounded with the Kāpālika. For the realization of his *ātman,* "the soul" he should do *nissaṅgattva,* "absence of attachment". While he is in this stage he is called *jaṅgama,* "wanderer". This *jaṅgama* should not stay in one place. He should have for dwelling either a cave or a *śaivamaṭha,* or the foot of a tree, or the banks of a sacred *tīrtha,* or a *caitya,* or a *catvara* etc. Now he will reach a *svairāvasthā.* In this stage he holds a *dhvaja,* a banner. So he is called *dhvajin,* possessor of a title of "flag holder." He who is with a flag has no rules, no restrictions. He will go in that direction in which his flag flutters. In this stage he is *atīta, niśśaṅki.* Now he is called *karaṅki.* He should smear his body with the ashes found in the burial grounds, beg his food in human skulls, live either in graveyard or uninhabited places and spend his time in thinking of Śiva. He is aloof from all doubts. He is far away from *śaṅkā,* "doubts". So he is is *niśśaṅki.* Such a sage who is engaged in *caryā* is equal to Śiva, but he cannot become Śiva. There is *sārūpyatā,* "similarity in appearance". This *mahāvrata* is like a ray light which pierces the thick darkness of the sinful world. This is the grace of that God who bears the digit of the moon on his lotus like head.

We come across the same matters prescribed in the purāṇa texts, in a nutshell, in the *Nakulīśapāśupatadarśana*[16]. Datas in the inscriptions corroborate these facts. It is said in the *Darśana* text : *dharmārthasādhakavyāparo vidhiḥ| sa ca dvividhaḥ – pradhānabhūto*

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[16] Immadi Shivabasavasvamigalu (1999).

guṇabhūtaśca ...taduktam bhagavatā nakulīśena 'bhasmanā triṣavaṇam snāyīta, bhasmani śayīta (Pāśu. Sū. 1-8) "smear the body with ashes thrice a day, sleep on the ashes".

This *sūkta* of Nakulīśa was very much observed by all Pāśupata and Kālāmukha adepts. *Bhasmasnāna,* bathing with ashes occurs oft times in the Cauḍadānapura inscriptions[17]:

jalamodalāgire   pattujvaḷavenipa   snānameṇṭu   pattaroḷide nirmalamenipudeṁdu bhasmadi toḷedaṁ karmādimanī śivadevanu ||

"Water etc. are the eight varieties of best baths; amongst them this is the holiest" saying thus Śivadeva washed off the *mala* of *karman* etc. on the earth with *bhasma-* ashes".

About the *upahāra* the Sūtrakāra says that it has six *aṅga* –parts. They are *hasita, gīta, nṛtya, huḍukkāra, namaskāra & japa.* All these terms are known except the *huḍukkāra.* The sound that is produced with the meeting of the tongue and the palate is *huḍukkāra.* It resembles that of bellowing[18] of an ox or Nandin. With regard to the dance and music there is no problem. Āgama texts also prescribe them at the time of important rituals and many inscriptions substantiate that the Kālāmukha saints were like the sage Bharata in dance and music.

Kālāmukha and Pāśupata Temples in Karnataka:

Now we shall see the architectural and iconographic layout of some of their temples. As it is said in Vāmana, Kūrma and many other purāṇa that there is no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu, so a Lākulaśaiva adept of Karnātaka believed strongly that everything emanates from Śiva and merges in him. As a result, the Lākulaśaiva felt strongly that even Brahmā, Viṣṇu and all other

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[17] Filliozat (1995: 62), verse 14; also see in the same book page 61, verse 13 and note 1.

[18] We can witness this kind of action in Odisha. At every religious ceremony the people of Odisha produce this kind of sound. Even in the temple of Jagannath at Puri people make this sound as soon as the curtain is opened for the *mahāmaṅgaḷārati* after the *mahānaivedya.* This humble author had the chance to witness it.

gods are *aṁśa*, parts of Śiva. The devotee is not wrong because the *Vātulaśuddha* gives detailed information on this point. How Śiva is the one and only one god and all others originated from him is well developed in the first *paṭala* of this Āgama.

By and large the temples of Kālāmukha and Pāśupata are of triple sanctum. In almost all the cases there is an image of Viṣṇu to the left (to the north) and Brahmā to the right (to the south) with Śiva in the central shrine facing east. The first temple of this kind of architecture was built by Vinayavati[19] the queen mother of King Vijayāditya of Cālukya kings of Bādāmi in 699 ac. An inscription in the temple clearly mentions that a triple celled temple was built to house all three gods viz. Brahmā, Maheśvara and Viṣṇu in the year 699 AD at Bādāmi. Though the images are not *in situ*, to our good luck the pillar on which the inscription furnishing this invaluable information is engraved, is still intact in the temple. The presence of the inscription is a proof that on one hand the Lākulaśaivism had made its entrance in Karnataka and on the other hand those Cālukya kings of Bādāmi who were calling themselves as *paramabhāgavata* have embraced Lākulaśaivism totally and began to worship Śiva as the main deity. In later centuries and especially during the period of the Cālukya kings of Kalyāṇa building *trikūṭācala* temples "triple shrines" becomes common and it became so common that even Hoysala kings adopted this style to house their Vaiṣṇava deities. We may not be far wrong if we say that it became *style par excellence*. Hoysala style temples at Somanāthapur, Javagal, Bhadravati and many others are of triple sanctum but dedicated entirely to Viṣṇu. (Fig. 3.4, Lākula temple with triple sancta)

Both Kālāmukha and Pāśupata attached much importance to yoga. Sūrya is the god of Yoga. In almost all their temples a sanctum or a place is reserved for Sūrya. If not the image, at least a dwarf pillar is installed at the entrance of the temple and that served the purpose. So it was called *Kiraṇada Kallu*, "stone of rays (of sun)".

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[19] Padigar (2010: 155–6) no. 91.

Another noteworthy point is that they gave importance to *jñāna* and *vidyā*. In every temple Jñānasarasvatī was worshipped. In many temples we have found the images of seated Jñāna Sarasvatī holding a book and a *akṣamālā*. In some inscriptions the maṇḍapa where Sarasvati is housed is called *Vāglalanāmaṇḍapa*[20], "pavilion of the goddess of speech". Gaṇeśa and Durgā were in niches to the right and left of the main shrine respectively. They are requested by the *ācārya*, "executor of the rituals" to ward off the evil spirits which may cause hurdles during the ceremonies.

The temples represent Sadāśiva and his residence Kailāsa. This feature is interpreted in a different fashion on the external façades of the monuments built during the Bādāmi Cālukya rule. Take for example the temple of Lokeśvara now known as Virūpākṣa:

This is a big temple built by Lokamahādevī, the principal queen of Vikramāditya II (735–745 ac.) Its external façades are covered with representations of mythological stories derived from various purāṇa and epic texts. Of the five faces of Sadāśiva four faces are represented on four walls, one on each direction. Each façade is covered with several of Śiva's *Līlāmūrti*, sports of Śiva. East façade represents Tatpuruṣa. He is magnifique and supreme. So stories representing the supremacy of Śiva and Viṣṇu like *Liṅgodbhava, Naṭarāja, Trivikrama Viṣṇu* etc. have been represented. Southern face is Aghora. Not only terrific forms of Śiva but also Viṣṇu are shown here. Episodes like Andhakāsuravadhā, Śiva Aṭṭahāsamūrti, fight between Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, fight between Viṣṇu Narasiṃha and the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, Lakulīśa etc cover the southern wall of the temple. West being his Sadyojāta face *paisible* episodes are carved like Viṣṇu with multiple hands, Śiva in Ānandatāṇḍava etc. North being Vāmadeva all handsome, peaceful images like Śiva Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Ardhanārīśvara, Nirvāṇadeva etc. are illustrated (Fig. 3.5, Pattadakal site).

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[20] *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. XVIII, no. 117, line 22, dated 1121 ac. This inscription hails from Kāginele. The image of Sarasvatī is still there although the whole temple is in a bad shape. However, the place is more famous now a day because of its association with the famous Haridāsa saint Kanakadāsa of the 16th century.

We notice the change in the conception of this idea when we see temples built during the Kalyāṇa Cālukya period. External façades are covered with small edicules and mini temple representations sometimes with figures and sometimes empty. One major niche on each façade houses the god of that direction. On the towers the figures of *mantramūrti* of Sadāśiva are personified. On the eastern façade of the tower Tatpuruṣamantra is personified with an image of Śiva having majestic face with equally regal looking body whereas on the southern façade the terrific face of Aghoramūrti[21] and Dakṣiṇāmūrti are being carved representing Aghoramantra. On the western façade Sadyojātamantra is depicted with a seated image of Śiva holding *akṣamāla* & a book. On the northern façade are the figures of Goddess dancing, drinking and Viṣṇu, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇamūrti etc. represent Vāmadevamantra. The *śikhara* "pinnacle" of the temple represents the top most Īśānamantra.

The Saptamātṛkā have also their place in the temple and by and large in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* to the south. They are represented in a panel seated in *lalitāsana,* hands adorned with their attributes and their *vāhana,* vehicle at their feet. This statement is also attested by the Āgama. To know the reason why there is a panel of mother goddesses in the temple we have to look at the *Śivapurāṇa.* Also other purāṇa give a version that when Andhakāsura was to be killed by Śiva many demons used to upsurge when each drop of the blood of the demon used to trickle and touch the ground. So Śiva created a śakti named Yogeśvarī from the flames that were issuing from his mouth and other gods also sent their Śakti. They were none other than Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī, Indrāṇī[22] etc.

But there is a piece of interesting information in the *Śivatattvacimtāmaṇi[23]* by Lakkaṇṇadaṇḍeśa, a general of King Devarāya II of Karnataka (Vijayanagara) Empire. He gives, in the 27th Sandhi, a beautiful

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[21] In the Kadambeśvara temple at Raṭṭihaḷḷi an image of Aghoramūrti is beautifully represented.

[22] For more details see Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol. I, pt. 2, pages 379ff.

[23] Śivatattvacintāmaṇi *sandhi* 27, p. 203 ff.

description of the *Śivalokavistāra,* and writes also that the source for this is *Rudrakoṭisaṁhitā* from the *Śivapurāṇa.* But, first of all there is no *Rudrakoṭisaṁhitā* in the published versions of the *Śivapurāṇa,* be it Nag publications or MLBD's translation series. There are saṁhitā in the purāṇa entitled Śatarudra, Rudra but no Rudrakoṭi. None of these *saṁhitā* mentioned in the *ṣivapurāṇa* touches the *Śivalokavistāra.* But Lakkaṇṇadaṇḍeśa was a very well read person. He must have had another version of the *Śivapurāṇa* at his disposal during his times. That text is lost to us in Karnataka. This is subject to further research. But what information he has given in this *sandhi* is unique.

The subject of the Sandhi is Śivaloka and the beauty of the Śivasabhā. While describing the Śivaloka, the poet says that it is like *koṭāvaḷaya,* an enclosure having eight gates. Each gate is guarded by one of the Bhairava having their attributes and vehicles. Also he gives the names of their Śakti. The names of each Bhairava and his Śakti according to Lakkaṇṇadaṇḍeśa are: "Brahmā and Brāhmī to the east, Ruru Bhairava with his Śakti Māheśvarī in the Āgneya (SE), Caṇḍabhairava with Kaumārī to the south, Krodhana with Vaiṣṇavī to the nairutya (SW), Unmattabhairva with Vārāhī to the varuṇa (west), Kapālin with Indrāṇī to the vāyayva (NW), Bhīṣaṇa with Cāmuṇḍī to the north and Saṁhārabhairava with Mahākāḷī to the Īśāna (NE). He does not fail to give the attributes and their mounts (vehicles) too. For Āgneya the vehicle is *aja,* the ram, for Cāmuṇḍī the crow and for Mahākāḷī the rat. These are the vehicles of Agni, Śani and Ganeśā respectively. In this fort is the house (of Śiva) having four towers with the brilliance of myriads of suns. These towers represent four Veda and Bhairava as guardians. Their names correspond to the names of each door on each direction of the temple given in the Āgama.

This chapter is interesting to be studied. The temple is compared to Śivaloka. Kālāmukha and Pāśupata were also worshippers of Śakti. As the Bhairava are worshipped in the direction during the rituals their Śakti are represented in a panel.

Keeping these texts in view and the study of inscriptions in the temples shed much light on the art, architecture and iconography of Lākulaśaiva in Karnataka.

For example in the hands of images carved during Bādāmi Cālukyan times we see a round attribute. The local guides say that it is the earth. But during Kalyāṇa Cālukya, Sevuṇa and Hoysala period a fruit is given in lieu of a round object. The texts on iconography say that it is *mātulaṅga*, "citrus or cedra". The fruit belongs to the family of lemons. It is also called *bījapūra*. Now the *bījapūra* conveys the meaning of pomegranate but the Viṣṇudharmottara clearly mentions that *mātulaṅga*, citrus has more seeds. So it is *bījapūra*.. It has more seeds than in normal lemon. Its outer skin is very knotty. That knotty face of it the artist has stylized them giving a beautiful shape.

Inscriptions in the Lākulāśaiva temples, as we have said earlier, are literary pieces. They are the best proofs of the development of the Kannaḍa literature. The art of singing the text of inscriptions was flourishing which art has vanished totally from the practice now. It is high time for the historians of Karnataka to think of restoring it. The *Śāsanasāhitya* in Kannaḍa is very rich and it is one of the greatest contributions of the Kālāmukha and Pāśupata Śaivaites to the culture of India in general and Karnataka in particular.

Plates

Fig. 3.1   Lakulīśa at Lokeśvara alias Virupaksha temple, Pattadakal

Fig. 3.2   Sadāśiva (Courtesy: Mr. Jean-Luc Enguehard, Paris, France)

Fig. 3.3   A Pāśupata saint worshipping a *liṅga*

Fig. 3.4   Lākula temple with triple sancta

Fig. 3.5   Pattadakal site

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NO ŚRĪRĀMA IN LAṄKĀ
HINDUISM, HINDUTVA AND DIASPORIC TAMILS IN EXILE[1]

KAMALA GANESH

The vexed question of which is the abode of Rāma has been a hard political issue with violent repercussions in the India of the last few decades. But in Paula Richman's wonderful evocation of *'Many Ramayanas'*, Rāma is everywhere, his steps echoing in dozens of languages including Annamese, Balinese, Cambodian, Javanese and Thai and in Buddhist and Jaina tellings. Perhaps the saint poets have given the ultimate answer to silence all claims-Rāma lives in the hearts of his devotees.

Rāma was there in Laṅkā too, briefly and on a specific mission. But for the Tamils of Sri Lanka, the majority of whom are devout Hindus, Rāma is not a central icon. Tamil Hinduism's distinct identity is based on Śaivism expressed through the worship of Śiva, Murugan and Devī. Over centuries, in interaction with pan Hinduism, Rāma is somewhat incorporated into this pantheon. But when it comes to *Śrīrāma*, the aggressive and exclusionary icon of Indian cultural nationalism, he evokes no response among Sri Lankan Tamils- whether at home or in the diaspora.

The support of sections of the Indian diaspora for Hindutvain the 1990s has led to a perception equating the two, a reductionism that fails to

recognize the diversities within the diaspora the nature and dynamics of Hinduism as a practice.

Sri Lankan Tamil Diasporic Hinduism furnishes a contrary example. Fleeing from Sri Lanka's ethnic violence and civil war, Tamils[2] have, from the 1980s onwards, sought asylum in Europe, North America, India and elsewhere. They are a large and energetic transnational diaspora, often accused of funding militancy in the island. Given the centrality of Tamil identity in this diaspora's struggle, cultural mobilization of Tamilness is central to its activities, in which religion plays a key role. The majority practices a powerful form of regionally rooted devotional Hinduism that has both parallels and differences with Sanskritic Hinduism. It is preoccupied with the politics of Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka and finds little resonance with the political project of Hindu nationalism or Hindutva. The trauma of war and exile of this diaspora has injected its religious expressions with intensity. Inspired by the non-Brahmin lineage of Śaivasiddhānta and Vīraśaiva Tamil traditions, Sri Lankan Tamil Hinduism in Europe is carving out for itself a strong politico-cultural identity.[3]

The concept of 'diaspora' is a much debated one in the field of Diaspora Studies. However there is widespread agreement that the issue of identity, or the different ways in which people are positioned with reference to the narratives of the past is central to the diasporic condition. Diasporas are usually transnational fields, i.e., its members are simultaneously invested in more than one society, socially, economically and politically. In today's technology fuelled globalization, flows of capital, people, information and ideas in multiple directions – between diasporas mutually and with homelands - have made trans-nationalism into a powerful phenomenon, challenging the centrality of the nation state. For 'stateless' diasporas, such as Tamils, the imagined homeland is not just symbolic but a political rallying point (Scheffer: 2003). Selective memory, cultural rediscovery, nostalgia, literary representations as well as emphasis on language retention become key tools in this process.

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[2] In this article, 'Tamils' refers, unless specified otherwise, to Tamils from Sri Lanka.
[3] See for example, Schalk 2004.

Conceptually Hindutva or Hindu nationalism is a socio political ideology that attempts to unite Hindus, make 'Hindu' coterminous with 'Indian', excluding Islam and Christianity as religions not native to India, , by invoking a sense of Hindus being under siege, with violence if need be. The geographic and political territory of India as a sacred land is part of its vision which makes the diasporic location problematic conceptually. Yet, mobilizing Indians living abroad towards cultural nationalism is part of Hindutva strategy. From the 1990s, the activities of Hindutva based diaspora organizations in the west intensified, mobilizing ideologically through cultural activities and raising funds to be channelled into their root organizations in India.

The Hindutva strategy in this period included adaptations of both ideology and practice to suit the diaspora in the west: a more liberal approach, moderate tone and technological savvy. The pro diaspora policy of the BJP government provided a supportive context. Diaspora based coalitions like 'Campaign to Stop Funding Hate', and 'Coalition against genocide' have published data on the Hindutva links of diaspora organizations and campaigned against them. Some sections in the diaspora got roped in to the Hindu nationalist project without realizing the end purpose, while others actively supported it and yet others opposed it.

Tamil Diaspora in Exile

The Tamil diaspora from Sri Lanka in Europe is primarily an asylum diaspora. In 2001, the UN High Commission for Refugees estimated internationally displaced Tamils at more than 800,000, spread in 31 countries. Now the figure has crossed 1 million. Europe has about 200,000 (Sriskandarajah 2002: 293), with the largest numbers being in Germany, Switzerland and France.

My ethnographic fieldwork in the Tamil Diasporas in Germany and Sri Lanka reveals quite a different delineation of Hinduism from the Sanskritic Hinduism often regarded as 'mainstream'. Two thirds of the Tamils in these two countries are Hindu; a strong minority is Christian and the two are amiably interactive. Tamils have built a reputation for resilience, hard work and reliability. First generation immigrants got into low paying sectors of the

economy. They integrated well into the education, employment and health systems but remained aloof socially. The second generation has made a mark in higher education and adapted well with the host culture. Both generations are devoted to the Tamil cause, although the approaches are somewhat different.

The global Sri Lankan Tamil asylum diaspora has its roots in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka whose history is well chronicled. I will only briefly invoke it here to say that in the colonial period a separate cultural and linguistic consciousness between the Sinhalas and the minority Tamils got constructed. This panned out, after independence, into various policies discriminatory to the Tamils, triggered by a national economic crisis. Radical Tamil political leaders harnessed Tamil grievances to fashion the project of an independent Tamil state (Eelam). The LTTE, created in this context, espoused open violence, transforming the ethnic crisis into a full blown civil war that continued for 30 years.

Between 1983 and 2007, nearly 60,000 and 42,000 Sri Lankan Tamils sought refuge in Germany and Switzerland respectively. The conditions of migration led to homeland politics spilling over to the diaspora. Of course, its specific character was influenced by the policies of the host land. But the unprecedented transnational networks kept the political consciousness high. The LTTE had an active network in both countries to mobilize material and ideological support for the war, and for humanitarian aid. Although few diasporic Tamils endorsed the violence, most did extend support, succumbing to the moral pressure as well as threats to relatives back home. Yet as Vimalarajah and Cheran (2010: 8) persuasively argue, the project of Tamil nationalism predated and will endure beyond the LTTE. After the defeat of the LTTE in 2009, the diaspora has become a key player in Tamil nationalist politics, due to its economic clout, control of digital media, links with newspapers in Sri Lanka and access to global opinion makers.

Diasporas everywhere are preoccupied with issues of cultural identity, usually triggered by the need to survive and be recognized in the host land. For Tamils, this is intensified by the politics of the homeland, leading to an unparalleled mobilization of Tamilness encompassing all aspects of life and

living. Tamilness is invoked as a quality that goes beyond culture to a mystic, almost biological level, creating an inward looking diaspora. Tamils cluster in specific regions and neighbourhoods, reflecting both the hosts' immigration policies and diasporic preference. Social and personal interactions are virtually confined to fellow ethnics. Research estimates that their rates of intermarriage outside the community are the lowest for all immigrant groups (Baumann & Salent in 2006). There is a vigorous state supported parallel education system through weekend Tamil schools. Curriculum includes Tamil language, literature, religion, culture and history, and open propaganda for Tamil nationalist goals. While the second generation speaks good German, most are also fluent in Tamil. Since the diaspora is spread all over multi lingual Europe, Tamil is the link language. There are Tamil newspapers, TV channels and websites.

Tamil Identity and Hinduism

Religion plays a big role in Tamil diasporic life. The LTTE was carefully neutral towards religion; Tamilness was constructed as binding people beyond religion. In practice though, the movement has not been above utilizing religious channels for propaganda. Sri Lankan Tamil Hinduism shares a theological base with the dominant discourse in Tamilnadu– Śaivasiddhānta whose metaphysics is based on Śaiva Āgama, not on Vedānta. Inspired by the Tamil *bhakti* poetry of the medieval Śaivite saints, it provides the distinct colour and flavour of devotion in Tamilnadu. It is not anti Vedic but an allied parallel tradition. While in Tamilnadu, Vaiṣṇavism also flourished, Śaivism dominated in Sri Lanka, with temples to Śiva, Devī, Gaṇeśa and Murugan and hardly any Viṣṇu, Rāma or Kṛṣṇa temples.

Diaspora Tamils follow this pattern, engaging in energetic temple building, forging a palpable presence in European multicultural politics as well as in the dynamics of diasporic Hinduism. Propelled by the deep emotional needs of exile, Tamils have built 19 temples in Switzerland and over25 in Germany. It took years of effort to establish them as part of minority rights of religious self expression. Initially there was public ambivalence and some outright hostility .Temples were permitted only in urban outskirts, where the sights and sounds would not infringe residential

privacy. Gradually they have won acceptance. Street processions of the idols in the bigger temples have created a public presence for the Tamils with curious onlookers mingling with the devotees. During its annual festival, the Sri Sivasubramaniar temple near Zurich attracts thousands of devotees from all over Europe, including Indian Tamils and other Hindus (Baumann, 2009:161) .So too, the Sri Kamakshi Ambal temple in Hamm in Germany. Both temples have become popular tourist attractions and locals haves started taking pride in them. They signal the clout of the community and its desire to assert its identity.

Temple worship is conducted according to agama canons, adapted somewhat to the foreign environment but with conspicuous piety and discipline. The priests—called Kurukkal—are not always Brahmins and this is a distinct feature of Tamil Hinduism. Major festivals are celebrated at the temples. They are also centres for community activity, celebration of rites of passage, and propagation of Tamil language, music, dance, yoga, etc through classes, competitions and performances. Some temples were known to be linked with supporters of the Tamil Tigers especially in rehabilitation efforts for the war affected.

Religion and the Politics of the Tamil Diaspora

In contemporary social sciences, the concept of community has expanded from an exclusive focus on the territorial to that of symbol, meaning and identity. Undoubtedly, the transnational Tamil Diaspora functions as an effective community in the widest sense of the term, not contained within the boundaries of the nation-state. Yet, Tamils are not just another transnational community. Arguably, they constitute an example of Long Distance Nationalism. Benedict Anderson's influential thesis (1992) proposes that Diasporas, driven by guilt and nostalgia, participate in the conflicts of the imagined homeland through providing moral and material support; they tend to act irresponsibly and inflexibly since they don't have to bear the costs of the conflict.

Anderson's characterization is refuted by several scholars as not applicable to Tamils. They are not exempt from the costs; to wit the trauma of

losing job, home and relatives. (Vimalrajah and Cheran 2010: 16), and the fear that their actions may affect those left behind. Similar to what Jaffrelot and Therawath (2007) have shown in the case of Hindutva's active mobilization of the diaspora, the LTTE too has solicited the diaspora's support with persuasion and threat. Anderson's proposition that nostalgia is the prime mover of Long Distance Nationalism does not fit here.

Such caveats notwithstanding, the relevant point is that the transnational Tamil diaspora is structurally inimical to the overtures of Hindutva due to its anchoring both in the Dravidian ethos and in Sri Lanka's political discourse. The battle cry of 'Jai Shri Ram' has no answering echo here. Tamil ethno nationalism far outweighs Hindu cultural nationalism in the claim for diasporic loyalty.

Diaspora Studies has provided substantial evidence on the significance of religion in immigrant life worlds. Durkheim had highlighted the role of religion in providing social cohesion. He famously demonstrated how the condition of anomie or 'normlessness' was prevalent in Protestant societies which challenge the mediation of church and priest and peg spiritual achievement solely to individual efforts. In contrast, Catholicism as a social force, carried a higher potential for social support during crises. The early diasporic experience is inevitably a culture shock combined with struggle, loneliness and marginalization – classic conditions of anomie.

Immigrants tend to be more religious than they were prior to migrating. This is true even when they migrate to the West where religiosity is on the wane according to Van der Veer (1994) in fact this strengthens their commitment; especially in the early stages of immigration.

Even though temples are a part of the South Asian landscape, the everyday practice of Hinduism used to be largely non congregational with a focus on domestic worship. The diasporic situation seems to trigger 'templeization' to use a term coined by Vasudha Narayanan (1992), i.e. temple building in which ritual, spiritual, social and political functions coalesce. Sri Lankan Tamils have far overtaken Indian Hindus in this respect,

as far as Europe is concerned and in some measure are shaping Diasporic Hinduism as a whole.

As I reflect upon my fieldwork, some questions loom large regarding the relationship of Hinduism and Hindutva. The arena of Hinduism in the diaspora is a chaotic, multivalent one with many actors and interplay between the historical time of immigration, occupational and social composition of immigrants and the dynamics of the host land. Various denominations and practices flourish: to name a few- Sanatanis and Arya Samajis, Śaivites and Vaiṣnavites, sects like Swaminarayans and RadhaSoamis, and charismatic gurus too numerous to name. Can efforts to federate it under one umbrella succeed? With unprecedented global communications, will Hinduism in India and disaporas constitute a single interactive field? What or who will be its driver? How do we draw the line between everyday religion with its capacity for psychic anchoring and certainty, and its deployment in politics and violence? Does our inability to distinguish between the two, reflect empirical reality or inherited Eurocentric cognitive frameworks? It seems that linguistic ethno nationalism can be as exclusive, violent and totalitarian as religious nationalism as the examples of Diasporic Tamils and Diasporic Hindutva indicate. Can we excuse the former, because it may be based on valid claims to justice?

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'ŚĀRIPUTRA'S ENTREATY' AND 'BRAHMĀ'S ENTREATY': ŚĀRIPUTRA'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE TEACHING ON EKAYĀNA 'ONE-VEHICLE' IN THE LOTUS SŪTRA[1]

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0. Introduction

It is well known that the Lotus Sūtra (Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, abbreviated as SP), an early Mahāyānasūtra, advocates the doctrine of Ekayāna 'One-Vehicle':Any sentient being (*sattva*) could become a Buddha, so that no distinction among three vehicles, viz., the Śrāvakayāna (the vehicle of disciples), the Pratyekabuddhayāna (the vehicle of solitary Buddhas), and the Bodhisattvayāna (the vehicle of the bodhisattva), are to be made.

In order to teach this doctrine, the *dharmabhāṇaka*s, the preachers of dharma, made the story of 'Śāriputra's entreaty' that Śāriputra thrice makes an entreaty to Śākyamuni Buddha, who has addressed words to deny the absolute value of the Śrāvakayāna, to ask for clarification of what the Buddha really means (*samdhābhāṣya*) in doing so. This story is constructed in imitation of 'Brahmā's entreaty', which appears in the Buddha's biography as one of the most important events in the Buddha's life.

Granting Brahmā's entreaty, the Buddha delivers a sermon, which is called 'the first sermon'. The significance of this first sermon lies in the

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verbalization of the truth which the Buddha has found out through meditation. Similarly, granting Śāriputra's entreaty, the Buddha delivers a sermon, which the *dharmabhāṇaka*s call 'the second sermon'. The significance of this second sermon lies in the verbalization of the truth which the Buddha really meant by words to preach the three vehicles.

At the time when the *dharmabhāṇaka*s were compelled to formulate the Ekayāna doctrine, the Buddha's words were already accepted as teaching the doctrine of the three vehicles. Naturally, in order to accept the Buddha's authority on one hand and to introduce a new theory which seems to contradict his words on the other, the *dharmabhāṇaka*s had to contrive new devices, such as the reinterpretation of the Buddha's words as *saṁdhābhāṣya* 'words used with the intention of teaching the Ekayāna doctrine' and that of the three vehicles as skillful means (*upāyakauśalya*) for teaching this doctrine.

The present paper, focusing on one of such devices, the reinterpretation of the Buddha's words as *saṁdhābhāṣya*, aims at making clear how the *dharmabhāṇaka*s introduce the Ekayāna doctrine.

Several studies have been made on the *saṁdhābhāṣya* in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* from the point of view of what is meant by this term.[2] But little attention has been given to the point that the *dharmabhāṇaka*s introduce the concept of *saṁdhābhāṣya* to reinterpret the Buddha's words.

1. *Durvijñeyaṁ śāriputra saṁdhābhāṣyaṁ*

To begin with, let us note the following introductory passage in the Upāyakauśalya chapter. The passage comes after the one which states that after arising from meditation, the Buddha tells Śāriputra that what is known by the Buddha (*buddhajñāna*), *dharma*, is difficult to understand.

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[2] Toda [1967]: the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra itself; Matsunami [1975], Kubo [2007]: 'the sūtra and previous discourses' (sūtra = Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra); Ito [1982]: the same interpretation as that of Matsunami; Kariya [1985]: the teachings according to the Buddha's intention; Matsumoto [2010]: what is intentionally spoken about.

*durvijñeyaṁ   śāriputra   saṁdhābhāṣyaṁ   tathāgatānām   arhatāṁ
samyaksaṁbuddhānām* |[3]

"Śāriputra, the words used by the Tathāgatas, arhats, the perfectly enlightened with the intention [of teaching the Ekayāna doctrine] are difficult to understand (saṁdhābhāṣya)."[4]

We see here that the words (*bhāṣya*) of the Tathāgatas are described as *saṁdhābhāṣya* and that they are difficult to understand (*durvijñeya*) because of being thosedefined as such.It is important to note that the Upāyakauśalya chapter begins with this declaration that the Tathāgatas' words consist in being *saṁdhābhāṣya*, which, as shown later, essentially determines the structure of the chapter.

The *dharmabhāṇaka*s go on to explain that the Tathāgatas' words, characterized as *saṁdhābhāṣya*, are difficult to understand.

*tat   kasya   hetoḥ | svapratyayān   dharmān   prakāśayanti
vividhopāyakauśalyajñānadarśanahetukāraṇanidarśanārambhaṇaniruktipraj
ñaptibhis*[5] *tais   tair   upāyakauśalyais   tasmiṁs   tasmiṁl   lagnān   sattvān
pramocayitum* |[6]

"Because they reveal *dharma*s which have been understood by the Buddha himself or the Tathāgatas themselves (*svapratyaya*), by resorting to this or that skillful means by means of arguments, reasons, illustrations, founding, interpretations, and suggestions all of which are based on the knowledge of skillful means and intuitive insight, in order to lead the sentient

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[3] SP II.29.7.

[4] Kern [1965: 30]: "Mistery of the Tathāgata, [arhat, the perfectly enlightened*] is difficult to understand, Śāriputra."* Kern omits these words to avoid prolixity.

[5] KN: *nirdeśana*, SP has stock expression of *hetukāraṇanidarśanārambaṇanirukti*. So I render *nidarśana* not *nirdeśana*.

[6] SP II 29.7-9.

beings bound to this or that transmigratory existence to liberation from rebirth."[7]

It is important to note that the *dharmabhāṇaka*s give the Tathāgatas' preaching the following structure: The Tathāgatas reveal *dharmas* which are to be described as *svapratyaya*, by employing different skillful means, in order to lead sentient beings to liberation from rebirth (*pramocayitum*).

Two points are to be noted. First, what is meant by the plural form *dharmas* is none other than the three vehicles. Secondly, the word *svapratyaya* means 'that which is/has been understood or realized by the Buddha himself or by the Tathāgatas themselves'. If we accept this interpretation of the word *svapratyaya*, it is proper to say that the Tathāgatas' words to teach the three vehicles are those of their own.[8] Clearly, the *dharmabhāṇaka*s here intend to say that the Tathāgatas' words, which are called 'original words'(*prathamabhāṣita*),[9] are already given to teach the three vehicles, and that they are difficult to understand since they are in reality used with the intention of teaching a different thing, viz., the Ekayāna.

It is also to be noted in passing that *dharmas* are taught to sentient beings in order to lead them to liberation from rebirth. What is meant by this 'liberation from rebirth' is *pratyātmika-parinirvāṇa* 'individual nirvāṇa',

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[7] Kern [1965: 30—31]:"because when they explain the laws (or phenomena, things) that have their causes in themselves they do so by means of skilfulness, by the display of knowledge, by arguments, reasons, fundamental ideas, interpretations, and suggestions. By a variety of skilfulness they are able to release creatures that are attached to one point or another." I do not follow Kern's interpretation of *svapratyaya* and *upāyakauśalyajñā-nadarśana*. See Katayama (2008) for discussion on *upāyakauśalyajñānadarśana*.

[8] The term *svapratyaya* is rendered into Tibetan as *rang gis rig pa'ichosrnams*. This term occurs in verse 43 of the Oṣadhī chapter also. *svapratyayaṁ dharma prakāśayāmikālena-darśemicabuddhabodhim ǀ upāyakauśalyumamaitadagraṁsarveṣa co lokavināyakānām ǀ-* SP V.43 (Kern [1965: 128]: "I reveal the dharma which has its cause in itself; at due time I show Buddha-enlightenment; this is my supreme skilfulness and that of all leaders of the world.")

[9] See fn 4.

which is to be distinguished from *tathāgataparinirvāṇa* 'the Tathāgata'snirvāṇa' and *mahāparinirvāṇa* 'the great nirvāṇa'.[10]

Verse 118 of the Upāyakauśalya chapter, occurring in the context in which the *dharmabhāṇaka*s describe the first sermon, states that the Buddha teaches the three vehicles in order to show the Ekayāna.

> *purimāṁścabuddhānsamanusmaranto upāyakauśalya yathācateṣām |*
> *yaṁnūnahaṁ pi imabuddhabodhiṁ tridhā vibhajyeha prakāśayeyam ||*[11]

"But on remembering the former Buddhas and how they employed the skillful means, I also will manifest the Buddha's enlightenment after dividing it into three."

Here it is stated that the Buddha reveals his enlightenment by means of dividing it into three—the division is a skillful means.[12]They are so precisely because the words, which teach the three vehicles, are used with the intention of teaching the Ekayāna.

2. *Nirdiśatu yat saṁdhāya*

The *dharmabhāṇaka*s describe the Tathāgatas' words to teach the three vehicles as*saṁdhābhāṣya*.Then the *dharmabhāṇaka*s have Śāriputra ask with the intention of teaching what those words are uttered.Consider the following passages of the Upāyakauśalya chapter:

> *ko bhagavan hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayo yad bhagavān adhimātraṁ*
> *punaḥpunas tathāgatānām upāyakauśalyajñānadarśanadharmadeśanām*
> *saṁvarṇayati | gambhīraśca me dharmo 'bhisaṁbuddhaiti | durvijñeyaṁ ca*

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[10] These terms are used in the Aupamya chapter. See SP. 8113-82.1.

[11] SP II.118.

[12] Verse 121 of the Upāyakauśalya chapter gives us the reason why the Buddha divides the Buddha's enlightenment into three. *vayaṁpi buddhāya paraṁ tad āpadaṁ tṛdhā cakṛtvāna prakāśayāmaḥ | hīnādhimuktā hi avidvasūnarābhaviṣyathābuddhanaśraddadheyuḥ ||*- SP II.121 (Kern [1965: 56]:"We also, being Buddhas, will make clear the highest word, divided into three parts; for men (occasionally) have low inclinations, and might perchance from be difficult to understand.

samdhābhāsyam iti punahpunah samvarnayati | na ca me bhagavato 'ntikād evamrūpo dharmaparyāyāh śrutapūrvah imāś ca bhagavamś catasrah parsado vicikitsā katham kathāprāptās tat sādhu bhagavān nirdiśatu yat samdhāya tathāgato gambhīrasya tathāgatadharmasya punahpunah samvarnanām karoti ||[13]

"O Blessed One, what is the cause, what is the reason of the Blessed One so repeatedly and extremely extolling the teaching of the *dharma* on the basisof the knowledge of skillful means and intuitive insight [into the truth that any sentient being becomes a Buddha]? Why does he repeatedly extol it by saying: "The *dharma* discovered by me is profound"; "It is difficult to understand the Tathāgatas' words used with the intention [of teaching the Ekayāna doctrine] (*samdhābhāsya*)." Never before have I heard from the Blessed One such a discourse on the *dharma*. Those four classes of the audience, O Blessed One, are overcome with doubt and perplexity. May the Blessed One be pleased to explain what is the Tathāgatas' intention (*samdhā*) of repeatedly extolling their profound *dharma*."[14]

The Buddha extols *upāyakauśalyajñānadarśanadharmadeśanā* 'the teaching of the *dharma* on the basis of the knowledge of skillful means and intuitive insight into the truth that any sentient being becomes a Buddha', profound *dharma* discovered by him, and *samdhābhāsya*. This amounts to saying that the Buddha teaches the profound *dharma* discovered by him through *samdhābhāsya*. Thus to ask the Buddha what the intention of extolling the profound *dharma* is is to ask him with the intention of teaching what he uses the words for skillful means for realizing the *dharma*.It goes

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[13] SP II 33.12–13.

[14] Kern [1965: 35]: "What, O Blessed One, is the cause, what the reason of the Bressed One so repeatedly and extremely extolling the skilfulness, knowledge, and preaching of the Tathāgata? Why does he repeatedly extol it by saying, 'Profound is the law by me discovered; it is difficult to understand the mystery of the Tathāgatas.' Never before have I heard from the Blessed One such a discourse on the law. Those four classes of the audience, O Blessed One, are overcome with doubt and perplexity. Therefore may the Blessed One be pleased to explain what the Tathāgata is alluding to, when repeatedly extolling the profound law of the Tathāgatas." I do not follow Kern's interpretation of *upāyakauśalyajñānadarśanadharmadeśanā*. See footnote 4.

without saying that Śāriputra's asking of the intention provides the starting point of 'Śāriputra's entreaty'.

3. *Ahambhūtavādin*, *tathāvādin* and *ananyathāvādin*

It is interesting that the *dharmabhāṇaka*s bring in the following expressions when they characterize the original words as *saṃdhābhāṣya*: *śraddadhata me* "Believe me (the Buddha)", *bhūtavādy aham asmi* "I (the Buddha) am a person who tells the truth", *tathāvādy aham asmi* "I am a person who tells the truth as it is", *ananyathāvādy aham asmi* "I am a person who does not tell the truth differently".

> *śraddadhata me śāriputra, bhūtavādy aham asmi, tathāvādy aham asmi, ananyathāvādy aham asmi | durbodhyaṃ śāriputra tathāgatasya saṃdhābhāṣyam | tat kasya hetoḥ | nānāniruktinidarśanābhilāpanirdeśanair mayā śāriputra vividhair upāyakauśalyaśatasahasrair dharmaḥ saṃprakāśitaḥ | atarko 'tarkāvacaras tathāgatavijñeyaḥ śāriputra saddharmaḥ* |[15]

"Śāriputra, believe me, I am a person who tells the truth, I am a person who tells the truth as it is, I am a person who does not tell the truth differently. It is difficult to understand the Tathāgata's words used with the intention [of teaching the Ekayāna doctrine] (*saṃdhābhāṣya*), Śāriputra, for I reveal my *dharma* by means of hundred thousands of various skillful means, such as different interpretations, indications, explanations, illustrations. The true *dharma* (*saddharma*) is beyond reasoning,beyond the scope of reasoning, must be learned from the Tathāgata."[16]

Furthermore, the *dharmabhāṇaka*s clearly state that the Tathāgatas are not a liar (*mṛṣāvādin*) in the Upāyakauśalya chapter.

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[15] SP II. 39.9–13.

[16] Kern [1965: 39—40]:"Believe me, Śāriputra; I speak what is real, I speak what is truthful, I speak what is right. It is difficult to understand the exposition of the mystery of the Tathāgata, Śāriputra; for in elucidating the law, Śāriputra, I use hundred thousands of various skilful means, such as different interpretations, indications, explanations, illustrations. It is not by reasoning, Śāriputra, that the law is to be found: it is beyond the pale of reasoning, and must be learnt from the Tathāgata."

śraddadhādhvaṁ me śāriputra pattīyataavakalpayata | na hi śāriputra tathāgatānāṁ mṛṣāvādaḥ saṁvidyate | ekam evedaṁ śāriputra yānaṁ yad idaṁ buddhayānam ||[17]

"Believe me, Śāriputra, trust me, put faith in me; for there is no falsehood in the Tathāgatas, Śāriputra. Śāriputra, there is but Ekayāna, which is the Buddha-vehicle (*buddhayāna*)."[18]

What the *dharmabhāṇakas* mean by these expressions cited above is clear.

If what the Buddha says with the original words, the three vehicles, is something they know is not true, then the Buddha is a liar. The Buddha is never a person to make an untrue statement with intent to deceive others. He is a trustworthy person. Thus what the Buddha says with the original words cannot be said to be something they know is not true. A special significance must be attached to the three vehicles in view of the Ekayāna, with intent to teach which the Buddha is assumed to use the original words. Obviously, the three vehicles gain a new significance when they are treated as skillful means to teach the Ekayāna.

It is to be noted that in SP II.39.11–13 also the reason that *saṁdhā-bhāṣya* is difficult to accept is given. The reason specified there is that the true *dharma*, which is beyond reasoning, is not explicitly stated but implicitly, by means of skillful means. We may say that what is understood from words comes under the scope of reasoning.

4. *Asmākam evaiṣo 'parādhaḥ, naiva bhagavato 'parādhaḥ*

On the assumption that the Buddha is not a liar and that the original words consist in being *saṁdhābhāṣya*, when the hearers of the original words cannot understand the real intention of the Buddha who have said them, the hearers are to be blamed for lack of the proper understanding of the intention.

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[17] SP II. 44.2-4.

[18] Kern [1965: 43]: "Believe my words, Śāriputra, value them, take them to heart; for there is no falsehood in the Tathāgatas, Śāriputra. There is but one vehicle, Śāriputra, and that the Buddha-vehicle."

*evaṁ ca me bhagavaṁs tasmin samaye bhavati asmākam evaiṣo
'parādhaḥ, naiva bhagavato 'parādhaḥ | tat kasya hetoḥ | sa ced bhagavān
asmābhiḥ pratīkṣitaḥ syāt sāmutkarṣikīṁ dharmadeśanāṁ kathayamānaḥ, yad
idam anuttarāṁ samyaksambodhim ārabhya, teṣveva vayaṁ bhagavan
dharmeṣu niryātāḥ syāma | yat punar bhagavann asmābhir anupasthiteṣu
bodhisattveṣu samdhābhāṣitaṁ bhagavato 'jānamānais tvaramāṇaiḥ
prathamabhāṣitaiva tathāgatasya dharmadeśanā śrutvodgṛhītā dhāritā
bhāvitā cintitā manasikṛtā | so 'haṁ bhagavann ātmaparibhāṣaṇayaiva
bhūyiṣṭhena rātriṁ divā nyatināmayāmi |[19]*

"The following idea occurred to me at that time: It is my own fault, not
the Blessed One's. Because, if we had waited till you gave the excellent
teaching on the supreme, perfect enlightenment, then, O Blessed One, we
should have become adepts in those *dharmas*. But without understanding the
Blessed One's words used with the intention [of teaching the Ekayāna]
(*samdhābhāṣya*), we, at the moment of the Bodhisattvas not being assembled,
heard only in a hurry, caught, meditated, minded, took to heart the Buddha's
original words (*prathamabhāṣita*).Therefore, O Blessed One, I used to pass
day and night in self-reproach."[20]

Śāriputra here says that he is responsible for having taken the
Buddha's original words in a primary sense and for having been following the
way shown by them. He admits that he did not appreciate fully what the
Buddha meant by his original words.

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[19] SP III 60.9-14.

[20] Kern [1965: 60—61]:"I felt that it was our own fault, not the Bressed One's. For had we
regarded the Bressed One at the time of his giving the allsurpassing demonstration of the
law, that is, the exposition of supreme, perfect enlightenment, then, O Bressed One, we
should have become adepts in those laws. But because, without understanding the
mystery of the Bressed One, we, at the moment of the Bodhisattvas not being assembled,
heard only in a hurry, caught, meditated, minded, took to heart the first lessons
pronounced on the law, therefore, O Bressed One, I used to pass day and night in self-
reproach."

5. *So 'ham imu buddhadharmaṁ saṁdhāya etat kila bhāṣitaṁ*

Verse 10 of the Aupamya chapter is important in that it describes Śāriputra's acceptance of the original words as *saṁdhābhāṣya*. There is no doubt that the *dharmabhāṇaka*s expect the hearers of the SP to have the same attitude toward the Buddha's original words as Śāriputra.

> *Śrutvā ca so 'haṁ imu buddhadharmaṁ saṁdhāyaetat kila bhāṣitaṁti |*
> *atarkikaṁ sūkṣmam anāsravaṁ ca jñānaṁ praṇetī[21] jinabodhimaṇḍe||[22]*

"On hearing the dharma} discovered by the Buddha, I realized that this was indeed stated (*bhāṣita*) with the intention of teaching it.

The Victorious Ones (Jinas) are persons who have attained an inscrutable, subtle, and faultless knowledge on the terrace of enlightenment (bodhimaṇḍa))."[23]

The important phrase to note here is *so 'ham imu buddhadharmaṁ saṁdhāya etat kila bhāṣitaṁti*. The term *etat* refers to what is stated by the original words. The term *buddhadharma* means 'the *dharma* discovered by the Buddha', or the Ekayāna doctrine. Śāriputra here says that he has understood that with intent to teach the Ekayāna doctrine the Buddha spoke the original words. After accepting the Buddha's original words as *saṁdhābhāṣya*, Śāriputra comes to find a new value in the Śrāvakayāna.

6. *Saṁdhāya buddhabodhiṁ vakṣye*

In the citation given above, the phrase *buddhadharmaṁ saṁdhāya* 'with intent to teach the *dharma* discovered by the Buddha' has been used. In the Aupamya chapter, what is intended to be taught is explicitly stated as

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[21] WT; *praṇeti* KN.

[22] SP III.10.

[23] Kern [1965: 62]: "And on hearing this Buddha-law, I thought: 'To be sure, this is expounded mysteriously'; it is an inscrutable, subtle, and faultless science, which is announced by the Ginas on the terrace of enlightenment."

buddhabodhi 'the Buddha's enlightenment'. Recall that the *buddhabodhi* is divided into three vehicles.[24]

6.1. *Saṁdhāya buddhabodhiṁ vakṣye samādapentobahubodhisattvān*

Consider verse 22 of the Aupamya chapter.In the preceding verses Śāriputra says that he has understood the Buddha's way of teaching the Ekayāna.

> *niḥsaṁśayaṁ bheṣyi tathāgato 'haṁ puraskṛto lokisadevake 'smin |*
> *saṁdhāya vakṣye imu buddhabodhiṁ samādapento bahubodhisattvān ||*[25]

"I shall become a Tathāgata, undoubtedly, worshipped in the world including the gods; I shall manifest the Buddha's enlightenment with the intention [of teaching it] so that I can inspire many sentient beings who aim at attaining enlightenment to attain it."[26]

Note the statement *saṁdhāyavakṣye imu buddhabodhiṁ samādapento bahubodhisattvān*. 'I (Śāriputra) shall manifest the Buddha's enlightenment with the intention of teaching it so that I can inspire many sentient beings who aim at attaining enlightenment to attain it'.

It is important to note here that Śāriputra makes a vow that he will become a preacher of the Ekayāna doctrine. It is a matter of course that, employing skillful means,he should intend to teach the Buddha's enlightenment.

It is to be noted that the term *saṁdhāya* is used here.If Śāriputra wishes to teach the Buddha's enlightenment, he should explicitly state it without using words to teach something other than it.Thus it is implied here that Śāriputra addresses the Buddha's original words with intent to teach the Ekayāna just as the Buddha did.

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[24] See fn1.

[25] SP III.22.

[26] Kern [1965: 64]: "I shall become a Tathāgata, undoubtedly, worshipped in the world including the gods; I shall manifest Buddha-wisdom, mysteriously rousing many Bodhisattvas."

6.2. *Saṁdhābhāṣyeṇa deśento buddhabodhim*

After hearing the Buddha give Śāriputra the prediction (*vyākaraṇa*) that he will become a Buddha, divine beings (*devaputra*) say the following:

anumodāma mahāvīrasaṁdhābhāṣyaṁ maharṣiṇaḥ | yathāryo vyākṛtohyeṣa śāriputro viśāradaḥ || vayam apy edṛśāḥ syāmo buddhāloke anuttarāḥ | saṁdhābhāṣyeṇa deśento buddhabodhim anuttarām ||[27]

"We receive with gratitude, O great hero, the words addressed by the great Sages with intent [to teach the Ekayāna doctrine] (*saṁdhābhāṣya*). Indeed, just as the āryas[28], Śāriputra here, given the prediction, has become fearless.(36)   May we also become such incomparable Buddhas in the world to teach the Buddha's supreme enlightenment by means of addressing words with intent [to teach the Ekayāna doctrine] (*saṁdhābhāṣya*).(37)"[29]

Note the expression*saṁdhābhāṣyeṇadeśentobuddhabodhim*'[we will become Buddhas] to teach the Buddha's supreme enlightenment by means of addressing *saṁdhābhāṣya*'.

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[27] SP III.36–37.

[28] Authors of previous studies of this verse have interpreted the word *āryo* as the adjective of the   noun   *śāriputra*,   with   which   the   Tibetan   translation   accords. *drangsrongchenpo'ildemngag la || dpa'bobdag cag rjesyi rang || jiltar 'jigs med sh'ari'ibu || 'phags pa 'di la lung bstanbzhin ||*
It seems that in his Chinese translation Kumārajīva interprets the word as the adjective of the word *vyākṛta*.
『妙法蓮華経』 : 世尊説是法　我等皆隨喜　大智舎利弗　今得受尊記.(Watson [1999: 55] Since the World-Honored One preaches this Law, we all welcome it with joy. Sariputra with his great wisdom has now received this venerable prophecy.)
        In my opinion, what is referred to by the word *āryo* (nom. pl.) is bodhisattvas, because in the beginning of the Aupamya chapter, Śāriputra says that he feels extremely sorry after hearing the prediction for the Bodhisattvas. See SP 60.4–6. Alternatively, what is referred to by this word (nom. sg.) is the Blessed One, because he is also said to be fearless (*viśāradya*)).

[29] Kern [1965: 70]:"We receive with gratitude, O great hero, the mysterious speech of the great Sages, such as this prediction regarding the self-possessed AryaSāriputra.(36) May we also become such incomparable Buddhas in the world, who by mysterious speech announce supreme Buddha-enlightenment.(37)"

A parallel expression is found in the Upāyakauśalya chapter.

Śāriputra tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksambuddhā upāyakauśalyena tad evaikaṁ buddhayānaṁ triyānanirdeśena nirdiśanti |[30]

"Śāriputra, the Tathāgatas, arhats, the perfectly enlightened, teach that one and sole Buddha-vehicle by employing skillful means,that is, by means of teaching the three vehicles."[31]

Here it is stated that the Tathāgatas teach the Buddha-vehicle, which finally leads to omniscience (*sarvajñatāparyavasānaṁ*),[32] by employing skillful means, namely by means of teaching the three vehicles.This clearly shows that the Buddha's words to teach the three vehicles consist in being *saṁdhābhāṣya*.

7. Conclusion

We have seen how the *dharmabhāṇaka*s, who are supposed to have composed the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, introduce the Ekayāna doctrine. For the *dharmabhāṇaka*s, the Buddha's original words are a given. The *dharmabhāṇaka*s are not allowed to contradict the original words. This is the reason that they have to bring in the concept of *saṁdhābhāṣya*.

The words characterized as *saṁdhābhāṣya* are those which are addressed to convey the Buddha's real intention. The Buddha addresses the words to teach the three vehicles with intent really to teach the Ekayāna doctrine. The three vehicles are related to the Ekayāna as skillful means to attain the latter. The Buddha is never a liar.

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[30] SP II.43.6–8.

[31] Kern [1965: 42-43]: "Śāriputra, the Tathāgatas, [arhat, the perfectly enlightened*] use, skilfully, to designate that one and sole Buddha-vehicle by the appellation of the threefold vehicle" * Kern omits these words to avoid prolixity.

[32] SP II 41.4-5: *śāriputra buddhābhagavanta ekam eva yānam ārabhya sattvānāṁ dharmaṁ deśitavanto yad idaṁ buddhayānaṁ sarvajñatāparyavasānaṁ.* Kern [1965: 41]: "Śāriputra, have preached the law to creatures by means of only one vehicle, the Buddha vehicle, which finally leads to omniscience."

The *dharmabhāṇaka*s depict Śāriputra as admitting that he did not appreciate fully what the Buddha meant by his original words. Obviously, they expect the hearers of the present sūtra to follow him.Moreover, the *dharmabhāṇaka*s do not say that Śāriputra who has understood *saṁdhā-bhāṣya* will explicitly teach the Ekayāna doctrine and that he will follow the Buddha's way of teaching. They intend to say that the Ekayāna is the only truth of Buddhism however Buddhism may be taught.For them *saṁdhā-bhāṣya* is a skillful means for getting the truth out of the Buddha's words.

Abbreviations:

KN: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* by Kern and Nanjo

SP: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*

WT: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* by Wogihara and Tsuchida

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A REFLECTION ON SOME TRANSFORMATIONAL ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN THE ŚAIVA AND THE BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHERS OF KASHMIR[1]

MRINAL KAUL

The exchange between the Śaiva and the Buddhist schools of philosophy in Kashmir had much to contribute towards each other's development and also towards the proliferation of the later philosophical schools in India. The diverse scholarly sources, both primary and secondary, agree to the fact that Buddhism had a strong presence in Kashmir in the third century BCE and that the traces of the presence of Buddhism were already found there even before this.[2] The famous Tibetan historian Tārānātha mentions that the King Aśoka (c. 273-236 BCE) generously bestowed his wealth upon the Buddhist

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[1] This article is a revised version of a paper presented at *L'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), Montréal, Québec, Canada* as a part of the joint doctoral seminar. I am grateful to Dr Richard Foltz, Dr Shaman Hatley (Concordia University, Montréal, Canada) and Prof André Couture (Université Laval, Québec, Canada) for their response to this paper.

[2] Ganhar (1956: 15) believes that Surrendra [Surendra] was the first Buddhist King of Kashmir who, he thinks, "ruled some time after Buddha but before Ashoka". He bases his argument on Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī. Naudou (1980: 2) does not offer us many details about this issue, but he says that "the Sarvāstivāda would have been introduced into Kaśmīr by Mādhyantika, from the reign of Aśoka". This indicates that even though the Buddhism might have been prevalent in the valley in any form whatsoever, but it was with King Aśoka that Buddhism made its strong presence felt there. Also see Kaul (2005:159–60) and Koul Deambi (1985: 79).

monasteries in Kashmir for the propagation of Buddhism.[3] Buddhism continued to remain a very important faith of people even when Aśoka's son Jalauka supported the indigenous Nāga and Śaiva cults and smashed many Buddhist stūpas built by his father.[4] However, later on Kashmir became a very important centre of Buddhist learning in India under Kuṣāna[5] rulers especially when the fourth Buddhist Council was held there under the reign of King Kaniṣka-I (c. 78 CE).[6] Eventually we witness Kashmir becoming the home of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma school of Buddhism and it produced a large number of reputed scholars who immensely contributed to it.[7] Many other sources tell us that Buddhism continued to flourish in Kashmir till about thirteenth century CE or mid of fourteenth century CE, but because of the revival of the Brahmanic schools like Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism saw a gradual decline thereafter.[8]

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[3] See Ganhar (1956: 18–24), Kaul (2005:160), Kaul (1987:2).

[4] Thapar (1961: 188–9) has raised doubts saying that we have not been able to identify Jalauka authentically, but we know for sure that he was a staunch Śaiva follower. Also see Ganhar (1956: 25–28) and Kaul (2005: 160).

[5] 5. See the interesting note on Kuṣānas by Hassnain (1973: 17) and the role they played in propagating Buddhism in Kashmir.

[6] Keeping the context of the present paper in mind I shall not go into the historical problems of either the King Kaniṣka or the fourth Buddhist council that is supposed to have been held in Kashmir. Some authors including Kaul (1987) have chosen not to engage themselves discussing such problems, but scholars like Lamotte (1976: XCIII) and Snellgrove (2002: 46) have encountered problems with the historicity of the fourth Buddhist council. Both of them maintain that it was just an over crafting of the Buddhist monks, but it was in fact the third Buddhist council that was either held in the Pāṭaliputra or Kashmir convened by King Aśoka (and not by King Kaniṣka) and should not be confused with the fourth Buddhist council. Potter et al. (1998:79) maintain that there was a separate third Buddhist council held in Kashmir under the aid of King Kaniṣka. This probably means that there were two 'Third Buddhist Councils' held; one supported by Aśoka in Pāṭaliputra and another organized by Kaniṣka in Kashmir. Also see Koul Deambi (1985: 80ff).

[7] Khosla (1972: 40ff), Kaul (1987: 5).

[8] See Snellgrove (2002: 48).

So what was the faith of the common people when Buddhism was introduced in the vale of Kashmir in about third century BCE? Through various sources including the Nīlamatapurāṇa (c. 6th–7th CE) we gather that there was some kind of Nāga or serpent worship being practiced by the original inhabitants in the valley[9], but if we accept Bamzai's postulation then Śaivism certainly would have been the popular religious cult in Kashmir. He mentions, "If the religious beliefs of the kings and royal families be regarded as a fair index of the popularity of a religious cult, Śaivism must have been the predominant religion in Kashmir long before Buddhism was introduced there. Even during the period of Buddhist ascendency Śaivism received royal patronage. It was towards the beginning of the eighth century that Buddhism was overshadowed by Śaivism not because of religious persecution, but because it had continued to remain the basic cult of the people all through the preceding centuries".[10] So when exactly did the tension between Buddhism and Śaivism start in Kashmir? This is not an easy question to answer. However, Pandey (1963:149) thinks that it started when the King Kaniṣka made significant gifts to Buddhist monasteries in Kashmir and "Nāgarjuna came to power and began to use his power of both learning and position to spread Buddhism". Quoting the *Śivasūtravārtika* of Varadarāja, Pandey says that "this was the time when the struggle between Buddhism and Śaivism began seems to find support in the tradition".[11] We learn from the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* that the indigenous religion of Kashmir had also accepted Buddha as a god who was being worshipped as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[12] This

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[9] See Bamzai (1973:193). See Khosla (1972:11–12) for a note on 'Inhabitants'. Quoting C.F. Oldham she also mentions that the inhabitants of the valley were Sun-worshippers. Also, see Hassnain (1973:15) for a note on 'Nagaism and Buddhism'.

[10] See Bamzai (1973:194).

[11] Pandey (1963:149). Also, Hassnain (1973: 22) mentions that Nāgārjuna was a very determined Buddhist philosopher who is mentioned by Kalhaṇa to have defeated many Śaiva scholars in religious discussions.

[12] Pandey (1963:150), Kaul (1987: 7). Also see a note on 'Śaivism and Buddhism' in Hassnain (1973:16).

indicates that the common masses followed a faith that was neither purely Śaivism nor purely Buddhist but in the words of Pandey it "was a harmonious mixture of the meditative and philosophical aspect of the one and the ritualistic aspect of the other".[13] I think Pandey is right when he says that there was a purely traditional, traditional and ritualistic faith being practised before the advent of Buddhism during Aśoka's time.[14] I would like to postulate that the common people did not have a very discrete sense of religion as such. It would surely have been a "harmonious mixture" of some beliefs, but a strong sense of belonging to a particular religion would have been absent in the minds of people. In fact the so called religions in themselves, to speak of ancient and early medieval periods, were not the religions as a modern man would like to see them. This is at least true in the case of what we today know as Indian sub-continent. This may bring us to the question whether Tantric Śaivism or Buddhism were religions at all. I think the answer would be partly 'yes' and partly 'no'. 'Yes' because these systems were also closely linked to the faith of the common masses and 'no' because these were not the religious systems *per se*, but were a sort of common complex human phenomena intricately woven together with the multilayered dynamic culture of a society. As far as ancient and early medieval periods of the history of Indian sub-continent are concerned there exists a very thin line between the religion and the philosophy. I think I will be addressing this topic in detail in near future in

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[13] Pandey (1963:150).

[14] I think it would be appropriate to quote Pandey (1963:150) here; "The immediate effect of this was that the teachings of the local religion, which were till then simply a matter of floating traditions, were systematized for the first time by a pious Brāhmaṇa ascetic, Candradeva. This in our opinion is the one historical truth in Kalhaṇa's story of the destructive snow fall, sent by Nīla, enraged at the abeyance of religious rights prescribed in the Nīla Purāṇa in consequence of Nāgārjuna's propaganda (R.T., I.177–184). The story is, otherwise, as pointed out by Dr. Stein, (R.T., Introd. P. 77) "but the rechauffe of an ancient legend told in the Nīlamata Purāṇa, which relates the deliverance of Kashmir from the plague of the Piśācas through the rites revealed by Nīla Nāga".

other publications, so I will not digress any further from the main theme of our topic.

After discussing in brief both Buddhism and Śaivism and their positions in ancient and early medieval Kashmir, I will now particularly focus on what is going to be the theme of this paper. I shall discuss in some detail the tensions taking place between the Kashmirian Śaiva and Buddhist philosophers during the ninth to twelfth centuries CE taking into account some prominent philosophers of both the systems and the theories they introduced in their philosophical schools. I would primarily focus on their textual traditions and how these traditions were influencing each other by criticizing the opponents thus crafting their own systems. In the pages to follow I shall bring in some examples that might help us to understand these tensions and we will also see to what extant these tensions lead to the doctrinal changes.

Before we start discussing Śaivism I think it is very important to note that the tension was not prevailing between the Śaivas and the Buddhists alone, but it was also existing between the two systems of Śaiva itself; the first that was the earlier form of Śaivism called Śaiva Siddhānta and the second the non-dual Śaivism that was born out of a strong reaction towards the former. Siddhānta adhered to a strong ritualistic system and in the language of Sanderson (1995:17)- "So separation between soul, between souls and Śiva, and between these and the external worlds - is real and absolute in the Siddhānta, while in the Trika it is merely apparent. By the same principle, liberation in the Siddhānta is the attainment of mere equality with Śiva, while in the Trika it is recognition that one is Śiva himself". Amongst the other Śaiva schools those were existing in Kashmir the Trika survived as a major post-scriptural non-saiddhāntika ritual system of the Mantramārga.[15] The traditions of Mantramārga Tantric Śaivism evolved from their scriptural

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[15] See Sanderson (1988: 690) and (2004:5).

anonymity into an extensive body of Kashmirian exegesis from the middle of the ninth century onwards.[16] During the early medieval period there were two major competing traditions, among which the Trika and the Krama systems were on the left (*vāma*) side following non-dualism, and the authors of the Śaiva Siddhānta, who accepted the orthodox Vedic boundaries of purity and impurity, were on the right (*dakṣiṇa*) side following dualism.[17] The Kashmirian authors of the Trika were attacking the ritualism of their contemporaries adhering to the Śaiva Siddhānta.[18] It was in opposition to the propitiation of this ritual system propounded by the Siddhānta that Abhinavagupta (*fl.c.* 975-1025 CE) took a lead in establishing a system emphasizing the significance of gnosis (*jñāna*), the absence of which is taught to be the cause of impurity (*mala*).[19] Abhinava established his Trika on the basis that it is rather removal of this impurity and not the performance of ritual that can lead one to liberation.[20] Here it might also be important to mention that the concept of *mala* or impurity itself was an adoption by the Trika adherents from the Siddhānta system. But the definition of the *malatraya* (three impurities) changed considerably while travelling from the dualistic to the non-dualistic domain.[21] In another example regarding the Trika Yoga found in the Mālinīvijayatantra that is the major tantra of the Trika Śaivism, we also learn how the concept of Yoga was deeply influenced not only by the

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[16] See Sanderson (1988: 690ff).

[17] See Sanderson (1995:17ff).

[18] See Sanderson (1988: 692).

[19] See Sanderson (2007:372). Sanderson (1992: 290) mentions elsewhere "...because Impurity is no longer a substance but merely the unawareness of a self-contracted consciousness, then the non-dualists must see the function of ritual quite differently: if initiation liberates then it must do so not as action, but as a kind of knowledge coded in action and experienced by the initiator".

[20] This of course does not mean that there is no ritual practice prescribed in the Trika of Abhinavagupta. But the idea here is that the path of following ritual was understood as inferior because there were other superior means i.e., meditation and imaginative visualizations available to the human being. Cf. Sanderson (2007:18-19).

[21] Sanderson (1992: 288–9).

Siddhānta system but also by Kaula system.[22] The non-dualists "part from the dualists in that they insist that complete enlightenment and liberation are also possible before death (*jīvanmuktiḥ*), and that this higher goal and the special means of realizing it distinguish their own branch of the Śaiva tradition from the Saiddhāntika".[23]

On the other hand we also witness the two main adherents of the Siddhānta system who defended the rigorous philosophical doctrines of the most detailed dualistic exegesis; Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha and his son Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha (c. 950-1000 CE). In the year 2006 Alex Watson presented a very well documented and carefully argued thesis on how Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha has encountered the concepts of non-self. Watson's remarkable work strongly emphasizes the fact that there was a major tension between the Śaiva Siddhānta and the Buddhists. Watson shows how Rāmakaṇṭha draws upon arguments used by the Buddhists to deny the existence of a self postulated by other schools of philosophy and the doctrine of the Buddhist Yogācāra epistemology that cognition of objects includes self-awareness to argue that a self exists as permanent and unchanging cognition of objects. Rāmakaṇṭha's strategy against Buddhist opponents consists of two steps: first he accepts their claim that the postulation of a self beyond cognition is unwarranted, since we do not experience anything apart from cognition; then he concludes that this very cognition is the form of the self.[24] This reveals that the primary opponents of the philosophical current in the Śaiva Siddhānta expounded by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha and Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha were the Buddhist logicians

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[22] Vasudeva (2004) tells us that the Mālinīvijayottaratantra clearly distinguished four different types of Śaiva yoga. The first two are based on the Śaiva-Siddhānta; [1] yoga based on the fifteen levels of the apperceptive process and [2] the Ṣaḍaṅgayoga. The other two are the [3] the Kaula Yoga with its system of four immersions (*piṇḍastha, padastha, rūpastha* and *rūpātīta*) and [4] the three āveśas taught in the Trika (*āṇava, śākta* and *śāmbhava*).

[23] Sanderson (1992: 290).

[24] Watson (2006: 334).

like Vasubandhu and Dharmakīrti. In the concluding part of his book Watson states - "The present work demonstrates how, as a strategy to undermine Buddhist arguments, a Śaiva Siddhāntin author creatively assimilated certain features of Buddhism, thereby strengthening his own armoury, and then used these to overcome those other features of Buddhism that conflicted with his own tradition".[25]

Now we come to the non-dualistic Trika Śaivism that began its journey sometime in the early ninth century in Kashmir as a strong reaction towards the Śaiva Siddhāntins and the Buddhists. In the domain of non-Saiddhāntika Śaiva systems, as I mentioned earlier in the paper, Trika was not the only one functioning, but there were other systems of ritual, "most particularly the closely related Kālī cult known as the Krama (Sequence), Mahānaya (Great Way) or Mahārtha (Great Truth)"[26] also present. For the purpose of our study we will focus on the Trika Śaivism alone. Let us begin by looking at the ninth century CE philosopher Somānanda (c. 875-950 CE). Somānanda is credited with the formulation of a new doctrine in Kashmir called Pratyabhijñā or the Philosophy of Recognition. He was the first person to adopt a completely rational philosophical approach towards discussing the problems of what was called Ultimate Reality by the Śaivites. In his principal work titled the Śivadṛṣṭi he encountered certain systems of Indian philosophy including some schools of Buddhism proving all of them unsound and establishing the theories of Trika Śaivism.[27] His pupil Utpaladeva (c. 925-975 CE) established the 'Philosophy of Recognition' further presenting strong arguments mainly criticizing his chief opponents; the Vijñānavāda Buddhists.[28] Utpaladeva addressed and criticized all the major theories of the Buddhists in his *magnum opus* the Īśvarapratyabhjñākārikā along with his

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[25] Watson (2006: 388).
[26] Sanderson (1995:18).
[27] Iyer & Pandey (1998-II: VI).
[28] Torella (2002: XV).

vṛtti. The tug of war between the Trika Śaivas and the Buddhist logicians continued and the former even aligned with Śaiva Siddhāntins on many points to criticize the Buddhists.[29] This elaborate criticism of the Buddhist logicians that was later enriched with the two further carefully detailed commentaries by Abhinavagupta on the Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā of Utpaladeva, was accompanied by a conscious absorption of the doctrines and terminologies of the Buddhists in the Śaiva texts of the Trika.[30] This is clearly reflected in the structure of the Pratyabhijñā system when we examine the terms like *svalakṣaṇa, apoha, svārthānumāna, parārthānumāna* in the works of both Dharmakīrti and Utpaladeva and Torella says that this might have been a deliberate choice of the latter. We also see Somānanda replying to the Pramāṇavārtika of Dharmakīrti in some verses in his Śivadṛṣṭi that tells us that he had read Dharmakīrti very carefully.[31] However, Utpaladeva criticizes Buddhist logicians not completely negating their thesis, but showing them that their doctrines would become more compelling if the Pratyabhijñā comes to their rescue.[32] This approach is unlike other schools of Indian philosophy where we generally see that the opponents are not treated with same respect as I understand both Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta usually do. Abhinavagupta's chief pupil Kṣemarāja might stand as an exception though. Torella notes this important point saying, "Trika does not intend to defeat, but to use as a basis for its emergence from the dimension of a restricted circle and for its establishment in the stratum of social normality, by internalizing, or in any case circumscribing, its own specific differences".[33] This also becomes evidently clear in, as I mentioned, the works of Abhinavagupta who wrote further elaborate commentaries on the Pratyabhijñā śāstra. About the topic of the Pratyabhijñā śāstra and how it has been influenced by the Buddhist

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[29] Ibid., (2002: XXII).
[30] Ibid., (2002: XXII).
[31] Ibid., (2002: XXII).
[32] Ibid., (2002:XXIII).
[33] Ibid., (2002:XXI).

logicians in its logical-epistemological parlance, one cannot but mention the thought provoking article by Raffaele Torella titled "The Pratyabhijñā and the Logical- Epistemological School of Buddhism". I have chosen not to discuss this article here. So the readers could refer to the article for elaborate and intense discussions.

Another good example of the philosophical tension between the Trika Śaivas and the Buddhists is reflected in the 'doctrine of relation' put forward by Utpaladeva in his *Sambandhasiddhi* that is actually meant to be a reply to the 'doctrine of relation' already established by Dharmakīrti in his short text called the *Sambandhaparīkṣā*. The former's stance is based on the Śaiva doctrine and that of the latter on the Buddhist principles. According to the Śaiva doctrine of relation, even if it has to be established between two entities, yet it ultimately depends upon the absolute free will of the Ultimate Self.[34] Buddhists on the other hand are quite opposed to the Śaiva's representation of 'relation' involving the co-existence of unity and multiplicity.[35] Since this in itself is a very fertile field of research and also because Pandey has offered a brief discussion concerning the tensions held between the two traditions regarding 'relation', I would urge the reader to refer to his works for more details.

Another strong example of the tension and transformation between the Śaivas and the Buddhists is that of Śaṅkaranandana. A convert from Śaivism to Buddhism there have been some controversies regarding his being first a Brahmin or a Buddhist. But Krasser and Eltschinger have firmly established that he converted from Śaivism to Buddhism. "It follows from the arguments put forward that Śaṅkaranandana was first a Śaiva, and had appreciated Buddhist teachings from the very beginning, and that he later abandoned Śaivism, for there must have been a breach with Śaivism, since the teaching of

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[34] Iyer & Pandey (1998-I: XXIII).
[35] Ibid., (1998-I: XIV).

the non-existence of God contained in the Īśvara-apākaraṇa-saṅkṣepa and in the Pramāṇa-vārttika-ṭīkā is incompatible with Śaivism", says Krasser.[36] It is possible that he might have been highly influenced by the Buddhists in his youth as we see him dedicating his benedictory verse in his Anyāpoha-siddhi to Buddha.[37] This also resonates in his other texts like the Pratibandha-siddhi and the Sambandhaparīkṣā-anusāra. He adopts the same position as that of Vasubandhu and Dharmakīrti and his work Dharmālaṅkāra contains predominantly Buddhist ideas and this text has been refereed to by Jayaratha in his Tantrālokaviveka. We also note that he was held in high esteem by Abhinavagupta. Krasser tells us that all the works known to Abhinavagupta already contained a strong Buddhist influence, but he was not aware of any Śaiva works of Śaṅkaranandana. They were perhaps contemporaries who had known each other well. Śaṅkaranandana would have been a highly respected scholar in Śaiva circles in his time. Krasser professes that it might have been because of the influence of Śaṅkaranandana that Abhinavagupta actually dealt with Dharmakīrti's logic in his Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛtti-vimarśinī. In his Mālinīvijayavārtika Abhinavagupta calls him guru. It might have been after Abhinavagupta completed his Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛttivimarśinī that Śaṅkaranandana abandoned Śaivism and wrote a number of works that discussed the denials of the existence of God according to Buddhists.[38] Śaṅkaranandana, supposed to be an author of at least seventeen works, was a very important Buddhist philosopher who had a strong epistemologists' philosophical agenda.[39]

In another instance of a Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra we do not have enough evidence of judging what his religion was, but generally he is said to have been a Śaiva Brahmin who was also heavily influenced by Buddhism

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[36] Krasser (2001: 500).

[37] Ibid., (2001: 502).

[38] Ibid., (2001: 505).

[39] Eltschinger (2008:1).

and Vaisnavism.[40] His works like the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā and the Daśāvatāracarita reflect a very deep influence of Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava doctrines. Chakraborty attributes these influences to the catholicity of the mind of Kṣemendra who wrote about great variety of subjects.[41] So Kṣemendra may not have converted from Śaivism to Buddhism or Vaiṣṇavism even while being heavily influenced by the doctrines of both the systems, but his above mentioned two works do show a considerable influence of these religious systems.

Another very crucial example addressing the theme of this paper is that of the two important cult based philosophies those developed in Kashmir; that of Svacchandabhairava along with his female consort Aghoreśvarī based on the Svacchandatantra and that of the Netra or Mṛtyuñjaya or Amṛteśvarabhairava along with his female consort Amṛtalakṣmī based on the Netratantra (c. 750–800 CE). Svacchanda and the Netra cults served as the middle ground between the Siddhānta and the Trika systems of Śaivism. The two dualistic exegesis of the Svacchanda and the Netra belonging to the Siddhānta system were converted into the non-dualistic Trika fold by Kṣemarāja (c. 1000–1050 CE) who wrote non-dualistic commentaries on both these tantras.[42] Kṣemarāja who was a follower of the non-dualistic Śaiva system felt that the two above mentioned tantric scriptures have been misinterpreted by the dualistic Siddhāntins and there was a need to interpret them correctly. This lead him to compose 'elucidations' (-udyota) on both of them.[43] This is another interesting example of the transformational encounters taking place between the Trika and the Siddhānta systems of Śaivism.

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[40] Chakraborty (1991: 7–9).

[41] Ibid., (1991: 9).

[42] For more details on this topic please refer to Kahrs (2003). Kahrs has very lucidly pointed out how the Śaiva cult of Bhairava had traversed through various types of forms before it adopted the domesticated form of Svacchandabhairava in the time of Abhinavagupta.

[43] Sanderson (1995:18).

Through the above mentioned examples we saw how the philosophical tensions amongst many traditional schools in early medieval Kashmir were transforming each other's thematic rubrics. This transformation was strong in the cases of Śaṅkaranandana and the cults of Svacchanda and Netra. But in the cases of the Trika Śaivism, Siddhānta Śaivism and Buddhism it was working at a different level. Thus the transformation of traditions was giving rise to distinct thought processes those were emerging as unique philosophical ideas.

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ERRORS RELATED TO ADJECTIVES IN MODERN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

MALHAR KULKARNI & DIPESH KATIRA

1. Introduction

The syntax of Sanskrit and various issues related to it are analyzed largely by traditional Sanskrit scholarship and modern works on Sanskrit grammar. The commentator *Mallinātha* in his commentaries on the five major epic poems of Sanskrit literature has discussed the errors in the works of towering authors like *Kālidāsa*, *Bhāravī* etc. wherever he has found them[1]. Even *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita*, in his *Siddhāntakaumudī* discusses the propriety of various usages found in famous works of Sanskrit[2]. The authoritative grammarian Charudev Shastri points out a flaw in the sentence used by *Patañajali* in his work on Sanskrit grammar named '*Mahābhāṣya*'[3]. Yet, the modern Sanskrit literature draws attention to many issues of syntax which are not dealt with by the system of traditional grammar and modern critical works on Sanskrit grammar. These issues include influence of modern languages on Sanskrit, the issue of loan-words and phrases, borrowing of words and phrases from other languages etc. The present work is an attempt to address these very issues. Here we take up just one area; that is, analyzing a specific issue in syntax of modern Sanskrit namely the issue of adjectives.

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[1] See Mallinātha's commentary on Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa, verse no. 2.33 (1998)

[2] See *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's* commentary in *Siddhāntakaumudī* on *Pāṇini* 1.3.68.

[3] See Charudev Shastri's comments on the sentenc '*keṣāṁ śabdānām*' in the first *āhnika* of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

2. Modern Sanskrit Literature

Although the term 'Modern Sanskrit literature' is used extensively, the exact period intended by the term 'modern' in this context is not standardized. However, the works on modern Sanskrit such as Raghunathacharya (2002), Shukla (2002), Ranganath (2003), consider the literature in the period 19th century onwards as modern Sanskrit literature.

3. Error Analysis

The word 'error' has different meanings and usages relative to how it is conceptually applied. The concrete meaning of the Latin word '*errorem*' from which the word error is derived, is "wandering" or "straying". An 'error' is hence, a deviation from accuracy or correctness. The term 'error' is defined in different manner according to the context and the subject in which it is used. In case of language, an individual language user's deviations from standard language norms in grammar, syntax, pronunciation and punctuation are referred to as errors. The term error is of prime importance in applied linguistics. *Encyclopaedic dictionary of applied linguistics* defines this term as 'breach of a language code resulting in an unacceptable utterance.' They have also contrasted errors with lapse or mistake since according to them, mistakes are the result of some failure of performance. The errors have always been a subject of interest for not only linguists but also for researchers from other spheres such as psychology, Mathematics etc. Sigmund Freud found great significance in lapses. He showed how slips of the tongue or pen and other lapses might reveal deeply hidden intentions on part of the person committing them.

Error analysis is the study of kind and quantity of error that occur. It was used extensively in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) in the 1960s and early 1970s. It is conceptualized as a method of explaining why some features of a Target Language were more difficult to acquire than the others. Corder(1967) remarks, "Errors are significant in three different ways, 1. To the teacher, to show how far towards the goal the learner has progressed and what remains for him to learn 2. To the researcher, to provide evidence of how language is learned and what strategies of procedures the learner is

employing and 3. To the learner himself as a way a learner has of testing his hypotheses about the nature of the language he is learning".

Error analysis involves compiling a corpus of second language learner's deviations from the target second language norms. He then starts classifying the errors into types. The result of grouping together and labeling subgroups within a corpus is known as taxonomy. Many linguists have presented with the taxonomies based on a variety of criteria. Some types of taxonomies are, Surface Strategy taxonomy (classification by structural deformations the utterance undergoes: omission of items, addition of items, misordering etc.), Comparative taxonomy (comparing the errors with the first language of the learner), Communicative effect taxonomy etc.

In this study, the basic assumption about all linguistic speech errors is that an analysis of this data can give some clues to the particular mechanism of language production, in which the abnormal case in accordance with a general methodological principal can lead to conclusion about the factors involved in normal functioning. The basic hypothesis in this study is that 'errors do not just happen they are caused.'

4. Sanskrit and Error Analysis

In the very idea of error, it is the second language learner or non-native learner learning another language, who is committing an error. The very definition of 'error' constitutes this fact.

A very important issue with Sanskrit errors then arises, which may be problematised, is where are the native speakers of Sanskrit, to hold them as the standard and contrast the non-native, second language users of it – who are candidates to commit errors. One easy answer to this would be: hold *Pāṇini's* grammar and its tradition as the standard one and whatever unfits it would be errors. Here *Pāṇini's* grammatical tradition itself is being held to have an almost complete knowledge of the language similar to what the native speakers have of their own language. One point debatable here that would more concern the sociolinguistic history of Sanskrit, would be, 'Were *Patañjali* and *Kātyāyana* natives speakers/users of Sanskrit?' Bloomfield

(1927: 66) remarks, "The later grammarians, including, I venture to say, *Patañjali*, were in no position to criticize the facts thus given by their predecessors; for them Sanskrit was a second language, spoken to be sure, but preserved and by them acquired through a literary tradition, much as was classical Latin for a learned Italian of, say, the fifth century AD." [Also see Deshpande (1979, 1994), Joshi (1991)]. If not, not denying their authority within the tradition and authenticity in the study of Sanskrit, both of them can be held to be candidates to commit the errors. Still, we may stick comfortably to the Pāṇinian grammar as the standard one, to demarcate errors, in this study.

What we wish to hold in contrast with *Pāṇini* (in place of the native speakers) are not absolute novices who have just started learning Sanskrit as a second language. Our corpus consists of sentences from the writings of the modern Sanskrit writers.

One thing that is very obvious about Sanskrit writings is that, every author being a non-native user is bound to be a highly potential candidate to commit errors. This makes modern Sanskrit usage a very fertile area to study errors. When we stick to *Pāṇini* as the standard, those who are spaceo-temporally close to *Pāṇini*, are in fact, close to the native speakers/competence of Sanskrit. So, unlike modern Sanskrit users they are not-highly-potential-candidates to commit errors.

So, for the purpose of this study, error analysis would mean contrasting *Pāṇini*, his tradition and also the works of old Sanskrit authors at times with modern Sanskrit writings, finding errors and classifying them.

5. Need for such analysis

The *Vedas* have been regarded as the most valuable literature by the tradition. Hence, protecting the *Vedas* and attempting to interpret them in the correct manner were the most important concerns for the tradition. *Vedas* happen to be written in the *Vedic* Sanskrit. Since Sanskrit was the carrier of this valuable knowledge, preserving Sanskrit also became an important concern for them. Preserving Sanskrit meant attempting to minimize the change in its form (that

naturally happens in course of time). It also meant making it highly defined so that it is able to render the author's intentions in an accurate manner. It was due to their considerable success in this effort[4] that even after the *Vedas*, Sanskrit was chosen by the later writers for writing most of the technical literature in the fields of science, arts and literature. Thus since centuries Sanskrit has been the medium of creation and transmission of knowledge.

As mentioned in the introduction, commentators often pointed out the errors of the most authentic writers. Their intention was never to defame them. The only message the reader gets is that the Sanskrit scholars did not mind even greatest of Sanskrit writers making mistakes. However they never left any error they encountered, uncommented. This was done with two intentions in mind. Firstly it was aimed at facilitating the future readers by clearing up the ambiguity created by the author by using inappropriate language. Secondly it intended to reduce the probability of the future authors making such an error.

Preserving Sanskrit language as a medium of transmitting knowledge remains as a challenge even for the modern generation. Preserving a language does not simply mean preserving the grammatical rules applicable to the language. It requires preservation and constant rediscovery of its stylistic framework. This necessitates us to also look into other disciplines like Poetics and their conceptions about what makes good Sanskrit sentences, what are possible errors in a sentence, which kind of usages would the framework of Sanskrit language not permit etc. Rhetoricians speak of three faults in a sentence, namely *akramatā asthānasthapadatā* and *saṁkīrṇatā*[5]. Also a lot of

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[4] The remarks of Briggs (1985) are noteworthy in this regard. He says "There is at least one language, Sanskrit, which for the duration of almost 1,000 years was a living spoken language with a considerable literature of its own. Besides works of literary value, there was a long philosophical and grammatical tradition that has continued to exist with undiminished vigor until the present century. Among the accomplishments of the grammarians can be reckoned a method for paraphrasing Sanskrit in a manner that is identical not only in essence but in form with current work in Artificial Intelligence. This article demonstrates that a natural language can serve as an artificial language also, and that much work in AI has been reinventing a wheel millenia old".

[5] See the seventh chapter of *Sāhitya darpaṇa*

Sanskrit literature needs to be surveyed from this point of view to come up with guidelines about the framework of Sanskrit sentence.

Another thing that needs to be done is to keep an eye over the literature that the modern Sanskrit writers are creating. It can be quite confidently said that Sanskrit is a second language for most of them. For those rare cases whom Sanskrit is their first language, it can be quite confidently said that they must have acquired it from their parents who must have learnt it as their second language. Hence, the influence of modern languages, which must be the first languages of these Sanskrit writers, is bound to be seen in their writings[6].

A systematically classified compendium of such errors in various areas of Sanskrit writing along with recommendations for correcting them will thus be very valuable.

Common errors occurring in the works of modern Sanskrit writers having good knowledge of the general framework of Sanskrit, but ignorant about special rules[7] can also be collected for quick reference of such future Sanskrit writers.

6. Available works

In the traditional Sanskrit grammar, we do not find works that can be termed as error analysis. *Durgaṭavṛtti* of *Śaraṇadeva* (1300 AD) discusses various usages in the Classical Sanskrit literature that can be called as errors according to the *Pāṇinian* grammar. In this work *Śaraṇadeva* has collected all illustrations of such usages. He then justifies as many possible among them and rejects rest of the usages. We do not find any other extensive work dealing with error analysis till the end of the 19th century. In modern times the *Vāgvyavahārādarśa* and *Śabdāpaśabdaviveka* of Charudeva Shastri and *Śuddhikaumudī* by Janardana Hegde are the works which can roughly be held

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[6] In the sentence *mantribhirasakṛtsammantrya vigrahītumanīṣā vasumatīśā nidānataḥ sandhipattraṁ likhanti. (vāgvyavahārādarśa p.93 sentence no.12)*

[7] see *kulūtasya kambalā guṇāḍhyāścirataramupayojyā bhavanti* (see *Vāgvyavahārādarśa* p.92. sentence no. 5)

to be close to the kind of error analysis proposed here. Both the works *Śabdāpaśabdaviveka* and *Śuddhikaumudī* by Charudev Shastri present a corpus of sentences with errors. The corpus is supplemented by the comments by the author in which he points out the error and supplies reasoning for considering it to be an error. The taxonomy or the classification of errors is missing.

In the present study, we aim to concentrate on the corpus presented in *Vāgvyavahāradarśa*.

7. The *Vāgvyavahāradarśa*

The *Vāgvyavahāradarśa* records 655 sentences from modern Sanskrit. In addition to this corpus, the work includes author's comments analyzing these sentences. In his comments the author points out the errors in them. The errors pointed out in the sentences are based on certain principles. The attempt made here is to try to understand these principles. The sentences dealt with in *Vāgvyavahāradarśa*, are mostly from the recent works in Sanskrit. Very few of them are from the ancient works. The first edition of *Vāgvyavahāradarśa* was published in 1912. The edition referred here is the second edition published in 1972. Yet, the author has not made any alterations in the second edition. This indicates that the author has considered the literature belonging to the period of 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

This collection of 655 sentences will be used as a corpus for the study of syntax of modern Sanskrit in particular and syntax of Sanskrit in general.

8. The Methodology

The *Vāgvyavahāradarśa* presents the sentences in a random order. The methodology in analysing these works relies mainly in comprehending the discussions which explain the errors and to fathom the reasonings involved. The idea is to analyse these reasonings and arguments in as free and independent a manner as possible. Charudeva Shastri most of the times, quotes the traditional three giants to point out an error and is content with that. In fact, his notion of error is an outcome more of the traditional prescriptivism. He holds a certain sentence to be an ill-formed one with

evidences from Pāṇini, Patañjali etc., and suggests a well-formed one. In our study we try to come up with the explanations as to what causes those usages in modern Sanskrit. We also analyze what causes blocking of those usages in Sanskrit. We may also attempt to critically examine the reasons, citations provided by Charudeva Shastri, in the light of non-traditional Sanskrit linguistic analysis, and see if could come up with reasonable arguments, to what extent, these modern usages may be justified and accommodated in a Sanskrit grammar that would be 'modern'!

Based on this we attempt to classify the corpus according to the various issues of errors and also try to frame directive rules for avoiding such errors. Further we try to see if various erroneous sentences falling under a particular category give us some insights about the nature of that category in Sanskrit or in language in general.

9. Classification of the corpous

The issues pointed out by Charudev Shastri in the sentences are syntactic, semantic, morphological and sometimes lexical. Two-fold classification of these issues is attempted.

- One is based on the type of error observed in the sentence. Here there are broad categories like issues regarding adjectives, nouns, negative particle, formation of compounds etc. While adjective, noun etc are different functional categories, compound is formal. This categorization does not stick to either form or function. This depends on the level at which the error is observed. That is why even *kāraka* level errors and errors related to sentence formation form a part of this classification. Sub-categories of these categories have also been prepared for finer classification.

- Another classification is based on the probable source of error. Three broad categories have been formed to divide the errors in this way. They are

  1. Errors occurring due to the influence of the first language. A huge chunk of errors fall in this category.

2. Errors occurring due to ignorance about a specific rule of grammar. This category is further divided into two sub-categories. 2.1. Ignorance about rules prohibiting a usage that would have been correct as per the general framework of the language had this specific rule not ordained some other action and 2.2 Ignorance about the rules simply blocking a usage that would otherwise have been correct. This requires the users to find out an alternative way to express their intention on their own.

The two categories mentioned above are not mutually exclusive. Influence of the structure of the first language is often so strong that it tempts the user to ignore a grammatical rule. So such errors can be listed in both the categories. However, they will be put only under the first category as it appears to be the cause stronger than ignorance about a grammatical rule.

3. Others- This category accounts for miscellaneous causes of errors other than the two main easily thinkable causes of errors mentioned above. There are cases where at times the general structure permits some kind of a sentence, yet they are against the conventional style of the native Sanskrit users. When the opposite of this is true for a sentence, i.e, it may not be as per the general structure of Sanskrit but conventionally correct, such a sentence is not considered to be erroneous at all[8]. There are other cases where the usage may be wrong both structurally and conventionally. All such types of errors where there is neither any first language influence nor grammatical restriction, will fall under this category.

In the present paper, five sentences that have been termed as erroneous in Charudeva Shastri's *Vāgvyavahāradarśa* will be re-considered. A fresh thought would be given to them from the point of view of error analysis. The arguments thus arising in favor of and against Charudeva Shastri on each of these two sentences will be presented along with comments and conclusions, if any.

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[8] Charudev Shastri remarks, *"śiṣṭaprayogāḥ pradhānam upasarjanaṁ vyākaraṇam"* pg.2 Vāgvyavahāradarśa

10. Adjective

An adjective modifies a noun or a pronoun by giving more information about their referents. Adjectives may be classified as attributive adjective, predicative adjective, substantive adjectives etc.

10.1. Adjective in Sanskrit

Generally the adjectives are like those used in English as attributive nouns. The adjectives are also used as independent nouns, e.g. the word *rakta* is used as an adjective in '*raktam puspam*' and as a noun in '*śuṣkam raktam*'. Though the default word-order for adjective, substantive would be the one where adjective precedes substantive, in this case, it is mainly through context that one can decipher, where *rakta* is a substantive.

It has been rightly observed by Joshi (1967) that adjectives and substantives are a single class in *Pāṇini*. [Please see Joshi (1967) for more details]. For *Pāṇini*, morphologically or grammatically speaking there are no distinct classes like adjective and substantive. For *Pāṇini*, it is the *sup*-marking that determines the grammatical category of a *pada*. So, may it be an adjective or a substantive, both are a single category in *Pāṇini*, namely *subantas* (the ones that end in sub-suffixes). Joshi remarks "The term grammatical category refers to the morphemic form conveying the notion of gender, number, person, tense, mood, etc. "The parts of speech" is a logical categorization presenting the general procedure for classification of words upon a plan which although supported by logic, is no single way contrary to the grammatical facts." [Joshi (1967:19)]

The question remains what are adjective or *viśeṣaṇa* and substantive or *viśeṣya*, then? They are certainly not the grammatical categories. They are relative (in relation to each other) logical, functional or/and pragmatic (to include speakers' intentions etc.) categories that may not match with the grammatical categorical classification. Also, this disqualifies them to be core, technical terms in the grammar, as the terms do not take part in the core-word-formation processes. To quote Joshi (1967:19) in this regard: "The grammatical categories may place different logical facts under the single

category provided that they have the same grammatical function, not withstanding they have nothing in common from the logical point of view".

10.1.1. The two ways of accommodating the way the adjectives in Sanskrit behave

- Lexico-sementic: Here the idea is that adjectives when lexical (in the lexicon) are mere *guṇavācakas*, and when used, are *pro*-nominal, i.e, in the form, they look like nouns and also they become *guṇivācakas*. It means that the word '*rakta*' as a lexical item means the quality 'RED' but when used along with the case termination in a sentence as '*raktam*' it would mean 'an entity possessed of redness'. Thus, adjective as a class of words, (in case of the languages in which adjectives do not carry a morphologically distinct marking) is a notional, logical or lexical category, as against morphological or grammatical.

- Grammatical: Here typologically speaking, if a language is highly inflectional, then adjective-substantive agreement may be rigorous. So, it is the agreement which is fecund, and brings about similarity in the form of adjectives and substantives (in case, number and gender) in Sanskrit. The approach is distinct from the above one and needs to be articulated because unlike in the first, where we put forth the notional, semantic or logical argument for *vyaktivācakatva* in the adjectives, here we see the stark morphological reality also to be in conformity with the above proposition of *vyaktivācakatva* of the adjectives.

In the light of these two approaches what can be said about the adjectives in English is that, in English, adjectives are treated as a different class of words in terms of endings. The adjectival suffixes in English do not carry any information about the gender and number, unlike the Sanskrit ones. They may only be assigned the comparative and superlative suffixes. The morphological form of the English adjectives seems to convey the idea that adjectives mainly denote the *guṇa* or quality i.e. they are *guṇavācakas*.

10.1.2. More on the Lexico-semantic approach

Adjective is a word that functions as a qualifier of the noun. Thus, adjective is a word that denotes a quality. The question arises here is, does adjective or *viśeṣaṇa* literally denote a *guṇa* or a *dravya*? Does adjective denote a 'quality' or 'something that possesses the quality'?

It seems that in Sanskrit, *viśeṣaṇa* does not denote *viśeṣa*, but it denotes something that possesses the *viśeṣa*. Thus the adjective *rakta* does not denote *raktatva* which is a *guṇa* but it denotes 'something that possesses the quality of *raktatva*'. Thus adjective does not denote *guṇa* but denotes *guṇayukta*. Note that we are not stating the facts that traditional Sanskrit grammarians hold completely true for Sanskrit alone, but we would not be unwilling to buy the idea that given the agreement between adjectives and substantives in Sanskrit, one may say that Sanskrit adjectives denote the *guṇayukta*, overtly through their morphological shape.

10.1.3. *Guṇayukta- jāti* or *guṇayukta-vyakti*

The lexical meaning of an adjective is a particular *jāti* that possess the particular quality denoted by the adjective. The isolated word or the *prātipadika rakta* will not denote any individual but the class in general that is distinguished by the quality of *raktatva*. The *prātipadika rakta* will distinguish the whole class that possesses the quality of *raktatva.*

This is not the case when adjective is used in a sentence. When used in a sentence, the adjective is not functioning as the distinguisher of a class but it distinguishes a *vyakti*, the substantive. Hence, in a sentence, it is necessary to change the *prātipadikārtha* of an adjective namely *jāti* to the *padārtha* namely *vyakti*. This purpose is solved by the use of a particular case affix. *Mahābhāṣya* [(Ed.) Sharma (1988:68)] states this point in the analysis of aphorism 1.2.52. "*viśeṣaṇānāṁ vacanaṁ jātinivṛtyartttham*[9]". The case affix

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[9] *vacana*, one of the ambiguous terms, refers either to speech or (grammatical) number. In several utterances like *viśeṣaṇānāṁ vacanaṁ jātinivṛtyartham* etc. *vacana* may justifiably/reasonably be taken to be meaning grammatical number. As particularly in this utterance, *jātinivṛtti* can take place only when the *viśeṣaṇa* gains the agreement feature in

assigns a particular gender and a particular number and a particular relation with the action in the sentence. Thus when this case ending is attached to the word denoting adjective, the meaning of 'quality' becomes subordinate and the primary meaning of the word becomes the '*vyaki* that posseses the quality'. Since adjective distinguishes substantive, the adjective in a sentence denotes the *vyakti* same as denoted by the substantive. In fact, the pair of adjective and substantive is not treated as a pair of main and subordinate but the pair is treated as two main nouns denoting the same *vyakti*. Hence, the adjective will have the same relation with the verb as the substantive.

Figure 1
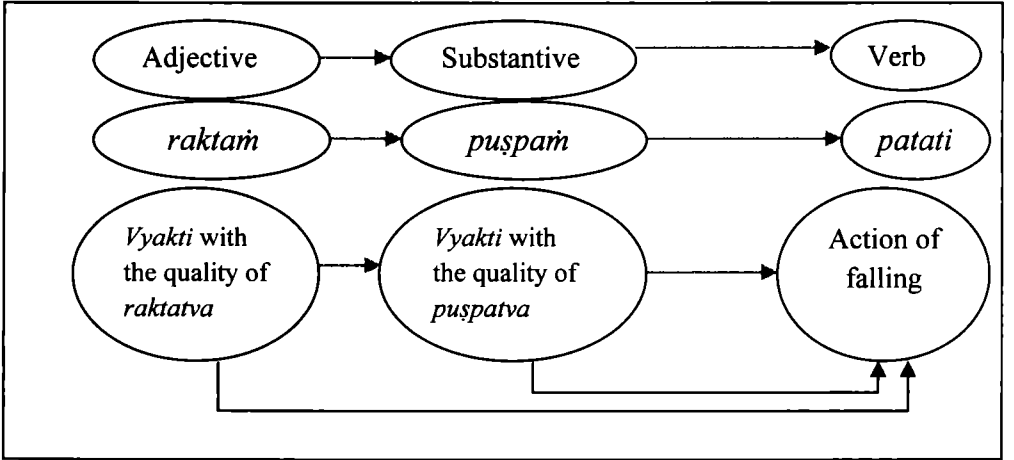
11. Sentence Analysis

11.1. Sentence 1

navoḍho'yaṁ yuvā'timātramanurajyate vadhvām|

This youngster that has just married loves his wife very much.

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terms of 'number'. No other agreements save *vacana*, viz, gender and case can bring about *jātinivṛtti*, the way *vacana* can. *Vacana* occurs throughout the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in both the senses 'speech, mentioning, indicating or meaning' and 'number'.

Comment: *strī navoḍhā bhavati| puruṣastu voḍhā| vahanakriyāyāṁ puruṣasya kartṛtvaṁ striyāśca karmatvaṁ prasiddham| parivettā'nujo'nūḍhe jyeṣṭhe dāraparigrahādityatrānūḍhe ityatra uttarapadalopo draṣṭavyaḥ| anūḍho'nūḍhadāra ityarthaḥ| evaṁ pariṇayakriyāyāmapi draṣṭavyam| tena sadyaḥ kṛtadāraḥ acirakṛtavivāhaḥ iti vā vaktavyam| tatrāciraṁ kṛto vivāho yeneti vigrahaḥ|*

A woman can be called as *navoḍhā* [newly brought (home)]. A man is the one who brings her. It is well-known that a man is the subject and a woman is an object with reference to the action of 'bringing (home) (i.e, getting married). In the sentence, *'parivettā'nujo'nūḍhe jyeṣṭhe dāraparigrahād'* there is an elision of the subsequent component of the compound. *'anūḍha'* [the one who is not brought (home)] means *'anūḍhadāra'* [the one who has not brought his wife (home)]. Same is the case of the verb *'pariṇī'*. Hence one should use either *'sadyaḥ kṛtadāraḥ'* or *'acirakṛtavivāhaḥ'* (to mean 'just married'). The explanation of *'acirakṛtavivāhaḥ'* is the one who has married recently.

11.1.1. Reasoning

The adjective 'navoḍa' due to its meaning is usable only for a woman and not for a man. The reason being, that it is man who performs the function of *vahana* or bringing along, and it is the woman who is brought along with a man.

Correct Sentence According to *Vāgvyavahārādarśa*

sadyaḥ kṛtadāraḥ| acirakṛtavivāho'yaṁ yuvā'timātramanurajyate vadhvām|

11.1.2. Comments

- In English we conveniently say, "John marries Mary". The sentence, 'Mary marries John' is also correct. However it does not work this way in Sanskrit. The sentence, *'Rāmaḥ Sītāṁ vivahati'* is correct in Sanskrit. However saying, "*Sītā Rāmam vivahati*" would not be apt. The reason behind this is hidden in a subtle difference in the concept of marriage in the two cultures. This difference in the concept becomes clear if the

meanings of the two words are examined. Marriage means union, joining or confluence as in 'marriage of music and dance'. Hence, when Mary marries John, John also marries Mary. However the word *vivāha* is made out of rout *vi+vaha* that is to 'bring along' somebody or something. Customarily a man brings the woman along with him in a *vivāha,* and the woman leaves her father's house and stays with that man. So man is the subject of the action of 'bringing along' or *vivāha,* and the woman becomes an object that is brought along by the man. That is why '*Rāmaḥ Sītāṁ vivahati*' is correct and "*Sītā Rāmam vivahati*" is inappropriate.

- Sanskrit writers are tempted to use sentences like this very often probably due to the influence of their first language. Though the words '*vivāha*', '*navoḍha*' etc that are used in many Indian languages seem to have been borrowed from Sanskrit only, the real etymological sense behind it, of 'bringing someone along' is lost and now the meaning of these words has merely become same as the meaning of the word 'marriage' of English discussed above.

- Charudev Shastri cites an example probably from classical literature that looks absolutely contrary to the point that he makes. '*Anūḍhe*' is very much an adjective of '*jyeṣṭhe*' in his example. This means that using '*ūḍha*' as an adjective of a masculine word is not completely wrong. However Charudev Shastri explains that this is due to elision of the subsequent component of the compound '*Anūḍhadāre*' and that's how actually even in this case '*ūḍha*' is an adjective of a feminine word. The use of this word as an adjective is however possible for a masculine word though farfetched.

- We find a verse in *Raghuvaṁśa* (2.1) that goes as follows- *vanāya pītapratibaddhavatsāṁ yaśodhano dhenumṛṣermumocal Mallinātha* justifies the use of the adjective *pīta* for the calf through a grammatical procedure of adding the suffix '*a*' as per *Panini's* rule 5.2.127. It is possible to similarly justify the use of *navoḍa* as an adjective of *yuvā* in the present case.

11.2. Sentence 2

kāpi na kāpyarthavatī vā'narthikā vā ceṣṭā'vaśyaṁ kriyate prāṇibhiḥ| eṣa nisargaḥ|

Some or the other purposeful or futile activity is definitely undertaken by beings. This is their nature.

Comments: *kāpīti viśeṣaṇadviruktyā nārthaḥ| naśabdaścādhiko vākyārthaviparyāsakṛt| kriyayābhisambandhāt| vākye pṛthak śrūyamāṇo nañ kriyayaivābhisambadhyata iti niyamāt| tasmāt kāpyarthavatyanarthikā veti vaktavyam |*

There is no point in repeating the adjective *'kāpi'* twice. The word *'na'* further leads to contradiction of the (intended) meaning, since it construes with the verb. It is a rule that the *'nañ''* not explicitly connected to any other part of the sentence has to be construed with the verb only. Hence, one should say,"*kāpyarthavatyanarthikā vā* "insted.

11.2.1. Reasoning

The author has two problems with this sentence. Firstly the adjective *'kā'pi'* is used twice in the sentence. This is contrary to the style of Sanskrit writing. The Sanskrit writers generally make sure that no adjectives are repeated in their writing unnecessarily. They are also averse to the use of two different adjectives having the same meaning[10]. Secondly he believes that the word *'na'* in *'kāpi na kāpi'* is construed with the verb. This he feels leads to a drastic change in the overall meaning of the sentence.

Correct Sentence According to *Vāgvyavahārādarśa*

kāpyarthavatyanarthikā vā ceṣṭāvaśyaṁ kriyate prāṇibhiḥ|

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[10] See Charudev Shastri's comments on the sentence no. 50 in the *Vāgvyavahārādarśa - śrīrājendraśca rāṣṭrapatiḥ sthitadhīḥ sthiramanāścābhoodityabhyupagamo lokasya|*

11.2.2. Comments

The influence of the first language can be a very clearly observed in the articulation of this sentence. Hindi permits sentences like '*kucha na kucha karanā cāhiye*!' here '*kucha*' means 'something' but '*na kucha*' does not mean 'nothing'. The whole phrase '*kucha na kucha*' means 'something or the other' in Hindi. And many such phrases like '*kahīṁ na kahīṁ*', '*koī na koī*', '*kabhi na kabhi*', etc. are regularly used in Hindi. This directly translated into Sanskrit is bound to be redundant as such phrase is not recognized in Sanskrit, and so such a phrase is understood in terms of the meanings of each word in it. Hence '*kāpi na kāpi ceṣṭā*' would literally mean 'a certain (action) or no (action)'.

Charudev Shastri in his comments explains what such a sentence could mean technically. He doesn't see '*kāpi na kāpi*' as one phrase directly borrowed from Hindi or other Indian language. As Sanskrit is a relatively free-word-order language, he while interpreting this sentence independently in Sanskrit sees '*kāpi*' as an adjective of '*ceṣṭā*' used twice unnecessarily, while '*na*' construes with the verb making '*na kriyate*' rendering the meaning completely contrary to the meaning desired to be expressed by the writer. He further suggests the use of '*kāpi*' instead of using the phrase '*kāpi na kāpi*'.

11.3. Sentence 3

Kṛścīnā yīśuṁ prabhuṁ pāpmanāṁ kṣantāraṁ pāvakaṁ ca manyante|

[Christians consider Jesus to be the almighty, forgiver of the sins and the purifier.]

Comment: *punātīti   pāvaka   iti   vyutpattilabhye'rthe   satyapi pāvakaśabdo'gnimevāha natvarthāntaram| tena pāvanaṁ pavitāramiti vā vaktavyam |*

Even if the meaning acquired from etymology is, '*pāvaka*' is the one that purifies', the word *pāvaka* denotes the fire and does not signify any other meaning. Hence the correct word would be '*pāvanam*' or '*pavitāram*'.

11.3.1. Reasoning

The author points out the error in this sentence on the basis of the reasoning, that the adjective which is conventionally fixed to qualify a particular substantive is used with some other substantive according to its etymological meaning. In this sentence the word '*yīśuṁ*' is the substantive and it is qualified by the adjectives *prabhuṁ, pāpmanāṁ kṣantāraṁ* , and *pāvakam*. The adjective *pāvaka* is derived from the root *pū* meaning 'to purify'. The word is derived by adding the *kṛdanta* suffix '*ṇvul*' by the aphorism *ṇvultṛcau* 3.1.94. The word etymologically means 'the one that purifies'. Yet, author points out that even if the word literally means 'the one that purifies', conventionally, this word is used as an adjective of the only substantive namely '*agni*' or the fire. Thus, it is no more an adjective denoting the quality of purifier in general but it denotes the quality of a particular purifier namely '*agni*'. Hence, the word will signify *agni* and not any other substantive. Hence, according to author, it is incorrect to use the word as an adjective of any other substantive. Instead, he suggests to use other forms of the root *pū* such as '*pāvanam*' or '*pavitāram*, which will denote the quality of purifier in general and will not be adhered to a particular substantive.

Correct Sentence According to *Vāgvyavahārādarśa*

Kṛścīnā yīśuṁ prabhuṁ pāpmanāṁ kṣantāraṁ pāvanam| *pavitāram ca manyante* |

11.3.2. Comments

The author has pointed out the error in this sentence based on the lexical meaning of the word '*pāvaka*'. As author has explained, the etymological meaning of the word *pāvaka* is 'the one that purifies'. Thus, the word should denote 'a *jāti*' possessing a particular quality of being purifier. Yet, lexical meaning does not support this meaning. Conventionally, the word is not used to denote a *jāti* with the quality of being purifier, but it is used to denote a particular *vyakti* with the same quality that is *agni*. The adjective in general denotes *vyakti*, only when it is used in a sentence and qualifies the *vyakti* to which it is associated with identical gender and number. However, in the

exceptional case like the present one, the adjective conventionally denotes a *vyakti* and not *jāti*. Thus the adjective acquires the status of 'denoting a *vyakti*' at the lexical level itself, before it is used in the sentence. Hence, even if it is used in a sentence and is associated with some other *vyakti*, the adjective will fail to qualify the *vyakti* to which it is associated syntactically because it will always denote the *vyakti* to which it is associated conventionally.

In the present case, the word *pāvaka* denotes a particular *vyakti* with the quality of being purifier, which is *agni*. Thus even if it is associated with the word '*yīśuṁ*' in the sentence, it will fail to qualify it because the word will always signify the *vyakti* namely *agni*.

This can be further explained in the terminology of Indian Logic, *yoga* and *rūḍhi*. According to the power of denoting the meaning, the words are classified in four classes namely, *yaugika*, *rūḍha*, *yoga-rūḍha* and *yaugikarūḍha*. The word is known as *yaugika* if the meaning denoted by the word is according to the adjoining of the *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* in the word[11]. When the meaning denoted by the word is owing to the convention, the word is known as *rūḍha*[12]. *yogarūḍha* is the type of word when the meaning denoted by the word is combination of the meaning of its parts and the conventional meaning[13]. *yaugikarūḍha* is the word with two distinct meanings one according to the *yoga* and other according to the *rūḍhi*[14]. In the present case, the word *pāvaka* is an example of *yogarūḍha* type. In this word the meaning according to *yoga* is 'one that purifies'. Yet, the word does not denote every other purifier but according to *rūḍhi*, it denotes a particular 'purifier' namely *agni*. Thus, the word denotes the meaning, which is a combined result of *yoga* and *rūḍhi*. Hence, only the etymological meaning

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[11] *yogovayavaśaktistanmātreṇārthapratipādakamādyam| tarkasaṁgrahadīpīkā vyākhyā neelakaṇṭhī |* (2008)

[12] *rūḍhiḥ samudāyaśaktiḥ | tarkasaṁgrahadīpīkā vyākhyā neelakaṇṭhī|* (2008)

[13] *yogarūḍhiriti yogasahitarūḍhirityarthaḥ | tarkasaṁgrahadīpīkā vyākhyā neelakaṇṭhī |* (2008)

[14] *yogena rūḍhyā ca parasparāsahakāreṇa arthapratipādakaṁ....tarkasaṁgrahadīpīkā vyākhyā neelakaṇṭhī|* (2008)

cannot be taken into account and the word cannot be used to denote 'purifier in general'.

11.3.2.1. The Issue of Exclusive Substantive

The adjective *pāvaka* is used as an adjective of only one substantive namely *agni*. Hence, the word will always qualify *agni* even if used along with the substantive *agni* or used without the substantive. This fact allows us to infer that the adjective *pāvaka* has gained the status of 'synonym' or the 'epithet' of the word *agni*, because the word denotes the same meaning as denoted by the word *agni*. The word *agni* denotes 'the fire' whereas the word *pāvaka* denotes 'the fire which is purifier'. Thus, the word *pāvaka* denotes the quality of purifier as well as the qualified *agni*. Hence if the word is used as an adjective along with the word *agni*, the articulation will have an error of repetition. The word *pāvaka* itself is enough to denote the meaning of quality and the qualified and it will be used independently in the sentence to denote '*agni* that is a purifier'. Thus, the word can no more be treated as an adjective but it can be treated as the word synonymous to the word *agni*.

From the above analysis we can infer that the adjective which is conventionally used for a particular substantive exclusively, cannot be used to qualify any other substantive. In fact such adjective cannot be treated as an adjective at all but will be treated as the independent synonym of the substantive. Thus, the author's objection to the use of *pāvaka* here is justified. The word *pāvaka* should be replaced by the other forms such as '*pāvanam*' or '*pavitāram*'.

11. Directive Rules

Following directive rules emerge from the analysis of the three sentences above:

1. The adjectives prepared by adding *kṛdanta* suffixes to the roots *vi+vah* and *pari+nī* when meaning 'marriage' should necessarily have a masculine *kartṛ* and a feminine *karman*.

2. The same adjective should not unnecessarily be used twice in a sentence.

3. The adjective which is conventionally used for a particular substantive exclusively, cannot be treated as an adjective but will be treated as an independent synonym of the substantive.

12. Conclusion

From a wide survey of erroneous sentences, it can be observed that the source of just a few is 'ignorance of grammatical rules'. The rest of them are caused either due to the influence of the first language, or due to lack of awareness about the conventions of writing Sanskrit.

It must be noted that the learners of Sanskrit today are exposed to Sanskrit grammar, Sanskrit literature and philosophical and technical discussions found in it. The learners at traditional *Pāṭhaśālās*, students are also made to memorize texts. This is because deciphering Sanskrit texts is of prime importance to them. The learners also as a bi-product acquire an ability to express their thoughts in Sanskrit. However out of thirteen universities dedicated exclusively for Sanskrit and numerous Sanskrit departments all over the world, the conventions to be followed while writing Sanskrit are seldom discussed formally. Through a huge compilation and classification of errors as above, an exhaustive list of directives to be followed to avoid probable errors in each aspect of Sanskrit writing can be provided. This can serve as a reference and a guide to the kind of Sanskrit learners discussed above who may be interested in creating new Sanskrit literature. It will help them to maintain a style of writing that is in conformity to the traditional writing norms. This in turn will help to keep the decipherability of Sanskrit intact through the future generations and help an almost accurate transmission of knowledge through Sanskrit.

No	Sentence	Translation of the sentence	Correct sentence suggested by the author	Author's comments	Translation of the author's comment	Cl-1	Cl-2	Directive rule
				Appendix-1 A Sample of Classification of Sentences Based on Errors				
1	काऽपि न काप्यर्थवती वाऽनर्थिका वा चेष्टावश्यं क्रियते प्राणिभिः । एष *निसर्गः।	Some or the other sensible of nonsensical effort is definitely made by beings. This is their nature.	काप्यर्थवत्यनर्थिका वाचेष्टावश्यं क्रियते प्राणिभिः। एषः निसर्गः।	कापीति विशेषणद्विरुक्त्या नार्थः। 'न'शब्दश्चाधिको वाक्यार्थविपर्यासकृत् । क्रिययाभिसम्बन्धात् । वाक्ये पृथक् श्रूयमाणो नञ् क्रिययैवाभिसम्बध्यत इति नियमात् । तस्मात् काप्यर्थवत्यनर्थिका वेति वक्तव्यम् ।	There is no point in repeating the adjective 'कापि' twice. The word 'न' further leads to contradiction of the (intended) meaning, since it construes with the verb. It is a rule that the 'नञ्' not explicitly connected to any other part of the sentence has to be construed with the verb only. Hence, one should say,"काप्यर्थवत्यनर्थिका वा" instead.	1.1, 2.1	1	1. The same adjective should not be used twice in the sentence. 2. The 'नञ्' existing separately in the sentence is always construed with the verb.
2	मनुष्यो हि ब्रह्मणा सर्वमर्थजातं	Man indeed believes that all objects	मनुष्यो हि ब्रह्मणा सर्वमर्थजातं स्वहितायैव/मद्भिता	स्वहिताय मद्भितायेति वा वक्तव्यम् । तदिति परोक्षे विजानीयादिति	One should use 'स्वहिताय' or 'मद्भिताय' instead. It is laid down that the pronoun 'तद्' is	5.1	1	1. The Indirect speech as in

	तद्धितायैव सृष्टमिति मनुते । इयमस्याहो पुरुषिका ।	(in this world) have been created for him only. This is his arrogance	यैव सृष्टमिति मनुते । इयमस्याहोपुरुषिका ।	वचनात्तच्छब्दः परोक्षभूतमर्थं परामृशेन्न प्रत्यक्षं सन्निहितम् । प्रत्यक्षश्च मनुष्यस्य स्वः । तेन स्वशब्देनात्मानं निर्दिशेद् अस्मच्छब्देन वा । तस्य हिताय तद्धितायेति वोच्यमानेऽसन्निहितस्य कस्यचिद्धितायेति विज्ञायेत । तन्मा विज्ञायीति यथोक्तं निर्देष्टव्यम् ।	used to denote entities that are beyond ones sight. Hence, the word 'तद्' here will denote a far off entity and not the one that is present right here. 'Self' of the person is what is prestent right here. Hence, one should denote oneself either by the word 'स्व' or 'आत्मन्'. When 'तद्धिताय' is used, it gives the sense that, 'It is for the purpose of some entity that is not around'. One should use the aforesaid (words instead) in order to avoid making such a sense.			English is seldom used in Sanskrit. 2. One's own self is to be denoted by the words 'स्व' or 'आत्मन्'.
3	कोऽपि कियानेव दुष्टः स्याद् भगवन्तं त्रातारमुप	However wicked one may be, if he worships the saviour	विप्रदुष्टोऽपि चेत्स्यात् /सुदुराचारोऽपि चेत्स्याद् भगवन्तं त्रातारमुपस्थितश्चेत्	न ह्युपाधेरुपाधिर्भवति विशेषणस्य वा विशेषणम् इति भाष्योक्तेः कियानिति दुष्ट इत्येतन्न	As the Bhāṣya says, there cannot be an attribute for another attribute, nor can there be an adjective for another adjective. Hence, the	1.2	1	There cannot be an attribute for another attribute, nor

	स्थितश्चेत् तरति संसारार्णवम् ।	god, then crosses the ocean of the material world	तरति संसारार्णवम् ।	विशिष्यात्। न चैषा संस्कृते भाषितभङ्गिः। विप्रदुष्टोऽपि चेत्स्यात्, सुदुराचारोऽपि चेत्स्याद् इति वा वक्तव्यम् ।	word कियान् cannot be an adjective of दुष्ट. Such expression is not in conformity with the Sanskrit usage. So, it should be said as विप्रदुष्टोऽपि चेत्स्यात् or सुदुराचारोऽपि चेत्स्याद्.			can there be an adjective for another adjective
4	सावित्र्या तुल्यगुणाऽऽ दर्शपत्नी भवतीति प्रायो वादः ।	It is generally said that a woman comparable to सावित्री in her virtues would be an ideal wife.	सावित्र्या तुल्यगुणा स्त्री पत्नीनामादर्शो भवतीति प्रायो वादः।	तुल्यगुणा स्त्री पत्नीनामादर्शो भवतीत्येवं व्यवहारोऽनुसृतो भवति । आदर्शो हि दर्पणो भवति । आदर्श इवादर्श इत्यौपमिकः प्रयोगः ।	This is to be expressed as, 'A woman comparable in merits (to) is like a mirror to wifehood'. 'आदर्श' means 'A mirror'. A mirror metaphoricaly thought of as an ideal.	1.3 , 4.1	1	आदर्श cannot be used as an adjective. The category in which some entity is ideal is to be written in the sixth case.
5	कुलूतस्य कम्बला गुणाढ्यश्चि रतरमुपयो ज्या	The blankets of कुलूत (region) are	कुलूतानां कम्बला गुणाढ्याश्चिरतरमुप योज्या भवन्ति ।	कुलूता नाम क्षत्रियाः, तेषां निवासो जनपदो कुलूताः । यथाऽङ्गाः, बङ्गाः, कलिङ्गाः । तेन कुलूतानामिति	Kulūtas' are (a class of) warriors. The region in which they reside is called as 'कुलूताः' (i.e plural of कुलूत). Just as in case of other	4.2	2.1	The names of the regions based on the names of the classes of

	भवन्ति ।	of good quality and can be used for a long time.		वक्तव्यम् । एकवचनन्तु दुष्टम् ।	regions like अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः, कलिङ्गाः। So, it should be कुलूतानाम् (plural in sixth case). Use of singular number is incorrect.			people residing there should be used in plural.
6	ह्यः सायं महती वर्षाऽभवत, *आप्लाव्यं च किमप्यभवन्नद्याः ।	There was heavy rain yesterday evening and the river was almost flooded.	ह्यः सायं महती वृष्टिः/महान् वर्षः/महत् वर्षम् अभवत्, आप्लाव्यं च किमप्यभवन्नद्याः ।	वर्षा इति प्रावृड्र्थे स्त्रियां बहुत्वे प्रयुज्यते न चेह प्रावृड्र्थः संगच्छत इति महती वृष्टिरिति वक्तव्यम् । वर्षशब्दो वा पुन्नपुंसकयोः प्रयोक्तव्यः ।	The word 'वर्षा' when used in plural in feminine gender denotes rainy season. The meaning 'rainy season' is not relevant here. Hence one may say 'महती वृष्टिः' instead. One may optionally use the word 'वर्ष' in masculine or neuter gender.	4.2	2.1	The word 'वर्षा' should be used in plural when denoting rain.
7	तस्मा अहमेकादशां त्रिंशतं रूप्यकानदाम् ।	I gave him thirty and eleven rupees.	१. तस्मा अहम् एकादशाधिकां/एका दशोत्तरां त्रिंशतं रूप्यकानदाम्। २. तस्मा अहम् एकादश च त्रिंशतं च रूप्यकानदाम्।	त्रिंशच्छब्दोत्र संख्येये वर्तते। संख्येयं च रूप्यकाः। तथापि संख्या सर्वस्य भेदिकेति वचनाद् एकादशाधिकेनैकादशोत् रेण वा विशेषणेन	The word 'त्रिंशत्' has countability here, and so also the रूप्यकs (i.e rupees). But still, due to the virtue of the sentence, 'A number acts as an attribute of everything' the number 'thirty' is qualified by	1.4	2.2	1. The numbers ending in दश can be declined in neuter gender only when

| | | | | | त्रिशत्संख्या विशेष्यत इति तेन तद्वते लिङ्गसंख्ये उपादानीये इति एकादशाधिकामेकादशोत्तरां वा त्रिंशतं रूप्यकानिति निर्दुष्टं स्यात्। व्यवहारस्त्वस्य नास्ति। एकादश च त्रिंशतं च रूप्यकानिति वा व्यासेन वक्तव्यम्। एकादशं शतमेकादशं सहस्रमिति च शक्यते वक्तुम्। तदस्मिन्नधिकमिति दशान्ताड्डः। शतसहस्रयोरेवेष्यत इत्युक्तम्। तेन प्रकृते ड्प्रत्ययस्याप्रसङ्गः। | 'एकादशाधिक' or 'एकादशोत्तर' (i.e .... more than eleven). So, this word ('एकादशाधिक' or 'एकादशोत्तर') has to take up the gender and number that are similar to it (i.e त्रिंशत्). Hence, 'एकादशाधिकाम् or एकादशोत्तरां त्रिंशतं रूप्यकान्' would be correct. This is however not seen in the usage of the language. One may dissolve the compound and say एकादश च त्रिंशतं रूप्यकान् (i.e, eleven and thirty). The usages like 'एकादशं शतम्' and 'एकादशं सहस्रम्' are possible due to the virtue of the aphorism 'तदस्मिन्नधिकमिति दशान्ताड्डः'. It is also said that, "This is permissible only for the words 'शत' and 'सहस्र". Hence, | | | used with शत and सहस्र. |

| 8 | षड् वर्षाणि पूर्वमहं भवन्तं काश्मीरेष्वपश्यम्। | Six years back I saw you at Kashmir. | इतो वर्षषट्केऽहं भवन्तं काश्मीरेष्वपश्यम्। | इतो वर्षषट्केऽहमित्यादि व्यवहारानुपातीति पूर्वाद्धे वितत्य निदर्शितमिति तत एवावधार्यम्। | इतो वर्षषट्केऽहम्...' is the correct way to make this sentence. This has already been explained elaborately in the previous section (of the book). (pg. 38 and 39) | 5.2 | 1 | For constructing sentences to indicate a perticular period past now use इतः and the words indicative of the period in the seventh case. |
| 9 | मध्यदिनार्कसन्तसः स प्रच्छायशीतलं तरुतलमाश्रितः। | Tormented by the heat of the afternoon sun, he resorted to the foot of a shady tree | मध्यन्दिनार्कसन्तसः/मध्याह्नार्कसन्तसः स प्रच्छायशीतलं तरुतलमाश्रितः। | मध्ये भवं माध्यन्दिनम्। मध्यो मध्यं दिनण् चास्मादिति वार्तिकेन माध्यन्दिनमिति सिध्यति ।तेन मध्याह्नार्कसन्तस इति वाच्यम्। | The one that is in the middle is called as माध्यन्दिन. The word 'माध्यन्दिन' is derived with the help of the वार्तिक- मध्यो मध्यं दिनण् चास्मात्. Hence, one should say, "मध्याह्नार्कसन्तसः". Even the word 'मध्यन्दिन' has been used | 3.1 | 2.2 | Preparation of the compound मध्यदिन.. is blocked. Use मध्यन्दिन instead. |

(above table, continuation at top): there is no relevance of the suffix 'ड' here.

				मध्यन्दिनशब्दोऽप्यस्ति शिष्टप्रयुक्तः, मध्यन्दिनसवनादिषु दर्शनात् । तेन मध्यन्दिनार्कसन्तस इति वा वाच्यम्।	by the शिष्टs. Hence, one may also use, "मध्यन्दिनार्कसन्तसः".			
10	देवश्वेद् वृष्टः, सम्पत्स्यन्ते शालयः।	pragmatic	देवश्वेद् वृष्टः, सम्पन्ना शालयः।	सम्पन्ना शालय इति वक्तव्यम्। कुत इति चेल्लोकः सम्पत्स्यन्ते शालय इत्येवंजातियकं व्यवहारं न मृष्यतीति।	One should say, "सम्पन्नाः शालयः" instead. This is simply because the users of Sanskrit do not support the use of 'सम्पत्स्यन्ते शालयः'.	5.3	3.1	Both the causal and the resultant activity should be same by default.

Appendix-2 Classification based on types of errors													
1	**Adjectives**	**S. No.**	**2**	**Negation**	**S. No.**	**3**	**Forming compounds**	**S. No.**	**4**	**Nouns**	**S. No.**	**5**	**Suitability to the language style**	**S. No.**
1.1	Repetition of adjective	1	2.1	un-intentionally getting construed with verb	1	3.1	ignorance about exceptions	9	4.1	The word 'आदर्श'	4	5.1	Direct Indirect speech	2

1.2	Adjective for an Adjective	3								4.2	Nouns to be used always in plural	5, 6	5.2	Way to indicate particular period past now.	8, 11
1.3	Noun used as Adjective	4											5.3	Choice of the language user	10
1.4	Numerals	7													

Appendix-3 Classification the source of error				
1. Influence of L1	**2. Ignorance about grammatical rules**		**3. Others**	
	2.1 About ordinances	**2.2 About blockages**	**3.1 Logical unconventional**	**3.2 Illogical and unconventional**
1, 2, 3, 4, 8	5, 6,	7, 9	10	11

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF *MOKṢA-MĀRGA* IN VIVEKACŪḌĀMAṆI

WALTER MENEZES

The advaitic masterpiece, Vivekacūḍāmaṇi is a philosophical treatise credited to Śaṅkara.[1] Vivekacūḍāmaṇi expounds the fundamental philosophical stance of *Prasthānatraya* (Grimes, 1996)[2] in a lucid style upon which the entire edifice of Advaita Vedānta is founded. Having written pioneering and monumental commentaries on triple cannon *(Prasthānatraya)* comprising the Upaniṣads, Bhagavad-Gītā and Brahma-Sūtras, Śaṅkara composed several sub-texts called *Prakaraṇa-grantha*s (philosophical treatises), with the view of making the message of Vedānta accessible to all. Vivekacūḍāmaṇi, as its name signifies, is such a text, the objective of which is to necessitate in the *śiṣya* the disposition required to discriminate the real from unreal with the main aim of realizing *'jīvo brahmaiva nāparaḥ,'* through the methods of *Śravaṇa, Manana & Nididhyāsana.* The present research paper is an attempt to study in depth the significance of *Mokṣa-mārga* in the entire soteriology of Advaita as enumerated in Vivekacūḍāmaṇi.

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[1] I am indebted to Professor C. D. Sebastian IITB for his corrections and suggestions which made the paper in the present form.

[2] The term denotes the triple foundation of Vedānta namely, *Śruti-Prasthāna* (Vedas and Upaniṣads), *Smṛti-Prasthāna* (Bhagavad-Gītā) and *Nyāya-Prasthāna* (Brahmasūtra) all of which, according to the *Bhāṣya*s of Śaṅkara teach the Advaitic doctrine of non-dualism.

1. Text: Vivekacūḍāmaṇi

The title Vivekacūḍāmaṇi (Johnston, 1925), translated as 'Crest Jewel of Discrimination' is compounded of three words from the Sanskrit language, namely, '*Viveka*', '*cūḍā*', and '*maṇi*', signifying 'Discrimination', 'Crest' and 'Jewel' respectively. The title suggests that just as the jewel on the crest of a diadem is the most conspicuous ornament on the body, so also this philosophical treatise is a masterpiece among the works dealing with discrimination between the real and the unreal (Mādhavānanda, 2005). Secondly, the title denotes the method of discrimination that involves three stages of *Śravaṇa*, *Manana* and *Nididhyāsana* as the Crown of all methods of discrimination, and the key to the *advaitic* realisation. Finally, the title signifies the Jewel itself, suggesting that just as the gold purified in fire shines resplendent, so also as the *Brahman* due to the process of discrimination from the unreal shines forth as the Crown of all Jewels, resplendent in its splendour. The 'Crown Jewel of discrimination' is in the form of dialogue between a *guru* (teacher) and *śiṣya* (pupil) in which the *śiṣya* humbly approaches the *guru* and having propitiated the *guru* with selfless service (*sevā*), implores to be rescued from worldly existence (*saṁsāra*). The *guru*, having pleased and convinced of the earnestness of the *śiṣya* and his qualifications, promises to teach him the way to liberation (*mokṣa*) which culminates in the ecstatic experience of one's own self (Grimes, 2004). Thus the title of this text can be called as the preamble of the entire text as it summarises successfully all the three aspects of this work namely, the text Vivekacūḍāmaṇi, the method of text known as discrimination and the result of reading and practising the text which is the Crown, the Real, the *Brahman* one without Second. The entire text expounds the fundamental philosophical concepts of Advaita Vedānta and exhorts the *śiṣya* to put them into practice. It says that '*viveka*' or 'discrimination' between what is *real* and *unreal* (or Self / *Ātman* and non-self) is of paramount importance in one's quest for liberation.

2. Authorship

Śaṅkara is given an unparalleled place in the entire career of *advaitic* thought. The popular scholarship suggests that Śaṅkara offered nothing more than the concept of *Māyā*. However, the adherents of the advaitic thought are undoubtedly justified in asserting that *māyā* is the distinguishing feature of *advaitic* philosophy as contrast to other systems of thought. Though the literature available on the life of the author makes him a legend in various ways[3] assigns more importance to the philosophical concepts[4] and their relevance to life that legendary life of the thinker.[5] The scholarship in keeping with the legendary stories claims that he was a great philosopher, mystic, missionary, and founder of Monasteries (Isayeva, 1995).[6]

Despite of the ongoing debate over which works can be accredited accurately to the philosopher Śaṅkara, most of the scholars agree without dispute that he wrote commentaries on eleven major Upaniṣads,[7] Brahmasūtras, and Bhagavad-Gītā. Among the *Prakaraṇa-granthas* there is an absolute agreement on the authorship of Upadeśasāhasrī (Grimes, 2004). On grounds of style and terminology, some modern scholars have disputed the authorship of Vivekacūḍāmaṇi (hereafter abbreviated as VC), as ascribed to

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[3]Some of the legendary works are, Mādhavā-Vidyaranya (2009), Dvivedi (1985), Madugula (1985), Swami Mukhyananda (1987), Roy (1965).

[4]The most notable contributions are: *Māyā* or *Avidyā, Adhyāsa, Ajātivāda, Kevalādvaita, Paramārthika sattā, Vyāvahārika sattā, Prātibhāsika sattā, Nirguṇa Brahman, Ātman, Jīva, Jīvanmukti* and *Jñāna mārga.*

[5] There is uncertainty about the date and exact itinerary, yet the modern scholarship vastly agrees that Śaṅkara was born in Kerala at a Village Kāladī in 788 AD, and undertook journeys as furthest to Kashmir, and died in Kāñcī in 820 AD. The scholarship in keeping with the legendary stories claims that he was a great philosopher, mystic, missionary and founder of monasteries. See Sharma (2003: vi) and also, Deussen (2003: 35).

[6] Isayeva (1992: 2); Cf. also, Suthren Hirst (1993: 184), Cole (2004: 20, 25).

[7] Most scholars agree without dispute that he wrote commentaries on ten major Upaniṣads: Īśa, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka and Māṇḍūkya, Taittirīya, Chāndogya, Aitareya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka. There are some reservations about the commentary on the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad.

Śaṅkara (Comans, 1996).[8] The most likely opinion of the scholars is that it was written by post-Śaṅkara or the later *advaitins*, though there is very negligible amount of discussion concerning the authenticity of the *advaita* philosophy in VC. Therefore, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, a pre-eminent modern teacher of Vedānta, fittingly observed: "I do not think we lose anything even if the authorship is attributed to any other Śaṅkarācārya of one of the various Śaṅkara-mathas" (Saraswati, 1997, 1). However, Paul Hacker, who also points out that Śaṅkara used the concept of *anirvarcanīya* in different sense than his earlier works; whose criteria has been used by the modern authors to dismiss the scholarship of VC as spurious, accepts the work as genuine based on the colophone (Saraswati 1997: 1). John Grimes provides a balanced assessment of VC. Following Hacker's criteria step by step he states that VC is a genuine work of Śaṅkara, and the reason for which it differs from certain aspects from other works is related the difference in audience and difference in emphasis and the purpose. He (2004: 13) avers, "...there is no rule that insists that a *prakaraṇa* treatise should consistent with a commentary." One is inclined to agree with John Grimes approach towards VC which is primarily an ancillary treatise of Śaṅkara addressed to different audience with specific emphasis and purpose. Nevertheless, one can submit that, overall, the work is consistent with and does not deviate from Śaṅkara's fundamental Advaitic stance: That

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[8]Among the various objections, Michael Comans finds the style of the verses of VC to be "highly poetic" in contrast to the vigorous style of the verses in Upadeśasāhasrī. He also says that *Nirvikalpa samādhi* is given more importance in VC than his other texts. Therefore, Comans concludes that VC more likely has been authored by later Śaṅkarācāryas, perhaps connected to the *Sringeripīṭham*. Similarly, A. J. Alston remarks that reference to *āvaraṇaśakti* and *vikṣepaśakti* attributed to *avidyā* in verses 110 to 117 is not found elsewhere in Śaṅkara's commentarial works. He also believes that references to the *"Brahman as ānanda"*- which occurs often in the verses of VC are quite sparse in Upadeśasāhasrī. Alston compares the style and flavour of VC to the reminiscent of a Vedāntic work called Yoga-Vāśiṣṭha. D.H. H. Ingalls states that the author of VC makes absolute equation of the waking and dream states after the fashion of Gauḍapāda. He employed the notion of *anirvarcanīya* distinct from his established works. Furthermore, Ingalls believes that Śaṅkara does not use *anirvarcanīya* as a qualification of *avidyā*. See Comans (1996: xvi), Alston (1997: 22, 297) and Ingalls (1953: 7, 12).

the *Brahman* (absolute) is One without a second; that it is one with the *Ātman* (Self); that the multiplicity of the world of appearance is *mithyā*, and the *Brahman* is of the nature of *Sat-Cid-Ānanda*. Advaita Vedānta hagiographies, and the internal evidence of the first verse of VC[9] supported by its philosophical allegiance to *Prasthānatraya*, declare that Śaṅkara composed the VC in the *āśrama* of his *guru* Govindapāda at the banks of the Narmada River towards end of his career Grimes, 2004, vii).

3. The Main theme and Outline

The main theme in the text is radical non-dualism of Advaita. The text analyses the individual self (*Jīva*) and reveals that it is not different from the Supreme Self (*Ātman*) or That (*Brahman*). The popular Advaitic maxim (*brahma satyam jagan mithyā, jīvo brahmaiva nāparaḥ*) appears in the VC 20; and Śaṅkara uses it as the first among the *sādhana-catuṣṭaya*: "the firm conviction that *Brahman* is real and the universe is unreal is designated as discrimination between the eternal and the impermanent." (Mādhavānanda 2005).[10] The VC describes the three steps discrimination namely, *Śravaṇa*, *Manana* and *Nididhyāsana* along with the fruitful discussion of *śiṣya* with *guru*, leading to the experience of the highest knowledge by realising his non-difference from the Supreme Self. The salutation to the *guru* in the first verse suggests that the entire text consisting of 580 verses was written in obedience, and in devotion to his own *guru* Govindapāda. While the supreme *guru* is also known as Govinda, in this context it can be clarified that Śaṅkara intended to combine the notion of supreme *guru* with his earthly *guru*, suggesting the importance of accepting authority and tradition in practice of Advaita Vedānta. Needless to say, for the Advaitins finding a fitting earthly *guru* is of paramount importance in the journey of realization. The salutation to the Supreme *guru* defines *Jñāna-mārga* beyond the limits of textual knowledge, extending it to the realm of practice in allegiance to authority and tradition. One cannot

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[9] *sarva-vedānta-siddhānta-gocaraṁ tam agocaram | govindaṁ paramānandaṁ sad-guruṁ praṇato' asmy aham |*. See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[10] *Brahma satyaṁ jagan mithyetyevaṁrūpo viniścayaḥ | so'yam nityānitya-vastu-viveka samudāhṛtaḥ |* See See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005: seven).

deny the fact that text was written to the audiences of time in mind. In his article Francis Clooney (2001) describes VC as a 'pedagogical masterpiece exclusively for male *Brahmins.*' He is primarily referring to the second verse of VC (Mādhavānanda 2005).[11] The word '*viprata*' has, in common parlance, come to mean the rank or condition of a priest (*Brāhmaṇa*) and, combined with the word '*puṁstvaṁ*' meaning 'strength, masculinity, this verse is usually translated as 'more difficult to obtain a human body than to be born as a male member of the priestly caste.' Orthodox interpreters have generally interpreted this verse to mean that the act of a male birth in a *brahmin* family is an indispensable prerequisite for Self-realisation. But John Grimes (2004) says that the more advanced interpretation of the word '*viprata*' mean Self-development; and in Vedāntic terms, this is spiritual practice not limited to male body, but rather describing qualities and qualifications that one is equipped with as an aspirant of the Self-knowledge. Needless to say, it is an established truth that during the time of Śaṅkara the male *Brahmins* were the most privileged persons, who had the rare opportunity to read and learn Sanskrit as they were considered fitting heirs to practice the duty of a priest and read the scriptures (Mādhavānanda, 2005).[12] Who else did Śaṅkara had in his mind? However since the present scenario is changed, it is not limited to the one section of human being, and one can be generous in interpreting the writings of Śaṅkara as if it were addressed not only to those who are able to read and write the language of gods, but to all those who can access its translation as well.13 Having convinced of the above interpretation, one can reiterate that the outline of the

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[11] *jantūnāṁ nara-janma durlabhaṁ ataḥ puṁstvaṁ tato viprata | tasmād vaidika-dharma-mārga-paratā vidvattvam asmāt param | Ātmānātma-vivecanaṁ svanubhavo brahmātmanā saṁsthitiḥ | muktir no śata-koṭi-janma sukṛtaiḥ puṇyair vinā labhyate* |2| See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[12] *hitam idam upadeśam ādriyantām vihita-nirasta-samasta-citta-doṣāḥ | Bhava-sukha-viratāḥ praśānta-cittaḥ śruti-rasikā yatayo mumukṣavo ye* |579| See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[13]*saṁsārādhvani   tāpa-bhānu-kiraṇa-prodbhūta-dāhavyatā-khinnānāṁ   jala-kāṅkṣayā marubhuvi bhrāntyā paribhrāmyatām | atyāsanna-sudhāmbudhiṁ sukhakaraṁ brahmādvayam darśayat yeṣā śaṁkar-bhārātī vijayate nirvāṇa-sandāyinī* |580| See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

text is an instruction designed for the *vidvān* (VC 8) of Advaita who has understood the nuances relative existence (*Yogārūḍha*, VC 9) sets out his sight on the ultimate reality by practice of *sādhana-catuṣṭaya* (VC 20–28). With the ornaments of *Daivānugraha* (VC 3), *Guruprasāda* (VC 29), and *Bhakti* (VC 32, 33), and with the steps of *Ātmānātmaviveka*, namely *Kośāvanātmāḥ* (VC 74–76, 94–98, 110), *pañcakośaviveka* (VC 156–213), and *avasthātraya* (VC 88–128) the *vidvān* marches through three steps of *Mokṣa-mārga*, thereby to realise the ultimate truth namely, '*jīvo brahmaivanāparaḥ*'.

4. The *Mokṣa-mārga* and its Significance

The method of VC is given in the very first verse of the text, where the *śiṣya* first and foremost bows before the *guru*, authority, tradition, scripture and the *Brahman* Itself.[14] This first verse clearly points out that VC as a method of discrimination offers the dialogical structure between the *śiṣya* and the *guru* so as to discriminate from the non-self. The knowledge exchanged between the *śiṣya* in the *Yogārūḍha* state and the *guru* in supreme bliss initiates an intellectual analysis of *avasthātraya* and *Pañcakoṣa* in the *śiṣya*. The verse 14 of the VC says that success depends upon the qualified aspirant, and hence the *śiṣya* after the reality of the *Ātman* should take to reasoning, after duly approaching the *guru*, who should be best equipped by the experience of enlightenment of *Brahman* (VC 15, 65). Therefore, only an intelligent and learned seeker skilled in arguing in favour of the scriptures and refuted to counter-arguments against them is fit recipient of the knowledge of the *Ātman* (VC 16). The dialogical structure in VC presupposes that realization is a gradual process.[15] The *śiṣya* requires rigourous training under the guidance of the *guru* before one can realise the Supreme Self. Following are the three stages of realization that required to be practiced by the *śiṣya*.

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[14] The first verse of Vivekacūḍāmaṇi makes reference to guru Govinda, who is a teacher, to the supreme Self by invoking his nature. It makes reference to authority, tradition, and scripture by making reference to the supreme *Guru* Govinda, who can be known only from the import of all Vedānta.

[15] The practice of *sādhana-catuṣṭaya*, *avasthātraya*, *pañcakoṣa viveka* and *śravaṇa, manana, nididhyāsana* cannot be mastered within a short period of time.

4.1. *Śravaṇa*

One of the important requisite for Advaita is reading of scriptures, which indubitably sets the basis for the concept of *Ātman*. Śaṅkara in his *Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya* says that the purpose of the Upaniṣads is to reveal the Brahman as the undifferentiated reality (BSB I.i.4). Therefore, Scripture (*Śravaṇa*) is the only infallible source of knowledge of the non-dual *Brahman* (Hirst, 1993). Śaṅkara in VC says that *Śrutis* themselves are the authority for the statement that "*Brahman* is One without second."[16] VC 302 says that the treasure of the Bliss of *Brahman* is coiled round by the mighty and dreadful serpent of egoism, and guarded for its own use by means of its three fierce hoods consisting of the three *guṇas*. Only the wise man, destroying it by severing its three hoods with the great sword of realization in accordance with the teachings of *Śrutis*, can enjoy this treasure which confers bliss.[17] VC 232 says that the various advaitic texts of the *Śrutis*, comprising the highest philosophic thought, are alone considered as bearing out their true import, to which the rest of the Vedas must be subordinate. The Vedas themselves repudiate the duality imagined in the *Brahman*. One must eliminate superimpositions by means of realization supported by the authority of the Vedas (Bṛhadāraṇyaka II.iii.6).[18]

4.2. *Manana*

Śruti themselves, independent of *tarka*, cannot be the true source knowledge. Śaṅkara speaks quite favourably of reflection. He makes his opponents say: The conclusion that all *tarka* is relative is itself arrived by *tarka*. But however if all *tarka*s are uncertain, empirical experience itself will come

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[16] *Vedānta-siddhānta-niruktir-eṣā brahmaiva jīvaḥ sakalaṁ jagac ca | akhaṇḍa-rūpā sthitir eva mokṣaḥ brahmādvitīyam śrutayaḥ pramāṇam* |478| See, Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[17] See also VC 479 which says, *iti guru-vacanāt śruti-pramāṇat param-avagamya sa-tattvam-ātma-yuktyā | praśamita-karaṇaḥ samāhitātmā kvacid-acalākṛtir ātma-niṣṭhito'bhūt* | See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[18] *athāta ādeśa iti śruthi-svayaṁ niṣedhati brahmaṇi kalpitaṁ dvayam | śruti-pramāṇānugṛhīta-yuktyā tayor-nirāsaḥ karaṇīya evam* |245| See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

to an end, for man acts on the hypothesis that the future will resemble past. Thus, in cases of the doubt regarding the meaning of the scriptural passages, the true meaning is ascertained by means of *tarka* in the form of settling the purport (Verma, 1992). Reasoning helps us in the realization of self as not really qualified by the limitations of waking and dreaming and in the realization of the identity of the *Jīva* with *Brahman* in the state of deep sleep. *Tarka* is employed to ascertain the purport of the scriptural passages, to remove doubts (*saṁśaya*) and contrary beliefs (*viparyāsa*) and to convince us of the probability of the existence of what is to be known, i.e. *Brahman*. However, mere reasoning without authority cannot be the *pramāṇa*s, as the dry *tarka* is clearly the fruit of one's own hand (Verma, 32). Therefore, "by itself reasoning is useless, while by themselves mere scriptural statements cannot clear doubts and produce conviction" (BSB. III.i.1). "By adequate reasoning (*manana*) the conviction of the reality (rope) is gained, which puts an end to the great fear and misery caused by the snake worked up in the deluded mind."[19] Neither the gross nor the subtle universe being imagined is real; that is like the snake seen in the rope, and like dreams. Perfectly eliminating the objective world in this way by means of reasoning, the wise man should give up the contradictory elements, and thus understand that the hundreds of scriptural text inculcate the oneness of *Brahman*.[20]

4.3. Nididhyāsana

The reading of the scripture and reasoning upon them are themselves blind as they are limited by the world of matter. The matter cannot reveal an extra textual reality just as the book cannot directly reveal an extra textual reality. Since our rationality is bound to human frailties, there should be some other illuminative faculty that can go beyond our mental, determinations. The reading of the scripture and reasoning upon them is essential to reach the advanced stage of contemplation (*nididhyāsana*) by which one would realise

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[19] *samyag-vicārataḥ siddhā rajju-tattvāvadhāraṇa | bhrāntodita-mahāsarpa-bhava-duḥkha-vināśinī* ||2| See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[20] See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005), verses 246, 248 & 249; Cf. also Bṛhadāraṇyaka III.viii.8.

the complexity of Self and non-self or the problem of *avidyā* (VC 70). Just like the gold purified by thorough heating on the fire gives up its impurities and attains to its own luster, so the mind, through meditation, gives up its impurities of *Sattva, Rajas,* and *Tamas,* and attains to the reality of *Brahman* to say "I myself am This." To the *saṁnyāsin* who has gone through the act of hearing (from the lips of the *guru*), the *śruti* passage, "calm," "self controlled," (Bṛhadāraṇyaka IV.iv.23) etc prescribe *samādhi* for realizing the identity of the universe with the Self. The *saṁnyāsin* calm, self-controlled, perfectly retiring from the sense world, forbearing, and devoting himself to the practice of *samādhi,* always reflects on his own self being the Self of the whole universe.[21] Just like the "moss covers the water" (*paṭalair ivāmbu vāpīstham*) (VC 149), the different sheathes of covering the Self (VC 125, 149-150, 151) are unfolded to realise the Pure Self by this process of discrimination between eternal and non-eternal.[22] When the mind, thus purified by constant practice, is merged in *Brahman,* then *samādhi* passes on form the s*avikalpa* to the *nirvikalpa* state, and leads directly to the realization of the Bliss of the *Brahman,* the one without the second. Reflection should be considered a hundred times superior to hearing, and meditation a hundred thousand times superior even to reflection, but the *nirvikalpa samādhi* is infinite in its results.[23]

4.4. The Philosophy of Advaita and *Mokṣa-mārga*

The entire text VC primarily sheds light on major teachings of Advaita Vedānta, namely, theory of   *Māyā, Avidyā, Ajātivāda, Adhyāsa, Advaita, Pāramārthika satya, Vyāvahārika satya, Ātman, Brahman, Jīva,* and *Jīvan-mukti.*

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[21] See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005), Verses, 333, 335, 341, & 355.

[22] The realization is attained by the perfect discrimination between the individual soul and eternal self (VC 203). The apparent impurity of the soul can be removed by discrimination, which shows that it is nescience that hides the real nature of the soul (VC 204). When the unreal ceases to exist, this very individual soul definitely realized as the eternal Self (VC 205).

[23] See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005), verses 254, 331, 361–364.

4.4.1. *Māyā*

The conception of *māyā* within the Indian tradition is implicit in the earliest writings of Ṛg-veda, Upaniṣads, and Śaṅkara brought out its implications rigoursly in his commentaries. In VC Śaṅkara constantly uses the word '*anādhi*' (beginningless) for *avidyā* or *māyā*. According to Śaṅkara the moment the person is born, *avidyā* is present. John Grimes (2004: 14) says that, *avidyā / Māyā* is a 'given' existential fact in each and everyone's experience. Therefore *avidyā / māyā* is primarily a philosophical notion prior to being a metaphysical concept. Śaṅkara equates *avidyā* with the basic errors of all worldly existence (Grimes, 2004, 15). "It is She (*Māyā*) who brings forth this whole universe."[24] *Avidyā* is the root cause of bondage, and knowledge (*jñāna*) is the direct means of its removal. Individuals exist until the delusions persist, as delusion is born of false knowledge (*mithyā jñāna*). The rope is mistaken for snake as long as the delusions last; there is no more a snake once the delusion is destroyed (VC 197). The relation of the self (*Jīva*) and the intellect is due to false knowledge. Illusory knowledge and suffering produced by false projections are destroyed when the real nature of pure *Brahman* is known.25 *Avidyā/māyā*[26] is described as, neither real nor unreal nor both, neither same nor different nor both. It is real (*sat*) and unreal (*asat*). Therefore, it is *sadāsat* or *anirvarcanīya*. It is in inexpressible and undeterminable (*anirvarcanīya*) form (VC 108 &109). The sea-shell when viewed in the state of *avidyā* is nothing but the nacre when the real knowledge dawns. Even the nacre is relative knowledge (*vyāvahārika*) which is destroyed when the higher knowledge (*pāramārthika*) is attained (VC 170–171, 186–187, 199, 226). Śaṅkara says, "Even before the realisation of the highest Truth, the universe does not exist in the Absolute *Brahman*, the essence of

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[24] *...kāryānumeyā sudhiyaiva māyā yayā jagat sarvam idaṁ prasūyate*| See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005), verse 108.

[25] Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005), verses 143, 147, 348.

[26] Certain scholarship says that unlike the post-Śaṅkara advaitins, Śaṅkara does not make distinction between *avidyā* and *māyā*.

Existence... The *Śruti*s themselves declare that this dualistic universe is but a delusion from the standpoint of absolute truth."[27]

4.4.2. *Ajātivāda*

To distinguish the nature of world from *Brahman*, it can be pointed out that the world is not real, because what is real must exist in all periods of time. World cannot be real like *Brahman* which persists in all places and at all times and is the All. The concept of birth and death suggests duality in all its forms of relation. Gauḍapāda, the proponent of the concept of Non-origination, (non-birth, or the negation of the concept) strikes at the root of dualistic conceptual thought. The central meaning of *Ajātivāda*[28] is "nothing whatsoever is born.[29] This doctrine intends to show that from the standpoint of the absolute (*Brahman*), there is no duality, nothing finite or non-eternal. All else, other than *Brahman is* illusory and apparent transformation. Śaṅkara, in VC, while saying that non-origination is the highest truth, maintains that even apparent birth is illusory. Therefore there is nothing else is born. The real purpose of the instances where scripture speaks of creation is to introduce the unity of the phenomenal manifestation, which indicates its real nature as non-dual reality (Cole 2004: 40). *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* repeatedly says that *Brahman* or the Supreme reality is "One without second," of the nature of the pure intelligence, (*kevala caitanyasvarūpa*), beyond thought and name, untrammelled by *māyā and* the *upādhi*s. The supreme effulgence permeates and animates the entire experiential world. The

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[27] *na hyasti viśvam para-tattva-bodhāt sadātmani brahamaṇi nirvikalpa | kālatraye nāpyahirīkṣito guṇe na hyambu-bindur mṛga-tṛṣṇikāyām ||404|| māyā-mātram idaṁ dvaitam advaitaṁ paramārthataḥ iti brūte śrutis-sākṣat suṣuptāvanubhūyate ||405||* See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[28] The main argument for the non-origination (all is *aja*), and that origination of anything cannot be demonstrated as follows: The non-existent cannot have the non-existent for its cause, nor the existent have the non-existent for its cause. The existent cannot be the effect of the existent nor can the existent be the effect of the non-existent. See, Colin A. Cole, *Asparśa-Yoga*, 41.

[29] *Māṇḍūkya Kārikā* III. 48; IV. 38 &71; *Kaṭha Up.* I. ii. 18; See also Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005) which says, *ajo nitya iti brūte śrutir-eṣa tvamoghavāk | tadātmanā tiṣṭhato'sya kutaḥ prārabdha-kalpanā ||459||*

world derives its existential character from *Brahman* of which it is an apparent transformation (Sankaranarayanan, xxiiii). The last verse of the Vivekacūḍāmaṇi also indicates that creation is spoken of for those who are afraid of this truth of non-birth and who have not yet progressed on the spiritual path to the point of such an understanding.[30] The ultimate truth is that there is nothing that is born, *Brahman* is all-existent and that reality is unborn (*ajā*) and non-dual (*advaya*).

4.4.3. *Adhyāsa & Ātman*

Ātman is something that always exists by itself as the substratum of one's 'I'-awareness. It is the witness of three states and is distinct from the five sheaths. The analysis of states and sheaths reveals that the Self persists in all the stages unchanged.[31] It is the witness of all the states, being aware of the presence and absence of mind while it itself remains as the substratum of all the experiences as the disinterested witness. *Ātman* illumines the intellect, pervades the universe, and does not cease to exist even when the physical body is destroyed, like the sky in a jar after the jar is broken (Mādhavānanda, verses 125-135). When all the five sheaths have been eliminated, the self of man appear- pure, of the essence of everlasting and unalloyed bliss, indwelling, supreme, and self-effulgent Mādhavānanda, verse 151). Thus, *Ātman* as the abiding Reality is different from the body, its characteristics, its activities, its states, etc., of which It is the witness.

Śaṅkara defines *avidyā* in his *Brahma-sūtra Bhāṣya* as the mutual superimposition of subject and object, the mutual transposing of Self and non-self, the unacceptable combining of true and false.[32] According to the theory of *Ātman* all beings have superimposed upon the Supreme Self, therefore all the beings are nothing but one Supreme Self, disguised in many due to the

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[30] *saṁsāradhvani tāpa-bhanu-kiraṇa-prodbhūta-dāhavyatha-khinnānāṁ jala-kāṅkṣayā marubhuvi bhrāntyā paribhrāmyatām | atyāsanna-sudhāmbudhiṁ sukhakaraṁ brahmādvayaṁ darśayat yeṣa śaṁkara-bhārātī vijayate nirvāṇa-sadāyinī ||580||* See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[31] *asti kaścit svayaṁ nityaṁ aham-pratyaya-lambanaḥ | avasthā-traya-sākṣī san pañca-kośa-vilakṣaṇaḥ ||125||* See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[32] *BSB.* 1.1.1 (*itaretarādhyāsa viṣayin viṣaya ātman anātman satyanrte mithunīkrtya*).

ignorance. The Supreme Self is hidden by ignorance just as the dust can cover the glass, blocking the real image. We have only the partial vision of the Supreme Self in the phenomenal world. This apparent nature is called *vyāvahārika satya*, *saguṇa Brahman*.

4.4.4. *Nirguṇa Brahman*

Ātman as the eternal subject is always present as the substratum of every object. When there is no agent to perceive a thing, we cannot speak of it as having been perceived at all. Therefore, the *Ātman* is a self-cognized entity because it is cognised by Itself. Hence, the individual soul is itself and directly the Supreme Brahman, and nothing else.[33] *Ātman* is only another name for *Brahman*.[34] *Brahman* is Existence, knowledge, Infinity, pure, supreme, self-existent, eternal and indivisible Bliss, not different from the indivisible soul, and devoid of interior or exterior.[35]

4.4.5. *Advaita*

The *Mahāvākya* from the *Upaniṣads* have been the central source wherefrom the concept of *Advaita* (non-dualism) in VC has emerged. The non-difference of the individual human being with the absolute (*Brahman*) is clearly expressed in the VC 239 saying, "Sages realise the Supreme Truth, *Brahman*, in which there is no differentiation of knower, knowledge, and known, which is infinite, transcendent, and the Essence of Knowledge

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[33] *asau sva-sākṣiko bhāvo yataḥ svenānubhūyate | ataḥ paraṁ svayaṁ sākṣat pratyag-ātmā nairātmyavāda cetaraḥ ||216||* See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[34] The apparent distinction between the *Ātman | Brahman* is due to their respective conjunction with the *upādhis*, as a result of which universal *Ātman* becomes circumscribed as a *Jīva*, and *Brahman* takes on the vestments of *Īśvara*. When their respective *upādhis* are negated the two will be found to be not different from each other, and meditation on this *mahāvākya* will lead to the realisation of the identity between them. When that realisation comes, the awareness of the world as existing apart from *Brahman* will also disappear and the *sādhaka* will be suffused by *Brahman* consciousness entirely. This is known as *'brahmātmanā samsthitiḥ* in the second *śloka* of Vivekacūḍāmaṇi. See P. Sankaranarayanan (2008: xxiv).

[35] *satyaṁ jñānaṁ anantaṁ brahma viśuddhaṁ paraṁ svatassiddham | nityānandaika-rasaṁ pratyag-abhinnaṁ nirantaraṁ jayati || 225||* See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

Absolute."[36] These claims of the sages are found re-emphasised in *Mahāvākya* of the *Upaniṣads* where it has been said, 'the absolute is consciousness,'[37] 'one without second' (VC 223, 252), 'the Self is absolute,[38] 'That thou art'[39] (VC 241-142, 252-265), 'I am *Brahman*'[40] (VC 160), and '*Ātman* is Bliss absolute' (VC 207).[41] The implication of this is that 'all this, which through ignorance appears as of diverse forms, is nothing else but *Brahman* (VC 227).[42] *Brahman* is existence-knowledge-Bliss absolute (210, 217, 220, 223, 225, 239), infinitude absolute (see VC 154, 227, 395, 413, 466, 475). 'The world is unbroken series of perceptions of *Brahman* affected by *avidyā/māyā*, and hence, nothing else exists other than *Brahman*.[43] Nonetheless, until one's ignorance is destroyed, such absolute statements of non-dualism, non-difference, and falsity of the world will not be correctly understood.

4.4.6. *Pāramārthika satya* and *Vyāvahārika satya*

The two level of knowledge in Śaṅkara's philosophy can be traced back to Upaniṣads[44] and Gauḍapāda's Māṇḍūkya Kārikā (Cole, 2004, 18). Śaṅkara maintains the distinction between the absolute (*pāramārthika*) and relative

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[36] *Jñātr-jñeya-jñāna-śūnyam anantaṃ nirvikalpakam | kevalākhaṇḍa-cinmātraṃ paraṃ tattvaṃ vidur-budhaḥ* ||241|| See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[37] *Prajñānam Brahma*: *Aitareya* (*Up.* 3. 3).

[38] *Ayamātmā Brahma*: *Māṇḍūkya Up.* (1. 2).

[39] *Tattvamasi*: (*Chā. Up.* VI. 8. 7).

[40] *Aham Brahmāsmi*: *Bṛh.* (*Up.* 1. 4. 10).

[41] These concepts are again expressed in the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* 162, 204, 252-265, 270, 281, 284, 305, and 334.

[42] *Sarvam khalvidam Brahma* (*Ch. Up.* 3:14:1); *yad-idaṃ sakalaṃ viśvaṃ nānā-rūpaṃ pratītam-ajñānāt | tat-sarvaṃ brahmaiva pratyastāśeṣa-bhāvanā-doṣam* ||227|| See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[43] *Brahma-pratyaya-santatir jagad-ato brahmaiva sat sarvataḥ paśyādhyātma-dṛśā praśānta-manasā sarvāsvavasthāsvapi | rūpād-anyad-avekṣitaṃ kim-abhitaś cakṣuṣmatāṃ vidyate tad-vad brahma-vidaḥ sataḥ kim-apraṃ buddher-vihārāspadam* ||521|| See Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

[44] Kaṭha. II. ii. 11, Bṛh. II. iv.14, Muṇḍaka II. Ii, and Chāndogya Up. VI. Xiv., etc.

(*vyāvahārika*) existence in VC 205.[45] According to Advaita the real is that which lasts, which suffers no sublation; which is eternal and changeless.[46] Appearances are perceived to be changing and thus they are unreal (*asat*). Vivekacūḍāmaṇi says that, "...an object of senses...is not constantly present: An unreal thing cannot indeed be taken for the real *Ātman*."[47] The phenomenal universe which is the product of *avidyā* is beginningless just as ignorance is beginningless. Therefore, everyone realises the fleeting reality of this phenomenal world when in the state of ignorance. The phenomenal world ceases to exist in the state of *Jīvan-mukta*, which is the result of the realisation of absolute knowledge (VC 198, 405).

4.4.7. *Jīvan-mukti*

Jīvan-mukti (VC 318, 419, 429-441 and 552), as a cardinal doctrine, is the most distinctive and inspirational idea of Advaita Vedānta. *Jīvan-mukta* is a person who attains liberation while living. Advaita is primarily and foremost an enquiry into the self- a Self which is involved in, and is the basis of, every individuals every experience. The VC says that the Self is here and now; not something to be obtained from outside, at later time. The wise person realises in his heart, through *samādhi*, the infinite *Brahman* that is something of the nature of eternal knowledge, absolute bliss, devoid of the ideas of cause and effect, as reality beyond all imaginations, un-decaying, immortal and

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[45] In Vivekacūḍāmaṇi, one does not see a clear distinction between *jāgrati* and *svapnāvasthā*. Neither has it been clear whether he makes a distinction between *vyāvahārika* (empirical) and *prātibhāsika* (illusory) objects. However, while VC 172 says that, 'there is no difference in the waking and dream states', VC 100 says, 'Dream is a state different from the waking state. It is true that in Advaita Vedānta in general Śaṅkara has made distinctions between the waking and dreaming states as well as between empirical (*vyāvahārika*) and illusory (*prātibhāsika*) objects. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily imply that he could not or did not equate these two states when making another point. For details see, Grimes (2004: 18).

[46] By realizing one's identity with *Brahman*, the one without second; in *Samādhi*, one becomes the pure *Cit* (knowledge absolute), and the duality of subject and object vanishes altogether. Cf. Swami Mādhavānanda (2005: 23).

[47] *ato nāyaṁ parātmā syāt vijñānamaya-śabdabhāk | vikāritvāt jaḍatvat ca paricchinnatva-hetutaḥ | dṛśyatvād vyabhicāritvān nānityo nitya iṣyate ||206||* See, Swāmī Mādhavānanda (2005).

eternal- the existence-knowledge and bliss (VC 408-411). The *Yogin* who has attained perfection or liberation-in-life enjoys eternal Bliss in his mind, internally and externally as well (VC 419). Though he possesses a body consisting of parts, is yet devoid of parts, and his mind is free from anxiety. He looks at everything in the world with an eye of equality, and is unruffled in the mind at the presence and absence of things. With the sameness of attitude towards pain and pleasure (VC 430- 434), he lives unconcerned and devoid of ideas of "I" and "mine" with regards to his body and organs. He is illuminated by the identity of *Jīva* and *Brahman* (VC 439), unaffected by the praise and worship and is freed once and for all form the cycle of transmigration and rebirth (VC 443). He who, even having his mind merged in *Brahman*, is nevertheless quite alert, but free at the same time from the characteristics of the waking state,-and whose realisation is free from desires, is accepted as a man liberated-in-life. Through the realisation that I am the *Brahman*, all the accumulated actions of a hundred crore of cycles come to nought, like the actions of the dream state on awakening (VC 448). The men of realisation live freely and independently, and sleep without fear in cremation grounds or forests; they roam in the avenue of Vedānta while their pastime is supreme *Brahman* (VC 538).[48]

5. Conclusion

In the realization of the *Ātman*, through the breaking of one's connection with the bondage of *avidyā* or ignorance, the scriptures, reasoning and the words of the *guru* prove the existence of *Brahman* in one way, while one's own experience earned by concentrating the mind is another proof. The *gurus* as well as the *śrutis* instruct the disciple, standing aloof; while the man of realization crosses (*Avidyā*) through Illumination alone, backed by the means of employing *sādhana-catuṣṭaya, avasthātraya viveka, pañcakośa-viveka* and primary conditions of *Śravana, manana* and *nididhyāsana* by means of

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[48] *cintā-śūnyam adainya-bhaikṣam- aśanaṁ pānaṁ sarid-vāriṣu svātantryeṇa niraṅkuśā-sthitir abhīr nidrā śmaśāne vane | vastraṁ kṣālana-śoṣanādi-rahitaṁ dig-vāstu śayyā mahī sañcāro nigamānta-vīthiṣu vidāṁ krīḍā pare brahmaṇi ||539||*

dialogical method.[49] Vivekacūḍāmaṇi is such a text wherein *Mokṣa-mārga* is employed by means of a dialogical method between the instructor, instruction and instructed. It complements the two independent methods of Advaita namely, *bhakti-mārga* and *jñāna-mārga*. Unlike many texts of Advaita Vedanta, wherein the method of *jñāna-mārga*, is given importance, this text is an exemption wherein the method or practice is given as much importance as the knowledge. Thus, *Mokṣa-mārga* in Vivekacūḍāmaṇi also includes *bhakti-mārga*, wherein *jñāna* is equated with the realization of *Brahman* which is the result of gaining right knowledge by practicing the various methods prescribed devoutly. This can be seen in different writings of Śaṅkara, especially in his hymns to god known as *bhaja Govindam*. Thus one is inclined conclude that the method of *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* should be seen as having the complementary approach of *jñāna-mārga* and *bhakti-mārga*. This would mean that *Ātman* is not beyond the reach of mere knowledge or reading of scriptures or mere devotional practices, or works but it is attained by a complementary approach of *Śravaṇa manana* and *nididhyāsana* wherein one strives through text, mind and devotional practices.[50]

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[49] Verses 52–54 of the Vivekacūḍāmaṇi formulate the need to be personally involved in liberation. One cannot reach realisation by the efforts of others. It says, "Trouble such as that caused by a load on the head can be removed by others, but none but one's own self can put a stop to the pain which is caused by hunger and the like. The patient who takes diet and medicine is alone seen to recover completely-not through work done by others. The true nature of a thing is to be known personally, through the eye of clear illumination, and not through a sage; what the moon exactly is, is to be known with one's own eyes; can others make him know it? See Swami Mādhavānanda (2005: 19–20).

[50] The meaning of devotion here goes beyond a worship of an idol. According to Vivekacūḍāmaṇi Verse 32, it is a continuous contemplation of the Truth of one's own self. Devotion is the melting of the ego in its source. Although the world with all its myriad names and forms does not in reality exist, or exists for the individual established in the Self as identical with his own Self, to the individual struggling with delusion, contemplation has its use from that standpoint. See, Grimes 2004: 75).

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VIJÑAPTIMĀTRATĀ: THE ONE AND ONLY REALITY OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN YOGĀCĀRA BUDDHISM

C. D. SEBASTIAN

1. Introduction

A soul searching inquiry into the philosophical positions of Buddhism would reveal that there are three distinct phases of Buddhist thought[1]: the realistic phase, the critical phase and the idealistic phase[2] (the ābhidharmika, the Mādhyamika, and the Yogācāra - Vijñānavāda) (Chatterjee, 1987: 1–23). "The boundaries between the several phases are not sharply defined, and are, as is to be expected in any continuous tradition, overlapping. One school shades off into another, so that it is difficult to say where one phase ends and another emerges" (Chatterjee, 1971: 1). However, these three phases in the development of Buddhist thought are so evident, and "no one single school of Buddhism can claim to represent the essential unalloyed tradition" (Chatterjee, 1987: 1). A dispassionate student of Indian philosophy, particularly of Buddhist philosophy, will get fascinated by the three distinct phases of Buddhist thought. At the same time, having encountered with the three dissimilar phases, and even if being aware of the original schism that

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[1] I should make it clear here that the three phases of Buddhist thought I speak of are similar to the thesis of Professor A. K. Chatterjee (1987:1–23). My stance is not in agreement with that of Conze, where he speaks of the three phases as *Archaic Buddhism* (1983: 17–116), *The Sthāviras* (1983: 119–91) and *The Mahāyāna* (1983: 195–274). Nalinaksha Dutt (1978: 79) also speaks of three phases of Buddhism, and he says, "Buddhism may be broadly divided into three Yānas (systems), viz., Hīnayāna or Śrāvaka-yāna, Mahāyāna or Buddhayāna, of which Tantrayāna is a later phase." I have dealt with this three phases of Buddhist thought elaborately elsewhere: Sebastian (2005: 23–40).

[2] Th. Stcherbatsky speaks of the three phases as pluralism, monism and idealism. For a detailed study see, Stcherbatsky (1962:14).

had taken place during the second council at Vaiśāli,[3] a century after the death of the Buddha, from where one traces out the Theravāda and Mahāsanghika-Mahāyāna divisions, one finds that there is a lot of common ground among the three phases and also between the two traditions (Theravāda and Mahāyāna). The enlightened teachers like Moggalīputta-tissa (Theravāda tradition), Nāgārajuna, Vasubandhu, and Diṅnāga (Mahāyana tradition) had showed instantly recognizable signs and evidences of being non-sectarian in their advanced years, as all were determined to impart the teaching of Buddha without any trace of fault. For *Buddha-vacana* (the Word of the Buddha), is *Buddha-deśanā* (Buddha's teachings) and *Buddha-śāsana* (Buddha's instructions) (Sebastian, 2005b: 254-256), and it should be preserved in its pristine purity. Conversely, though *Buddha-vacana* is the same, this paper attempts to revisit the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school of Buddhism, and trace out the conception of *vijñaptimātratā* or 'the one and only reality of consciousness' in the *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* of Vasubandhu.

2. The Yogācāra and the Text *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*

Mahāyāna philosophy comprises of the two great schools of Buddhism, namely, the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda (Sebastian, 2005b: 4-34). The latter school of thought in Mahāyāna Buddhism is also, sometimes, called either as the Yogācāra, or the Vijñānavāda, which

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[3] In the Council of Vaiśāli, one hundred years after the *mahā-parinirvāṇa* of Buddha, the *Sangha* was divided into two opposing camps, the *sthaviras* (Pali- *Thera*) or the order of elders and the *Mahāsānghaikas* or the order of the majority. The elders (*sthāviras*) denounced the *Mahāsāṅghikas* as *pāpa-bhikṣus* (sinful monks). The eleventh and twelfth chapters of the Cullavagga, which form a supplement to the Vinaya, contain the story of the first two councils (cf. H. Oldenberg and Rhys Davids (1881: 370ff.). On this the accounts in Dīpavaṁsa chapter 4 and Mahāvaṁsa chapter 3 are based. The Dīpavṁsa chapter 4 states that the 10,000 wicked monks assembled and made the collection of Dhamma etc. In chapter 3 of Mahāvaṁsa, it is said that the sinful monks and wicked monks, 10,000 in number, who had been defeated by the holders of the second Council, formed a school named Mahāsanghika. We find a reliable historical exposition by R. Kimura, who made a special historical study on Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Buddhism. According him the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna were coined by the Mahāsanghikas as a sort of retaliation against the Theravādins who called them "Pāpa Bhikkhus" and "Adharmavādins". For details see Kimura (1924: 12, 15, 67, 115ff).

flourished in India from the 4th to the 12th century AD. The term 'yogācāra'
means 'the practice of yoga' (*yoga* + *ācāra*). This school (founded by
Maitreya, systematized by Asaṅga, and philosophically developed by
Vasubandhu) emphasized mediation and practice of yoga as fundamental to
the realization of *bodhi* (enlightenment). The Yogācāra school is so named,
possibly because, this school held that meditation (*samādhi*) and wisdom
(*prajñā*) were not widely divergent. Even though its name is Yogācāra
('practice of yoga'), the focal emphasis of the school is primarily
philosophical. The Yogācāra is one of the most accepted and significant of the
philosophical schools in India connected with Mahāyāna. The Yogācāra
teaching is known as the Buddha's third and ultimate 'turning of the wheel'
(the technical term for Buddha's act of teaching is 'turning of the wheel of the
doctrine' – *Dharmacakrapravarttana*.

The adherents of the Yogācāra school held that there is only one
Reality, and it is Consciousness. The opening verse of the *Vijñaptimātratā-
siddhi Vimśatikā* goes like this: "... in Mahāyāna whatever belongs to the
three worlds has been established as mere representation of *consciousness*.
Consciousness, mind, *Vijñāna* and *Vijñapti* are *synonymous.*" [4] Besides giving
rise to one of the most brilliant products of Indian genius, namely, the
Buddhist school of logic and epistemology, the Yogācāra - Vijñānavāda had
also propounded sound philosophical *cum* psychological theories as well. The
philosophical and psychological speculations of the Yogācāra - Vijñānavāda
School could be traced in the *magnum opus* of Vasubandhu, the
Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi, which comprises two texts *Vimśatikā* and *Trimśikā*. In
Vimśatikā, one finds the philosophical speculations of Vasubandhu which is
the argument against the substantialist viewpoints. In *Trimśikā* one finds the
triple levels of Consciousness, namely, *Ālaya-vijñāna, Kliṣṭa-mano-vijñāna*
and *Pravṛtti-vijñāna,* dealt with. The foundational consciousness is the
uninterrupted flux of experience represented by *Ālaya-vijñāna.* It is within this
foundational consciousness that all other forms of consciousness occur.

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[4] *Mahāyāne traidhātukam vijñapti-mātram vyavasthāpyate, 'citta-mātram bho jinaputrāḥ
yaduta traidhātukam' iti sūtrāt | cittam mano vijñānam vijñaptiś ceti paryāyāḥ | cittam
atra sasamprayogam abhipretam | mātram ity arthapratiṣedhārtham ||–* The
Vijñaptimātratā-siddhivimśatikā, opening verse.

As mentioned at the outset, the third phase in the development of the Buddhist thought is known after the name the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda.[5] This is the idealistic phase or could be called Buddhist idealism.[6] The Yogācāra sought to steer a middle course between the extremes reached by the Mādhyamika that "all is *śūnya*," and the ābhidharmika which endowed the object with a reality of its own (Matsunaga, 1969: 72). This was a return to speculation and constructive metaphysics, "spiritually akin to the Sarvāstivāda and the Sautrāntika."[7] The Yogācāra is nothing but a continuation of the Mahāyāna tradition, initiated by the Mādhyamika. There is no total rejection of the doctrine of *śūnyatā*, but only a modification of it. From the Mādhyamika, the Yogācāra adopted the theory of the relativity and consequent unreality (*Śūnyatā-niḥsvabhāvatā*) of all individual existence, of

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[5] This particular school of thought in Buddhism is called the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda. Sometime it is called either as the Yogācāra, or the Vijñānavāda to denote Buddhist idealism. Thus it is used synonymously. But Indian Buddhist scholars, like A.K. Chatterjeee, make a distinction between the use of these two terms. The School of pure idealism of Maitreya, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu is called the Yogācāra. The school of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti (Buddhist logicians) is termed as Vijñānavāda. They essentially accept the doctrine of *Vijñaptimātratā*, and the unreality of the object, but when they enter into logical discussions, however, they endorse the Sautrāntika standpoint of something being given in knowledge. The entire system is called the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda. For more details see Chatterjee (1987: x-xi).

[6] Philosophical idealism is usually characterised as a denial of the common-sense view that material or external objects exist independently of the mind, that is independently of their being perceived. And this general character of idealistic philosophy is present in the Yogācāra -Vijñānavāda theory of reality. But unlike its Western counterpart, idealism in the Buddhist context was not used as a support for philosophical theism, according to which God is a perfect spiritual being who created everything else and hence more fundamental than any material thing He has created. Nor was it used to support a sort of pantheism, according to which nothing exists except God and his modes and attributes. Like its Western counterpart, Buddhist idealism is also a rejection of what may be called materialism, and an assertion of a spiritualistic metaphysics. For more details see Matilal (1974: 139–41).

[7] A. K. Chatterjee, *The Yogācāra Idealism*, p.11. Sarvāstivāda is an important school of Indian Buddhism that separated from the main body of the Elders (Sthaviras) around the mid third century BC. Sautrāntika is also an early school of Buddhist philosophy, generally believed to be descended from the body of the Elders (Sthāviras) by way of their immediate parent school, Sarvāstivāda.

all plurality, with the difference that they brought in different degrees of this unreality (Stcherbatsky, 1997: 67). It should be mentioned here, as the learned scholar G. Tucci observed, that the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra are not opposed to each other, for both the Schools "acknowledged the same fundamental tenets," (Tucci, 1930: 2-4) and they are the continuation of the same dynamic Buddhist thought.

3. Vijñaptimātratā

The Yogācāra maintains that consciousness is the sole reality (*vijñaptimātratā*). The Yogācāra also takes its cue from the Sautrāntika. The Sautrāntika had stressed the subjective factor in all experiences. The Yogācāra viewed the critical realism of the Sautrāntika as an illogical compromise between realism and criticism. The Yogācāra also accepted the Mādhyamika criticism of the Sautrāntika, and advocated *dharma-śūnyatā*. The basic ideas of the Mādhyamika were accepted by the Yogācāra, but there was a reaction against the extremism and unqualified negation of phenomena (Murti, 1998: 104). The Yogācāra is concerned with *citta*, its nature, development and its operations.

In Buddhism, *vijñāna* corresponds to the resulting activity when the mental and physical organs come into contact with external objects and the input derived from such contact is associated, recognized and subsequently acted upon. Thus, the term '*vijñāna*', as it is understood in the entire Buddhist corpus, means 'consciousness,' and the doctrine (*vāda*) that upholds the theory of consciousness (*vjñāna*) is *vijñānavāda*, which is another name for the Yogācāra. According to this school, the only existent is consciousness - *vijñāna-mātra*, *citta-mātra* or *vijñapti-mātra*.

According the Yogācāra, the sole existent is *vijñāna*. But the experience of an infinite phenomenal plurality is a fact. This plurality must be reflected in *vijñāna* itself, and to account for empirical distinctions the Yogācāra accepts three kinds of *vijñānas*, namely, *Ālayavijñāna*, *Manovijñāna* (or *kliṣṭamanas*) and *Pravṛttivijñāna*. Though the evolutes of *vijñāna* are infinite, they are in these three stages of evolution. According to Vasubandhu's *Trimśikā* (*kārikā* : 2-8), *ālayavijñāna* is the storehouse from

where all other *vijñānas* evolve, first *manovijñāna* (also called as *kliṣṭa-manas* or *kliṣṭa-mano-vijñāna*) , and then *pravṛttivijñāna*s. All these *pravṛttivijñāna*s appear on the basis of an *ālaya* (storehouse or basis) which is called as *vipāka* (resultant, or maturation).[8] The conception of *ālayavijñāna* along with *manovijñāna* (whose primary task seems to be the ego-function) and the six empirical consciousnesses, made up the eight –fold consciousness of the Yogācāra.[9]

If one looks at the entire Buddhist corpus where *citta-mātra* or *vijnāna-mātra* is discussed and analyzed, one gets an impression that this system is nothing but "thought experiment"[10] on ideas, consciousness, and mind. The often quoted line of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*: *cittamātram idaṁ yad idaṁ traidhātukaṁ* [11] looms large in entire Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda tradition. It implies that *citta* (mind or consciousness) is the only existent.   Modern scholars opine that the statement that the whole world is only mind (*cittamātra*) must be interpreted as directed *not* against the existence of real objects (phenomena), but against the existence of a substantial *ātman*. The use of *cittamātra* in this sense could be traceable to other texts like the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, *Sūtrālaṁkāra-vṛtti-bhāṣya* of Sthiramati, and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* as well. This expression with the same connotation appears in Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*. In contrast to the *Daśabhumikasūtra*, the *Bhadrapālasūtra* presents the conception of *cittamātra* in the context of a perfect idealistic standpoint. Perhaps, the *Bhadrapālasūtra* is the first text to enunciate the thesis of universal idealism and express this by the term *cittamātra*.   The *Bhadrapālasūtra* highlights the universal illusion, the unreality of phenomena, thereby pointing toward an idealism (Schmithausen, 2005: 242–54).

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[8] *tatrālayākhyaṁ vijñānaṁ vipākaḥ sarabījakam* I- Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Triṁśikā 2.

[9] L. Schmithausen (2007).

[10] Thought experiments are devices of the imagination used to investigate the nature of things. Today this term is used often in philosophy of science. I am indebted to Professor P. R. Bhat for shedding light on this in one of his recent seminars at IIT Bombay, Mumbai.

[11] Daśabhūmika sūtra 6.16.

The Yogācāra - Vijñānavāda maintains two contentions: *Vijñāna* is real, not apparent, and *Vijñāna* alone is real, not the object. The first is against the Mādhyamika, for whom both the knowing consciousness and the object-known are relative to each other, and therefore, nothing in themselves, so they are unreal. The second is against the realist like the ābhidharmika, who uncritically accepts the object as real, on par with *vijñāna*. Both are extreme positions, and the Yogācāra maintains a middle position between them (Murti, 1998: 105). It is a *niḥsvabhāvavāda* as it rejected the reality of the objective in toto, thus consequently it rejected the duality of subject-object with which the consciousness is infected.[12] Unlike the Mādhyamika, the Yogācāra urged that phenomena, though unreal, must be rooted in some reality. This ground could not be something objective, for the Sautrāntika and the Mādhyamika had already demolished the concept of objectivity, then it should be subjectivity. Consciousness is the only reality.[13]

4. Trisvabhāva and Vijñaptimātratā

The concept of *trisvabhāva* was central to the Yogācāra. *'Tri-svabhāva'* means 'three natures.' The purport of the notion of *'trisvabhāva'* is that the 'neutral' reality, which is reduced to moments of causally branded *dharma*, is the basis out of which all discursive thoughts come to pass. The three natures (*svabhāva*) of the reality are: *parikalpita*, *paratantra*, and *pariniṣpanna*.[14] The empirical world of never-ending momentariness is called *paratantra - svabhāva* (dependent nature). An unenlightened person, due to his delusion of subject-object duality, sees the reality in an erroneous way, and remains in the bondage of *saṁsāra*. This deceptive and illusory perspective is called *parikalpita-svabhāva* (imagined nature). The cessation of the *parikalpita*, is

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[12] *trividhasya svabhāvasya trividhāṁ niḥsvābhāvatām | sandhāya sarva-dharmāṇaṁ deśitā niḥsvabhāvatā || prathamo lakṣaṇenaiva niḥsvabhāvo 'paraḥ punaḥ | na svayambhāva etasyety aparā niḥsvabhāvatā ||*- Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Triṁśikā: 23–24.

[13] *cittamātram idam sarvam dvidhā cittaṁ pravartate | grāhyagrāhakabhāven ātmātmīyaṁ na vidyate ||*- Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra 3.129.85.

[14] *yena yena vikalpena yad yad vastu vikalpyate | parikalpita evāsau svabhāvo na sa vidyate || paratantrasvabhāvas tu vikalpaḥ pratyayodbhavaḥ | niṣpannas tasya pūrveṇa sadā rahitatā tu yā ||*- Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Triṁśikā. 20–21.

the realization of reality as it is, and it leads to *bodhi* or perfect enlightenment, and it is called *pariniṣpanna-svabhāva* (consummated nature) (Boquist, 1993).

The *trisvabhāva* doctrine of the Yogācāra speaks of the three natures of the reality: the utterly false or the erroneous which is imagined (*parikalpita*), the dependent or that which is dependent on causes and conditions (*paratantra*) and the *pariniṣpana*. It is seen in Vasubandhu's *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa* and the *Triṃśikā* . The Yogācāra thinkers realized the danger of misconstruing the *trisvabhāva* cognitions as metaphysical entities with ontological foundation. In order to avoid such misconception the Yogācāra developed the doctrine of three *niḥsvabhāvatā* at a very early stage.[15] In contrast to the *trisvabhāva*, the three *niḥsvabhāvatā* were established on the basis of the teaching of *śūnyatā*.

The doctrine of *trisvabhā*va establishes the *niḥsvabhāvatā* (own-nature-less-ness) of reality. Vasubandhu states that there is no *svabhāva*, but only *niḥsvabhāvatā* or essence-less-ness.[16] For the Yogācāra, what appears is an illusory duality, the real is non-dual consciousness (*pariniṣpanna*). According to the *trisvabhāva* doctrine, the object is unreal, and it is only imagined to exist (*parikalpita*). In the *paratantra svabhāva*, subject-object duality is imposed. It is dependent (*paratantra*) as it is caused and conditioned. When *paratantra* (the subjective) is purified of the *parikalpita* (the imagined object), it becomes *pariniṣpanna*. In other words, for the Yogācāra, the *parikalpita*, through the assumption of an independent object, leads to the assertion of an equally independent subject, and a thought process is arisen out of it, or dependent on it (*paratantra*), which makes conceptualization: there is a conceptualization of object (*grāhya*) and a metaphysical subject (*grāhaka*). When the conceptualization of the object is ceased, the conceptualization of the subject too falls apart, and what remains then is only the achievement or accomplishment in freedom, which is *pariniṣpanna*, a subject-objectless consciousness. The subject object dualism

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[15] The Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi Trimsikā: 23–24.

[16] *prathamo lakṣaṇenaiva niḥsvabhāvo 'paraḥ punaḥ | bn svayambhāva etasyety aparā niḥsvabhāvatā ||*- Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Trimśikā 24.

is denied at the end, and what remains is only consciousness.[17] There is experience of undifferentiated unity which transcends all knowledge, beyond the bifurcation of subject and object, a content-less objectless awareness.[18] This is the realization of *bodhi* or enlightenment.[19]

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it must be mentioned here that the doctrine of *cittamātra* or *vijñāptimātra(tā)* does not advocate solipsism. It never argued that world is in God's mind either. Consciousness is inter-subjective. Karma is personal as well as communitarian. Therefore the existence of other minds is affirmed. There are many consciousnesses. In Vasubandhu's *Vimśatikā* verse 18 with its auto-commentary, one gets a reference of other minds.[20] Vasubandu's treatment of *vijñapti* in the above mentioned text explains that a 'concept' is not mere linguistic representation. A concept is also a convention based upon experience and dispositions (*vāsanā*). In the waking state, the thought process can be dominated by the concepts of others as well. Understanding "Vasubandhu's notion of vijñapti", as presented in his text, "one avoids attributing any solipsism to him" (Kalapuhana, 1992: 188).

According to the Yogācāra, individual ideas were unreal, since they were merged in the unique reality (*pariniṣpanna*) of the Absolute. The appearance is unreal. The Yogācāra thus advocates the Pure-Consciousness (*vijñapti-mātratā*) that is devoid of duality (*dvaya-śūnyatā*). The Yogācāra is not only mere idealism, but it is also absolutism (Dasgupta, 1962: 109-110). Absolutism is the logical culmination of idealism. The Absolute is a non-dual

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[17] The Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Trimśikā 26.

[18] *acitto' nupalambho 'sau jñānam lokottaram ca tat | āśrayasya parāvṛttir dvidhā dauṣṭulyahānitaḥ ||-* Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Trimśikā 29.

[19] The Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Trimśikā 27–28.

[20] *yadi yathā svapne nirarthakā vijñaptirevam jāgrato'pi syāt, kasmāt kuśalākuśalasamudācāre suptāsuptayos tulyam phalam iṣṭam āyatyām na bhavati? yasmāt middhenopahatam cittam svapne tenāsamam phalam | idam atra kāraṇam na tv arthasadbhāvaḥ | yadi vijñaptimātram evedam na kasyacit kāyo 'sti, na vāk katham upakramyamāṇānām aurabhrikādibhir ūrabhrādīnām maraṇam bhavati | atatkṛte vā maraṇe katham aurabhrikādīnām prāṇātipātāvadyena yogo bhavati?-* Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Vimśatikā 18.

consciousness; it is *śūnya* - devoid of duality. It is nothing empirical, being free from all determinations. It is eternal, as it is beyond the succession of forms of consciousness[21]. When these forms have all subsided, all change in the consciousness lapses, and it is *Vijñaptimātratā*.[22]

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[21] *acitto' nupalambho' sau jñānam lokottaram ca tat | āśrayasya parāvṛttir-dvidhā dauṣṭulyahānitaḥ || sa evānāsravo dhāturacintyaḥ kuśalo dhruvaḥ | sukho vimukti-kāyo 'sau dharmākhyo 'yam mahāmune ||- Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Trimśikā 29–30.*

[22] *sarva-kālam tathābhāvāt saiva vijñaptimātratā |- Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-Trimśikā 25.*

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AHMEDABAD AND MUMBAI: DIVERGENT URBAN PERSONALITIES[1]

HOWARD SPODEK

I

Discussions of India's diversity usually focus on the nation's multitude of languages, or religions, or castes, or life-styles. This afternoon I want to focus on the variety among India's cities. Actually, I will discuss only two of them, Ahmedabad, where I have carried out almost all of my monographic research over many years, and Mumbai, the commercial and industrial capital of India. The two are separated by only 300 miles, 500 kilometres, overnight by train, an hour by plane. Perhaps one-third of Mumbaikars claim Gujarati as their native tongue, and family, business, and cultural ties between the cities are numerous.

But the political cultures of the two cities are quite different. The two cities approach politics—especially inter-group negotiations—very differently, and this has been true throughout the twentieth century, and may be continuing into the twenty-first. In this paper I will illustrate these differences in four different cases from the early twentieth century, and tentatively venture into one in the early twenty-first. The first case examines Mahatma Gandhi's relationship to the two cities in the first years after his return from South Africa in 1915; the second, his leadership in Bombay of the anti-Rowlatt Act protests in 1919, and the challenges to that leadership; the third, Indulal Yagnik's (1892–1972) relationships with the two cities, especially as a student in Bombay beginning in 1909, and again after he left

Ahmedabad for the larger metropolis in 1924; the fourth, the functioning of labour unions as witnessed in the competition between the Textile Labour Association (TLA) of Ahmedabad, and the All India Trade Union Conference (AITUC), headquartered in Bombay; and finally a brief look at the different strategies of organizations working for human rights and municipal services for slum communities in the two cities today.

II

When Gandhi returned from South Africa in 1915, two of his first public speeches were in Bombay. As he prepared to deliver them, perhaps he recalled his youthful, unsuccessful encounter with Bombay. When he had first returned from London in 1891, with his just-acquired law degree in hand, he had attempted to establish a law practice in Bombay—and he had failed. His - Autobiography gives his own account of his first professional appearance in the Small Causes Court in Bombay. The case was very simple, but Gandhi lacked the courage to stand up and properly represent his client. He felt disgraced. Believing that he would not be entrusted with any further cases, he applied for a job as an English teacher in "a famous high school," but he was turned down here also because he was not a college graduate. Following these setbacks, he left for Rajkot, where he also failed. He then chose to sail for new horizons in South Africa in response to a request for his legal services from an NRI in Pretoria.

Twenty-four years later, in 1915, on returning from South Africa, Gandhi found that he was much better able to cope with the sophisticated Gujarati society of Bombay. But would it be worth the effort? Could Bombay be "home"?

Arriving in the city in January 1915, he wrote to his nephew Maganlal: "I don't like Bombay, though. It looks as if it were the scum of London. I see here all the shortcomings of London but find none of its amenities; this is also one of the benefits of living in India. It would seem that Lady India had

resolved to exhibit nothing but the scum of London lest we should be thrown off our balance by the amenities."[2]

He describes his "first experience" on arriving in India, a reception in his honor in Bombay. Everyone was speaking in English: "The receptions in Bombay gave me an occasion for offering what might be called a little Satyagraha. At the party given in my honour at Mr. Jehangir Petit's place, I did not dare to speak in Gujarati. In those palatial surroundings of dazzling splendour I, who had lived my best life among indentured labourers, felt myself a complete rustic. With my Kathiawadi cloak, turban and dhoti, I looked somewhat more civilized than I do today, but the pomp and splendour of Mr. Petit's mansion made me feel absolutely out of my element. However, I acquitted myself tolerably well, having taken shelter under Sir Pherozeshah [Mehta]'s protecting wing."[3]

Gandhi's subsequent introduction to the specifically Gujarati community of Bombay was somewhat smoother, but still a challenge for him: "Then there was the Gujarati function. The Gujaratis would not let me go without a reception, which was organized by the late Uttamlal Trivedi. I had acquainted myself with the program beforehand. Mr. Jinnah was present, being a Gujarati, I forget whether as president or as the principal speaker. He made a short and sweet little speech in English. When my turn came, I expressed my thanks in Gujarati explaining my partiality for Gujarati and Hindustani and entering my humble protest against the use of English in a Gujarati gathering. This I did, not without some hesitation, for I was afraid lest it should be considered discourteous for an inexperienced man, returned home after a long exile, to enter his protest against established practices. But no one seemed to misunderstand my insistence on replying in Gujarati. In fact I was glad to note that everyone seemed reconciled to my protest."[4]

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[2] The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (Electronic Book) Vol. 14: 337–8 (Accessed February 27, 2012).

[3] Desai (1996: 312).

[4] Ibid. p. 312.

Gandhi, always puckish in his sensibilities, and often tongue-in-cheek, understood that he was just beginning to establish his own persona and his own agenda in India, and, in the process he had begun to challenge Bombay's notion of what might be an appropriate style of leadership. Perhaps speaking Gujarati among his high status Gujarati hosts might actually be a more effective choice than English. As Gandhi put it, again in his Autobiography: "The meeting thus emboldened me to think that I should not find it difficult to place my new fangled notions before my countrymen."[5]

Bombay might be good, but Ahmedabad would be even better as a launching pad for the kind of activist career he was formulating. The elites of the city welcomed him as one of their own; Gandhi, a bania by caste, would fit well into the culture of the mahajans – the business guilds and association – of Ahmedabad.[6] "When I happened to pass through Ahmedabad [in 1915], many friends pressed me to settle down there, and they volunteered to find the expenses of the Ashram, as well as a house for us to live in. I had a predilection for Ahmedabad. Being a Gujarati I thought I should be able to render the greatest service to the country through the Gujarati language."[7]

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[5] Ibid.

[6] The classic essay on the guilds of Ahmedabad is in Hopkins (1901). The fit between the returning Gandhi and the business community of Ahmedabad may not have been quite so smooth as Gandhi implies in his Autobiography. Elsewhere he reveals negotiations between the businessmen and himself as to whether their invitation was permanent, or a trial invitation for one year only. "I have understood it to be the desire of the [local] leaders that we should merely experiment for a year in Ahmedabad. If that is so, Ahmedabad should bear the whole of this burden. My demand was that Ahmedabad should provide me with land and building complete, while I would obtain the remaining expenses from elsewhere or by other means. As we have now changed the basis, I think Ahmedabad should bear the entire burden for a year or any shorter period. If Ahmedabad is not prepared to do this for a year, I am in a position to provide for 'the boarding charges." Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (Electronic Book) Vol. 14: 445–6 (Accessed 29 May 2011). And, in fact, when Gandhi brought an untouchable family to live in the ashram, most of the business leaders withdrew their support; only a special donation by Ambalal Sarabhai saved the institution.

[7] Ibid. p. 329.

In Bombay, Gandhi could be a new voice, one of many contesting for recognition in the leadership of the freedom struggle, a big fish, for sure, but in a big pond, a pond for which he expressed disdain; in Ahmedabad he could become the commanding voice, a big fish in a much smaller pond, which he apparently liked and to which he had been expressly invited.

III

Another divergence between Bombay and Ahmedabad—in the ways in which they cope with struggle and conflict—showed up once again in Gandhi's reception in a series of events in Bombay in 1919. The first event was the response to the Rowlatt Acts. I follow here the interpretation of Sandip Hazareesingh. The Colonial City and the Challenge of Modernity, chapter 3, which he entitles: "Urban Confrontations: Gandhi, Horniman, and the Material Test of Spiritual Politics."[8]

The over-riding issue in Bombay and throughout political India in 1919 was resistance against the Rowlatt Acts, which restricted freedom of speech and the press. Benjamin Guy Horniman and his newspaper, The Bombay Chronicle, were leaders in this resistance, and Horniman urged Gandhi, whose prestige as a national leader was rising rapidly, to join the movement and to lead it.

Horniman led a Bombay delegation to meet with Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel at the Ahmedabad ashram on 22 February. The delegates included Umar Sobhani and Shankarlal Banker, who were on the Chronicle's board of directors, as well as the city's leading woman activist, the poetess Sarojini Naidu. Horniman once again issued an invitation to Gandhi – this time to launch and to lead, from Bombay city, an all-India "passive resistance" campaign against the Rowlatt Bills. After much hesitation and much discussion which lasted two full days and nights, Gandhi finally agreed. The text of a 'satyagraha vow' was collectively drafted, with a view to obtaining as many signatures as possible, pledging to disobey the Rowlatt

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[8] Hazareesingh (2007: 124–66). See also Masselos (2007: 153–95). Masselos also sees the divergence in views and strategies between Gandhi and Horniman, but he does not give them the same significance as fundamental differences as Hazareesingh does.

laws as well as "such other laws as a Committee to be here-after appointed may think fit."[9]

Plans for a hartal were formulated. But who was to participate? Horniman argued that the millworkers should be a major constituency. Gandhi was reluctant. He certainly was comfortable working with labour in Ahmedabad. He had led Ahmedabad textile workers on a famous strike just the year before, a milestone on the trajectory leading to the founding of Ahmedabad's Textile Labour Association (TLA), or Majoor Mahajan, and ultimately a turning point in labour-management relations in India. "In Bombay, however, Gandhi and his Gujarati business followers were culturally distant from the world of the Maratha millhands. Unlike the situation in Ahmedabad, they were not involved in any social network which had ties with the textile workers."[10] And he could not control them as he wished.

Hazareesingh goes on to argue that "National Humiliation Day" in Bombay city was marked by a negotiated amalgam of Gandhian techniques of 'self purification' and Bombay's forms of popular protest – demonstrations, processions, public speeches – which had been gathering momentum during the latter part of the year."[11]

Hazareesingh contrasts the approaches of Gandhi and Horniman. "The Mahatma envisaged the hartal as a low-key day of mourning which should not appear as an attempt to "put any pressure upon government" (p. 132). But in reality, "Essentially the Rowlatt satyagraha was closer in spirit to a mass general strike. ...The organizational success of the 6 April hartal in Bombay owed less to Gandhi than to the activities of the 'Chronicle Group' around Horniman, ...Rowlatt was constructed as a symbol of everything that was wrong with how both Bombay and India were governed, enabling a large number of citizens to take to the streets in an unprecedented demonstration of public dissent."[12]

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[9] Hazareesingh (2007: 129).
[10] Ibid. p. 132.
[11] Ibid. pp. 132–3.
[12] Ibid. pp. 133–4.

What were the results? On 26 April 1919 Horniman was arrested and deported to England. Gandhi meanwhile remained on the ground, having made one more advance in his style of national leadership. "In terms of local political pre-eminence, the Bombay government perceived Horniman to be more influential [or at least more threatening] than Gandhi, Annie Besant and Jinnah in April 1919."[13] Police reports depicted Gandhi reacting with restraint and calling on his followers to do likewise. Finally, succumbing to pressure from pro-Horniman advocates, on May 5 Gandhi called for a hartal on May 11—including a twenty-four hour fast and private religious devotion—in protest against Horniman's deportation, but "confined to independent businessmen." Hazareesingh emphasizes the difference between Gandhi's hartal and the resistance that Horniman and his colleagues had begun to organize.

The Horniman hartal was the first public demonstration in the city which Gandhi took charge of as virtually the 'sole author.' It represented a considerable scaling down of the anti-Rowlatt protest of 6 April. The omission of public speeches and processions in favour of private "religious contemplation" marked a rupture with the evolving modern rituals of urban protest which, sine the war years, had seen progressively larger crowds occupying the streets of the city. ... 'Collective' sorrow became defused into separate domestic observances, denying citizens the opportunity of any shared public expression of protest.... The Gandhian hartal can thus be read as a device for reducing the impact of the deportation on public consciousness, effectively serving as an alternative agent of 'public order' which was not, in this instance, wholly at odds with the wishes of the colonial state.[14]

Gandhi saw it differently, as a successful protest, and issued a leaflet: "Brothers and Sisters, Bombay covered itself with glory by preserving perfect calm and the citizens have shown by their peaceful hartal that they have understood a portion of Satyagraha ... Many causes contributed to the success

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[13] Ibid. p.141.
[14] Ibid. pp. 144–5.

of this remarkable demonstration, but the chief among them was the performance of their duty by Volunteers under Mr. Vithaldas Jeeranjani."[15]

These volunteers had been dispatched in small groups around the city to ensure that people did not gather together for mass action.

The question of the role of millworkers arose again in a third protest demonstration. on 17 October, Khilafat day, which was to be observed in Bombay as a statement of solidarity of Hindus and Muslims united in their concern for the continuation of the khalif as spiritual head of the Islamic ummah. Hazareesingh notes that Gandhi's appeal to Hindus included the injunction "that the mill hands should in no way be encouraged to stop work."[16] Again, Satyagraha Volunteers circulated throughout the city to discourage public meetings and public protests. Gandhi's journal, Young India, proclaimed Khilafat Day "a triumph of Satyagraha" that had succeeded by avoiding "mass meetings and everything tending to bring together crowds of ignorant and irresponsible people."[17] Hazareesingh highlights the confrontation between those who advocated mass rallies, as Horniman did, and those, like Gandhi, who wanted control over the protesters and enforced moderation even in opposition.

A fourth example came as a hartal, called by Gandhi, against the visit of the Prince of Wales, 17 November 1921. Violence broke out. "Muslims" stopped cars and trams carrying passengers to the Gateway of India to welcome the Prince. Some vehicles were damaged or wrecked. "Pedestrians in foreign caps – Europeans, and particularly Parsis – were beaten up and deprived of their headgear, Parsi women molested ... A European police sergeant was set upon by the crowd and killed."[18] Mobs smashed most of the street lamps in the Indian town while the police were busy guarding the fort area. On 18 November, Maratha millhands lined the streets from Dadar to Pydhuni, holding up all tram traffic and attacking passengers and pedestrians

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[15] Ibid. p. 145.
[16] Ibid. p.153.
[17] Ibid. p. 155.
[18] Ibid. p. 162.

dressed in Western-style clothes. Meanwhile, middle-class Parsis began patrolling their neighborhoods in north Fort, and beating up pro-Congress people, including six Satyagraha Volunteers on their way to Parel to pacify millhands. In the European neighborhoods of Byculla, armed Anglo-Indian youth stopped trams and took the Gandhi caps from people's heads, sometimes also robbing them. In turn, Muslims and Hindus from poorer neighbourhoods of Byculla looted shops and stoned European homes. Street brawls, looting, murder, and arson marked the central neighbourhoods of the city north of Princess Street. "The city was effectively brought to a standstill. All mills and offices as well as most shops, cinemas and theatres were closed for three days."[19]

On 20 November, Gandhi proclaimed his intention to go on a fast until peace was restored. Community leaders also tried to restore peace; so did foot soldiers, armed police, and mounted soldiers with machine guns. On the 23rd normality returned, but more than fifty were dead, 300 injured.[20] Most of the killing had been done not by the police but "by gun-wielding members of the upper classes. Deeply chastised, the Mahatma was now unwilling to consider mass civil disobedience, 'until we have obtained complete control over the masses'."[21]

Ahmedabad, too had experienced its share of violence during the Rowlatt Satyagraha, when the city believed that Gandhi had been arrested. Official accounts reported 28 dead and 123 injured, but the violence was condemned and it was not repeated.[22] For Gandhi, protest movements were as much about changing the mind-set of the protesters as about changing government policy. Violence was not an option. In Ahmedabad, for the most part, despite the events of 1919 when he was not in the city, he carried the day. In Bombay, some accepted his strategy, and perhaps his principles, but many considered them inadequate. The Maratha mill hands, especially, were a wildcard in Bombay. So were the non-Gujarati mill workers in the

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[19] Ibid. p. 163.
[20] Ibid
[21] Ibid. p. 164.
[22] Gillion (1971: 126–44).

Ahmedabad industry. Gujaratis were more accepting of Gandhi's style, and perhaps his principles.

Gandhi was willing to negotiate, he was willing to assume leadership, but he insisted on control—his control over his followers, and his followers' control over themselves. This was the strategy which he usually demanded of Ahmedabad. It was not an acceptable strategy for the more demonstrative people of Bombay.

IV

While the contrast between Gandhian means and the more aggressive and even violent practices of many in Bombay played out in the streets, in the writing of Indulal Yagnik we see differences between Ahmedabad and Bombay through the eyes of an individual, a very bright, uncommonly introspective young man.[23] Yagnik, first came to Bombay in 1909 as a 17-year-old college student, and later returned as a political and cultural refugee from Gandhian-controlled Ahmedabad in 1924.

Born in Nadiad in 1892, Indulal came to Ahmedabad to study at Gujarat College, but in 1909 he transferred to St. Xavier's College in Bombay to pursue a science curriculum, which was not available in Ahmedabad. After he finished his studies, in several subjects, and briefly practiced law, he joined with Bombay friends K.M. Munshi and Shankarlal Banker to establish the journal Navajivan ane Satya in 1913. In 1917 Indulal followed Gandhi to Ahmedabad and transferred editorship of his journal to Gandhi, who made it his own. Seven years later, in a bitter quarrel and a poignant leave-taking, Indulal broke from the Gujarat Congress in 1924 and returned to Bombay. He wrote, "I was obliged to free myself from the atmosphere of blind faith in Gujarat and to go to Bombay" (2:10). In 1930 he left India altogether for England and Europe, where he remained for five years. He returned to Gujarat to work with peasants and tribals in 1935, until he was externed from the region and once again made Bombay his headquarters, 1936-39. Indulal was jailed in 1940 and after his release in 1942 he lived mostly in Gujarat.

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[23] Quotations from Yagnik are all taken from Pathak, Spodek and Wood (2011).

Towards the end of his life he also resided in New Delhi as a Member of Parliament, 1957 until his death in 1972.

On his arrival in Bombay for studies in 1909, Indulal marveled at Bombay's advanced technologies and splendid urban landscapes. Ahmedabad had given him a taste of these advances, but Bombay was, in a sense, the real thing, a city enmeshed in technological and urban modernity. Bombay reveled in the new, and Indulal embraced its spirit.

The city was founded by the British rulers who filled in many ponds, constructed several parks and gardens, and built the entire area from Dhobi Talav and Crawford market to Palwa Bunder and Colaba in an English style. They built government buildings and British banks and firms and hotels. They created a dazzling splendour of wide roads, open spaces, and green areas. "When I went to Bombay in 1909, this new city was adding even greater variety. A new road, Sandhurst Road, was being laid through the lanes of Girgaon from Chowpatty to Golpitha. Heated discussions were being held about extensive schemes to join the two points of Colaba and Malabar Hill by filling in the sea. Electric power had started displacing gas. In the best areas, electric lamps were in use. Electric-powered trams began to replace the horses. New, huge buildings were already being built on the new Sandhurst Road. A new cinema house, called the America-India Cinema, gave an indication of what was to come. Horse-drawn Victorias were fast being replaced by cars and the telephone had arrived. I went to Bombay for my studies as this new technical age was reaching there." (I: 175)

Bombay imparted to Indulal new levels of aspiration for himself and for India. "Reading the novels of the scientific writer [H. G.] Wells, I became fond of the Gamdevi neighbourhood, adorned with beautiful rows of trees, pleasant streets illuminated by electric lights, and the middle class residences full of modern comforts and conveniences. The happy life to which I aspired I now thought desirable for everybody. I wished that everybody could leave the dark hovels and enjoy the life of the middle class. I began to believe that, with the development of the newest industries, everybody could have that kind of convenience. Such development should not take place on the basis of private capitalism but through cooperatives. I wished that every house would have

electricity and the poor artisans and workers would have small industries powered by electricity. On account of my study of history and economics I inclined toward socialism and cooperatives. My mind became fixed on a bright, colourful future of social reconstruction in place of superstition, ignorance, and the imaginary fancies of the past." (I: 402)

As rationality, science, and technology dominated his imagination, religion receded in importance: "There was absolutely no attempt on my part to give up the old path of faith. Nevertheless, I could see before me in Bombay the tremendous physical progress based upon rationality and science and I began to appreciate its value. I did not visit any temple in Bombay as I used to do in Ahmedabad. I did not observe the fast on Ekadashi. The path of worship and meditation gradually lost its appeal and, with this, the value of religious faith undoubtedly decreased. But it could not disappear completely." (I: 179)

Ahmedabad, however, more than held its own when it came to political mobilization, as Indulal discovered when he returned in 1917: "Spreading the message of the Home Rule League in Gujarat, I reached Ahmedabad. I found the city transformed by new activities. On the 16th, the day Besant was placed under house arrest, a huge meeting was held at the Premabhai Hall where speakers like Dr. Hariprasad, Maganbhai Patel, Vallabhbhai Patel, Anasuyaben, and others gave powerful speeches. Patriotic songs included Swami Satyadev's "Yadi Jaan Tumse Nikale, Chhodo Na Tum Dharam Ko" (Even if you must die, you must not forsake your duty). The religious song proved to be most effective. When I returned to Ahmedabad a few days later, I was amazed to see at the vegetable market a huge meeting of 10,000 people under Gandhiji's chairmanship. Several traders of the Mahajan [trade guild] and millowners such as Ambalal Sarabhai and Kasturbhai Lalbhai were present. Speeches of Nagindas Sanghvi, Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel, Swami Satyadev, Pragji Khandubhai Desai, Moolchand Asharam Shah, and others, were greeted with great applause by this huge meeting. Torrential rain fell during the meeting. Umbrellas were opened but nobody moved. Really "such a huge meeting had never been held in Ahmedabad city. The meeting looked like a conference. When the people could not be

accommodated in the large square, some climbed onto the rooftops at several places. Photographs of well known people and quotations from outstanding leaders were displayed. At the entrance was hung a photograph of a Gujjar woman blowing a war trumpet". I was considerably encouraged when I heard from the mouth of Gandhiji his first political speech and when I saw the first really huge meeting of people in the capital city." (I: 309–10).

Indulal reports that in Ahmedabad his personality began to revert to pre-Bombay harmonies. He contrasts the Indulal of Bombay with the re-emerging Indulal of Ahmedabad. Under Gandhi's inspiration, some of his earlier personality re-emerged, and along with it, new attitudes of the Gandhian age and persuasion. He presents both the re-emergence of the old and a savoring of the new as a break with Bombay. "As I became a fighting volunteer and radical political propagandist after my contact with Gandhiji, I started moving in an entirely different world. Fighting the English raj required not only the backing of a few studious people but also the support of crores of villagers. For this we had to move day-by-day from village-to-village, understand the people, address them, go to their level and give them advice. We should neither frighten them nor provoke them, but give them advice that would appeal to their minds and remove their misery. To keep in close, daily contact with the people of Gujarat, I had to leave Bombay and stay in Ahmedabad, the centre of Gujarat. As I worked with this political and rural point of view, and with my new contact with the towns and villages of Gujarat, I was influenced consciously or unconsciously. Old impressions that had been hidden in the deep recesses of my mind sprouted again and began to awaken. At first I enjoyed the comparatively orthodox society and contacts in Ahmedabad because of my continued fondness for novelty. My habit of studying and gaining new knowledge decreased. Although I stayed in the city, I travelled daily in villages and my love for natural, outdoor beauty, for fields and trees—suppressed in Bombay—was now aroused. With the sights of nature, the spiritualism of my childhood subconscious also began to flower. I became greatly interested in Gandhiji's type of prayers to God. Slowly, I once again became a non-attached Vedantist. I got the series of books on Ramakrishna and Vivekananda and I read them devoutly."

"While my heart grew larger with my love for the village, my intelligence and imagination became more constricted. I was like a lover of an illiterate but beautiful woman. On account of my love for the farms and villages my old scientific flights of intelligence became less frequent. To break the fetters of these crores of poor brothers and sisters, and those of the country, became my chief goal in life. The scientific thought process of social uplift disappeared into my deep subconscious." (I: 401–3).

He learned to value compromise: "If a man of such independent mind and warm heart was to stay in the simple atmosphere of Ahmedabad and work with colleagues of varied natures *he would have to cultivate a very conciliatory attitude* [my emphasis]. In my own way I began to compromise in several matters. But on important principles I remained completely unyielding. Some close friends appreciated this, while others regarded it as unconsidered. After leaving Bombay, and living in Ahmedabad for about a year, the nucleus of a changed mind and nature had crystalized." (I: 405)

In 1918, Indulal was beginning to enjoy and appreciate his life in Ahmedabad and in its surrounding villages. His temperament was becoming softer, more emotional, more conciliatory, less intellectual. He was enjoying his time in villages, in the lap of nature.

In 1924, however, he broke from the Gandhians and left Ahmedabad. Three years earlier he had clashed with Sardar Patel, president of the Gujarat Congress, as the Sardar rejected Indulal's request for funding for Bhil tribals in eastern Gujarat, arguing that Congress funds should be dedicated to political work, not social uplift. Indulal turned also against Gandhian asceticism and its emphasis on spinning, spinning, spinning. He left Ahmedabad for Bombay. He began once again to appreciate the metropolis, with its more modern technology, its intellectuality, its rough edges, its more abundant opportunities, and its openness. He gave up wearing khadi and dressed in European clothes, read seriously the literature of socialism and communism, found a job as a journalist with prominent Bombay newspapers, began making films, bought a car, and took up smoking. For Indulal, Bombay was once again a different and more exciting world of freedom and struggle.

He might have avoided the struggle had he not had to find a job and earn a living, but he was no longer protected within the cocoon of Gandhian institutions (nor of the Servants of India Society, which he had inhabited earlier).

. He entitles one of his chapters 'In Search of a Job': "A few weeks before, when I had made a short trip to Bombay, I had a glimpse of the new real world of the city and the endless colourful activity of its trade and factories. But they all appeared extremely unbearable and out of tune now. I somewhat hesitated to plunge into the turbulence of the population teeming in all directions and the trams and the bustle of the hotels and the bazaar from the tranquillity of Chowpatty. But the money and the job that I had so far kicked away I was now obliged to go out in search of." (II: 300)

Bombay was all about making money. "Whoever would meet you would talk about their profession, income, company or boss. From this it appeared that innumerable people were running around day and night to make more and more money quickly. Everybody appeared to be moving around wearing a kind of a label of his profession, goods or boss. Gossip about doing something for others or about the country used to occur only at times of leisure and was periodically satisfied by merely clapping with two hands in public meetings. ... I used to think how nice it must be to be a devotee of the nation while making a lot of money." (II: 303–4)

He recognized that his lifestyle in Bombay would vary in direct proportion to his income: "At this time [1925–26] my real concern was to find ways of earning more so as to live happily" (I: 329). The lifestyle of Bombay that he at first feared, but apparently also envied, had infected him.

Most of Indulal's friends in Bombay were Gandhians, or associated with Gandhi. They would not be willing or able to help him find the job that he needed. *The Bombay Chronicle*, however, gave him his chance. *The Chronicle* continued its criticism of Gandhi as too conservative and too ridden with Hindu religious forms, and its current editor, Horniman's successor, was an old friend of Indulal's. Syed Abdullah Brelvi offered Indulal a job in the

editorial department. Indulal was now launched into the beginning of his new professional life in Bombay.

As an external sign of internal change, he altered his dress: from dhoti to khadi kurta-pyjama; to churidar pyjama made of khadi cloth; to coat and pant made of khadi; to coat and pant of drill and tusser, with collar, tie, and solar *topee*.

Indulal met a young Portuguese friend, Naronha, and the two young men together decided to rent an apartment larger than either could afford separately; it would be a move up for both. The change was more than just locational: "Naronha agreed to stay with me and to share the rent and expenses and to employ a cook. Renting a few tables and chairs and a cot and other things, I went to stay there and started living in the style of the new age in a Christian house." (II: 314)

Indulal began to cultivate a craze for foreign: "When I started living in this new happy place with more pay I got interested in moving about every day near Palwa Harbour and in listening to foreign music at the Green and Taj Mahal Hotels nearby. By this time I had turned away from our whole native society, regarding it as orthodox and traditional. On the other hand, I was eager to find out the secret of the great power with which the white people of England had acquired this vast land from thousands of miles away, after having acquired the property and wealth of the new age. I also wanted to acquaint myself with the ways of life of these people living on a much higher level and showing their supreme prowess. Besides, on the sea coast several steamers used to sparkle at night with their lights and some people used to go boating. As a result of this, I gradually developed a great desire to go abroad so as to personally get acquainted with the powerful people of England. My mind turned aloof from the land and people of my country and began running with the speed of lightning towards the foreign land. I started having dreams of finding out some magic remedy from there so as to improve the fate of my country." (II: 314–5)

Bombay was no longer a destination; it had become a launching pad. Indulal's move from Gandhian Ahmedabad to entrepreneurial Bombay had

brought him into new worlds previously beyond his imagination. Gandhian Ahmedabad was orderly, conscientious, concerned for others, closer to nature– and controlled, so much so that Indulal felt constrained to leave. Bombay, by comparison was a free-for-all, although an expensive one.

V

Thus far, we have looked at differences between Bombay and Ahmedabad through the eyes of individuals. Now let us consider institutional differences and their profound influences. Specifically let us look at unions and labour relations especially in the textile industry, the dominant industry of both the cities through most of the twentieth century.

In 1919, a general strike that began in Bombay's textile mills "quickly spread to the railway workshops, Mint, the government Dockyard and engineering works. When the millworkers struck again a year later, they were once more followed by railway, tramway, dock, engineering, and oil workers, as well as by municipal employees and even by tailors and cutters.[24] labour unions were not yet legalized, but this "deteriorating industrial climate compelled [Bombay] Governor Lloyd to receive a deputation of the newly formed, Bombay-based [communist- and socialist-dominated] All-India Trades Union Congress (AITUC) in October 1920."[25] Benjamin Guy Horniman's newspaper, *The Bombay Chronicle*, a fiery exponent of the point of view of the left wing of the Congress in Bombay, called the strike a "legitimate weapon of organised Labour against organised Capital" (p.125)

Meanwhile, in Ahmedabad, Anasuyaben Sarabhai, with full support from Gandhi, was establishing the Majoor Mahajan, or Textile Labour Association, a union dedicated to resolving labour disputes with minimal use of strikes. The famous strike of 1918, which Mahadev Desai reported in *A Righteous Struggle*,[26] concluded with labour, led by Anasuyaben Sarabhai, and management, led by her brother Ambalal Sarabhai, reaching a joint agreement. Ambalal and the other mill owners gave in to labour's demands

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[24] Hazareesingh (2007: 207).

[25] Ibid. p. 204.

[26] Desai (1951).

only after a fast-unto-death by Gandhi. Mill owners chose to save Gandhi's life by consenting to his terms on behalf of the workers, even though they were not convinced by his arguments. Gandhi later did penance for his act of coercion – but the coercion had been an integral part of his method.

Nevertheless, the peaceful resolution of this strike, and of others in 1920 and 1923, created and solidified the TLA. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the support for the existence of the union and for the processes of arbitration provided by Kasturbhai Lalbhai, one of the pre-eminent and most respected of the millowners, assured that the pattern of compulsory arbitration, with an absolute minimum of strikes would prevail in Ahmedabad.

Recognizing the expansion of industry and the increasing importance of labour relations, the British Government of India extended effective legal recognition to the trade union movement with the Trades Union Act of 1926, which authorized peaceful picketing and conferred immunity on unions and their members from civil suits and criminal prosecutions. Within two years, 1926-28, "total union membership in the city [of Bombay] more than doubled – from around 87,000 to just under 200,000."[27]

Consider the contrast in the results of the two patterns of labour relations in the two cities: "During the eight years from 1926 to 1934 there had been 471 strikes in Bombay Province which affected only the textile industry involving 735,758 workers with a time loss of 34,849,000 working days. Of that time loss, Bombay city alone was responsible for the enormous figure of 32 million working days lost whereas he loss in Ahmedabad was for only 138 days! Textile operatives in Bombay city suffered a loss of about Rs. 427 lakhs while operatives in Ahmedabad suffered less than Rs. 2 lakhs."[28]

Some strikes in Bombay were particularly widespread and frightening to employers and to the government, both. General strikes in 1928-29 involved a core of "150,000 workers in more than eighty mills over a period of about eighteen months, but they also pulled into their orbit workers in other trades and occupations in the city and beyond; and, in addition, they

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[27] Hazareesingh (2007: 214).
[28] Kamath and Kher (1993: 327).

developed and manifested widespread support among workers for the communists."[29]

In 1935, the newly promulgated national constitution for India created a new government of Bombay Province, elected for the first time in 1937. Congress dominated this government and now had the responsibility of forging its own legislation in regard to labour relations. As a composite of interest groups, including management as well as labour, the Congress wanted to marginalize socialist and communist unions, like AITUC and its affiliates in Bombay and like the Communist Lal Vavta (Red Flag) and Mill Kamdar unions that challenged TLA supremacy in Ahmedabad. In the Bombay legislative assembly some seats were reserved for particular interest groups; each registered trade union was allotted two. The TLA sent Gulzarilal Nanda and Khandubhai Desai with a mission of institutionalizing the TLA model of labour relations throughout the Bombay Province.[30] Nanda, the TLA Secretary, was appointed the parliamentary secretary for labour in the new government and was charged with reviewing and revising the legislation already under consideration.

"Gulzarilal's revised bill kept most of the provisions already drafted: only a representative union – that is, one with a membership of at least 25 percent of the workers – could negotiate on their behalf; a union could be recognized only if it accepted the principle of arbitration in any dispute regarding hours, wages, or working conditions; and strikes and lockouts were banned once arbitration began. Gulzarilal added one major change, making arbitration compulsory in industries where both parties accepted it. The bill [The Bombay Industrial Disputes and Relations Act] passed in November 1938 despite strong labour opposition in Bombay. The revised act represented the TLA-Ahmedabad model of labour negotiations rather than the Bombay model of strikes."[31]

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[29] Chandavarkar (1999: 205).

[30] As Claude Markovits (1985: 166) puts it, "The Bombay government was in the forefront of the attempts at setting up new, more docile unions."

[31] Spodek (2011: 111).

The TLA had won out; the Bombay unions, and many others, rebelled. The bill met with strong opposition in the Legislative Assembly from trade unionists, Ambedkar's independent labourites and the Muslim League, but the government was in such a hurry to have it passed that it did not even allow the formation of a Select Committee to look more closely into its merits. Eventually the Bill was passed on 5 November 1938 amidst angry scenes. The haste with which the government acted showed that they wanted to put the bill into effect as soon as possible in order to establish their control over the labour movement in Bombay.

"However, the immediate effect of the passing of the bill was to provoke a general strike in the Bombay Presidency in protest against the 'Black Act', as well as demonstrations of solidarity in the other provinces. *In Bombay city, the strike was joined by approximately half of the millhands, but it failed to gain much support in Ahmedabad and Sholapur.*" (My emphasis)[32]

Manjiri Kamat explains that Sholapur did not react more aggressively since "the principal union activists of Sholapur were in prison when the Industrial Disputes legislation was passed in late 1938,"[33] jailed by the Congress Ministry of the Bombay Province.

Before we leave this account of the legislative victory of the Ahmedabad-Gandhian pattern of negotiation over the Bombay pattern of confrontation, we need to note the degree of Gandhian control exercised here as well. It was not only Bombay that had been having problems with labour unrest. Ahmedabad, too, had restive unions, and they, too, challenged the TLA. But the TLA, with its allies, succeeded in suppressing them.

In 1937, Ahmedabad's mill owners reduced the pay of the weavers. The Communist Lal Vavta Union and the Mill Kamdar Union called a strike – opposed by the TLA – that lasted for twenty-one days. At least forty-seven mills were struck by up to 50,000 workers. The core group of the strikers was the Muslim weavers, but ultimately virtually the whole industry was shut down. The Congress government in Bombay imposed a law banning meetings

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[32] Markovits (1985: 168).
[33] Kamat (2010: 117).

of more than five people when public safety was endangered – its first use of repressive measures in Ahmedabad city. It urged the workers to bring the TLA into the negotiations. The Ahmedabad Millowners Association refused to negotiate with the Mill Kamdar Union, and insisted on arbitration only with the TLA, even though the TLA had been opposed to the strike – perhaps because the TLA had been opposed to the strike. And, indeed, the TLA became the negotiating organization for the strikers. So, once again, we see not only the power of the call for negotiation, we see also the coercion applied – successfully – against recalcitrant opposition.

VI

This paper has reviewed the divergent significances of Ahmedabad and Bombay for Gandhi, for Indulal, for the establishment of the Bombay labour Relations Act of 1938, and for the history of labour in India. Bombay was four times larger than Ahmedabad, with a much greater diversity of populations; it was filled with contesting points of view which were not easily reconciled, and each of which often took its causes into demonstrations and confrontations on the street. Horniman explained these conditions to Gandhi even as he invited the Mahatma to lead protests in Bombay. Gandhi rejected Horniman's formulation and the strategy that flowed from it, substituting his own method of satyagraha instead. Gandhi in Ahmedabad was accustomed to control and he was not about to relinquish this vision in Bombay.

Not only was Bombay more internally heterogeneous and volatile than Ahmedabad, it was also much more open to the outside world. As the principal port of western India, and later of all of India, Bombay's harbor sheltered ships from all over the world. As the political capital for western India it was home to thousands of Britishers, and other foreigners, and provided them with arenas for expressing their ideas in speech, print, and institutions. Indulal longed for contact with this kind of openness and sought it out, first in his search for an undergraduate education in science, unavailable in Ahmedabad, and later in his search for a congenial cultural and political environment after the powerful nationalists of Ahmedabad forced him and his ideas out of their inner circles. Bombay was multiple interests and multiple voices contesting in public and in private; Ahmedabad had established a very

strong, closely held, mahajan culture of deliberation among a small group of leading businessmen to decide the fate of their city. With Gandhi's arrival, the mahajans modified, but mostly consolidated that culture, with Gandhi providing its leadership through changing times and circumstances.

Although Ahmedabad seemed provincial, backward, and even stifling to some— like Indulal—its internal cohesion also gave it strength and influence far beyond its borders. Its decisive voice in the labour legislation of Bombay Province provides the clearest example. Under Gandhi, and thanks to the city's own historic traditions of leadership through negotiation, Ahmedabad brought together interest groups that in Bombay tended to fight one another. As the Congress began to function as a ruling party in Bombay, and elsewhere, this ability to negotiate peacefully among contentious groups proved welcome among Provincial party leaders and brought new appreciation and, within the sphere of labour relations, new dominance for Ahmedabad's political style.

VII

This paper has looked at Ahmedabad and Bombay in the early years of the twentieth century, reflecting my research interests as an historian. For the past year or so, however, especially since I published my book, *Ahmedabad: Shock City of Twentieth Century India* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), I have begun to look at the present, especially in Ahmedabad. I have been looking at planners and the processes of planning they are advocating and implementing in today's Ahmedabad. To some degree, my interests in the past and the present interact with one another. As I look at one of the biggest projects in Ahmedabad today, for example, the Sabarmati Riverfront Development project, I look in part at the displacement and relocation it imposes on residents of slums along the riverside and on merchants in the city's weekly flea market, the Sunday Market. And I see a few comparisons to the plans for restructuring Dharavi here in Mumbai. At certain basic levels, I see some contrasts reminiscent of those of the last century. Dharavi affects a population multiply larger than the Sabarmati development. Dharavi is home not only to residents, but also to production facilities with enormous fixed capital installations, while the Riverfront has mostly residences, and the

businesses it supports have little fixed capital. Dharavi has drawn world-wide attention, including both offers for investment and opposition to it. Sabarmati's attraction has been limited mostly to India. Dharavi's fate is fought out in part through street demonstrations of its residents, organized by NGOs, while the future of Ahmedabad's Sabarmati project is being determined mostly by behind-the-scenes negotiations among the powerful political and economic actors within the city and the state. At least superficially, some of the differences between Bombay and Ahmedabad of the 1900s seem to persist into the 2010s. My research and reading have not so far, however, taken me beyond these preliminary, rough observations. So let me end this paper with the note that comparisons of Ahmedabad and Mumbai continue to be of interest, and of use, since the two cities' quite different political cultures may well yield quite different results in their future development. A look to the past may be helpful in understanding the present, but the present requires far more investigation than I have been able to complete so far. Hopefully, more will be forthcoming.

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TRACING THE EVOLUTION OF *SĀÑJHĪ* TRADITION IN VRINDAVAN

NAYANA TADVALKAR

Sāñjhī, a type of *rangolī* made using stencils is intrinsic to the temple rituals followed in the Northern parts of India during the *Pitṛ-pakṣa*, the period of the ancestors and the departed or the *śrāddha* period. It is mainly practiced in the Braja region[1] in Northwestern Uttar Pradesh, the homeland of Lord Kṛṣṇa and in Rajasthan.

Interestingly, the roots of this temple tradition of *Sāñjhī* rest in an ancient folk ritual. *Sāñjhī* (also known as *Sāñjā, Saijhā, Sāñjhūli, Sāñjhulde, Siñjhā, Sāñjhyā*), a vernacular derivation from *Sandhyā*, "evening" or "twilight", was originally worshipped as a goddess by the unmarried young girls seeking the boon of obtaining a suitable husband.

The practice of creating images of the folk deity *Sāñjhī* made of cow dung and flowers on walls and venerating it at evening time is continued in the villages of Braja, Haryana, Malwa and Rajasthan to the present day.[2]

This ritual too is practiced during the *Pitṛ-pakṣa* fortnight, beginning with the full moon day in the month of *Bhādrapada* (August-September) till the new moon day in the month of *Āśvina* (September-October). It is at this

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[1] The two towns of Mathura and Vrindavan and some region around is traditionally known as Braja or Brajabhūmī.

[2] It is known as *Hāñjhyā-Hāñjī* in Malwa and *Māmūliyā* in Bundelkhand. Similar practice is also followed by young girls at few places in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Nepal where it is referred to with different names like *Bhoṇḍalā, Bhulābāi* in Maharashtra. It is followed either during *Pitṛ-pakṣa* or *Navarātrī*. See Shekhawat (2005: 52).

period that male members of the family observe *śrāddha* rites for deceased relatives and the young girls worship goddess *Sāñjhī*, after whom the ritual is named. Only unmarried girls are allowed to make *Sāñjhī* who, after marriage give up the practice and take up the task of transmitting this art form and the associated ritual to their daughters.

There are various folk etymologies for the word *Sāñjhī*. One opinion is that *Sāñjhī* means "decoration" and is to be connected with the Hindi word *sajāvaṭ*, in turn connected with the Sanskrit *sajjā* or *sṛṅgāra* (decoration). Other scholars prefer to connect *Sāñjhī* with *sandhyā*, evening in Sanskrit (*sāṁjh* in *Brajabhāṣā* and Hindi), the time when the worship of the goddess is carried out.[3]

What makes the study of the *Sāñjhī* ritual interesting is that it is practiced in two forms simultaneously- one by the young unmarried girls in their homes and in the temples by the priests and local artisans. There is inadequate authentic material available with which to trace the development of the *Sāñjhī* tradition, either as played by young girls in their homes or in the temples by the priests, with certainty. Nevertheless, the common name shared for the ritual and the period of its practice at home as well as the temple provides a clue to the connection between both the rituals.

In order to understand the evolution of the temple tradition of *Sāñjhī* it is necessary to study the folk traditions first. In the folk tradition, young girls smear the outer wall of their homes and make designs on it by sticking various objects such as flowers, coloured stones, shells, metal foil, pieces of mirror and various shapes made of cow-dung etc. These symbolic depictions consist of motifs ranging from human figures to utility items like ladder, fan, cot, game of dice, eatables etc. The image thus created is venerated at evening time, when the girls perform *āratī*, sing songs and offer *bhoga* (food offering) to the deity. This ritual is always referred to as playing, i.e. playing *Sāñjhī*. The design is effaced the following day in order to create a new one in the same place on a fresh cow-dung background. The material used in making

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[3] Dasa (1996: 18).

each day's design is saved and on the last day it is ritually immersed in water bodies like well or river.

On the last day, the *Sarvapitrī Amāvāsyā*, a *koṭa* or *killā-koṭa*- the final design is created. This design is very elaborate and includes all the motifs created on the previous fourteen days and the figure of goddess *Sāñjhī* herself, [4] placed in an enclosure having four or eight sides. Interestingly a figure of crow is invariably drawn inside or outside the *killā-koṭa*.

There are various opinions as to the purpose behind this folk ritual. The period of the ritual, i.e. *Pitṛ-pakṣa* leads to the assumption that it is a form of ancestor worship performed by young girls to propitiate the paternal ancestors. Besides, the presence of crow and ladder in the *Sāñjhī* design supports this assumption.

Secondly, it is linked with the worship of the goddess *Sāñjhī*, who is none other than *Sandhyādevī*, a mind-born daughter created by Brahma from his austerities. According to the tale of *Sandhyādevī*, Vishnu confers a boon upon her that all those who worshipped her would have their wishes fulfilled.[5]

Thus it is believed that a girl religiously carrying out the ritual of *Sāñjhī* should in return obtain a good husband.

Here one can refer to the famous verse from the Braja poetry (Dasa 1996: 28):

> O *Sakhī*,
>
> Vṛndāvana seems to be covered in flowers
>
> It is the day for playing *Sāñjhī*
>
> So let us go and pick flowers

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[4] This ritual appears to have some remote connection with the cult of the Mother Goddess of Indus Valley Civilization which ingrained itself in the Indian folk mind and then lingered on to modern times.

[5] Sharma (????: 223–7).

And make a *Sāñjhī* of five colours

That will submerge the heart in love.

This verse refers to the playing of *Sāñjhī* by Rādhā, the ultimate lover, seeking the ideal partner, who is of course none other than Kṛṣṇa. It is believed that Rādhā created *Sāñjhī*s in the grove so that her lover would arrive. In the poetic traditions we also find descriptions of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and the *Sakhī*s going to the forest, gathering flowers and playing *Sāñjhī* in Rādhā's house where Kṛṣṇa goes in the disguise as one of Rādhā's *Sakhī*[6]. These poetic descriptions emulate the folk rituals very closely. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa also describes how, in Kṛṣṇa's absence, the *gopī*s re-enacted his pastimes among themselves, emulating him and remembering him only. Making *Sāñjhī* designs is believed to be one of the aspects of the *gopī*'s behaviour[7].

Thirdly, it is also believed that the worship of *Sāñjhī* or *Sandhyādevī* is *Gaurī pūjā* (that is, worship of Goddess Pārvatī) and is to be performed just as Rādhā worshipped Kātyāyanī in order to attain Kṛṣṇa.[8]

According to Dasa, the *Sāñjhī* ritual practiced by unmarried girls furnished the material for the depiction of *Sāñjhī* in *Brajabhāṣā* poetry. The creation of *Sāñjhī* described in poetry in turn preceded the institution of a temple festival consisting of producing *Sāñjhī* designs either with flowers or coloured powders using stencils.

The temple tradition of *Sāñjhī* has evolved from the folk tradition and received its present shape during the medieval period along with the establishment of Braja as a *Vaiṣṇava* spiritual centre. The rise of the *Bhakti* movement with its emphasis on individual devotion to a personal god and its celebration of *rasa* or the aesthetic sensibility seem to have transformed the folk ritual into a temple art, where it acquires a new meaning that of *upāsanā* or service to *Thākūrjī*.[9]

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[6] Ibid. p. 25.

[7] Ibid. p. 40.

[8] Ibid. p. 31.

[9] Thākūrjī is one of the many names by which Kṛṣṇa is addressed respectfully.

The poetries in *Brajabhāṣā* focus on the creation of *Sāñjhī* with flowers. Flower *Sāñjhīs* remain an integral part of the temple tradition at Vṛndāvan where the ten days of the *Pitṛ-pakṣa* prior to *Ekādaśī* are consecrated to making flower *Sāñjhīs*. These particular *Sāñjhī* designs are the only ones in the temple tradition made by girls.

On the last five days (from the eleventh day to fifteenth day of dark fortnight) the *Sāñjhī* is made in coloured powders using stencils called as *sāncā* or *khāka*. The creation of this type of *Sāñjhī* requires considerable time and effort and is entrusted to specifically trained professional artists associated with the temple tradition as hereditary Brahman priests. Probably the practice which began with creation of flower *Sāñjhīs* gradually evolved and transformed into a highly sophisticated art form of creating powdered *Sāñjhīs*. Here one cannot fail to notice how a *śāstrīya*[10] art form evolves from an *aśāstrīya* folk ritual. The creator of the art also changes from young women to the priest as soon as it acquires the status of being *śāstrīya*. Also, the designs made by the girls on the walls of the houses, are created publicly but in temples the *Sāñjhī* is usually created behind closed doors and only after the design is complete and the *bhoga* offering is made it is revealed to the devotees.

The *Sāñjhī* art in spite of its obvious parallels with the practice of *rangolī* flourishing in various parts of India, distinguishes itself by its high degree of artistic perfection coupled with profound mystic symbolism.

Given the stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism in the Braja region and its predominant association with Lord Kṛṣṇa, it is only natural that the art of *Sāñjhī* depicts Kṛṣṇa mythology as its principal theme.

Sāñjhī is created on an octagonal earthen platform or *vedī*, specially constructed by plastering with mud and cow dung. Whole series of stencils is used; creating a sequence of patterns layered one over the other, like a printing process, resulting in the final image having intricate design and depth. The

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[10] The priest at the temples in Vṛndāvan consider powdered *Sāñjhī* to be a *śāstriyakalā*-personal communication with Shri Neelmani Bhatt Goswami of Rādhāmadanamohana temple and Shrivatsa Goswami of Rādhāramaṇa temple.

hauda (also known as *hṛd* or 'heart') or the central portion of the *Sāñjhī* constitutes the sanctum sanctorum, encircled by interlocking decorative patterns. The episodes in Lord Kṛṣṇa's life depicted in the *hauda* are changed every day.[11]   The larger *Sāñjhī*, like the one created on the *Sarvapitrī Amāvāsyā*, can sometimes take 12 to 15 hours and 7 to 8 artists to produce.

The *Sāñjhī* is revealed to the devotees in time for the evening prayers. The aesthetic experience of the revelation is heightened by the accompaniment of songs narrating stories about Lord Kṛṣṇa's life in front of the *Sāñjhī*. After worship, the *Sāñjhī* is effaced to make the new image for the following day. The material used is disposed off in the Yamuna.[12]

Further types of temple *Sāñjhī*s are prepared from dry colours on water and beneath water.

Besides the devotional literature, the art of *Sāñjhī*, has found an eloquent response in the traditions of music and theatre in Braja. The display of a *Sāñjhī* design is generally accompanied by musical performances in the *Vaiṣṇava* temple music styles known as *samājagāyana* and *haveli sangeet* featuring verses of devotional poetry pertaining to the *Sāñjhī*. *Rāsalīlā* theatre enacts the *Sāñjhī* theme in a play called '*Sāñjhī līlā*'. Both literature and devotional theatre have interwoven the folk ritual with *Vaiṣṇava* mythology, speaking of Rādhā and her companions preparing for worship of the goddess *Sāñjhī*.

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[11] Sometimes the saints like Śrī Hita Harivaṁśa and Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya Mahāprabhu, the founders of the Rādhāvallabha and the Gauḍīya School respectively are also depicted, especially in the *Sāñjhī* of Rādhāvallabha and Rādhāramaṇa temples. However, the Rādhāmadanamohan or Bhaṭṭajī's temple depicts scenes purely based on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

[12] The priest artists are of the view that though a great deal of effort goes in making the *Sāñjhī* , they feel no pain in its destruction, as the respective design has performed its function, and their duty is simply to create a new one in order to please Krishna again. Thus the ritual is truly an *upāsanā*, a service done with the purpose of pleasing Him and to fix the practitioners' mind on Him.

Stencils of *Sāñjhī*

The use of stencils in the creation of *Sāñjhī* designs appears to be a Mughal influence.[13] Earlier fine bark of trees or banana leaves were used as the base material for cutting stencils but today paper stencils are commonly used. The artist (who in many cases is the temple priest) starts work only after offering prayers to his guru who taught him the craft, his tools, and the gods. The first stage in the process of creating a *Sāñjhī* is the sketching of the theme and pattern. If more than one copy is required the papers are pinned together on all sides. The cutting of the *Sāñjhī* is the next step. The scissors used are very fine and slightly curved at one end to enable detailed cutting[14]. While cutting, the paper is rotated so that the intricate design can be cut. Each colour requires a separate paper cut of its own which means if a design consists of 20 colours the same number of stencils is cut. Thus in each *Sāñjhī* design there is a sequencing of patterns that overlap one another which results in an intricate design with depth. Each stencil is folded at the corner tip, and the artist uses this fold to gently lift up the stencil once the colour has been filled through the cut-out. This requires enormous skill. The artist holds his breath as even a faint breathe of air can disturb the colours and gently, in a single movement, lifts the stencil.

Today, the art of *Sāñjhī* is mainly practiced in the three temples of Vrindavan- RādhāMadanamohana, Rādhāramaṇa, and Rādhāvallabha[15] and the Lāḍilīlāla temple at Barsana- believed to be the birth place of Rādhā and few temples in Rajasthan.

Major transformation in *Sāñjhī* has come about in the 1990's. From being a work of art which was produced with flowers or coloured powder, mainly in the temple for worship, the paper cut, that is used as a stencil to

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[13] The temple priests at Vrindavan claim that the tradition of making stenciled *Sāñjhī* is at least 400 years old.

[14] When not in use the scissors are carefully wrapped in cloth to protect the tip and as a mark of respect to the tool that creates the *Sāñjhī*.

[15] According to Shri Neelmani Bhatt Goswami, earlier 27 *gharānā*s in Vrindavan practiced this art. The art is slowly dying out and only the above mentioned three *gharānā*s of temple priests practice it.

create the image, has itself become the final artwork, gradually losing the ritualistic or religious significance. With this, the essential features of the traditional *Sāñjhī*, that of the emphasis on the process than the final product and its transient, impermanent character- has also melted away. Now the final product is no longer the coloured image revealed in the temple in the evening but the precisely cut paper motif itself, which is now called *Sāñjhī*. This paper cut is no longer used as a stencil for *Sāñjhī*, where its negative part made the design of colour. Instead, now the negative and the positive together make the picture through the play of light. Besides paper, plastic is also brought into use to make the cut outs for commercial use. The maker of this commercial *Sāñjhī* has also changed from temple priests to local artists.

Another dramatic effect of this transformation has been in the theme of the images which have moved away from those associated with Kṛṣṇa and *Brajabhūmī* to more secular images like the Warli art, Jaina art, images of Buddha, Christmas motifs etc. Typical end-use of these products is as decorative pieces for the home, cards, note-books, diaries, wall hangings, trays and so on. There is more emphasis on technique rather than the content. Also, individual artists are becoming popular in contrast to earlier times when the artist remained anonymous. *Sāñjhī* stencils are sandwiched between sheets of glass or acrylic, or laminated before being used. The products available in the market include coasters, serving trays, table tops, wall hangings, lamps, magazine holders, diary covers etc.

Thus tracing the evolution of this art which possibly began with the veneration of Mother Goddess to the decorative art form it has acquired today, a major transformation in beliefs, practices and aesthetic sense is visible. The only thing that remains constant throughout the process of transformation is the name 'Sāñjhī'.

Plates

Fig. 11.1   Flower *Sāñjhī*

Fig. 11.2   Temple *Sāñjhī*

Fig. 11 . 1 - Flower *Sāñjhī*
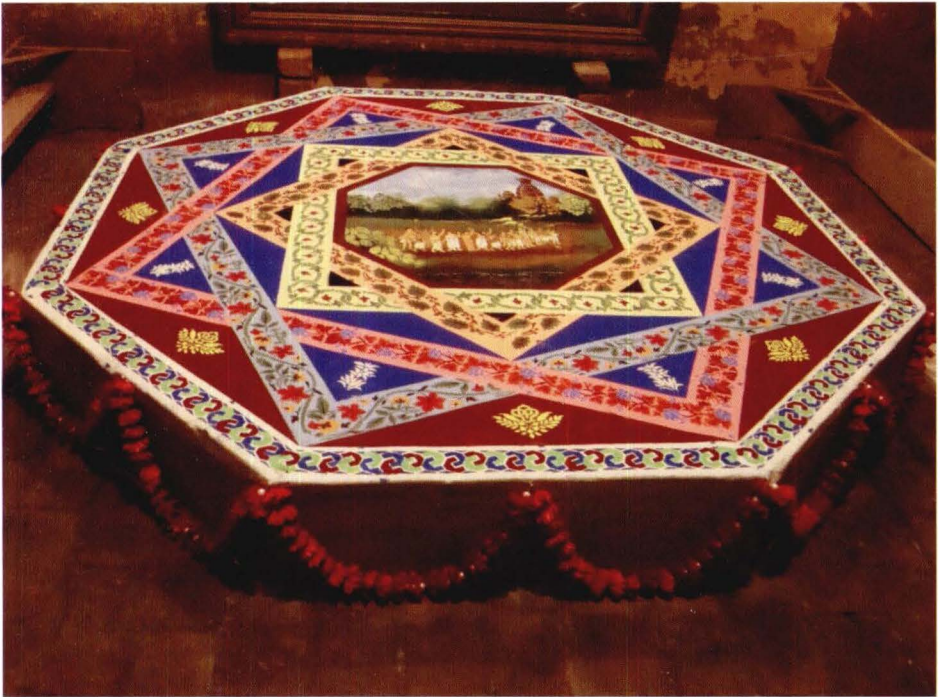
Fig. 11 . 2 - Temple *Sāñjhī*

Fig. 11 . 3 - Hauda or Hrida of Temple *Sāñjhī*

Fig. 11 . 4 - Floating *Sāñjhī*
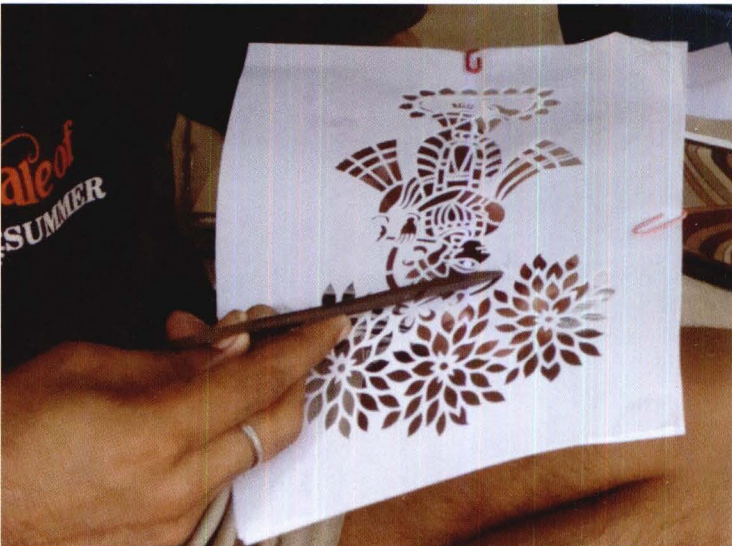
Fig. 11 . 5 - Artist Cutting *Sāñjhī* Stencil

Fig. 11.3   Hauda or Hrida of Temple *Sāñjhī*

Fig. 11.4   Floating *Sāñjhī*

Fig. 11.5   Artist Cutting *Sāñjhī* Stencil

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BODHISATTVA'S PRAXIS AND PHILOSOPHICAL THEORIES IN MAHĀYĀNASAṀGRAHA III

CHIKAFUMI WATANABE

Introduction

The main theme of the third chapter of the *Mahāyānasaṁgraha* (hereinafter, MS) is the entrance into the defining characteristics of what is to be known (*shes bya ba'i mtshan nyid la 'jug pa*, **jñeya-lakṣaṇa-praveśa*). The "defining characteristics of what is to be known" refers to the three characteristics (or natures), i.e., the imagined (*parikalpita*), the other-dependent (*paratantra*), and the consummated (*pariniṣpanna*).[1] That is, the "entrance into the defining characteristics of what is to be known" means the realization of the three natures theory. In the realization of it, mind-talk (*mano-jalpa*) plays an important role. It is discussed in view of its status as the philosophical basis for "entering into the defining characteristics of what is to be known." Moreover, mind-talk is discussed in terms of the four kinds of investigations and the four kinds of wisdom of knowing reality as-it-is in order to explain the process that is the praxis of the bodhisattva by which the bodhisattva comes to understand the three natures theory. Finally, the relationship between mind-talk and the three natures is discussed as the goal in order to show that when the bodhisattva comes to understand mind-talk as mind-talk, he becomes

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[1] MS II. 1, Nagao (1982), pp. 57–58: *shes bya'i mtshan nyid ji ltar blta bar bya zhe na ǀ de ni mdor bsdu na rnam par gsum ste ǀ gzhan gyi dbang gi mtshan nyid dang ǀ kun brtags pa'i mtshan nyid dang ǀ yongs su grub pa'i mtshan nyid do ǁ* Tr.: Next, how is [the bodhisattva] to understand the defining characteristics of what is to be known? In short, that is of three kinds—the other-dependent characteristic, imagined characteristic, and consummated characteristic.

aware of the truth that all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations (*vijñapti-mātratā*). What follows below is an examination of the relation of the practical and philosophical theories described in MS III.[2]

Status of Mind-talk

With regard to the entrance into the defining characteristics of what is to be known, MS III. 1 states as follows:[3]

> "The defining characteristics of what is to be know (**jñeya-lakṣaṇa*) has been explained as above. How is [the bodhisattva] to understand the entrance (**pravesa*) into the defining characteristics of what is to be known?
>
> It is [to be understood as] the basis (**āśraya*) that has been impregnated (**paribhāvita*) by listening [to the Mahāyāna teachings] many times (**bahu-śruta/bāhu-śrutya*). Although it is not what is subsumed under the **ālaya-vijñāna*, like the **ālaya-vijñāna*, it becomes the seed of mind-talk (**mano-jalpa*) that is subsumed under proper attentiveness (**yoniśo-manaskāra-saṁgrhīta*), that presents [itself] as the cognitum (**grāhya-vastu-sthānīya*) which is characterized by [the fact that Buddha's] teachings and [their] meanings emerge [in it] as appearance, and that is accompanied by the act of perceiving (**sadṛṣṭi/sadarśana*)."

According to the above description, mind-talk is (1) that which is subsumed under proper attentiveness (*yoniśo-manaskāra*), (2) that which

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[2] Takeuchi (1979) discusses the relation in terms of the impregnation by listening to the Mahāyāna teachings many times and mind-talk in MS III. Hayashima (1973a), (1973b), (1974), and (1982) deal with mind-talk in his works on the bodhisattva's praxis in the Yogācāra school. Schmithausen (1973) and (1976) discuss the problem of the relation of praxis and philosophical theory in Buddhism. Motomura (2011) examines the concept of *mano-jalpa* in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*. To the best of my knowledge, there is no exclusive work on the relation of mind-talk and praxis discussed in the MS.

[3] Watanabe (2013), pp. 86–87: *shes bya'i mtshan nyid de ltar bshad pa la shes bya'i mtshan nyid la 'jug pa ji ltar blta zhe na | mang du thos pas bsgos pa'i gnas | kun gzhi rnam par shes pas bsdus pa ma yin la | kun gzhi rnam par shes pa ltar tshul bzhin yid la byed pas bsdus pa | chos dang don snang ba 'byung ba'i tshul can gzung ba'i dngos po'i gnas lta bu | lta ba dang bcas pa'i yid kyi brjod pa rnams kyi sa bon yin pa'o ||*

presents itself as the cognitum which is characterized by the fact that Buddha's teachings and their meanings emerge in it, and (3) that which is accompanied by the act of perceiving. That is, mind-talk is subsumed under proper attentiveness, so that it is a kind of mental discernment. Mind-talk, moreover, arises as the cognitum in the form of the Buddha's teachings and their meanings. Accordingly, it is the cognitum. Mind-talk is, furthermore, accompanied by the act of perceiving, so that it is also the cognizer. According to Vasubandhu, mind-talk is mental discrimination (*yid kyi rnam par rtog pa*, *mano-vikalpa), and according to Asvabhāva, it is *mano-vijñāna (*yid kyi rnam par shes pa,*).[4] Consequently, mind-talk is a conventional mental language which influences perception.

Therefore, the entrance into the defining characteristics of what is to be known means that the basis which has been impregnated by listening to the Mahāyāna teachings many times becomes the seed of mind-talk which, although it is conventional, is subsumed under proper attentiveness. In other words, the basis that has been impregnated by listening to the Mahāyāna teachings many times becomes the cause for realization, and through praxis based upon mind-talk, the bodhisattva attains enlightenment.

It should be noted here that mind-talk is not the truth itself. Since truth is freed from any conventional judgments, perception, and discrimination, mind-talk that is a conventional mental language cannot be truth. As far as it is subsumed under proper attentiveness, however, mind-talk is the basis for, or domain of, realization.[5]

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[4] For Vasubandhu's commentary on the MS (hereinafter, MSBh), see ibid., p. 89, n. 21 below (hereinafter, words printed in Bold type within passages quoted from the MSBh and Asvabhāva's commentary on the MS (hereinafter, MSU) refer to the words appearing in the MS): *yid kyi brjod pa ste* <|> *yid kyi rnam par rtog pa'o* || Tr.: **Mind-talk** refers to the mental discrimination (*mano-vikalpa).

For the MSU, see ibid., p. 87, n. 9 below: *yid kyi brjod pa rnams* zhes bya ba ni yid kyi rnam par shes pa rnams so || Tr.: **Various mind-talks** refer to various *mano-vijñāna.

[5] In the commentary on MS 7A, Vasubandhu states that mind-talk is subsumed under the consummated nature. See Watanabe, ibid., p. 99, n. 52 below: *gang gis ji ltar 'jug pa de*

Thus, in the realization of the truth, i.e., the three natures, mind-talk plays a very important role. Although the definition of the role of mind-talk is not described in the MS, it can be understood from the following description of MS III. 3[6]:

> "Wherein (*kutra*) does [a bodhisattva] enter?
>
> [A bodhisattva] enters that very mind-talk that is accompanied by the act of perceiving, that possesses the appearance (*pratibhāsa*) of [the Buddha's] teachings and [their] meanings, and that arises from having the Mahāyāna teachings as its cause."

In the above description, the object of the realization is described. The statement 'A bodhisattva enters that very mind-talk' means that a bodhisattva realizes mind-talk. That is, mind-talk is the object to be realized. The question here is why the object to be realized is not the three natures theory, but is rather mind-talk. In general, since the bodhisattva practices in order to realize truth, the truth (i.e., three natures theory) should be the object to be realized. According to the passage quoted above, however, mind-talk is the

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*bstan par bya ste | de la **thos pa'i bag chags kyi rgyu las byung ba** zhes bya ba ni **thos pa'i bag chags kyi** rjes su mthun pa'o || gang du 'jug pa'i gnas ni sngar bstan pa ste | de yang **theg pa chen po'i bag chags** las yang dag par **byung ba**'i phyir yongs su grub pa'i ngo bo nyid kyis bsdus pa nyid blta bar bya'o ||* Tr.: **By what and how [the bodhisattva] enters** must be stated. With regard to that, [the statement: **mind-talk that] arises owing to the impregnation of listening to [the Mahāyāna teachings many times]** means that [mind-talk] is conformable to **the impregnation of listening to [the Mahāyāna teachings many times]**. The place where [the bodhisattva] enters has been explained before (III. 3), and because that also **arises** from **the impregnation of [listening to] the Mahāyāna [teachings many times]**, it is to be seen as that subsumed under the consummated nature.

  Since it arises from the impregnation of listening to the Mahāyāna teachings many times, mind-talk is subsumed under the consummated nature. This, however, does not mean that mind-talk is the truth itself. Since the bodhisattva perceives and reflects upon the Buddha's teachings and their meanings by mind-talk, mind-talk functions to advance the bodhisattva towards the truth.

[6] Ibid., p. 89: *gang du 'jug ce na | lta ba dang bcas pa'i chos dang don snang ba'i yid kyi brjod pa theg pa chen po'i chos kyi rgyu las byung ba de nyid la ... 'jug ste |*

object to be realized. According to Vasubandhu, mind-talk is the basis for the realization of the truth,[7] and according to Asvabhāva, mind-talk is claimed to be the very basis because it is the domain to be realized.[8] That is, mind-talk is not the truth that is finally to be realized, but it is the basis for, or domain of, the realization of the truth.

In MS III. 7A, moreover, following is stated[9]:

"By what ... [does the bodhisattva] enter?

[The bodhisattva] enters by mind-talk that arises owing to the impregnation of listening to [the Mahāyāna teachings many times], that is subsumed under proper attentiveness, that appears as [the Buddha's] teachings and [their] meanings, and that is accompanied by the act of perceiving."

In the above description, the means to the realization of the truth is asked, and it is answered that mind-talk is the means to the realization of the truth. We have already understood that mind-talk is a kind of conventional mental language which influences perception. However, since it is subsumed under proper attentiveness, it is a kind of proper mental language. Accordingly, by mind-talk that arises owing to the impregnation of listening to the Mahāyāna teachings many times and that is proper mental language which influences perception, the bodhisattva perceives and reflects upon Buddha's teachings and their meanings which have appeared from mind-talk.

Thus, mind-talk is the object to be realized and the means to the realization of the truth. It should be noted here that mind-talk is not the

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[7] Ibid., p. 89, n. 20 below: *de lta bu'i rnam pas 'jug pa'i gnas bstan par bya ba'i phyir smras pa |* Tr.: In order to explain the basis (*gnas*) for entering by such kinds, [the content of MS III] is stated [by *ācārya*-Asaṅga].

[8] Ibid., p. 89, n. 21 below: ... **yid kyi brjod pa** ni 'jug par bya ba'i yul yin pas gzhi nyid du brjod par 'dod pa'o || Tr.: Since **mind-talk** ... is the domain to be entered, it is intended to be taught as the fundation (*gzhi, *ādhāra*).

[9] Ibid., pp. 99–100: *gang gis ... 'jug ce na | thos pa'i bag chags kyi rgyu las byung ba | tshul bzhin yid la byed pas bsdus pa | chos dang don snang ba <|> lta ba dang bcas pa'i yid kyi brjod pa ... kyis 'jug ste |*

practical means to the realization of the truth. The truth cannot be realized without the function of mind-talk. Mind-talk is, however, a conventional mental language that arises from the impregnation by listening to the Mahāyāna teachings many times. Accordingly, to that extent mind-talk is a necessary condition for realizing the truth, but it is not the actual means by which the bodhisattva attains the truth. The practical means by which the truth is realized is described in MS III. 4 as follows[10]:

> "By means of what (*kena) [does the bodhisattva] enter?
>
> [The bodhisattva enters] by generating (*ādhāna) the strength of the root of wholesomeness (*kuśala-mūla-bala). [That is, the bodhisattva enters] by (1) stimulating the mind (*cittottāpana) in three ways, by (2) removing the four [obstructive] situations (*sthāna), and by (3) being attentive (*apramāda) to practicing (*prayoga) constantly and carefully the cultivating of calm and insight (*śamatha-vipaśyanā-bhāvanā) that have the teachings and their meanings as their objective reference/support (*dharmārthālambana)."

The bodhisattva (1) stimulates the divided mind in three ways,[11] (2) removes the four obstructive situations,[12] and (3) is attentive to practicing

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[10] Ibid., p. 91: *gang gis 'jug ce na | dge ba'i rtsa ba'i stobs bskyed pa dang | rnam pa gsum gyis sems sbyong ba dang | gnas bzhi spong ba dang | chos dang don la dmigs pa'i zhi gnas dang lhag mthong bsgom ba rtag tu dang gus par byas te sbyor ba la bag yod pas 'jug go ||*

[11] Ibid., pp. 92–93: *'jig rten gyi khams dpag tu med pa rnams kyi mir gyur pa'i sems can dpag tu med pa dag skad cig skad cig la bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya 'o snyam pa ni sems sbyong ba dang po'o || bsam pa gang gis sbyin pa la sogs pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa rnams la kun tu spyod pa'i bsam pa de bdag gis thob ste | des bdag tshegs chung ngus pha rol tu phyin pa bsgom pa yongs su rdzogs par 'gyur ro snyam pa ni sbyong ba gnyis pa'o || dge ba sgrib pa dang bcas pa yang dge ba'i chos rnams dang ldan na 'phral du shi la | 'phral du 'dod pa bzhin du lus thams cad phun sum tshogs par skye na | bdag dge ba sgrib pa med pa'i dge ba dang shin tu ldan pa lta 'phral du thams cad phun sum tshogs par ci'i phyir mi 'gyur snyam pa ni sbyong ba gsum po'o ||* Tr: The first [incident of] stimulating the mind is to think: "Countless sentient beings (*sattva) who are born as human beings (*manuṣya-bhūta) in the countless worldly realms (*loka-dhātu) shall realize incomparable perfect*

constantly and carefully the cultivations of calm and insight. Through these three practical means, the bodhisattva generates the root of wholesomeness and consequently realizes the truth. These practical means by which realization is attained are subsumed under mind-talk that arises owing to the impregnation by listening to the Mahāyāna teachings many times. In this manner, mind-talk qua mind-talk is not the practical means for realization, but it is the foundation for the practical means to the realization of the truth.

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enlightenment (*anuttarā samyak-sambodhi) at every moment." The second [incident of] stimulating [the mind] is to think: "I have obtained that intention (*āsaya) with which [I] practice fully (?*sam-udācāra, proper practice) the perfection of giving (*dāna-pāramitā), etc., and consequently, with little difficulty, I will become accomplished fully in the cultivation of perfection." The third [incident of] stimulating [the mind] is to think: "If one possesses wholesome qualities (*kuśala-dharma), even though wholesomeness is obstructed, then immediately at the time of one's death, one immediately will be born with the body completely intact (*sampad) just as one wishes. If that is so, why would not someone like I who possess wholesomeness which is not obstructed (*anāvarana-kuśala) become immediately one [who is born] with the body completely intact?"

[12] Ibid., pp. 97–98: *yid la byed pa spangs pas nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas kyi yid la byed pa yongs su spong ba dang I yid gnyis dang som nyi spangs pas theg pa chen po la the tshom thams cad the tshom med pa dang I chos la mngon par zhen pa spangs pas thos pa dang bsam pa'i chos la ngar 'dzin pa dang nga'ir 'dzin par mngon par zhen pa yongs su spong ba dang I rnam par rtog pa spangs pas mdun na gnas pa dang bzhag pa'i mtshan ma thams cad yid la mi byed cing rnam par mi rtog pa'i phyir ro* II Tr: [The bodhisattva enters into the defining characteristics of what is to be known by removing the four obstructive situations,] because, (1) by means of removing [improper] attentiveness, [the bodhisattva] removes completely the attentiveness of the Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha, (2) by means of removing the harbouring of divided mind (*vimati) and ambivalence (*kāṅkṣā), [the bodhisattva] becomes doubtless regarding all doubts (*vicikitsā) towards the Mahāyāna teachings, (3) by means of removing attachment (*abhiniveśa) to teachings, [the bodhisattva] removes completely the attachment to the notion of I [have heard teachings] and the notion of mine (*ahamkāra-mamakāra) with regard to the teachings that [he] has heard and reflected upon, and (4) by means of removing conceptual discrimination (*vikalpa), [the bodhisattva] neither pays attention to (*amanaskāra) nor conceptually discriminates (*avikalpa) any objective aspects (*nimitta) which appear before [him] (*purutah-sthita) or which are caused to be present (*sthāpita) [in meditation].

Mind-talk as the Bodhisattva's Path

How, then, is mind-talk understood on the bodhisattva's path? With regard to this, MS III. 3 states as follows:[13]

> " ... [The bodhisattva] enters (I) *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi* (the stage of zealous application), (II) *darśana-mārga* (the path of insight), (III) *bhāvanā-mārga* (the path of cultivation), and (IV) *niṣṭhā-mārga* (the path of fulfillment), because [on (I) *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*] he applies himself to the proclamation (*anuśrāvaṇa*) [that all phenomena are] nothing but [mental] presentations (*vijñapti-mātra*), because [on (II) *darśana-mārga*] he experiences [that all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations] just as-they-are (*yathāvat*), because [on (III) *bhāvanā-mārga*] he cultivates himself only in the antidote against all obstructions (*sarvāvaraṇa*), and because [on (IV) *niṣṭhā-mārga*] he is [completely] freed of [any] obstructions (*nirāvaraṇa*)."

In general, the bodhisattva's paths refer to (1) *saṃbhāra-mārga*, (2) *prayoga-mārga*, (3) *darśana-mārga*, (4) *bhāvanā-mārga*, and (5) *niṣṭhā-mārga*. In the passage quoted above, however, *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*, *darśana-mārga*, *bhāvanā-mārga*, and *niṣṭhā-mārga* only are mentioned. That is, the bodhisattva first enters *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*, and there he applies himself to the proclamation that all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations (*vijñaptimātra*). The bodhisattva, then, enters *darśana-mārga*, and there he experiences that all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations just as-they-are. Next, the bodhisattva enters *bhāvanā-mārga*, and there he cultivates himself only in the antidote against all obstructions. Finally, the bodhisattva enters *niṣṭhā-mārga*, and there he is completely freed of any obstructions. In this manner, the bodhisattva enters these four paths step by step according to the progress of his practice.

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[13] Ibid., p. 90: ... (I) *mos pas spyod pa'i sa dang* (II) *mthong ba'i lam dang* (III) *bsgom pa'i lam dang* (IV) *mthar phyin pa'i lam la 'jug ste* | *chos thams cad rnam par rig pa tsam du rjes su sgrogs pa la mos po dang ji lta ba bzhin du de rab tu rtogs pa dang sgrib pa thams cad kyi gnyen po sgom pa dang sgrib pa med pa'i phyir ro* ||

In the description quoted above, the relation between mind-talk and the fourfold path is not stated, but we can surmise the relationship through the contents of the commentaries by Vasubandhu and Asvabhāva that describe the stage and paths leading to fulfillment.

According to Vasubandhu, a bodhisattva who by means of mind-talk understands mind-talk enters *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*. That is, through the understanding of mind-talk, zealous conduct arises and the bodhisattva enters *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*. Then, on *darśana-mārga* the bodhisattva experiences that teachings do not exist, meanings do not exist, cognitum (*grāhya*) does not exist, and cognizer (*grāhaka*) does not exist. On *bhāvanā-mārga*, the bodhisattva is engaged in the praxis of the penetration which has arisen from mind-talk, and by that penetration, obstructions are removed. When even the most miniscule obstruction (*sukṣumāvaraṇa*) is re-moved, the bodhisattva enters *niṣṭhā-mārga*.[14]

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[14] Ibid., p. 90, n. 23 below: *yang de nyid du yid kyi brjod pa'i bye brag gis gang dag 'jug pa de ni mos pas spyod pa'i sa la 'jug par 'gyur te | 'di ltar de chos thams cad rnam par rig pa tsam du rjes su sgrogs pa la mos pa skyed par byed de | des na de ni der zhugs pa zhes brjod do || de ji ltar mthong ba'i lam la 'jug pa de bstan par bya ba'i phyir | ji lta ba bzhin du de rab tu rtogs pa dang zhes bya ba ste | yid kyi brjod pa de ji lta ba bzhin du rab tu rtogs pa'o || ji ltar na de ji lta ba bzhin du <de> rab tu rtogs zhe na | ji ltar chos med pa | don med pa | gzung ba med pa | 'dzin pa med pa'o zhes yid kyi brjod pa rtogs pa gang yin pa'o || bsgom pa'i lam la 'jug pa bstan par bya ba'i phyir <|> sgrib pa thams cad kyi gnyen po sgom pa zhes bya ba ste | rab tu rtogs pa de nyid goms par byed pa ni sgom par gyur pa'o || de lta bas na rnam par mi rtog pa la sogs pa de dag gis gang rtogs pa de nyid kyis sgrib pa rnam par sbyong bar byed pa'o || mthar phyin pa'i lam la 'jug pa de bstan pa'i phyir <|> sgrib pa med pa'i phyir zhes bya ba ste | shin tu rnam par dag pa'i ye shes kyi dus skabs na shin tu phra ba'i sgrib pa yang med pa ni mthar phyin pa'i lam la 'jug pa'o ||* Tr.: Moreover, [the bodhisattva who] enters that very [mind-talk] by means of the very excellent mind-talk enters **adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*. That is, when **he applies himself to the proclamation that all phenomena are nothing but [mental] presentations, zealous conduct** takes place [in the bodhisattva], and consequently, it is said that that [bodhisattva] enters therein. Since the manner in which [the bodhisattva] enters **darśana-mārga* must be explained, [*ācārya*-Asaṅga states that] **he experiences [that all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations] just-as-they-are** and [this means that] mind-talk experiences [all phenomena as nothing but mental presentations]

According to Asvabhāva, a bodhisattva who understands mind-talk enters *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*. That is, the bodhisattva, having understood that all objects appear from mind-talk, enters *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi* and there applies himself to the idea that all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations (*vijñapti-mātra*). Then, he enters *darśana-mārga*, because he experiences mind-talk just as-it-is. In other words, the bodhisattva realizes that sentient beings do not exist, teachings do not exist, cognitum does not exist, and the cognizer does not exist.[15]

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just as-they-are. How does that [mind-talk] **experience [that all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations] just as-they-are?** It is any experience of mind-talk in the manner: "teachings do not exist, meanings do not exist, cognitum (*grāhya*) does not exist, and cognizer (*grāhaka*) does not exist." Since the entrance into *bhāvanā-mārga* must be explained, [*ācārya*-Asaṅga states that] **he cultivates himself only in the antidote against all obstructions.** To **cultivate himself** means to be actively engaged in the praxis of that very experience. Accordingly, whatever is experienced by non-discrimination (*nirvikalpa*), etc., that very experience removes the obstructions. In order to explain the entrance into that *niṣṭhā-mārga*, [*ācārya*-Asaṅga states that **because ... he is completely] freed of [any] obstructions.** The situation (*avasthā*) of a very pure wisdom wherein there does not exist even the most minuscule obstruction (*sukṣmāvaraṇa*) is the entrance into *niṣṭhā-mārga*.

[15] Ibid.: *yid kyi brjod pa de la 'jug pa kha cig ni* **mos pas spyod pa'i sa** *la 'jug ste | thos pa tsam gyis chos thams cad rnam par rig pa tsam nyid du mos pa'i phyir ro || kha cig ni* **mthong pa'i lam** *la 'jug ste |* **ji lta ba bzhin du** *yid kyi brjod pa rab tu rtogs pa'i phyir ro || de la* **ji lta ba bzhin du rab tu rtogs pa** *ni 'di yin te | 'di ltar sems can med pa dang | chos med pa dang | gzung ba med pa dang | 'dzin pa med par rab tu rtogs pa'o || kha cig ni bsgom pa'i lam la 'jug ste | nyon mongs pa dang | shes bya'i* **sgrib pa thams cad kyi gnyen po** *nyid du sgoms pas de rnam par dag pa'i phyir ro || kha cig ni* **mthar phyin pa'i lam** *la 'jug ste |* **sgrib pa med pa'i phyir ro** *|| de ltar na rab tu rtogs pa rnam pa bzhi'o ||* Tr.: One who enters that mind-talk enters *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*, because by merely listening [to the Mahāyāna teachings many times], he applies himself to [the idea that] all phenomena are nothing but [mental] presentations. One enters *darśana-mārga*, because he experiences mind-talk **just as-it-is**. Here, [the statement:] **experiences just as-it-is** means that [the bodhisattva] experiences thus: "sentient beings do not exist, teachings do not exist, cognitum does not exist, and cognizer does not exist." One enters *bhāvanā-mārga*, because by means of **cultivating himself in the** very **antidote against all obstructions** of afflictions (*kleśa*) and of what is to be known, he is purified. One

Thus, according to Vasubandhu and Asvabhāva, mind-talk is closely related to *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*. Mind-talk is the means and object of entering *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*, and this means that mind-talk is understood by means of mind-talk itself on *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*.

How, then, is mind-talk understood on *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*? In the latter portion of MS III. 7A and in 7B, the four kinds of investigations (*paryeṣaṇā*) and the four kinds of wisdom of knowing reality as-it-is (*yathā-bhūta-parijñāna*) are explained as the practical means of the understanding of mind-talk. The latter portion of MS III. 7A is as follows:[16]

" ... [Moreover, the bodhisattva enters by means of] the four [kinds of] investigations (*paryeṣaṇā*), i.e., the investigations into (i) name (*nāma*), (ii) object (*artha*), (iii) designation (*prajñapti*) of the intrinsic nature (*svabhāva*) [of entities] and (iv) [designation of] specific attributes (*viśeṣa*) [of entities], [and by means of] the four [kinds of] wisdom of knowing reality as-it-is (*yathā-bhūta-parijñāna*): by means of knowing (i) name as-it-is, (ii) thing as-it-is, (iii) designation of the intrinsic nature [of entities] as-it-is, (iv) [designation of] specific attributes [of entities] as-it-is, because they are not perceivable."

The MS III. 7B is as follows:[17]

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enters *niṣṭhā-mārga*, **because he is [completely] freed of [any] obstructions.** Thus, the experience (*prativedha*) [of the path] is of four kinds.

[16] Although MS III. 7A (ibid., p. 100) reads: ... *yongs su tshol ba bzhi ste | ming dang don dang ngo bo nyid dang bye brag tu btags pa'i yongs su tshol ba rnams dang | yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du yongs su shes pa bzhi ste | ming dang dngos po dang ngo bo nyid dang khyad par du btags pa dang ngo bo nyid dang khyad par yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du yongs su shes pa rnams kyis 'jug ste | de dag mi dmigs pa'i phyir ro*, the words *dang ngo bo nyid dang khyad par* seem to be superfluous according to all four Chinese translations of the MS. See ibid., p. 100, n. 56 below.

[17] ibid., pp. 101–102: *'di ltar byang chub sems dpa' rnam par rig pa tsam la 'jug par brtson pa de lta bu de yi ge dang don snang ba'i yid kyi brjod pa de la yi ge'i ming de yang yid kyi rtog pa tsam du zad par yang dag par rtog go || yi ge la brten pa'i don de yang yid kyi brjod pa tsam du zad pa de nyid du yang dag par rtog go || ming de yang ngo bo nyid dang khyad par du btags par zad pa tsam du yang dag par rtog go || de'i phyir yid kyi*

"Thus, the bodhisattva who endeavours in that manner to enter [into the truth that all phenomena are] nothing but [mental] presentations (*vijñapti-mātra*) understands properly that the name which is based upon sound (*akṣara*) in that mind-talk, that appears as sound and [its] meaning (*artha*), is also nothing but mental construction (*mano-kalpa-mātra*). [The bodhisattva] understands properly that even the meaning which takes its stand on sound is also nothing but the very mind-talk. [The bodhisattva] understands properly that even that name is nothing more than the designation (*prajñapti-mātra*) of the intrinsic nature and specific attributes [of entities].

Next,[18] when [all phenomena are] perceived as nothing but mind-talk (*mano-jalpa*), neither a name nor what is designated is perceived. Nor is the designnation of intrinsic nature or [the designation of] the specific attributes perceived. Nor is the defining characteristics of an object (*artha-lakṣaṇa*) [that is perceived as] possessing intrinsic nature or specific attributes perceived. [In this manner,] by means of the four [kinds of] investigations (*paryeṣaṇā*) and the four [kinds of] wisdom of knowing reality as-it-is (*yathā-bhūta-parijñāna*), [the bodhisattva] understands those mental discriminations (*mano-vikalpa*) that appear as sound and meaning to be *vijñapti-mātratā*."

By the four kinds of investigations, the bodhisattva understands that the name, object, designation of the intrinsic nature, and designation of the specific attributes are not substantial existences: they are nothing but appearances of mind-talk, and by means of the four kinds of wisdom of knowing reality as-it-is, he does not perceive them as substantial existences.

The four kinds of investigations and four kinds of wisdom of knowing reality as-it-is are practical means of the understanding of mind-talk on

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brjod pa tsam du zad pa nyid du dmigs shing <l> ming dang bcas pa'i don ngo bo nyid dang khyad par du btags pa dang bcas shing l ngo bo nyid dang khyad par du bcas pa don gyi mtshan nyid du mi dmigs pa na l yongs su tshol ba bzhi dang yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du yongs su shes pa bzhi po dag gis yi ge dang don snang ba'i yid kyi rnam par rtog pa de dag la rnam par rig pa tsam nyid du 'jug go ll

[18] Here Tibetan has *de'i phyir*, but Paramārtha has the sense of after that or next (次 See ibid., p. 102, n. 65 below.

adhimukticaryā-bhūmi. These two practical means explained above provide the basis on which, through the practice of the four concentrations, i.e., the *āloka-labdha-samādhi* (concentration by which one obtains clarity), *vṛddhāloka-samādhi* (concentration of increased clarity), *tattvārthaika-deśa-praviṣṭa-samādhi* (concentration of having entered into one part of a real object), and *ānantarya-samādhi* (uninterrupted concentration), a bodhisattva gradually reaches *darśana-mārga* whereby the bodhisattva realizes the truth as-it-is.

Thus, by means of these two practical means, mind-talk is understood on *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi.*[19]

Mind-talk and Its Goal

How, then, does mind-talk relate to the three natures thoery? In the MS, the relation of mind-talk to the three natures theory is not discussed, but a description is found in MS III. 8B and 9 in which the relation of mind-talk and the three natures theory is expressed to some degree. MS III. 8B is as follows:[20]

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[19] *Adhimukticaryā-bhūmi* is also called the state of *nirvedha-bhāgīya* (leading up to penetration [into truth]). The state of *nirvedha-bhāgīya* is divided into the four substates, i.e., *uṣma-gata* (heat), *mūrdha* (maximum value), *kṣānti* (patience) and *laukikāgra-dharma* (mundane supreme *dharma*). The contents of the four states of *nirvedha-bhāgīya* are summarized on the basis of MS III. 7A, 7B and 13 as follows: By means of the four kinds of investigations, in *uṣma-gata*, a bodhisattva understands that name, etc., are nothing but appearances of mind-talk, and in *mūrdha*, the bodhisattva increases his understanding further. By means of the four kinds of wisdom of knowing reality as-it-is, in *kṣānti*, the bodhisattva does not perceive the external objects which appear from mind-talk as the name, etc., and accordingly, he understands that all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations. In *laukikāgra-dharma*, he goes beyond even the idea that all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations.

[20] Ibid., pp. 104–105: *mun khung na sbrul du snang ba'i thag pa bzhin du 'jug ste | dper na med pa'i phyir thag pa la sbrul ni nor ba ste | de'i don rtogs pa rnams ni med pa la sbrul gyi blo ldog cing | thag pa'i blor gnas so || de yang rnam pa phra mor bya na nor ba ste | kha dog dang dri dang ro dang reg bya'i mtshan nyid yin pa'i phyir ro || de la ji ltar kha dog la sogs pa'i blo la brten te | thag pa'i blo yang bzlog par bya ba de bzhin du yong su grub pa'i ngo bo nyid kyi blo la brten te | yi ge dang don rnam pa drug snang ba'i yid kyi*

"[The manner in which a bodhisattva] enters is in the manner that a rope (*rajju*) appears to be a snake (*sarpa*) in the dark. For instance, because a snake [superimposed upon] a rope is non-existent, it is a misperception (an error, *bhrānti*), [therefore,] those who are aware of the reality of that object, turning away from the notion of the non-existent snake, dwell in the notion of a rope. Moreover, when [this notion of a rope is] analyzed more minutely, [even the notion of a rope] is misperception (an error), because its defining characteristics are colour (*varṇa*), odor (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*) and what is to be touched (*spraṣṭavya*). With regard to that, just as even the notion of a rope is to be removed on the basis of the notion of colour, etc., so too, the notion of cognition-only (*vijñapti-mātra*) is to be destroyed on the basis of the notion of consummated nature (*pariniṣpanna-svabhāva*), when the six kinds [of topics]—mind-talk that appears as the six kinds [of objects], such as letter, meaning—become negated as real objects just as the notion of a snake [is negated]."

The above description explains the realization of the truth by means of the analogy of a snake and rope, etc.[21] Here, the snake and the six kinds of objects refer to the imagined nature (*parikalpita-svabhāva*), the rope and mind-talk refer to the other-dependent nature (*paratantra-svabhāva*), and the negation of a rope and that of cognition-only (*vijñapti-mātra*) refer to the consummated nature (*pariniṣpanna-svabhāva*).[22] That is, when the

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brjod pa de dag la | sbrul gyi blo bzhin du rnam pa drug la yang dag pa'i don bsal na | rnam par rig pa tsam gyi blo yang rnam par gzhig par bya ba yin no ||

[21] For MSBh, see ibid., p. 104, n. 77 below: *de la ngo bo nyid gsum la 'jug pa ni thag pa'i dpes bstan to ||* Tr.: With regard to that, entrance into the three natures is described by an analogy of a rope.

For MSU, see ibid.: *ci 'dra bar ni 'jug ces gang smos pa de'i dper | mun khung na sbrul du snang ba'i thag pa bzhin du 'jug ces bya ba la sogs pa smos te | dpes ngo bo nyid gsum rtogs par ston to ||* Tr.: An analogy of what is spoken about in the statement: **What is [the entrance] like** is explained by the statement: [**The manner in which a bodhisattva] enters is in the manner that a rope appears to be a snake in the dark,** etc. By the analogy, understanding of the three natures is described.

[22] See MSU, ibid., p. 104, n. 77 below: *dper na med pa' phyir thag pa la sbrul ni nor ba ste | de bzhin du ming la sogs pa don rnam pa drug yin yi ge dang don du snang pa'i yid kyi*

bodhisattva sees a snake in the dark, he fears it, but upon closer inspection, he understands that the snake is in fact a rope. When the notion of a rope is analyzed more minutely, the bodhisattva understands that the rope is nothing more than what is characterized by colour, odor, taste, and what is to be touched. At that time, even the notion of a rope is removed. In the same manner, the six kinds of objects, i.e., letter, meaning, etc., mistakenly are taken as substantial existences. When the six kinds of objects are negated as real objects, the bodhisattva understands them to be nothing but the appearances of mind-talk, i.e., all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations (*vijñapti-mātra*). When even the notion of *vijñapti-mātra* is removed, the truth is attained, because so long as even the notion of *vijñapti-mātra* remains, the truth cannot be realized.

MS III. 9 is as follows:[23]

> "Thus, this bodhisattva by entering into the defining characteristics of objects that appear from mind-talk enters into the imagined nature (**parikalpita-svabhāva*). By entering into [the idea that all phenomena are] nothing but [mental] presentations (**vijñapti-mātra*), he enters into the other-dependent nature (**paratantra-svabhāva*).

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brjod pa gzhan gyi dbang la ming la sogs pa yang nor ba yin no || Tr.: **For instance, because a snake [superimposed upon] a rope is non-existent, it is a misperception (an error),** and in the same manner, name, etc., [superimposed upon] the other-dependent [nature]—mind-talk that appears as words and [their] meanings that comprise the six kinds of objects, such as name, etc.,—are also an error.

[23] Ibid., pp. 106–108: *de ltar byang chub sems dpa' 'di yid kyi brjod pa snang ba'i don gyi mtshan nyid la 'jug pas kun brtags pa'i ngo bo nyid la 'jug pa yin no* || *rnam par rig pa tsam la 'jug pas gzhan gyi dbang gi ngo bo nyid la 'jug pa yin no* || *yongs su grub pa'i ngo bo nyid la ji ltar 'jug ce na* | *rnam par rig pa tsam gyi 'du shes kyang bzlog nas 'jug ste* | *de'i tshe byang chub sems dpa' don gyi 'du shes rnam par bshig pa de la yid kyi brjod pa thos pa'i chos kyi bag chags kyi rgyu las byung ba de dag don du snang ba thams cad 'byung ba'i skabs med pa yin no* || *des na rnam par rig pa tsam du snang ba yang mi 'byung ste* | *gang gi tshe don thams cad la rnam par mi rtog pa'i ming la gnas shing* | *chos kyi dbyings la mngon sum gyi tshul gyis gnas pa de'i tshe* | *byang chub sems dpa' de'i dmigs par bya ba dang dmigs par byed pa mnyam pas mnyam pa'i ye shes rnam par mi rtog pa 'byung ste* | *de ltar na byang chub sems dpa' 'di yongs su grub pa'i ngo bo nyid la zhugs pa yin no* ||

[Then,] how does the bodhisattva enter into the consummated nature (*parinispanna-svabhāva*)?

[The bodhisattva] enters [into the consummated nature] from having turned away from even the idea (*samjñā*) that [all phenomena are] nothing but [mental] presentations (*vijñapti-mātra*), at which time, in that bodhisattva who has abandoned the idea of object, that mind-talk that has arisen owing to the impregnation of having listened to the teachings [many times] lacks the opportunity of arising as all appearances of objects. Accordingly, [mind-talk] does not arise even as an appearance of cognition-only (*vijñapti-mātra*).

[The bodhisattva,] dwelling in the name which is non-discriminating regarding all objects, dwells in *dharma-dhātu* owing to the operation of direct intuition. At that time, there occurs in that bodhisattva non-discriminatory wisdom wherein what is to be perceived and that which perceives (*ālambya-ālambaka*) are exactly alike (*sama-sama*). In this manner, this bodhisattva has entered into the consummated nature."

By understanding that the objects that appear from mind-talk are nothing but those which are imagined, a bodhisattva realizes the imagined nature.[24] By understanding that all the phenomena are nothing but appearances of mind-talk, the bodhisattva realizes the other-dependent

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[24] For MSBh, see ibid., p. 106, n. 86 below: *yid kyi brjod pa snang ba'i don gyi mtshan nyid la 'jug pas zhes bya ba ni don gang yin pa de kun tu brtags pa tsam yin no zhes de ltar kun tu brtags pa la 'jug par 'gyur ro* ‖ Tr.: [The statement:] **by entering into the defining characteristics of objects that appear from mind-talk** [means that] since the object is nothing but that which is imagined, [the bodhisattva] **enters into the imagined [nature]** in that manner.

For MSU, ibid.: *yid kyi brjod pa snang ba'i don gyi mtshan nyid la 'jug pas zhes bya ba ni yid kyi brjod pa 'di don du snang gi* ǀ *kun brtags par bya ba'i don ni med do zhes kun brtags pa la 'jug go* ‖ Tr.: [The statement:] **by entering into the defining characteristics of objects that appear from mind-talk** means that although this mind-talk appears as objects, objects which are to be imagined do not exist, accordingly, [the bodhisattva] **enters into the imagined [nature].**

nature.[25]   By turning away from even the idea of mental presentations
(*vijñapti-mātra*),[26] the bodhisattva realizes the consummated nature. At that
time, in the bodhisattva mind-talk does not appear as all appearances of
cognition-only.

From the above, it is clear that mind-talk is related to each of the three
natures. That is, with mind-talk as an intermediary, the three natures can be
realized, but not otherwise.

Conclusion

The three natures are the focus of Yogācāra praxis which can be understood
from various viewpoints and they are the truth to be realized. This truth,
however, is not attained without the praxis. In MS III, the importance of
mind-talk was described in view of its status, its function as the path to
enlightenment and in terms of the three natures and praxis. Mind-talk is the
basis for, or domain of, the realization of the truth. Mind-talk arises owing to
the impregnation of listening to the Mahāyāna teachings many times, is
subsumed under proper attentiveness, and appears as Buddha's teachings and
their meanings. Accordingly, mind-talk is the basis for, or domain of, the
realization of the truth.

Mind-talk plays a very important role in the bodhisattva's paths.
Through the understanding of mind-talk, the bodhisattva enters *adhimukti-*

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[25] See MSU, ibid., p. 107, n. 87 below: *rnam par rig pa tsam la 'jug pas zhes bya ba ni rnam
par rig pa tsam 'di ma rig pa'i dbang gis 'khrul te don med bzhin du 'khrul pa don gyi
rnam par snang ngo zhes gzhan gyi dbang la 'jug go* ‖ Tr.: [The statement:] **By
entering into [the idea that all phenomena are] nothing but [mental] presentations**
means that this cognition-only is mistaken owing to the power of ignorance (**avidyā*),
and there appears a form of an object which is the error with regard to non-existing
object, accordingly, [the bodhisattva] **enters into the other-dependent [nature].**

[26] See ibid., p. 108, n. 93 below: *des na rnam par rig pa tsam du snang ba yang mi 'byung
zhes bya ba ni gzung ba med na 'dzin pa med pa'i phyir te* ∣ *rnam par rig pa tsam don du
byas nas mi 'byung zhes bay ba'i tha tshig go* ‖ Tr.: [The statement:] **Accordingly,
[mind-talk] does not arise even as an appearance of cognition-only** means that when
the cognitum does not exist, the cognizer does not exist, accordingly, from having made
the **vijñapti-mātra* its object, [mind-talk] **does not arise.**

caryābhūmi. In other words, through the reflection upon and understanding of the teachings and their meanings which appear from mind-talk, the bodhisattva applies himself to the proclamation that all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations (*vijñapti-mātra*). On the *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*, through the four kinds of investigations and four kinds of wisdom of knowing reality as-it-is, the bodhisattva reflects upon and understands that external objects do not exist and that all phenomena are nothing but appearances of mind-talk, i.e., cognition-only. And finally, the bodhisattva removes even mind-talk that perceives the idea that all phenomena are nothing but mental presentations. Consequently, the bodhisattva, attaining the truth, enters *darśana-mārga.*

In order to be released from suffering, not only philosophical theory but also praxis is important. In such a case, there is to be no differentiation between philosophical theory and praxis. Asaṅga introduced the concept of mind-talk in order to link the philosophical theory and praxis. Without mind-talk, neither practical theories nor philosophical theories can be realized. Through the medium of mind-talk, the practical theories and philosophical theories link together.

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REVIEWS

BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, THE FIRST INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGIST: MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE PAST. By Virchand Dharamsey (Foreword by Senake Bandranayake, Afterword by Douglas E. Haynes). Darshak Itihas Nidhi, Vadodara, 2012. Pp. xxiv + 504. Price- Rs. 700/-. ISBN: 978-81-922639-2-2.

Among the 19th century Indian scholars, Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (1839–88) is the foremost in the fields of archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics. Even though coming from simple Gujarati background of Junagadh, and without a formal study of English language in colonial India, he made valuable contributions to the world of archaeology and history, and earned the honorary doctorate of the University of Leiden. Bhagwanlal worked for about 15 years in Mumbai as assistant to Dr. Bhau Daji whose "dream project was to compile a monumental work on Indian archaeology". For field-work, exploration, and copying inscriptions, collecting manuscripts and studying old records for his mentor Dr. Bhau Daji, he undertook tours to many archaeological and historical sites such as Ajanta, Pitalkhora, Elephanta, Kanheri, Naneghat, Nasik, Bagh, Ujjain, Dhar, Mandu, Sanchi, Udayagiri, Eran, Varanasi, Sarnath, Mankuwar, Gadhva, Bodh Gaya, Patna, Bhubaneswar, Delhi, Kalsi, Kushinagar, Bairat, Mathura, Gwalior, Jaisalmer, and also to Nepal, Lahore (now in Pakistan) and Afghanistan In 1871–72, he visited Mathura and discovered the famous Lion Capital, with Kharosthi inscriptions (now in the British Museum), and a life-size statue of 'Kambojika', with Gandharan stylistic features. These discoveries are documented by archaeologists.

But there are many unknown aspects of Bhagwanlal Indraji's research which are presented in the monograph under review. Virchand Dharamsey has spent nearly two decades studying the various contributions of Bhagwanlal Indraji through his writings and also his works and notes unknown to scholars. He has painstakingly gone through archival material from his letters, reports, field notes and diaries in Gujarati at the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, and the Maharashtra State Archives, in Mumbai, Government Library in Junagadh,

and other libraries in Pune and Rajkot. It is an insider's research into Bhagwanlal's explorations and writings. He throws light on Bhagwanlal's unrecognized research on Western Indian Caves and their inscriptions. Many sculptures such as Mankuwar Buddha, the Surya frieze at Gadhwa (near Allahabad), were noted by Bhagwanlal in his diaries earlier than the Archaeological Survey team. He has photographed some important sculptures of Mathura, which were reported much later by F. E. Growse and Alexander Cunningham.

According to Dharamsey, James Burgess (who was later to become Director General of Archaeological Survey of India), relied on Bhagwanlal Indraji for the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Western India,* "although Burgess did not always acknowledge him in writing". Dharamsey questions Burgess' understanding of Buddhist iconography. He also points out omission of Bhagwanlal's contribution in *Ajanta Notes.*

In Bibiliography of the book, Dharamsey lists carefully many of Dr. Bhau Daji's articles, in which Bhagwanlal Indraji had contributed facsimiles and transcripts of inscriptions, and made site observations. He names later archaeologists who have referred to the research material of Bhagwanlal Indraji without mentioning his name. Dharamsey says that Bhagwanlal's major discovery and contribution went unacknowledged and unrecognized. For instance, his contribution on Eksar Memorial Stones, and on inscriptions of major cave groups of Junnar, Naneghat, Nasik in Western India, in *Bombay Gazetteers.*

Bhagwanlal was the first scholar with knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit to study the living Buddhist religion and tradition in Nepal, where he stayed for nearly six months, and also visited Buddhist sites such as Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, Mathura and others. Dharamsey points out that Bhagwanlal has discussed iconography of several sculptures erroneously identified by Rajendralal Mitra and also corrected him on Bodh Gaya inscriptions.

As Dharamsey says, "One of the striking differences between Bhagwanlal and others was that he was one of the first to apply a multidisciplinary approach in his writing." Bhagwanlal combined traditional

knowledge with modern critical methods. His writings on archaeological sites such as Nasik caves and Naneghat reveal interest in iconography, textual studies, architecture, numismatics, epigraphy and also ethnography. His descriptions of Nasik caves include minute details on sculptures, pillars, doorway, dress, head dresses and ornaments of women on pillars. Significantly, he has covered geography of names of regions, mountains, rivers, towns and villages referred to in Nasik inscriptions.

Bhagwanlal's multidisciplinary approach is further noticeable in his essay on Sopara, the site of his excavation, in which he has combined archaeological and textual material. His meticulously detailed description of the excavation of the stūpa, the placement of the relic coffer in it, the position and the orientation of the eight metal images around the relic casket, and his judicious identification of the figures as the Seven Past Buddhas, their respective trees of Enlightenment, and Maitreya the Future Buddha, is noteworthy. He has made a significant comparison of the Sopara metal figures with painted depictions of the Seven Buddhas and Maitreya on the entrance of Ajanta Cave 17.

Bhagwanlal showed that Naneghat played an important role for the early history of the Sātavāhanas. He wrote the political and cultural history of Maharashtra, discussing the Sātavāhanas, Kṣatrapas, Traikūṭakas, and Konkan Mauryas, and also the Vākāṭakas in the context of Ajanta. Bhagwanlal contributed to *Thana, Poona, Nasik* and *Sholapur Gazetteers* and read nearly 275 inscriptions of Maharashtra. Bhagwanlal's *Early History of Gujarat* shows multi-disciplinary approach based on inscriptions, numismatics, literature and monuments.

Dharamsey has given comparative studies of Nasik, Junnar, Elephanta and other cave sites from the accounts of Fergussen-Burgess and those of Bhagwanlal to show the difference in their approaches. He has reproduced field notes of Bhagwanlal from his diaries and letters. It is interesting to read on the painted caves at Manmoda and Shivneri. His field notes on his visits to the sites of Besnagar, Udayagiri, Vidisha, and Eran in Madhya Pradesh are noteworthy.

Bhagwanlal's ethno-historical contribution is seen in his articles on "Śaiva Parikramā", and on Pandharpur, with details of the Viṭhobā image, the temple architecture, worship and rituals, the *Vārkarīs* and other pilgrims.

The book reveals Dharamsey's own vast reading on the mission to re-discover Bhagwanlal Indraji. The author looks at Bhagwanlal's contribution in the wider perspective of Indological and archaeological research. He takes us in the midst of 19th century debates, to the history of the development of archaeology in India, and on foundations of Indian historiography. He throws light on Bhagwanlal's relations with European and Indian contemporaries. We read on the relations with George H. Buehler, James Burgess, James M. Campbell, Peter Peterson, James Gibbs, and others. We read on the community of scholars in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Bhagwanlal's presentation of papers and recognition in scholarly circles.

Bhagvanlal Indraji, as we know, was closely associated with the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which honoured him as a first Indian Honorary Member in 1877. He bequeathed his collection of manuscripts to the Asiatic Society. Bhagwanlal had requested in his Will that the manuscripts gifted by him be placed near the manuscripts of Dr. Bhau Daji. When I was Editor of the Society's Journal in 1983, the cupboard bearing the words: "Pundit Bhagvanlal Indraji, Pupil of Dr. Bhau Daji", stood then behind the Editor's table. The priceless bronzes and other antiquities of Sopara, excavated by Bhagwanlal Indraji, are in the collection of the Asiatic Society. I got interested in Bhagwanlal, and planned a volume of the Journal to commemorate the 100 years of his discovery of Sopara antiquities. Eminent scholars H. G. Shastri, H. D. Sankalia, N. R. Banerjee, M. A. Dhaky, S. Gorakshkar, M. Dhavalikar, S. Wakankar, A. P. Jamkhedkar and others contributed to the Memorial Volume, which though started in 1983, could be published in 1986. I have the satisfaction of having conceived and edited *Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji Memorial Volume* for the Journal of the Asiatic Society.

The book under review is well published by Vadodara-based Darshak Itihas Nidhi, a foundation for studies in history. In his Preface, its Chairman Hasmukh Shah mentions the Gujarati rendering of the book in the making, which we hope is published soon. The book has fascinating illustrations of

Bhagwanlal's own photographs of Mathura railing pillars, an elegant Vishnu image (now in the National Museum), a unique image-*liṅga*, a miniature *stūpa* at Dhruva Tilla, a wide-angle photo of Varāha at Udayagiri, Yajña-Varāha at Eran without an iron strip, Besnagar coping stone, and importantly, of the handwritings of Bhagwanlal Indraji. The author has provided detailed bibliography which will be useful to scholars and students. I congratulate Virchand Dharamsey for re-discovering Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji as the first Indian archaeologist and revealing his brilliant contribution to archaeology, art history, iconography, numismatics and epigraphy.

-Devangana Desai

ART AND ICON Essays on Early Indian Art. By Devangana Desai. Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2013. Pp. xxvi + 310 + 21 Line Drawings + 186 Photographs. Price- Rs 2800/-. ISBN: 978-81-7305-438-9.

The book contains sixteen essays in six diverse fields of early Indian art. These are-

1. Approaches to Art, 2.Terracotta Art, 3. Iconography, 4. Iconology and Meaning in Art, 5. Art and Eroticism and 6. Narrative Art.

They represent an eclectic selection from over 90 essays written by Devangana Desai in a span of 35 years. These have been revised and presented in a book form for easy accessibility. One outstanding feature common to all essays, on totally divergent subjects, is the depth of study and extent of research on each subject. These are supplemented by numerous illustrations in the book.

The essays touch social, religious and economic factors that are reflected in both Art and Icons. The difference between Art and Icon becomes apparent as the essays unfold. Icons are images of sacred objects made for veneration and thus have limitations as Art objects. Yet some magnificent examples such as the Sadāśiva image at Elephanta or Varāha image at Udayagiri transcend the thin line distinguishing the two.

The first section, 'Approaches to Art' includes 'Social Dimensions of Art' and 'Textual Sources in the Study of Temple Art'. The author discusses how, under Asoka, art was symbolic, suggestive and international in outlook whereas post-Maurya, popular elements in religion and art revived. This is seen from sculptures at Bharhut and Sanchi which show strong links with tribal and village cults. The second essay stresses that it is necessary to study underlying conceptual themes to understand a monument.

'Terracotta Art' includes 'Ancient Indian Terracottas in their social Context (c 600 BCE to 600 CE)' and 'Goddesses in clay-The Ritual Art of Indian People'. Sociological approach to art is seen in the essay on Ancient Terracottas which talks about 'Art' as a whole, not as individual objects of Art, and its rise and fall with changing circumstances. Next essay deals with one of the most enduring subjects in terracottas, Mother Goddess. The archetypal form highlights features associated with fertility such as steatopygia (excessive fat around hips).

'Iconography' describes four unusual subjects: 'Dancing Gaṇeśa', 'Mother Goddess and her Partner', 'Kuṣāṇa Image-Liṅga from Mathura' and 'Bronzes from Sopara'. Numerous images of dancing Ganesha, showcasing the interrelationship between plastic and performing arts, include a unique image of Gaṇeśa in the *bhujaṅgatrāsita* dance posture (from 12th century temple at Gadag). Similarly, a rare photograph taken by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, of an image-*liṅga* from Mathura, adds to the concept of the image-liṅga presented by the author.

The author is in her own element in 'Iconology and meaning in Art'. The temple as an ordered whole, as a lithic embodiment of the theology and mythology is illustrated logically and in minute detail with special reference to the Khajuraho temples. Equally close to the author's heart are the themes of *śālabhañjikā*s and *surasundarī*s, the auspicious figures in Art. She traces the gradual transition in meaning, position and depiction of these beauties; whether *yakṣī*s, tree spirits, river goddesses, *nāyikā*s or *ālasakanyā*s.

The topic of Tantrism and Erotic temple structures has been dealt with in great depth by the author. She reminds the reader that the art of Tantra

includes many things like *yantra* and *maṇḍala* whose function is religious and not meant for aesthetic appreciation or hedonistic pleasure. She concludes that there is no justification in considering erotic figures as symbolizing the Tantric vision of cosmic sexuality. If anything, Tantrism increased the permissiveness towards sexual representation in the arts. Eventually, erotica became accepted as an auspicious motif with apotropaic (having the power to ward off evil) effect like fertility symbols.

In the section on Narrative panels, the author's identification of a unique panel at Khajuraho as Śvetadvīpa devotees of Nārāyaṇa as described in the Nārāyaṇīya section Śāntiparvan of Mahābhārata is truly a master stroke and a fitting finale for the set of essays.

In summary, the author is to be complemented for her present book which will prove valuable to scholars and lay people alike.

-Kumud Kanitkar

THE POWER OF GENDER AND THE GENDER OF POWER: EXPLORATIONS IN EARLY INDIAN HISTORY. By Kumkum Roy. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010. Pp. 385. Price- Rs. 850/-

This is a collection of essays written over two and a half decades by Kumkum Roy who is one of the few and distinguished scholars to have taken up the subject of gender relations in early India. It is a challenging task at several levels: for one, the period – post- Vedic India is one which has been the focus of many politico-scholarly attempts of retrieval and reconstruction, coloured by extreme glorification or excessive denigration in the colonial, orientalist and nationalist discourses. Secondly, her sources – mostly textual and a small proportion inscriptional – have been explored and interpreted earlier, by Indologists both European and Indian. They carry the political and cultural baggage of Indology and to retrieve them and subject them to a historian's scrutiny requires skill and tenacity. Furthermore, Roy has also had to battle tendencies within conventional history of preoccupation with dynastic

histories and of gender-blindness or silences or of Altekarian paradigms valorising women's status in ancient India. Her own involvement in the women's movement has no doubt influenced her choice of theme and approach. To bring in all these concerns together, while retaining the rigor and meticulousness of the historian's craft, is a difficult task that Kumkum Roy eminently succeeds in.

The nineteen essays, written in various contexts - given as endowment lectures, presented at conferences, published in edited collections and so forth-explore a range of sources. Mostly Sanskrit, some in Pali and Prakrit, they include Gṛhya Sūtras and Dharma Sūtras, the three major Śāstras namely Arthaśāstra, Manusmṛti and Kāmasūtra, the epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, Caritas or biographies, Jātakas, regional histories like Rājataraṅgiṇī and so on. They cover several topics. Roy examines the use of proper names, kinship ties, renunciatory traditions, conceptions of and prescriptions on women's reproductive role, norms regarding sexual relations and marriage, notions of the ideal household, the actual constitution of the king's household, adaptation of canonical texts to regional contexts, the dynamics of the early Indian urban world, courtesanal traditions, attitudes to sexuality, desire and pleasure, and so on. It is a wide ranging set of themes and topics, but undergirded by some consistent concerns. Gender relations is of course one of them, and one of the important contributions that Roy has made through these essays is to establish that early Indian patriarchy is not a monolith; one needs to look at multiple patriarchies, and the variations within both brahmanical and non-brahmanical patriarchies. Within these structures, women, both elite and non-elite, have found or made some space for themselves. Other insights that Roy gives us are also sharp. Elite and brahmanical traditions are not as rigid and unchanging as they are made out to be. While the prescriptive texts set out brahmanical norms, actual practice among the ruling elite show the prevalence of alternate norms. Relationships between the household of the courtesan, the common household and the royal household for instance suggest a situation of relative fluidity; ideals of patriliny and primogeniture are often, diluted in practice; binaries of Puritanism and promiscuity of some of the Indological frameworks reflect simplistic orientalist readings, whereas what prevailed was a complex

patriarchal discourse that was connected to the socio-political formations of
the urban world in early India.

Our current popular understandings of early India, intertwined with
our own contemporary politics of nationalism, communalism, secularism and
feminism, are characterized by simplification and polarized images of the
past, whereas Roy, with her formidable armoury of linguistic and historical
skills and meticulous scholarship, argues for a more nuanced understanding of
that period, characterized by multiplicity and flexibility of not just practice but
of canonical models as well.

One criticism, if one can call it that, is that by putting together essays
written at different points in time, on such a diverse set of topics with a variety
of sources, (even if they all do deal with early India), the sense of reading a
cohesive book which makes a few clear cut points is somewhat compromised.
The Introduction only somewhat mitigates this problem. Partly, it is in the
very nature of such an anthology. Partly, the need to document and
substantiate with sources, introduce caveats and make qualifications, and the
compulsions of addressing an academic audience impose a format which can
get tedious at times. Perhaps Roy could write another book, all chapters in one
go, keeping aside her references, and linking all the essays in a continuous
stream. Even though the sources are patchy and selective and complete
coherence impossible to achieve, the confident voice over of a good historian
will make a difference. That too is her duty.

-Kamala Ganesh

VĀKYAPADĪYA SPHOṬA, JĀTI AND DRAVYA. By Sharda Narayanan.
D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. ix + 281. ISBN 13: 978-81-246-
0609-4.

Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* (hereafter VP) has been a subject of rigorous study
in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition for more than a thousand years. The text
was translated into English along with the Sanskrit commentaries on it in the
last 50 years. Some scholars also tried to translate the commentaries. The third

kāṇḍa of this text consists of 14 sub chapters, called *Samuddeśa*s, which underwent this phenomenon essentially (For details, see Bibliography of Bhartṛhari by Yves Ramseier, 1992). Yves Ramseier himself undertook to translate the *Jātisamuddeśa* with the *PrakīrṇaPrakāśa*, but have not reported for some time. Chaitali Dangarikar has partially translated the *Jātisamuddeśa* with the *PrakīrṇaPrakāśa* under the supervision of Malhar Kulkarni for her Ph.D. dissertation at IIT Bombay, Mumbai. On this backdrop, it becomes interesting to go through the present work and welcome it.

This is a revised version of the Ph.D. dissertation submitted by the author to the JNU which she eventually successfully defended. The work is divided into 7 chapters, along with the Bibliography and index. As the title suggests, the work is a philosophical study of the concept of Linguistic universal on the basis of the discussion available in the *Jātisamuddeśa* of the VP. The 7 chapters are- 1. Introduction, 2. Linguistic Tradition, 3. Linguistic Philosophy of Bhartṛhari, 4. Concept of *Jāti* in VP 5. The *Jāti* and *Dravya* Samuddeśas, 6. *Sāmānya* in the Realist philosophy and 7. Conclusion.

In the introduction, the author summarizes the discussion in the ensuing chapters and also presents the survey of literature. The survey of literature does have no reference to the edition of the VP by W. Rau nor to important articles published by, for instance, Johannes Bronkhorst and Radhika Herzberger. This chapter also has traces of it being a dissertation primarily in the form of remarks such as '...this dissertation...' (p. 4- twice), '...this thesis...' (p. 4).

The second chapter discusses the development of language study from the Vedic period to the *darśana*s by discussing various aspects of *vāk* and verbal cognition in various schools of Indian philosophy. This chapter covers topics like, levels of speech mentioned in Vedic literature, Levels of speech mentioned in VP, views of modern scholars on levels of speech in VP; *Nyāya*, *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* and *Vyākaraṇa* views on verbal cognition, nature of word, nature of relation between word and its meaning, Word meaning and Sentence meaning etc. The author concludes that "The grammarians' view offers the most satisfactory explanation of language...". The treatment of these philosophical disciplines is detailed and well presented. A few statements are

however loose ends: "Language in India has come down in an oral tradition." (p.13).

The next chapter focuses on the Linguistic Philosophy of Bhartṛhari. The topics discussed in this chapter include, Word and World, *Vivarta* and *Pariṇāma*, *Sphoṭa*, the *Akhaṇḍa Vākya* view, Bhartṛhari on the concept of *Pratibhā*, development of *Sphoṭa*, *Sphoṭa* in the works of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Parthasarathy Misra and Mandan Misra. The author concludes the chapter by saying that the concept of *Sphoṭa* has undergone evolution and in essence the *Sphoṭa* enunciated by Bhartṛhari is not different from the definition of *śabda* given by *Nyāya* and *Pūrvamīmāṁsā*. It is also concluded that the *Nyāya* and *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* views cannot satisfactorily explain the concepts of *śleṣa* and *upāṁśu kathana* which *Vyākaraṇa* can easily do with the help of the concept of *Sphoṭa*.

The fourth chapter focuses on the concept of *Jāti* in VP. This is a small chapter which talks of the mention of *Jāti* in the first two *kāṇḍa*s of VP. In the first *kāṇḍa*, Bhartṛhari introduces the concept of *ākṛti* which is unique and in the second *kāṇḍa,* the concept of *Jāti* is discussed in the context of the indivisibility of sentence and sentence meaning.

The fifth chapter is the most significant in the book as it deals with *Jāti*, *Dravya* and *Bhūyodravya samuddeśa*s of the third *kāṇḍa* of the VP. This chapter presents each *kārikā* from these chapters and discusses them. Each *kārikā* is presented together with the roman transliteration. However no translation is provided. The topic presented in the *kārikā* is briefly presented along with, sometimes, the summary of discussion available in the commentaries as well as in modern literature. There is no substantial discussion that would make clear what Bhartṛhari clearly opines about the concept of *Jāti* through more than 100 *kārikā*s in the *Jātisamuddeśa*.

According to us, *Kārikā* 6 is important to explain the idea of *Jāti* by Bhartṛhari. The *kārikā* is:

svā jātiḥ prathamaṁ śabdaiḥ sarvair evābhidhīyate |
tato 'rthajātirūpeṣu tad adhyāropakalpanā ||

This *kārikā* states that words primarily explain the *Jāti* of their own form and this *Jāti* is then superimposed on the *Jāti* of the meaning. This fits in well with the overall *vivarta* theory mentioned by Bhartṛhari right from the first *kārikā* of the VP and also elsewhere and this viewpoint follows very well the feature of Panini's meta-language, namely that the word in Panini's meta-language stands primarily for it's own form. The author does not develop this theme in detail which is disheartening.

At other places, the author has expressed views where she disagrees with the traditional as well as modern interpretation of a particular word. Thus on p. 190, the author expresses her disagreement in the interpretation of the word *saṁskāra* in *Kārikā* 55 in the following words: "Helaraja and following him, K.A.S. Iyer and Raghunatha Sarma take *saṁskāra* to mean *śabdasaṁskāra* with which I do not agree." Quite straightforward! She then continues to provide an explanation as to why she does not agree, in the following words: "Bhartṛhari does not write with the technical rigidity that later grammarians adopt; in that sense he was not a *vaiyākaraṇa* alone but clearly had equal facility in *Mīmāṁsā*." That's all. However, this statement is obscure and there remains much to be explicated. What supports the view that Bhartṛhari does not write with technical rigidity that later grammarians adopt. Further what could be the technical rigidity? Also the question that haunts the reader is what does it mean "to have equal facility in *Mīmāṁsā*"?

The author then states what she thinks to be the correct interpretation of the word in the following words: "It is my belief that *saṁskāra* here refers to the merit obtained by *yajña*, that is, the *apūrva* in the practical context of ritual. Taking the *kārikā* to refer to linguistic technicalities is a roundabout explanation." That's all.

It is not sufficient and does not make any argument supported by evidences in the form of other occurrences of word and clues of theories. These are loose statements that need a lot of substantiation if one wants to make them strong points of arguments. At another place, the author quotes the views of George Cardona (p. 201) on *Kārikā* 82. There is no mention whether these views are already published elsewhere or whether this is the first place where his views get mentioned. This was important. However, the author

needs to be congratulated for presenting views of Cardona on this delicate issue and the present *kārikā*. The author concludes at the end of presentation of the *kārikā*s in the following way: "Thus it is established that *jāti* is at the bottom of all transactions and cognitions of visible and invisible things" (p. 217).

The sixth chapter traces down the concept of *Sāmānya* in the Realists Philosophy where the author drives home the point, namely, that Kumārila through his spirited defence of the concept of *Jāti* forced the Buddhist philosophers to modify their own stand on *śūnya* and *apoha*. The last chapter, Conclusion summarizes the previous discussion and presents the conclusions reached in the earlier chapters collectively. This is followed by Bibliography. Clearly there are many entries that deserve a mention there. I shall cite 3 below-

1. Dangarikar, Chaitali and Malhar Kulkarni. 2009. "A Web-Concordance of the PrakīrṇaPrakāśa of Helarāja on the Jātisamuddeśa of the Vakyapadīya (3.1)". *Proceedings of the 3rd International Sanskrit Computational Linguistics Symposium*. Edited by Amba Kulkarni, 144–56. LNCS, Springer-Verlag, Germany.

2. Dangarikar, Chaitali and Malhar Kulkarni. 2010. "Helarāja on eight Padārthas". *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai*, Vol. 83: 7–19. (ISSN: 0972-0766)

3. Dangarikar, Chaitali and Malhar Kulkarni. 2010. "Helarāja's description of Ontological Semantics based on Bhartṛhari's Ontology". *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. LIX (1–2): 11–34. (ISSN: 0030-5324).

-Malhar Kulkarni

BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY. Edited by Shireen Maswood, Amit Dey and Ritwika Biswas. K. P. Bagchi & Co., Kolkata, 2011. Pp. ix + 254. Price- Rs. 595/-. ISBN: 978-81-7074-325-5.

Dept. of History, University of Calcutta had organized a national seminar on Tradition & Modernity Aspects of Islam in South Asia, in 2006. Research

papers presented at this seminar are now published in a book form. The scholars who presented their papers have discussed various aspects and angles of the subject.

The first essay in this volume is by I. H. Azad Faruqi. In his essay, "Islam and challenges of Modernity", Faruqi has tried to define tradition as a combination of religion, culture and civilization and has explained modernity as a phenomena which has its roots in the attitudes and approaches which surfaced during the period of renaissance of the European history which since then is known as Western civilization. However this was perceived by the traditional Islami theologians as a materialistic philosophy with an inherent quality to destroy the very foundation of Islamic value system. The eighteenth century Wahabi movement has its genesis in this bias perception. Faruqi has also tried to point out the contradictions between the basic assumption of the traditional Muslim societies and their perception of modernity and has concluded that Islam needs to be appreciated and understood as an evolving tradition with divergent interpretations which take on the sanctity of the basic tenets of Islam.

Kingshuk Chatterjee's article, Exploration of the Self -From Iqbal to Sariati deals with the divergent views of these two intellectuals of the 20th century. As a poet Iqbal was par excellence and had a greater impact on the Muslims of south Asia. At the same time he was also a religious thinker and philosopher who was in advance of his time. Iqbal thought that the reasons that propelled modernity and gave a new lease of life to the west have their creative fountainhead within the Islamic tradition. The Quran according to Iqbal demands man to engage with the world, to transform it and affirm itself through his creative engagement with world. Iqbals political thought was rather controversial. It was perceived by many that his concept of 'qoumiyyat' contained the genesis of a separate Muslim state which was factually incorrect. He was against dividing man from man on the basis of language, race, place of origin etc. But Chatterjee rightly points out that Iqbal's self-conscious adoption of Islamic idioms was too far away from religious bigotry.

Al shariati Mazihani as portrayed by Chatterjee is an architect of political self. However Shariati's approach was considerably different from

that of Iqbal which perhaps may be due to the difference in socio-political situations in which Shariati was born and brought up. Chatterjee's article tries to trace the major intellectual attempts of Dr. Iqbal and Al. Shariati with due consideration to this aspect of their life and career. Shariatis idea of authority, sovereignty and political ideology had its origin in his concept of 'Tauhid' i.e. onenes of God which was an intellectual expansion of the idea of a perfect man and his awareness of man's relationship with the divine. The Sharitis doctrine held man responsible for neither good nor evil. But shariati refuted this notion with the doctrine of "free will" which he thought as a distinct quality of a perfect man and therefore he is responsible for his actions of omissions and commissions.

The third article in this volume is that at Tapti De who has discussed the harmony of the individual "self" with the collective identity of Muslims on the regional plane. Bengali Muslims in the first half of the twentieth century were economically backward and religiously ignorant which gave an opportunity to the revivalist movements like Faraizi and the Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya. But economic upliftment of these marginalized Muslims was never a concern for these movements. Instead they aimed at familiarizing these 'ignorant' rural Muslims with basic tenets of Islam through an orthodox and fundamentalist approach.

Abhijit Datt while assessing Titu Meer's revolt refers to the notion of just social order that has an approval of Islamic scriptures. His revolt was against the local landlords, European indigo planters and against colonial government which prima-facie appears to be a politico-economic struggle. But the theory of militant encounter, presumed to be propounded in Islamic scriptures, first by Saiyed Ahmed Shahid and subsequently accepted as tool by Titu Meer for his revolt reveals its religious antecedents. His own words that the aim of his movement was to convert the country from Dar-ul-harb (the abode of war) to Dar-ul - Islam (Abode of Islam) by declaring a 'Jihad' or holy war against the infidels further exposes his orthodox political theory.

Sufi tradition is the central subject of the fifth, sixth and seventh essay and has been dealt with through different angles. Raziuddin Aquil's article takes an exhaustive view of the diverse Sufi orders and their comparative

approach to modernity and inter-faith relationship. Ananelo Bhattacharya on the other hand has focused on a particular Sufi order known as Madariyas. Though the Madariyas formed a small sect of sufi tradition, they had a wide range of followers among the rural masses but did not aspire for any lasting reform or any political ambition which may perhaps be to the fact that it does not fall within the ambit at Sufi mysticism. But it did provide peace and solace to the socially and economically suffering masses.

Ishani Ghosh on the other hand has tried to explore the unifying character of Islam in the context of Bengal. She has emphasized the sociological and cultural context of the region. Along with the exponents of the liberal Islam, she has also referred to Hindu preachers of particularly mystical character which according to her played an important role of evolving a tradition of cultural accord. This tradition of assimilation of sufi mysticism and Hindu 'Bhakti' movement gave birth to a unique folk culture in rural Bengal which further contributed to the development of religious assimilation of the Bengali People.

The status of women in Islam has been the most controversial and most debated subject, particularly in context to modernity. Amit Dey has discussed some of the issues concerning Muslim women, such as Pardah system, education, health, marital relation, domestic life etc. His main source is Prophet centered literature in colonial Bengal which either cites the examples of the female members of the Prophet's family or refers to the Prophet's advice in context to dealing with defining the social boundaries for the Bengali Muslim women. Thus it was an attempt to face the challenges of western civilization. At the same time it was also an attempt to modernize Muslim women by drawing inspiration from the Brahmo Samaj Movement which was started to counteract the Christian Missionary criticism.

The last essay in the volume is that at S. Irfan Habib who has traced the contributions of Arabs in the field of Science. These Arab scientists have carved a niche for themselves, by their enormous contribution in various branches of science such as mathematics, physics, metaphysics and logic. Medicine, alchemy, chemistry etc. The Arab scholars thus have proved that scientific knowledge was not the sole preserve of Europe. Arab scientists of

the early period of Islam have kept the flame of knowledge and investigation burning for the generation to come. The credit must be given to the Abbasid Caliphate who created an environment conducive to scientific research and discovery from the middle of the 8th Century A.D. for almost two hundred years. It was during this period that the treasure of the Greek knowledge was translated into Arabic by the Arab Scholars and was preserved for the future generations.

The essays in this volume have discussed a diverse impulse that moulded Islam and has thus shown the way for the objective study of Islam, which is the need of the day.

-Abdul Kader Mukadam

THIRTY MINOR UPANISADS. Edited by Madhu Khanna. Tantra Foundation, New Delhi, 2011. pp. xxiii +286. Price- Rs. 950/-. ISBN: 81-208-1565-3 (sic).

Facts are verified information, which is then presented as objective reality. Today's verification may not be tomorrow's. It may turn out that facts may not be really truths; but they change as verification changes, or, they may be so qualified by verifiers that they are empty of information. But the eternal truth as perceived by the seer stands the test of time as well as its varied interpretations by the commentators. The texts which contain these truths are considered sacred and have exerted enormous influence on the philosophic outlook not only in India, but the world over.

The senses could not lead us to the Ultimate Reality. Thus the seekers turned inwards in their quest. The objective of these Upaniṣadic texts is to point to the identity of the individual self with the Supreme Self. This truth is stated without any elaborate arguments or analysis of the mind, but put there as the direct perception by the seer. At the time of realization the seer 'rests in his own state', *draṣṭuḥ svarūpe(a)vasthānam.* Since the Upaniṣads are a revelation from intense meditative states, they do not all follow a systematic pattern of presentation. They do not make contradictory statements either,

since they follow one particular aspect in the path of the spiritual journey. Since these expressions of spontaneous thoughts are expressed freely, they lend themselves to any number of varied interpretations. Unlike other systems, like Sāṅkhya, etc. the Vedānta (i.e. the Upaniṣads), comprehends many paths which differ on fundamental metaphysical points, say, from absolute monism to dualism while at the same time it contains features common to all. The germs of the later systems can be found scattered in the Upaniṣads. Thus these systems quote passages from the Upaniṣads in support of their viewpoint. There are some Upaniṣads which deal with the physical and psychological aspects of existence. It is difficult to date the Upaniṣads. Some contain sectarian accretions, while the original texts may belong to an earlier date. It is found that neither internal nor external evidence has helped in dating a text.

Coming to the present collection of *Thirty Minor Upaniṣads*, there are some refreshing concepts scattered across the book. In the *Nāradaparivrājaka* Upaniṣad it is interesting to read in the list of those unfit to take *saṁnyāsa*, the *vaikhānasa* is clubbed with the blind, the eunuch, etc. Again the significance of the holy thread is explained that only a Brahmin who knows yoga and *tattva*, and who understands that the thread indicates (*sūcanat*) the supreme seat (*paramapada)* should wear it. This concept of the sūtra is also mentioned in the Brahma Upaniṣad. Vajrasuci Upaniṣad while refuting colour as the basis of caste divisions, explains that a Brahmin is one who has directly realized his atman. Some of these Upaniṣads contain certain details of yoga which may be of use in understanding the later Śaiva and Śākta Tantra texts, it is felt.

The rationale behind Sri Narayanaswamy Aiyar's selection and arrangement of the Upaniṣads seem to be that the basic terminologies are clearly enunciated and precisely and succinctly explained in the earlier chapters as in the Sarvasāra Upaniṣad. The following Upaniṣads though seemingly repeat these concepts, we are taken gently through deeper and deeper levels of these concepts, never letting us feel out of our depth, as we continue to get a clearer grip on the terminologies and their significance. The phrase 'lost in translation' may well apply to such texts, since there are levels

of meanings, and the interpreter plays a significant role in clarifying instead of obscuring the meaning. Limitation of the language also poses a problem.

This book is aimed at the serious and determined neophyte who has a complete understanding of the fundamentals of yoga philosophy, and purports to assist him in his quest. There is also a caveat, that there should be a preceptor, particularly a *siddha* who has *vijñāna* (knowledge based on experience). Similarly, being fluent with texts on philosophy is useless without actual experience, and hence the emphasis on the qualification of a teacher. Merely reading the word 'sugar' does not convey to us its sweetness.

A second edition with the inclusion of the Sanskrit texts alongside Aiyar's translation would give the reader an opportunity to understand the gargantuan task the Translator had set himself. The book reads smoothly, which is a commendation by itself, to the Editor. It is hoped that some noticeable errors such as misspelling of Aiyar's initial in the Editor's Note, and '....through renunciation alone do some enjoy the immorality (p. xviii) are corrected in a future edition.

-Indira Aiyar

KĀLĀMUKHA TEMPLES OF KARNATAKA Art and Cultural Legacy. By Vasundhara Filliozat and Pierre Sylvain Filliozat. Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd, New Delhi, 2012. Pp. xx + 657 + 135 Figures (including maps, line drawings and Colour Plates). Price- Rs 3000/-, US $ 120. ISBN13: 978-81-246-0605-6, ISBN10: 81-246-0605-6.

The present book by the Filliozats is part of their continuing study of Śaiva temples in Karnataka. It focuses on two temples, the Somanāthesvara temple at Haralahalli and Kadambesvara temple at Rattihalli. Both temples are excellent examples of single-cell shrines later converted to shrines with triple sancta.

The book opens with an Introduction that explains *trikūta* temples, mythology of Sadāsiva manifestation and dance pose of Natesa portrayed on

both the temples. The correct term for the dance pose of Naṭeśa sculptures on both temples, in the authors' view, is *śaivasthāna*, quoted in Saṅgītaratnākara but not in Āgamic texts.

The next chapter provides an overview of the Lakulaśaiva movement since the history of Lākula Śaivas reflects socio-politico-religio-cultural history of Karnataka from 5th -15th century CE. Based on the Pampāmāhātmya, a *sthalapurāṇa*, which is part of Bhāradvājasaṃhitā of Skanda Purāṇa, the authors offer a reason for the epithet 'Kālāmukhas' which is different from the commonly accepted one. Kālāmukha Śaivites, like Pāśupatas, were also devoted to Sadāśiva but they worshipped the five faces of Sadāśiva associated with the five Kalās, leading to the name 'Kālāmukhas'.

To conduct rituals, the followers of this faith conceived an original style of temples. The temples were an architectural translation of a theological concept. Their theology is reflected in preference for a *trikūṭa* temple over a single shrine temple.

The book then presents a detailed study the two temples, Somanātheśvara temple at Haralahalli and Kadambeśvara temple at Rattihalli. The study includes epigraphy, architectural style, detailed iconography and relation to Āgamic references. In effect, the book gives a comprehensive view of each temple including the related history of religious thought and social environment.

Of the three aspects of each temple, Architecture, Iconography and Inscriptions, by far the major portion of the text is devoted to inscriptions. Rich epigraphic data is available for both temples. The authors have collected it from various sources and quoted each inscription in detail: first, transliteration in English, then the inscription in the original script, then the contents in *devanāgarī* script in the language of the inscription, (Sanskrit or Kannada). This is followed by translation in simple English. Thus voluminous, valuable and difficult to source data is made available to readers within the text itself, not as footnotes.

Discussion of aspects of Iconography of the temples is complemented by beautiful photos. The different aspects of Sadāśiva are portrayed on the respective directions- such as Aghora or Bhairava on the south. The two subsidiary shrines at Kadambeśvara are named as Malleśvara and Rājeśvara in the inscriptions without specifying which is which. The donor's mother was Rājaladevi and father, Ārya Malla. The authors surmise that Malleśvara would be the south shrine (direction of Aghora) while Rājeśvara would be the north shrine (direction of Vāmadeva).

Architectural components of the temples are illustrated with photos as well plans and elevations. These include pillars, entrances, lintels and door jambs. Exquisitely detailed drawings such as the elevation and section of the Somanātha temple at Haralahalli and the elevation of the south sides of the west shrine, south shrine and *Latāmaṇḍapa* of the Kadambeśvara temple at Rattihalli are a visual treat. The authors have highlighted minute details such as differences in the style and décor between levels of the west tower of the Kadambeśvara at Rattahalli. Another example of attention to detail and its appreciation is the large pilaster on the external walls of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* and *śukanāsī*s at Rattahalli, a one pillar aedicule (*kūṭastambha*) capped by a full *śikhara* that makes it wider than all others.

The 'lion and warrior' image atop the temple, at the level of the *śukanāsī*, was interpreted as a Hoysaḷa symbol by Henry Cousens. Therefore he had written that Rattihalli was within the limits of the Hoysaḷa Empire. The present authors quote an inscription on a memorial stone which indicates that at the battle of Rattahalli, Hoysaḷas were defeated by the Seuṇa army. Therefore the authors speculate that such an image may have been the emblem of feudatory rulers of Cālukyas and Seuṇa kings.

In summary, the book combines meticulous documentation with beautiful figures, a large number of inscriptions and important interpretations making it a treasure trove for scholars.

-Kumud Kanitkar

Our new publications

A CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED POTHIS AT THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF MUMBAI. Compiled by Meena Vaishampayan. The Asiatic Socuety of Mumbai, Mumbai, 2012. Pp. xi + 240. Price- 300/-.ISBN: 978-93-5087-152-2.

The Asiatic Society of Mumbai is more than 200 years old. Over the years a number of scholars have added to the holdings of the society. Scholars, such as Bhagvanlal Indraji, Bhau Daji and many others collected mss from various sources and kept them at the Asiatic Society for the use of researchers. These were first scrutinized and classified by Prof. H. D. Velankar of Wilson College of Mumbai. He was the first to prepare the first catalogue in four volumes. This served well for generations of scholars. Towards the end of the last century, the copies of this catalogue were almost exhausted and it was decided to reprint it in one comprehensive volume. Professor Dr.V. M. Kulkarni and Dr. Devangana Desai undertook this strenuous job and brought out the reprint. The society meanwhile received books and mss of Shankar Pandurang Pandit through his granddaughter Leela Rao, the daughter of Pandita Kshama Rao.

A fresh survey of all the mss was undertaken by Dr. Meena Vaishampayan and we have now a catalogue of the manuscripts and printed *pothi*s at the Asiatic Society of Mumbai. It covers 2474 old mss and 374 Marathi mss. of late P. L. Deshpande.

The catalogue is well tabulated and gives all the necessary information such as title, earlier serial number, subject, folios, date, language and any relevant observations. It is hoped that the volume will prove useful to the modern generation of research scholars.

-N. B. Patil

NOTES ON NEW FINDINGS

A Note on Special Iconographic Feature of *Rūpanārāyaṇa*, Dive Agar

Suraj A. Pandit

Rūpanārāyaṇa is one of the Viṣṇu images from Dive Agar. There are two Viṣṇu temples near the village Dive Agar, known as Rūpanārāyaṇa and Sundaranārāyaṇa. Both the temples have been renovated by villagers in the recent past. Though the Sundaranārāyaṇa image is of the later period—may be of the medieval period—Rūpanārāyaṇa is the older one, and stylistically can be dated to Śilāhāra period. It is believed that there were a few more Viṣṇu temples in the village of Dive Agar. This is supported by the evidence that the two known images are the two out of 24 forms of Viṣṇu. This image is supposed to be of the 'Keśava' form of Viṣṇu among *caturvimśati* forms. He holds *gadā* (mace), *padma* (lotus), *śaṅkha* (conch) and *cakra* (discus). Very existence of the image at Dive Agar narrates the prominence of Pāñcarātra tradition in this region during the Śilāhāra period.

This image is a master piece of the Śilāhāra art and aesthetically one of the most appealing among all Viṣṇu images in Konkan. Stylistically this can be dated to 11th century CE. The halo of the image is elaborately decorated. As in many cases of the *kevala-viṣṇu,* images, incarnations of the lord Viṣṇu are also seen here. Most interesting feature of the image lays in the depiction of these incarnations. Starting from the lower left hand in the anticlockwise direction there is a depiction of Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha. Nṛasiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Kalki. One of the *daśāvatāra*s under discussion is carved behind the lower left hand of the Viṣṇu and is supposed to be of Buddha in general or of Jina as seen in few exceptions in western India. This figure behind the lower right hand of the Viṣṇu, which holds the lotus, is surely not of the Buddha or Jina in this case. The figure is shown seated with

the folded legs. A *nāga*-hood canopy is clearly visible behind the head of a
seated man. Most significant iconographic feature is this seated male figure
holds a fruit in his right hand near his lap and a *lakula* in his left hand which is
carved exactly behind the lower right hand of Viṣṇu. This image can be of
Balarāma as few incidences have been reported in Indian art where three
Rāmas, viz., Dāśarathī-rāma, Bhārgava-rāma and Balarāma form the part of
*daśāvatara*s. Fruit is clearly seen in the right hand of the figure which nullifies
the scope of the image being of Balarāma. This can be identified as of
Lakulīśa, the sage and the incarnation of Śiva in Lakulīśa or Nakulīśa
Tradition. There is a possibility that the image is of Balarāma with the fruit
which is one of the attributes of Viṣṇu but still *lāṅgala* is not at all visible
while *lakula* is clearly depicted.

The depiction of this type of deity in the *daśāvatāra*s of Viṣṇu needs
special attention. Study can through some light on socio-religious conditions
of Śilāhāra period in North Konkan.

Plates

Fig. N 1.1   Lakulīśa carved near the lower right hand of Rūpanārāyaṇa

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Undocumented Structural Remains at Umbardi, Tal. Mangaon, Dist. Raigad

Ashutosh Bapat

Umbardi (18°22'36.40" N 73°24'05.00" E) is a small village located at the
foothills of the Tamhiṇī pass. The village is located at the base of fort
Kurdugad in Mangaon Taluka, Raigad district. It is one of the prominent
habitations on the ancient trade route known as the Liṅgyā pass.

Fig. N 1 . 1 - Lakulīśa carved near the lower right hand of Rūpanārāyaṇa

Fig. N 2 . 1 - Temple at Umbardi and its surroundings

Fig. N 2 . 2 - Closer view of Plinth

Fig. N 2 . 3 - Temple at Umbardi

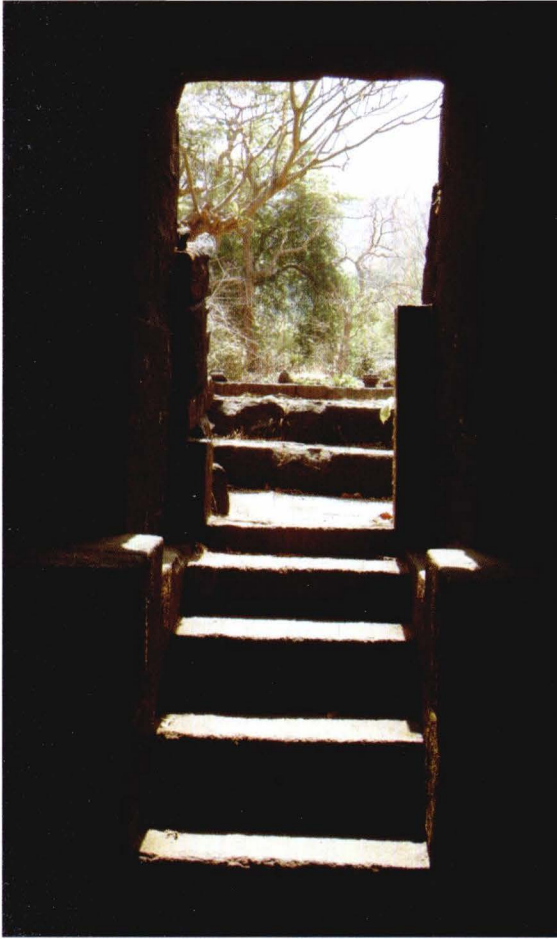Fig. N 2 . 4 - Platform in front of the Temple

Fig. N 2 . 5 - Entrance of Sanctum

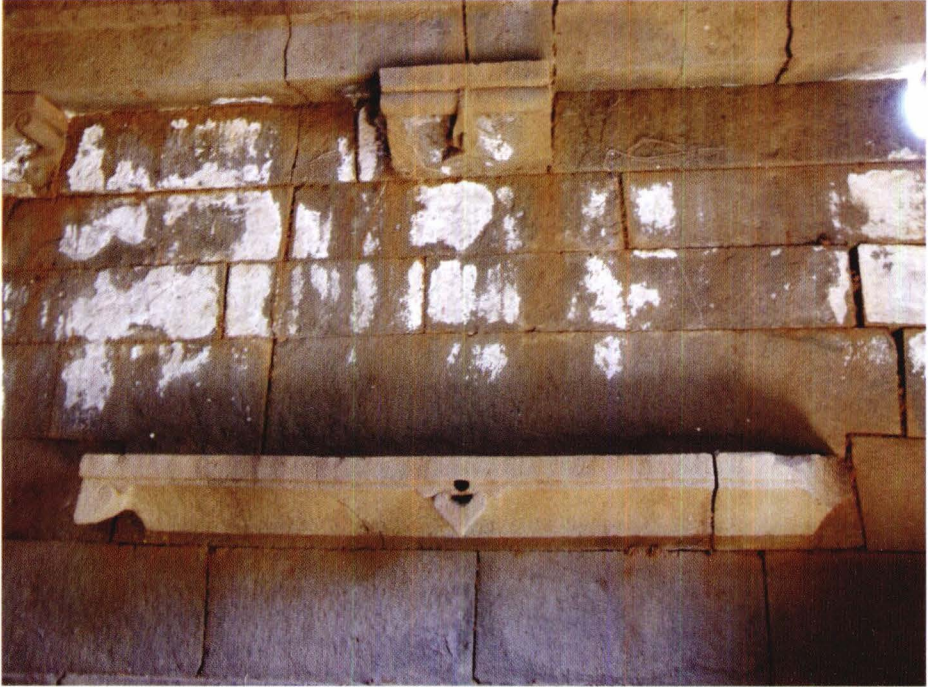Fig. N 2 . 6 - Entrance of Sanctum from Inside

Fig. N 2 . 7 - Remains outside the temple

Fig. N 2 . 8 - Remains outside the temple

Fig. N 2 . 9 - Slab coming out of the wall
(Protrusion with inverted *nāga* symbol above)

Fig. N 2 . 10 - Secret Chamber in the sanctum

On the outskirts of the village lies an ancient Śiva temple facing to the east belonging approximately to 12th–13th century CE. It is constructed on a high plinth measuring 20 m x 10 m in area and 1.5 m in height. Its *garbhag ha* (sanctum) containing a *Śivaliṅga* is the only standing structure. The *antarāla, sabhāmaṇḍapa, mukhamaṇḍapa*, etc are totally missing, but some foundation stones of the pillars can be located on the plinth of the temple. The carved stones are found scattered in the adjacent area. One broken *Śivaliṅga* is also lying outside the temple. An idol of Gaṇeśa situated outside the sanctum seems to be of a later period. To enter into the sanctum one has to climb down four steps. A niche in the left wall near the ground level of the sanctum can be seen which contains a secret chamber in the floor. It would have been used to hide some specific things or worship apparatus. The sanctum is square (2 m x 2 m) and its height is 5 m. There is a *pradakṣiṇā mārga* surrounding the temple from outside. In front of the temple there is a 1 m high platform like structure. It seems to be a tomb. Some structure in dilapidated condition can be seen on the platform.

One more interesting thing is that there are a few hero stones kept properly in the vicinity of a temple. They are 44 in number. Some of them are highly decorated and some others are depicted elaborately. Even one *gaddhegāl* is also there due to which a guess can be made that there could have been some donation to this temple. Due to the specific design of inverted snakes on brackets, it can be inferred that the construction belongs to the Yādava period. Hence the period of the temple can be conjectured as 12th–13th century CE. By viewing the location of the temple it can be said that this temple might have been an important establishment of that period. It could also have been a significant political or religious place at that time.

Plates

Fig. N 2.6   Entrance of Sanctum from Inside
Fig. N 2.7   Remains outside the temple
Fig. N 2.8   Remains outside the temple
Fig. N 2.9   Slab coming out of the wall
                  (Protrusion with inverted nāga symbol above)
Fig. N 2.10   Secret Chamber in the sanctum

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A Preliminary Report on the First Season of Excavations at Chandhore, Tal. Mangaon, Dist. Raigadh, Maharastra (2012)

Kurush F Dalal

Introduction

The Ancient Temple complex at Chandhore (18 09' 52" N; 73 11' 02" S) is situated near the hamlet of Chambharpada at Chandhore Village, Tal Mangaon, Dist Raigad, Maharashtra (Fig. 1). The site was discovered in 2011 by a joint team of members from the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies (CEMS), University of Mumbai and the India Study Centre (INSTUCEN), Mumbai.

The initial explorations were carried out in March 2011 (Dalal 2012). After explorations it was decided to apply for permission to the Archaeological Survey of India to conduct archaeological investigations (both excavations and clearance) at the site in the 2011-2012 Season. The CEMS applied in conjunction with the India Study Centre Trust (INSTUCEN), Mumbai. Permission was granted and the excavations carried out under the direction of the author along with the past and present students of the CEMS.

The Site

The ancient site of Chandhore is located less than half a kilometer to the east of the modern village of Chandhore opposite (and to the west of) the hamlet of Chambharpada. This site is essentially a cluster of Temples/Temple Plinths

and lies close to the medieval coastal port site of Mhasla on the Rajpur Creek and other medieval port sites on the adjacent Murud Creek (Fig. 2).

It is also located along the very road that leads from the interiors of Maharashtra to the Rajpur creek and eventually the coast. It is equidistant from Goregaon and Mangaon and would have been the convergence centre for the routes from the north (via Mangaon) and south (via Goregaon) for the flow of traffic and goods from interior Maharashtra to the port of Mhasla. Chandore is approximately one days travel (by loaded bullock cart train) from both Mangaon and Goregaon. It is also perfectly placed for a round trip of one day to and from Mhasla. This alongside the large perennial water bodies at Chandore made it the perfect campsite and a critical node on one of the most viable trade routes in this region.

The ancient site itself is made up of a complex of temples/temple plinths and assorted structural and sculptural members (Fig. 3). The plinths in turn can be divided into two sub complexes – divided by the Chandhore-Govele road - the first opposite the Chambharpada and the second about 100m to the west of the Chambharpada. The first group/complex of temples includes a single large disturbed plinth with an adjacent tank/step-well with a smaller temple and an adjacent *Nandīmaṇḍapa*. The second group/complex (north of the first group and west of Chambharpada) consists of at least two (more) temple plinths (one intact and exposed and the other buried and only partially exposed) and a host of smaller structure bases and scattered sculptural members.

Complex 1

The main plinth (Plinth 1) at the first complex is flanked on its northwest by a stepped tank / well cut into the laterite bedrock which has a smaller Śiva temple on its northern edge and on its northeast by a *Nandīmaṇḍapa* with a broken and heavily weathered Nandi image. Clearance of the shrubs and foliage revealed two complete 'Satī-stones', a twin Sati pillar, a fragment of a Hero-stone, one extremely weathered stone image broken in two and the lower portion of another.

All that is presently left of the large temple / plinth is a disturbed squarish plinth with three clear layers of dressed laterite blocks. The blocks are much larger than the regular blocks used in such structures and some of them would mass more than a quarter of a ton. The plinth is partially buried. The Tank / step well is located to the northwest of the plinth. The well, which was probably also the quarry for the laterite blocks used in the construction of the temple, is square in shape with a narrow flight of steps leading into it. The steps are cut along the well's southern wall and they extend outwards from the south-eastern corner of the well. The well was partially covered by scrub and bushes and partially filled with debris. Along the southern wall (alongside the steps) are two squarish / rectangular niches. Subsequent cleaning and debris clearance revealed a long flight of rock cut steps and a well defined lintel made of two lines of dressed laterite blocks at the top. The two niches are clearly defined and deeply cut into the left hand/southern side of the stairs. The first niche (from the top) contains a very well made but weathered basalt image of *Hara-Gaurī* (Fig. 4). The second niche is slightly rectangular and empty. These niches are a completely unique feature. At first glance the image apparently belongs to the Later Medieval Period (also known to Art Historians as the Post-Yādava Period in Maharashtra) but further careful scrutiny lends one to consider an earlier Śilāhāra Period (10th c AD to 13th c AD) assignation.

This period (post 10th century AD) is almost unknown archaeologically in this region. The identification of the icon was done by Dr. Abhijit Dandekar, Dr. Suraj Pandit and confirmed by Prof. A. P. Jamkhedkar.

Careful clearance of the area parallel to the north of the steps revealed a small well-made Śaivaite shrine, identified due to its sunken square sanctum and adjacent *Nandīmaṇḍapa* (described above) to its north-northeast. The temple consists of a square sanctum, a larger rectangular *maṇḍapa* and a small disturbed *Nandīmaṇḍapa*. Clearance of the rubble and debris revealed a square sanctum with a very well made floor having two levels of flagstones, the lower large rectangular slabs (mainly basalt but with few laterite units) were still to be seen *in situ* but the upper layer of dressed blocks is mostly missing with the exception of a few peripheral members attached to the four corners which bear dressed (square) pillar bases that supported the original

wooden superstructure and a clear decorative border. The border has a small square gap which is the mouth of the drain (*praṇāla*) leading out of the sanctum. This drain opening is in the centre of the northern wall of the sanctum. The sanctum has a short but steep flight of four weathered basalt steps descending into it. The steps are cut into the eastern face of the sanctum and at the top is a weathered image of Gaṇeśa (Fig. 5). The southern wall of the temple rests on a plinth of five courses of slightly offset semi-dressed and dressed laterite blocks. The northern wall of the temple (hidden by a dense hedge) revealed seven (visible) well dressed vertical courses. Lying on the surface of the site 20m to the south-southeast of the smaller temple was found a broken part of the *yonipīṭha* (*śivaliṅga* base) that most probably lay in the sanctum. Excavations at the base of the steps revealed the total depth of the tank in its southeast corner. The excavated rubble and silt revealed large amounts of pottery and artefacts along with a sculptural fragment (Fig. 6).

To the east of this complex, 25 – 30m away, is a cemetery (see Fig. 3) made up of numerous small laterite block lined squares, a few with a second course and even a capstone. A very small number are cemented and parts of the cemetery were in current use (last grave is dated 2011) by the members of the *cāmbhār / Rohidāsa* (cobbler/leatherworking also named after their patron Saint Rohidas) community whose hamlet Chandhore-Chambharpada is located across the road.

Complex 2

Complex 2 is roughly 75 – 100 m south of Complex 1. Complex 2 is made up of two large Plinths (Plinth 2 and Plinth 3) and a number of smaller (house?) foundation plans in laterite which are visible on the surface.

Plinth 2 is in much better shape than Plinth 1 (seen in Complex 1) and is almost intact. This includes the partial survival on its western side of the flight of steps leading to the top. The plinth is square and is made of well dressed laterite blocks. There are a total of seven visible courses of blocks. The plinth is divided into distinct two layers by a rounded laterite moulding which runs completely around the plinth above four courses of blocks from the bottom. There are three more courses succeeded in turn by a square

sectioned moulding with small hemispherical rosettes pointing downwards approximately every 40cm.The plinth is flattened on top and partially disturbed. The steps are off centre (to the left as you face the plinth) and are balanced by a *Tulasī-vṛndāvana*, now in two pieces (set to the right of centre).

Plinth 2 is in a recessed square made up of dressed bricks along its inner margins. The plinth itself is made of very well dressed laterite blocks. It is square and its vertical sides are broken by a line of moulded laterite bricks. The moulding is rounded and has a repetitive panel of motifs. The motif consists of a large flat circle flanked by a pair of smaller circles (one on each side of the larger circle). This moulding is very similar to the basalt moulding that makes up the uppermost line of the walls. The laterite walls are capped with a basalt hemi-moulding with a motif similar to the one seen in laterite (only horizontally halved by the nature of the moulding) (Fig. 8A & 8B). The plinth is almost intact and according to local tradition was in worship until 70 years ago when the idols were renewed and relocated to the site of the present temples of Nolai, Jholai and Vaghai at Chandhore village.

Plinth 3 is an ill-defined low rectangular mound east-southeast of Temple 2 with a few laterite slabs visible along its Northwestern corner.

Adjacent to this is a small square plinth made up of a single course of small slim laterite blocks. A number of small battered sculptural members are seen scattered nearby.

Stray and Scattered Sculptural Members

Apart from the Gaṇeśa and Hara-Gaurī sculptures mentioned above there are a series of intact and broken sculptural fragments and Hero / Satī stones scattered around the site.

Scattered at the foot of the *Nandīmaṇḍapa* were two Sati-stones and a Sati Pillar along with a few broken sculptural members (Fig. 9B).

Enroute to Complex 2 is a very intricate Multi-panelled Memorial Pillar (Fig. 9A). This Pillar is reminiscent of similar Rāṣṭrakūṭa (Rajashekhara 1982: 227-30) and Yādava (Sontheimer 1982: 261-81; Fig 1, 29a, 29e) Period

examples. It is rectangular with a thick section. It is uni-faced. The face is divided into three very clear panels flanked on each side by small decorative pillars. The top is capped with a very well carved header resembling a temple *śikhara* with a celestial being depicted on either side. The base which was left undecorated as it would have been buried underground upon erection. This pillar is also well weathered due to exposure but its features are clearly visible. On close inspection this memorial pillar appears to be of Cālukyan / Early Śilāhāra origins (10th/11th c AD).

Scattered at the foot of the *Nandīmaṇḍapa* in Complex 1 were two Sati-stones and a Sati Pillar along with a few broken sculptural members (Fig. 9B). A few metres to the south-east of this a fragment of a broken *pīṭha* for a *śivaliṅga* was found.

A very elaborate and intricate hero-stone (Fig. 9C) of the Cālukyan / Śilāhāra type was also unearthed at the foot of the tank, just outside its north-western corner. The stone was almost completely buried with only a small portion sticking out of the debris recently thrown over it. The very nature, type and style are reminiscent of the early Śilāhāra hero-stones seen at Eksar near Borivali (Mumbai) (Tripati 2006: 92–94).

Behind the modern Saibaba temple at Chambarpada in a clump of recently cut bamboos we came across the partially buried broken upper half of yet another hero-stone (Fig. 9D). This one is much cruder than the ones previously mentioned and appears technologically of the same degree of finesse as the sati-stones seen at the foot of the nandimandapa. Only the top two panels are visible.

Immediately southwest of the Memorial pillar (approximately 5m away) surrounded by a *Karvanda* (*Carissa carandas* L.) bush is a *Gāy-vāsarū* pillar (i.e. a pillar bearing a cow and suckling calf) with a Sun and Moon drawn under it. An almost identical such pillar, albeit smaller, is seen at Vadghar, a village about 5km to the east of Chandhore and on the old Mangaon-Mhasla road.

A broken Śiva image (upper half) and a broken Āñjaneya (Hanūmān) image (lower half) were found near the edge of the large pond (see Fig. 3) at Chandhore.

An additional sculptural slab depicting an icon of Śeṣaśāyin Viṣṇu is also seen in the vicinity. This rectangular basalt slab is presently heavily covered by moss and lies at the village square of Chandhore. Stylistically it appears to belong to the same tradition as the Hara-Gaurī icon seen in the niche of the tank in Complex 1.

The Excavations

The excavations *per se* were carried out on the eastern side of Plinth 1. Two quadrants each measuring 2.5 x 2.5m were taken up for excavations (Fig. 11). The reason for the location of the trench was the slope and the possible accumulation of debris due to the obstruction of the natural flow of rainwater borne soil and artefacts by Plinth 1.

The excavations revealed a very small deposit between 30 and 70cm. the soil excavated was uniform and no real layers with the exception of humus discolouration were visible. The bedrock (laterite) locally known as *kāṭaḷ* was exposed in both quadrants. A large number of potsherds of coarse Red and Grey wares, bangle fragments of glass, a broken wound glass bead, a fragment of Monochrome Glazed Ware – a West Asian import (a second example was found whilst clearing the debris on the steps of the tank whilst a few more were found in the soil within the tank), a silver *Gadhaiya* coin (Maheshwari 2010: 83, Cat No. 204-244) and a large number of retouched stone tools (microliths) and tool making debris were recovered from the trench.

The bangles are mainly opaque black glass with a few green and fewer blue / bichrome blue examples. Amongst the large number of bangle fragments are few with coloured appliqué glass dots reminiscent of similar bangles found at Sanjan (Gupta *et. al.* 2002; 2004; 2005) and dated between the 8th and 12th c AD.

The microliths are a separate 'problem' and will be dealt with in detail at a later stage.

Peshwa Period Inscription and Check post

About 50m away from the Chandhore bus stop, in the direction of Mhasla, is a square plinth with an inscription dateable to the Peshwa / Maratha Period. According to local oral traditions this was the site of the Maratha check-post where octroi / taxes were levied on goods flowing in and out of the port of Mhasla which was held by the Siddis of Janjira during this period. The inscription is being analysed and the final reading will be published soon.

The Peshwa period is also represented at Chandore by a large almost life-size Āñjaneya statue presently being worshiped in a small independent modern shrine built alongside the Nolai / Jholai / Vagai Temple at Chandore.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the sculptural material, the hero/sati stones, the memorial pillars and the *Gadhaiya* coin all point out to a 10th to 12th c AD period for the beginning of the site. The Monochrome Glazed Ware points to a second (later) phase of activity dateable approximately the 15th c AD. The Peshwa Period Inscription adds a further phase to the history of Chandore and highlights its continuing importance the period between the 18th and 19th c AD.

Thus there appears to (at first glance) be a continuous occupation at the site of Chandhore from the 10th c AD to the 19th c AD. This in turn underlines the importance of the site/location and justifies the effort spent by us in understanding the site and its nuances.

It was only after the advent of the British (1818 Battle of Khadki end of Maratha rule; 1834 Janjira declared subject to British crown) and the ensuing uniform administration of the coast that led to the gentle decline of Chandhore as both Mhasla and Chandhore fell under the same administration and government.

The microliths found at Chandhore have added a unique twist to the history and antiquity of this site and this region and require more work before we can truly understand their significance.

All these conclusions are preliminary and much more work is needed to ascertain the facts.

And finally, my sincerest thanks to Siddharth Kale, Tukaram Kadam and Andre Baptista for being the pillars on whom I could lean with complete effrontery.

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Discovery of Unknown Fort & Caves Lonza

Rajan Mahajan & Hemant Pokhrankar

Our search for information on Antur Fort on Google satellite map (Google Earth), brought into view rectangular shapes resembling water tanks. Located west of Antur, they formed a part of dome shaped hill adjacent to an arm extending out of the Ajanta – Satmala mountain range. Curiosity about these rectangular shapes put us on the path of exploring the same. Primarily, we checked if any information was available about monuments or forts or caves, next to Antur (to the west) in books viz. *Dongaryatra, Gad-Kille Maharashtrache*. However, the available information was about Pitalkhore and Kanhergad, to the west of Antur. Hence, we decided to personally visit the hill and started off towards Nagad on 20th May 2012.

The route towards this hill goes via Nagad on the Chalisgaon- Sillod Road and then taking an immediate right on Nagad – Banoti road. Turning right before Nagad (Pangra), the road reaches the base of Mahadev Taka Hill. The distance from Nasik (via Malegaon – Chalisgaon) is 191 km.

After proceeding ahead of Nagad, it was rather unclear to us about the exact hill we were trying to locate. We turned right at a point where we saw a name board which read "Shri Shambhu Dhyaan Ashram, Mahadev Taka". On enquiring further, we became aware that there is an Ashram at the foot of the hill and water tank on the top called Mahadev Taka. Traversing the hill from the east, we stopped our car at the base. Looking at Mahadev Taka, our first reaction was "It's a hillock!" As per satellite contour map, it raises 85 metres from the base and 485 mtrs above sea level.

A col connects the arm jutting out of the Ajintha-Satmala range and the Mahadev Taka. There are cemented steps to take us to the top. At the end of these cemented steps, the remains of original carved steps can be seen. There is a possibility of these remains being cemented in near future. The steps brought us to the marking stones of the entrance gate and we entered into the fort from west side.

A little ahead, on the left is a rock cut cave, which is painted in red colour from inside (referred as no. 4 in the map). There are no carvings or inscriptions or sculptures anywhere around the caves. Dr. Dawood Dalvi opines that, these caves may perhaps belong to the later Hīnayāna period.

A little below on the west side, there is a huge rock cut cave measuring 40 ft (l) x 38 ft (w) x 6 ft (h), which is currently occupied by a sage (*Babaji*). There is *śivalinga* inside the cave, which seems to have been recently installed. 4 pillars stand in the centre. The entrance to the cave is devised brilliantly by carving a huge rock (referred as no. 5 in the map). To the left of *Babaji*'s cave is a huge rock cut cave having 5 pillars. Four steps lead into the cave (referred as no. 6 in the map). This cave is the largest potable water source currently available on the fort. According to experts, this must have been a *vihāra* or abode of monks. To the left of this cave, is a dry water tank. Next, we come across a huge incomplete cave of dimensions 98 ft. (l) x 11 ft. (w) x 2 ft (h). Although it's incomplete, its carved pillars are clearly visible (referred as no. 8 in the map).

On the North East i.e. in the direction of Nagad, there are about 45 carved out steps. The largest step measures 78 inches (l) x 17 inches (w). An idol of a goddess, which seems to be of recent origin, has been installed close to the stairs. There is another tank with pillars on the east side which is filled with soil. In fact, there is a cluster of 10 water tanks on the south and south east side, including one cave with pillars. The experts opine that all the caves having pillars must have been *vihāra*s or abode of monks. Of the cluster, the largest tank measures 58 ft long and the smallest 20 ft (referred as no. 19 & no. 12 respectively, in the map). Two of these are spread to the North-South and the rest in the East-West directions. The mysterious rectangular shapes visible in the satellite maps are these tanks from the cluster which easily caught the eye due to their size.

The remains of foundations of shelters and *Wada* can be seen on the way to the top and at the top. The side walls of the *Wada* seem to be intact, but barely so. A Peer (Islamic memorial) is also there, giving the hill an alternate name of 'Peer Bardi'. 'Bardi' meaning a small hill. An idol of Lord Hanuman appears to have been placed recently. The top provides a

commanding view of Antur to the East, Ajanta-Satmala range to the South, Nagad region to the North and Wadgaon Dam to the west. Devotees crowd the place in the holy month of Śrāvaṇa to offer prayers to Lord Śiva.

The remains of the fortification extending from the East to the West are visible below the cluster of water tanks. Most of the remains of fortification are covered by soil. A partially built secret door is also seen on the southern side of the fortification (referred as no. 22 in the map). The fortification is built with chiselled stones. As per experts, the style of construction belongs to the pre-Islamic reign and the presence of pillared caves (*vihāra*s), tanks etc suggest that this fort may be older than its famous neighbour, Antur Fort.

In Dr. Dalvi's opinion these caves of Hīnayāna era have remained incomplete probably due to lack of financial support or political changes. He also adds that the cave with four steps and other two pillared caves may have been *vihāra*. Dr. Arunchandra Pathak and Dr. Suraj Pandit have a different opinion about the period of the caves that these caves would be from a later era i.e. Yādava Period and constructions in this area are not prior to 10th century A.D. Also, location of these caves and fort between world famous Ajanta and Pitalkhore Caves, indicate that it would have some historical significance. A visit to the place & detailed study by scholars of the subject can throw more light on the history of these caves and fort.

The devotees informed us that the people staying in the vicinity belong to the Banjara, Pardeshi, Patil and Bhill tribes. Farmers here, grow pomegranate, Sweet lime, Banana, Jowar, Bajra etc.

Localites refer to this hill as Mahadev Taka. However, the postal address of the hamlets at the base is Lonza Shivar, Nagad, Tal. Kannad, Dist. Aurangabad. This address played a crucial role in determining the exact name of the fort. There is a passing reference (without precise location) to this fort in the gazetteer of Aurangabad District as 'LONGHA' and the directory of Villages mentions a village named 'LONZA'. Map no. 44(i) of the Census of India 2001, Maharashtra, Administrative Atlas, also refers to the village as 'Lonza' and marks it as 'Uninhabited Village'. The co-ordinates given in the

directory of villages and map no. 44 (i) undoubtedly match with location of Fort Lonza. These records prove that the fort discovered is none other than 'Fort Lonza'. Also, Conservation assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nashik sub-circle, B. B. Sukhdeve, after confirming with the ASI office, Auranagbad circle, informed Times of India (Nasik edition) that the fort is not listed in the central, state or national records. A study of numerous related books viz. Report on the Antiquities in the Bidar and Aurangabad Districts by James Burgess (1878), Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan by Henry Cousens (1931), Late Hinayana Caves of Western India by Dr. M.K. Dhavalikar (1984) and others, lead us to believe that the caves on the fort have been unexplored as yet.

Guidance from Shri. Girish Takle, Dr. Dawood Dalvi, Dr. Arunchandra Pathak and Shri. Sadanand Apte proved invaluable; for establishing the undiscovered status of the Fort & Caves, their period and determining name of the Fort.

This discovery is dedicated to our friend & mountaineer (Late) Mangesh Deshpande.

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<div align="center">ରଃଠଃଠଃଠ</div>

Caves at Edvan

Suraj A. Pandit & Siddarth Kale

Edvan (19°32'41.84 N, 72° 43'03.31E) is located on the northern bank of Vaitarna Creek, in the North of Mumbai. This a small village located on the sea shore in the South (around 24 km by road) of Palghar, the Taluka place. The nearest major Village is Saphale (around 15 km) and one has to get down at Saphale Station of the Western Railway. Main occupations of the villagers at Edvan are salt making, fishing and agricultural activities. It is interesting to note that till the recent past the approach to the village Edvan was from Saphale by road or from Arnala by ferry.

There is an island (approximately 100 meters from the cost) adjacent to the village which is only approachable in the low tide. This island is known for the temple of Goddess Ashapura. The Goddess is placed in a temple which is a modified cave. There are three other caves and a water tank adjacent to the temple. There is no art historical evidence remained intact top date these

caves as they have been modified by local people and converted in to a temple. Though the island is not located in the deep sea, it becomes inaccessible in the high tide.

This entire area is historically significant and rich in archaeological evidence. In the light of this archaeological data these caves need to be studies.

Cave 1 is facing towards south. As the idol Ashapuri Devi is placed (on 23rd February 1987) by villagers in this cave, the cave is known as Ashapuri Devi Tample in the vicinity. Mainly fisher men community worships this deity here. Cave 2 is facing east located on the same island. This cave is used as a store room of the temple by villagers and known as bandara vastu sangralya, mainly to store food grains. The cave is most of the time locked and not accessible. Third cave is on the higher contours of the hill and facing west toward the cost. In the northern side of the hill there are two small attempts of excavations are clearly seen. Chisel marks are clearly visible in cave 1 and 3.

Due to modern interventions and renovations, no ancient architectural feature is clearly visible. Though few geological features suggest that these caves are natural caves, the straight cut walls and a small seat in a cave suggest that these caves are manmade. They remind us of caves at Jivadani near Virar.

The island under discussion is located at the mouth of river Vaitarana, which forms the northern boundary of Sopara. They must have played a vital role in the history of Sopara. This island needs a detail scrutiny and study. This note is just an attempt to report these material remains from the region.

Plates

Fig. 5.1   Cave 1, Ashapuri Devi Temple, Edvan.

Fig. 5.2   Cave 2, Bhandara Vastu Sangrahalaya, Edvan.

Fig. 5.3   Cave 2, Bhandara Vastu Sangrahalaya, Interior, Edvan

Fig. 5.4   Cave 3, Edvan

Fig. 5.5   Attempt of an excavation, Edvan

Fig. 5.6   Attempt of an excavation, Edvan

<p style="text-align:center">ଔଔଔଔ</p>

A Newly Discovered Rock-cut Cave at Indravan, District Raigad, Maharashtra

Kurush F Dalal

This note deals with the discovery of a new Rock-cut cave in the Raigad district of Maharashtra during exploration done in conjunction with and ancillary to the archaeological excavations being carried out at Chandore in May 2012.

Introduction

The Centre for Extra-Mural Studies, University of Mumbai (CEMS) and the India Study Centre Trust, Mumbai (INSTUCEN) carried out a small excavation at the Medieval Temple complex at Chandore, Tal Mangaon, Dist Raigad in 2012 (Dalal 2012). The site yielded a number of temple plinths, a rock-cut tank, and a number of sculptural members of the Śilāhāra, and later periods. Explorations at the neighbouring location of Indravan (in 2011) revealed the first Rock-cut cave (Fig. 1.), cut into laterite that has been found in Raigad District (Dalal 2012: 135).

In May 2012 a small team comprising of the author, Ms Mugdha Karnik (Director, Centre for Extra Mural Studies), Mr Dhananjay Karnik (Founder Trustee, INSTUCEN Trust), Mr Andre Baptists, Mr Rajesh Poojari and Ms Ruta Waghmare re-explored the site of Indravan with the help of a local merchant from Goregaon (Dist Raigad)Shri Bhagwanbhai Seth who was kind enough to ferry us to the site in his four wheel drive vehicle.
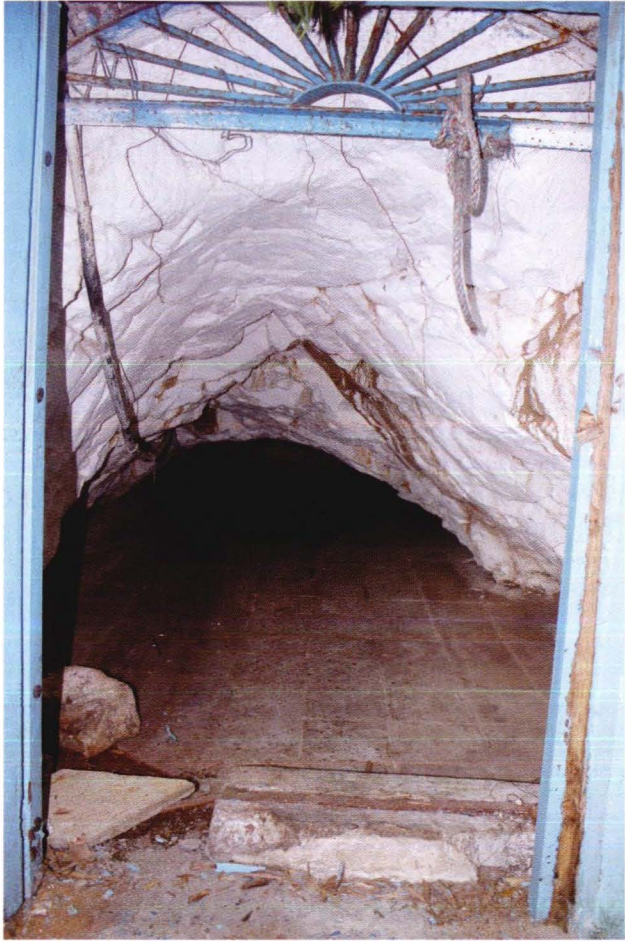
Fig. 5 . 1 - Cave 1, Ashapuri Devi Temple, Edvan

Fig. 5 . 2 - Cave 2, Bhandara Vastu Sangrahalaya, Edvan

Fig. 5 . 3 - Cave 2, Bhandara Vastu
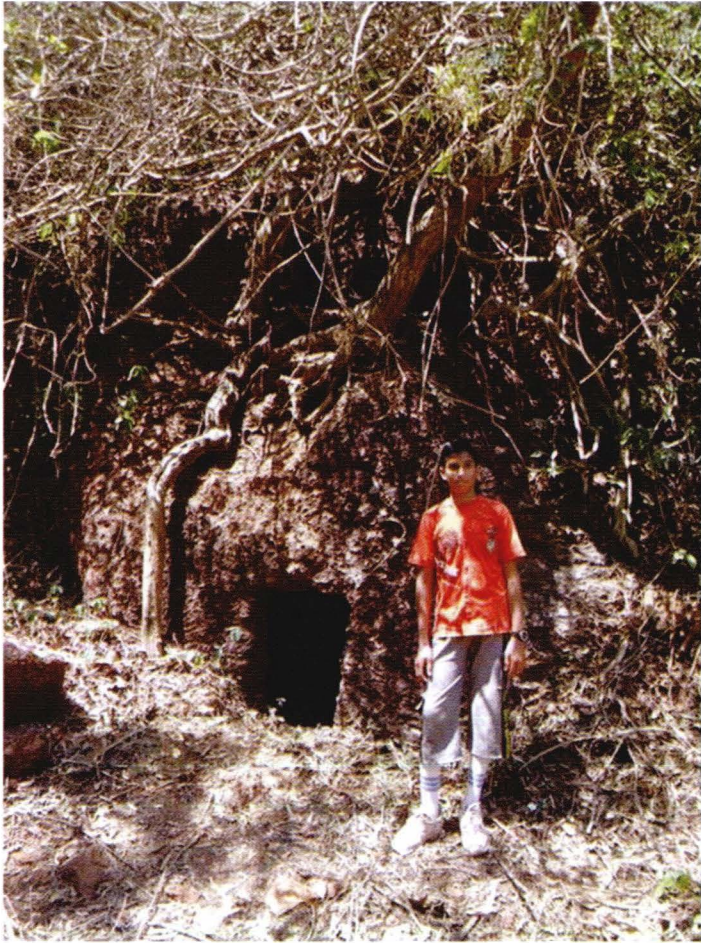Sangrahalaya, Interior, Edvan

Fig. 5 . 4 - Cave 3, Edvan

Fig. 5 . 5 - Attempt of an excavation, Edvan

Fig. 5 . 6 - Attempt of an excavation, Edvan

Fig. 1 - Indravan Rock-cut Cave

Fig. 2 - Indravan Cave Entrance

Indravan

The site of Indravan (18° 8'27.92"N 73°11'1.22"E) is located in a shallow depression atop a plateau that starts to the south of the site of Chandhore and continues roughly 4km N-s and 6km E-W. Indravan is a small bowl shaped depression roughly in the centre of the aforementioned plateau and lies almost 2.25 to 2.5km due South of Chandore. The route to the location is through a very rough circuitous route that can only be traversed by foot or with a four wheel drive vehicle. Almost the entire route to the site passes through what used to be the land cultivated and owned by the villagers of Chandore. The main crop grown here was Ragi (Finger millets, *Elusine coracana*), locally known as *nachani*. Since the last 10-15 years the locals have stopped cultivating this crop due to increasing prosperity, shifting dietary patterns and a Government ration subsidy. The entire plateau is now either covered in scraggly or thick vegetation, primarily with Conkerberry/Karvanda (*Carissa carandas*) bushes.

The site of Indravan consists of a small *khol* (local word for depression) with a perennial stream issuing from it. The stream was still bubbling forth when we visited the site in late May. The khol has a solid, sharp laterite wall to its North and gently slopes towards the South. Very close to the point from which the stream issues used to be a dilapidated temple plinth with a small sunken *garbhagriha* (sanctum), within which was seen a shivalinga fixed in a *yonipeetha*.

Sadly the original structure was uprooted in late 2011 by Bhagwanbhai Seth so as bring about a *jirnodhar* (rejuvenation) of the temple. He has also enclosed the source of the stream in a cement-lined tank. The CEMS-INSTUCEN team asked him to please desist as he was destroying valuable clues to the past history and heritage of the region and he readily complied and facilitated to bring us to the site for further explorations.

The Cave

Behind the partially renovated/rebuilt temple plinth lies the sharp laterite (northern) face of the khol. In this face a portion has been cleanly leveled

(vertically) and a small rectangular entrance has been cut into the rock face (Fig. 2). The entrance is 95cm in height, 68cm in width. The lower portion of the entrance/doorway is partially buried by soil (approx 2-3cm) and there is also a visible layer of soil within the chamber (same thickness). The thickness of the door frame sides is 30.5cm at the base and 19cm at the top. The head of the doorframe which is 19cm at each end thickens to 25cm at the centre. The entrance opens onto a square chamber roughly 1.5m². The actual dimensions of the inside are more complicated the floor is almost an exact square (on plan) - the rear is 1.49m, the sides are 1.47m (left) and 1.45m (right), the front (inner) is 1.65m in length. The cave is pyramidal towards the back and appears unfinished; it also has what may have been an unfinished niche within it. The sides esp the left hand side, are not as well finished as the front, plan and right side. The roof too is quite roughly finished. The maximum extant height is 1.57m.

The cave is essentially a single small cell and was perhaps the residence of a single sage or was used as a storage chamber. It appears to be unfinished. What is important about it is that this feature, in this medium, has been seen here for the first time in Raigad district and is unique in the annals of the antiquities of this district. Similar single cave cells have been reported from the Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg Districts (Dr Suraj A. Pandit, Personal Communication) to the South of Raigad and a number of similar rock-cut cells have been reported from Goa (Mitragotri 1999: 230-2).

Sculptural material from Indravan

Explorations at neighbouring sites Govele, Nimachiwadi, Nalephodi, Kakal and other locations have brought to light a large number of Hero-stones, Sati-stones, commemorative plaques and other sculptural fragments. Indravan does not lag behind in this respect.

Indravan too has yielded two fragments of sati-stones. The first is a bottom half and the second the upper portion. The first is broken roughly at the middle. Two panels or parts thereof, are visible. The lowermost panel which is complete has a depiction of the hero's corpse laid out on his wife's lap. She is shown in typical sati posture with her right hand raised palm

outwards. Only the lower portion of the second panel is extant. It depicts two individuals seated cross legged with folded hands (with palms joint). The second sati-stone is heavily weathered. Only the raised right arm and the figures nestled in its crook are visible. The arm looks stylistically similar to sati-stones from sites like Chandore, Nimachiwadi and Kakal.

The site has also yielded a number of votive plaques (one clearly depicting a *sadhu*) and a number of other broken sculptural fragments. The location is heavily wooded resulting in the site being very heavily and thickly covered in dried leaves. This made explorations and identification very difficult.

Local Tradition

The local tradition about the caves origins recorded by the author at Chandore (Chambharpada) is that this cave is the unfinished beginning of a secret tunnel (*bhooyari-marg*) that was excavated by Shivaji's engineers. According to the villagers they commenced work on a tunnel which was to lead to the Maratha capital at Raigad Fort. After only a single night's labour they were asked to desist. This then is the unfinished/discarded remnant of the attempt. The tradition of secret underground passages (most of them purportedly ending/beginning at Raigad Fort) is very common in this region and almost every village has some such tradition. The careful pursuit of such traditions/myths could possibly lead to the discovery of other such caves and may be a very valuable tool for archaeologists.

Conclusion

To conclude one can only say that thanks to the excavations at Chandore and the ancillary explorations in the vicinity we have made a spectacular and unique find in the Rock-cut cave at Indravan. Indravan has also yielded a number of sculptural plaques and panels which are in keeping with the Early Medieval remnants being found at the Chandore excavations and during explorations at nearby locations. These discoveries have added a new facet to the history of this region and have enriched it with their beauty.

We hope to go back to Indravan this year and carry out a systematic survey and map the different sculptural and structural elements at the site.

This article is the second in a series of articles based on explorations ancillary to the excavations being currently carried out at the site of Chandore, jointly by the CEMS and INSTUCEN.

Acknowledgements

Plates

Fig. 1 Indravan Rock-cut Cave

Fig. 2 Indravan Cave Entrance

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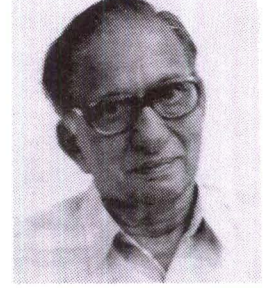
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OBITUARY NOTICES

Prof. Dr. M. D. Paradkar

(17.11.1925–13.12.2012)

Dr. Moreshwar Dinkar Paradkar passed away peacefully on 13th of December 2012 in Mumbai (Borivali). He was 88 and was weak and ailing for the past few months. He was a lifelong scholar of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi and Marathi and had contributed a great deal to the literature in all these four languages.

Prof. Paradkar was born on 17th November 1925 at Parabhani, then in the state of Hyderabad. Genealogically he belonged to the 18th century Marathi poet Moropant, known for his voluminous narrative poetry in $\bar{A}ry\bar{a}$ meter on Rāmāyaṇa.

Young Moreshwar had his early education in Parbhani. He came to Mumbai and joined Ruia College, Matunga. He obtained M.A. Degree in Sanskrit from University of Mumbai. Later on he joined as a lecturer in Sanskrit at SIES College, Matunga. He was also a post- graduate teacher in the University of Mumbai. After retirement he joined the then newly opened Principal Sonopant Dandekar College of Arts and Science, in Palghar Dist Thane, as the Principal and placed the college on a sound footing. Later he became the principal of K. G. Pendharkar College of Arts, Science and Commerce and nursed that college and made it an ideal educational Institute.

As a professor, Dr. Paradkar was very popular among students. Students who did not offer Sanskrit also used to attend his classes, just to get the feel of the sonorous Sanskrit language. Many of his students imbibed the love of Sanskrit literature and opted for the teaching profession. I had an occasion to attend a few of his felicitations when he crossed 75th and 80th year of his life and every time I was overwhelmed when I heard his students, both, men and women, who talked about his precious qualities as a language teacher.

Dr. Paradkar has 15 monographs at his credit. He was also associated with the editorial work of Dharmakosh. After retirement, Prof. Paradkar associated himself with Rashtra Bhasha Prachar and became *Kulapati* of Bambai Hindi Vidyapeeth, a non government organisation, devoted to the spread of Hindi. This Institute holds graded examinations up to the level of M.A. and all those, deprived of formal education can appear for Hindi examinations arranged by this Vidyapeeth. He was also associated as a Secretary of All India Association of Rashtra Bhasha Organisations functioning in various states of our Republic. In this capacity he had to coordinate the work of propagation of Hindi. Dr. Paradkar was honoured as Bharat Bhasha Bhushan at the hands of Vice President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma in a session of Akhil Bharatiya Bhasha Sammellan held in Delhi in 1992. In 2009, he received *Sarswati Bhushan Sanman* from the same organisation at its session in Bhopal.

Dr. M. D. Paradkar had a long association with the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, where he was the Vice President for many years and also Honorary Director of the MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Institute of Post Graduate Studies and Research. Here, he guided students in the research in Sanskrit literature. The Asiatic Society honoured him with Mahamahopadhyaya gold medal (2006-2009) on 26th November 2010 for his outstanding accomplishment and contribution to the field of Paninian grammar and Sanskrit lexicography. He kept good health even after his 85th year, but old age overpowered him and he passed away peacefully on 13th Dec. 2012. In the death of Dr. Paradakar, Asiatic Society has lost a great friend, philosopher and a guide.

- **N. B. Patil**

Dr. A. K. Banerji

Dr. Arun Kumar Banerji, who passed away on 21st October, 2012, was an economist of repute, administrator and a scholar-writer. He studied at Delhi and then joined the London School of Economics. He completed his Ph.D. and returned to India and gave his best in Government Service. He worked in the Specialised Department of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and brought his rare talents to the fore. He became the Executive Director of the RBI and at that time he was invited to Gambia to join the Central Bank of the Gambia as the Economic Adviser. Thereafter, when he returned to India he became and took over as the Chairman of the Unit Trust of India (UTI). He had a rare drafting skill and was much in demand to prepare critical documents for the Government.

He was a long standing member of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai and he served on various Committee of the Society. As the Chairman of the Finance and Investments Committee, his contribution was immense. He carefully looked for all the investment opportunities. When Rs.2 crore Corpus Fund amount came from the Central Government at the time of bifurcation of the Society from the State Central Library, he safely invested the amount in the CRTS'81 of the UTI that gave maximum yield to trust funds. He also helped the Committee to raise funds for the Society. As a person, he was gentle, sensitive and brought that rare Bengali culture in his day-to-day work.

He wrote books and two of them are

    i) India's Balance of Payments, 1921 – 1939;

    ii) Aspects of Indo-British Economic Relations, 1858 – 1998.

His book "India's Balance of Payments" served as text book in many countries.

During the period 1991 – 1995, when he was the Vice-President of the Society, many developmental activities took place. He took interest in purchase of books in the Society.

Dr. Banerji set up the first endowment lecture in the Asiatic Society in memory of his mother. He believed that lectures were essential in an institution of learning to attract scholars and maintain scholarly atmosphere. He felt, that lectures would serve the purpose of meeting scholars in different areas of knowledge. Many other endowments followed but Smt. Nabadurga Banerji Endowment Lecture remained unique. The only condition that Dr. Banerji 'imposed' was that the lecture be delivered by a woman scholar. The Society feels enriched by over 20 lectures delivered by renowned women scholars. He will be missed by friends in the Society.

His wife, Ushaben, who is also active on the Managing Committee, has been left behind and our heartfelt condolence goes to her.

-**Vimal Shah**

Dr. (Mrs.) Nalinee M. Chapekar

(30.05.1942–27.01.2013)

Dr. (Mrs.) Nalinee M. Chapekar, who passed away on 27th January 2013, at the age of 70, after a brief illness in Thane, was a well known figure in the field of Sanskrit. She was the Hon. Director of MM Dr. P. V. Kane Post Graduate Research Institute for sometime in 2009.

Born and educated in Pune, a historical city and the cultural capital of Western India, Dr. Chapekar graduated in Sanskrit and Ardhamagadhi (1962) and post graduated in Sanskrit (1964) as well as in Ancient Indian Culture (1976) from University of Mumbai. She was also 'Nyaya-Kovida' from the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune.

Then onwards, she was busy in academic life as a Research Associate and lecturer in the Dept. of Sanskrit at Mumbai (1972-86); Pune (1987-92) and SNDT University (1992-2002) Mumbai, where I had the good fortune to be her colleague. She did Ph.D. in Advaita Vedanta under the supervision of well known late Dr. T. G. Mainkar, Head, Dept. of Sanskrit, University of Mumbai in 1973.

Recipient of many prestigious awards like Ramrao Nilkantha Rao Vedanta Prize, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajit Gold Medal, V.N.Mandlik Gold Medal and Sir J. Jeejeebhoi (third Baronet) prize, her research articles in the reputed journals have been acclaimed world over.

She had great inclination towards the study of traditional scriptural texts in Sanskrit and while teaching, she impressed on the students the importance of reading the original texts. She helped all those who sought her help, in their research efforts. Possessed with keen vision to penetrate into the original sources, she frequently visited the Asiatic Society library for her reference material.

Dr. Chapekar faced many vicissitudes in her personal life with a brave face. However, she has left behind her six publications namely –*Ancient India and Greece, a study and their cultural contacts; Ancient India and Iran; 'Tarkasamgraha of Annambhatta; Vedantasara of Sadananda Yogindra; A Homage to Dr. Mainkar* (ed)*; Anuvadasastra.*' All the books that she wrote reflected the hard work she had put in.

With a view to popularize Sanskrit, we jointly prepared and presented a cultural programme on selected portions from Sanskrit plays and poetry and also on the *stotra*s of Śaṅkarācārya.

Till last month Dr. Chapekar was actively involved in reading the original text of *Ramayana*. She wanted to start a course of reading original Sanskrit Philosophical texts in Thane. With her sad demise, that desire has remained unfulfilled.

Dr. Nalinee M. Chapekar will always be remembered as a passionate lover and scholar of ancient Indian knowledge traditions preserved in Sanskrit texts.

-**Parineeta Deshpande**

Mr. Madhusudan B. Patwari

Madhusudan B. Patwari, who passed away on 13th October, 2012 at the age of 89, was an old member of the Society. Patwari was the Hon. Finance Secretary of the Society for many years in the seventies and took important decisions regarding investments of the Society. He loved books and periodicals and visited the Society frequently. He will be missed by his innumerable friends inside and outside the Society.

-**Vimal Shah**

Mr. Viren Shah
(12.05.1926–09.03.2013)

Mr. Viren Jivanlal Shah, who passed away on 9th March, 2013, in far away Jordon, was a veteran in Industry and politics. Born in Calcutta, Mr. Shah had his college education in Bombay, Mr. Shah was a man of conscience in Industry and firmly believed in industry's commitment to the Society and its healthy growth. He believed in CSR and he set aside part of the profit towards Societal good. His interest in industry as well as politics kept him busy thorough out his life.

Mukand Iron & Steel Company came to him at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi. He became the Managing Director and the Chairman of the company and brought it to name and fame during his tenure of 27 years from 1972 till 1999. His interest in politics took him to Lok Sabha from Junagardh and he remained Parliamentarian from 1967 to 1970. He served as a Member of the Rajya Sabha from 1975 to 1981 and, thereafter, from 1990 to 1996. In the year 1999, he was appointed the Governor of West Bengal, a post he held till 2004.

Mr. Viren Shah remained very active and served on many other institutions. He was appointed a Trustee of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai and he guided the Society for six years and made some rare contributions.

Mr. Shah was very gentle and had a rare sense of humour. He gave his best to the institutions where he was invited to serve. He will be missed by his innumerable friends. We will cherish the fond memories of his association.

-Vimal Shah

Mr. Justice D. M. Rege

(18.03.1923–30.04.2013)

Mr. Justice Devidatta Mangesh Rege, LL.B., who passed away on 30th April, 2013, at the age of 90, in Bombay, was an old member of the Society and served as its Vice-President for the term 1973-1975. Born on 18th March, 1923, he was educated in Elphinstone College, Bombay and later joined the Government Law College, Bombay. He enrolled as an advocate in 1945 in the High Court at Bombay.

Mr. Justice D. M. Rege practised on the Criminal and Civil Side of the Bombay High Court. He rose steadily in his long career as a Judge. He was appointed Judge of the City Civil and Sessions Court, Greater Bombay on 8th March, 1965 and thereafter, he took over as the Additional Principal Judge of the Bombay City Civil Court and Additional Sessions Judge, Greater Bombay

on 14th November, 1969. He became Principal Judge of the Bombay City Civil Court and Sessions Judge Greater Bombay in 1970. He was appointed additional judge of the Bombay High Court in 1972 and Permanent Judge in 1974. After his long career in various courts he retired in 1985.

He frequented the Asiatic Library as and when he found time. The Society members would remember his brilliant lecture he delivered in memory of Mrs. Bansari Sheth in 1995 on "Human Rights and their Development".

Our heartfelt sympathy goes to the bereaved family members.

-**Vimal Shah**

Mr. Ladli Nath Renu

(1914–2013)

Mr. Ladli Nath Renu, who passed away on 7th May, 2013, at the age of 99, was a serious researcher, scholar-writer rolled into one. Mr. L.N. Renu, born in 1914 was an old member of the Society and was happy to frequent the Library for his research material.

Born in Meerut, he was educated in Allahabad and Bombay. He joined the Governemnt Service and retired as the Commissioner of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC).

Mr. Renu was connected with the Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute. He spent his life very fruitfully in scholarly activities. He wrote a series of articles on Aryans in Bhavan's Journal and wrote two books – (i) Indian Ansestors of Vedic Aryans and (ii) Vedic Records on early Aryans.

The scholar will always be remembered. May his soul rest in peace.

-**Vimal Shah**

TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	a	औ	au	ठ	ṭha	भ	bha
आ	ā	क	ka	ड	ḍa	म	ma
इ	i	ख	kha	ढ	ḍha	य	ya
ई	ī	ग	ga	ण	ṇa	र	ra
उ	u	घ	gha	त	ta	ल	la
ऊ	ū	ङ	ṅa	थ	tha	व	va
ऋ	ṛ	च	ca	द	da	श	śa
ॠ	ṝ	छ	cha	ध	dha	ष	ṣa
ऌ	ḷ	ज	ja	न	na	स	sa
ए	e	झ	jha	प	pa	ह	ha
ऐ	ai	ञ	ña	फ	pha	ळ	ḷa
ओ	o	ट	ṭa	ब	ba		

ं	(Anusvāra)	ṁ	×	(Jihvāmūlīya)	ẖ
ँ	(Anunāsika)	m̐	⪕	(Upadhmānīya)	ḫ
ः	(Visarga)	ḥ	ऽ	(Avagraha)	'

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC

ا	a	j	z	ق	q	◌ِ	i or e
ب	b	س	s	ك	k	◌ُ	u or o
ت	t	ش	sh	ل	l	◌ٗ	ā
ث	th	ص	ṣ	م	m	◌ِي	i, e
ج	j	ض	ḍ	ن	n	◌ُو	ū, ō
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	و	w	◌َي	ai, ay
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	ه	h	◌َو	au, aw
د	d	ع	'	ي	y	silent t	h
ذ	dh	غ	gh		'		
ر	r	ف	f	◌ّ		a	

PERSIAN

پ	p	چ	ch	ژ	zh	گ	g

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5. Both the photographs and line drawings, including maps, will appear as "plates" and "figures", numbered consecutively in Roman and Arabic numerals respectively, throughout the article. Captions should be typed on a separate sheet.

6. The Editorial Committee will determine whether a paper shall be printed and, if printed, in what form.

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8. Contributors are urged to study the conventions employed in recent issues of the Journal, particularly the Chicago Style of citation of books and periodical articles and the bibliographical information inserted at the head of the reviews. Titles of the books / works should be in italics. The tiles of the books / works should be cited in full at their first appearance in the article, followed by an abbreviation in the parenthesis. This abbreviation should be used in the article afterwards. The uniformity of the abbreviation(s), however, must be maintained throughout the article.

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