

Volumes 41-42/1966-67 (New Series)

JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

*Editorial Board :*

P. V. KANE

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR

Published by the Asiatic Society of Bombay  
Town Hall, Bombay, INDIA  
1968

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**Prof. HARI DAMODAR VELANKAR**  
1893—1967

JOURNAL  
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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

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Prof. H. D. VELANKAR

**MEMORIAL VOLUME**

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Town Hall, Bombay, INDIA  
1968



LONDON AGENTS  
ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN  
41, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.



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**TRANSLITERATION OF THE  
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS**

अ	.....	a		ओ	.....	au		ऌ	.....	ṭh		भ	.....	bh
आ	.....	ā		क	.....	k		ड	.....	ḍ		म	.....	m
इ	.....	i		ख	.....	kh		ढ	.....	ḍh		य	.....	y
ई	.....	ī		ग	.....	g		ण	.....	ṇ		र	.....	r
उ	.....	u		घ	.....	gh		त	.....	t		ल	.....	l
ऊ	.....	ū		ड	.....	ḍ		थ	.....	th		व	.....	v
ऋ	.....	r̄		च	.....	c		द	.....	d		श	.....	ś
ॠ	.....	r̄		छ	.....	ch		त्र	.....	dh		ष	.....	ṣ
ऌ	.....	l̄		ज	.....	j		न	.....	n		स	.....	s
ए	.....	e		झ	.....	jh		प	.....	p		ह	.....	h
ऐ	.....	ai		ञ	.....	ñ		फ	.....	ph		ळ	.....	ḷ
ओ	.....	o		ट	.....	ṭ		ब	.....	b				
		(Anusvāra)	.....	ṁ		ṁ		×	(Jihvāmūliya)	.....		ḥ		
		(Anunāsika)	.....	ṁ̄		ṁ̄		≧	(Upadhmanīya)	.....		ḥ		
		(Visarga)	.....	ḥ		ḥ		s	(Avagraha)	.....		'		

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND  
ALLIED ALPHABETS**

ARABIC

ا	.....	a		ز	.....	z		ق	.....	q		--	.....	i or e
ب	.....	b		س	.....	s		ك	.....	k		ـُ	.....	u or o
ت	.....	t		ش	.....	sh		ل	.....	l		ـِ	.....	ā
ث	.....	th		ص	.....	s		م	.....	m		ـِـ	.....	ī, e
ج	.....	j		ض	.....	ḍ		ن	.....	n		و	.....	ū, ō
ح	.....	h		ط	.....	t		و	.....	w		ی	.....	ai, ay
خ	.....	kh		ظ	.....	z		ح	.....	h		و	.....	au, aw
د	.....	d		ع	.....	ʿ		ي	.....	y		silent t	.....	ḥ
ذ	.....	dh		غ	.....	gh		ء	.....	ʿ				
ر	.....	r		ف	.....	f		ا	.....	a				

PERSIAN

پ	.....	p		چ	.....	ch		ژ	.....	zh		گ	.....	g
---	-------	---	--	---	-------	----	--	---	-------	----	--	---	-------	---

# PROFESSOR HARI DAMODAR VELANKAR

(18th October, 1893—13th January, 1967)

By

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR

The ancient educational system had consistently maintained that teaching is a vocation. It is really to be pursued only by those who have not only the necessary academic qualifications and required temperament but whose conduct, inside and outside the institution, acts as an example to others. Nowhere in the world are the emoluments of a teacher proportionate to the noble task he has undertaken. It is particularly so in India. But in ancient times it neither worried the Gurus nor did it affect their teaching or attitude. This is because though financially very much worse off than others pursuing a different way of life, they had other compensations, truly rewarding. The ancient teacher had earned the gratitude of the students and was a highly respectable member of the society. His advice was sought and followed by those who were in authority. Innumerable examples from ancient texts can be cited to show that the rulers respectfully approached the teachers for advice in matters, political and social and what is more important, accepted the advice and acted on it. Our morning prayers do include a verse which deifies the teacher.

Surely a position like this is not easily secured. The teacher had earned it. Not only did he follow the dictum of our first law-giver 'Manu' that study and teaching are the twin duties of a teacher but by his selfless devotion to teaching, his sincere interest in the allround development of his ward and above all his disinterestedness in the glittering but fleeting prizes that craze for name and money bring, he won an everlasting gratitude of the society. Society by and large has a knack of sifting wheat from the chaff and giving praise where it is due.

True, this was the ancient teacher and in the context of modern situation with its manifold conflicts, pulls in different directions and a totally different set of values, it would perhaps be an anachronism to expect the modern teacher to follow his ancient predecessors. This being granted it is not necessary to go to the other extreme and consider teaching purely as a profession like any other and consider our duty to be over once we finish our teaching in the class. Dedication to the acquisition of learning, imparting it fully and whole-heartedly to the student, putting before them by our example a worthy course of conduct to be

followed both in the class-room and outside are the duties which are never time-barred. They have as much validity to-day as in old times.

In a sense, in modern times, it is all the more imperative that a teacher has to be a lifelong student. The frontiers of knowledge in all disciplines are expanding so rapidly, the horizons are becoming so widened that even to keep in touch with the developments in one's own field is getting difficult. This again is not enough to do some original work. Those teachers who have the aptitude and the ability have to add to this fund of knowledge by their own contributions. Of course the universities and the educational institutions have to provide the necessary training, facilities and the requisite leisure for these teachers to carry on research in the field of their choice. Nor should the administration expect that this is something which is done to order in a given specified period of time.

It is gratifying to note that we have had and fortunately are still having quite a sizable group of teachers who have, by their scholarship, dedication to learning and research made valuable contributions. Confining by remarks to a field with which I have a nodding acquaintance, I would name a few scholars to whom oriental learning owes a deep debt of gratitude. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Gurudeva R. D. Ranade are some of the names which easily come to our mind.

Prof. Hari Damodar Velankar who passed away on 13th January, 1967 was a true heir to this tradition. He epitomised in him the best qualities of a teacher and research scholar and his publications have truly earned him an international fame as a deep student of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, as well as Prakrit. He was an uncrowned leader of Sanskrit teachers in Bombay for a very long period—in fact till his death in January 1967 and it is no exaggeration to say that in his passing away the world of Sanskrit teachers and students in this city have become an orphan. In each sphere of activity there are certain demises which create a void which cannot be easily filled. Prof. Velankar's demise has created such a void in the world of oriental learning.

Destiny has its own inscrutable ways and we really are petty dolls in her deft hands. Young Hari Damodar Velankar was born in a small village—Tārāla—in the Ratnagiri district in Koṅkan. Koṅkan is a part of India which is notorious for very poor material resources and consequent poverty. Fortunately this has its compensation. Koṅkan is famous and justly so for producing people of great intellect. Diverse fields like Politics, Education, Social Reform have been enriched by the valuable contributions made by brilliant people from this area.

Without prejudice to many others, one could mention names like B. G. Tilak, M. G. Ranade, Agaskar, Dhondo Keshav Karve, and R. P. Paranjpe. Young Hari was born in a poor family. He had an ambition to pursue a medical career. Since a regular medical course was beyond his means, he thought of joining an Āyurveda school after his matriculation. But even this his slender financial resources would not permit. Therefore, he thought of doing some business for a year, little knowing the intricacies of trade and fondly hoping that he would collect enough money in a year to enable him to take to Āyurveda studies. He opened a grocer's shop but the balance sheet at the end of the year showed a net profit of a princely sum of Rs. 40/- or so. The young Hari wound up his shop and came straight to Bombay to take up college studies, if he could, with the help of charitable institutions. Fortunately for him and for oriental scholarship he found a place in the G. T. Hostel which offered boarding and lodging facilities without any cost to a few deserving students, without any regard to caste considerations. This great institution has been a boon to many young boys who later became illustrious sons of India. The late Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. N. H. Bhagwati former judge of the supreme court, Mr. Morarji Desai are some of the great sons of India, who benefited from this institution. India certainly would have been poorer if this institution has not opened its doors to them. Young Velankar joined this boarding and at the end of the 4th year graduated from the Wilson College with first class Honours in Sanskrit. The college in those days knew its good material and encouraged it. Mr. Velankar was in the same year appointed a fellow in the Sanskrit Department and next year, even before completing his M.A., was appointed a member of the teaching staff in the vacancy caused by the demise of his teacher, H. M. Bhadkamkar. Thereafter he continued to grace the chair of the Head of the Department till 1952 when he retired from the college after a distinguished service of 36 years. This was a long, continuous and fruitful association and the college and the Sanskrit Department in particular benefited a great deal by this. After his retirement from the college in 1952, Prof. Velankar joined the Post-graduate Department of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan as a Joint-Director. This was an association which was mutually rewarding. Prof. Velankar now could devote himself completely to the research work without diversions of any kind and guide his students working for the Doctorate. In fact during his stay at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan 12 students got their Ph. D. degree. Prof. Velankar was a great asset to the Bhavan itself. The various activities of the Bhavan in popularizing the Sanskrit studies and publishing works of great merit received an encouragement and a positive direction from him. He continued to work with the Bhavan till 1962. That year the University of

Bombay established a Department of Sanskrit and persuaded Prof. Velankar to accept the chair of the Professor of Sanskrit, very appropriately named after Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, the great 'Savant' in oriental learning. Prof. Velankar continued to hold that post till January, 1967 when he was snatched away from us by the cruel hands of death.

It will be seen from this very short sketch that Prof. Velankar devoted himself to the cause of Sanskrit teaching and research for over fifty years. During this period he established a great reputation as a teacher and a research scholar. He was a sincere and methodical teacher and generations of students have received inspiration from him. There was hardly a branch of Sanskrit which he touched and did not adorn. He was equally at home in Vedānta as in Kāvya.

It is to the everlasting credit of Prof. Velankar that he did not rest on his laurels won through teaching and guiding students. He had realised quite early in his career that a teacher worth his salt has got to be a lifelong student. It is also a part of teacher's job to do some original work in his own field through research articles and books. The large number of publications to his credit abundantly prove that Prof. Velankar practised what he preached. His life in fact is an essay in single-minded devotion to the cause of learning, teaching and research and his publications are an eloquent testimony to his deep erudition, critical acumen and industry.

Prof. Velankar began his research career preparing a Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts from the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay. He also collected over 2000 manuscripts and donated them to his Alma Mater in honour of his teacher Prof. Bhadkamkar. Manuscript collection is an exacting work and needs great patience and sustained hard work. Prof. Velankar also undertook research schemes in the various branches of Indology and his publications show his complete mastery over different subjects like Dharmasāstra, Sanskrit and Prakrit metres, and Classical literature.

Following are some of his important publications:

वृत्तजातीसमुच्चय  
स्वयम्भूच्छन्दस्  
कविदर्पण with छन्दःकोश  
जिनरत्नकोश  
जयदामन्  
छन्दोऽनुशासन

दुग्धभूषण  
मीमांसिकपर्व of महाभारत  
(Critical edition published by  
the BORI, Poona)  
विक्रमोर्वशीय (Critical edition  
published by Sahitya Akademy)

Jayadāman is a collection of four ancient texts on Sanskrit prosody, two of which are critically edited and published for the first time. The book contains an introduction which discusses the origin and growth of Sanskrit metres. Both Varṇa Vṛttas and the

Mātrā Vṛttas are treated at great length. Very useful notes are given on the metrical texts and their authors and in the end he gives a classified list of Sanskrit metres which is of great value to the student of Sanskrit metrics. 'Chandonuśāsana' of Hemacandra is another important work by Prof. Velankar and it shows his interest and mastery over Prakrit prosody. Chandonuśāsana is a valuable treatise on Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa prosody critically edited alongwith Hemacandra's own commentary *chanda-cūdāmaṇi*, an anonymous Tīpṇāṅikā called *Paryāya* and a very compendious introduction, appendixes and many useful indices. The work has a special value in that the author here gives a systematic account of the earlier works done in the field. It is principally this work which has given Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa metres an independent status. The Sūtras as well as the commentary on it are written in Sanskrit.

The value of this edition is greatly heightened by the informative and critical introduction added to it. Here he gives a short history of the development of Indian metrical science, tracing the origin and growth of Prakrit metres, continuing in fact the work done in Jayadāman where the origin and development of Sanskrit metres was discussed. His remarks on the Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa stanzas in the IVth Act of *Vikramorvaśīya* are very interesting. Prof. Velankar is of the opinion that in Kālidāsa's times Apabhraṃśa was a language of the common man, Prakrits were spoken by the middle classes and Sanskrit was reserved for the learned.

Prof. Velankar's mastery over metrics is also reflected in his critical edition of *Vikramorvaśīya* published by the Sahitya Academy. The Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa verses in the fourth Act are a bone of contention amongst Sanskrit scholars. One school headed by Pandit thought that they are spurious and being mostly tautological interrupt the free and natural flow of the sentiments. On the other hand scholars like Bollensen and Pischel consider them to be genuine. Prof. Velankar was inclined to accept the second view. He devoted about 20 pages for discussing their nature and role. They have according to him a purpose which he goes on to explain. He classifies them into Anyukti and Pratyukti stanzas and describes their purpose. Though Prof. Velankar's contributions cover various fields of Sanskrit & Prakrits he will be principally remembered for his work on the Ṛgveda. This has always been his special and favourable subject.

He devoted many years—more than 30—to the study of the Ṛgveda. He started his translations of the Ṛgveda in 1935 and completed Indra hymns in 1954. He then took Agni hymns from the Maṇḍalas VI to X. Subsequently he gave up the method of

publishing piecemeal translations of the *Ṛgveda* and undertook the task of translating the whole of the work *Maṇḍala* by *Maṇḍala*. Accordingly, the VII *Maṇḍala* was published by the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan* in 1963. Apart from the text and the translation, it contains an introduction in which eleven topics are discussed. He had always maintained that the concept of *Bhakti* was not foreign to the *Ṛgveda* and in a course of lectures delivered in Poona and subsequently published in book form, he had developed this thesis. He returns to it here in the first topic under *Vasiṣṭha* and *Varuṇa*. Here he deals at great length with the hymns addressed to *Varuṇa* and shows that the attitude reflected in them does not represent the Vedic idea of *Bhakti*. According to him the early origins of *Bhakti* are to be found in the hymns addressed to *Indra* who veritably was like a mother to the Vedic seers and not to *Varuṇa* as is popularly believed. In the topic 'Vedic word *Deva* and Idolatry' Prof. Velankar attempts to show that the word '*Deva*' means an object of high regard and never an object of physical worship. Scholars who wanted to establish '*Liṅga*' worship in the *Ṛgveda* understood '*Deva*' as referring to an image or a symbol. There is no reason for such a belief and the word '*śiśnadeva*' does not refer to phallus worship. The other topics in the introduction equally speak of his thorough grasp of the subject and his critical ability. The index of divinities, index of metres and general index about details of grammar and style very much add to the utility of the work. In 1966, the University of Bombay published the *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala II* by Prof. Velankar. This work also like the earlier one bears the stamp of his scholarship and maturity acquired as a result of continuous study for a very long period. To many a Western scholar Prof. Velankar's work is a 'model of scholarship and honesty' and it is no small tribute to him that the great French scholar L. Renou always followed with great care Prof. Velankar's translations. At this stage a word about Prof. Velankar's translations of the *Ṛgveda* will not be out of place here. Students of the *Ṛgveda* know that *Ṛgvedic* interpretation was for long largely bipolar. Two schools of translation occupied the field. One was inclined to rely on the traditional interpretation offered by theologians which found its culmination in the classic work of *Sāyaṇa*. The other was the modern method based on comparative Philology, Mythology and Linguistics. Both had its weaknesses in varying measures and both had missed the soul of the *Ṛgveda*.

Prof. Velankar steers a middle course for his translations. He took what he thought to be the best from *Sāyaṇa*, the spirit underlying the old Indian tradition and accepted the views of Western scholars only after critically examining them.



The best contribution Western scholars have made is not so much the actual interpretation of our texts but introducing the critical methods of research and a comparative approach. Assimilating this, Prof. Velankar went beyond it. To him the Ṛgveda was not merely a book of sacrificial hymns to be translated passively or mechanically. It was the work of poets and hence more than a purely linguistic approach, an aesthetic approach was needed. Prof. Velankar loved the Ṛgveda, he was the *suhṛd* of the Ṛgveda. He looked upon the hymns as literary compositions and hence points out the poetic beauties of the same. He rightly believed that to understand the Ṛgveda one has to review the social conditions, the faiths and belief of the times and imbibe the spirit of the writings.

Finally a word about the man. Prof. Velankar was truly a contented man. He loved teaching, loved his students and did not spare himself in giving his best to them. He did not wear his convictions on his sleeves but was not afraid of stating them publicly, if occasion demanded it. He did not pursue fame or money though he had his share of both. A number of academic honours came to him unsolicited. They pleased him but did not make him self-conscious or vain. The famous words of Carlyle 'Blessed is the man who has found his blessedness; let him ask for no other blessedness' truly apply to him.

# THE VEDIC STEM *rātri-* AND PĀṆINI\*

By

M. S. BHAT

Vedic interpreters have always recognized the value of Vedic rules formulated by Pāṇini. By happy and marvellous circumstances we are in possession of the bulk of the Vedic texts (with the exception of a fractional part) which actually furnished him with the linguistic material for his work. Pāṇini's gift of observation and his capacity of induction are all the more manifest in these rules than anywhere else. Easier of verification and hence more instructive is his rule (Pān 4.1.31) concerning the stem *rātri-* to which डीप् is affixed in the छन्दस् except when nominative plural termination is added.

Pān 4.1.31 (डीप् २६ संज्ञाछन्दसोः २९ ) रात्रेश्चाजसौ ॥

Vasu translates the Kāśikā: '31. The affix डीप् comes after the word रात्री in the Chhandas, and in denoting a Name, except when the affix (nominative plural) is added.'

Evidently Pāṇini looked upon *rātri-* as a classical stem and derived the Vedic stem with the addition of डीप्. In this he is following the lead of Yāska.<sup>1</sup> Exactly contrary is the view held by Prof. Wackernagel.<sup>2</sup> The facts of the RV are in perfect agreement with Pāṇini's rule.

(i) रात्रि (voc.) 10.127.8 : रात्रि स्तोमं न जिग्युषे. The shortening is according to Pān 7.3.107.

(ii) रात्री (Nom. sing.) 1.113.1 : एवा रात्र्युषसे योनिमारैक्; 1.115.4 : आद्रात्री वासस्तनुते सिमस्मै; 5.30.14 : औच्छत्सा रात्री परितक्म्या याँ; 10.127.1 : रात्री व्यस्य-दायती; and 10.190.1 : ततो रात्र्यजायत.

(iii) रात्रीम् (acc. sing.) 1.35.1 : ह्वयामि रात्रीं जगतो निवेशनीं and 5.81.4 : उत रात्रीमुभयतः परीयसे.

(iv) रात्रीः (acc. pl.) 1.116.24 : दश रात्रीरशिवेना नवद्युन्; and 10.95.16 : अवसं रात्रीः शरदश्चतस्रः.

(v) रात्रीभिः (Inst. pl.) 10.10.9 : रात्रीभिरस्मा अहभिर्देशस्येत्.

(vi) रात्र्याः (Gen. sing.) 1.94.7 : रात्र्याश्चिदन्वो अति देव पश्यसि and 10.129.2 : रात्र्या अह्न आसीत्प्रकेतः.

\* Paper submitted to All India Oriental Conference, XXIII Session—Aligarh 1966.

1. अथापि भाषिकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो नैगमाः . . . . . Nirukta 2.2.

2. AG II § 95a.

(vij) रात्र्यां (Loc. sing.) 10.68.11: रात्र्यां तमो अदधुज्योतिरहन्.

But in other Saṁhitā-s including the prose portions, the forms of *rātri-* with long and short *i* are evenly distributed.<sup>3</sup>

रात्री YV 33.37; TS 4.3.11.3; MS 2.13.10 *passim*; KS (prose) 6.8 *passim*; AV 2.8.2 *passim*.

रात्रिः RV kh 4.2.14; YV 23.12; 54; 37.21; 38.16; TS (prose) 1.5.7.5 *passim*; MS (prose) 1.5.9 *passim*; AV 13.7.2.

रात्री RV kh 4.2.3; YV 15.6; MS 1.5.12 *passim*; KS (prose) 6.6 *passim*.

रात्रि TS (Prose) 1.5.8.4 *passim*; MS (prose) 1.5.12; 4.5.1; AV 1.16.1 *passim*.

रात्रीभिः KS (prose) 10.7; AV 18.1.10.

रात्रिभिः MS 4.5.1.

रात्र्यै YV 24.25 *passim*; MS (prose) 1.8.1 *passim*; KS (prose) 6.1 *passim*; AV Paip 1.63.3; 19.21.11.

रात्रये AV 8.2.20; AV Paip 16.4.10; 17.21.6.

रात्र्याः MS (prose) 2.1.5; 3.8.1; KS (prose) 7.6; 11.2; 13.5; AV 13.3.26; 7.2; 19.56.2.

रात्रेः MS (prose) 2.5.7; 3.6.6.

रात्र्यां KS (prose) 7.10; AV Paip 10.6.5.

रात्री YV 23.4; AV Paip 19.4.4.

रात्रीषु KS 7.15.

रात्रिषु MS (prose) 1.5.13.

*Prima facie* it may appear as if Pāṇini's formulation is abstracted from the facts of the RV. But Pāṇini can afford to ignore Vedic forms in short *i* simply because they are deducible from the classical stem and in this sense all Vedic rules are 'optional', it being always understood that ways of the classical language may be adopted as well.

The fact that nom. pl. form like *rātryaḥ* which form would have resulted had the stem been *rātrī* is not actually found in the whole range of Vedic literature and even in the later literature notwithstanding the instance given by the *Kāśikā*,<sup>4</sup> gives us ample proof as to how well Pāṇini knew his Vedic texts.

Kātyāyana who disapproves of Pāṇini's formulation has nothing to add by way of new material to it. He excludes all case termina-

3. Examples taken at random and are by no means exhaustive.

4. तिमिरपटलैरवगुण्ठिताश्च रात्र्यः *Kāśikā* on Pān 4.1.31.

tions beginning with nom. pl.<sup>5</sup> from the operation of affix डीप्. The rule is left undiscussed in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Patañjali's instance रात्रि रात्रि स्मरिष्यन्तः reflects not quite correctly AV 19.50.3a; रात्रि रात्रि मरिष्यन्तः. In this connection I may be permitted to point out that one cannot be quite sure as to the recension in which Patañjali knew the AV. Inaccuracies of Vedic quotations in Patañjali have already been pointed out.<sup>6</sup> Patañjali's other instances may have evidently been taken from some lost Vedic texts since the rule is a Vedic one and the word छन्दसि is in force from Pān 4.1.29<sup>7</sup>. छन्दसि is the most general term with which Pāṇini refers to the Veda and it applies strictly to the Saṁhitā-texts of the Veda.

Being left without the guidance of Patañjali, the indigenous interpretation of *Kāśīkā* and others have miserably failed to comprehend Pāṇini's phraseology. In order to establish the use of the stem *rātrī-* in the classical language, the *Kāśīkā* on Pān 4.1.31 gives as an instance: तिमरपटलैरवगुण्टिताश्च रात्र्यः from an unknown source and teaches a new affix डीप्, utilizing, of course, the two sūtra-s in the *gaṇapāṭha* to Pān 4.1.15. Now the forms resulting from the addition of डीष् or डीप् are practically identical except with regard to accent. The *rātrī* formed by डीष् has oxytone according to Pān 3.1.3 and the *rātrī* formed by डीप् retains its barytone according to Pān 3.1.4. In order to account for the nom. pl. form रात्र्यः in the Veda and in the classical language, Jayakṛṣṇa Mauni, the commentator of the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* had to resort to the expedient of applying डीप् in both cases,<sup>8</sup> since Pāṇini expressly prohibits the affix डीप् when nom. pl. termination is added. But a barytone or oxytone रात्र्यः is unattested in the Vedic literature and much less in the classical one. For all this changes Jayakṛṣṇa Mauni had no other

5. अजसादिष्विति वक्तव्यं. Patañjali: इहापि यथा स्यात्-रात्रि रात्रि स्मरिष्यन्तः। रात्रि रात्रिमजानतः। सर्वा रात्रि सहोपित्वा। वृत्यामेकान्तरात्रिम्।

In Jinendrabuddhi's opinion, Kātyāyana's वार्तिक too, may be dispensed with, for, according to him, Pāṇini actually employs the word अजसौ (with an additional *mora* instead of अजसि) to indicate the exclusion of all case terminations beginning with nom. pl. from the operation of the affix डीप् *vide Nyāsa* on *Kāśīkā* 4.3.31: इह लाघवार्यमजसि इति वक्तव्येऽजसावित्युक्तं मात्राधिक्य-सूचनार्थम्। तेनाजनादिषु डीप् भवतीति.

6. Thieme, *Panini and the Veda*, pp. 11, 16, 51.

7. *Kāśīkā* explicitly keeps in force संज्ञाछन्दसोः from 4.1.29, but Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita and his school keep in force छन्दसि only. The latter construction is no doubt allowed by *Paribhāṣā XVIII*.

8. ननु 'तिमिरपटलैरवगुण्टिताश्च रात्र्यः' इति प्रयोगो न स्यात्। छन्दसीत्युच्यते। न चेदं छन्दः। अजसाविति निषेधाच्च। किं च वेदेऽपि रात्र्य इति प्रयोगो न स्थादित्याशङ्क्याह-लोके त्विति। तु शब्दोऽनुक्तसमुच्चयार्थः। लोके जसि वेदे चेत्यर्थः॥ *Tattvabodhini* on Pān 4.3.31.

authority but his interpretation. The opinion of Nāgojibhaṭṭa is that in the classical language ङीप् is added to the stem *rātri-* when it (*rātri*) does not denote a Name (असंज्ञाविषये) but when it does, only ङीप् is added.<sup>9</sup> All this goes to show that later interpreters never took the trouble of questioning the completeness of the Vedic details given by Pāṇini.

Finally I have to offer a suggestion of my own in the matter. The expression अजसौ which has wrongly been constructed as a by all interpreters of Pāṇini without exception can preferably be taken as an instance of प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध. Now instead of जस्विषयादन्यत्र or अजस्विषये,<sup>10</sup> a typical instance of पर्युदास we can have जस्विषये न the negation, of course, in this latter case goes with the verb (*scil.* स्यात्) rather than with the second member of a compound as is the case with the former.<sup>11</sup> Now Pāṇini's rule (4.1.31) can be rendered thus: "In the Chandas, ङीप् is not affixed to the stem *rātri-*, when nom. pl. termination is added." The case is entirely different with other case terminations since, as stated earlier, Pāṇini's Vedic rules do not imply strict application and the ways of the classical language may optionally be followed also in the Veda. The interpretation offered above has the merit of being not a forced one and instances of प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध are by no means rare in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.<sup>12</sup>

This examination of Pāṇini's rule dealing with the Vedic stem *rātri-* has disclosed some points which it is worthwhile briefly to restate.

1. Pāṇini was not quite destitute of accuracy in Vedic matters as is commonly supposed and his treatment of the Vedic stem *rātri-* has given us ample proof as to how well he knew his Vedic texts.
  2. The change of the wording of the Pāṇini's rule suggested by Kātyāyana and accepted by Patañjali is as unnecessary as it is illogical.
  3. The later interpreters never took the trouble of questioning the completeness of the Vedic details given by Pāṇini.
9. *Laghuśabdenduśekhara* on Pā 4.1.31: अजसादिष्विति वक्तव्यं । रात्रिं रात्रिं सहोषित्वा । अजसात्रिति किं, यास्ता रात्रयः । लोके त्विति । असंज्ञाविषये इत्यर्थः । संज्ञायां तु लोकेऽपि डीबन्त एव ।
10. The paraphrases of the term अजसौ given by the *Kāśika* and by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita respectively.
11. The terms पर्युदास and प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध are explained in the śloka:
- पर्युदासस्तु विज्ञेयो यत्रोत्तरपदेन नञ् ।  
प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधस्तु क्रियया सह यत्र नञ् ॥
12. *Scholia* on Pān 6.1.45; 6.2.76; 7.3.44; 8.2.69 and 8.4.47 may please be seen.

# SOME EVIDENCE FOR EARTHQUAKES IN THE RĠVEDA\*

By

USHA R. BHISE

The Maruts are the sons of Rudra and have inherited the fierce traits of their father. As such, they participate in certain malevolent activities. Hitting the world with the flashing weapon of lightning (7.56.9), which burns badly (7.59.8), they cause the death of men and cattle (7.56.17). They have got the wrath of a serpent (1.64.8, 9; also 1.172.1). They roar like lions (1.64.8), and are compared to ferocious beasts (1.64.7; 2.34.1). They possess arrows and a bolt (1.172.2) which terrify the world and their contempt (*heḍas*) is much dreaded. They frighten the world with gales, hailstorms and thunder (1.64.5; 5.54.3,6). They are great roarsers (1.23.11; 1.169.7; 5.54.2,12) and have the voice in the form of wind (7.56.3). Fierceness (*rudra*, *ugra*, *bhīma*, *tveṣas* etc.) is their most striking characteristic (6.66.5, 6, 11; 7.56.6, 7; 7.57.1). By nature they are irascible (7.56.8). They fix their hatred upon the non-givers (7.56.19). During their march people are afraid to look up at the sky (7.58.2).

The Maruts are looked upon as storm-gods as they are constantly associated with wind, rain and lightning. In the post-Vedic literature the word *marut* is used as a common noun connoting breeze, whether gentle or strong. But it is important to note that the Rġveda describes them as vehement shakers. Thunderstorms is one aspect of their shaking activity; but another fierce aspect of their shaking activity becomes more and more evident as we scan through the verses. They are called *dhūtayaḥ* at 1.87.3d; 5.54.4; 6.48.20 and 7.48.4. Their law is characterised by shaking, *dhu-nivṛata* (5.58.2). The jolly warriors are shakers, *dhuni* (5.60.7) owing to their wild delight. The sporting shakers glorify their own greatness (1.87.3cd). They are as violent as warriors (6.66.10). They are also compared to a *muni* who shakes in a wild ecstasy (7.56.8).

Apart from these words formed from root *dhu*, to shake, the hymns to Maruts abound in the use of roots like *cyu*, to shake; *rej*, to shake violently; *vip*, to vibrate. Here, it is interesting to examine what the objects of these verbs are. The roots *kup*, to be angry *bhī*, to fear; *vṛath*, to waver are used in a physical sense, keeping in view the result of these actions viz. agitation. There are, yet, references to the breaking open of mountains or tearing them to pieces.

*ṁkh*, to rock

1.19.7ab.

Those (Maruts) who rock the mountains across the surging ocean.

\* Paper read at the 23rd All India Oriental Conference, Aligarh, 1966.

*cj*, to move.

5.59.2ab.

The earth shakes through fear from their violent onrush; she leaks with water, experiencing a tremor, like a boat filled upto the brim.

*cyu*, to shake.

1.37.12.

That strength of yours, O Maruts, which causes the people to shake, causes the mountains to shake.

1.64.11c.

The indefatigable warriors, moving by themselves, moving whatever is firm (i.e. mountains or the earth).

1.85.4ab.

The liberal (Maruts) who shine variously by means of their lances, causing the immovable (mountains) to shake with their strength.

1.166.5.

When the Maruts whose march is violent, cause the mountains to roar or when the manly gods cause the summit of the heaven to move away, then along your course even a large tree shakes in terror; the plant rushes forth like one who is mounted on a chariot.

1.168.6c.

In that you shake up the well-built (structures) like unsteady things.

5.54.1ab.

I urge on this prayer to the troop of Maruts which is self-luminous and shaker of mountains.

5.54.3.

The Maruts are warriors who are brilliant owing to lightnings, who are armed with weapons of stone, who have the vehemence of Vāta, who move the mountains, who clothe themselves in a shower of hail, even when they have a desire to give water, whose strength is boisterous, who are impatient and ever-mighty.

5.56.4.

The Maruts who smash (the enemies) by their power with perfect ease, like ill-trained bulls, cause to move the rocky mountain, even the roaring bolt, in the course of their marches.

5.59.7cd.

The horses of these (Maruts) have violently shaken off the sprouting springs of the mountain, as both (i.e. gods and men) well know.

*dhu*, to shake.

5.57.3.

You shake off the Heaven and the mountains (so as to shower) riches, you cause the Earth to tremble, O sons of Pṛ̥śni, when you have gloriously yoked your dappled mares, O fierce ones.

*rej*, to shake violently.

1.37.8.

During whose march the Earth trembles with fear under their path like an old king.

1.87.3.

When they yoke (their chariots) for the sake of grace, the Earth violently shakes like unfirm things, during their marches along their courses.

5.59.4cd.

You shake the Earth like a particle of dust when you bring forth (your gifts) for the bestowal of welfare.

5.60.2.

The Maruts, the sons of Rudra, who have mounted upon their well-known spotted deer, upon their easy-rolling chariots (have arrived). Even the forests go down out of fear from you, O fierce-ones. Even the Earth, even the mountain shakes (through fear).

5.60.3ab.

Even the mountain, who had grown very great, was terrified and even the summit of the Heaven shook at your roar.

6.66.9d.

The Earth trembles before the warriors, O Agni.

*vip* (caus.) to cause to vibrate.

1.39.5.

They shake the mountains; they separate the trees. You have rushed forth with the whole of your clan, like badly intoxicated persons, O gods, O Maruts.

3.26.4cd.

The mightily growing and omniscient Maruts, the inviolable ones, cause the mountains to tremble.

8.7.4.

The Maruts sow the mist, they shake the mountains, when they go along their path with winds.

*yam* with *nī*, to bow down.

8.7.5.

That the mountain so also the rivers bent down before your march, for the sake of your rule, your strength.

*yā* with *nī*, to attack.

5.54.5.

That heroism, that greatness of yours, O Maruts, extended itself very long, like the harness of the Sun, when you went down against



the mountain which did not give up its horses, just as your antelopes did during your march, your lustres being unopposed.

*hā* with *nī*, to bow down, to bend.

1.37.7.

For the sake of your fierce wrath and path, the mortal holds himself down. The rocky mountain bends low.

8.7.34.

Even the hills sink low, as if they thought themselves valleys; even the mountains bow themselves down.

Roots which refer to the breaking of mountains.

*bhid*, to break.

1.85.10.

By their power they pushed the well aloft. They clove asunder the mountain, though strong. Blowing forth their wind-instrument, the bounteous Maruts performed delightful deeds.

5.52.9cd.

And the wheels of the chariots break the rock by means of force.

*yā* with *vi*, to run over.

8.7.23.

While performing their manly work, they have trodden Vṛtra to pieces, and the dark mountains.

Roots which secondarily mean 'to tremble' as a result of anger, fear etc.

*am* to harm. *ama*(n.) terror, fiery spirit.

1.63.1b.

As soon as you were born, you held the heaven and the earth in terror (of your might).

5.59.2 (see under root *ej*).

*kup*, to get angry; (caus.) to infuriate.

1.54.4a.

You (i.e. Indra) caused the top of the mighty heaven to tremble.

2.12.2b.

Who (i.e. Indra) set at rest the agitated mountains.

5.57.3cd.

The fierce sons of Pṛṣni caused the earth to tremble, when they yoked the spotted (mares) for glory.

10.44.8b.

The heaven roared. He agitated the midregions.

*bhī*, to be afraid of.

1.166.4cd.

All the creatures and (their) dwellings tremble with fear.

With the spears raised up your march is resplendent.

1.166.5.

When (the Maruts) of vehement onrush cause the mountains to roar, or (when) the manly warriors shake up the surface of the heaven, all the great trees tremble during your march. The herbs go forth acting like chariot-wheels.

2.12.13ab.

The Heaven and the Earth indeed, bow down before him. The mountains are afraid of his prowess.

4.17.10.

When Indra puts his anger into practice, all moving and stationary things tremble before him.

4.42.6.

When the Somas, when the hymns, give me great delight, the unfathomable worlds tremble in fear (from me).

5.59.2ab.

The Earth shakes through fear from their violent onrush; she leaks with water experiencing a tremor, like a boat filled upto the brim.

5.60.3.

Even the mountain that had grown very great was terrified and even the summit of the heaven shook at your roar.

6.31.2.

Through fear of you, all earthly regions, though (regarded as) immovable, tremble, O Indra. Heaven and Earth, mountains and trees, and all (other) firm things shake with fear during your onrush.

7.58.2d.

All (the world) which beholds the Sun, trembles with fear during your march.

*bhī* (n.) fear.

1.37.8.

During whose march, the Earth trembles with fear under their path like an old king.

1.61.14ab.

Through fear of him alone, from his very birth, the firm mountains, the Heaven and the Earth press themselves together.

1.63.1cd.

Since out of fear for you, all huge things, even the firm mountains, moved restlessly like particles of dust.

5.57.3ab.

You shake off the heaven and the mountains (so as to shower) riches. The forests go down out of fear during your march.

5.60.2cd.

Even the forests go down out of fear from you, O fierce ones. Even the Earth, even the mountain shakes (through fear).

6.31.2ab (see under root 'bhī').

Sometimes Indra, who is supposed to be the leader of the Maruts, seems to be responsible for the phenomenon. Thus:

1.61.14ab (see under bhī).

1.63.1.

You are great, Indra, you who are so owing to your powers. As soon as you were born you held the Heaven and Earth in terror (of your might) since out of fear for you, all huge things, even the firm mountains, moved restlessly like particles of dust.

1.80.14ab.

At your roar, O possessor of the Bolt, whatever is stationary and moving, trembles.

2.12.9.

He, O men, is Indra, without whom men cannot conquer, whom the fighters invite for protection, who is more than a match for everyone, and moves even the immovable.

2.12.13ab (See under root 'bhī').

6.31.2 (See under root 'bhī').

10.44.8a.

He held firm the trembling mountains and valleys.

Even Bṛhaspati, who is an associate of Indra in his cosmic activities like the winning of divine cows from the demon Vala, is credited with moving the immovable. Cf.

2.24.2.

Brahmaṇaspati, who bent down by his might things which deserved to be bent, also battered to pieces, with his fury, the *sambara* (fortresses). He moved away the immovables, entered the treasure-containing mountain and broke it through.

Here the word *acyuta* refers to mountains as the word *parvata* in *d* points out.

The above quotations refer to the shaking of mountains or Heaven and Earth. Even though, in the later literature, *marut* means wind, the "moving of the immovable" mountains etc., does not fall within its range. These phenomena have got to be interpreted in a new light and in all the above cases if we postulate the occurrence of earthquakes in those days, a satisfactory explanation can be given. The North-West part of India, which was the homeland of Vedic Aryans, receives the tremors of earthquakes quite often. The mention of the fog (*mih* cf. 8.7.4) in this context as also the breaking of rocks may point towards some volcanic eruptions. Here the literary evidence is scanty but it may throw some light on the geographic location of the people. As the pro-

blem of the present essay is not so much geographical as the interpretation of certain hymns, this discussion is not entered into here.

The earthquakes brought about undesirable consequences and were looked upon as great calamity. They were looked upon as divine acts after the trends of thought which were in existence then. In order to avoid them, divine help was called for. Indra, the most powerful god was invoked to allay the danger. Moreover, for undoing the deeds of Maruts, someone greater than them was considered to be ideal. Indra was the chief of Maruts cf. *indrajyeṣṭhāḥ marudgaṇāḥ* (1.23.8; 6.51.15; 8.83.9). They are looked upon as sons of Indra (cf. *sa sūnubhir na rudrebhiḥ*; (1.100.5). Indra is also called *marutvat*, accompanied by the Maruts (cf. Refrains of 1.100 and 1.101; 1.165 is addressed to Marutvān Indraḥ). Here, the stabilizing of the quaking mountains is ascribed to Indra. cf. the following:

### 2.12.2.

He, O men, is Indra, who made the trembling earth firm; who set at rest the agitated mountains; who measured out the wide mid-region and who propped up the heaven.

### 2.17.5.

He, with his might made the onrushing mountains firm, and made the work of the waters move downwards. He supported the earth which supports all and stopped the heaven from falling, by his supernatural powers.

### 10.44.8ab.

He settled the shaking mountains and plains. The heaven roared and the mid-regions shook violently.

At 4.54.5 there is an interesting reference to the flying mountains (*patayantah*), where, of course, they are said to obey the command of Savitṛ who assigns to them spacious homes on the earth. Here, again, the earth has been described as a place where Indra is regarded as the greatest (cf. *indrajyeṣṭhān*). This verse contains the seed of the later episode of Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā

### 1.10.13.

“*Prajāpater vā etaj jyeṣṭham tokam yat parvatāḥ. Te pakṣiṇa āsan. Te parāpātām āsata yatra yatra akāmayanta. Atha vā iyam tarhi śithirā āsit. Teṣām Indraḥ pakṣān acchinat. Tair imām adṛmhat. Ye pakṣāḥ āsan te jīmūtā abhavan. Tasmād ete sadadī parvatam upaplavante. Yonir hi eṣām eṣaḥ.*”

In an attempt to explain the episode of the flying mountains, it may be said that the “flying” refers to the huge rocks which were ejected out of the volcanoes. The wings which were hewed down by Indra were turned into clouds. These, perhaps, represent the smoke issuing out of the crater. Indra stationed the mountains and stabilized the earth, by cutting down the wings of the mountains, thus achieving a great cosmic feat.

The ‘shaking’ activity is not only a poetic ascription, suggested by the superior strength or vigor possessed by either Maruts or Indra. It seems to have a physical basis which is different from ordinary breezes.

# THE TEXT-CRITICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE R̥GVEDA IN MAṆḌALA VII

By

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The late-lamented Prof. H. D. Velankar has left behind, as a “monumentum aere perennius”, the rich fruits of his R̥gvedic study in the form of a long series of publications, especially in the field of translation and commentary. The crowning achievement was his “R̥gveda Maṇḍala VII” (Bhāratiya Vidyā Series, Vol. No. 23), which he intended as the first instalment of a complete translation and commentary. The volume is a model of systematic treatment and study with helpful appendixes and indexes and scholarly annotations. Yet it is only characteristic of the general trend of R̥gvedic scholarship that, on the one hand, he should supply an index of the metres used in the VII M., but that, on the other hand, he should not say a word about the actual state in which those metres are to be found nor on their essential patterns and characteristics or eventual flaws. Still it is not as if he were completely impervious to the fact of the metrical factor in the R̥gveda: witness his rather detailed Appendix III on this subject in his other edition of the “R̥gveda-Maṇḍala VII” published on behalf of the Bombay University and intended more directly for the benefit of M.A. students. The exposé there is lucid and comprehensive. But even there he falls into the usual trap of practically taking for granted that whatever metrical flaws may remain (after a rather superficial restoration of archaic orthoepy and *Samdhi*-treatment) are to be attributed to the *ṛṣi-kavis* themselves who, in his view (shared by the common run of R̥gvedic scholars), allowed themselves without much scruple all sorts of *hyper*- and *hypo*-metrical licences, to say nothing of rhythmical ones—on the assumption that for them the number of syllables, not their prosodical *quantity*, was of greater—though not absolute—importance!

All this fails to take into full account the meaning of the havoc played with the original metre by the “orthoepic diaskeuasis” (as Oldenberg called it) of the Samhitā-Kāra agency through its redactorial meddling with the original text. Once that redactorial-unmetrical meddling was admitted who could say how far it did go, and how could one be so sure that the metrical flaws resisting mere orthoepic restoration were to be attributed to the *ṛṣi-kavis* themselves and not, more logically, to the same redactorial agency that had already been caught red-handed?

When, therefore, Velankar in the more extensive and scholarly edition of the VII Maṇḍala omits all express treatment of the metrical problems in the Ṛgveda he leaves the not unfounded impression that for him those problems have no real or important bearing on the understanding, evaluation and elucidation of the Saṁhitā in a serious and scholarly study of its ancient text. It all looks as if either there were no metrical problems in the Ṛgveda, or as if they did not matter at all—and that, if you please, in the ṚG-Veda, the metrical Veda par excellence! That in this attitude he was not alone is borne out by the remark we not so long ago heard from a serious non-Indian Ṛgvedic scholar to the effect that he habitually read the Ṛgveda as if it actually were only prose. Everything proceeds as if either Oldenberg and Arnold had never existed or as if they had said the last word in the matter and the chapter was for ever closed!

On the other hand, Prof. Velankar was well aware of the different opinion held and of the research done by this writer on that subject, and he had followed with alert and critical interest our previous publications. Hence it is our intention here—as a fitting tribute to his memory and work—to throw some further light on the VII M. precisely from the point of view of our metrical-archaic investigations, and to show how they can help to carry to a greater depth the work so meritoriously done by Prof. Velankar. As regards this fundamental point we have in preparation (under the aegis of the U.G.C. Scheme of Research for retired Professors) a work on “The Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā-Palimpsest” in the light of the Paruccheḥa-hymns (I, 127-139), as a part of which we made a study of all the *pādas* listed by Arnold (Vedic Metre, pp. 202 ff.) as containing an essential flaw in the *final* (and most persistently characteristic!) rhythm of the *triṣṭubh-jagatī* metre. We do it in such a way that, in *each* case, we thoroughly examine the metre in the *whole* of the hymn concerned in order to check by a sort of induction whether the *kavi* in question is otherwise slipshod in his versification, and whether the rest of the hymn justifies our attributing to *him* such a flaw or rather excludes it—by pointing to a *systematically* redactorial hand (the Saṁhitā-Kāra *against* the *ṛṣi-kavi*) as the source of that metrical-rhythmical anomaly.

We shall include in this essay only the cases found within the VII Maṇḍala so as not to exceed the limits of a single article. And as a sort of clarifying “Prolegomena” we quote from the above mentioned (as yet unpublished) work of ours:

It has long been this writer’s contention that the Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā text in its traditional form can with good right be termed a “palimpsest”—that is, a text so manhandled and mishandled by re-

dactorial interference that it is as if "written over" (from the Greek "palin" and "psest") in a different form from its original one. The agency that operated that transformation was made up of the *oral* transmitters-reciters and of the *redactorial* collector-editors or (collectively) the *Samhitā-Kāra* agency, (SK for short)—in our case, the Śākala-school of Ṛgvedic tradition.

Every respectable scholar admits the fundamental fact of that redactorial disfiguration. It is only about its *extent* that there is a difference of opinion. It is generally agreed that *saṁdhi* and *pronunciation* are the main domain of that redactorial-palimpsesting activity by which an *archaic* orthoepic style has been superseded by the more "modern" usage prevailing in the SK's times and grammatical standards. It is also generally admitted that there has been a certain amount of substitution of archaic forms in favour of later ones ("pāvaka" for "pavāka", and "mahyam" for "mahya", etc.).

But then the problem arises: if the SK dared go so far, did he (or they) stop there, or did he go still further? His meddlings had, through the above changes, so wrecked the original metre that, as has been well remarked by Arnold and others, they largely turn the Ṛgveda from a "padya" into a "gadya" composition—unless they are corrected according to the demands of *metre* and *archaism*.

And it is precisely here that comes *our special focussing of the text-critical problem of the Ṛgveda*. If in all the above cases *metre* and *archaism* are, quite rightly, taken as a *paramount* authority *against* the SK's *Samhitā*-palimpsest in its traditional form, it is logical to assume, at least as a working hypothesis, that any remaining breaches of the standard metrical patterns must be also due to the same redactorial agency (SK) that already had impaired the metre through the above redactorial interferences—and that, therefore, any procedure which could reconstitute the text in function of *metre* and *archaism* had all the chances of getting the *original* text of the *ṛṣi-kavis* underlying the *Samhitā*-palimpsest. The *standard* metrical patterns have long been ascertained and can always be rechecked by means of an *inductive* scrutiny of the metrical structure of the *pādas* both within a particular hymn and between similar hymns: first of all concerning the major essentials (number of syllables, final rhythm) and then about the other factors according to the different metres (*yati*, initial and post-*yati* rhythms, metrical conventions or licences, etc.). Anything which is found to breach an *inductively established recurring constant* in the metrical scheme cannot be plausibly ascribed to the same *ṛṣi-kavi* who is so consistently and successfully achieving that constant in the rest of the hymn. Hence, after due allowance is made for possible

orthoepic archaisms and metrical conventions (also *inductively established*, along the lines of Arnold's "Vedic Metre") the breach in question must be laid at the door of the redactorial SK, and its remedy must be sought with the aid of *the overriding paramountcy of metre and archaism*.

And here comes into operation a very important rule which is logically implicit in the above approach and which is one of the most fruitful results of our research: namely, whenever archaism is alone not capable of restoring the ascertained standard metre, and yet that metre can be restored by the *transposition* of the words concerned it is logically to be assumed that the SK had reshuffled the original word-order either to dodge inconvenient *saṁdhis*, archaisms, etc., or to imitate pseudo-models in parallel-looking texts. The reason is that the *kavi*, who manifests his care in skilfully creating standard-true *pādas* in the same context, cannot plausibly be charged with neglecting that goal—while at the same time having the elements that make it possible ready at hand. But the SK has other paramount values—*his* grammar and orthoepy—which he sets above the pattern-true versification, this latter being so often neglected and positively ruined by his later usage and standards. The SK could easily find a self-absolving excuse for that attitude in the fact that in the corpus of the Ṛgvedic hymns the *kavis* themselves did use the very same or similar words in so many different guises and arrangements so as to make them suit the different styles, bents and rhythms of the various contexts. The difference was that the *ṛṣi-kavis* did that rhythmically but archaically, while for the SK archaism so effaced his perception of the original rhythm as to make him think that the *kavis* neglected the verse-pattern with their archaic "ārṣa" usage—hence that it could not matter much if *he* also occasionally neglected it for the sake of *his* paramount grammatical, orthoepic, stylistic or other standards. It could all be justified as "ārṣa"....

This principle—which may be called "*text-critical word-mobility*"—is of the greatest moment, and the lack of it has led previous research workers and text-critical scholars into a sort of blind alley and to the all-too-easy acceptance of the standing *myth* that the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣi-kavis* are only approximative and, on the whole, rather erratic in the observance of standard metre-patterns. As if one could, without more ado, attribute to the original authors whatever one finds in the *Saṁhitā*-text, and *that* after admitting that the SK has been palimpsesting it with *his* *saṁdhi*, orthoepy, substitutions and what not! The only real principle that can follow from such admission is: *the SK must be presumed guilty unless proven innocent* and, vice versa, *the ṛṣi-kavis must be presumed innocent unless proven guilty*. And the code by which to judge them must



be *archaism* and *metre*, with *word-mobility* as an essential corollary.

And it is precisely in order to find definitive objective confirmation for the above approach that we have especially circumscribed our investigation to the group of the Parucchepa hymns in I, 127-139 (and allied hymns). The reason is that they have the peculiarity of containing a *systematic* use of *echo-rhymes*, that is, the repetition of identical *end-words* in two consecutive *pādas*. The schematic use of those repetitions makes it easy to detect whether the SK has tampered with the words concerned and their relative position, while it, at the same time, yields an objective proof of the SK's interference by the eloquent testimony of the other rhyme-pairs where the *kavi* is unmistakably shown to be intent upon the rhyming scheme—all the more when the very words that can build the echo-rhyme are present (though displaced) in the context or can be easily ascertained from the *kavi's* style in the other rhyme-pairs. We consider this as a *definitive apodictic proof* of our text-critical approach and principles and would therefore like to lay it down as a sure and solid foundation of the text-critical reconstruction of the Ṛgveda of the ṛṣi-kavis which we have done up to now and we propose further to do till we have restored to its original form the Ṛgvedic text which up to now has laid buried under the superimposed layers of the SK's Saṁhitā-palimpsest.

But before we do that we should like to give a specimen (of what our method can achieve and of what is meant by the SK's Saṁhitā-palimpsest) in a *non-rhyming* hymn. The results obtained there will put in evidence how important and far-reaching our method is and how valuable it is that it should have such a solid basis as the one we shall find through the scrutiny of the Parucchepa hymns. The hymn in question is I, 122.

(Note: *Emendations* are underlined; *saṁdhis* resolved, as in the "padapāṭha"; *diphthongs* resolved: e=ai, o=au, ai=āi, au=āu; *long-vowels* resolved if rhythm-demanded: ā=aa, ī=ii, ū=uu; † means *saṁdhi*; × means words *transposed*; *protracted short vowels* are shown as ä, ï, ü).

We omit the particulars of I, 122 (in this article) and come directly to the principles guiding our metrical-archaic text-critical reconstruction as applicable to the cases of Maṇḍala VII.

The result of the scrutiny of I, 122 (and of countless other texts) can be summarised as follows:

(1) The *kavis* consistently compose according to a *fixed and regular verse-pattern*, which in the *triṣṭubh* (*jaḡatī*) verse consists of

exactly 11 syllables, with a final *trochaic* rhythm, a *yati* after the fourth (=early) or fifth (=late) syllable, a *pre-yati* rhythm of an iambic type and a *post-yati* rhythm (with at least one short syllable among the first three, especially after the early *yati*). There are no hypermetric or hypometric *triṣṭubhs* (or *jagatīs*) for the *kavis*—only for the SK. The *jagatī* is like a *triṣṭubh*, but with 12 syllables and an *iambic* end.

*Early yati*

u	—	u	—,	u	u	u	—	u	—	u	Triṣṭubh	
u	—	u	—,	u	u	u	—	u	—	u	u	Jagatī

*Late yati*

u	—	u	—	u,	u	u	—	u	—	u	Triṣṭubh	
u	—	u	—	u,	u	u	—	u	—	u	u	Jagatī

(2) The *kavi's* archaic convention considers as long (*protracted*) a *short* syllable that falls within the range of the *final* rhythm (syllables 8-11, 8-12), and generally also of the *pre-yati* one, especially in a "*brevis inter breves*", a final word-vowel (particularly if first member of a compound) and a final word-syllable.

(3) There is no *saṁdhi* over the *yati*, much less between *pādas* (against the SK!). Within the *pāda* all *saṁdhis* are *optional*, subject to the metre and rhythm, and, as a general rule, there is no such thing as *abhinīhita* or *kṣaipra-saṁdhi* between words for the *kavis*—only for the SK.

(4) All long vowels and all diphthongs are on principle subject to *resolution*, if and when so demanded by the metrical rhythm, and the resolved vowels are subject to protraction under the same conditions as ordinary short vowels, since they are short vowels for the *kavi's* own orthoepy.

(5) *Meter* and *archaism* are *paramount* against the SK's text. Hence first metre must be restored by means of archaism (including archaic orthoepy and prosodical conventions, as well as form-modifications and substitutions, as shown in I, 122 and in the examples further down). But when that is insufficient the principle of *word-mobility* must be drawn upon till the *metre's* paramountcy has been made effective, mostly with the help of archaism—as demonstrated in I, 122, 1a, 11ab, 15c, and in the examples further down. At times even *additional words* may have to be supplied from context and parallels (since transmitters and SK can also suppress parts of the original text—as exemplified by I, 122, 5c+6d) or words or terminations must be *eliminated* as SK's interpolations and fillers like in the case of I, 122, 12c.

(6) In all text-restoration the aid of *parallel-texts* is invaluable, since they help to enter into the mind and the style of the *kavis*, and, on the other hand, often reveal the source of the SK's editorial pseudo-analogy, which—as Oldenberg has amply shown in his “Prolegomena”—is one of the SK's besetting hobbies and the root of many of his editorial meddlings.

(7) In general the text-critical method here advocated can be said to follow the spirit of Oldenberg's “Prolegomena” and “Noten” (with complementary side-lights from Arnold's “Vedic Metre”), as we have more fully explained in an article in “Indian Antiquary” (third series) Vol. IV, No. 1, January 1967, pp. 1-23, especially pp. 21-22. We bring out there the special points where the result of our own research has forced us to go *beyond* Oldenberg (though mostly along his line of approach) or even partly *against* him, owing to a different estimate of the data presented by the SK's Saṁhitā text, especially in the matter of submetric or hypermetric *pādas*. The chief points of difference are as follows:

(a) *Universal* validity of the rhythm-length or *protraction*, especially in the final rhythm and under the conditions explained above under 2. (This is more in Arnold's line).

(b) *Universal* law of long-vowel and diphthong resolution whenever demanded by *normal* metrical patterns, as explained above under 4. This was accepted to a large extent, though not fully, by Oldenberg.

(c) *Universal* acceptance of *word-transposition* (=word-mobility) for metrical purposes. This is by and large a new approach, as explained above under 5.

(e) *Universal* rejection of *abnormal metrical patterns*, like *hypometric* 10-syllable *triṣṭubhs* and the like. This is *against* Oldenberg's acceptance of such types as attributable to the *kavis*. They are the SK's own, as indicated above under 1, even in cases where it may no more be possible to reconstruct with certainty the *kavi's* original.

Practically all the above principles have been exemplified in our study of I, 122, cfr. above. In the latter they were applied to the *triṣṭubh*-metre (11), but the whole scrutiny of the Paruchepa hymns will apply them to the *twin-case* of the *jaḡatī* (12) and to the octosyllabic iambic metre (8) too—thus completing the study of the three main types of metre in the Ṛgveda. We shall see them now again applied to the anomalous *triṣṭubh*-(*jaḡatī*) cases given by Arnold (as indicated further up) concerning apparent flaws in the all-important and most persistently characteristic feature of the *final* rhythm.

But before we go into any details there is one point that, if seriously taken into consideration, will give a very convincing "a priori" plausibility to the proofs advanced against the SK's reliability in those anomalous cases: there are (leaving out here 4 of "*dvipāda vivāj*" as a different type) 10 of them in a whole Maṇḍala that contains roughly 1170 such *pādas* in the first 40 hymns alone (and surely about double that sum in the rest of its 104 hymns)! This is a dwindlingly microscopical percentage—a fraction of 1%—and it is *a priori* implausible, from that mere statistical point of view, to accept that the same *kavis* who were so consistently and meticulously careful about that essential part of their verses should have been guilty of such an obvious and ear-rending inconsistency, when at the same time they were so universally sensitive to that prosodical value—especially when they composed exclusively for the *ear* ("śruti"! ) and mostly in open and jealously contested competition with fellow-professionals whose standards of prosodical versification were as high as the above statistic indication forces us to conclude. Or else how to explain that overwhelmingly consistent correctness in the rest? It is true that someone may think of taking refuge behind the well-known tag "*aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*"; but precisely in the case of the Homeric works (very close in nature and characteristics to the R̥gveda compositions!) an eminent scholar—our late-lamented teacher in the Berlin University, Prof. Dr. W. Schulze—made a name for himself by proving in his brilliant "*Quaestiones Epicae*" that in reality the ones to be caught napping were not the Homeric rhapsodes but the error and ignorance of those scholars who were so lightly ready to lay the blame at the poet's own door when the fault lay with the *later* Alexandrian redactors who had misled the subsequent scholarly world into over-looking the primitive ancient *metre* and *archaism* underlying their *palimpsested* rendering of the original text. Exactly the same was the fate of the R̥gveda at the hands of the Saṁhitā-Kāra: like the Alexandrian school the SK created the veritable literary "miracle" of a fixed uniform text—but he did it according to *his younger* rules and standards (both of versification and orthoepy) which were worlds apart from those of the original *ṛṣi-kavis*. And the later scholars were all the more easily hoodwinked by the fact that the SK, whilst creating the vulgate Saṁhitā-text, had at the same time produced a *unique* marvel of *oral* literary transmission by inventing unequalled security-keys that ingeniously and securely safeguarded the integrity of the fixed text *from then onwards*. But, as in the case of the Alexandrian Homeric vulgate, our quarrel is not with *that* redactional palimpsested text and *its* further preservation, but with the methods followed by *the SK-redactors* in *fixing* and *uniformising* that text according to their

younger standards (as shown *evidently* by their younger *saindhis*); and our contention is that by a thorough study of the metre and *archaism* we can—as was done in the Homeric poems—break the SK's *palimpsesting* code and restore to its pristine purity the original *Ṛgveda* of the *ṛṣi-kavis* underlying the SK's *Saṁhitā-Palimpsest*.

Let us now see how this applies to the metrical anomalies (and their corresponding hymns in Maṇḍala VII) of a long 9th syllable in the *triṣṭubh-jagatī* metre.

The first case is:

- VII,2,1c) upa sprśa diviyam sānu stūpāiḥ (??)  
 = stūpāiḥ sprśa „ sānu ūpa  
 = stūpāiḥ sprśa diviyam ūpa sānu (?)  
 = „ „ sānu upā diviyam (?) (cf. vii, 93, 6a)  
 = „ sānu upa sprśā diviyam (?)  
 = upa sprśa *stūpāiḥ* sānu diviyam (best).

The first alternative (with the SK's typical reshuffle vs. *post*-position) is decidedly possible. It offers an obvious handle (in its protraction “inter breves”) for the SK's kink for “order”. But mark the various possibilities (*metrical* all!) open to the kavi. Yet the *last* one is correct. Other features in this hymn (whose metrical difficulties are not even mentioned by Velankar):

- 2c) yai sukratāvaḥ śucayaḥ dhiyaṁdhāḥ (N.B.)  
 (Mark the protraction “inter breves” omitted by the SK *passim*!)  
 6a) utā yauṣaṇai diviyai mahī naḥ (?)  
 = utā mahī diviyai yauṣaṇai naḥ (vs. X, 110, 6c) ×

SK's reshuffle for euphony. Note the kavi's convention of protraction in the *second* syllable if final in a word—*passim*!

- c) barhiṣ-ṣadā puruhūtai maghaunī (N.B.)  
 7b) manyai vāṁ jāta-vaidasā yajadhyāi  
 c) ūrdhvaṁ naḥ adhvaraṁ kṛtaṁ havaiṣu (??)  
 = „ kṛtam adhvaraṁ naḥ havaiṣu ×  
 SK's reshuffle for order—cfr. X, 4, 1b.

- 8c) sarasvatī sāravatā(y)iḥ arvāk (N.B.) (?)

Note “-āiḥ:-ā(y)iḥ” vs. “-ebhiḥ—possibly the SK's own.

- 9b) daiva tvastar vi rarāṇaḥ siyasva  
 10a) vanaspatai ava srja+upa daivān (no abhin.)  
 c) sa it (u) hautā satyatarah yajāti (no “u”!)  
 11b) indraīṇa daivāiḥ sarathaṁ turā-iḥ (N.B.)

Note “turā-iḥ vs. -ebhiḥ” as in 8c (and *passim*!)

*Result:* This kavi in his 44 pādas is most pattern-true and could not possibly have left 1c as given by the SK—while he does make use of protraction “inter breves”, cfr. 2c. Hence this hymn fully confirms the previous findings (in the foregoing maṇḍalas) against the SK’s palimpsesting devices.—The next item is (with an obvious protraction of a “brevis inter breves”—to be found *passim!*):

VII,8,6d) dyumāt amīva-cātanam rakṣohā (?)  
 = „ „ „ jaritrai (N.B.)

cfr. II,38,11c) śaṃ yat stautṛbhyaḥ āpayai bhavāti

d) urūśamsā(y)i savitar jaritrai (N.B.)

The first pāda here (11c) is identical with our VII,8,6c, hence it is to be expected that “jaritrai” will also be in 6d; but the SK finds a tempting *pseudo-model* in:

X,97,6c) vipraḥ sa ucyatai bhiṣak

d) rakṣohā+amīvacātanah (N.B.)

cfr. 137,6a) āpaḥ it vā-i(u) bhaiṣajīḥ (no “u”!)

b) āpāḥ amīvacātaniḥ (cfr. I,12,7c)

Hence the SK has the bright idea of enhancing *and* differentiating our VII, 8,6cd (from its obvious parallel II,38,11cd) by inserting the metrically impossible “rakṣohā” in the place of “jaritrai”. He is betrayed by two things: first he makes “rakṣohā” *neutre*, when it should be “rakṣoha”—to which he is misled by the apparent association with a *neutre* in I, 129,6c: “rakṣohā manma rajjati”; but the context shows clearly that “rakṣohā” there goes with “havyaḥ induḥ” and not with “manma” at all! Second, *all* the other cases of “rakṣohā” (11 of them!) throughout the Saṃhitā are strictly metrical and are *never* pāda-final.—This is an outstanding proof of the lengths to which the SK can go in his brazen palimpsesting. (This difficulty is not even mentioned by Velankar). This very stanza shows it in another way:

6a) idaṃ vacaḥ śatasāḥ(!) saṃsahasram

= „ „ „ san-sahasram

b) ut agnayai janiṣiṣṭa dvibarhāḥ (?)

= „ „ „ dvibarhāḥ

The SK pseudo-analogically adapts “dvibarhāḥ” to the (correct) root-noun “śatasāḥ”, which has no gender distinction. Hence comes his “rakṣohā” (which cannot be a *neutre* form) helped by the misunderstood I, 129, 6c. Note also the special compound “san-sahasram” equivalent to an inverted “sahasra-sāḥ” and similar to the type “vidat-vasu”, etc. (cfr. “gau-ṣan”, etc.).

Still one more thing exposes the SK: the pattern-true correctness of the hymn in the other 28 pādas with special features in:

- 1d) *ā agniḥ agrai uṣasām aśauci.*  
 2a) *ayam u sya sumahaān avaidi*  
 (Note the long-vowel resolution—*passim!*).  
 d) *kṛṣṇā-paviḥ auṣadhībhīḥ vavakṣai.*  
 4a) *prapra+ayam agniḥ bharatasya śṛṇvai.*  
 = *pra āyam agniḥ* „ „ (SK's filler)?  
 c) *abhī yaḥ pūrum pṛtanāsu tasthāu.*  
 7a) *nuu tvām agnai imahai vasiṣṭhāḥ.*  
 7d) *yūyaṃ pāta suvastibhīḥ sadā naḥ* (!?)  
 =(sadā pāt ā-yuuyā nas suvastī) (?) (cfr. below).

We have elsewhere proposed this reconstruction, since the “yūyam” in the SK’s text hangs completely in the air. Now, as thus reconstructed it would mean: “May good-luck (welfare), having embraced us, ever be our protector (protect us).” For the meaning of “ā+yu” cfr. Grassm. esp.: I,58,1; 138,1; 105,2; II,37,3c. Yet there is another possibility which entails far less emendation and is, therefore, preferable—namely:

- 7d) *yūyaṃ pāta, suvastayas, sadā naḥ* (?)

The SK must have got a haplology from the reciters: “-tayā(s)sadā-tayā sadā” which he, not unnaturally, interpreted as “suvastayā”—and then rounded it off into “svastibhīḥ” to fill up *his* pāda from the many parallels with “suvastibhīḥ” (cfr. Grassm.). For the haplology cfr. “barhiṣadah” in VII,2,6c above, etc. (cfr. Grassm.), and for the personification of “suvastī” cfr. IV,55,3b; X,62,16ab (cfr. Grassm., s.v.2). (Nothing is said by Velankar on this problem of the totally unrelated “yūyam”). Better still is (as final):

- 7d) *daiivāḥ, pāta suvastibhīḥ sadā naḥ.*

Result: This hymn with its metrical correctness confirms our previous findings and, in a special way, the very important emendation in VII,8,6d above.—The next item is:

- VII,28,4d) *ava dvitā varuṇaḥ māyī naḥ sāt* (!?)  
 = *ava naḥ māyī varuṇaḥ dvitā sāt* ×

This kavi cannot leave the *final* rhythm like that. It is a mistaken reshuffle (of the word-order) by the SK to avoid confusion (“dvitāsāt: dvitā+āsāt?”), in pseudo-analogy to the many texts (15!) where “dvitā” occurs in the *pre-yati* position, especially in the form “adha dvitā; etc.—Yet the meter is paramount *against* the SK’s un-

metrical text. (But nothing is found in Velankar on this difficulty, cfr. below).

Other features in this hymn confirm the same:

- 1c) viśvai cit hi tvā vihavanta martāḥ (possible!)  
 = „ „ vi martāḥ havantai ×(?)

Has the SK misanalysed “havanta(y)+asmākaṁ” (in 1d), as “havanta+asmā-”, or else has he simply changed it to suit the rhythm because *his* rule is that upasargas go united to their verbs if subordinate, which is *not invariably* the case for the kavis, as is well known, cfr. 3b? Not likely. Next:

- 2b) brahmā yat pāsi śavasīn ṛṣiṇām (N.B.)  
 d) ghauras san kratvā janiṣṭhāḥ aṣāḍhaḥ (?)  
 =ghaurasḥ kratvā ajaniṣṭhāḥ „  
 The SK has filled up with “san” vs. *his* saṁdhi.

- 3a) tava praṇitī indra jauhuvānān (N.B.!)  
 b) saṁ yat nṛṇ na raudasī ninaitha (!?)  
 =saṁ raudasī na yat nṛṇ ninaitha.  
 =saṁ yat nṛṇ raudasī nā ninaitha (better) ×

*Contra* Geldner, “jauhuvānān” can only go with “nṛṇ” *here*. The SK has messed it up to avoid the (for him) confusing: “nayanṛṇninaitha” and for better euphony—or vs. “nā”. Note “nṛṇ”!

- 3d) ’tūtujiṁ cit tūtujiḥ aśīśnat (!?)  
 =atūtujiḥ śīśnathat tūtujiṁ cit. × (?)  
 = „ cit tūtujiṁ aśīśnat (better).

This is the real paradox which the power of Indra achieves—completely missed *and* messed up by the SK—*pace* Geldner *et al.* The SK’s text is senseless—all Bhāṣyakāras’ contortions notwithstanding. The form “aśīśnat” an SK’s concoction? For the *augmentless* form “śīśnatha-” cfr. Grassm. (Velankar’s treatment is unviable, if only because of “cit”). But the *second* alternative is right.

—Next:

- 4c) prati yat caṣṭai anṛtām anaināḥ  
 d) ava naḥ māyī varuṇaḥ dvitā sāt (cf. above!)
- 5a) vaucaima+it indraṁ maghavānam ainam  
 =vaucaima ainam maghavānam indram × (no “it”)
- c) yaḥ arcataḥ brahmakṛtūm aviṣṭhaḥ  
 =daivāḥ, pāta suvastibhiḥ sadā naḥ (cf. above)  
 =yūyaṁ pāta, suvastayas sadā naḥ (?)



*Result:* The SK has messed up things in grand palimpsesting style but he has kept the final rhythm and the metrical pattern throughout—except in his reshuffling (due to pseudo-analogy) in 4d. That shows that he found a flawless meter himself. All of which confirms both our emendation and our previous findings against the SK's palimpsest. (But Velankar's loyalty to the SK's text makes him ignore all that).—The next item is:

VII,38,6a) anū tat naḥ jāspatiḥ maṃsīṣṭa (N.B.)

The problem is solved by a normal resolution—so easy!—For other features in this hymn cfr.:

2a) ut ī tiṣṭha savitaḥ śrīdhi asya (N.B.)

d) ā nṛbhyaḥ marta-bhaujanam suvānaḥ

4a) abhī yaṃ daivī aditiḥ pṛṇāti

c) abhī samrājaḥ varuṇaḥ gṛṇanti

d) abhī mitrāsaḥ aryamā sajausaḥ (?)

= abhī mitraḥ aryamaā „ (cfr. VII,63,6a) (?)

= „ „ sam aryamā „ (?)

= „ mitrāś ca „ „ (right!)

The construction “gir : gr-|-sam” is rare, but, precisely because of that, could have confused the SK (cfr. IV,25,7ab). On the other hand—pace Velankar's remark—“mitrāsaḥ” here is *very* odd—cfr. Geldner. The *last* alternative is right (vs. the SK's samdhi-dodging), though the first alternative is backed by 2a, 6b, and 6a, q.v.—Next:

5a) abhī yai mithaḥ vanuṣaḥ sapantai (?)

= abhī mithaḥ yai „ „ ×

5c) ahiḥ budhniyaḥ uta naḥ śrṇautu (?)

= utā ahiḥ budhniyaḥ „ „ ×

The SK is dodging his samdhi and initial non-rhythm—so clear!

5d) varūtrī aika-dhainubhiḥ ni pātu

6a) anū tat naḥ jāspatiḥ maṃsīṣṭa (protr.!)

b) ratnaṃ daivasya savitīḥ iyānaḥ („ )

c) bhagūm ugraḥ avasai jauhavīti („ )

7b) daivātātā mitadravaḥ su-arkāḥ (?)

= mitadravaḥ daivatātā „ „ ×

c) jambhayantaḥ ahiṃ vṛkaṃ rakṣāṃsi (N.B.)

= ahiṃ vṛkaṃ rakṣāṃsi jambhayantaḥ × (?)

= „ „ rakṣasaḥ „ „ ×

- 8a) vājai-vājai avata vājinaḥ naḥ (no abhin.)  
 c) asyā madhvaḥ pibata mādayadhvam

Note that in 7c above the SK clarifies vs. "rakṣasaḥ" (nomin.? acc.? genit.)—especially in connection with "jambhayanṭaḥ", which *grammatically* could be thought to go with it, against the context (cf. I,35,10c; 76,3; 79,6c, etc.).

*Result:* This hymn with its 32 pādas offers a full confirmation of our previous findings as well as of our emendations in 6a+7c against the SK's palimpsest. But Velankar finds no difficulties in it.—The next item is:

- VII,42,1a) pra brahmāṇaḥ aṅgirasāḥ nakṣanta (! ?)  
 = " " " " naśanta (?)  
 = " " " " nakṣanta aṅgirāsaḥ (?) ×  
 = " " " " aṅgirasāḥ anakṣan (N.B.)

The SK *could* be dodging his saṃdhi and trying for order and a less odd (for his orthoepy) final rhythm. For the protraction "inter breves" cfr. 3b, 4d, 5b. But a possibly better solution *could* be the first alternative with "naśanta" which the SK changed into the clearer "nakṣ" to avoid confusion with the "naś" in VI,28,3a; IX,79,1cd (= to perish, get lost). Cfr. VII,52,3a, where the final solution will be given (with "anakṣan", cfr. X,115,9de).—For other features in this hymn cfr.:

- 3a) sam ü vaḥ yajñam mahayan namobhiḥ  
 b) pra hautā mandraḥ riricai upākai  
 4c) supṛitaḥ agniḥ sudhitaḥ damai ā (N.B.)  
 = " " " " damay ā sudhītaḥ × (?)  
 d) sa viśai dāti vāriyām iyatyāi  
 = viśai sa " " " ×  
 5b) marutsu indrai yaśasaṃ kṛdhī naḥ (N.B.)  
 6a) aivā āgniṃ sahasiyam vasiṣṭhāḥ  
 b) rāyaḥ-kāmaḥ viśvapniyasya stāut (! ?)  
 = " " " " -yasya astāut (! ?)

The SK drops the augment so as to have a *semblance* of a short syllable in the penult which *his* saṃdhi would destroy.—(Here note how typical it is that Velankar should find no difficulty, especially in 1a and 6b!).

*Result:* This hymn with its 24 pādas confirms our findings and the (provisional!) emendation of 1a (backed by 6b as to the

rhythm)—against the SK's palimpsesting dodges. For 1a in its *final* solution cfr. here below.—The next item is one that shows the pervert use of abhin. by the SK (cfr. VII,38,6b!):

VII,52,3a)	turanyavaḥ aṅgirasah nakṣanta	(no abhin.)
=	„ aṅgirasāḥ anakṣan	(right)
	„ „ naṣanta	(?)

Both here and in the previous case (VII,42,1a above) the SK *could* be avoiding the confusion born of the two “nās” verbs (to perish vs. to obtain—cfr. Grassm.) especially because of VI,28,3a; IX,79,1d, q.v. But the final solution is given by X,115,9de: “vaṣat-vaṣat ityūrdhvāṣah anakṣan” = “vaṣat-vaṣat iti ūrdhvāḥ anakṣan”.—Here the SK dares not change (into “nakṣanta”) because his other change has robbed the pāda of all *post-yati* rhythm, and “nakṣanta” would be fatal to the *final* rhythm too, making sheer prose. But in the two “aṅgirasah” cases it is “better”. His change there is due to his having abhinihita (in VII,52,3a) and a *non-abhinihita* side by side, while with “nakṣanta” it looks as if he had *two* (consistent) ‘abhinihitas.’ Hence he borrows “nakṣanta” from X,88,17d. Hence in both texts read: “. . . aṅgirasāḥ anakṣan”.—For other features in this hymn cfr.:

2b)	śarmā taukāyi tanayāyi gaupāḥ	(?)
=	gaupāḥ „ „ śarma	× (?)

The SK reshuffles for clarity—cfr. 2a.—Next:

2c)	mā vaḥ bhujaima anyajātam ainaḥ	(N.B.)
=	na „ „ anyajātam „	

d)	mā tat karma vasavaḥ yat cayadhvai	
cfr. VI,51,7a)	mā vāḥ ainaḥ anyakṛtam bhujaima	
=	na „ „ „ „	

b) mā tat karma vasavaḥ yat cayadhvai

The author of this hymn (VII, 52) is surely a second-hand composer who imitates pre-existing models and tries to introduce secondary modifications to justify his existence and originality. Here VI,51,7ab is certainly the original with its “anyakṛtam vs. anyajātam”, which latter does not fit well “ainaḥ” and is borrowed from a divergent perfect context in VII,4,7c (q.v.). But the imitation (which tries to improve the archaic initial rhythm) is an old one since it clearly accepts the non-saṁdhi at the yati. In both texts the contrast between “mā bhujaima” (opt. with “mā”!) and “mā karma” is revealing (though Velankar takes it in his stride, quite unperturbed!)

The SK has been misled by the *parallelism* of a genuine "mā" + *injunct.* phrase to uniformise into "mā" + *opt.*—This happened in the *first* Saṃhitā-occurrence of those "mā bhujaima" cases:

- IV,3,13a) mā kasya yakṣaṃ sadam it hurah gāḥ (?)  
 = " " " " " " " " „ gām (cfr. b)  
 b) mā vaiśasya praminataḥ maa + āpaiḥ (N.B.)  
 c) mā bhrātuḥ agnai anṛjauḥ ṛṇaṃ vaiḥ  
 d) mā sakhiyuḥ dakṣaṃ ripauḥ bhujaima (! ?)  
 = na sākhiyuḥ dakṣaṃ " " (?)  
 = dakṣaṃ sakhiyuḥ na ripauḥ bhujaima (?) ×

We had proposed this second alternative as preferable in a previous essay; yet further metrical studies have led us to consider the first as also viable. But there is a further possibility which would explain even better this anomalous combination of "mā" with optative: It lies in the cases of *elliptic* use of "mā": I,54,1; II,23,16; I,173,12 (cfr. Grassm. s. v. "mā" 4). Especially:

- I,39,2c) yuṣmākam astu (!) taviṣi panīyasi  
 d) mā(!) martiyasya māyinaḥ (bhuvat?)  
 82,1a) upa + u su śṛṇuḥ girah  
 b) maghavan mā + atathāḥ iva (śṛṇauḥ?)  
 IV,32,20a) bhūridāḥ bhūri dhaihi naḥ  
 b) mā dabhram, bhūri ā bhara (dhāḥ?)  
 VIII,33,19a) adhaḥ paśyasva mā + upari (paśyathāḥ?)  
 „ 97,2d) tasmin taṃ dhaihi mā paṇāu (dhāḥ?)  
 VII,59,12c) ūrvārukaṃ iva bandhanāt (!?)  
 = " na " (N.B.)  
 d) mṛtyauḥ mukṣīya mā + amṛtāt (mukṣi?)

It is this last example that fits our case. The kavi, if the metre had so suited him, could have said conceivably: "mṛtyauḥ, mā + amṛtāt, mukṣīya". And this is precisely what has to be the case in our text above (IV,3,13):

"dakṣaṃ sakhiyuḥ, mā ripauḥ, bhujaima"  
 or: "sakhiyuḥ dakṣaṃ, " " " "

This the SK, because of the *triple initial* "mā" in 13abc, changed for parallelism into *his* non-sensical:

- d) mā sakhiyuḥ dakṣaṃ ripauḥ bhujaima.

And this in turn gave him the impression that the *kavi* had intended "mā bhujaima" instead of "sakhiyuḥ dakṣaṃ bhujaima,

mā ripauḥ (dakṣaṃ bhujāma)", as in the elliptical texts above. Hence the SK now proceeded (as in the case of "pavāka : pāvaka") to *uniformise* all the texts containing "bhujaima" with a prohibitive negative, changing the latter to "mā" from the original idiomatic "na" which is universally-consistently used by the kavis (who also invariably use "mā" with *injunctive* everywhere else!). Hence:

- V, 70,4a) mā kasya adbhutakratū . (!?)  
 b) yakṣaṃ bhujaimā tanūbhiḥ  
 c) mā śaiṣasā mā tanasā (!?)  
 = a) na kasya . . . =  
 = b) yakṣaṃ bhujaimā =  
 = c) na śaiṣasā na tānasā

The iambic rhythm in 4a+c demands "na" (4b is trochaic in a hymn where the rhythms alternate, q. v.: 1=t+t+t; 2=t+i+t; 3=t+t+t; 4=i+t+i). Hence this text is a proof of the rightness of our emendation of "mā" into "na" in 2c above and of the SK's palimpsesting misuniformising.—Further:

- VII,88,6a) yaḥ āpiḥ nityaḥ varuṇa priyaḥ san (N.B.)  
 b) tvām āgaṃsi kṛṇavat sakhā tai (tuvām āgā-?)  
 c) mā tai ainasvantaḥ yakṣin bhujaima (!?)  
 = na ainasvān(t) san yakṣam im bhujait tai ×  
 d) yandhi sma vipraḥ stuvatai varūtham (!?)  
 = „ „ viprāi „ „

We have given elsewhere the reasons justifying this far-reaching emendation; but it is enough to look at the Bhāṣyakārās' impossible contortions (cfr. Geldner and Velankar) to be absolutely sure that no ṛṣi-kavi could ever concoct the SK's text—while a careful consideration of the emendated text will gradually convince anyone that only *that* text can account for the kavi's sensible sense and for the errors committed by the transmitters and the SK. Note especially: "priyaḥ san" vs. "ainasvān(t) san" with its peculiar archaic saṃdhi; "yaḥ" vs. "im"; "yakṣin" vs. "yakṣam im-+bhu—: yakṣamī:(n)-+bhu—: yakṣmin" in its process of corruption and of obvious miscorrection (so as not to allow it to seem to call Varuṇa "yakṣmin" cfr. "yakṣma")! Add to this that the SK is obviously messing up "mā" and "viprāi"—and there can be no possible doubt that the above emendated text must be upheld against the SK's woeful palimpsested caricature.

And mark how the SK must have felt confirmed in his miscorrection because in the two texts particularly concerning us here (VI, 51,7ab; VII,52,2cd) the "na bhujaima" was paired with a "mā karma", making him feel all the more justified in uniformising after what he

thought was such a clear "ārṣa" model in the very first occurrence of the "mā+bhujaima" case. Of such stuff is the SK made!—

In order to confirm "viprāi" in 6d above we shall here adduce VI,6,3d and some parallel texts. And first VI,6:

3d) siṣakti anyañ vṛjanaiṣu vipraḥ (?!)  
= " " " viprāi (N.B.)

This is one of the cases where the SK, not managing to accommodate his -āya dative in place of the archaic (unresolved) -āi, changes it into another case which can somehow fit into the context. Cfr. IV, 21:

7d) siṣakti śuṣmaḥ stuvatai bharāyi  
cfr. VII,88,6d) yaṃdhi sma vipras stuvatai varūtham (cfr. above)  
= " " viprāi " "  
" " 4a) vasiṣṭhaṃ ha varuṇaḥ nāvi ādhāt  
b) ṛṣiṃ cakāra su-apāḥ mahobhiḥ  
c) stautāraṃ vipraḥ sudinatvay ahnām (?!)  
= " vipraṇi " " (N.B.)

This "vipraḥ" is only made by the SK to confirm the one in 6d above (in the same hymn!). For "stuvat+vipra" (or "jarit") cfr. Grassm. s.v. "stuvat".—Next (in VII, 52):

3b) ratnaṃ daivasya savitūḥ iyānāḥ

This is imitated from VII,38,6b with a slight change which fits less well into the new context ("iyānaḥ" passive—with Grassm. *contra* Geldner!—vs. "iyānāḥ" active!).—Next:

3c) pitā ca tat naḥ mahaan yajatraḥ

How Oldenberg, of all people, can hesitate about the resolution in "mahaan" (in a hymn that has no similar metrical flaw in any of its other 11 pādas!) is incomprehensible to us.

*Result.*—This hymn, (VII, 52) more than many others even, is an apodictic proof of the previous findings, especially of the systematic and ubiquitous palimpsesting by the SK. But to all that Velankar's method is completely impervious.—The next item is:

VII,63,3c) aiṣā mai daivaḥ savitā cacchanda  
= " " " " cachanda (cf. X,73.9b)

This is a proof that the invariable classical rule about ch = cch in the interior of a word is *not* followed by the ṛṣi-kavis, for whom the ch in "cacchanda" does *not* make length by position. The "rule" was born from a pseudoanalogy to cases like "gacchati", where the length is traditional and etymological. (Something similar to the

later generalisation of the duplication of *any* final *n* after a short vowel—originally only for *-n(t)* because of the lost consonant)—For other features in this hymn cfr.:

- 1a) ut ü aiti subhagaḥ viśvacakṣāḥ (N.B.)  
 2a) ut ü aiti prasavitā janānām (N.B.)

Here note the possibility of lengthening the *i* of “savitā”, which makes it possible to have a metrically-usual pāda (even *without* reshuffle) in the famous:

- III,62,10a) tat savītuḥ varaiṇīyam (N.B.)  
 = savituḥ tat „ (?) (cfr. V,82,2b)  
 b) bhagaḥ daivasya dhīmahi  
 c) dhiyaḥ yat naḥ pracaudayāt (N.B.)

This “yat” is the only possible syntactical correspondence to the prominently leading “tat” in 10a. The SK’s “yo” came from the combined influence (on the *oral* reciters!) of the preceding “dhiyo” and of the assimilating simplification of “yan+na: yā(n)na: yānaḥ: yo naḥ”. This emendation may be confirmed by V,82:

- 1a) tat savītuḥ vṛṇīmahai  
 b) vyaṃ daivasya bhaujanam  
 c) śraiṣṭham sarvadhātamam (! ?)  
 = yat śraiṣṭham „ „  
 d) (turaṃ bhagasya dhīmahi) (! ?)

This last is an extra pāda in a poem made up *exclusively* of gāyatrīs, and is surely interpolated in *imitation* of the second pāda of the Sāvitrī (above) together with its adjoining:

- 11a) daivasya savituḥ vyaṃ (N.B.)  
 b) vājayantaḥ puramdhiyā  
 c) bhagasya rātim imahai

This (together with the mantra quoted in the Kāuś. S., 91,10: “turaṃ bhagasya bhaujanam”?) must have led the SK to round off the gāyatrī above with “dhīmahi” (since “bhaujanam” had already been mentioned in 1b) and to suppress “yat” in order to form in *cd* a *coordinate* sentence (with “vṛṇīmahai” in *ab*). Note that *initial* “śraiṣṭha” is *never* resolved in the Saṃhitā—cfr. Concord. and X,35,7 below. As for the reconstruction: “tat-yat” cfr.:

- I,110,3a) tat savitā vaḥ amṛtatvam āsuvat  
 = tat vaḥ savitā amṛtatvam „ × (?)  
 b) agauhiyaṃ yat śravayantaḥ aitana

(Here “tat-yat” as conjunctions correlated also).

cfr. X,58,1-12: "yat tai . . . . . tat tai"

- „ I,159,5a) tat rādhaḥ adya savituḥ varaiṇiyam  
 b) vyaṃ daivasya prasavai manāmahai  
 c) asmabhyaṃ dyāvā-pṛthivī sucaitunā  
 d) rayiṃ dhattam vasumantam śatagvinam

There is every reason to believe that the original pāda-order was cd+ab and that it was changed by the SK precisely because of the Sāvitrī; but "tat rādhaḥ" surely refers back to the "rayim" in cd; and it is much less natural to consider it as *proleptically* pointing to cd. That is also why *this* "tat" has no "yat" to correspond, since the kavi has conceived it as *analeptic*, not *pro-leptic*. —Cfr. also:

- I,141,1a) baḍ itthā tat vapuṣai dhāyi darśatam  
 b) daivasya bhargaḥ sahasaḥ yato jani (?)  
 = „ „ „ yat ājani

This is—*contra* Geldner, q. v.—a misanalysis of the reciters' *archaic* "yat ājani", since the protracted *ū* would sound to the SK very much like o. —And this is a very strong confirmation of our emendation: "tat bhargaḥ yat" in the Sāvitrī. And note that this is the only time that "jani" appears *without* an augment—vs. VIII,6,10c; VII,94,1c; I,74,3b; 83,5b; 144,4c; II,5,4b; 34,2d. —Finally:

- IV,53,1a) tat(!) daivasya savitur vāriyaṃ mahat (N.B.)  
 b) vṛṇimahi asurasya pracaitasaḥ  
 c) chardiḥ yaina(!) dāśuṣai yacchati tmanā (N.B.)  
 d) tat(!) naḥ mahān ut ayān daivaḥ aktubhiḥ (N.B.)
- VIII,29,13a) tat vāriyaṃ vṛṇimahi (N.B.)  
 b) variṣṭhaṃ gaupayātiyam  
 c) mitraḥ yat(!) pānti varunaḥ yat(!) aryamā  
 = mitraḥ paanti varunaḥ yat aryamā (only *one* "yat"!)=mitraḥ yat pānti varunaś ca . . .?
- X,35,7a) śraiṣṭhaṃ naḥ adya savitar varaiṇiyam  
 b) bhāgām ā suva sa hi ratnadhāḥ asi  
 = „ suvā ā „ „ „ „ „ × (?)

There can be no doubt that the author of the Sāvitrī could only have said in III, 62:

- 10a) tat savituḥ varaiṇiyam  
 (= savituḥ tat „ „,)? (cfr. V,82,2b)  
 b) bhargaḥ daivasya dhimahi  
 c) dhiyaḥ yat naḥ pracaudayāt.



And this shows that this formula was taken from the Ṛgveda *after* the SK's palimpsesting redaction in relatively younger times. But to come back to our VII,63:

- 3d) yaḥ sāmānaṃ na pramināti dhāma (?)  
 = samānaṃ yaḥ „ „ „ (?) ×  
 (The kavi may have held “samāna= sā+mānam”= cpd.)
- 4b) dūrai-arthah taraniḥ bhrājamānaḥ (N.B.)
- 5b) śyainaḥ na diyann anu aiti pāthah  
 (= „ „ „ „ „ „ (pāthah?)

It *could* be a *protracted* “pāthah” misinterpreted by the SK; but the kavi would have then said “panthām”, as in I,124,3c = V,80,4c, etc. —and “pāthah” can have a fitting sense, cfr. Geldner. —Next:

- 5c) pratī vāṃ sūrai uditai vidhaima  
 6a) nuī mitraḥ varuṇaḥ aryamā naḥ (N.B.)

*Result:* This hymn is a flawless example of metrical regularity, and through its archaism (esp. “prasavitā”) the occasion of many further proofs of the correctness of our findings and method and of the SK's palimpsesting systematic redaction. But all that is (as it was bound to be) a closed book to Velankar's “accepted” method. —The next item is:

- VII,68,1c) havyāni ca pratibhṛtā vītam naḥ (!?)  
 = havyā ca naḥ pratibhṛtāṇi vītam × (?)  
 = vītam „ „ „ havyā ×

The SK—imitating 2bc!—may be dodging “ca na(h)+pra-” because it sounds too much like “cana”. N.B.—For other features cfr.:

- 2c) tirāḥ aryaḥ havanāni śrutam naḥ  
 This is the SK's pseudo-model for 1c, q.v. (verb-accent!)

- 3c) asmabhyaṃ sūryā-vasuī iyānaḥ (N.B.)  
 4a) ayaṃ ha yat vāṃ daivayā(h) u adriḥ (!?)  
 = „ „ „ daivayā(h) yaḥ adriḥ (nu?)

An SK's misanalysis based on the pseudomodel of the “aitavā(i)+u” cases, which, in turn, are a misanalysis of a long-diphthong resolution (archaic): “aitavā(y)i”.—Next:

- 5b) nī atrayai mahiṣvantam yuyautam  
 = mahiṣvantam nī atrayai yuyautam (?)  
 (= „ „ „ yuyūtam)? (N.B.)
- c) yaḥ vām aumānaṃ dadhata priyaḥ san (N.B.)

These anomalous-analogous strong forms are all suspect of being SK's concoctions (à la “pāvaka”) for the sake of his *final* rhythm.

The SK probably reshuffles in 5b for euphony vs. “-yaiyuyo-”.—Next:

6c) adhī yat varpaḥ ita(ḥ)-ūti dhattha  
 =    "    "    "    "    "    "    dhattam    (N.B.)

This is the SK's trick of changing *augmentless past* verbal duals into present to avoid their *imperative* look. But he could not do that in 5b (above), because there is no strengthening of forms (dual) in the indicative; but he does it in the case of “dadhatai” (for the original dadhata'!) just to show that “yuyautam” is *not* imperative in that context. q. v.—There is in the SK's madness more method than meets the eye.—Next:

7b) madhyai jahuḥ duraivāsaḥ samudrai                   (?)  
 (=    "    "    duraivaḥ    "    "    )                   (?)  
 7c) niḥ iṃ parṣat arāvā yaḥ yuvākuḥ                   (N.B.) (?)  
 =    "    yaḥ arāvā    "    "                   (N.B.) × (?)

This confirms our emendation in 4a.—Note that this kavi probably uses the same rather rare type of post-early-yati rhythm in 5b, 7bc, hence it *could* be accepted as his own. Yet the alternatives are always better.

—Next:

8c) yāv aghniyām apinvatām apaḥ na                   (N.B.)  
 9a) aiṣa sya kāruḥ jaratai *su-uktāiḥ*

*Result:* This hymn, with its pattern-true 36 pādas, confirms the previous findings and especially our emendation of 1c *against* the (here newly exposed) palimpsesting dodges by the SK. But the latter were impervious to Velankar's approach.—The next item is:

VII,93,7b) acchā mitraṃ varuṇam indraṃ vacaiḥ    (!?)  
 = mitram vacaiḥ    "    "    "    acchā    ×  
 (= acchā vacaiḥ varuṇam mitram indram)? ×

cf. VII,65,1b) mitraṃ huvai varuṇam pūtadakṣam (cf. VII, 66,76)

SK's reshuffle for better order—typical! But cfr. the innumerable times that “acchā” is used as a *post-position* (Grassm.), even if it is *also* often used as initial in the pāda.—For other features in this hymn cfr.:

1b) indrā-agnī vṛtrahaṇā juṣaithām                   (cfr. 4c)  
 d) tā vājam sadyaḥ usatai *dha-iṣṭhā*                   (N.B.)  
 3a) upā(+u) ha yat vidathaṃ vājinaḥ guḥ                   (no “u”)  
 c) arvantaḥ na kaṣṭhaṃ nakṣamaṇāḥ  
 d) indrā-agnī jauhuvataḥ naras tai  
 4c) indrā-agnī vṛtrahaṇā suvajrā                   (cfr. 1b)

d) pra naḥ navyā-iḥ tirataṃ da-iṣṇāiḥ (N.B.)

Here 1d+4d show how alive the diphthong-resolution was for the kavis. But “navyaibhiḥ” can be original.—Next:

5c) adaivayum vidathai daivayūbhiḥ (N.B.)

6a) imām u ṣu saumasutīm upā naḥ  
= „ „ „ upa naḥ saumasūtim (? cfr. 5c)

b) ā indrā+agnī? ā+indrā-agnī? . . . . . =

c) nuī cit hi parimamnāthay asmān (N.B.)

7c) yaī sim āgaḥ caḥrmā tat su mṛda (cfr. I, 179, 5)

This hymn, with its 34 pādas, is a model of metrical regularity and a solid proof of our previous findings. For *this* kavi there is no possibility of leaving 7b as the SK palimpsests it with one of the most obvious and apodictic cases of word-transposition, q.v.—But, again, all this was beyond Velankar’s scholarly horizon.

### CONCLUSION

And with this we have finished all the anomalous cases—in the VII M. — of a final rhythm (with a long 9th syllable) in the triṣṭubh-jagatī metre. Those 10 cases involve 9 hymns with 281 pādas of which 272 (vs. 9!) have no such flaw. It is implausible in the extreme to deny that the kavis *intended* perfect regularity and *did obtain* it with ease and consistency. To say now that *this* kind of kavi would be guilty of negligence or of impotence in such an important metrical factor is, in the light of their consistent care *and* actual success, to fly in the face of logic to say the least. And this argument adds a powerful force and convincing persuasiveness to all the individual reasons found to militate in favour of each emendation. And the latter, taken together with this additional plea, argue apodictically for a method which, based on *facts* supplied by the Saṃhitā-text itself—like the evidently artificial-redactional phenomenon of saṃdhi—and on a *logical deduction* from those very facts, works on the fundamental principle that *metre and archaism* are paramount and decisive *against the SK’s Saṃhitā-Palimpsest text*. —Q.E.D.

And now a final word about Velankar’s contribution to the Ṛgvedic studies.. It surely can be said that it is among the best that Western research and method can and must add to Indian tradition-bound learning and ability. But, as the above study has tried to demonstrate, even that best will for ever remain a *second* (and a finally unprogressive and stagnant) best unless and until *metre and archaism* and *word-mobility* (as shown above) are made into fundamental factors in any method trying to understand, interpret and satisfactorily explain the *real* Ṛgveda of the ṛṣi-kavis. Even giants

like Oldenberg and Geldner (to say nothing of able disciples of theirs, like our Velankar) are continually led up the garden-path and made to miss the point, with at best a near-miss, because of that bamboo-curtain of a Saṃhitā-Palimpsest woven 25 centuries ago by the skilful and well-meaning but deformingly-reforming, updatingly-defacing (and *thus* palimpsesting) paṇḍit-mentality of the Saṃhitā-Kāra agency in the Śākala-śākhā tradition. The latter did to the Ṛgveda something similar to what the later “dynamic” paṇḍit-redactors did to the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa—thus making a sifting-critical edition an absolute necessity.

It is high time that a Paraśurāma like axe of text-critical clear-headedness and methodical thoroughness should—as in the case of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa—patiently and scientifically muster up the courage to hack through that bamboo-thicket of traditional make-believe in order to come face to face with the radiant countenance of the Ṛgveda “as she *was spoke*” by the master-craftsmen versifiers that were the original *living* ṛṣi-kavis—*beyond* and *behind* the dessicated mummy that has masked it and them in our traditional Saṃhitā-Palimpsest.

*A final observation.*—The text reconstructions proposed in the course of the above essay are *in general and as a whole definitive*—in as far as the methods and fundamental principles of our text-critical approach are concerned (as based on meter archaism, word mobility and parallelism—against the SK’s Saṃhitā-Palimpsest). But as regards individual *details* the same reconstructions are, at times, *provisional and subject to revision*, in as far as new data and discoveries resulting from that method may open the way for better solutions—*but always in function of the same fundamental principles and method* of text-critical approach as advocated here and in all our work from the very beginning. In fact the permanence of that method and principles and their confirmation by progressively more satisfactory results are for us a source of reassurance that we are on the right track towards the definitive re-discovery of the genuine Ṛgveda of the Ṛṣi-kavis in its original form.

# KAMPA IN THE ACCENT-SYSTEM OF THE ṚGVEDA

By

G. C. JHALA

1. A familiar feature of the Accent-system of the ṚV is the independent Svarita with its four varieties, viz., Jātya or Nitya, Kṣaipra, Praśliṣṭa and Abhinihita. No less familiar is the phenomenon called *Kampa* marked by the figures 1 and 3 in the Saṁhitā of the ṚV. In this short note, we shall discuss certain aspects of the occurrence of the independent Svarita and the *Kampa*.

## I

2. It is well-known that in the ṚV when a final short *i* with the Udātta accent is followed by an initial short *i* with the Anudātta accent of the following word and results in a long *ī* by euphonic combination, the resulting long *ī* (praśliṣṭa) bears the (independent) Svarita accent representing the fusion of the Udātta and Anudātta accents of the two combined syllables. Cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* (1923), 84 d, 128; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar* 108 (1); *Vedic Grammar for Students* (VGS) Appendix III 17 (a); Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII* (1962) Appendix I ii (3). Whitney, SG (128), has presented a clear analysis of the principles governing the accentuation of vowel combinations and shown how this rule regarding the long *ī* (formed by the combination of Udātta short *i* and Anudātta short *i*) being marked as an independent Svarita is an exception so far as the ṚV is concerned; a combination of Udātta short *u* and Anudātta short *u* resulting in long *ū* (Praśliṣṭa) is not marked as independent Svarita but only as Udātta in accordance with the normal rule. The illustration generally given is:

दिवि इव = दिवीव (ṚV VII 24.5). We may quote two more cases from the seventh Maṇḍala of the ṚV:

(i) अमि इतिम् = अर्मातिम् (21.9)      (ii) धुरि इव = धुरीव (24.5)

3. The *Rkprātisākhya* (RKP) states this case and its accentuation in the following Kārikā:

इकारयोश्च प्रश्लेषे क्षैप्राभिनिहितेषु च ।

उदात्तपूर्वरूपेषु शाकल्यस्यैवमाचरेत् ॥ III 13

As against this view of Śākalya, it quotes the view of Māṇḍūkeya according to which in all cases of Praśliṣṭa combination the

resulting combined accent will remain Udātta and not be changed to (independent) Svarita (माण्डूकेयस्य सर्वेषु प्रश्लिष्टेषु तथा स्मरेत् ।) Quite the contrary practice is seen to be prevalent in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā wherein a combination of Udātta short *u* and Anudātta short *u* resulting in a long *ū* (praśliṣṭa) is marked with a (independent) Svarita accent; but this principle is not followed in the case of a similar combination of Udātta *i* and Anudātta *i*. e.g., सु उद्गाता = सूद्गाता Cf. Whitney, SG 128; Macdonell, VGS Appendix III 17a with footnotes 4 and 5.

## II

4. Next, let us consider another aspect of the marking of the independent Svarita. It is well-known that when a syllable bearing an independent Svarita is followed by a syllable with the Udātta accent, a kind of quaver, technically known as *Kampa*, arises in the independent Svarita. This *Kampa* is marked with figure 1 or 3 according as the vowel bearing the independent Svarita is short or long; both these numeral signs carry the usual markings of the Svarita and Anudātta accents, the only distinction being that the syllable (bearing the independent Svarita originally) is marked as Anudātta before the figure 3, while it remains unmarked before the figure 1. e.g.,

(i) अ॒प्सु अ॒न्तः = अ॒स्व॒॑न्तः (RV I 116.24)

(ii) त॒न्वा॒ सं व॒दे = त॒न्वा॒॒॒॑ सं व॒दे (RV VII 86.2)

5. Now, an interesting question may be posed here: Would this phenomenon of *Kampa* occur when the independent Svarita accent is followed by another independent Svarita accent? The rule in regard to the *Kampa* has been framed by Macdonell (VG 84 b; VGS Appendix III 2 b) and, following him, by Velankar (*R̥gveda* Maṇḍala VII p. 189), without envisaging such a possibility, perhaps on the supposition that just like the enclitic Svarita, the independent Svarita accent, too, cannot be followed by another Svarita accent. Theoretically, it may not be impossible for two consecutive syllables in the Saṁhitā text to have the independent Svarita accent. Whitney has been alert to such a possibility and has framed rule 87 d as follows:—'If an independent circumflex be followed by an acute (or by another independent circumflex), a figure 1 is set after the former circumflex vowel if it be short, or a figure 3 if it be long...' Note the alternative condition placed in brackets. Whitney recognizes the possibility of one independent Svarita being followed by another independent Svarita; however, the fact that he has placed this provision in brackets would indicate that in his view this is only a theoretical possibility. This is con-

firmed by the fact that he has not quoted any case of occurrence of this kind.

6. Wackernagel is less explicit though more definite in principle than Whitney. He formulates the rule as follows:—'when a syllable with a self-existing Svarita (one with Kṣaipra, Abhinhita or Praśliṣṭa) occurs before a chief-toned (*haupttoniger*) syllable in the Accent system of the ṚV...etc' (*Altindische Grammatik* I 251 b β); he has included the independent Svarita in his definition of the *Hauptton*, Cf. I 245, 246. According to Wackernagel, therefore, *Kampa* occurs when a syllable with an independent Svarita is followed either by a syllable bearing the Udātta accent or the independent Svarita accent. He quotes no examples.

7. The *Ṛkprātisākhya* is explicit on this point; it says that *Kampa* occurs when any kind of independent Svarita is followed by a syllable with *ucca* i.e. Udātta accent or with a (independent) Svarita accent:

जात्योऽभिनिहितश्चैव क्षैप्रः प्रशिष्ट एव च ।

एते स्वराः प्रकम्पन्ते यत्रोच्चस्वरितोदयाः ॥ III. 34

8. It is strange that Whitney (or Wackernagel) has not quoted any cases of an independent Svarita being followed by another independent Svarita. The omission of this alternative condition, viz. an independent Svarita being followed by another independent Svarita in the ṚV Saṁhitā by Macdonell and Velankar in their treatment of *Kampa* is a deficiency (both theoretical and actual) which requires to be made up. At any rate, Prof. Velankar should not have omitted this alternative provision from his rule about *Kampa* because at least one case of this kind occurs in the seventh Maṇḍala itself:

स॒र्माके॑ ३॑ र्मा॒तिम् - ṚV VII 21.9 cd.

# THE WORD KṢĀYA IN THE ṚGVEDA

By

S. A. UPADHYAYA

I. The word *kṣaya-* (< *kṣi* to dwell, to rule, to destroy), formed either according to पुंसि सञ्जायां घः प्रायेण (Pāṇini Sūtra III. 3. 118) or according to एरच् (Pāṇini Sūtra III. 3. 56), should be *antodātta* in accordance with आद्युदानश्च (Pāṇini Sūtra III. 1. 3) or चितः (Pāṇini Sūtra VI. 1. 163) respectively. However, Pāṇini has laid down that the word *kṣaya-* meaning 'a house, dwelling' has the acute on the first syllable (i.e. *kṣáya-*); cf. *kṣayo nivāse* (VI. 1. 201).

This, probably, indicates that, the word *kṣaya-* meaning 'rule, destruction' has the acute on the last syllable. It would, therefore, be quite interesting and illuminating to examine the meaning of the word *kṣaya-* in the Ṛgveda in the light of the above mentioned Sūtras of Pāṇini.

II. The word *kṣáya-* in its different case-forms occurs seventy-two times<sup>1</sup> in the Ṛgveda and only with the acute on its first syllable. This leads us to conclude that in the Ṛgveda, the word *kṣáya-* means 'a house, dwelling'. This is also borne out by the relevant passages in the Ṛgveda.

III. In the majority of the passages in the Ṛgveda, the word *kṣáya-* has, obviously, the meaning 'a house, dwelling' and is so interpreted by the commentators and scholars. We shall discuss here only few passages wherein the meaning of the word *kṣáya-* is apparently uncertain.

(1) IV. 53. 6cd: (Savitā)

स नो देवः सविता शमं यच्छत्वस्मे क्षयाय त्रिवरुधमंहसः ।

Trans: May our divine Savitṛ bestow on us the triply-strong protection against a danger in order that we may have a home (i.e. happy dwelling).

Sāyaṇa in his commentary on this Mantra construes *d* as: अस्मे अस्माकम् अंहसः पापस्य क्षयाय भवत्विति शेषः । i.e. "for the destruction (क्षयाय) of the sin (अंहसः— genitive). Evidently, he has not followed Pāṇini's Sūtra *kṣayo nivāse* (VI. 1. 201) while explaining this passage. However, as shown above in the trans-

1. The total No. of passages in which the word *kṣáya* occurs is 71. At 1.132.3 the word occurs twice. These passages are translated under VIII A. Grassmann has omitted the passage VIII. 64.4 under *kṣáyah*.



lation, the Mantra can be interpreted in accordance with Pāṇini's Sūtra by construing the text as: अस्मे (dative of person) अंहसः (ablative) त्रिवरूथं शर्म क्षयाय (dative of purpose) यच्छतु । It is also possible to construe the text as: अस्मे क्षयाय (च) अंहसः त्रिवरूथं शर्म यच्छतु । i.e. 'Bestow on us and on our home, triply-strong protection against a danger'. To corroborate the construction of अंहसः as ablative (and not as genitive as Sāyaṇa does) we may compare शर्म नो यंसन् त्रिवरूथमंहसः at X. 66. 5d; also cf. I. 93.8cd. It may also be noted that अंहसः as genitive occurs only once (II. 33.3) in the Ṛgveda.<sup>2</sup> Geldner<sup>3</sup> translates the passage as: "Dieser Gott Savitr möge unserem Wohnsitze den Schutz gewähren, der dreifach vor Not schützt."

(2) VII. 46.2ab: (Rudra)

स हि क्षयेण क्षम्यस्य जन्मनः साम्राज्येन दिव्यस्य चेतति ।

Trans : He, indeed, knows (the deeds) of the creatures of the earth on account of (his) residence (on the earth) and (the deeds of the creatures) of the heaven on account of (his) sovereign power.

Geldner<sup>4</sup> translates the passage as: "Denn vermöge seines Wohnsitzes hat er acht auf das irdische Geschlecht vermöge seines Allherrschantums auf das himmlische". He also points out that the residence (*kṣāya-*) of Rudra on the earth is on the mountains. Sāyaṇa, in his commentary, explains the word क्षयेण as ऐश्वर्येण. Geldner too in his notes on this passage refers to this explanation of Sāyaṇa and draws our attention to the "Parallelismus" between क्षयेण and साम्राज्येन. Velankar<sup>5</sup> translates क्षयेण as "owing to his rulership" and compares the expression *kṣāyādvīra-* (I. 114. 1-3; X. 92.9) in the context of Rudra. It is possible to interpret the word *kṣāya-* as meaning 'rulership' in this context explaining Rudra's *kṣāya-* in the context of human beings and his *sāmrajya-* in the context of divine beings. However, at the same time, it must be conceded that the word *kṣāya-* in the context can be interpreted according to Pāṇini Sūtra VI. 1.201 without any difficulty in understanding the passage. Mayrhofer<sup>6</sup> also considers the meaning of *kṣāya-* as 'rulership' in this passage as mere probability. The comparison between *kṣāya-* and the Avestan *hšaya-* (prince, ruler) can serve at the most only as a corroborative evidence and not as a conclusive one.

2. Cf. Grassmann, H., *Wörterbuch Zum Rig-Veda*, 1955, col. 3.

3. Geldner, K.F., *Der Rig-Veda*, 1951, Vol. 1, p. 484.

4. Geldner, K.F., *Der Rig-Veda*, 1951, Vol. 2, p. 225.

5. Velankar, H.D., *Rgveda Mandala VII*, 1963, p. 113.

6. Mayrhofer, M. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* 1956, p. 287.

(3) VIII. 15.9ab: (Indra)

त्वां विष्णुर्वृहन् क्षयो मित्रो गुणाति वरुणः ।

Trans: Viṣṇu, the vast abode, Mitra and Varuṇa praise you.

The expression वृहन् क्षयः is explained by Sāyaṇa in his commentary as: महान् निवासहेतुः. Geldner<sup>7</sup> translates the expression as: "der hohe wohner" and Velankar<sup>8</sup> as: "the vast home". However, both these scholars as well as Oldenberg<sup>9</sup> have discussed the possibility of translating the expression as 'the mighty ruler'. This, no doubt, is quite possible, but not inevitable. Viṣṇu is more known for his vastness (cf. यस्योरुषु त्रिषु विक्रमणेव्वधिक्षियन्ति भुवनानि विश्वा । - 1. 154. 2cd) rather than his mighty ruling power. Besides, the explanation of the passage in accordance with Pāṇini Sūtra VI. 1.201 is quite natural and convincing.

Thus in all the three passages discussed above, the word *kṣāya-* can be interpreted according to Pāṇini Sūtra VI. 1.201 viz. *kṣayo nivāse*. Only in two of these passages (viz. VII. 46.2; VIII. 15.9) it is possible to interpret the word *kṣāya-* as 'rule, rulership', yet the fact that they can be interpreted in accordance with Pāṇini's Sūtra VI. 1.201 cannot be (nay, should not be) ignored altogether. In these cases, the choice of interpretation depends on our strict adherence to Pāṇini's Sūtra *kṣayo nivāse* (VI. 1.201).

IV. The word *kṣāya-* as a second member of a compound occurs in the following words: *urukṣāya-* (I.2.9; X.118.8, 9), *divikṣāyā-* (V.46.5), *rāthakṣāya-* (VI.35.1) and *sukṣāya-* (X.23.4). The accents of the words *urukṣāya-* (Bahuvrīhi compound) and *divikṣāyā-* (Tatpuruṣa compound) present no difficulty. The word *rāthakṣāya-*, in accordance with its accent, should be interpreted as a Bahuvrīhi compound. The accent of the word *sukṣāya-* (cf. आयुदात्तं द्व्यच्छन्दसि Pāṇini Sūtra VI. 2. 119) indicates that it should be construed as a Bahuvrīhi compound. In all these four compounds, the word *kṣāya-* has the sense of 'a house, dwelling.'

V. In this context, it would be also worthwhile to discuss the meaning of different verbal forms of √ *kṣi* and in particular of the words like *dyukṣā-*. This however, is not undertaken in this article as the problem has been discussed by Bhawe.<sup>10</sup>

VI. It is also worth noting that Grassmann<sup>11</sup> in his *Wörterbuch Zum R̥gveda* records *kṣāya-* as meaning 'a house' only. Mayrho-

7. Geldner, K.F., *Der R̥g-Veda*, 1951, Vol. 2, p. 315.

8. Velankar, H.D., *Hymns to Indra in Maṇḍala VIII*, Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XIV, pt. II, Sept. 1945, p. 21.

9. Oldenberg, H., *R̥gveda Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, 1912, Vol. 2, p. 89.

10. Bhawe, S.S., *The Soma-Hymns of the R̥gveda*, Part III, 1962, pp. 4-5.

11. Col. 363.

fer<sup>12</sup> follows Grassmann but points out the possibility of explaining the word *kṣāya-* as 'ruler, rulership' in two passages viz. VIII.15.9; VII.46.2 and remarks that in the former passage the meaning 'ruler' is "ungesichert" i.e. uncertain. Geldner has consistently interpreted the word *kṣāya-* as meaning 'a house, dwelling'.

VII. The above discussion leads us to conclude that the word *kṣāya-* in the Ṛgveda has the sense of 'a house, dwelling' only. It is quite curious that the word *kṣayá-* with *antodātta* is not at all attested in the Ṛgveda as well as in the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda and the Atharvaveda. This discussion also demonstrates that quite often the rules of Pāṇini render signal help in interpreting the text of the Ṛgveda.

VIII. In support of the conclusion drawn above, the translation of the passages from the Ṛgveda, wherein the word *kṣāya-* occurs, is given below.

A: Passages wherein the word *kṣāya-* occurs:

(1) I.36.8ab: (Agni)

Killing the foes, they crossed over the two worlds and the waters; they made (i.e. acquired) wide (space) for dwelling.

(2) I.40.7d: (Brahmaṇaspati)

He made the sheltered place his home.

*antarvāvat*, according to Geldner, refers to 'the intermediary (land)'.

(3) I.74.4, 5: (Agni)

People call that (man) only as possessed of good offering and good grass and as well devoted to the gods, in whose home you, O Aṅgiras, O son of strength, are a messenger, you love the offerings for enjoyment and you make the sacrifice wonderfully (successful).

For *dasmát* and *vitáye* read Velankar. H. D., *Hymns to Agni in Mandala I*, Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XXXI, Pt. 2, Sept. 1962, p. 19.

(4) I.86.1: (Maruts)

O Maruts, O distinguished (heroes) of the heaven, that person has the best protector at whose house, you, indeed, drink (Soma).

Sāyana construes *diváḥ* as ablative; Geldner renders *pāthá* as 'watch, protect'.

(5) I.123.1cd: (Uṣas)

From the dark one (i.e. darkness), the lofty and the noble (Uṣas) has stood up to the homes of men seeking to know them.

(6) I.132.3abc: (Indra)

That shining food (i.e. cow's milk) belongs to you as in old days when they (i.e. the Aṅgirasas), at a sacrifice, made the en-

closure (of Vala) their home; you indeed, are the enclosing home of Ṛta.

*Vár:* (√vr) 'enclosure'; read Velankar, H.D., *Rgvedic Similes*, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 14, 1938, notes on IV. 5.8c, p. 35.

(7) I.133.7a: (Indra)

The presser of Soma, indeed, wins a full (i.e. prosperous) house.

(8) I.144.7: (Agni)

O delightful, self-willed, Ṛta-born and judicious Agni,—you who are facing on all sides and who, in your shine, are lovely and delightful like a home full of nourishing food—accept and relish that hymn (of ours).

d = X. 64. 11a. For *pitumán-iva kṣáyah* cf. V. 48. 4c; X. 64. 11a.

(9) II.11.14a: (Indra)

Grant us a home; grant (us) a friend.

(10) II.27.15c: (Ādityas)

He goes to the battles conquering both the homes.

*ubháú kṣáyau* are the homes i.e. the kingdoms of both the parties.

(11) III.2.6ab: (Agni)

O (Agni) of purifying flame, O invoking priest, men, indeed, spread out sacrificial grass (as seats) at sacrifices around your home.

The Vedī is conceived as the home (*kṣáyā*) of Agni.

(12) III.2.13: (Agni)

For a new favour, we pray that Agni who has a wonderful course, who has tawny hair, who is holy, who deserves a sacrifice, who is a poet, who deserves praise and whom Mātariśvan brought down while he had a home in heaven.

Geldner remarks that *divi kṣáyam* is incomplete Bahuvrīhi compound as at VIII. 64. 4a; X. 63. 5b; also read Oldenberg, *Noten*, I, p. 226. However, there is no compelling reason to go against the text and the Padapāṭha.

(13) III.3.2cd: (Agni)

Being urged by the Gods, Agni, who regards (our) prayers as wealth, decorates the vast home, day by day.

*bṛhántam kṣáyam*, probably, is the altar.

(14) III.8.1cd: (Agni)

May you grant (us) riches here when you may stand erect or when (your) home is in the lap of this mother.

(15) III.11.7: (Agni)

A mortal who offers (offerings) enjoys by means of (his) vehicle (i.e. a hymn) foods and a home from Agni having purifying flames.

(16) III.40.4: (Indra)

O Indra, these pressed out Somas—lovely drops—run to you—(their) home—O great lord!

*kṣāyam*: Indra—rather his belly—is regarded as the home of Soma. *táva* i.e. *tubhyam*.

(17) IV.20.8a: (Indra)

You rule over the wealth and home of people.

*kṣāyasya*: Oldenberg's emendation (*Noten*, I, p. 284) *kṣayasi* here as well as at VI. 71. 6c in view of I. 32. 15; X. 9. 5, is not at all necessary.

(18) IV.53.6cd: (Savitā)

See III (1) above.

(19) IV.53.7a: (Savitā)

The God has arrived in time; may he prosper (our) home.

(20) IV.54.5ab: (Savitā)

You allot to these big mountains spacious homes (on the earth) where Indra is honoured as the supreme.

(21) V.9.2ab: (Agni)

Agni is the Hotṛ of the home of the liberal worshipper who spreads the sacrificial grass (as seats for Agni).

(22) V.12.6cd: (Agni)

Let the spacious and good home as well as (his own) offspring come to that man (*tásya náhuṣasya*) while he advances (through his own sons).

(23) V.23.4cd: (Agni)

O brilliant and purifying Agni, shine richly and refulgently right into (*ā*) these our homes.

*naḥ kṣāyeṣu* refers to the homes of the worshippers.

(24) V.48.4bcd: (Viśvedevāḥ)

I praise (his) face for enjoying this manifested form when he, at the same time, grants a gift and a home full of nourishing food to people who call out (to him) at a battle.

(25) V.64.4: (Mitrā-Varuṇā)

O Mitra and Varuṇa, together with a hymn may I place before you that which, indeed, is the best in the home of the patrons and poets and which is fit to be coveted (by both i.e. the patrons and the priests).

(26) V.64.5: (Mitrā-Varuṇā)

O Mitra, you and Varuṇa, with your very brilliant lustres, (come) to us at the sacrificial chamber, at your own home, for the prosperity of liberal patrons and friends (i.e. priests).

(27) V.65.4ab: (Mitrā-Varuṇā)

Mitra broadly wins a way out even in danger for the sake of a home.

(28) VI.2.5: (Agni)

That mortal who serves you, O Agni, with an offering which is sharpened (i.e. strengthened) with a fuel-stick, increases (his) home so as to be possessed of branches (i.e. descendants) and so as to be leading (our life) to hundred years.

(29) VI.25.6: (Indra)

He rules over the strength of both these (fighters) when the priests mightily invoke him at a battle and when the two who offer ample room (to him on the grass-seats) separately praise (him) either for (killing) the enemy or for (acquiring) the home full of heroes.

(30) VI.49.15cde: (Viśvedevāḥ)

Grant (us) an undecaying (i.e. prospering) home by which we may overpower (our) rivals as well as the godless people and by which we may enjoy the god-devoted people.

(31) VI.50.3cd: (Viśvedevāḥ)

May you, O supporters! give (us) great welfare so that it may be unobstructed for us and for our home.

(32) VI.71.6cd: (Savitā)

O God, may we be the sharers of wealth and of rich and spacious home, on account of this hymn.

*kṣáyasya*—Read notes on IV. 20. 8 .

(33) VII.1.12b: (Agni)

(Give) us a home which is full of people and good progeny.

(34) VII.46.2ab: (Rudra)

See III (2) above.

(35) VII.59.2cd: (Maruts)

He who offers you (service) according to your choice, wins a home and big food-stores.

VII. 59. 2cd = VIII. 27. 16ab.

(36) VII.60.11d: (Mitrā-Varuṇā)

They (i.e. the worshippers) have acquired wide and well secured (place) for dwelling.

(37) VII.66.5a: (Ādityas)

May that house (of your singer) be well protected.

*suprāvīh:* or, 'be very favourable (to gods)'.

(38) VIII.2.7: (Indra)

May the three Somas be pressed out for the god Indra, the drinker of pressed-out (Soma) in their own home.

*své kṣāye*, according to Sāyaṇa, refers to the *yajñagrha*; probably the reference is to Indra's *jaṭhara* which is considered as Soma's own home; cf. III. 40. 4.

(39) VIII.15.9ab: (Indra)

See III (3) above.

(40) VIII.15.13: (Indra)

(O Soma), assuming all (your) forms, delight Indra, the lord of strength, for conquest so that (we may win) a spacious house.

(41) VIII.27.16ab: (Viśvedevāḥ)

=VII.59.2cd. See (35) above.

(42) VIII.47.4abcd: (Ādityas)

These wise Ādityas, indeed, rule over the entire wealth of that man to whom they have given a home and a livelihood.

a: Cf. X. 58. 1-12d.

(43) VIII.61.14b: (Indra)

You are (the lord) of the home of the worshipper.

(44) VIII.63.7d: (Indra)

He is the ruler of the house (even) of the enemy.

For the construction of this Pāda read Velankar, H.D., *Hymns to Indra in Maṇḍala VIII*, Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XV, Part 2, Sept. 1946.

(45) VIII.64.4a: (Indra)

Come, come quickly (even though your) home is in heaven.

*divī kṣāyam:* read III. 2. 13.

(46) VIII.68.12ab: (Indra)

Grant wide amplitude to ourselves, to our children and to (our) home.

(47) VIII.84.8: (Agni)

In their own homes, they serve him who is the very wise and powerful foremost leader in battles.

(48) IX.9.2a: (Soma)

(Flow) speedily for the sake of home that deserves praise.

(49) IX.82.3b: (Soma)

He has made (his) home on the mountains in the centre of the earth.

(50) IX.97.26b: (Soma)

Let the Somas run to (our) home full of good heroes.

(51) IX.109.3: (Soma)

Flow, thus, to the immortal great home—you who are brilliant and the heavenly nectar.

(52) X.8.2cd: (Agni)

Being foremost, he goes to his own homes making (the offerings) raised up (i.e. offered or glorified) in the assembly of gods.

*devātāti*: Read Upadhyaya, S.A., Hymns to the Ṛbhus in the Ṛgveda, *Bhāratiya Vidya*, Vol. 22, Nos. 1-4; notes on VII. 48. 3b, p. 79.

(53) X.9.3: (Āpaḥ)

May we go quickly to him to whose house you inspire (us).

(54) X.22.1: (Indra)

Where is the famous Indra? Amongst what people, to-day, he is known as a friend—he, who is glorified with a hymn either at the home of sages or in a secret place.

(55) X.47.8ab: (Indra)

Whatever I beg of you, grant us that, O Indra ; (grant us) a wide home unlike that of the ordinary people.

(56-67) X.58.1-12cd: (*mana āvartanam*)

We may turn that (mind) of yours so that you may live and dwell here.

(68) X.63.5abc: (Viśvedevāḥ)

With homage and well-trimmed hymns, I serve them, the well prospering universal monarchs, the unflinching ones, who come to the sacrifice and who have home in heaven.

*divi kṣāyam*: Read III. 2. 13.

(69) X.64.11a: (Viśvedevāḥ)

(The Marudgaṇa) is delightful to look at like a home full of nourishing food.

*a* = 1. 144.7d.

(70) X.99.8ab: (Indra)

Like a cloud showering rain on a pasture land, he has found out a path for us and for our home.

(71) X.118.1: (Agni)

You completely kill the devourer while shining right into your own home among the mortals, O Agni, possessed of holy Vratas.



B: Passages wherein the word *kṣāya-* occurs as a second member of the compound:

(1) 1.2.9: (Mitrā-Varuṇā)

Mitra and Varuṇa, the sages, born of strength and possessed of broad dwelling give us skilful strength.

(2) V.46.5ab: (Viśvedevāḥ)

And may that holy troop of Maruts that has home in heaven come to us for sitting on the sacrificial grass(-seat).

(3) VI.35.1a: (Indra)

When will (my) prayers be such as having (your) chariot as (their) abode?

*rāṭlakṣayāni* (predicative adjective) is a Bahuvrihi compound as the accent shows. The idea is: 'When will you accept my prayers and bring them back together with gifts, in your chariot to me? Or, 'When will my prayers come speedily (as if on a chariot) to me?'

(4) X.23.4c: (Indra)

He goes down to sweetness, which has a good home (in Indra's belly) when the (Soma) is pressed.

c = Or, 'He goes down to sweetness, which has a good home in the pressed out juice of Soma.'

(5) X.118.8: (Rakṣohā'gni)

O Agni, such as you are, while shining (among the patrons) who have broad homes, burn away the female Yātudhānas with your face (i. e. flames).

(6) X.118.9ab: (Rakṣohā'gni)

(Patrons) who possess broad homes have, with their hymns kindled you, such as you are, the carrier of oblations.

# THE RĠVEDA AND THE ATHARVAVEDA

By

†N. J. SHENDE

The object of this paper is to study the nature of the passages, common between the RV and the AV. This may help us to understand the relation between the two Vedas.

2. There are about 2350 passages common to both the Vedas. Of these about 75 are fractions of a ṛc and the rest are full ṛcs. Their distribution in the ten Maṇḍalas is as follows: I-290, II-35, III-32, IV-22, V-15, VI-53, VII-95, VIII-214, IX-11, X-634. These occur in 1-19 Kāṇḍas of the AV. In addition to these, there are about 600 passages from the RV in the 20th book of the AV. It may be noted here that the Rġvedic passages in the AV mostly come from the 1st, 8th and 10th Maṇḍalas. There are 10552 ṛcs in the RV in addition to the *khilas*. Thus the common portion is about 22 per cent of the total verses of the RV. The 20th book of the AV, although added later on to the main bulk of the AV Samhitā, forms a part of the main text of the AV. Sāyaṇa comments on some of its hymns. The 20th book of the AV has in it about 200 ṛcs from the 1st, 250 from the 8th and 150 from the 10th Maṇḍala of the RV. In the whole of the AV there is quite a negligible part from the 9th Maṇḍala of the RV.

3. The seers to whom these common ṛcs are ascribed by tradition are the following: Āṅgirasas, Madhucchandas, Medhātithi—Kāṇva, Sunahṣepa, Praskaṇva, Gotamas, Gṛtsamada, Viśvā-

† A tragic interest attaches to this article. The author passed away a week after he had sent it to the Journal for publication.

Dr. Shende was a distinguished scholar who had been rapidly building up a high reputation in the field of Vedic scholarship. After a brilliant academic career he was appointed in 1946 Reader of Sanskrit at the Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute, Poona. His works on a challenging subject which were deemed worthy of being awarded the degree of Doctor of Letters of the University of Bombay are—*Foundations of the Atharvanic Religion and Religion and Philosophy of the Atharva Veda*. His earlier work in the successful accomplishment of which his steps had been guided by Prof. Velankar, was on *Bhṛgu-Āṅgrasa element in the Mahābhārata*, which earned him the Ph.D. degree of this University.

Before he joined the Deccan College, Dr. Shende had served in the Sanskrit Department of the Wadia College, Poona, for nine years. In 1950 he joined government service, and was appointed on the staff of the Elphinstone College, Bombay. He served this institution for fifteen years and in 1965, he joined the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit at Poona. Here he completed his treatise on *Kāvī and Kāvya* in the Atharva-Veda early this year. He was working on a larger project when his promising career was cut short by the cruel hand of Death so prematurely and suddenly on Monday, the 20th March, 1967. R.I.P.

mitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bhāradvāja, Vasiṣṭha, Kāṇvas, Manu, Jama-dagni etc. In this portion of the RV there are no hymns of Āṅgiras, or Atharvan or Bṛḡu. Śunaḥśepa, Gotamas, Vāmadevas, Bhāradvājas, and Kāṇvas are associated with Āṅgiras by family tradition. Madhucchandas and Gṛtsamadas are connected with Viśvāmitras. Thus Āṅgirasas, Viśvāmitras and Vasiṣṭhas are the prominent seers in this portion of the RV.

4. The deities to whom these ṛcs are addressed are mainly the following: Indra, Agni, Viṣṇu, Varuṇa, Yama, Yamī, Maruts, Parjanya, Sūrya, Sūryā, Savitr, Vanaspati, Ośadhis, Rudra, Āpaḥ, Śunāsira, Dyāvā-Pṛthivī, Viśvedevas, Soma, Rātri etc. These deities are the normal deities in the remaining portion of the RV. In addition, there are *bhāvavṛttas* in the philosophical hymns. The Rakṣasas, Yātus etc. are treated in some of these hymns, which naturally are the deities of the ṛcs. All these also occur in the remaining portion of the RV.

5. There are more than 100 instances, where the ṛc occurring in the RV and AV have different seers in both Vedas. The following illustrations will bear out the point.

- |                                     |                                 |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (i) RV 1.22.25; Medhātithi          | = AV 18.2.19; Atharvan.         |
| (ii) RV 2.32.4-5; Gṛtsamada         | = AV 7.48.1-2; Atharvan.        |
| (iii) RV 3.29.16; Viśvāmitra        | = AV 3.20.1; Vasiṣṭha.          |
| (iv) RV 4.2.16; Vāmadeva<br>Gautama | = AV 18.3.21; Atharvan.         |
| (v) RV 5.4.5; Atri                  | = AV 7.73.9; Atharvan.          |
| (vi) RV 6.47.6 Bharadvāja           | = AV 7.76.6; Atharvan.          |
| (vii) RV 7.27.3; Vasiṣṭha           | = AV 19.5.1; Atharvāṅgiras.     |
| (viii) RV 8.40.6; Kāṇva             | = AV 7.90.1; Āṅgiras.           |
| (xi) RV 9.43.7; Āṅgirasa            | = AV 5.6.3; Atharvan.           |
| (x) RV 19.5.6; Trita                | = AV 5.1.6; Bṛhaddiva Atharvan. |

It may be observed here that these ṛcs are ascribed in the AV to seers, who are not their seers in the RV. It is also interesting to note that in the majority of such cases in the AV, the seer is Atharvan, who along with Āṅgiras does not figure as a seer in the RV. In the 20th book of the AV, however, the seers of the hymns or ṛcs in the RV and AV are the same.

In a few cases the deities of the ṛcs are differently mentioned, e.g., in RV 1.84.16 (=AV 18.1.6) Indra is the deity of the whole hymn (and also of the ṛc) in the RV, while Yama is addressed in the ṛc in the AV.

6. In about fifty places, we find that the common ṛcs are found in other Vedic Texts also. The import of such ṛcs is very broad and general. Such ṛcs occur in many other Vedic Texts such as SV, TS, VS, MS and SB. They must have been preserved

in these texts from the floating mass of *ṛcs*. For instance, RV 1.22.17-20, = AV 7.26.4-7, = SV 2.1, 19, 22, = VS 5.13, = TS 1.2.13, = MS 1.2.9. In such cases when a *ṛc* occurs in many other Vedic Texts, we find changes in the readings of words too. Generally speaking the reading in the Ṛgvedic verse is more correct, giving more coherent sense than in other Vedic Texts. It is however possible that the corrupt or inaccurate reading is even older than that in the RV, and that such a reading may be recording the tradition of the Text other than that of the present RV. Such common *ṛcs* or fractions of the *ṛcs* might be just common fluid verses from which all these texts might have drawn upon.

7. In the portion, common between the RV and AV, there are many hymns or *ṛcs* which are used in the usual sacrificial rites. For instance, (i) RV 1.7.1-3 (=AV 20.38.4-6) is the praise of Indra. The *ṛcs* are recited in the Niṣkevalyaśāstra. (ii) In the RV 1.104.9 (=AV 20.8.2) the poet invokes Indra to drink Soma. (iii) In the RV 1.164.26-27 (=AV 7.23.7-8) Aśvins are invoked at the Pravargya rite for the offering of hot milk. (iv) RV 2.12.1-18 = AV 20.34.1-18. This is the well known *sa janāsa* hymn, describing the valour of Indra. In the fifth verse of this hymn, a doubt is expressed about the very existence of Indra. (v) RV 2.36-37 = AV 20.2.1-4. The AV hymn is made up of bits of *ṛcs* from the RV hymns. The hymns refer to the offering to the Ṛtus by Potṛ, Āgnidhra, and Brahman. (vi) RV 10.110.1-11 = AV 5.12.1-11. This is an Āprī-hymn. (vii) RV 5.4.5 = AV 7.73.9. This *ṛc* refers to the *gharma* offering. (viii) RV 5.81.1cd = AV 7.73.1bcd. This also refers to *gharma*.

It may be observed here that in the common portion between the RV and AV there are some hymns referring to Soma sacrifice and *gharma* in Pravargya rite, and also there is the Āprī hymn; the common priests are also referred to.

8. Yātu or witchcraft receives treatment in the common portion between the RV and AV.

(a) Amulets are referred to. At RV 1.139.11 (=AV 19.27.11-13; VS 7.19; MS 1.3.13; TS 1.4.10), *trivṛt* amulet is suggested. The RV verse is split into three *ṛcs* in the AV, which refer to the eleven Devas in the three worlds. This is consistent with the praise of the triple amulet mentioned in the AV. *Trivṛt* amulet is made of three metals such as gold, silver and copper. It is put on for securing protection.

RV 10.128.1-6, 10 (= AV 5.3.1-9) is a charm for success, prosperity and witchcraft against enemies with an amulet of rope as given by Kauśika (12.10, 22.14, 49.15). The hymn itself refers to the destruction of the enemies (*ṛc* 9). It is used in a sacrifice to

Viśvedevas. The seer is Vihavya Āngirasa in the RV and Bṛhad-diva Atharvan in the AV.

(b) There are charms to kill the enemies:

(i) RV 3.53.21 = AV 7.31.1. RV 3.53.21-24 contains *abhi-śāpa* (imprecations) against the enemies. In the AV the ṛc is used in a witchcraft rite against the enemies, while offering the *samidh* of a tree struck by lightning in Agni. The Ṛgvedic matter falls within the scope of the AV. (ii) The verses RV 7.59.8, 9 (=AV 7.77.2, 1) contain a charm for killing enemies by means of a sacrifice. The *sāntapana* offering is mentioned in ṛc 9. (iii) The RV 10.187.1-5 (=AV 6.34.1-5) are a charm to kill enemies.

(c) Witchcraft rites are mentioned to kill the *rakṣas*.

(i) The RV 6.52.2 (= AV 2.12.6) is addressed to the Maruts to burn the haters of the Brahman, who are haughty, and who deride the poet's Brahman. In the AV, the hymn is called *bharadvājapavrakṣa*, the cleaver of Bharadvāja. In this rite a bamboo is cut with the recitation of the hymn, and the enemy is expected to be cut at the same time.

(ii) RV 6.75.12b (=AV 2.13.4b) used in a rite for securing *aśmavarman*, an armour of stone (cf. AGS 1.7.7).

(iii) RV 6.75.19ab (=AV 1.19.3ab) is used in a charm to kill the enemies.

(iv) RV 7.15.10 (=AV 8.3.26; TB 2.4.1.6; MS 4.11.5) occurs in the AV in a rite to kill the *rakṣas*.

(v) RV 10.16.9, 10 (=AV 12.2.8) refer to the removal of *kravyādagni*. Agni, who eats flesh is a deadly fire.

(vi) RV 10.128. (Khilas) 1-48 bear close similarity with the AV 10.1.1-32. 5.14.1-13, 5.31.1-12. These hymns deal with *kṛtyā* very elaborately.

(vii) RV 10.87.1-25 (=AV 8.3.1-25) contain imprecations against sorcerers and demons. The hymn is addressed to Agni, who is asked to destroy the *yātudhānas*. This sacrifice to Agni acts as charmed arrows, and the speech of the poet becomes a thunderbolt (ṛc 4). Agni burns like the lustre of Atharvan (ṛc 12). The hymn contains very violent utterances of the seer, Pāyu Bhāradvāja (RV), or Cātana (AV).

(d) Charms for averting the effects of evil-dreaming:

(i) RV 8.47.17ab (=AV 6.46.3) contains a charm to avert the evil of *duṣvapna*. RV 8.47.14-18 contain this charm, to which AV 6.46 bears close similarity; but actually only half a ṛc is common to both. The main idea in the charm is that all evil-dreaming which forbodes misfortune should go to the haters of the poet.

(ii) RV 10.164.1, 3, 4 (=AV 6.45.1, 2, 3) also contain a charm of the poet, Pracetas Āngirasa to avert evil dreaming.

(e) Charms for causing sleep:

RV 7.55.5-8 (=AV 4.5, 6, 5, 1, 8) contain *prasvāpinī upaniṣad*, a secret charm to cause sleep. In the AV this is a love charm.

(f) Women's rites (*strikarma*) and other charms:

(i) RV 8.40.6 (=AV 7.90.1, 2) is used in the AV (Kauśika 36.38) in the women's rite to injure the paramour of one's wife. The *ṛc* refers to the injury done to the enemy, just like cutting the knot of a creeper.

(ii) RV 10.145.1-6 (=AV 3.18.1-6, with slight change in the order of the *ṛcs*) contain the *sapatnībādhana upaniṣad*, a secret charm to remove co-wife. In the RV, Indrānī is the seer, and Atharvan in the AV. It is a charm with the *baṇāparṇī* creeper.

(iii) RV 10.145.5 (=AV 19.32.5) occurs in the AV with the use of a *darbha* amulet for overcoming rivals.

(iv) RV 10.162.1-6 (=AV 20.96.11-16) contain a charm for protecting a pregnant woman from the evil attacks of the *rakṣas* which cause abortion.

(v) RV 10.109.1-3, 5-7 (=AV 5.17.1-3, 5, 10, 11) contain the description of Brahmajāyā, wife of a Brāhmaṇa. The hymn (AV 5.17.1-18) is more complete than in RV and helps us to understand the exact significance of Brahmajāyā. It is one of the hymns in the AV, which is intended for the protection of the Brāhmaṇa's cow, wife, property etc., against the treacherous attacks of the Kṣatriyas. The hymn points out that a king, who robs the wife of a Brāhmaṇa cannot be safe on his throne. Such a wife is a veritable *kṛtyā*, who is bound to bring about disaster to the king.

### 9. Medicine:

There are many hymns or verses common to both the Vedas, dealing with the treatment of diseases. Such hymns are what are called *bheṣajyas* in the AV.

(i) *Kuṣṭha*—RV 1.13.5c (=AV 5.4.3c) contains one phrase, *amṛtasya cakṣaṇam* (sight of *amṛta*) which is applied to Agni in the RV and to *kuṣṭha*, which is a sovereign remedy against *yakṣma* and fever in the AV.

(ii) *Yakṣma*—RV 10.18.1, 2, 3 (=AV 18.3.17, 12.2.21, *cd* with slight changes) deal with the charm to cure *yakṣma*. The AV has a long hymn (AV 12.2.1-55) describing the deadly diseases.

RV 10.53.8 (=AV 12.2.26) accompanies a rite for curing *yakṣma* in the AV.

RV 10.161.1-4 (=AV 3.11.1-4) contain the charm to cure a person of *yakṣma* and to confer long life on him. The seer Bhṛgvaṅgiras assures the people that he would rescue a patient, who is almost dead, who has gone near *Mṛtṣu*, or who is on the lap of *Nirṛti* (ṛc 2).

RV 1.161.1-5 (=AV 20.96.6-10) contain a similar charm.

(iii) Waters as *bheṣaja*—RV 1.23.20, 21 (=AV 1.6.2, 3) and RV 1.23.22-24 (=AV 7.89.3, 1, 2) are used in the treatment of water against diseases of cows. The word *bheṣaja* occurring in AV 1.4.4, and 1.6.3 suggests the medicinal use of the waters.

(iv) *Jaundice and heart-disease*:—RV 1.50.11-13 (similar to AV 1.22.4), are called a *rogaghna upaniṣad*, a secret charm for curing diseases. RV 1.50.1-9 (=13.2.16-24; TS 1.2.8.2; MS 1.3.37) and the above ṛcs are addressed to Sūrya and Rohita, who cure heart-disease and jaundice (*hydroga*, *harimāya*, ṛc. 11).

RV 1.50.12 (=AV 1.22.4, TB 3.7.6) is also used for curing the diseases mentioned above.

(v) *Dropsy*—RV 1.24.15 (=AV 7.83.3; VS 12.12; TS 1.5.11, 3; MS 1.2.18, MB 1.7.10 and also AV 18.4.69) is used in the AV (Kauśika 32.14) in a remedial rite against dropsy. The poet appeals to Varuṇa for releasing him from dropsy.

(vi) *Poison*—RV 1.191 is called a *viṣaghna upaniṣad*, a secret charm for curing poison, and is similar to the AV 10.4. There are eight *khila* verses after RV 1.191; and *khila* 1b is = AV 10.4.9b.

(vii) *Jāyānya*, *apacits*—RV 6.47.6 (=AV 7.76.6) is used by the commentator of AV in a rite for curing *jāyānya*, scrofulous swelling or sore, or venereal disease. Kauśika (31.61) uses it against *apacits*.

(viii) *Jalāṣa-bheṣaja*—RV 8.20.26c (=AV 6.57.3c) is used in the AV (Kauśika 31.11) in a healing rite with foam of urine (*jalāṣa*), which is the remedy of Rudra. The RV 8.20.23.25 (=AV 6.57.1, 2) refer to the *bheṣaja* in Māruta, Sindhu, Asiknī, *samudra* and *parvata*. It may refer to the *jalāṣa bheṣaja* as in AV.

(ix) *Plants*—RV 10.97.1-23 are very similar in contents to AV 8.7.1-27, although there is no verbal correspondence. The plants have Soma as their king and they cure *yakṣma* from every part of the body (RV 10.97.12, 18). AV 8.7.17 refers to the plants of the Āṅgirasas.

(x) *Protecting a garbhīṇī*—RV 10.162.1-6 contain a rite for the protection of a pregnant woman.

(xi) Physician touches a patient with his hand to cure him. RV 10.60.11-12 (=AV 6.91.2, 3) refer to the touch of hand of the physician, which cures diseases.

RV 10.137.1-5, 7 (AV 4.13.1-5, 7) refer to the auspicious and lucky hand and speech of the *bhūṣaj*, which cures diseases like *yakṣma*, fever etc.

10. *Charms for various purposes:*

(i) *Expiation*—RV 6.74.2-3 (=AV 7.42.1-2) are the *mantra* of Bharadvāja in the RV and of Praskaṇva in the AV. It is addressed to Soma and Rudra in both. It is used in a rite for the expiation of the sin, committed by the poet. Also RV 7.89. 5 (=AV 6.51.3) contains a prayer to Varuṇa for the expiation of sin.

(ii) *Safety on the roads*—RV 1.31.16*ab* (=AV 3.15.4*ab*) is used in the AV for securing safety on the roads.

(iii) *Strength*—RV 1.32.1-3 (=AV 2.5.5-7; = TB 2.5.4.1-2, =MS 4.14.13) are used in the AV (Kauśika 59.5) in a rite for securing strength.

(iv) *Increase in wealth*—RV 3.29.16 (=AV 3.20.1) is addressed to Agni to secure wealth.

(v) *Success in agriculture*—RV 4.57.4, 6, 7, 8 (=AV 3.17.6, 8, 4, 5) are addressed to Sitā, the deity of the furrows.

(vi) *Prosperity of cattle*—RV 6.28.1-7 (=AV 4.21.1-7) are in the AV (Kauśika 19.4) in the rites for securing prosperity of cows, and for curing ailing cows.

(vii) *Success and safety*—RV 6.47.8 (=AV 10.15.4) is a prayer for success and safety.

(viii) *Protection*—RV 6.47.13 (AV 7.92.1) is addressed to Indra for securing protection.

(ix) *Well-being and securing medhā*—RV 7.41.1-7 (=AV 3.16.1-7, = VS 13.40; = TB 2.8.9.7) are addressed to many deities for securing well being. Kauśika uses this hymn for securing *medhā*.

(x) *Protection during night*—RV 6.75.10*d* (=AV 19.47.6*a*) occurs in a prayer to various deities for protection. In the AV it occurs in the hymn addressed to Rātri for protection.

(xi) *Long life*—RV 7.66.16 (=AV 19.67.1-2; = MS 4.9.20; = VS 36.24) contains a prayer for securing blessings for a life of a hundred years (*paśyema śaradaḥ śatam* etc.).

RV 8.102.20 (=AV 19.64.3) and the RV 9.67.29 (=AV 7.32.1) are prayers for long life.

(xii) *Rain*—RV 7.103.1 (=AV 4.15.13) is a charm for securing rain. It is addressed to the *maṇḍūkas*.

(xiii) *Unlucky stars*—RV 8.11.10 (=AV 6.110.1; = TA 8.11.10) is used as a charm for averting evil of a child born on unlucky *nakṣatra*. The ṛc does not suggest this use; but the AV 6.110.2-3 refer to the unlucky *nakṣatras*.



(xiv) *Ceremonial purification*—RV 9.67.25 = AV 6.19.3; VS 19.39; TB 1.4.8; MS 3.11.20. The AV adds one more pāda to the RV, which contains a prayer for long life and ceremonial purification.

(xv) *Successful sacrifice*—RV 10.2.4abc (=AV 19.59.4abc; = TS 1.1.4.4 = MS 4.10.2) is used in the AV as a charm for successful sacrifice.

(xvi) *Good fortune and blessings*—RV 10.9.1-3, 5 (=AV 1.5.1-4) are a very favourite charm, addressed to the waters for securing blessings. RV 10.9 (*Khila*) 1 (=AV 6.23.1) is used by Kauśika for securing good fortune.

(xvii) *Removing sin*—RV 10.17.10 (=AV 6.51.2) is addressed to the waters for removing sin.

(xviii) *Prosperity*—RV 10.17.14ab (=AV 4.24.1ab) is addressed to Vanaspati in a charm for securing prosperity in the AV.

(xix) *Recovery of what is lost*—RV 10.19.5ab (=6.77.2ab) refers to the return and going away of cows in the RV, and in general way in the AV. Hence it is used as a charm for recovery of what is lost. Sāyaṇa and Kauśika (36.5) use it for preventing the escape of a woman, who wants to run away. The AV ṛc has different readings though both verses have the same import.

(xx) *Dakṣiṇā and donors*—RV 10.107.4 (=AV 18.4.29) praises *dakṣiṇā*. The whole Ṛgvedic hymn praises the giving away of *dakṣiṇā*.

(xxi) *Various blessings*—RV 10.141.1-5 (=AV 3.20.2-4, 6-7, = VS 9.28; = TS 1.7.10; = MS 1.11.4) refer to various deities for securing wealth, good will, help, prosperity of the Brahman and sacrifice, heroes, strength and all cherished desires.

(xxii) *Extinguishing fire*—RV 10.142.8, 7ab (=AV 6.106.1, 2ab) refers to *dūrvā*, used in a rite for extinguishing the outbreak of fire in the house.

(xxiii) *Alakṣmīghna*: RV 10.155.4 (=AV 20.137.1) is a charm for removing ugly spots on the body.

(xxiv) *Duṣvapanaṇāśana*: RV 10.164.1, 3, 4 (=AV 6.45.1-3) are used in a rite for expiation against evil dreams. RV 10.165.1, 3-4ab (=AV 6.27.1-3, 29.1be) are used in the rites against evil-dreaming and Nirṛti.

(xxv) *Sāmmanasya*: RV 10.191.1-4 (=AV 6.64.1-3; 63.4) are used in a rite for bringing about concord among the contending members of a family.

11. *Gṛhya rites:*

(i) *Marriage:* RV 10.85.1-17 (=AV 14.1.2) are the verses used in the marriage ceremony. Out of the 47 ṛcs of the RV, 37 occur in AV 14.1, 2. Ten ṛcs do not occur in the AV. On the other hand AV 14.1 and 2 contain 139 ṛcs, of which only 37 ṛcs occur in the RV. The AV hymns deal with the topic of marriage in more details than the one in the RV. The RV hymn is rightly used for the ceremony of marriage. RV 10.85.20-28 are the blessings on the occasion of marriage. RV 10.85.29-30, 34, 35 refer to the contamination of the bride's garment. The ṛc 31 treats of the *yakṣma* of the bride. The ṛcs 32-33 refer to the bridal procession. The remaining ṛcs are the blessings. The AV contains all this and much more.

RV 1.82.2 (=AV 18.4.61; =VS 3.51; =TS 1.8.5.2; =MS 1.10.3) occurs in the funeral hymn in the AV, but it is used by SGS (1.15) in a marriage rite, when the bride greases the axle of the wedding car. The AV and others use it in the funeral rite.

RV 1.113.16d (=AV 14.2.3d) is used in the AV (Kauśika 75.11) to scatter *darbhas*, when the wooers go out for arranging marriage.

RV 3.33.13 (=AV 14.2.16) is used in the AV to accompany the sprinkling of cart and unyoking of the oxen at the end of the bridal journey.

RV 7.96.4ab (=AV 14.2.72ab) is rightly used in the AV in the marriage rite. The RV refers to the wooers longing for the marriage.

RV 8.1.12 (=AV 14.2.4) is used in the AV in a rite for repairing the axle of the cart of the bride.

RV 10.40.10 (=AV 14.1.46) is used in the marriage rite and when the bride weeps.

(ii) *Funeral rites:* RV 10.10.1-14, 14.1-16; 15.1-14; 16.1-14, 18.1-14 deal with the funeral rites (72 ṛcs). AV 18.1-4 (283 ṛcs) contain such matter. The treatment of the AV is more exhaustive.

RV 10.10.1-14 (=AV 18.1.1-16) contains the dialogue between Yama and Yamī. RV 10.14.1-16 occur as the AV 18.1 and 2. Almost all ṛcs in the RV funeral hymn are found in the AV.

RV 1.22.15 (=AV 18.2.19) is a prayer to the earth to be pleasant to the dead.

RV 1.105.1 (=AV 18.4.89) deals with the funeral rite.

TV 5.6.4 (=AV 18.4.88) refers to Agni in the Pitṛmedha rite.

RV 6.47.1 (=AV 18.1.48) invokes Indra, Soma etc., in the funeral rite.

RV 7.32.26 (=AV 18.3.67) is used in the Pitṛmedha rite.

RV 9.86.16, 19, 49 (=AV 18.4.60, 58, 18) are used in the funeral rite.

RV 10.31.9 (=AV 18.1.39) accompanies the killing of a goat for the dead.

The seer of the AV hymns is Atharvan and the seers of the RV hymns are Yama and others. The AV makes a special attempt to present all funeral rites at one place in the whole of the 18th Kāṇḍa. In the RV the treatment is not systematic.

(iii) *Upanayana*: RV 1.50.10 (=AV 7.53.7) is used in the AV in the rites of *Upanayana* and *nirṇayana*. The ṛc describes the poets' achievement of reaching to Sūrya, the God of the gods.

## 12. Royal Rites:

(i) *Election of a king*: RV 1.54.9d (=AV 3.4.4c) and RV 10.173.1-3, 6 (=AV 6.87.1-3, 7.94.1) are used in the AV in a rite for electing a king.

(ii) *Amulets*: RV 10.174.1-3, 5 (=AV 1.29.1-3, 6) are used in the rite of tying an *abhivartamaṇi* for making the king supreme. The amulet is made from the rim of the wheel of a chariot.

(iii) *Ratha and dundubhi*: RV 6.47.26-31 (=AV 6.125.1-3; 126.1-3) are the charm for the use of war-chariot and the war-drum for success in battle.

(iv) *Manyu hymns*: RV 10.83.1-7 (=AV 4.32.1-7) and RV 10.84.1-7 (=AV 4.37.1-7) are used while arranging the army in the battle formation.

(v) *Apratiratha hymn*: RV 10.103.1-11 (=AV 19.13.1-11) from the hymn used in a rite for success, while the army launches an attack against the enemy.

## 13. Philosophical thoughts:

There are many philosophical hymns common to both the Vedas.

(i) RV 1.164.1-22 (=AV 9.9.1-22), 23-50 (=AV 9.10.1-28), 26.27 (=AV 73.7-8) contain the famous *asya vāmīya* hymn. Many of the philosophical ideas in the Upaniṣads find their root in this mystical hymn of Dirghatamas.

(ii) RV 10.90.1-15 (=AV 19.6.1-15), 16 (=AV 7.5.1) 6ab (=AV 7.5.4ab) are the well known Puruṣasūkta.

(iii) RV 10.121.2-7, 1 (=AV 4.2.1, 2, 5, 3, 6, 7) form the Hiraṇyagarbhasūkta.

(iv) RV 10.115.1-8 (=AV 4.30.1-8) constitute the Vāgārmbhṛṇīya hymn.

(v) RV 10.129.4ab (=AV 19.52.1ab) refers to Kāma as the first creative principle.

(vi) RV 10.154.1-5 (=AV 18.2.14, 16, 17, 15, 18) contain general philosophical thoughts about the state after death of the sacrificers, poets, and warriors.

#### 14. Other well-known hymns:

The common portion between the two Vedas also has the following hymns:

(i) Yama-Yamī dialogue, RV 10.10.1-14 (=AV 18.1.1-16).

(ii) RV 10.55.5 (=AV 9.10.9) is a hymn addressed to Indra and glorifies his exploits. It refers to the creation of the world by Indra as Kāla. The poet asks us to see the Kāvya of the Lord (*devasya paśya kāvyaṃ*) which occurs in the Atharvaṇic counterpart of the *asya vāmīya* hymn (RV 1.164).

(iii) Vṛṣākapi hymn; RV 10.86.1-23 (=AV 20.126.1-23).

(iv) RV 10.120.1-9 (=AV 5.2.1-9) form the well known *bhuvaneṣu jyeṣṭha* hymn, glorifying Indra.

(v) RV 10.103.1-11 (=AV 19.13.1-11) constitute the Aprati-ratha hymn.

(vi) RV 10.50.1-9 (=AV 13.2.16-24; 20.47.13-21) contain the praise of Sūrya as Rohita in the AV. The hymn contains fine imagery.

The hymns of the RV are traditionally employed in some sacrifice or other for the recitation of the Hotṛ and others.

There are many ṛcs in the common portion, which contain beautiful poetic conceits.

#### 15. *Khilas*:

There are more than 200 *khila* ṛcs found in the RV. Many of these are referred to in the AB and KB of the RV. So it seems that these *khilas* formed a part of the RV, so far the ritual tradition of the Brāhmaṇas is concerned. It is possible that these *khilas* might have been in some other *sākhā* of the RV, now lost to us.

#### 16. *The Atharvaṇic element in the RV*

We have seen above the common ṛcs, between the RV and AV. However, there are many other hymns or verses in the RV which contain an Atharvaṇic element; but which do not occur in the AV. The Atharvaṇic subject matter can be determined from the general contents of the AV. Witchcraft (*kr̥tyā, yātu, abhicāra*), the *mantras* for the general well being, long life and freedom from sin, medicine,

royal rites, erotic or women's rites (*strīkarma*), Gṛhya rites, philosophical thoughts, glorification of the Brāhmaṇas, and the sacrifice of cooked rice, animal, Soma or particular *samidh*, form the general topics of the AV. These together or severally constitute the Atharvaṇic element. The following hymns of the RV, generally speaking, refer to these topics, which may thus indicate the Atharvaṇic element in the RV:

(i) *Witchcraft*: RV 10.118.1-9 refer to *atrin*s, *rakṣas*, *yātudhānīs*, who should be burnt by Agni.

RV 1.133.1-7, describe Indra, killing the *yātudhānīs*. He is asked to throw them deep in pits.

RV 3.53.15-16 refer to the *sasarparī vāc* which Viśvāmitra secured from Jamadagnis. It may have magical effect.

RV 4.4.1-15 form a prayer to Agni to kill *rakṣas*.

RV 10.166.1-5 are charm for killing enemies.

RV 10.85.28 refers to the *krtyā*.

(ii) *Charms for various purposes*:

(a) *Expiation for evil-dreaming*:

RV 2.28.10, 8.47.14-18 are charms for averting the effects of evil dreaming.

(b) *Securing rain*:

RV 10.98.1-12 are addressed to Bṛhaspati for securing rain. RV 10.98.7 points out that Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, the Purohita of Śantanu, pleased Bṛhaspati, who with all gods secured rain for him. Also RV 7.103.1-10; 7.101, 102 may have the same purpose.

(c) *Securing cows*:

RV 10.169.1-4 refers to the cows and in ṛc 2, to Aṅgirasas, who produced cows by their *tapas*. The hymn is a charm for securing rich milch cows.

(d) *Freedom from death*: RV 7.59.12 is addressed to Tryambaka for freedom from death.

(e) *Freedom from pāsas*: RV 7.88.7 is a charm for securing release from the snares of Varuṇa.

(f) *Good sight*: RV 10.158.1-5 are a charm for securing good sight.

(iii) *Women's rites*:

(a) *Sapatnīnāśana*:

RV 10.159.1-6 describe charm of Śacī for becoming *asapatnā* and *sapatnīghnī*.

(b) *Garbhasrāvīṇī upaniṣad*:

RV 1.101.1 is a charm for protecting the *garbha*.

RV 5.78.5-9 form the *garbhasrāviṇī upaniṣad*, a charm for causing pregnancy and easy delivery.

RV 8.31.5-18 contain blessings to *daṁpatīs*.

RV 10.183.1-3 contain blessings conferred on a married couple.

(iv) *Medicine:*

(a) *Bringing to life one who is on the point of death or is almost dead:*

RV 10.57-58 form the charms for bringing back *manas* from the snares of death and for living a long life thereafter. RV 10.60.12 refers to the miraculous powers of the touch of the hand of the physician, which is *viśvabheṣaja* and *śivābhimarśin*.

(b) *Poison:*

RV 10.175.1-4 are a charm addressed to the pressing stones and are asked to provide a *bheṣaja*. It may be perhaps against the serpent poison, as the seer is Ārbudi, the serpent seer.

RV 1.187.1-11 form a charm for security against food poisoning.

RV 1.191.1-16 are a *viśughnopanīṣad*.

(c) *Plants:*

RV 10.97.1-23 refer to the *oṣadhis* and their magical and medicinal use.

(d) *Wind:*

RV 10.186.1-3 refer to Vāta as bringing the *bheṣaj*.

(v) *Royal rites:*

RV 3.53.17-20 are addressed to the parts of a chariot, which may form a charm for the use of *ratha* by a king.

RV 6.75.1-19 contain the blessings conferred on a king at the time of battle, when he puts on armour, wields a bow with arrow, and mounts a chariot. These are the *saṁgrāma āśiṣaḥ*.

RV 10.102.1-12 are a charm for winning battle.

RV 10.152.1-5 are a charm for killing enemies.

(vi) *Agriculture:*

For successful agriculture there is a charm addressed to the lord of field, plough and ploughshare and furrows (RV 4.57.1-7).

(vii) *Philosophy:*

There are many hymns in the RV, which express the philosophic thoughts quite in line with those in the AV, which is its special feature.

RV 10.129.30 give expression to the creation of the universe.

RV 10.129.4 describe Kāma as the creator.

RV 10.177.1-3 describe how Kavis with the *māyā* of Asura fathom the mystery of the universe.

RV 10.154.1-4 express the concept of life after death.

RV 10.190.1-3 describe the creation of *ṛta* and *satya* from *tapas*.

RV 10.71.1-11 explain the creation from Vāc, and glorifies knowledge.

RV 10.81-82 refer to the Viśvakarman, the creator of the universe.

RV 10.121, 125 are respectively the hymns to Hiranyagarbha and Vāc.

RV 10.136.1-7 refer to *munis*, who seem to possess wonderful (yoga) powers to fathom the mysteries of Agni, Sūrya and Vāyu.

RV 10.151.1-5 point out the basic necessity of having *śraddhā* in the matters pertaining to knowledge and religion.

(viii) *Mysterious power*:

Various mysterious and wonderful deeds performed by Aśvins as the physicians of the gods suggest the existence of the medicine men, who claimed to possess magical or mysterious power. The word *māyā* occurring in connection with Indra, Varuṇa etc., also suggests the faith of the poets in the mysterious and magical powers of these deities. The term *brahman* may signify magical potency also, in addition to its usual connotation. The speech, and the singing, recitation and utterances of the priests and seers seem to suggest the beginning of a *mantrasūtra*, which found full expression in the Brāhmaṇas.

17. The following observations may be made regarding the common portion between the RV and AV:—

(i) About 22% of the *ṛcs* from the RV are found in the AV (1-20 Kāṇḍas). Most of these *ṛcs* are from 1st, 8th and 10th Maṇḍalas of the RV.

(ii) Āṅgirasas, Viśvāmitras and Vasiṣṭhas are the traditional seers of these *ṛcs*.

(iii) The deities to whom these *ṛcs* are addressed are the usual deities of the RV, and in addition, there are *yātudhānas*, *rakṣas*, *ośadhīs*, chariot, drum, arrow, armour etc. as their deities.

(iv) Some of the *ṛcs* from RV have a different seer when they occur in the AV. Usually the seer of such *ṛcs* is Atharvan or Āṅgiras. There are no *ṛcs* in the RV which are ascribed to the authorship of Atharvan or Āṅgiras. In the common hymns of the 20th Kāṇḍa of the AV, the seers and deities are the same in both the Vedas.

(v) Some of the common *ṛcs* are found in other Vedic Texts, having variety of reading in them; but the reading in the RV is, generally speaking, more refined and less clumsy.

(vi) In the RV, the hymns are traditionally employed in the recitations of the Hotṛ or other Ṛgvedic *ṛtvijs* in a sacrifice. In the AV the hymns are employed, in many places quite significantly, for various rites. In the common portion between the RV and AV, the *ṛcs* are employed for the following:—

(a) In the sacrificial rites such as *pravargya* in the offering of Soma or in the recitation of the *śāstras* of the Ṛgvedic priests.

(b) For the use of amulets, for bringing about the destruction of enemies or rivals and the killing of *rakṣas*, in the witchcraft-rite against the *yātus*, *yātudhānīs*, evil-dreaming and for causing sleep.

(c) In the Women's rites.

(d) In medicine against *yakṣma* with plants and herbs or with the touch of the hand of the physician against heart-disease and jaundice, dropsy, poison, and *jāyānya*.

(e) In the charms for the expiation of sin, for increase in wealth, prosperity, for successful agriculture, for safety, for securing rains, for purification, for removing *alakṣmī*, for successful sacrifice, for extinguishing fire, for the abundance of *dakṣiṇā* and for *sāṃmanasya* (concord).

(f) In the Gṛhya rites of marriage, *pūṃsavana*, and on death: The AV has more detailed and exhaustive treatment of these and many more Gṛhya rites.

(g) In the Royal rites regarding the election of a king, for the use of amulets, and charms, for the use of chariot, bow, armour and in the battle rites.

(h) Philosophical thoughts about creation of the universe and life after death.

It will be noticed that in the common portion between the RV and AV, almost every aspect of the teaching of the AV is represented, viz., sacrifice, medicine, witchcraft, *strīkarma*, royal rites, Gṛhya rites, rites for general well-being, long life, agriculture, expiation, and philosophy. The *ṛcs* describing these aspects are rightly used for those various purposes. The contents of the *ṛcs* warrant their employment in the rites. Many well-known hymns in the RV occur in the AV.

There are about 200 *khila ṛcs* which are found in both the Vedas. Brāhmaṇas of the RV presume the genuineness of their Ṛgvedic character.

(vii) Excluding the portion of the RV, which is common with AV, in the remaining RV too, there are many hymns which have



Atharvaṇic character. Judging from the contents, we find that many hymns in the RV have got the Atharvaṇic nature, such as witchcraft, medicine, *strīkarma*, royal rites, Gṛhya rites, *śānti-puṣṭi-karma*, sacrifice, and philosophy. Also we may notice Atharvaṇic element in the wonderful deeds of Aśvins, in the concepts of the terms such as *brahman*, *māyā*, *śraddhā*, and in the mysterious power which the Ṛgvedic singers claim to possess regarding their *vāc* (speech).

(viii) Excluding the general sacrificial hymns of the RV, there is quite a good deal of the Atharvaṇic character in the RV, both in the portion common to the two Vedas and outside it.

(ix) Aṅgiras, Atharvan and Bhṛgu, who founded the cult of Agni and whose compositions are found in the AV and not in the RV, well deserve to be the first of the Vedic poets and the Pitṛs. The hymns of the seers, connected with them by family ties or due to admiration for them as the elders are collected in the RV. The same poets must have preserved the hymns, which are now included in the AV.

18. Regarding the relation between the RV and the AV, we may briefly state the following:—

(a) The RV Saṁhitā contains a cross section of the Atharvaṇic matter in the portion common between the two Vedas and also outside it.

(b) This Atharvaṇic element is found in all Maṇḍalas of the RV; but more particularly in the 1st, 8th and 10th Maṇḍalas.

(c) The Atharvaṇic element is not foreign to the RV.

(d) The seers of the RV are the descendants or admirers of Aṅgiras, Atharvan and Bhṛgu, the prehistoric priests of fire, who founded the cult of sacrifice and witchcraft.

(e) In the RV there are no hymns directly attributed to these three seers. A collection of their hymns is made in the AV.

(f) In the RV Saṁhitā, prominence is given to the sacrificial hymns, although there is secular and Atharvaṇic matter in it. In the AV Saṁhitā, prominence is given to the hymns regarding witchcraft, *strīkarma*, medicine, Gṛhya rites, royal rites, *śānti-puṣṭi-karma*, sacrifice and philosophical thoughts. The editor of the RV Saṁhitā collected in it the hymns, which would be useful for the Hotṛ priest, who at first also performed the functions of the Brahman priest, who is also called a Purohita. When the institution of sacrifice assumed an omnipotent form, the functions of Hotṛ and Brahman became separate and distinct. At this juncture a need was felt to collect the hymns which would be useful to such a *ṛtvij*. This is the AV Saṁhitā.

A NOTE ON TWO CONTROVERSIAL LINES FROM  
ŚUNAḤŚEPĀKHYĀNA

By

K. V. APTE

The legend of Śunaḥśepa in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VII is important, as it gives rise to some controversies.

In this note it is proposed to suggest new approaches to interpret two lines that are controversial from the point of view of interpretation.

The Śunaḥśepākhyāna opens with the mention of the king Hariścandra of the Ikṣvāku family, who was without a son. Once, two sages Nārada and Parvata visited him and stayed in his palace. Then, when the king Hariścandra asked Nārada —“यं न्विमं पुत्रमिच्छन्ति ये विजानन्ति ये च न। किंस्वित् पुत्रेण विन्दते”, and requested “तन्म आचक्ष्व नारद”, Nārada uttered, in answer, ten Gāthās stating the importance of having a son. The two controversial lines are from these ten Gāthās.

(I)

“किं नु मलं किमजिनं किमु श्मश्रूणि किं तपः।”

The line literally means: What indeed (is) dirt? What deer-skin? What beards? What penance?

Here the question is: What is the exact signification of the terms मल, अजिन, श्मश्रूणि and तपः ?

According to Sāyaṇācārya, the four words मल, अजिन, श्मश्रु and तपः refer to the four आश्रमस—ब्रह्मचर्य, गृहस्थ, वानप्रस्थ and संन्यास.<sup>1</sup> His explanation is: मलरूपाम्यां शुक्रशोणिताम्यां संयोगान्मलशब्देन गार्हस्थ्यं विवक्षितम्। कृष्णाजिनसंयोगादजिनशब्देन ब्रह्मचर्यं विवक्षितम्। क्षीरकर्मराहित्वात् श्मश्रुशब्देन वानप्रस्थ्यं विवक्षितम्। इन्द्रियनियमसद्भावात् तपःशब्देन पारिव्राज्यं विवक्षितम्।

This interpretation of Sāyaṇa is dubbed as ‘unconvincing’, ‘far-fetched’, and hence the reference to the four Āśramas is looked upon as ‘not very probable’. The following two seem to be the reasons for rejecting Sāyaṇa’s interpretation:—

(i) “In any case, there is no reason why the गार्हस्थ्य also should have been condemned here” (Profs. Gajendragadkar and Kar-markar). In other words, “there is no justification for the con-

1. अत्र मलाजिनश्मश्रुतपःशब्दैराश्रमचतुष्टयं विवक्षितम्।

demnation of गृहस्थाश्रम at least in this *gāthā* which belauds पुत्रजन्म" (Dixit and Tophkhane).

(ii) "These four orders of life are श्रुतिस्मृतिविहित; a ब्राह्मण would not condemn any of these." (Profs. Jog and Bapat).

Gajendragadkar and Karmarkar give the following explanation. "मलम्, अजिनम् & श्मश्रूणि undoubtedly refer to different ways of practising penance. Some live in dirty places, besmearing their bodies with dirt; others make use of deer-skin; others grow long hair and beards". Dr. Devasthali also holds "it is not unlikely that मलम् and श्मश्रूणि also represent some kinds of penance."

The difficulty in taking मल, अजिन and श्मश्रू too to refer to different ways of practising penance is as follows:—When these words are thus understood, the phrase किं तपः remains hanging: If मल, अजिन and श्मश्रू are also varieties of penances, what then is the propriety in employing a separate word तपः? In case, one argues that these are mentioned only as instances, one can ask:—why such simple, mild and minor ways of practising penance and not the most severe ways of practising penance yielding ample and abundant result are not referred to here?<sup>2</sup> Again, it can be said that really one general word तपः which is already in the line is sufficient, which can include every type of penance. Now, if it be said:—the word तपः is to be taken, by the extension of देहलीदीपन्याय, with every term मल, अजिन and श्मश्रू—किं नु मलं तपः, etc.—then, the symmetry in the line is found to be violated: Before the four words मल, etc. we find किं नु, किं, किम् and किम् respectively. Now, if तपः is not something different and standing by itself, without being taken along with मल, अजिन and श्मश्रू, one fails to understand the propriety of the last किम् then, hanging without any substantive connected with it. Hence one will have to confess that the above way of interpreting the line is not convincing.

With reference to the second reason for rejecting Sāyaṇa's explanation, one can very well say: A ब्राह्मण can criticise whatever is श्रुतिस्मृतिविहित. For instance, we find the condemnation of sacrifice<sup>3</sup>.

2. In so far as the importance of having a son is being stressed, we naturally expect that the most severe ways of practising penance, if at all मल, etc. referred to them, yielding ample fruit should have been mentioned. Thus only the superiority of the son would have been emphasised and established.
3. प्लवा ह्येते अदृढा यज्ञरूपाः । मुंडक उपनि.

The वेद is divided into मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण (आरण्यक and उपनिषत् form part of the ब्राह्मण). Hence we find शंकराचार्य looking upon छान्दोग्य उपनि. as ब्राह्मण (Vide ब्रह्मसूत्रशांकरभाष्य).

The statement of Yājñavalkya "यदहरेव विरजेत् तदहरेव प्रब्रजेत्— does not pay, in a way, any serious attention to the first three orders of human life.

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Really, the only difficulty found by the critics in Sāyaṇa's explanation is: If मल refers to गार्हस्थ्य, the latter gets condemned. And here गार्हस्थ्य should not have been condemned.

The condemnation of गार्हस्थ्य in Sāyaṇa's interpretation seems to have been misunderstood by his critics. For, here we need not look upon the censure directed against गार्हस्थ्य as such; we have to say: That गार्हस्थ्य wherein no son is begotten is condemned here<sup>4</sup>.

Here, one has to mark an important fact that in these ten *gāthās*, there is often an exaggerated tone to praise the importance of having a son<sup>5</sup>; and naturally we have to understand some of the statements in these *gāthās* in a modified way. So this criticism of गार्हस्थ्य also must be understood in a properly modified sense.

We can therefore, easily understand the line as Sāyaṇācārya does, only with the following modification:

If in the householders' stage, a son is not begotten, then what is the use of that गृहस्थाश्रम? Now, such गार्हस्थ्य wherein no son is begotten is condemned here. And this is quite natural; for a गृहस्थ has to pay off the पितृ-ऋण by begetting a son. So, if the very purpose of गार्हस्थ्य is not fulfilled, then what is the use of that गार्हस्थ्य? Further, the second line (of the *gāthā* that follows) insists पुत्रं ब्रह्माण इच्छध्वम् which also goes to show that what is important in the गृहस्थाश्रम is to have a son. Hence गार्हस्थ्य without a son can very well become a butt of condemnation<sup>6</sup>.

## (II)

"आभूतिरेषा भूतिर्वीजमेतन्निधीयते ।"

The line being metrically defective, explanations are offered with proposed emendations of the text. Secondly, there is a difference of opinions regarding the signification of the terms आभूति and भूति and the person or the persons to whom these terms are applied.

4. In this connection one may also note: The king Hariścandra though he had a hundred wives was sonless. So there may be a hidden yet pointed reference, in this line, to this fact.
5. For instance: ऋणमस्मिन् संनयति अमृतत्वं च गच्छति । पिता पुत्रस्य पश्येच्चेज्जीवतो मुखम् ॥ यावन्तः पृथिव्यां भोगा यावन्तो जातवेदसि । यावन्तो अप्सु प्राणिनां भूयान् पुत्रे पितुस्ततः ॥ शश्वत् पुत्रेण पितरोऽज्यायन् बहुलं तमः ।
6. In this way of understanding the line, the symmetry in the line remains intact, and every word retains its own place in the meaning of the line.

(A) (i) Hillebrandt takes the line as it is and translates it thus: "She is procreation; the germ is procreation; it is hidden in her." (ii) Sāyanācārya (who also takes the line as it is) seems to read भूतिरेषा आभूति . . . , and thinks that both the words भूति and आभूति are applicable to the wife<sup>7</sup>. He explains: भवत्यस्यां पुत्ररूपेण पतिरित्येषा भूतिशब्द-वाच्या, रेतोरूपेणागत्यास्यां पुत्ररूपेण भवतीत्याभूतिशब्दवाच्या, एतदेतस्यां स्त्रियां बीजं रेतोरूपं निधीयते प्रक्षिप्यते, तस्मादुक्ताः शब्दा उपपद्यन्ते ।

(B) Following are the explanations based on emendations: (i) Bohtlingk emends the text into आभूमिरेषा भवति . . . । (ii) Keith proposes to read आभूतिरेषा आभूतिर्वीजमेतन्निधीयते, understands the two आभूति words as referring to the father and the mother, and renders the line thus: "He is productive, she productive, the seed is placed here." (iii) Some propose to read आभूतिरेषाभूतिः . . . (i.e. आभूतिरेषा एष आभूतिः . . . with an irregular सन्धि), refer the two आभूति words to the husband and the wife and translate: "She is procreative, he (also) is productive . . ." (iv) Profs. Gajendragadkar and Karmarkar think that "just as in the first<sup>8</sup> line the word जाया is explained, so here the word आभूति is explained as being particularly appropriate to the wife." They propose to read आभूतेर्वीजम् or भूतेर्हि बीजम् (i.e. आभूतिरेषा आभूतेर्वीजम् . . . or आभूतिरेषा भूतेर्हि बीजम् . . . ). Then, the meaning would be: "A wife is called आभूति (the productive one), as there is placed in her the seed of production". So, they translate the line thus: "She (is) आभूति (that is productive of the husband in the form of a son), the seed for production is placed here". (v) Ashar proposes to read the line as Keith does and thinks that the line explains why a wife is called आभूति, just as the first line explains the etymology of जाया. Thus, "The wife is called आभूति i.e. बीज (a seed) is placed in her". Thus the line will mean: "She is आभूति (productive or procreation), because आभूति i.e. seed is placed in her<sup>9</sup>."

(C) Profs. Jog and Bapat "feel that Sāyana is more appropriate than others", translate the line as "She is prosperity, the origin (of all); the seed is placed here (in her)", and explain: "आभूति and भूति perhaps refer to the two stages of a householder's happiness, one of happy union with wife, and the other, a happy companionship in rearing up the child". "This is", they continue, "warranted by an earlier *gāthā* i.e. *gāthā* 7. A wife she is first, then a mother".

7. किञ्चैषा भूत्याभूतिशब्दाभ्यामभिधीयते ।

8. The first line of this *gāthā* is:

तज्जाया जाया भवति यदस्यां जायते पुनः ।

9. Ashar further says that his explanation is 'most natural', while Prof. Dixit and Tophkhane look upon it as 'the best interpretation'.

As Dr. Devasthali has observed "None of these emendations . . . . seems to be satisfactory". Moreover, it is really improper to emend the text to eschew a certain meaning, if and when the text as it is can yield a good sense. So, we can reject all the interpretations based on the emendation.

The main point is : Do the two words अभूति and भूति refer to the wife alone, or does only अभूति refer to the wife, while the word भूति to something else? This question can be answered thus:—The word अभूति is connected with एषा, while the word भूति with बीज. Now, the seed ( बीज ) is the cause for the production of the son, who is nothing but prosperity ( भूति ) to the father here as well as hereafter<sup>10</sup>. The son is responsible for the good, well-being, and prosperity of father in this world as well as in the next world. Hence, the seed ( बीज ) which is nothing but the son is prosperity ( भूति ), the son leads his father to prosperity. From this point of view, then, the line means: She is productive; the seed ( बीज ) (which is nothing but son) is prosperity ( भूति ) and it is placed here (in her).<sup>11</sup>

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Often it is contended that these ten *gāthās* put in the mouth of Nārada are taken over from some floating mass of literature. Regarding this borrowal there can be three alternatives:—(1) All the ten *gāthās* forming a whole were borrowed en bloc. Or, (2) The ten *gāthās* might have been taken over, with the borrowal en bloc of a group of *gāthās* closely knit together. Or, (3) Every *gāthā* was taken over independently.

The above suggested interpretation takes it for granted that the ten *gāthās* uttered by Nārada form a whole. The same interpretation will also do in case of the second proposed alternative<sup>12</sup>.

In case of the third alternative, it is easy to say that the ten *gāthās* then have no mutual inter-relation. This will naturally lead to the idea that every *gāthā* should be interpreted and explained independently, without making any reference to the other *gāthā*

10. Vide other *gāthās* uttered by Nārada:

ऋणमस्मिन् संनयति अमृतत्वं च गच्छति ॥ यावन्तः पृथिव्यां . . . . . भूयान् पुत्रे पितुस्ततः ॥  
शश्वत् पुत्रेण पितरोऽज्यायन् बहुलं तमः ॥ स वै लोको वदावदः ॥ ज्योतिर्हं पुत्रः परमे  
व्योमन् ॥ स इरावत्यतितारिणी ॥

11. Such identifications are of usual occurrence in the Brāhmaṇas, e.g. In these *gāthās* themselves we find स इरावत्यतितारिणी, स वै लोको वदावदः ।

12. Here the *gāthās* पतिर्जायां प्रविशति गर्भो भूत्वा स मातरम् । तस्यां पुनर्नवो भूत्वा दशमे मासि जायते ॥ तज्जाया जाया भवति यदस्यां जायते पुनः । आभूतिरेषा भूतिर्बीज-  
मेतन्निधीयते ॥ देवाश्चैतामृषयश्च तेजः समभरन् महत् । देवा मनुष्यान्ब्रुवन्नेषा वो  
जननी पुनः ॥ are found to be forming a whole.

or *gāthās*. With such a view also, we can interpret and explain the line as follows:—

The whole *gāthā* is:

तज्जाया जाया भवति यदस्यां जायते पुनः।  
आभूतिरेषा भूतिर्बीजमेतन्निघीयते ॥

“The जाया (wife) is so called because the husband is again born from her i.e. The wife is productive of her own husband in the form of a son. Hence, the second line means: She is productive; the seed ( बीज ) is (the cause for another new) existence ( भूति ) (of the husband); it is placed here (in her).”

# A NOTE ON SADĀNĪRĀ IN THE ŚĀTAPATHA BRĀHMAṆA

By

M. D. PARADKAR

Geographical and cultural conditions reflected in the Brāhmaṇas indicate the fact that Vedic Aryans had spread themselves further into the east of then known Indus Land i.e. into the region of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. The region indicated by the Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda as well as the Brāhmaṇas can be said to be identical with the Land of the Kurus and the Pāñcālas. It is no wonder, therefore, that Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa belonging to the white Yajurveda also points out to the eastward march of the Vedic Aryans.

Professor Weber has already drawn attention to the important legend of Videgha Māthava occurring in this extensive Brāhmaṇa.<sup>1</sup> According to him the aforesaid legend points out to three successive stages of the eastward migration of Vedic Aryans. Firstly in the days of Ṛgveda they extended their settlements from modern Panjab upto the river Sarasvatī. Then under the leadership of Videgha Māthava, they pushed forward in the direction of the river Sadānīrā which represents the second stage. Third stage probably synchronizes with the days of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa where they advanced further towards the east of the river Sadānīrā which then formed the boundary of the Kosalas and the Videhas as is clear from the following words of the Brāhmaṇa:— 'सैवाप्येतर्हि कोसल-विदेहानां मर्यादा' [I-4-1-17].

Sadānīrā, the ever flowing stream, was already known as flowing from Uttara Giri i.e. some range of the Himalaya mountain. For a long time, Brāhmaṇas had not crossed this river possibly because it was not easily fordable तां पुरा ब्राह्मणा न तरन्ति, अनतिदग्धाग्निना वैश्वानरेणेति। (I-4-1-14). No wonder, therefore, that the regions towards the east of this river had remained barren i.e. uncultivable as the land was marshy (स्रवितारम्)

Videgha Māthava, it appears, was confronted with a terrible famine which dried up all rivers i.e. 'स इमा सर्वा नदीरतिदाह'. This made it necessary for him to advance towards the east till he came to Sadānīrā, which to his surprise, was full of water. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I-4-1-16 also indicates that the river raged along even in late summer possibly due to the melting of the snow on the



mountain-range from which it arose. Already Brāhmaṇas had crossed the river and inhabited the land lying eastward to it. They had performed their sacrifices and brought the land under cultivation as is evinced by the words,- 'ब्राह्मणा उ हि नूनमेनद्यज्ञैरसिष्वदन्'. Thus the river had played an important role even in days earlier to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. During the days of our Brāhmaṇa it continued to do so as is clear from the legend of Videgha Māthava.

Attempts have been made to identify the river. Sāyaṇācārya has given Karatoyā as another name of the river. Karatoyā is modern Kuratte which formed the eastern boundary of Videhas. The description of the river in the Brāhmaṇa does not warrant the veracity of the identification as Karatoyā is rather far towards the east. Professor Weber identified Sadānīrā with the Gaṇḍakī<sup>2</sup> or Gaṇḍak (styled as the Kondochates by Greek geographers) which, 'rising in Nepal, flows into the Ganges opposite Patna'<sup>3</sup>. The Mahābhārata, however, distinguishes Sadānīrā from Gaṇḍakī and hence the identification proposed by Weber is, to say the least, open to doubt. Identification of this river, therefore, still remains undecided.

2. *Indische Studien* 1.172,181; Also see *Great Gandak-Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 12, 125.  
 3. Max Muller's *Vedic Index*—Vol. II, pp. 299.

# SANSKRIT ŚĀKHI

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The etymology of *sākhi* from  $\sqrt{khyā}$ - has been given in the Uṇādisūtras: *samāne khyāḥ sa codāttaḥ* (This has been explained as *samānam khyāyate janair iti sakhā*) 4.136. Yāska in his Nirukta (7.30) renders *sākhāyaḥ* by *samāna-khyānāḥ* which suggests the same etymology.

Grassmann also derives *sākhi* from *sa* $\sqrt{khyā}$ - and compares it with *sam* $\sqrt{khyā}$ - 'to belong to some one'. Böhtlingk-Roth, on the other hand, derive *sākhi* from  $\sqrt{sac}$ - 'to be associated with, to be united with'. It is likely that this etymology was suggested by such occurrences in the RV as *sākhyā saceya* 8.48.10, *mādhvaḥ pītvā sacevahi triḥ sapta sākhyuḥ padé* 8.69.7, *nā sā sākhā yó ná dādāti sākhye sacābhāve sacamānāya pītvāḥ* 10.117.4. But this etymology from  $\sqrt{sac}$ - has been already declared to be very doubtful by Uhlenbeck and Walde-Pokorny. Cuny<sup>1</sup> has attempted to explain away *kh* in *sākhi* as due to analogy with plural forms: \**sok*<sup>w</sup>  $\varnothing$  -*i-bhiḥ* > *sakhibhiḥ* and from there \**sok*<sup>w</sup>*ō* > \**sakā* > *sakhā*. This explanation, apparently, has not found favour with scholars.

In the present paper it is proposed to derive *sākhi* from \**sākha* with the secondary suffix -*i*. *khá* means 'hollow, aperture' or 'a hole in the nave of a chariot's wheel'<sup>2</sup>. The compound \**sá-kha* would mean 'who shares with some one else the same hollow of the wheel' or, by the extension of meaning, 'who shares with some one else the same chariot' i.e. 'driving with some one in the same chariot'. *sākhi*, derived from \**sākha*, may be compared with *sārathi*, derived from *sarátha*. The lack of *vṛddhi* in the first syllable of *sākhi* is not without a parallel. Debrunner has already called attention to a few forms without *vṛddhi*, e.g. *nāḍi*, *sāpti* (Alt. Gr. II.2§190b, p.304). It may be mentioned that among the meanings of *sākhi* given by Böht.-Roth we find 'Genosse, Freund,' and also 'Gefährte, Begleiter'. The word *sākhi* may thus refer to the charioteer who drives the chariot, or the warrior who fights from it, or the fellow-travellers who go in the same chariot. The deriva-

1. Symbolae Rozwadowski, Vol. I, p. 90 (1927). I am indebted to Prof. M. Mayrhofer for this reference.
2. *Khé arā iva* RV. 8.77.3; *khó ráthasya* 8.91.7.

tive *sakhyám* would then mean primarily not 'friendship', but 'the act of journeying together in the same vehicle'.

Occurrences of *sákhi* and *sakhyám* in the RV fully support the above interpretation and therefore render the newly suggested etymology plausible.

This can be seen very clearly, in the first instance, in those passages where *sákhi* occurs in the context of a chariot or one of its parts. In RV 6.55, Pūṣan in the first verse is requested to be the charioteer of *ṛta* (i. e. of the hymn looked upon as a chariot) so that the seer and Pūṣan can travel together: *éhi . . . . . sám sacāvahai / rathír ṛtásya no bhava*. When therefore in verse 5, the seer calls Pūṣan as *sákhā máma*, the expression makes better sense when understood as 'my charioteer'<sup>3</sup> rather than 'my friend'.

In RV 3.60 we are informed that Ṛbhus drive with Indra in the same chariot: *índreṇa yátha sarátham* (verse 4). When therefore in verse 3 we read about them *índrasya sakhyám ṛbhávaḥ sám ānaśuḥ* we would be justified in interpreting *índrasya sakhyám* as '(the privilege of) driving in the same chariot with Indra'. Also in RV 4.35.7 where it is said *sám ṛbhúbhiḥ pibasva ratnadhébhiḥ sakhír yá indra cakṛṣé sukṛtyá* the passage can be understood as 'drink (soma) with Ṛbhus, who distribute precious gifts, whom you, oh Indra, have made your driving companions due to their good work.'

In RV 10.168.2 waters<sup>4</sup> are described as going with Vāta sharing with him the same yoke and the same chariot: *tábhiḥ sayúḥ sarátham devá ŷyate*. When in the next verse Vāta is called *apám sákhā* it can mean 'driving with waters in the same chariot'. In RV 4.4.10 we read about Agni: *yás tvā svásvaḥ suhíranyó agna upayáti vásumatā ráthena / tásya trātá bhavasi tásya sákhā . . . . .* 'Agni, when some one who has good horses, good gold, approaches you with a chariot containing riches, you become his protector, you become his charioteer . . .' Similarly it is said about Soma that he drives with Indra (*sákhā*) when he mounts Indra's chariot: *á tiṣṭhati rátham índrasya sákhā* (9.96.2). In RV 9.97.6 Soma is asked to go with the gods in the same chariot (*deváir yāhi sarátham*); now if in the preceding verse we read *índur devánām úpa sakhyám áyán* we have every reason to understand it as 'when Soma approaches the gods to drive with them in the same chariot'. In RV 7.72.2 in the first two quarters of the verse, the Aśvins are requested to come in a chariot with the gods (*á no devébhír úpa yátam arvák*

3. It may be noted that in verse 2 of this hymn Pūṣan is called *rathítamam* and *sákhāyam* and in verse 3 *dhívatodhívataḥ sákhā* 'the charioteer of everyone who has a prayer (i. e. prayer looked upon as a chariot).'

4. *Viṣṭhāh*, in my opinion, are not the sub-divisions of Vāta thought of as his feminine followers (Geldner), but waters.

*sajóśasā nāsatyā ráthena*). And in the following two quarters of the verse we read *yuvór hí nah sakhyá pítryāṇi samānó bándhur utá tásya vittam*. This can refer to the singers' reminding the Ásvins of the fact that their parents had driven with them in their chariot (*sakhyá pítryāṇi*), and that since the singers also enjoy the same privilege, this is the common bond between the singers and the gods.<sup>5</sup> A Muni, impelled by the gods, is described as *vátasyásvo vāyóh sákhā* (10.136.5). In the context of the horse, *sákhā* seems to mean 'charioteer' ('the horse of Vāta, the charioteer of Vāyu'). Similarly, the Maruts who bring the healing remedies with them are addressed as *yūyāṇi sakhāyaḥ saptayaḥ* 'you, the charioteers, (you) the horses' (8.20.23).

When in RV 10.27.6 we read, *yé nīnidúh sákhāyam ádhy ū nv eṣu paváyo vavṛtyuh*, this means that 'those who have ridiculed the warrior (*sákhāyam*), on them may the rims of the chariot roll'. In the RV, if the horses are called *sákhāyā*, what is intended to convey is perhaps not that the horses are friends of each other but that they share the same chariot, i.e. are yoked to the same chariot. Cf. *hārī ví mucā sákhāyā* 'unyoke the horses who draw the same chariot' (6.40.1)<sup>6</sup>, *bráhmaṇā te brahmayújā yunajmi hārī sákhāyā sadhamáda āśú* 'I yoke for you with a prayer at a common Soma session your two horses who are (customarily) yoked by a prayer, (horses) who draw the same chariot, the quick ones' (3.35.4), *á ca tvám etá vṛṣaṇā váhāto hārī sákhāyā sudhūrā sváṅgū* 'May these strong horses, who draw the same chariot with a good yoke and who have beautiful limbs, carry you here' (3.43.4).

The word *sákhi* is often used in the context of the verb  $\sqrt{yuj}$  'to yoke' or some derivative from it and these uses also support the new interpretation of *sákhi*. Viṣṇu is called *indrasya yújyaḥ sákhā* (1.22.19) which means 'riding with Indra in the same chariot, fit to be yoked', i.e. a constant co-traveller with Indra. When, however, *sákhi* and *yújya* are used to denote two different persons, one of them may refer to the charioteer and the other to the fighter, both riding the same chariot. RV 2.28.10 reads *yó me rājan yújyo vā sákhā vā svápne bhayāṇi bhīrāve máhyam áha* 'who, oh king told me, the timid one, frightful things in dream, whether the fighter

5. Also cf. RV 10.29.8 where many tribes are said to be striving for a drive with Indra (*yatanste sakhyāya pūrvīh*). This interpretation of *sakhyā* in this verse is suggested by the context where in the same verse Indra is asked to mount the chariot (*á smā rátham ná pṛtanāsu tiṣṭha yāṇi bhadrāyā sumatyā codayāse*). For the context of the chariot also cf. RV 10.64.7 *prá vo vāyūm rathayújanāṇi pūrandhīni stómāih kṛmudhvaṇi sakhyāya piśānam*. 'You make with your praise songs Vāyu, Purandhi and Piśan yoke the chariot so that all may drive together (*sakhyāya*)'. Maruts are called *sákhāyaḥ* of Indra in the context of the horses yoked to a chariot, *vátasya yuklānt svyijaś cid ásvān kavś cid eṣo ajaganu avasyūh / víśve te átra marútāḥ sákhāyaḥ* (5.31.10).

6. Also 3.43.1 *priyá sákhāyā ví muca*.

or the charioteer'. In 7.19.9 the singers request Indra to choose them for *yujya*-type of association with him (*asmān vṛṇīṣva yújyāya tásmai*). When in the preceding verse we read *priyāsa it te maghavan abhiṣtau náro madema śarané sákhāyaḥ*, this can mean 'may we, the heroes liked by you, oh bounteous one, take delight in your protection, in your resort. (we) riding in your chariot (*sákhāyaḥ*)'.<sup>7</sup> Instead of *yújya*, we find sometimes the root-noun *yúj* being used. Indra's association with Pūṣan in the same chariot during their exploits against enemies is expressed as *utá ghā sá rathítamaḥ sákhya sátpatir yujá / índro vṛtrāni jighnate* (6.56.2). Indra is described as making a *somin* (who offers Soma) his associate in the chariot, *sákhāyaṁ kṛṇute yújam* (8.62.6).<sup>8</sup> But one who does not give an offering or press Soma, he does not get this privilege: *átrā yújanī kṛṇute yó havísmān násunvatā sakhyám vaṣṭi śúraḥ* (10.42.4). Indra, as a swan, associating with heavenly waters and moving with them in the same chariot seems to be the reason why they are described as shy (*bībhatsú*): *bībhatsúnām sayújam haṁsám āhur apāni divyānām sakhyé cárantam* (10.124.9).<sup>9</sup> The idea of common sharing is neatly expressed in *dvá suparṇá sayújā sákhāyā samānām vṛkṣām pári śasvajāte* (1.164.20) 'Two birds, sharing the same yoke and the same nave (i.e. the same chariot) embrace the same tree'.<sup>10</sup>

The use of the word *sákhī* in the context of the verbs  $\bar{a} \sqrt{vṛt}$  and  $\bar{a} \sqrt{vah}$  also points to the interpretation 'riding in the same chariot'. In RV. 4.1.1, the gods are said to have commissioned Agni as their charioteer (*tvām hí agne sádam it samanyávo deváso devám aratīm nyeriré*). And then in verse three, when it is said, *sákhe sákhāyam abhí á vavṛtsvāsúm ná cakráṁ ráthyeva rámhya . . . . .*, it can mean 'Oh charioteer, turn towards (Varuṇa) who will drive with you (*sákhāyam*), as the wheel (rolls) towards the horse, as the two quick horses (rush towards the goal)'.<sup>11</sup> The singer who wishes to ride together (*sákhāyam*) with the *Aśvinā* everyday wishes to turn (their chariot) towards himself (*á vām narā purubhujā vavṛtyām divédive cid áśvinā sakhīyán* (5.49.1).<sup>12</sup> The

7. In 9.66.18 we read about Soma, *vṛṇīmáhe sakhyāya vṛṇīmáhe yújyāya*. Even *vajra* is called *yújya sákhī* (6.21.7).

8. Also cf. 1.129.4, 4.32.6.

9. *Yoga*, referring to the yoking of horses to a chariot, appears in connection with *sákhī* in *yógeyoge tavástarāni vājevāje havāmahe / sákhāya índram útāye* 'we, riding (with Indra) in the same chariot, invite Indra who is stronger in every yoking, in every race for a prize' (1.30.17).

10. The idea of *journeying* together is not present here.

11. Or, combined into one simile as done by Śaṅkara, 'as the two speedy horses (turn) the quick wheel'. *Ráthya* in this case is taken to mean 'horse' and not 'wheel'.

12. Similarly Yamī says in 10.10.1, *ó cit sákhāyam sakhyá vavṛtyām* 'May I turn hitherwards (Yama), who has come in a chariot, for a common ride'. This common ride seems to be indicative of marriage relation, see below page 85.

use of the verb  $\bar{a}\sqrt{\text{vah-}}$  is found in RV 3.4.1: *á deva deván yajā-thāya vaksi sákhā sákhīnt sumánā yakṣy agne* 'oh god, bring here (in a chariot) the gods for sacrifice, a charioteer (bringing) those who drive with him; being of good mind, offer them sacrifice, oh Agni'. The meaning is equally clear in RV 8.2.27, where about Indra it is said: *éha hárī brahmayújū śagmá vakṣataḥ sákhāyam* 'May the horses, yoked with a prayer (to the chariot), the able ones, bring the warrior here.'<sup>13</sup>

In RV 7.95.4 Sarasvatī is described as going over to the *sakhis* who, with bent knees, approach her: *mitájñubhir namasyair iyánā rāyā yujá cid úttarā sákhībhyah*.<sup>14</sup> The expression *mitájñu* 'with bent knees' has caused difficulty because it is difficult to imagine some one moving forward with bent knees. But this difficulty disappears when we understand *sákhībhyah* not as 'friends' but as referring to the singers who go to Sarasvatī in the same chariot. Since they drive in a chariot they have their knees bent while approaching Sarasvatī. Instead of *mitájñu* appears *abhijñú* in 3.39.5. There Indra is called the charioteer (*sákhā*) going with Navagvas, the fighters riding the same chariot (*sákhis*). The posture of the Navagvas is described as 'with bent knees' (*abhijñú*): *sákhā ha yátra sákhībhir návagvair abhijñv á sátvabhir gá anugmán*.<sup>15</sup>

It has been mentioned above that the term *sákhī* could be applicable either to the charioteer or to the fighter riding the same chariot. Hence if we get an expression like *sákhā sákhyaḥ śṛṇavad vāndanāni* (3.43.4) it is better interpreted to mean 'may the fighter hear the praises of the charioteer'. That the heroes going to war were often praised by their charioteers is well known. Hence we read in 8.43.14 *tvám hī agne agnínā . . . sákhā sákhya samī-dhyáse* 'For, you, oh Agni, are kindled by fire . . . as a warrior (is roused) by the charioteer'.<sup>16</sup> Incidentally it seems that the place of the charioteer in the chariot was to the right of the warrior. Indra asks Vāyu (cf. Lüders, *Varuṇa* I. 221) to drive his chariot and

13. Also cf. 10.73.4 where Indra is requested to bring Násatyā with him so that they may all ride together, *samanā úrñir úpa yāsi yajñām á násatyā sakhyaḥ vaksi*. *Sakhya* also appears in relation with  $\bar{v}\sqrt{\text{yu-}}$  'to disjoin, separate', *nákir na evá sakhya ví yausus éva ceudra vimadásya ca řṣeh / . . . . asmé te santu sakhya śiváni* (10.23.7). Also 8.86.1.
14. '(Sarasvatī) is being approached by the worshipful ones with bent knees. She, yoked with riches (i.e. carrying riches with her), is more bountiful to (the singers) riding the same chariot.'
15. 'When the charioteer (Indra) followed the cows with Navagvas as fighters driving with him with bent knees...' The same picture of sitting with bent knees in a chariot is to be seen in the race (1.37.10), in approaching Agni found in a distant place (1.72.5), in Indra's coming to the worshippers (8.92.3), in the worshippers' wanderings on the broad earth (3.59.3), and in Indra's winning the cows with his singers (6.32.3).
16. Cf. *sákhya . . . stutáh* 10.50.2 in the context of battles, races or fights with Vṛtra. Also cf. 8.92.33 where singers riding with Indra praise him. Also cf. Lüders' interpretation of RV 10.73.5 (*Varuṇa* I 180 f.n. 2 and II 424).

stand on his right. The two would then kill the enemies: *úśas ca tvám dakṣiṇatāḥ sákhā me 'dhā vṛtrāṇi jaṅghanāva bhūri* (8.100.2).<sup>17</sup>

Sometimes those who went in a chariot to the battle-field abandoned the chariot and fled back. This is what the gods did when they went with Indra to fight against Vṛtra. Indra is therefore advised by the Maruts to take them with him in the chariot so that he may win the war (*vṛtrāsya tvā śvasáthād īśamāṇā víśve devā ajahur yé sákhāyah / marúdbhīr indra sakhyāṁ te astv áthemá víśvāḥ pṛtanā jayāsi* 8.96.7).<sup>18</sup> In the light of this explanation of *sákhī*, RV 8.45.37 seems to have the following meaning: *kó nú maryā ámithitāḥ sákhā sákhāyam abravīt / jahā kó asmád īśate* 'Which warrior (*sákhā*), if he is not provoked (by his charioteer), oh men, has said to the charioteer, 'he has left me.' Who runs away from us?'

Sūryā, or the daughter of the sun, is often described in the R̥gveda as going with Aśvinā in the same chariot. *á yád vāṁ sūryā rátham tīṣṭhad raghuṣyádanī sádā* (5.73.5), *tāṁ vāṁ rátham vayám adyā huvema . . . aśvinā . . . yāḥ sūryāṁ váhati* (4.44.1). Sūryā has been identified with Uṣas by Hillebrandt. This identification gets support from the new interpretation of *sákhī* because Uṣas is called the *sákhī* of Aśvinā, i.e. she goes with them riding in their chariot (*sákhābhūd aśvinor uśāḥ* 4.52.2 and *utá sákhāsy aśvīnoḥ* 4.52.3).<sup>19</sup> In 1.119.5 we are told about a *yóṣā* who chose Aśvinā for her husbands and went with them for a common ride (*sakhyā*) in their chariot: *yuvór aśvinā vāpuṣe yuvāyujam rátham vāṇī yematur asya śárdhyam / á vāṁ patitvám sakhyāya jagmūṣī yóṣāvṛvīta jényā yuvám páti* "The two voices have guided, oh Aśvinā, the chariot yoked by you for your beauty. . . .<sup>20</sup> The young woman<sup>21</sup> to be won, who married you (*patitvám jagmūṣī*) for a common ride (in your chariot) chose you two for her husbands". This connection between marriage and common ride in a chariot is also reflected in the dialogue between Yama and Yamī. In 10.10.2 when Yama rejects the initial entreaty of Yamī he says, *ná te sákhā sakhyāṁ vaṣṭy etáḥsálakṣmā yád víśurūpā bhávāti*

17. Cf. the word *savyaṣṭhr-* (or *savyeṣṭhr-*), *savyaṣṭhā-* (or *savyeṣṭhā-*) 'warrior' (lit. standing on the left) in the Śat. Br. 5.4.3.18; also *indrah savyaṣṭhās candrāmāḥ śrathih* AV 8.8.23 cited in BR. As mentioned in BR, the word *savyeṣṭhā*, however, means a charioteer according to Patañjali on P. 8.3.97 and the Skt. lexicons (AK 2.8.60 and II. 760). [Some editions or commentaries give the reading *savyeṣṭhr-*].

18. But the Maruts also seem to have once abandoned Indra. cf. *yád indram ajahātana / kó vah sakhitvá ohate* (8.7.31) 'that you abandoned Indra. Who (now) is anxious to ride with you?'

19. Lüders (*Varuṇa* II. p. 370, f.n. 1), however, says that Uṣas is called the *sákhā* i.e. 'the friend' of Aśvinā because the latter appear early in the morning.

20. *asya śárdhyam* is 'quite unclear' according to Geldner. Sāyaṇa, *asya rathasya yat śardhyam prāpyam ādityākhyam avadhībhātām lakṣyam*.

21. Sāyaṇa identifies *yóṣā* with *sūryā*.

'This kind of common ride with you, the rider (*sákhā* i.e. Yama who has come in a chariot) does not desire, (the ride) by which a common origin (lit. sign) may turn into being of different forms (i.e. of different origins, not blood relationship)'

The word *sákhī* 'who drives in the same chariot' has also been used in the Ṛgveda with a slight shift in meaning to refer to those who go in the same ship. In 7.88 we read in verse 4 that Varuṇa placed Vasiṣṭha in his ship<sup>21</sup> (*vásiṣṭham ha váruṇo nāvya ádhāt*) in response to the seer's desire expressed in verse 3 to go on a voyage together in the same ship (*ā yád ruhāva váruṇás ca nāvam prá yát samudrám íráyāva mádhyaṃ*). It is with reference to these journeys in the same ship that the seer uses the word *sakhyá* in plural<sup>22</sup> when in verse 5 he asks Varuṇa, *kvā tyāni nau sakhyá babhūvuh* and in verse 6 he refers to himself as the *sákhī* of Varuṇa. In the story of Bhujyu who was thrown in the sea and was rescued by Aśvinā we read *utá tyān bhujyám aśvinā sákhāyo mádhya jahur durévāsaḥ samudré* (7.68.7) 'And those who went with him (in the ship)<sup>23</sup> with wicked intention, oh Aśvinā, threw Bhujyu in the middle of the sea'. When we come across the use of the word *sákhī* with the verb  $\sqrt{tr}$ - 'to cross', or its derivative, it is better to interpret it as referring to the one who goes in a ship rather than in a chariot. In 10.53.8 the context makes this quite clear. *ásmanvatī rīyate sám rabhadhvam út tiṣṭhata prá taratā sakhāyaḥ / átrā jahāma yé ásann ásevāḥ śívān vayám út tarema abhí vājān* ('The river) full of stones is flowing; hold fast, stand up, and cross over, you all going in this ship (*sákhāyaḥ*). We will leave those who were unkind (to us). May we cross over (to the other bank) towards the favourable rewards'. The same meaning is also probably intended when in 10.31.1 we read *tébhir vayám suśakhāyo bhavema tāranto vísvā duritá syāma* 'May we go well with them in the same ship, may we be crossing over all dangers'.<sup>24</sup>

In the Ṛgveda the prayer of the seers is often looked upon as a chariot. Hence the singers who jointly sing the prayer are called *sákhāyaḥ* 'who ride the same vehicle in the form of the

21. According to Lüders (*Varuṇa* I 320-21) this ship is the sun and the sea in which Varuṇa and Vasiṣṭha sail in the heavenly ocean.

22. If 'friendship' was intended, the seer would have probably used *sakhyám* in singular and Lüders (*Varuṇa*, I. 315) who interprets *sakhyám* as friendship does indeed translate the verse as though the singular form was used.

23. It may be noted that Gekler translates the word *sákhāyaḥ* in this verse as 'die Gefährten'.

24. 3.9.1 *sákhāya tvā vavṛmahe devān mártāsa útāye apān nāpātān subhāgān sudítim suprártim anekāsam /* 'The men, travelling in ship, chose the kind god for help, the son of waters who shines brightly, who crosses (the waters) easily, and who is faultless'.



prayer'.<sup>25</sup> In 1.5.1 we read *ā tv étā nī śīdaténdram abhī prā gāyata / sākḥāyaḥ stōmavāhasaḥ* 'Come here, sit down, (and) sing (a song) with reference to Indra, you who ride together in a praise-song as a vehicle'. Similarly in 6.45.4 we find *sākḥāyo brāhma-vāhase 'rchata prā ca gāyata* 'you who ride together, praise and sing (for Indra) who comes in the vehicle in the form of a prayer'. The same picture of a god riding a chariot in the form of a praise-song and leading it appears in 1.173.9, *āsāma yāthā suśakhāya ena. . . . . āsad yāthā na índro vandaneṣṭhās turó ná kārma nāyamāna ukthā* 'so that we may be good riders with him . . . so that Indra may stand in a praise-song guiding the praises as the clever worker (conducts) his task'.<sup>26</sup> The prayer and the sacrifice are also looked upon as a ship and the priests who, as though, sail in it together are called *sākḥāyaḥ*. In 10.101.2 we read *mandrá kṛṇudhvañ dhīya ā tanudhvañ nāvam aritrapārañīm kṛṇudhvam / . . . prāñcam yajñām prā ṇayatā sakhāyaḥ /* 'Make (the songs) agreeable, stretch forth (your) thoughts, fashion a ship which crosses (the river) with rudders. . . . (Oh priests) who sail together carry forward (your) sacrifice'.<sup>27</sup>

When *sākhi* is used in the context of finding a path, or going to or coming from a distant land, it gives better sense if it is interpreted as 'driving in the same chariot'. In 1.80.6 we read *mandāná índro ándhasaḥ sākhibhṛjo gātum icchati* 'Indra, delighted with Soma, seeks a way out for those who drive with him'.<sup>28</sup> In 1.53.7 we find *nāmyā yā índra sākhyā parāvāti nibarhāyo námuciñ náma māyīnam* 'When you, oh Indra, with Namī as your charioteer struck down Namuci, who knows magic, in the distant land'. And in 6.45.1 we have *yā ānayat parāvataḥ sīnītī turvāsañ yādum / índraḥ sá no yūvā sākḥā* 'Indra who brought here Turvaśa and Yadu from a distance, leading them well, that Indra is our young charioteer'.<sup>29</sup>

The interpretation of *sākhi* (*sa-khi*) suggested in this paper seems to derive support from the way it is placed between words

25. For priests being called *sākḥāyaḥ* J. Harmata has a different explanation. He observes, "In the light of these data it does not seem an unlikely suggestion that the word *sākhi*- had been used since very early times, perhaps from the Indo-European period, to designate members of separate social groups. As a result of social development, when the different occupational groups became more and more sharply delimited, this particular use of the word was generally established in old Iranian, more precisely in the language of the Avesta and in old Persian. This development is reflected in the particularized meaning of the Avestan word *haray-* 'member of a priestly college'". AO (Hungarica) 5.195 ff (1955).

26. Also cf. 4.25.1; priests, busy with the performance of a sacrifice or engaged in singing a praise-song, are often called *sākḥāyaḥ*, cf. 6.16.22, 3.29.9, 10.88.17, 6.26.8, 5.7.1, 8.1.16, 10.61.25, 5.45.6, 1.53.11, 4.17.18, 4.31.3, 7.31.1, 10.71.2, 7, 8, etc. etc.

27. Also cf. *supārāḥ suvatāḥ sākḥā* 1.4.10, 8.32.13.

28. Also cf. *sākheva sākhye gātuvittamo bhava* 9.104.5.

29. *yésām índro yūvā sākḥā* also occurs in 8.45.1, 2, 3.

like *sá-manasaḥ* (sharing common thought) and *sá-nīlāḥ* (sharing common nest) in *úd budhyadhvaṃ sámanasaḥ sakhāyaḥ sám agnīm indhvaṃ bahávaḥ sánīlāḥ* (10.101.1).<sup>30</sup> Similarly we have a parallelism between *sa-jātāḥ* and *sa-khāyaḥ* in 10.103.6: *imám sa-jātā ánu vīrayadhvam índraṃ sakhāyo ánu sám rabhadhvam* /<sup>31</sup>.

#### A note on *bhrātrá*

In Grassmann's Wörterbuch *bhrātrá* is equated with *bhrātrtvá* 'Brüderschaft, Verwandtschaft der Brüder'. In all the four cases where the word occurs in the Ṛgveda, there occurs also the word *sákhi* (or *sálchya*). In this context it seems that it would be better to interpret *bhrātrá*, not as 'brotherhood', but as a primary derivative<sup>32</sup> from  $\sqrt{bhr-}$  (in the sense of 'being carried or borne').

RV. 4.10.8: *śivá naḥ sakhyá sántu bhrātrágne devéṣu yuṣmé / sá no nábhīḥ sádane sásminn údhan* // "May our driving together, may our being borne together, oh Agni, be auspicious among you gods. That is our relationship in the house, at the same udder". According to Geldner *úadhan* 'udder' is the sacrifice. But Lüders (*Varuṇa* II 395) points out that *úadhan* refers to the heavenly udder which is the "Urquell des Lebens im höchsten Himmel". The gods and men have their origin there.

RV. 4.25.2 cd<sup>33</sup>: *ká índrasya yújyaṃ káḥ sakhitvám kó bhrātrám vaṣṭi kaváye ká ūtí* / 'Who desires for being joined with Indra, who riding (with him) in the same chariot, who being borne (with him), who is fit for the wise god's favour?'

RV. 4.23.6: *kím ád ámatraṃ sakhyám sálchibhyaḥ kadá nú te bhrātrám prá bravāma* 'What kind of (Soma) cup was it which served for driving together<sup>34</sup> for those who rode in it? When shall we proclaim our being borne with you (in the chariot)?'

RV. 2. 1.9: *tvám agne pitáram iṣṭibhir náras tvám bhrātráya sámya tanúrúcam / tvám putró bhavasi yás te 'vidhat tvám sákha susévaḥ pāsy ádhīṣaḥ* // 'To you, oh Agni, (come) men with requests as (one

30. It may be noted that the author of the Padapāṭha does not separate *sákhāyaḥ* with an avagraha as he does in the case of the other two words.

31. The occurrence of *sákhāya* with *su-dhūrā* and *su-āngā* qualifying *hári* may also be cited as giving supporting evidence. *á ca tvám etá vīṣaṇā váhāto hári sákhāya sudhūrā svāngā* (3.43.4).

32. For the lengthened grade of the root vowel see Alt. Gr. 2.2 § 520b, p. 708.

33. Also cf. 4.25.1.

34. Soma cup looked upon as a chariot.

goes) to one's father, to you, with shining body, (they come) with sacrifice for being borne in it (sacrifice = chariot). You become a son (to him) who dedicates himself to you, you (become) his well-disposed charioteer (and) protect him from attack.'

It is easy to understand that *sákhi* which originally meant 'driving in the same chariot, a charioteer, a warrior' came later to mean 'an associate' or 'a friend'. It is likely that in some passages even in the Ṛgveda *sákhi* is used in the sense of 'a companion, a friend'.<sup>35</sup> But as shown above, the meaning 'charioteer, warrior' is better suited to the context in a large number of Ṛgvedic passages.

\* \* \*

The stem *sákhi-* is known for its peculiar declension. The first five forms are derived from the strengthened grade (*sakhāi-*). In the nom. sg., however, we have *sákhā* and not *sákhāi*. For this final *-ā*, instead of *-āi*, Wackernagel has already noted a parallel form *agnā* (loc. sg.) for *\*agnāi*.<sup>36</sup> It has also been pointed out that Avestan has nom. sg. *kavā* (from *kavi-*).

According to Burrow,<sup>37</sup> the *i*-stems and the *u*-stems developed three kinds of declension. The oldest is represented by *sákhi-* with its nom. sg. *sákhā*.<sup>38</sup> The second is represented by a few *u*-stems with the nom. sg. *dyaús*, *gaús*. And the third is represented by the usual type with nom. sg. *-is*, *-us*. As regards the declension of *sákhi*, O. Szemerényi<sup>39</sup> has a different explanation. In his view the nom. sg. *sakhā* is influenced by *rājā* 'king' and *śāstā* 'ruler.' The acc. sg. *sákhāyam* shows that the influence must have come from an *-n* stem and/or an agent noun in *-tar*. He concludes, "It seems, then, that, on closer scrutiny, *sakhā* reveals itself as an unique deviation due to analogy, not as an archaic IE type."

35. E.g. 10.34.2, 10.95.15.

36. Alt. Gr. I § 93, p. 106.

37. The Sanskrit Language pp. 180-181.

38. Besides Avestan *kavā*, Burrow also notes *apratā* RV 8.32.16. He also calls attention to feminine derivatives like *agādī* (and *mandvī*) and first members in compounds *agnā-viṣṇū* and *kavā-sakhā*.

39. KZ 73. 193-194 (1956). For Kuiper's view in this regard see his *Notes on Vedic Noun-Inflection* p. 64.

# THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR—A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

By

L. B. KENY

From the beginning of human history the techniques of destroying men and material have been, as it were, a primary concern of man. And an organized assault by one social group upon another for wilful destruction of life and property with the selfish desire of furthering the interests of one group at the cost of other is a war which is the nucleus of any war including the *Mahābhārata*. Being an epic the *Mahābhārata* has undergone various stages of development reflecting the primitive and the advanced stages of society, spanning several centuries.

Man's most ancient arms of primitive warfare like hands, nails, teeth, stones, trees, clubs, spears, bows and arrows were freely used by the epic heroes not only to kill enemies but also to seize flocks, women and food. In a free-style wrestling where hands, nails and teeth were freely used, Bhīma suffocated to death his adversary Kīcaka by pressing forcefully his hands against the latter's neck, forcing out his eyes and separating the limbs of his body<sup>1</sup>. In other duels he separated Jaṭāsūra's head from the body by the strength of his fists, broke Baka's hands and feet, tore open the sides of his body and divided Jarāsandha into two halves<sup>2</sup>. In Bhīma's fights with Jaṭāsūra, Kirmira, Baka and the Anukikas, trees and rocks were hurled at each other<sup>3</sup>. Are not these inhuman combats enough reflections of a savage society using the most primitive arms and methods of warfare?

The uprooted tree was the prototype of the rugged wooden club used by the primitives as their basic shock weapon. And although no stone-age war club in the shape of a round-headed piece of heavy wood has survived for archaeological discovery, it seems to be the direct antecedent of the *gadā* 'mace', handled so efficiently by the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. A number of spherical stone mace-heads with hole for the wooden handle traced at the Indus Valley, suggest the antiquity of their use going back to c. 2500 B. C.

1. Virāṭaparva, XXII. The bodies of Vāli and Sugrīva turned all blood as they used their hands, nails, teeth, stones and trees against each other; Vanaparva, CLVII, CCLXXX.
2. Vanaparva, CLVII, Ādiparva, CLXIV, Sabhāparva, XXIII.
3. Ibid. XI, CLVII, Ādiparva, CLXIII, Virāṭaparva, XXIII.

Bhīma shattered to pieces both the thighs of Duryodhana by the mace<sup>4</sup>, and Sunda and Upasunda dropped dead, their heads battered by each other's *gadās*, in a fight for Tilottamā<sup>5</sup>. Men of the stone age wielded suitable pieces of wood and stone hatchets; and the maces with which the Mahābhārata heroes bludgeoned one another are the direct descendants of the cruder clubs and primitive stone-maces.

The *Calra* 'discus', was another interesting missile associated with Kṛṣṇa, a dark-skinned pre-Aryan hero<sup>6</sup>. It was used by him not only to destroy the beasts of the jungle or game, but also to kill human adversaries like Śiśupāla<sup>7</sup>. Like the primitive Australian boomerang it returned to the skilful thrower after hitting the target<sup>8</sup>.

The bow and the arrow handled by the epic heroes<sup>9</sup> were man's earliest mechanical invention. They were the most efficient projectile of the primitive man. The earliest arrows tipped with the chipped microliths and sped from the elastic bow of bone or wood, opened new possibilities to the hunter to get his agile game. Innumerable stone and bronze arrow-heads are found in the neolithic and chalcolithic sites of India. The manufacture of the epic weapons from the bones of Dadhici<sup>10</sup> and Kṛṣṇa's blowing the conch-shell to give a challenging call to Śalya to be ready to fight<sup>11</sup>, are also significant of the primitive methods of warfare.

Bhīṣma's forcible removal of the three daughters of the Kashi chief<sup>12</sup>, Arjuna's abduction of Subhadrā and his subsequent marriage with her<sup>13</sup>, Jayadratha's surreptitiously taking away Draupadī from the *Pāṇḍava-āśrama*<sup>14</sup> and Jaṭāsura's attempt to abduct Kṛṣṇā<sup>15</sup> are also evidences of savage custom of kidnapping women forcibly from neighbouring tribes<sup>16</sup>.

4. Salyaparva.
5. Ādiparva, CCXII.
6. Cf. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, p. 115.
7. Ādiparva, CCXXI, Sabhāparva, XLV.
8. *Ibid.* CCXXI, CCXXXVIII. Like the Australians handling the boomerang, the Arizona Indians, the Southern Californians, and the Sudanese, threw curved flat sticks, at rabbits, fowl, and small mammals: Cf. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, pp. 211-12; Goldenweiser, *Anthropology*, p. 70.
9. *Ibid.* CLXXXVIII.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Vanaparva, XIV.
12. Ādiparva, CII, Amopakhyānaparva CLXXIII.
13. *Ibid.* CCXX-CCXXI.
14. Vanaparva CCLXVIII.
15. *Ibid.* CLVII.
16. Cf. Taylor, *Anthropology*, II, p. 59. Rāvana's abduction of Sītā (Vanaparva CCLXVIII), and Duṣśāsana's forcible dragging of Draupadī by her hair, and his attempt to undress her (Sabhāparva, LXVII-LXVIII) are also examples reflecting a primitive society where women could not live with self-respect.

Together with such seizing of women by force, the *Mahābhārata* refers to their sharing as well. Draupadī was shared by the five Pāṇḍava brothers and had five sons from them<sup>17</sup>. Kuntī was shared by Dharma, Vāyu and Indra, and gave birth to Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Arjuna by them<sup>18</sup> and Mādri who gave birth to Nakula and Sahadeva was shared by the Aśvinikumāras<sup>19</sup>. Justifying this practice, Yudhiṣṭhira not only states that it was a righteous practice followed by the ancestors of the Pāṇḍavas but he even refers to Gautamī being the wife of seven ṛṣis and Vārksī being shared by the ten Prachetasa brothers in the past<sup>20</sup>. Vyāsa has described this practice as *sanātana dharmā*<sup>21</sup>. The Todas of the Nilgiri hills, who are "representatives of the aboriginal tribes that were in India even prior to the immigration of the Dravidians", follow the practice of sharing a mate among several brothers who jointly live with her—a custom based on ancient pre-Aryan polyandry<sup>22</sup>.

Not to mention Kṛṣṇa's traditional sixteen thousand mates, the *Ādiparva* alone, on the other hand, gives innumerable evidences of a complex social group with strange sex relationships. The birth of eleven sons to Bali's maid-servant from the blind Dīrghatama and later on of five more sons to Bali's wife Sudeṣṇā from the same ṛṣi<sup>23</sup>, the hastening of his wife Madayantī by Kalmāṣapāda to Vasiṣṭha with the expectation of a son, named later as Aśmaka<sup>24</sup>, the births of Draupadī and Dhṛṣṭadyumna to king Drupada's wife by ṛṣis Yāja and Upayāja<sup>25</sup>, the birth of Karṇa to Kuntī from Sūrya before her marriage with Pāṇḍu<sup>26</sup>, and of Vidura to Vicitravīrya's slave-girl from Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana<sup>27</sup>, are only a few of

17. *Ādiparva*, CCXXI.

18. *Ibid.*, CXXIII.

19. *Ibid.*, CXXIV.

20. *Ibid.*, CXC, CXCVI.

21. *Ibid.*, CXXII, CXCVII. The sexual unions of Brhaspati with Mamatā the wife of his elder brother Utatihya, and of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana with Ambikā and Ambālikā, the wives of his elder brother Vicitravīrya, resulting into the births of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu respectively (Cf. *Ādiparva*, CIV–CVI), are other evidences; and Yudhiṣṭhira even tells Arjuna, elsewhere, that there was nothing wrong if a younger brother approached the elder one while the latter was enjoying the company of the common mate, but the elder brother approaching the younger one in similar circumstances was considered unrighteous (*Ādiparva*, CCXXII). Arjuna too informs Yudhiṣṭhira that offering of the mate by the younger brothers to the eldest one was their duty (*Ādiparva*, CXCI).

22. Cf. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, p. 245; Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, I, p. 247. D. D. Kosambi has suggested that Kamsa's death at the hands of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma "has good support in primitive usage" as "in certain primitive societies, the sister's son is heir and successor to the chief; also, the chief has often to be sacrificed by the successor": *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, p. 116.

23. *Ādiparva*, CIV.

24. *Ibid.*, CLXXVII, CLXXXII.

25. *Ibid.*, CLXVII.

26. *Ibid.*, CXI–CXII.

27. *Ibid.*, CV–CVI.

several such examples of a primitive society ignorant of the institution of marriage. And the dialogue between Paṇḍu and Kuntī confirms the existence of this *sanātana-dharma* where society had no sex restrictions, and women roamed about freely seeking satisfaction of their sex desires<sup>28</sup>.

The unrestricted sex-life of the epic society reflects, to some measures, a result of group-life. Even the sharing of females as a stage of human reciprocity and co-operation, moved behind the sharing of food and collaboration in hunting and fighting of the primitive society. Reciprocity between social groups and later on families, turned the practice of mere mating into marriage, as the latter institution involved social stability when sexual division of labour was regularised<sup>29</sup>. Arjuna's contented reference to hunting with traps<sup>29a</sup> not only reflects a seasoned hunter's interest, but even the deaths of Dhṛtarāṣṭra in a forest conflagration, of the other Pāṇḍavas in a forest, of Parikṣita by a snake-bite, and of Kṛṣṇa being shot by a wild hunter, are indications of a forest society of hunters.

With the introduction of cattle raising and agriculture, hunting became a secondary occupation. The hunted animals useful for food and clothing, only after their destruction, became an asset as a source of harness with the growing needs of man. The dog, useful in the pursuit of game, was the earliest species domesticated by man, and linked with him from the mesolithic period<sup>30</sup>. And in this respect its association with the Pāṇḍavas, particularly with Dharmarāja whom the animal accompanied to heaven<sup>31</sup>, is a very significant pointer. The Virāṭanagara raid by the Kauravas, in which thousands of cattle were seized<sup>32</sup>, reflects the pastoral life of the times. Kṛṣṇa's fostering in the *Gokulā* "cattle herders' commune", and his association with cattle, milkmen and women, also indicate a cattle herders' society<sup>33</sup>. Balarāma being associated with the "plough" and called *samkarṣaṇa* "a ploughman", and the Pāṇḍavas clearing Indraprastha by the traditional method of burn-

28. *Ibid.* CXXII. Later on definite restrictions were imposed by Śvetaketu who could not bear the insult of his mother being invited by a Brahmin in the presence of his father, for bodily pleasure, though his father Uddālaka had tried to console his son by describing the practice as *Sanātana-Dharma* (Adi-parva, CXXII, Cf. CIV).

29. Cf. Service, *Primitive Social Organization*, p. 44. The Eskimos lacking territorial exogamy and rules of marital residence, mated peacefully with others as they moved with the seasons to different hunting and fishing grounds: Service, *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

29a. *Vide* Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 378.

30. Childs, *Progress and Archaeology*, p. 16. The Veddas of Ceylon hunted deer with dogs.

31. Mahāprassthānikaparva, I. Cf. Morgan, *Prehistoric Man*, p. 166.

32. Virāṭaparva, XXX.

33. Cf. Kosambi, *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

ing down the forest... and the new territory settled for plough farming" are also equally interesting indications<sup>34</sup>. And the plough has been archaeologically traced to India by 1300 B.C.<sup>35</sup>

Howsoever primitive may be the use of barks and skins as garments by the Pāṇḍavas<sup>36</sup> and the staking of persons and property in the gambling of Yudhiṣṭhira with Śakuni, and of Nala with Puṣkara<sup>37</sup>, references to cannibalism of the *Mahābhārata* reflect nothing less than the savagery of the epic society.

Even if one ignores Jarāsandha's human sacrifice<sup>38</sup>, the consumption of human flesh by Baka, Kalmāṣapāda, Agastya and the Rākṣasas<sup>39</sup>, are very conspicuous as savage practices. Could there be better evidences to prove the savagery of the epic society than the hacking to pieces of Gautama by the Rākṣasas and distributing the flesh among the Dasyus, and the drinking of Duṣśāsana's blood by Bhīma after killing the former on the battle-field<sup>40</sup>?

The ancient Hastināpura associated with the *Mahābhārata* war, is identified with a site of the same name in U.P. And in the recent extensive and systematic excavations of the place, various cultural periods ranging from c. pre-1300 B.C. to 15th Century A.D. have been traced. The earliest phase (Period I) represented an occupation with a crude ochre-coloured pottery. It was followed by a distinctive ceramic called the "Painted Grey Ware" (Period II). And subsequently the site was inhabited by people who used iron and "Northern Black Polished Ware" (Period III). Period I exhibited flimsy or sporadic settlement, with no copper or iron, and no terracotta human or animal figurines, and devoid of structural remains. Period II of 1100 to 800 B.C. indicated burnt brick-bats with no regular house-plans, excepting a few mud or mud-brick walls and some crude terracotta animal figurines. No iron was traced even at this layer. A number of bones of sheep, cattle and buffaloes indicated their domestication during this period. Horns of antelope and bone-needles were other interesting objects known to those people. Period III dated from 6th to 3rd century B.C. gave iron objects like barbed and socketed arrow-heads and a chisel. It also had copper and silver punch-marked coins not traced earlier. Though innumerable articles like those of Period II were found,

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

35. Childe, *Op. cit.* p. 21.

36. *Ādiparva*, CXCIV; Cf. *Tirthayātrāparva* XCVII.

37. *Sabhāparva*, LXV-LXVII. *Nalopākhyānaparva*, LIX-LXI, LXXVIII.

38. *Ibid.* XXII.

39. *Ādiparva*, CLX, CLXXVII, CLXXXII; *Tirthayātrāparva*, XIX, *Ādiparva*, CLXXVIII.

40. *Sāntiparva*, CLXXXII; *Karnaparva*. The wishful thinking of Kirmira to digest the flesh of Bhīma before killing the latter (*Vanaparva*, XI) is another evidence of the practice of cannibalism by the epic society.



some regular brick structures were an interesting feature of this period<sup>41</sup>:

Though one could agree with Lal that the "Painted Grey Ware" was later than the Harappa ware and that it well preceded the "Northern Black Polished Ware", one is not convinced of his contention "that the date of the Mahābhārata battle falls within Period II at Hastinapura", and that the sites associated with the Mahābhārata story, expose in those excavations finds of the period of the story itself. Apart from the association of the epic heroes with the Painted Grey Ware, their association with the early Aryan stock of India looks equally presumptuous. Rightly states A. Ghosh in his "Notes" regarding the report of Lal, that "the excavation has no bearing on the authenticity or otherwise of the epic tale" and "It is admittedly premature to hold that the latter people were no other but the Aryans"<sup>42</sup>.

If the date of the earliest historical kernel of the feud between the two savage tribes of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas is placed at 3102 B.C., the latest stage of the composition of the epic can be taken to 200 A.D.<sup>43</sup>. Based, however, on purely literary traditions, these dates would remain open to doubt.

The earliest phase of the epic society reflects a people busy with savage fights with hands, nails, teeth, clubs, maces, the bow and the arrow, consuming human flesh and blood, still in the hunting and cattle-herding stage, and ignorant of family life. These savages have a nearly perpetual state of war or near-war with neighbouring savage tribes. The savage feud of the *Mahābhārata* is more like an ambush and hit-and-run raid or occasionally hand-to-hand inhuman fights, rather than an all-out campaign. In fact head-hunting, cannibalism, rape, torture of captives, massacre and other forms of terrorization and atrocious nerve-warfare were more effective means at that level than true combats. Such a society may be associated either with the last phase of the palaeolithic or the first phase of the pre-pottery microlithic age. It may be even earlier than the ochre-washed pottery layer of Hastinapura I. Like Kṛṣṇa the "dark", the primitive heroes of the Mahābhārata war could be not only pre-Aryan but pre-Dravidian as well.

The present paper makes no claim to perfect precision, but makes only an attempt to project some of the issues in the light of

41. Cf. Lal, "Excavations at Hastinapura", *Ancient India* 10-11.

42. Ghosh, "Notes", *Ancient India* 10-11, p. 3.

43. Cf. Sengupta, "The Historicity of the Mahābhārata on the Basis of Astronomical Data", *J. R. A. S. Letters*, XXII, pp. 76-79; Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 239; Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 182, Lal, *Op. cit.*, p. 149 fn. 11; Kosambi, *Op. cit.*, p. 91, *J. R. A. S. Letters*, XVI, p. 3; *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, VIII, pp. 203-11; *J. R. A. S. Letters*, XVIII, pp 64-65, XVIII, pp. 64-65, fn. 3; etc.

which the previous conceptions of the Mahābhārata war need to be reconsidered anthropologically and archaeologically. With inadequate study of anthropology and less than inadequate excavations in India, it is premature to indicate the exact date of the Mahābhārata war. This paper, however, seeks to suggest that fruitful line of investigation lies in a combined research in anthropology, archaeology and history, and not each to itself. The question remains how well this approach works.

# VĀLMĪKI'S CONCEPT OF THE BRAHMĀSTRA

By

G. V. BAPAT

(1) The history of the development of the human race is, in a sense, closely connected with the history of the development of weapons, that is, means of offence and of defence. This would seem to be the result of the fact that, naturally, man is but ill-equipped for either purpose.

(2) What man lacks in brute strength, he makes up through the exercise of his fertile mind. Pre-occupation with means of defensive and offensive action has, therefore, been one of the main features of the history of man's development. Though, initially, weapons may have been used against the beasts of the jungle, it is very likely that as soon as men started living as organized bands or tribes, they frequently found it necessary to use weapons against peoples belonging to other tribes. It is also to be expected that simultaneously with the use of weapons for aggressive action, men found it necessary to devise means for defence too. We may safely say that the shield was not long in following the sword. As time passed, men improved their weapons so that they quickly passed from weapons of stone to those of steel, and looked forward to inventing something that would supersede steel too.

(3) One wonders what qualities one expects to find in an "effective" weapon. Probably, the following points may satisfy one's expectations. An effective weapon should be (i) light, (ii) strong, (iii) capable of inflicting grave injuries, (iv) capable of effecting injury from a distance, (v) easily manoeuvrable, (vi) should enable one man to inflict widespread destruction, (vii) be capable of being used repeatedly without the soldier's having to depend upon supplies, or preferably, be such as to have inexhaustible power and make the soldier quite free of dependence of any kind.

(4) Since the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki refers to a war and to weapons used in it, it would be quite interesting to examine some of the significant details given by the poet and form an idea as to the poet's concept of the ideal weapon, the Brahmāstra. Before proceeding to an examination of the evidence it would be necessary to state a few reservations. The Rāmāyaṇa is not a technical treatise; so it would be useless to look for the 'know-how' of the weapons. As long as historical evidence regarding the use of the Astra is not available, it would be desirable to deal with the Astras and their power as concepts and not as facts. The present disser-

tation should, therefore, be treated as an intellectual exercise calculated to form an idea of the poet's concept of the ideal weapon. It may, however, be said that since the poet *did* have certain concepts, one of two things may be conceded: (a) that he lived at a time when there was sufficient technical advance to warrant speculation on the poet's part and make it plausible in the same way in which the speculations of H. G. Wells or Jules Verne were found quite credible in their day, or (b) that the poet was a profound thinker who could think far, far ahead of his times. As for lack of technical information, Vālmiki is as much to blame as a modern novelist writing about the destruction of Hiroshima would be for giving no details regarding the manufacture of the Atom Bomb.

(5) We may now proceed to examine some of the significant passages of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa.\* It is clear that he makes a distinction between Shastra (शस्त्र) and Astra (अस्त्र). The Shastra (शस्त्र) has limited destructive power and can be handled freely by the ordinary soldier. Some of the Shastras (शस्त्रs) have been mentioned as, e. g., गदा, परिघ, पट्टिश, शूल, (Gadā, Parigha, Paṭṭisha, Shūla) etc. The Astras (अस्त्रs) have great potentialities for destruction, limited or widespread, and can be directed against specific objects but can be used only by the select few. Though many of the Astras (अस्त्रs) have been mentioned by name, few details regarding their effects have been given by the poet. About the Brahmāstra (ब्रह्मास्त्र), the most terrible of the Astras (अस्त्रs), however, we do have a few details on which to base our conjectures.

(6) There are a few significant references as to the way in which knowledge of the Astras may be obtained. In Uttarakāṇḍa, Sargas 25 and 30, Meghanāda, Rāvaṇa's son, is said to have performed sacrifices to please the Gods and to have obtained his knowledge through their favour for which Rāvaṇa blames him a little. A sacrifice implies tending the fire. Is the term sacrifice to be interpreted as an offering to the gods in the way of Brāhminical ritual, or as a symbolic way of signifying experiments having some connection with furnaces? The reason for this doubt will be apparent a little later. (See paras 9 and 10 below.)

(7) In Bālakāṇḍa, Sarga 55, Vishwāmītra is said to have acquired knowledge of the Dhanurveda (complete with its Aṅga, Upāṅga and Upanishad) through the grace of Mahādeva who is supposed to be the source of all knowledge. It is hard to interpret this story. It may be that Mahādeva manifested himself to the sage in the way mystics say he may do. Alternatively, the sage

\* Note:—The following edition of the Rāmāyaṇa has been used for the purpose of referring to Sargas and stanzas:—Gita Press, Gorakhpur, First Ed., published in Vikrama Samvat 2017.

may be supposed to have conducted his own experiments and his 'illuminated mind' may be attributed to Mahādeva. It may be remembered that Brahmā is said to have appeared before the poet Vālmiki and directed him to compose the Rāmāyaṇa.

(8) However that may be, Vishwāmitra communicated his knowledge to Rāma (Bāla., Sarga 27). At that time Vishwāmitra repeated the formulae (Mantras) and Rāma learnt them by heart as is apparent from verses 22-27 and especially from Rāma's request that the Astras should "stay in his mind" (मानसा मे भविष्यध्वम्). After this, Rāma requested the sage that the latter might teach him the Saṃhāras of the Astras as well. It would seem that Saṃhāra is a term signifying the capacity to re-generate the power of an Astra, after the power had been released through use of the Astra. An analogy would make the point clear. Once a bullet has been fired from a gun, the power of the cartridge is lost. Re-charging the cartridge-case with gunpowder etc. would amount to re-creating the destructive potentialities of the cartridge. The term Saṃhāra seems to correspond to this process. From this we may form a few preliminary conjectures regarding the poet's concept of an Astra. An Astra would mean:

- (1) Capacity to generate some form of energy,
- (2) Capacity to direct this energy against an object,
- (3) Capacity to recreate energy dissipated through use. The poet's idea of the Astra thus makes the individual stronger than another individual, or a group of individuals.

(9) In stanzas 11-12 of Bālakāṇḍa, Sarga 28, the poet says that the Astras manifested themselves to Rāma, that is, he saw their 'forms'. Form is a matter of sensory perception. In this case the forms of the Astras seem to have been apprehended by means of the eyes. Ocular appeal would be associated with light, and the poet's description of the 'forms' of the Astras substantiates this. He says that the forms were like (1) smoke, (2) fire or live coals, (3) the moon, (4) the sun. It would seem that the Astras were, in some way, associated with light energy and, by extension, heat energy. It is, of course, assumed that the limits of Rāma's power of sensory perception were the same as those in the case of an ordinary person. It would be in order to add a few details to the poet's general concept of the Astras, given above; an Astra would imply:

- (1) Generation of some form of energy far more potent than mere weapons (Shastras, शस्त्र ), by means quite independent of external, material or objective aids, the energy having some of the qualities associated with Light and Heat;

- (2) The capacity, in the user of the Astra, of suitably directing the energy for destructive purposes;
- (3) The ability, in a well-trained person, to counter-act the destructive power of Astras used by the enemy. Incidentally, it may be added that while describing an engagement (Yuddha., Sarga 73) in which Astras were used, the poet frequently employs expressions which consistently remind us of light and heat energy (e.g. पावकसंकाशैः शरैः, शरैः सूर्यसंकाशैः, रविप्रकाशैः, ज्वलनसंकाशैः, तपनीयवर्णैः ॥ and also stanza 58). We may now proceed to examine three or four very significant references to the actual use of the Brahmāstra.

(10) The first of these references occurs in Sundarakāṇḍa, Sarga 38, stanza 28, where Rāma's use of the Brahmāstra against a crow who molested Sitā is mentioned. On this occasion, Rāma used a blade of Darbha grass as a medium to hold the charge of the energy of the Astra. The blade is said to have glowed like fire and pursued the crow all through his peregrinations. In Yuddhakāṇḍa, Sargas 21 and 22, Rāma is said to have threatened to use the Brahmāstra to obtain a passage across the sea. A superficial reading of stanzas 25-35 of the 21st Sarga would make one believe that Rāma was a fool to have shot arrows into the sea to force the sea to yield a passage. A closer reading, however, would indicate that Rāma's purpose was to evaporate the water and that his "arrows" were "charged with energy" (ज्वलन्तः St. 27). The effect of the contact of the arrows with the water supports the conjecture that the 'arrows' were charged and that the energy was of the nature of light and heat. Particularly significant is the poet's reference to the rising of a fog (सघ्नमः) on the waters and of mountainous waves (विन्ध्यमन्दरसंकाशा ऊर्मयः st. 31) as also other terrible phenomena which ordinary arrows could never be expected to produce, but "charged" missiles reasonably could. It would seem in order to add further details to the poet's concept now:

- (1) The energy of the Astra should be such as to admit of being generated in a flimsy substance like a blade of grass without destroying it.
- (2) The substance so charged should automatically follow, or be attracted to, the object against which it was directed.
- (3) Once generated, the energy had to be expended as is apparent from Sundarakāṇḍa, Sarga 38, Stanzas 34, 35 where the crow had to sacrifice one of his eyes, and from Yuddhakāṇḍa, Sargas 21 and 22, where a whole area was laid bare.

(11) The second important reference to the use of the Brahmāstra is found in Sundarakāṇḍa, sarga 48 where Indrajit, finding

Hanūmāna invincible, used it as a last resort just to 'tie him up.' The effect of the energy on Hanūmāna was that he found himself unable to move and fell to the ground. Inability to move or gesticulate or speak may be interpreted as a sort of paralysing effect on the muscles, nerves, brain-centres etc. concerned. Though paralysed, Hanūmāna could still think clearly (Stanzas 39, 44), which means that his thought-processes remained unaffected. In other words, the energy did not act in the way in which a blow with a hammer or sand-bag would, but penetrated down to certain nerve-centres etc. leaving Hanūmāna's thought-processes unclouded. More interesting still is it to note that as soon as Indrajit's soldiers trussed up Hanūmāna with ropes made of plant-fibres, he was free from the paralysing influence of the Brahmāstra. Hanūmāna and Indrajit understood that the Brahmāstra-power was no longer effective, but both kept quiet for reasons of their own. Indrajit, however, was much disturbed by the folly of his soldiers. From this, it would follow that the energy was, according to the poet, such—

- (1) as to be dissipated under certain conditions,
- (2) as to be withstood in exceptional circumstances, or by exceptional persons. This will be very clear from the case of Vasishṭha which we shall take up now.

(12) In Bālakāṇḍa, Sarga 56, stanzas 15-20 the poet describes what happened when Vishwāmitra used the Brahmāstra against Vasishṭha. Early in the battle, Vishwāmitra used various Astras, less potent than the Brahmāstra, against Vasishṭha who absorbed them with his Brahmadaṇḍa and rendered them useless like 'embers reduced to charcoal by pouring water on them,' as the poet puts it. During this process, the Brahmadaṇḍa is said to have shone brightly.

(13) When Vasishṭha set about neutralizing the Brahmāstra used by his adversary, Vasishṭha, as the poet says, appeared so grand and awesome as to compel homage from the three Lokas. From each pore at the base of every hair on his body darted tongues of fire bright like the rays of the sun. The Brahmadaṇḍa too shone brightly. From this description, which gives us the idea of light and heat, it would seem that the energy directed by Vishwāmitra against Vasishṭha was capable of burning up things. It would seem that as soon as it reached Vasishṭha, it met with such resistance that it could not harm even the skin of the sage. The energy spread all over the surface of the skin, was distributed near the roots of the hairs on his body and was dissipated in the form of sparks flying off from the pores or the hairs. Here again the poet speaks of sensory experience associated with perception by means of the eyes.

(14) The difference between Vasishṭha's case and that of Hanūmāna is this: the energy got dissipated near the surface of Vasishṭha's body while it penetrated to the internal structures in Hanūmāna's body. Sparks flew off Vasishṭha's body while no such phenomenon was observable in the case of Hanūmāna. The question how the energy reached the internal structures in Hanūmāna's body may be answered by providing an analogy. We know that certain types of rays cannot be seen (because they are beyond our limits of perception) but have the power to pass through the body or reach deep-seated structures within it. Such rays are employed in curative medicine to-day. In the case of Vasishṭha, it would seem that he had contrived some sort of insulation, though what it was has not been said by the poet.

(15) From the foregoing discussion certain conclusions regarding Vālmīki's concept of the Brahmāstra (and of Astras in general) may be formed:—

- (1) The Brahmāstra was far superior to brute strength, ordinary weapons and other Astras.
- (2) The Astra could be used from a distance.
- (3) The Astra could generate energy capable of causing great damage.
- (4) The energy, when its effects could be observed, resulted in sparks, flashes of bright light etc., (तैजस प्रत्यय)
- (5) Even a fragile substance could be charged with the energy.
- (6) There was some way of re-creating the energy even if it were to be dissipated temporarily through use.
- (7) One kind or potency of Astra (i.e. energy) could be countered and neutralized by another.
- (8) The energy could penetrate to the internal structures of the body.
- (9) It was possible to generate different 'potencies' of the energy—minute enough to kill a crow or large enough to evaporate sea-water.
- (10) The energy could be created without one's having to depend upon elaborate machinery.
- (11) Only exceptionally qualified men were to be taught the secret of the generation and use of the energy.

(16) From this discussion it will be evident that even in the distant, dim past, men like Vālmīki were keenly conscious of man's feebleness and had developed definite ideas regarding "the ideal weapon". The idea of the Brahmāstra seems to be the most highly



evolved of all the ideas on the subject. Whether what Vālmīki wrote about did, in fact, exist or he was only soaring on the wings of his imagination cannot be decided. It is, however, certain that Vālmīki's ideas on the subject are so highly evolved that it would be almost impossible to carry them any further.

(17) Vālmīki's idea is to make the hero, or the individual, completely independent of machines and other people, or, in other words, to make him fully self-sufficient. Put briefly, the position is: to know the Brahmāstra is to rule the world. The fate of humanity would rest in the hands of an individual. This has far-reaching implications, as can be appreciated when we consider how atomic weapons have put untold power into the hands of certain nations. Vālmīki seems to have given thought to this problem too. How he has solved it may be examined in another essay.

THE ALAMKĀRAMAÑJARI  
OF  
TRIMALLABHATTA  
Critically Edited

By

K. P. JOG

1. In preparing this critical edition (in fact, the first edition) of the *Alamkārāmañjarī*, I have used the Mss. which were made available to me by the following institutions:

- (i) The Asiatic Society of Bombay: Ms. A in their possession; Mss. C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> which they borrowed from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; and Ms. I (photostat copy) which they procured from the India Office Library, London.
- (ii) The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona lent to me Mss. B<sub>1</sub> and B<sub>2</sub>.
- (iii) The Bharat Itihas Samshodhan Mandal of Poona kept at my disposal Mss. a, G, J and P.

But for the kind help of the authorities of these three institutions, the publication of the *Alamkārāmañjarī* would have been further delayed.

2. The particulars of the Mss. are :

- (A) 9½"×4½", country paper, Devanāgarī script. Folios 8; Nos. 1, 3-9. About 10—12 lines to a page and 37 letters in a line.

The scribe mentions himself as 'son of Maheśvara' and the place of copying as 'situated on the banks of the Godāvārī.'

Old in appearance, preserved in good condition. Only folio no. 5 is torn at the right corner below.

Bhau Daji collection; bears no. 126. I designate this as A. It contains occasional scribal errors, interchange of *b* and *v*, of *s* and *ś* (in places), sometimes the hiatus and the *parasavarṇa* in place of the *anusvāra*.

- (C<sub>1</sub>) 11"×5", country paper, Devanāgarī script. Folios 4. 11 lines to a page, about 35 letters in a line. Old in appe-

arance. All folios are slightly worm-eaten at the centre—the text is little damaged.

Collection at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; bears no. G 9256-15-C-5. I designate this as C<sub>1</sub>. It contains occasional interchange of *s* and *ś*, many a wrongly spelt word and frequent omission of words.

(C<sub>2</sub>) 13"×5", country paper, Devanāgarī script.

Folios 4. 11 lines to a page, about 50 letters in a line.

The scribe mentions his name; Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa of Kāśī.

The date of copying: Samvat 1913, preserved in good condition.

Collection at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; bears no. G 9393-15-B-5. I designate this as C<sub>2</sub>.

(I) Photo-stat copy.

9½"×3¾", Devanāgarī script.

Folios 4. 11 lines to a page, about 40 letters in a line.

The scribe mentions his name: Raghunātha Ākūta.

The date of copying: Śaka 1575.

Collection at the India Office Library, London; bears No. 5257. I designate this as I.

The Ms. is bounded on either side by broad lines. It is carelessly written; occasionally, letters are dropped, words are wrongly spelt and hiatus shows at places.

(B<sub>1</sub>) 7"×5¼", country paper, Devanāgarī script.

Folios 8. 10 lines to a page, 24 letters in a line.

The scribe mentions his name: Ratnalal.

The date of copying: Samvat 1909, preserved in good condition.

Collection at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; bears No. 661/1886-1892. I designate this as B<sub>1</sub>.

It contains many scribal errors, more variant readings than found in any other Ms.

(B<sub>2</sub>) 8½" × 5½", country paper, Devanāgarī script.

Folios 3. 16 lines to a page, 30 letters in a line.

Old in appearance, preserved in good condition.

Collection at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; bears no. 691/1891-1895. I designate this as B<sub>2</sub>.

(a)  $10\frac{3}{10}$ "  $\times$   $5\frac{1}{2}$ ", country paper, Devanāgarī script.

Folios 3. 14 lines to a page, 32 letters in a line.

The scribe mentions himself as Bhīma of the Aṣṭaputre family.

Old in appearance, preserved in good condition.

Ainapore collection from Wai at the Bharat Itihas Samshodhan Mandal, Poona; bears No. 41/41. I designate this as a.

The Ms. is bordered with double red lines on either side.

(G)  $10\frac{1}{2}$ "  $\times$   $4\frac{1}{2}$ ", country paper, Devanāgarī script.

Folios 7.8 lines to a page, 34 letters in a line.

Old in appearance, preserved in good condition.

Gorhe collection from Puntamba at the Bharat Itihas Samshodhan Mandal, Poona; bears No. 39/171. I designate this as G.

It contains many scribal errors and occasional corrections in yellow pigment in margin, at the top and bottom of the folios. Some two lines were first written at the end of the text and later obliterated by means of yellow pigment.

(J)  $8\frac{3}{10}$ "  $\times$   $4\frac{1}{2}$ ", country paper, Devanāgarī script. Folios 7. 10 lines to a page, 23 letters in a line.

Very old. Folio 4 in a torn condition. N. B. Joshi collection from Baramati at the Bharat Itihas Samshodhan Mandal, Poona; bears no. 52/496. I designate this as J.

It contains many scribal errors.

(P)  $9'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ , country paper, Devanāgarī script.

Folios 2: Nos. 2 and 3; No. 1 missing. This is very indifferently written. Folio 2a has 11 lines with about 37 letters in each line. Folio 2b has 13 lines. Folio 3a, 14 lines and folio 3b, 7 lines with 55 letters in each line on these folios.

Perhaps the oldest of the Mss. I have used. It is in a tattered condition.

Panchākṣari collection from Nasik at the Bharat Itihas Samshodhan Mandal, Poona; bears No. 64/940. I designate this as P.

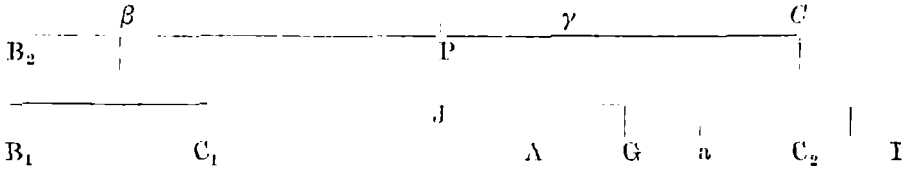
### 3. The mutual relation of the Mss.

It is obvious that A and G have come from similar sources. Many common readings point to this, but the most significant fact is that these two Mss. give us such a definition and an illustration of तुल्ययोगिता as are different from those in others (and also, our text). In A, however, we notice an additional illustration of वक्रोक्ति which is not noticed in G. In its turn, G also has inserted under उत्प्रेक्षा the verse (मन्ये शङ्के ध्रुवं..) which is familiar to the readers of Sanskrit Rhetorics.

Amongst others, a, C<sub>2</sub> and I show closer resemblances. B<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>1</sub> seem to be more nearer to each other. J and P differ very little from each other and since P appears to be the older (in fact, it is perhaps the oldest Ms.), J may have been copied from P.

We may, therefore, show the mutual relations of these Mss. thus:

(Original)



4. The title of the work, of so late as the 15th century A.D., should not have required any discussion but for the fact that the Mss. have used different titles for the same. J bears the title अर्थालङ्कारमञ्जरी while B<sub>2</sub> reads अलङ्कारमञ्जरीप्रारम्भः and B<sub>1</sub> has the following words in the first verse: "कुर्वन्तु कर्णयोश्चैः कर्णालङ्कारमञ्जरीम्". Thus अर्थालङ्कारमञ्जरी, अलङ्कारमञ्जरी and कर्णालङ्कारमञ्जरी have been used as the title of the work. Of these titles, अर्थालङ्कारमञ्जरी finds a further support from the colophons of Mss. B<sub>1</sub> and J. It is clear that B<sub>1</sub> is not very particular about the title of the work. कर्णालङ्कारमञ्जरी and अर्थालङ्कारमञ्जरी as well are used by the scribe(?) in order to show his cleverness of diction and his view of the work as one dealing with the figures of speech based on the sense of words. The title कर्णालङ्कारमञ्जरी does not get any support whatever. अलङ्कारमञ्जरी is the most-accepted of the three titles as is obvious from the beginning verse and the colophons in the MSS. Nevertheless, I cannot but express that I am very much inclined to adopt the title अर्थालङ्कारमञ्जरी because the author has treated only those figures of speech which are based on the sense of words.

5. In the अलङ्कारमञ्जरी, the author treats of as many as 39 figures of speech, based on the sense of words, which are according to him the principal ones. Thus he very clearly ignores quite a number of figures of speech accepted by earlier writers on अलङ्कार. He gives his reason for doing so: "The other figures of speech are only sub-varieties of these principal ones". His treatment of the figures of speech is very simple: first he enumerates them (as the principal ones) and then proceeds to illustrate the same in order. He does not, however, feel the need to explain the propriety of each illustration since he is confident regarding the perspicuity of its meaning (and consequently its vivid aptness). Again, he has disregarded many another definition given by earlier writers and does not bother himself (as also the reader) with the discussion on this point. Possibly Mss. A and G which have a variant reading in the concluding verse viz. "त्रिमल्लाख्येन बालार्थे--" are correctly expressive of the author's purpose in writing this work. One important feature of this work is that all the illustrations in it are composed by the author himself (though he has not said so like जगन्नाथपण्डित who also migrated, like him, from Tailaṅgaṇa to the North). One does observe that the author has a typical perspicuity in and facility of expression, a remarkable grace and delicacy of diction—all of these well earn for him the credit of an able exponent of the *Vaidarbhi* style.

6. Regarding the name of the author, there was uncertainty in the opinion of the compiler of the Descriptive catalogue of Mss. at the India Office Library, London. He mentions (under Ms. No. 5227 in Vol. II. i) that 'the name is uncertain'. AUFRECHT (Leipzig Catal. p. 273) takes it as *Nirmala*; but it is dubious, as the reading *tirmala* is probably merely due to *nirmala* preceding. He may be Trimalla in AUFRECHT (*ibid* p. 371)". S. K. DE also says in Sanskrit Poetics Vol. I. p. 281, "This south-Indian author was son of Vallabhabhaṭṭa, and his name is also given as Trimalla or Tirmala, and sometimes incorrectly as Nirmala". It is, nevertheless, abundantly clear from the colophons in the majority of Mss. that the name of the author is (without doubt) Trimalla. In his other works, the द्रव्यगुणशतश्लोकी, the वैद्यचन्द्रोदय and the योगतरङ्गिणी, the author is clearly mentioned in the colophons as श्रीत्रिमल्लभट्ट. Even in the body of the texts of these works he calls himself thus: 'त्रिमल्लः कविः' द्रव्यगुणशतश्लोकी, verse 1) and 'श्रीत्रिमल्लभट्टेन नाम्ना योगतरङ्गिणी चिकित्सा लिख्यते. . . .' योगतरङ्गिणी, verse 2). The concluding verse of this latter work states also '... भट्टैस्त्रिमल्लाभिचैः । एषा योगतरङ्गिणी संहिता संक्षिप्ता. . .'; the colophons at the end of various sections also refer to him as त्रिमल्लभट्ट. The commentator कृष्णदत्त of the द्रव्यगुणशतश्लोकी

also states:

त्रिमल्लभट्टं रचितो यो द्रव्यगुणसङ्ग्रहः ।  
 कृष्णदत्तेन तट्टीका क्रियते द्रव्यदीपिका ॥

It is thus obvious that the name त्रिमल्ल has been replaced in the Mss. of the अलङ्कारमञ्जरी as त्रिमल or निर्मल owing to metrical necessity.

7. About the author, we get the following information from his own pen; he states in the योगतरङ्गिणी (verses 2-3):

आपस्तम्बस्यारवेलोपनाम्नो धाम्नो भासां कोण्डपल्लीभवस्य ।  
 तैलङ्गस्य प्रीतिभाजो गिरीशे काशीवासं कुर्वतो भूरिकीर्तिः ॥ २ ॥  
 राज्ञां मान्यस्यात्र शिङ्गणभट्टस्यासीत्पुत्रो बल्लभो वेदविद्यः ।  
 तस्यासीरन्मूनवोऽमी त्रिमल्लो रामो गोपश्चेति नाम्ना त्रयोऽपि ॥ ३ ॥

He is then one of the three sons of Vallabha(bhaṭṭa), learned in the Vedic Literature; and the grandson of Śiṅgaṇabhaṭṭa. The family seems to have hailed from Tailaṅgaṇa and settled in Banaras while Śiṅgaṇabhaṭṭa was alive. Trimalla also composed his works in the same city; cf. योगतरङ्गिणी, verse 4 : "तैलङ्गस्त्रिपुरान्तकस्य नगरे. . . योगतरङ्गिणीं ग्रथयति" and also the verse in our text "काश्यां बल्लभभट्टस्य. . ." About his date, the author himself is silent; yet his reference to the वीरसिंहावलोक in his योगतरङ्गिणी points to his being later than 1383 A.D. and the dates of the Mss. of the द्रव्यगुणशतश्लोकी prove him earlier than 1499 A.D. He thus belonged to the 15th century A.D.

8 The following are the works composed by our author:

- (i) The योगतरङ्गिणी is a metrical work on 'practical chemistry, reception of foods for diet, prescriptions for the preparation of medicines, diagnosis and treatment of diseases'. At times we come across a part of this work in Ms. form under the name 'षड्दुर्गणम्'.
- (ii) The द्रव्यगुणशतश्लोकी treats of the medicinal properties of the usual articles of our food, divided into several वर्गसः. The work is also called पथ्यापथ्यनिघण्टु.
- (iii) The वैद्यचन्द्रोदय is also a metrical composition pertaining to Pathology. Variety of metres, employed by the author, is a peculiarity of this work.
- (iv) A work वृत्तमाणिक्यमाला is also ascribed to our author.

(9) My attention was drawn to this work by references to it in Sanskrit Poetics of S.K.DE and the Sāhityadarpaṇa, Introduction, by P. V. KANE. My Guru, late Prof. H. D. VELANKAR, encouraged me to undertake the preparation of a critical edition of this work and further offered me guidance and help when I was in difficulty. I do not know how I could adequately express my

gratitude to him. Again, I must not fail to express my indebtedness to the authorities of the Institutions who, by lending the Mss. in their possession, enabled me to prepare this first critical edition of this work.

Notes:

- (i) Information on the life and works of Trimalla is culled from (i) Mss. of his works in the Bharat Itihas Samshodhan Mandal, Poona. (ii) A history of Classical Sanskrit Literature by Krishnamachariar. (iii) Descriptive catalogue of Mss. at the Asiatic Society of Bombay.
- (ii) One more Ms. of this work is in a library in Leipzig. Unfortunately, I could not get the same.

### अलङ्कारमञ्जरी

<sup>1</sup>श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।<sup>2</sup>

कपोललम्बरोलम्बविम्बकोलाहलाकुलम् ।  
अम्बालम्बानुरागाब्धि<sup>3</sup> वन्दे<sup>4</sup> लम्बोदरा<sup>5</sup>ननम् ॥ १ ॥  
ज्ञातुमिच्छन्त्यलङ्कारानल्पेन श्रवणेन ये<sup>6</sup> ।  
कुर्वन्तु<sup>7</sup> कर्णयोरुच्चै<sup>8</sup>रर्थालङ्कारम<sup>9</sup>ञ्जरीम् ॥ २ ॥

<sup>10</sup>ते च स्वभावोक्त्युपमारूपकदीपकातिशयोक्तिसमासोक्ति<sup>11</sup>वक्रोक्ति<sup>12</sup>पर्यायोक्तिविशेषोक्ति—सहोक्तिव्यतिरेक<sup>13</sup> विभाव<sup>14</sup> नाक्षेपोत्प्रेक्षोदात्तापह्नुतिश्लेषार्थान्तरन्यासावृत्तिव्याजस्तुतिनिदर्शनप्रस्तुतप्रशंसापरिवृत्तिविरोधहेतुसूक्ष्मरसवद्गुणस्वि<sup>15</sup> प्रेयःक्रम<sup>16</sup> समा<sup>17</sup> हिततुल्ययोगितालेश<sup>18</sup> संशया—नन्वयोपमेयोपमासङ्कीर्णभाविकाशिपो मुख्यालङ्काराः ।<sup>19</sup> इतरे तु तद्भेदाः । ते क्रमेणोदाह्रियन्ते । स्वभाव<sup>20</sup>कथनं स्वभावोक्तिः ।<sup>21</sup> यथा—

लोल<sup>22</sup>लुन्तलवारिविन्दुविगल<sup>23</sup>च्छीखण्डविन्दु<sup>24</sup>स्फुरद्—  
वक्त्रेन्दुस्फुटदक्षिशोणिमलसच्चे<sup>25</sup>लाञ्चलान्दोलि<sup>26</sup>म ।  
श्लिष्टस्तिग्धनिचोलदशितकुचं नम्रीकृतास्यं<sup>27</sup> शनैः  
कालिन्दीजलतः प्रयाति पुलिनं शातोदरी<sup>28</sup> राधिका ॥ ३ ॥<sup>29</sup>

किमप्येकदेशसाम्यमवलम्ब्य य<sup>30</sup>त्र न्यूनगुणाऽ<sup>31</sup>धिक<sup>32</sup>गुण<sup>33</sup>स्य साम्यमानीयते सोपमा<sup>34</sup> ।  
यथा—

पयोधरभराक्रान्ता राधा माधवलम्बिनी ।  
विभाति स्तवकानम्रा लतेव तरुसङ्घिनी ॥ ४ ॥

इवादिरहितो<sup>35</sup>पमा रूपकम् । यथा—

मुखं तुहिनदीधितिनंयनयुग्ममिन्दीवरं  
वचोऽमृतपरम्परा हसितमैन्द<sup>36</sup>वी दीधितिः ।  
भ्रुवौ मदनकामुक्ते<sup>37</sup> करिकिशोरकुम्भौ कुची  
यदीयमिदमद्भुतं जयति सा जगन्मोहिनी ॥ ५ ॥

आदिमध्यान्तस्थानभेदादेकै<sup>38</sup>व क्रिया यत्र सर्ववाक्यार्थमुद्दीपयति तद्दीपकम् ।  
यथा —

पीयन्ते मधुपैर्मधून्यधि<sup>39</sup>सरः पङ्केहाङ्केषु च  
स्विद्यद्गण्डमखण्डपङ्कजदृशां विम्बाधराः कामिभिः ।  
कर्णैः कोकिलकाकलीकलरवा यूनाम<sup>40</sup>यूनात्मनां  
दृग्भि<sup>41</sup>र्भितकुरङ्गशा<sup>42</sup>वकदृशां प्राणेशवक्त्रे<sup>43</sup>न्दवः ॥ ६ ॥



विशिष्टार्थविवक्षया लोकसीमोल्लङ्घनी क्रियातिशयोक्तिः । यथा—

माला नीलाम्बुजदल<sup>44</sup>कृता कण्ठ<sup>46</sup>नालावसक्ता  
कर्णद्वन्द्वे मलिननलिनं नेत्रयोरञ्जनानि ।  
नीलं<sup>40</sup> वासो मृगमदरसैरङ्गरागोऽप्यनङ्गो  
नाभूदग्रे<sup>47</sup>सर इति तदा सा कथं<sup>48</sup>नाथमीयात् ॥ ७ ॥

किञ्चिद्वस्तूपल<sup>49</sup>क्ष्य तत्समानवस्तुवर्णनं समा<sup>50</sup>सोक्तिः । यथा—

वरमिह<sup>51</sup>कीन्दे<sup>52</sup> कुसुमे तनुरपि मकरन्दविन्दुरलिनाथ ।  
नो याहि<sup>53</sup> तत्र नक्तं कमले सुलभा<sup>54</sup> न मकरन्दाः ॥ ८ ॥

सादृश्यलक्षणा<sup>55</sup> वक्रोक्तिः । यथा—

वहति गगनगङ्गा<sup>56</sup> तुङ्गकादम्बयुग्मं<sup>57</sup>  
गिलति तुहिनभानोर्मण्डली<sup>58</sup>मन्धकारः ।  
वमति<sup>59</sup>तरलतारा चारुधारामपि द्राग्—  
अहह मकरकेतोः सृष्टिर<sup>60</sup>न्याति<sup>61</sup>वन्द्या<sup>62</sup> ॥ ९ ॥<sup>63</sup>

इष्टार्थमनुक्तवैव<sup>64</sup>तत्कृते प्रकारान्तर<sup>65</sup>कथनं पर्यायोक्तिः । यथा—

मनोजतरुमञ्जरी चकितखञ्जरीटेक्षणा  
निकुञ्ज<sup>66</sup>गृहमञ्जसा य<sup>67</sup>दुपते गतैवाधुना ।  
ब्रज त्वमपि सुन्दर<sup>68</sup> त्वरितमङ्ग तत्रैव हे  
मयापि न<sup>69</sup>नु वार्यते पिककपोत<sup>70</sup>कोलाहलः ॥ १० ॥

गुणजातिक्रिया<sup>71</sup>योगाद्वैकल्प<sup>72</sup>दर्शनं विशेषोक्तिः । यथा—

नायं मनसिजवाणो नूतनचूतस्य मञ्जरी नापि ।  
तदपि<sup>73</sup> व्यथयति चेतश्चञ्चलनयना<sup>74</sup>कटाक्ष<sup>75</sup>विक्षेपः । ॥ ११ ॥

भादैः सहास्यानं सहोक्तिः । यथा—

उदेति तुहिनद्युतिः सह ममाभितापैरलं  
भशं वहति मारुतो नयनवारिपूरैः सह ।  
पिकी<sup>76</sup> कलकलध्वनि सह तनोति कर्णज्वरैर्—  
निशापि सह वर्ध<sup>77</sup>ते विषममूर्च्छया<sup>78</sup>तुच्छया ॥ १२ ॥

सादृश्यप्राप्तवस्तु<sup>79</sup>द्वयस्य भेदकथनं<sup>80</sup> व्यतिरेकः<sup>81</sup> । यथा—

सत्यमिन्दीवरदृश<sup>82</sup>स्तुल्या<sup>83</sup>कनकवल्लरी ।  
नताङ्गी फलभारेण किन्त्वसौ गतचेतना ॥ १३ ॥

<sup>84</sup>प्रसिद्धकारणनिरासाद्यत्र स्वभावकारणं विभाव्यते सा विभावना । यथा—

अरुणमरञ्जितमधरतलं नयनमन<sup>85</sup>ञ्जितमसित<sup>86</sup>रुचि ।  
सुर<sup>87</sup>भि विना मधु वदन<sup>88</sup>मलं मदनतरङ्गिणि तव रुचिरम् ॥ १४ ॥

<sup>89</sup>उक्तिनिषेधोक्तिराक्षेपः । यथा—

वारिणि तरणिसुताया बलवयो<sup>90</sup>पातिप<sup>91</sup>ल्लवावयवैः ।  
हरिरपि नीतो वशतां शिव शिव विषयोऽति<sup>92</sup>दुर्जयो जग<sup>93</sup>ति ॥ १५ ॥

अन्यथास्थित<sup>94</sup>वृत्तेरन्यथो<sup>95</sup>त्प्रेक्ष्य वर्णनमुत्प्रेक्षा । <sup>96</sup>यथा—

शङ्के कुरङ्गनयनानयनान्तपाताः  
सन्तीह मोहनतरोः कुसुमानि <sup>97</sup>सत्यम् ।  
नो चेदनङ्गदहनो वहती<sup>98</sup>न्दुचूडः  
शैलाधिराजतनयामधुना<sup>99</sup>पि कस्मात् ॥ १६ ॥

100आशयस्य सम्पदो वा महत्त्ववर्णनमुदात्तम्<sup>101</sup> । यथा—

स्फटिक<sup>102</sup>घटितकान्तस्तम्भ<sup>103</sup>शालान्तराल—<sup>104</sup>  
प्रतिफलिततनु<sup>105</sup>श्रीः कोटिशः<sup>106</sup> स्पष्टमेव ।  
वदनतुहिनरोचिः खञ्जरीटेक्षणाया—  
श्चिरमवकलिताऽभू<sup>107</sup>त्पश्यतो मानवस्य<sup>108</sup> ॥ १७ ॥

स्वाभिप्रायं सङ्गोप्या<sup>109</sup>न्यार्थ<sup>110</sup>दर्शनमपह्नुतिः । यथा—

उच्चैः कोकिलकाकलीकलकलः कालस्य <sup>111</sup>हक्कारव—  
श्चन्द्रश्चन्दन<sup>112</sup>चाण्डिन्दु<sup>113</sup>विशदः क<sup>114</sup>न्दश्च <sup>115</sup>हालाहलः ।  
कु<sup>116</sup>न्दं कुन्दमनोज्ञदन्ति सखि हे पञ्चेपुवाणः<sup>117</sup> स्फुटं  
सत्यं मे पुनरेतदेव सकलं सांख्याय<sup>118</sup> चान्यान्प्रति ॥ १८ ॥

119अनेकार्थमन्वययोग्यं <sup>120</sup>पदं श्लेषः । यथा—

सालङ्कारा<sup>121</sup> सुवर्णा च सु<sup>122</sup>रूपा सु<sup>123</sup>गुणान्विता ।  
को वेद कस्य धन्यस्य कविता वनिता<sup>124</sup>पि च ॥ १९ ॥

उक्तार्थस्यार्थान्त<sup>125</sup>रेण दृढीकरणमर्थान्तरन्यासः । यथा—

मृग<sup>126</sup>नयने <sup>127</sup>तव नयनं चू<sup>128</sup>म्बितकर्णं मनो ह<sup>129</sup>न्ति ।  
स्वच्छोऽपि कुटिलसङ्गाद्भवति हि पुसां विकाराय ॥ २० ॥

पदपदार्थावृत्तित<sup>130</sup>दुभयावृत्तिभेदा<sup>131</sup>दावृत्तिः । यथा—

अञ्चति लोचनयुग<sup>132</sup>लं चञ्चलमृगलोचनाञ्जनैरवला ।  
अञ्चति कुसुमधनुः<sup>133</sup> स्वं धनुरपि पौष्पेण<sup>134</sup> बाणन ॥ २१ ॥

यत्र निन्दा<sup>135</sup>व्याजेन स्तुतिः क्रियते सा<sup>136</sup> व्याज<sup>137</sup>स्तुतिः । यथा —

इषुभिः <sup>138</sup>पञ्चभिः पञ्च<sup>139</sup>शरेण जगती जिता ।  
एकेन नयनान्तेन त्वयापि च मदैरलम् ॥ २२ ॥

अ<sup>140</sup>न्यार्थप्रवृत्तेन वाक्येन यत्र<sup>141</sup> तत्सदृशफलं दृश्यते तन्निरदर्शनम् । यथा—

प्राणाना<sup>142</sup>ल्हादयत्येष दाक्षिणात्यः <sup>143</sup>प्रकम्पनः ।  
आत्मीयसम्पदां तन्वि फलं मुहदनुग्रहः ॥ २३ ॥

अप्रस्तुत<sup>144</sup>स्य पदार्थस्य प्रशंसनमप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा । यथा —

धन्या कुरङ्गरमणी रमणी<sup>145</sup>यनिकुञ्जचारिणी सखि हे ।  
क्षणमपि लोचन<sup>146</sup>पथतः शिव शिव नो याति बल्लभो यस्याः ॥ २४ ॥

अर्थानां परि<sup>147</sup>वर्तनं <sup>148</sup>परिवृत्तिः । यथा—

ददाति हारकेयूरं<sup>149</sup> कङ्कणं हरिणीदृशे ।  
गृह्णाति च ततः कान्तश्चुम्बनाश्लेषभा<sup>150</sup>षणम् ॥ २५ ॥

विशिष्टदर्शनाय विरुद्धा<sup>151</sup>नां पदार्थानां यत्र संसर्गदर्शनं स विरोधः । यथा—

मलय<sup>152</sup>गिरितटीपटीरवाटी—  
परि<sup>153</sup>चयपीनसुगन्धिरे<sup>154</sup>ति वायुः ।  
उदयति<sup>155</sup> तरुणीमनोऽन्तराले  
समसमा<sup>156</sup> प्रलयानि<sup>157</sup>लाभिश्चाङ्का<sup>158</sup> ॥ २६ ॥

159सहेतुवर्णनं हेतुः । यथा—

आधूय स्फुटितवनानि <sup>160</sup>पङ्कजानाम् —  
आस्वाद्य स्मितविशदानि पुष्कराणि ।  
आलिङ्ग्य स्तवक<sup>161</sup>नता लवङ्गवल्ली—  
रायातः सखि मम हिसनाय वायुः ॥ २७ ॥

इङ्गिता<sup>102</sup>कारलक्ष्योऽर्थः सूक्ष्मः । यथा —

राधा मनसिज<sup>103</sup>बाधाखिन्नमनस्कं समालोक्य ।  
शौरि सदसि गुहणां दर्पणविम्बं विभावयति ॥ २८ ॥

रसपेशलं रसवत् । यथा—

पूर्वं यज्ञ<sup>104</sup>शतं कृतं किमथवा गोकोटिदानं कृतं  
किं वा बाल<sup>106</sup>शशाङ्कशेखरपदद्वन्द्वे कृतं मानसम् ।  
नो चे<sup>100</sup>द्वालविहस्तरङ्कु<sup>107</sup>रमणी नेत्रारविन्दा कथं  
बाला बाल<sup>108</sup>शशाङ्कसुन्दरमुखी सस्मेरमालिङ्गिता ॥ २९ ॥

साहङ्कारकथनमूर्जस्वि<sup>169</sup> । यथा —

त्वङ्ग<sup>170</sup>तुङ्गतुरङ्गटापविदलङ्गीतल<sup>171</sup>प्रोल्लसद्—  
बूलीघूसर<sup>172</sup>वीरवैरिकदलीकान्तारकु<sup>173</sup>न्दाङ्कुरान् ।<sup>174</sup>  
ऋषाक्रान्तमतङ्गपुङ्गव इव स्वद्यत्करेणोच्चकैर्—  
उत्खायाश्रु कुरङ्गशावनयने<sup>175</sup> प्रोष्यामि<sup>176</sup> मु<sup>177</sup>ञ्चाञ्चलम् ॥ ३० ॥

प्रियकथनं प्रियः । यथा —

सार्था नेत्रविशालता<sup>178</sup>द्य भवतो वक्त्राम्बुजं<sup>179</sup> पायिनी  
सार्थं पाणिमृदुत्वमङ्ग<sup>180</sup> भवतः ।<sup>181</sup>सेवासु <sup>182</sup>यल्लोलुपम् ।  
सार्थं<sup>183</sup>नाथ वपु<sup>184</sup>स्त्वदीयनयनद्वन्द्वस्य <sup>185</sup>केलीगृहं  
भूयः किं बहुनाह<sup>180</sup>मस्मि <sup>187</sup>सकला <sup>188</sup>सार्था कृतार्था त्वया ॥ ३१ ॥

उपमानोपमेययोः क्रमवर्णनं क्रमोक्तिः । यथा —

मृगशिशुकलकण्ठनीलकण्ठैर्—  
नयन<sup>189</sup>कलध्वनिकेशपेशलत्वम् ।  
उपवन<sup>190</sup>मनु संप्रया<sup>191</sup>त्तवत्या —  
स्तव वत तस्करितं मृणालमध्ये ॥ ३२ ॥

किञ्चि<sup>192</sup>त्कार्यं कर्तुमा<sup>193</sup>रभमाणस्य <sup>194</sup>दैवात्तत्साधनसमा<sup>195</sup>पत्तिः समा<sup>196</sup>हितम् । यथा —

हारकङ्कणकेयूरं मानिन्यै दद<sup>197</sup>तो <sup>198</sup>मृदे ।  
ममैवाजनि भाग्येन कलकण्ठ<sup>199</sup>कलध्वनिः ॥ ३३ ॥

<sup>200</sup>उत्कृष्टगुणैः स्तुति<sup>201</sup>निन्दार्थकीर्तनं तुल्ययो<sup>202</sup>गिता । यथा —

इन्दुः सहस्रपत्रं च शतपत्रं तवाननम् ।  
<sup>202</sup>अप्यम्बुजानि <sup>204</sup>दधति <sup>203</sup>कम्बुकण्ठचतिशीतताम् ॥ ३४ ॥

<sup>200</sup>लेशसंभिन्नमर्थगहनं लेशः । यथा —

प्रस्वेदाङ्कुरितो <sup>207</sup>विधूणितलसन्नेत्राम्बुजः<sup>208</sup>श्रीपतिर्—  
<sup>209</sup>बन्धूनां सविधे कुरङ्गनयनामालोक्य लोलालकाम् ।  
इत्या<sup>210</sup>हान्तरभावगोपनपरो बाहू विधायोच्चकैर्—  
आः किं चण्डरुचिः कृशानु<sup>211</sup>शकलानुत्स्रष्टुमुत्कण्ठते ॥ ३५ ॥

उपमानोपमेय<sup>212</sup>सन्देहः संशयः । यथा —

इदं मु<sup>213</sup>खमिदं चन्द्रविम्बमित्यवधारितुम् ।  
प्र<sup>214</sup>साद<sup>215</sup>भाजस्ते तन्वि प्रभु<sup>216</sup>र्भवति मे <sup>217</sup>न धीः ॥ ३६ ॥

एकस्यैवोपमेयोपमानत्व<sup>218</sup>मनन्वयः । यथा —

वदनं वदनाकारं नयनं नयनोपमम् ।  
वेणी वेणीव सु<sup>219</sup>श्रोण्या जघने जघने यथा ॥ ३७ ॥

एकस्या<sup>220</sup>र्थस्य क्रमेणोपमेयत्वमुपमानत्वं चोपमेयोपमा<sup>221</sup> । यथा —

कनकलतेव मृगाक्षी कनकल<sup>222</sup>ता च<sup>223</sup> 224हरिणाक्षीव<sup>225</sup> ।  
इन्दीवरमिव नयनं नयनमिवेन्दीवरं तन्व्याः<sup>226</sup> ॥ ३८ ॥

227नानालङ्कारसंसृष्टिः सङ्की<sup>228</sup>र्णम् । यथा —

229दूरीकरोति<sup>230</sup> शशिनं 231वदनं सहासं  
232ते तन्वि चञ्चलहृगञ्चलचङ्क्रमेण ।  
कः कौमुदीजयविधौ 233वत वतंतेऽ<sup>234</sup>स्य  
क्लेशो यशोविजितभूवल्या<sup>235</sup>न्तरस्य ॥ ३९ ॥

गम्भीरस्य वस्तुनो भावोक्तिवर्णनं <sup>236</sup>भाविकम्<sup>237</sup> । यथा —

मनोहरि<sup>238</sup>णवागुरा सकलनेत्रमीनामृतं  
प्रयाति पुलिने<sup>239</sup> हरिस्तरणिकन्यकाया इति ।  
कयापि <sup>240</sup>गदिते सति व्रज<sup>241</sup>पथान्तरालःभवन् —  
मुहुः<sup>242</sup>सखि सखि <sup>243</sup>प्रिये चल चलेति कोलाहलः ॥ ४० ॥

अभिलषित<sup>244</sup>शंसनमाशीः<sup>245</sup> । यथा —

अङ्गानि तव गङ्गेशः कुन्दकोर<sup>246</sup>कदन्ति हे ।  
अनङ्गा<sup>247</sup>दवतात्तावद्यावदागच्छति प्रियः ॥ ४१ ॥  
अर्थालङ्कारजातं हि मुख्य<sup>248</sup>मेतावदेव हि ।  
अन्ये <sup>249</sup>वैकल्पिकाः सर्वे विज्ञेयाः कि<sup>250</sup>ल तद्<sup>251</sup>भवाः ॥ ४२ ॥  
काश्यां <sup>252</sup>वल्लभभट्टस्य <sup>253</sup>पुत्रेण निर<sup>254</sup>माय्यसी ।  
निर्म<sup>255</sup>ला <sup>256</sup>त्रिमल्लख्येन रम्यालङ्कारमञ्जरी ॥ ४३ ॥

ति <sup>257</sup>श्रीत्रिमल्लभट्ट विरचिता<sup>258</sup>लङ्कारमञ्जरी समाप्ता ॥ 259

### CRITICAL NOTES

- ( 1 ) B<sub>2</sub> reads अलङ्कारमञ्जरीप्रारम्भः and at once begins : स्वभावोक्ति-  
र्यथा. C<sub>2</sub> begins : ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीग. . .
- ( 2 ) J adds further श्रीलक्ष्मीनृसिंहाय नमः । श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ।
- ( 3 ) B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> I o गाढ्या. J o गाय. C<sub>1</sub> o गाढ्यं.
- ( 4 ) B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> I J लम्बे
- ( 5 ) A G लम्बोदरं महः
- ( 6 ) a वै. C<sub>2</sub> च.
- ( 7 ) A G कुर्वे तत्कर्णयोर. . . .
- ( 8 ) G o च्चैः कर्णालङ्कार. . . .
- ( 9 ) I o मञ्जरीम्. C<sub>2</sub> adds a marginal gloss : ये अल्पेन ध्रुवणेन  
अलङ्कारान्स्वभावोक्त्यादीन् ज्ञातुमिच्छन्ति ते इमाम् अर्थालङ्कारमञ्जरीम् कर्णे  
कृण्वन्तु शृण्वन्त्वित्यर्थः ।
- ( 10 ) a B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> drop ते च. In the list that follows, a B<sub>2</sub> C<sub>2</sub> write  
the names of the figures of speech in their Nom. Sg. forms.
- ( 11 ) I inserts च.
- ( 12 ) B<sub>1</sub> here reads सहोक्ति against the serial order in which it occurs  
in the main text, represented by B<sub>1</sub> itself also.
- ( 13 ) A o व्यतिरेकोक्तिविभा. . . .
- ( 14 ) J o विभावाक्षेपो . . . .
- ( 15 ) C<sub>2</sub> o जंस्वित्प्रेय . . . .

- (16) A C<sub>2</sub> o क्रमोक्ति . . . .
- (17) C<sub>2</sub> o समीहित . . . .
- (18) C<sub>1</sub> o सन्देहानन्वय . . . .
- (19) B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> J drop तु. C<sub>1</sub> इतरे भेदाः, C<sub>2</sub> I insert the figure 39. G drops ते क्रमेण. . . यन्ते.
- (20) a स्वभावोक्तिकथनं
- (21) a J generally drop *daṇḍa* 'full stop' between the name of a figure and the following यथा. A drops यथा only here, B<sub>2</sub> J drop it invariably.
- (22) A लोले कुन्तल . . . .
- (23) B<sub>1</sub> विगतः श्रीखण्ड . . . C<sub>1</sub> G I J विगतश्रीखण्ड . . . .
- (24) C<sub>1</sub> o स्फुटप्रोद्यद्दीप्सतिस (possibly दक्षि, page worm-eaten in the centre) शोणिमलमच्चेला . . . . C<sub>2</sub> I स्फुटद्ववत्रेन्दु o . . . .
- (25) B<sub>2</sub> C<sub>2</sub> G o चैलाञ्चला . . . .
- (26) B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>1</sub> o दोलिमा. B<sub>2</sub> o दोलिनी. G o दोलितं.
- (27) B<sub>2</sub> o स्यं समैः, I o कृता स्यन्दनैः
- (28) G o री सुन्दरी
- (29) A a B<sub>2</sub> I begin numbering the verses from here; they ignore the first two verses.
- (30) a G यत्तन्मयूत . . . .
- (31) a o गुणाधिक . . B<sub>1</sub> o गुणेऽधिक . . C<sub>1</sub> o गुणाऽधिक . . G o गुणेनाधिक . . . .
- (32) C<sub>1</sub> o धिकस्य साम्य . . . .
- (33) C<sub>2</sub> I o गुणसाम्य . . . .
- (34) a सोपमालङ्कार :
- (35) B<sub>1</sub> o रहितो रूपकम्
- (36) C<sub>1</sub> o मैन्दवा दीधितिः
- (37) C<sub>1</sub> o कार्मुकं
- (38) C<sub>2</sub> I o कंकत्रिया . . . .
- (39) C<sub>2</sub> o धिगतैः
- (40) A a B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> C<sub>1</sub> P यूनामनूनात्मनां, however, यूनामयूनात्मनां well accords with the writer's style. G notes an alternative reading यूनां वियोगात्मनाम्, below that of the text.
- (41) B<sub>2</sub> दृष्टिर्भीत . . . .
- (42) I o शाबरदृशा . . . .
- (43) B<sub>2</sub> o वक्त्रेन्दुना
- (44) A I o दलमयी; I mentions in the margin o कृता (for o मयी) also.
- (45) I o कण्डनाला . . . .
- (46) C<sub>1</sub> वाक्षो (possibly for वक्षो)
- (47) B<sub>1</sub> (very corrupt) : o सरर तदा सा . . मीयान्. C<sub>1</sub> o दग्ने न स इति . . . .
- (48) G कथं
- (49) a C<sub>2</sub> o लभ्य
- (50) C<sub>2</sub> I o मानोवितः ( ? )
- (51) C<sub>2</sub> च as a marginal correction (the original is not obliterated.)
- (52) B<sub>1</sub> drops कौन्दे and continues : कुमुमे . . रन्दस्यैकविन्दु . . . .
- (53) B<sub>2</sub> यात
- (54) B<sub>2</sub> सुलभो न मकरन्दः

- (55) J ० लक्षणं  
 (56) A B<sub>1</sub> G P ० गङ्गां  
 (57) a C<sub>2</sub> I J ० युग्मे  
 (58) A ० मण्डलं चान्धकारः  
 (59) A गरलतारा  
 (60) A सृष्टिरेषा  
 (61) a ० रन्यास्ति धन्या  
 (62) C<sub>1</sub> ० तिरम्या  
 (63) A adds a further illustration :  
 तुहिनकिरणबिम्बे खञ्जरीटप्रचारो  
 विकचकमलकोशे दाडिमोबीजपंक्तिः ।  
 दमनकतरुशाखालम्बि मालूरयुग्मं  
 त्रितयमिदमपूर्वं दृष्टमेकत्र चित्रम् ॥ ७ ॥
- (64) B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> drop तत्कृते  
 (65) B<sub>1</sub> प्रकारान्तरे (possibly the following ण is dropped).  
 (66) B<sub>1</sub> ० ग्रह (?) . G (very corrupt) : ० गृहमजस्यदु . . . (?)  
 (67) B<sub>1</sub> यदि ततो. B<sub>2</sub> यदुपतिगतेवा . . . C<sub>2</sub> यत्र सा गतेवा . . . (?)  
 (68) a सुन्दरी. B<sub>2</sub> सुन्दरि. The Voc., यदुपते goes against these.  
 (69) a B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> न निवार्यते. C<sub>1</sub> ० पि च रूपा श्रुतः पिक० . . .  
 (70) B<sub>1</sub> पिककपोलकोलाहलः  
 (71) C<sub>1</sub> ० तिभेदाद्वैकल्प . . . C<sub>2</sub> ० क्रियाभेदाद्विकल्प . . . I ० क्रियाभेदाद्वैकल्प . . .  
 (72) B<sub>2</sub> ० कल्पनं . . .  
 (73) B<sub>1</sub> प्रथयति  
 (74) B<sub>2</sub> ० नयना कटाक्षविक्षेपैः  
 (75) B<sub>1</sub> ० निक्षेपः  
 (76) B<sub>1</sub> पिकः  
 (77) B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> वर्तते  
 (78) Text follows C<sub>2</sub> I which retain the अवग्रह to exclude clearly the separation of या and तुच्छया.  
 (79) B<sub>2</sub> ० वस्तुभेदकथनं  
 (80) A adds व्यतिरेककथनं  
 (81) A C<sub>1</sub> G व्यतिरेकोक्तिः  
 (82) B<sub>2</sub> ० दृशा तुल्या  
 (83) a कमलमञ्जरी but (फलभारेण goes against this). A<sub>2</sub> C<sub>1</sub> कनकमञ्जरी  
 (84) B<sub>2</sub> सिद्धकारण . . .  
 (85) B<sub>1</sub> ० मरञ्जित . . .  
 (86) a मसिरुचि (possibly त is dropped since, without त, it is metrically faulty).  
 (87) J सुरुभि . . . मधु मदनमलं  
 (88) C<sub>1</sub> दवनमलं ? C<sub>2</sub> वदनमिदं  
 (89) A उक्तविशेषोक्ति . . . C<sub>1</sub> उक्तनि . . . C<sub>2</sub> युक्तिनिपे . . .  
 (90) B<sub>2</sub> बल्लववेपोऽतिपल्लवाब्जयवैः  
 (91) A ० षातपल्लवा . . . B<sub>1</sub> ० षाऽतिवल्लभा. C<sub>2</sub> I ० योषातिपेलवा . . . J ० पिति पल्लवा  
 (92) a ० योऽस्ति  
 (93) B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> जयति

- (94) C<sub>2</sub> अन्यथास्थितेषुक्ते  
 (95) B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> I o थोत्प्रेक्षावर्णन . . B<sub>2</sub> o वृत्तेऽन्यत्प्रेक्ष्य वर्णनम्. J P o प्रेक्षवर्णन.  
 (96) B<sub>1</sub> adds here :  
 मन्ये शङ्के ध्रुवं प्रायो नूनमित्येवमादिभिः ।  
 उत्प्रेक्षा व्यञ्ज्यते शब्दैरिवशब्दोऽपि तादृशः ॥
- (97) C<sub>2</sub> I नित्यम्  
 (98) B<sub>2</sub> वहतीह चण्डः  
 (99) B<sub>2</sub> o धुनाप्यकस्मात्. C<sub>1</sub> o धुनो ऽपि कस्मात्. B<sub>1</sub> numbers this verse as 17 and the following verses as 18, 19 and so on.
- (100) B<sub>1</sub> अथाशयमम्पदो. . . .  
 (101) B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>1</sub> o दात्तः  
 (102) a I o स्फटित. . . .  
 (103) B<sub>2</sub> o स्तम्ब  
 (104) B<sub>1</sub> o राले प्रतिफलति  
 (105) a o तनुः श्रीः P तनुश्री कोटि. . .  
 (106) a कोटिशं  
 (107) B<sub>2</sub> o तो ऽयं विन्दुभृत्पश्यतो माम् ।  
 (108) B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>1</sub> मानवत्याः  
 (109) B<sub>1</sub> संगोप्यार्थ . . .  
 (110) C<sub>1</sub> o नार्थप्रदर्शन . . . .  
 (111) A G हङ्कारवः a हिककारवः B<sub>1</sub> ढकारवः C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> ढक्कारवः J हल्कारवः  
 (112) a B<sub>2</sub> o विन्दुविन्दुविशदः  
 (113) I o विषदः  
 (114) a C<sub>2</sub> I कुन्दश्च B<sub>1</sub> कान्दश्च  
 (115) A<sub>n</sub> a C<sub>2</sub> P हालाहलः B<sub>1</sub> कालो हलिः?  
 (116) B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> I J P कुन्दः. Despite this reading in majority of the Mss. कुन्दं is preferred to it, since it means a 'flower' which can be Madana's arrow, not the tree.
- (117) A<sub>n</sub> a B<sub>2</sub> J o वाणस्फुटं. P o बाणं स्फुटं  
 (118) B<sub>1</sub> नान्यान्प्रति  
 (119) B<sub>2</sub> drops अनेकार्थ. . . वनिता ऽपि च ॥ १९ ॥  
 (120) a drops पदं  
 (121) a सालङ्कारा सुरूपा च सुवर्णा. . . .  
 (122) B<sub>1</sub> स्वरूपा ?  
 (123) C<sub>1</sub> च गुणान्विता  
 (124) B<sub>1</sub> वनिता लता  
 (125) a o र्थान्तरन्यासेन. . . .  
 (126) J मृगनेत्रे  
 (127) B<sub>1</sub> o नयने न च. . . .  
 (128) B<sub>1</sub> चुम्बति कर्णं  
 (129) B<sub>1</sub> हरति  
 (130) a o तदुपावृत्ति B<sub>1</sub> drops तदुभयावृत्ति B<sub>2</sub> o तदुभयभेदादावृत्तिः C<sub>1</sub> तदुभा-  
 वृत्तितदुपावृत्ति. . . .  
 (131) C<sub>2</sub> o भेदाऽवृत्तिः, I o भेदावृत्तिः  
 (132) a I J युगुलं  
 (133) A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> o धनुस्वं

- (134) B<sub>2</sub> पुष्पेण. C<sub>1</sub> पीपेशुणा (?)
- (135) J निन्दा स्वव्याजेन
- (136) C<sub>1</sub> drops सा
- (137) A G व्याजमुखी स्तुतिः
- (138) C<sub>2</sub> इषुभिः पञ्चशरेण पञ्चभिर्जंगती. . . . , also बाणेन as a variant for शरेण, in margin.
- (139) a पञ्चबाणेन
- (140) B<sub>1</sub> अन्यप्रवृत्तेन. C<sub>2</sub> I अन्यथा प्रवृत्तेन
- (141) B<sub>1</sub> यत्तत्सदृश. . . .
- (142) a B<sub>2</sub> प्राणानादाय यात्येष
- (143) C<sub>2</sub> I दाक्षि (क्ष in C<sub>2</sub> )णात्यप्रकम्पनः
- (144) B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> ० स्तुतप्रशंसनं. a B<sub>2</sub> drop पदार्थस्य
- (145) B<sub>1</sub> ० रमणी रमणैः सहचारिणी. B<sub>2</sub> ० कुञ्जचारमणि (?), C<sub>1</sub> I drop रमणी ( C<sub>2</sub> added रमणी later ).
- (146) C<sub>2</sub> लोचनसुपथः
- (147) a परिवृत्तनं. B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>1</sub> परावर्तनं C<sub>2</sub> I परिवर्णनं ( ? ).
- (148) I विपरिवृत्तिः(?)
- (149) I C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> ० केयूरकङ्कणं
- (150) J ० भाजनं
- (151) B<sub>1</sub> विरुद्धाचरणं पदार्थानां. C<sub>1</sub> विरुद्धानामर्थानां
- (152) C<sub>2</sub> मलयान्द्रितटी. . . .
- (153) A परिचयपान. . . . B<sub>1</sub> परिचित. . . . C<sub>2</sub> परचय. . . .
- (154) C<sub>2</sub> ० गन्धिरेव
- (155) A युवतिमनोऽ. . . . C<sub>2</sub> उदयात्तरुणी. . . .
- (156) C<sub>2</sub> सममसमां
- (157) B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>1</sub> I प्रलयानला. . . . J प्रलयाय लाभि (?)
- (158) C<sub>2</sub> ० शङ्काम्
- (159) a drops सहेतु. . . . यथा
- (160) A G चम्पकानां
- (161) B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> ० लतालवङ्ग. . . .
- (162) a इङ्गितालक्षयोऽर्थः B<sub>2</sub> ० कारलक्षणोऽर्थः C<sub>1</sub> इङ्गिताकारलक्ष्या (perhaps थः is dropped) सूक्ष्मः
- (163) a B<sub>2</sub> ० जविद्धा विन्नमनस्का विलोक्य संप्राप्तं; a drops संप्राप्तं
- (164) B<sub>1</sub> यज्ञतपः कृतं
- (165) a लक्षशशाङ्क. . . . B<sub>2</sub> ० बालकुरङ्गनेत्रनयना बाला कथं कोमला। प्रीत्या बाल. . . .
- (166) I नो चेद्बलविहस्त. . . . ( ? ). C originally was like I, later corrected in yellow pigment.
- (167) a C<sub>1</sub> रङ्गरमणी C<sub>2</sub> रङ्गरमणी
- (168) B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> I बालसरोजसुन्दर. . . .
- (169) a B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ० जंस्वी C<sub>2</sub> ० जंस्वित्
- (170) a त्वङ्गं तुङ्गं. . . . B<sub>1</sub> C<sub>1</sub> तुङ्गोत्तुङ्गं . . . B<sub>2</sub> त्वं गन्तुं चलदश्वटाप. . . . C<sub>2</sub> तुङ्गं तुङ्गतुरङ्गं. . . .
- (171) C<sub>1</sub> भूमीत प्रोच्छद्भूलि. . . . (sic.) C<sub>2</sub> प्रोलसद्. . . .
- (172) A B<sub>2</sub> P वैरिवीरकदली. . . . C<sub>2</sub> वैरिवैरकदली. . . .
- (173) C<sub>2</sub> I ० कन्दाङ्कुरान्



- (174) C<sub>1</sub> ० कुन्दाङ्करम्  
 (175) C<sub>2</sub> ० नयनाः पश्यामि  
 (176) a प्रेक्ष्यामि B<sub>1</sub> प्रेष्याम B<sub>2</sub> प्रेक्ष्यामि C<sub>1</sub> प्रेष्यामि G प्रेष्यामि I प्रेष्यामि  
 Other Mss: प्रेष्यामि; Correct: प्रेष्यामि  
 (177) C<sub>2</sub> मुक्ताञ्चलम्  
 (178) A G ० तत्रभवतो  
 (179) B<sub>1</sub> वक्त्राम्बुजापायिनी C<sub>1</sub> ० म्बुजापायिनी  
 (180) A G ० त्वमत्रभवतो  
 (181) A G यत्रास्ति B<sub>1</sub> सेवार्थि C<sub>2</sub> संसेवने लोलुपम्  
 (182) A G हल्लोलुपम् C<sub>1</sub> लालप ( ' mis-spelt for स ? ) म् or the *mātrā*  
 over ला is dropped ?  
 (183) C<sub>2</sub> चाथ  
 (184) a B<sub>2</sub> वपुस्तदीय  
 (185) A ० द्वन्द्वकलीलागृहं G ० ककिलिगृहं (possibly the scribe mistook  
 the पृष्ठमात्रा before क in his model for a short इ sign:  
 thus ० ककेलिगृहं ? ) B<sub>2</sub> केलिगृहं  
 (186) B<sub>2</sub> ० हृमद्य  
 (187) B<sub>1</sub> कमला ( ? )  
 (188) A G चक्रे P नथा ( for नाथ possibly )  
 (189) B<sub>2</sub> नयनयुगस्वनकेश . . . .  
 (190) C<sub>2</sub> वनसदनं प्रयात . . . .  
 (191) B<sub>2</sub> ० प्रयाण . . . .  
 (192) C<sub>2</sub> I किञ्चित्कर्तुः . . . .  
 (193) A कर्तुं प्रारब्धस्य B<sub>2</sub> ० मारभ्यमाणस्य G कर्तुमारब्धस्य  
 (194) C<sub>2</sub> drops दैवात्  
 (195) A B<sub>2</sub> ० साधनसमाप्तिः C<sub>2</sub> साधनसम्पत्तिः  
 (196) C<sub>2</sub> I समीहितम्  
 (197) B<sub>2</sub> दधतो वने  
 (198) C<sub>1</sub> मदे  
 (199) C<sub>2</sub> ० कण्ठध्वनिः शुभा  
 (200) A G : In place of उत्कृष्ट . . . शीतताम् ॥३४, the following :  
 तुल्यधर्मोपन्यासस्तुल्ययोगि ( in G नि ) ता । यथा —  
 निष्पन्दतारकमुदञ्चितकेशपाशम्  
 आपाण्डुरद्युति पराङ्मुखचित्तवृत्ति ।  
 कुञ्जे गिरो विचरतः शशिशेखरस्य  
 केनापि नापि विदितो विरहो रहो वा ॥ in A, ३२ ॥ in G, ३४ ॥  
 C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> I उत्कर्षगुणैः  
 (201) a स्तुतिं निन्दार्थं . . . B<sub>1</sub> गुणैस्तु निन्दार्थं . . . .  
 (202) a योग्यता  
 (203) a उप्यम्बुजानि ( ? ) B<sub>1</sub> अथाम्बुजानि C<sub>1</sub> अप्यम्बुजा दधति च C<sub>2</sub> अप्यम्बुजं  
 निदधति . . . I अप्यम्बुज निदधति  
 (204) J दधाति  
 (205) A B<sub>1</sub> G कम्बुकण्ठातिशीतताम् a कम्बुकव्यति . . . B<sub>2</sub> कम्बुकं घत्ति शीतताम्  
 C<sub>1</sub> कम्बुजमतिशीतताम् C<sub>2</sub> कञ्चुकं नातिशीतताम् J कञ्चुकं व्यतिशीतताम्  
 P कम्बु जृम्भति शीतताम्  
 (206) B<sub>1</sub> लेषाणां भिन्न . . . B<sub>2</sub> लेशभिन्नमर्थगहनं

- (207)  $C_1 C_2$  विधूतविलसन्ने. . . (  $C_2$  drops स )
- (208) A  $C_2$  J नेत्राम्बुजश्रीपति. . . .
- (209)  $C_2$  वंशीवंशविधेः. . . .
- (210)  $C_2$  इत्याम्यन्तर. . . .
- (211)  $B_1$  o नुकिरणानु. . . .
- (212) a  $B_1 B_2 C_1 C_2$  I J P o मेयसंशयः सन्देहः Only A G read as adopted in the text; this is in conformity with the list of figures in the beginning. In  $C_1$ , there is consistency.
- (213)  $B_2$  मुख्य. . . .
- (214)  $C_1 C_2$  I प्रासाद. . . .
- (215)  $C_1$  o भोजस्ते
- (216)  $B_1$  प्रम्बीर्भवति; the रेफ indicates careless writing.
- (217)  $B_2$  निधिः ( ? )
- (218)  $B_1$  o पमेयत्वकल्पनमनन्वयः
- (219) a  $C_2$  सुश्रोणीजघने  $B_1 B_2 C_1$  I सुश्रोणि जघने
- (220)  $B_1$  एकस्यैवार्थक्रमेण
- (221)  $B_2$  चोपमेयोपमेयता
- (222)  $B_1$  o कलतेयं
- (223)  $C_1$  चापि  $C_2$  वै
- (224) A  $B_1 C_2$  मृगाक्षीव
- (225)  $C_1$  o क्षिव
- (226) A तस्याः
- (227)  $B_2$  अलङ्कार. . . .
- (228) A सङ्कीर्णः
- (229)  $C_2$  ( very corrupt ) : दूतीकिशोरशशिनं ( ? ) J दूतीकरोति
- (230)  $B_1$  करोतु
- (231)  $B_2$  शशिनं सहसा सहासं
- (232)  $B_1$  सतत्तच्चञ्चल. . . .
- (233) a  $B_1 B_2 C_1$  तव
- (234) a वर्तते ऽ स्याः  $C_1$  वर्तते ऽ स्या
- (235) a o वलयान्तकस्य  $B_2$  वलयायतस्य
- (236)  $C_2$  I भावोक्तिः
- (237) A G add भावस्तात्पर्यं
- (238) A मनोहरण. . . .
- (239)  $B_2$  पुलिनं
- (240) A G कथिते
- (241)  $C_2$  व्रजप्रियान्तराले. . . .
- (242)  $B_2$  मुहुर्मुहु रतिप्रियश्चलचलेति
- (243)  $C_2$  प्रिये चलति चलति कोलाहलः
- (244)  $C_1$  अभिलषितमुपशंसन. . . .
- (245)  $B_2$  o मापिषम्
- (246)  $B_2$  कुन्दकोरं ददाति ते ( ? )
- (247)  $C_2$  अनङ्गो ह्यवतात्तावत् I अनङ्गावतात्तावत्
- (248)  $C_2$  drops हि before मुख्य. . . .  $B_2$  मुच्यमेता. . . . ( ? )
- (249)  $C_1$  च कल्पिताः सर्वे ( 2 letters worm-caten ) जानीत तद्भवाः ।
- (250)  $B_1$  किमु

- (251) A J P तद्भुवः G तद्भुवाः  
 (252) B<sub>2</sub> बल्लवभट्टस्य  
 (253) A G सूनुना  
 (254) C<sub>2</sub> निर्माय्यसी  
 (255) A त्रिमल्लाख्येन बालार्थं B<sub>1</sub> निर्मिता त्रिम्मला. . . . G बालार्थं त्रिम. . . .  
 (256) B<sub>2</sub> C<sub>1</sub> त्रिमल्लाख्येन C<sub>2</sub> I निर्मलाख्येन  
 (257) A इति त्रिमल्ल. . . . a इत्यर्थालङ्काराः अष्टपुत्रोपनाम्ना भीमेन लिखिताः परोप-  
 कारार्थाः सदैव सन्तु ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ B<sub>1</sub> इत्यर्थालङ्कार. . . . B<sub>2</sub> इत्यलङ्कारमञ्जरी  
 समाप्ता ॥ श्री ॥ अत्रालङ्काराः स्वभाववितः. . . . मुख्यालङ्काराः अन्ये इतरेतर-  
 भेदाद्भवन्ति ते क्रमाल्लिखिताः ॥ श्री ॥ C<sub>1</sub> I श्री त्रिमलभट्ट. . . . C<sub>2</sub> इति  
 श्रीनिर्मलभट्ट. . . . G श्रीत्रिम्मलभट्ट. . . .  
 (258) J o तार्थालङ्कारमञ्जरी  
 (259) A further adds :  
 माहेश्वरिः स्वार्थकृते च मार्गे  
 मासे सिते पुण्यतिथौ च शुक्रे ।  
 गोदावरीतीरवरेऽलिखत्सो ऽ  
 लङ्कारशास्त्रीयसुमञ्जरीं ताम् ॥ १ ॥  
 श्रीघृतपापेश्वरो जयतितराम् ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥  
 B<sub>1</sub> adds : सं. १९०९ आश्विन कृष्ण १ लि. चि. रत्नलालेन । अलङ्कारानुक्रमे  
 श्लोकसंख्या and gives serially the figures of speech and the  
 corresponding numbers of the illustrative verses in a tabulated  
 form. C<sub>1</sub> adds in margin :  
 श्रीसरस्वतीसहाय अयोध्यामिश्रके भतीज वेनीमिश्रके पुत्र गयादत्त के पाठ महादेव  
 पंडितराज तेहिक भतीज प्रयागदत्त तेहिके हायके लिखल अलंकारमंजीरक  
 चतुर्थपत्रम्.  
 C<sub>2</sub> adds :  
 लक्ष्मीनारायणेनालेखि स्वस्मै । संवत् १९१३ श्रावणशुक्ले ४ सोमवासरे श्री-  
 काशिकाधीशराजधान्यां कैवल्यप्ररोहभूम्यां काश्याम् । शुभं भवतु ॥  
 I adds :  
 लिखिता रघुनाथेन आकूतेन महात्मना ।  
 लोकानामुपकाराय रम्यालङ्कारमञ्जरी ॥ छ ॥  
 शके १५७५ विजयसंवत्सरे चैत्रशुद्ध अष्टम्यां लिखिता ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ अलङ्कारमञ्जरी ॥

## APPENDIX I

Alphabetical list of verses in the अलङ्कारमञ्जरी

अङ्गानि तव गङ्गेशः	४१	पूर्वं यज्ञशतं कृतं	२९
अञ्चति लोचनयुगलं	२१	प्रस्वेदाङ्कुरितो	३५
अरुणमरञ्जितमधर	१८	प्राणानाल्हादयत्येष	२३
अर्थालङ्कारजातं	४२	मनोजतरुमञ्जरी	१०
आधूय स्फुटितवनानि	२७	मनोहरिणवागुरा	४०
इदं मुखमिदं चन्द्र	३६	*मन्ये शङ्के ध्रुवं. . . .	१६*
इन्दुः सहस्रपत्रं	३८	मलयगिरितटीपटीर	२६
इषुभिः पञ्चभिः बाणैः	२२	माला नीलाम्बुजदल	७
उच्चैः कोकिलकाकली	१८	मुखं तुहिनदीधिति	५
उदेति तुहिनद्युतिः	१२	मृगनयने तव नयनं	२०
कनकलतेव मृगाक्षी	३८	मृगशिशुकलकण्ठ	३२
कपोललम्बिरोलम्ब	१	राधा मनसिजबाधा	२८
काश्यां बल्लभभट्टस्य	४३	लोलकुन्तलवारि	३
ज्ञातुमिच्छन्त्यलङ्कारान्	२	वदनं वदनाकारं	३७
त्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतरङ्गटाग	३०	वरमिह कौन्दे कुसुमे	८
ददाति हारकेयूरं	२५	वहति गगनगङ्गा	९
दूरीकरोति शशिनं	३९	वारिणि तरणिसुताया	१५
धन्या कुरङ्गरमणी	२४	शङ्के कुरङ्गनयना	१६
नायं मनसिजवाणो	११	सत्यमिन्दीवरदृश	१३
*निस्पन्दतारकमुदञ्चित	३३*	सार्था नेत्रविशालता	३१
पयोधरभराक्रान्ता	४	सालङ्कारा सुवर्णा च	१९
पीयन्ते मधुपैर्मधून्यधि	६	स्फटिकघटितकान्त	१७
हारकङ्कणकेयूरं	३३		

## APPENDIX II

Alphabetical list of the figures of speech in the अलङ्कारमञ्जरी  
[figures to the right indicate the numbers of the illustrative verses]

अतिशयोक्ति	७	ऊर्जस्विन्	३०
अनन्वय	३७	क्रमोक्ति	३२
अर्थान्तरन्यास	२०	तुल्ययोगिता	३४ (३३*)
अपह्नुति	१८	दोषक	६
अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा	२४	निदर्शन	२३
आक्षेप	१५	परिवृत्ति	२५
आवृत्ति	२१	पर्यायोक्ति	१०
आशिष्	४१	प्रेयस्	३१
उत्प्रेक्षा	१६	भाविक	४०
उदात्त	१७	रसवत्	२९
उपमा	४	रूपक	५
उपमेयोपमा	३८	लेश	३५

\* shows interpolated verses

वक्रोक्ति	९	सङ्कीर्ण	३९
विभावना	१८	संशय	३६
विरोध	२६	समासोक्ति	८
विशेषोक्ति	११	समाहित	३३
व्यतिरेक	१३	सहोक्ति	१२
व्याजस्तुति	२२	सूक्ष्म	२८
श्लेष	१९	स्वभावोक्ति	३
हेतु	२७		

## APPENDIX III

## List of metres used by Trimallabhaṭṭa

Motrc	Verses (Nos.)
१ अनष्टुप्	१, २, ४, १३, १९, २२, २३, २५, ३३, ३४, ३६, ३७, ४१, ४२, ४३ (also the verse interpolated under उत्प्रेक्षा in B <sub>1</sub> )
२ आर्या	८
३ उपगीति	२०, २८, ३८
४ औपच्छन्दसिक	२६, ३२
५ गीति	११, १५, २१, २४
६ पृथ्वी	५, १०, १२, ४०
७ प्रहर्षिणी	२७
८ मन्दाक्रान्ता	७
९ मात्रासमक	१४
१० मालिनी	९, १७, (also the verse interpolated in A after ९)
११ वसन्ततिलका	१६, ३९
१२ शार्दूलविक्रीडित	३, ६, १८, २९, ३०, ३१, ३५

# MUSIC IN SANSKRIT DRAMA\*

By

H. S. URSEKAR

“Just as an outline does not appear to be beautiful without colours, so also a drama does not attain beauty without music.” Bharata<sup>1</sup>.

The Sanskrit drama is born and brought up in a musical atmosphere. Music forms an unmistakable ingredient of the Sanskrit drama. Drama is called the Dṛśya Kāvya (visual poetry) by the Sanskrit aesthetic writers. It consists of both prose and poetry. According to the *Nāṭya-Darpana* (Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, 12 Cen. A.D.) a drama should have brief prose and less poetry<sup>2</sup>. No doubt the Sanskrit drama is high-lighted by sweet sonorous poetry, but even the prose portion thereof is poetic, enriched with beauty of sound and sense, of diction and depth. The Sanskrit drama also contains to an appreciable extent the element of song, dance and instrumental music. Thus poetry and music are blended in the Sanskrit drama. Shakespeare says:—

If music and sweet poetry agree,

As they must needs, the sister and the brother<sup>3</sup>.

Apart from the literary aspect, music has a production value too. Music provided an abiding frame-work to the production of the Sanskrit drama on the stage. In this connection Dr. Keith observes ‘Of the part played by the song, dance and music in the drama the theorists curiously enough tell us comparatively little of interest, though it is certain that both were most important elements in the production of sentiments’<sup>4</sup>. I would however respectfully modify Dr. Keith’s remarks by making an exception of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as otherwise it would be doing injustice to Bharata, the Aristotle of Indian Dramaturgy. Bharata has devoted chapter after chapter, for example Chap. V, XXVIII to XXXIII, to the discussion of the musical element in the Sanskrit drama.

\* Paper read before the All India Oriental Conference, Gauhatti, 1965.

1 यथा वर्णादृते चित्रं शोभते न निवेशनम् ।  
एवमेवं विना गानं नाट्यं रागं न गच्छति ॥

ना. शा. 32/482

2 स्वल्पपद्यं लघुगद्यम् । नाट्यदर्पणम् । I. 14.

3 Shakespeare : *Passionate Pilgrim*.

4 Keith : *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 338.

I propose to consider music in relation to Sanskrit drama under two heads: (a) its production value and (b) its dramatic value.

What is music? It is an art of combining sound with a view to increase beauty of form and expression of emotion. Copland, an outstanding American composer, observed that music is designed like the other arts to absorb entirely our mental attention<sup>5</sup>. The *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (Śāraṅga Deva, 13 Cen. A. D.) defines music as inclusive of vocal and instrumental music as well as dance<sup>6</sup>. A song is defined as a combination of pleasurable notes<sup>7</sup>. Song is the principal personality in the trinity of music. The musical instruments should play a second fiddle to the human voice and follow the song. The dance ought to be in tune with the orchestra<sup>8</sup>. This unity of the trinity is also stressed by Bharata who says that there ought to be a complete harmony between vocal and instrumental music<sup>9</sup>. Song was created by the creator out of the *Sāmaveda*<sup>10</sup>. Oscar Wilde believed that nature imitates art, but by and large art imitates nature. The seven basic musical notes, are alleged to owe their origin to the imitation of the natural sounds of the beasts and birds. The peacock cries the *ṣaḍja*, the bull bellows the *ṛṣabha*, the goat bleats the *Gandhāra*, the crunch sounds the *madhyama*, the cuckoo sings the *pañcama*, the horse neighs the *dhaivata*, while the elephant trumpets the *niṣāda*<sup>11</sup>. We do not know if the parallel western musical notes, which are also seven viz. Do, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, Si, claim kinship with nature. The initial note is called the *ṣaḍja* as it is born, like the god Skanda, out of six mothers. i. e. the six limbs, viz., the nose, the throat, the breast, the palate, the tongue and the teeth<sup>12</sup>.

According to Bharata music includes the melody (*svara*) the rhythm (*tāla*) and the words (*pada*)<sup>13</sup>. *Rāga* (mood of melody)

5 Copland : *On Music* p. 53.

6 गीतं वाद्यं तथा नृत्यं त्रयं संगीतमुच्यते ।

संगीतरत्नाकर I, 1, 21

7 रञ्जकः स्वरसंदर्भो गीतमित्याभिधीयते ॥

कलानिघटीका on संगीत रत्नाकर

8 नृत्यं वाद्यानुगं प्रोक्तं, वाद्यं गीतानुवृत्ति च ।

अतो गीतं प्रधानत्वादत्राऽऽदावभिधीयते ॥

सं. र. I, 1, 24

9 शारीरवैणवंशानाम् एकीभावः प्रशस्यते ।

ना. शा. 3, 0/11

10 सामवेदादिदं गीतं संजग्राह पितामहः ।

सं. र. I, 1, 25

11 षड्जं रीति मयूरस्तु गावो नर्दति चर्पभम् ।

अजाविरोतु गांधारम् क्रीचो नर्दति मध्यमम् ।

पुष्पसाधारणे काले कोकिलो रीति पंचमम् ।

अश्वस्तु वैवतं रीति निषादं रीति कुंजरः ॥

12 नासां कण्ठमुरस्तालु जिह्वां दन्तांश्च संस्पृशन् ।

षड्जः संजायते यस्मात् तस्मात् षड्ज इति स्मृतः ॥

ना. शा. 28/26, 27

13 गान्धर्वं त्रिविधं विद्यात् स्वरतालपदात्मकम् ।

ना. शा. 28/11

and *Tāla* are the twin pivots of music. Bharata refers to 18 types of *Jātis*<sup>14</sup> but not the *Rāgas* and says that these *Jātis* should be used in singing the *Dhruvās*<sup>15</sup>. In one place he refers to the *Jāti-rāgas*<sup>16</sup>. Bharata is very emphatic about the accuracy of rhythm and says 'one who does not know rhythm is not a musician'<sup>17</sup>.

Turning from the origin of music to the origin of the Sanskrit drama we find that if music has its origin in nature, the drama had its roots in religion and music. Keith says "Indian traditions preserved in the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, the oldest of the texts on the theory of the drama, claims for the drama divine origin and close connection with the sacred Vedas themselves."<sup>18</sup> The drama is called the *Nāṭya Veda* or the fifth Veda. It is supposed to have been created by the Brahman and presented to Bharata Muni<sup>19</sup>. The creator in creating the fifth Veda borrowed the text from the *Ṛgveda*, acting from the *Yajurveda*, music from the *Sāmaveda* and sentiment from the *Atharvaveda*<sup>20</sup>. Kālidāsa observed that the sages declare the drama as a charming sacrifice to the eyes of the Gods. This has been divided two-fold by Rudra in his body blended with that of Umā<sup>21</sup>. According to the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* the premiere dramatic performance was staged in heaven on the occasion of the Banner Festival of Indra. There was a house-full of jubilant Gods. Initially the Brahman performed the holy benediction (*Nāndī*). It was followed by the drama proper, depicting the defeat of the demons by the divinity, high-lighted by the heroic sentiment. The hundred sons of Bharata constituted the cast. Besides, for embellishing the drama the nymphs like Sukeśī and Sulocanā, who were created by the Brahman specially for this occasion danced in this dramatic show<sup>22</sup>. Svāti, together with his disciples played on the orchestra and the celestial musicians (*Gandharvas*) such as Nārada sang the songs.

The *Daśarūpa* of Dhanañjaya (10 Cen. A.D.) mentions that the dramatic science was created by Brahman after repeatedly extracting the essence from the entire sacred lore of which Bharata

14 ना. शा. 28/38 to 44

15 ध्रुवाविधाने कर्तव्या जातिर्गानप्रयोक्तृभिः ।

ना. शा. 29/5

16 ना. शा. 28/38

17 यस्तु तालं न जानाति न स गाता न वादकः ।

ना. शा. 31/485

18 Keith : *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 12.

19 नाट्यवेदं ददौ पूर्वं भरताय चतुर्मुखः ।

सं. र. V, II, VII, 4

20 ऋग्यजुः सामवेदेभ्यो वेदात्त्वाथर्वणः क्रमात् ।

पाठयं चाभिनयान्गीतं रसान्संगृह्य पद्मभूः ॥

सं. र.

Vol. II, VII/9

21 *Mālavikāgnimitram* : I, 4.

22 ना. शा. I 47 to 50



gave an exhibition, in which Lord Śiva performed the wild dance (*tāṇḍava*) and Pārvaṭī performed the gentle dance (*lāsya*)<sup>23</sup>. Thus according to the tradition, the Sanskrit drama has a divine origin and is rooted not only in religion but equally so in dance and music. Bharata is the first dramatic producer. It will be seen that Sanskrit Drama was born in the cradle of paradise and nursed by Bharata Muni to the jingling of the anklets of a bevy of nymphs, dancing gracefully to the tunes of the orchestral overtures played by Svāti and his men, covered by the songs of the celestial musicians like Nārada and others. In the *Vikramorvaśīyam* we have a reference to the staging of the play *Lakṣmī-Svayaṃvara* in the Court of Indra in which nymphs like Urvaśī participated.

Dr. Wilson remarks that the dramatic representations as first invented were three-fold; Nāṭya (Drama), Nṛtya (Pantomime) and Nṛtta (dance) and these were exhibited before the Gods<sup>24</sup>. Bharata defines Nāṭya (Drama) as the representation of the states of the three worlds<sup>25</sup>. It is a mimicry of the exploits of the Gods, Asuras, Kings as well as house-holders in this world<sup>26</sup>. The *Daśarūpa* defines drama as the imitation of situations<sup>27</sup>. Thus the ancient Indian concept of drama seems to agree with Cicero's view that drama is a copy of life, a mirror of custom, a reflection of truth. Aristotle in the *Poetics* introduces the concept of imitation to explain poetry and drama. The *Nāṭya-Darpaṇa*, says that drama is imitation, it makes the heart of the audience throb with the exhibition of entertaining and varied material<sup>28</sup>. Abhinavagupta derives the word Nāṭaka from the word Naṭa i.e., to imitate. The comprehensive term embracing the ten varieties of drama is Rūpa or Rūpaka. Viśva-nātha in his *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* (13 Cen. A.D.) says that due to super-imposition it is called Rūpaka<sup>29</sup>, as where an actor assumes the role of Rāma. *Daśarūpa* calls it a Rūpa (show) as it is seen<sup>30</sup>. Thus drama is the imitation of sentiments and situations, while Nṛtya or Pantomime is based on the emotional states<sup>31</sup>. On the other hand Nṛtta or dance is based on rhythm and tempo<sup>32</sup>. Dance

23 द. रू. I 4

24 Wilson : *Hindu Theatre*, p. 7. See also सं. र. Vol. II, VII, 4.

25 नाट्यं भावानुकीर्तनम्  
लोकस्य चरितं नाट्यम् । ना. शा. I/106  
ना. शा. 36/11

26 ना. शा. I 120

27 अवस्थानुकृतिः नाट्यम् । द. रू. I/7

28 नाटकमिति नाटयति विचित्रं रज्जनाप्रवेशेन सभ्यानां हृदयं नर्तयतीति  
नाटकम् ॥ ना. द. p. 28

29 तद्रूपारोपात्तु रूपकम् ॥ सा. द. VI/1

30 रूपम् दृश्यातयोच्यते । द. रू. I/8

31 अन्यत् भावाश्रयम् नृत्यम् । द. रू. I/12

32 नृत्तम् ताललयाश्रयम् । द. रू. I/13

consists of the movements of the limbs<sup>33</sup>. The *Daśarūpa* says that Pantomime and dance are auxiliary to drama<sup>34</sup>.

The purpose of drama is to give relief and delight. Drama serves as a source of relief to those who are afflicted with sorrow, fatigue and grief and to the helpless<sup>35</sup>. It is a play thing<sup>36</sup>, says Bharata. According to Kālidāsa, drama is the principle amusement of the people of diverse tastes<sup>37</sup>. The *Daśarūpa* points out that the drama is for distillation of joy<sup>38</sup>. A drama makes your heart leap, says the *Nāṭya-Darpaṇa*<sup>38</sup>. The element of music helped the attainment of these objects. Though the drama is a kind of Veda it is not taboo to the Śūdras. It can be enjoyed by all the castes<sup>39</sup>.

The theatre was the temple of the drama. In the construction and consecration of an ancient theatre music played a superstitiously significant part. Bharata enjoined that the theatre should not be too large but should be of medium size so that recitation as well as song can be easily audible<sup>40</sup>. The dimensions of the rectangular theatre were to be 64 cubits in length and 32 cubits in breadth<sup>41</sup>. A theatre should be free from interference of wind so that words, songs and musical instruments could be heard distinctly<sup>42</sup>. Thus the ancient Indian theatres were compact and showed an awareness to acoustics by making them sound-proof as far as possible.

Brahman ordered the Gods to protect various parts of the theatre and theatrical properties, hence Mitra resides in the green-room, while clouds dwell in the musical instruments<sup>43</sup>. At the time of consecration of a newly constructed theatre the Ācāryas offered Pūjā to the Gods of the stage and to the musical instruments covered with cloth<sup>43a</sup>. At the inaugural of the stage a fight used to be staged to the accompaniment of the orchestra<sup>44</sup>. A theatre on the lines of the one mentioned by Bharata is discovered at Rāmgarh at a

33 नृती गात्राविक्षेपे ।

ना. शा. p. 48

34 तद्दृश्यम्...नाटकाद्युपकारकम् ।

द. रू. I/15

35 दुःखातीर्तानां श्रमातीर्तानां शोकातीर्तानां तपस्विनाम् ।  
विश्रामजननं लोके नाट्यमेतद् भविष्यति ॥

36 क्रीडनीयकम् ।

ना. शा. I/11

37 *Mālavikāgnimitram* I/4

38 आनन्दनिष्पन्दिषु रूपकेषु ।

द. रू. I/6

39 ना. शा. I / 12

40 ना. शा. II 21

41 ना. शा. II / 17

42 ना. शा. II / 80 to 82

43 ना. शा. I / 82, 83

43A ना. शा. III/11 to 13; III / 72, 73

44 ना. शा. III / 91, 92

height of 2600 ft., in the State of Sirguja to the south-west of Bengal. This cave theatre is 46 ft. long and 24 ft. wide. In the opinion of Dr. Bloch, a great archaeologist, this cave known as Sita Bengārā is the only known example of the ancient Indian theatre used for song, dance and drama. He says: "We may look upon it as an Indian theatre of the 3rd Century B.C."<sup>45</sup> In the Nasik district also there are two caves which seem to have been used as an arena for dancing and singing<sup>46</sup>.

Music played an integral part in the production technique of the Sanskrit drama. Hence a dramatic troupe consisted of musicians, dancers, and orchestramen. The orchestra is called *Kutapa* as it enlivened the stage<sup>47</sup>. The orchestra consisted of the chorus of a singer and songstress and 4 types of musical instruments viz., stringed instruments like a *Viṇā*, various types of drums like *Mṛdaṅga*, *Paṇava*, *Dardura*, *Puṣkara*, solid instruments like the cymbals and reed-instruments like the flute<sup>48</sup>. The orchestra used to be manned by well-trained musicians. The lute players were able to play tirelessly<sup>49</sup>. The flute player used to be well-versed in rhythm and had long and strong breath<sup>50</sup>. The members of the orchestra sat facing the audience between the two screened doors of the green-room leading to the stage<sup>51</sup>. The direction they faced was regarded as the conventional east of the stage<sup>52</sup>. The orchestra consisted of one lute and flute player each, three drum players and two cymbal players. Besides these bandmen, there was a chorus of a singer and a songstress. The *Mṛdaṅga* player sat in the centre with a *Paṇava* player to his right and the *Dardura* player to his left. To the left of these drummen sat the singer facing the south flanked by the *Viṇā* player on the left, and the flute player on the right. Facing the singer was the songstress sandwiched between two cymbal-players<sup>53</sup>. This arrangement of the musical instruments was called the *Pratyāhāra*<sup>53a</sup> and the sitting arrangement of the singers was called the *Avataraṇa*<sup>54</sup>. Men

45 Dr. Bloch : *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1903-04*, p. 126.

46 *Wilson: Theatre of the Hindus*, p. 221.

47 कुं रंगं तपति उज्वलयति इति कुतपः

गायकवादकसमूहः—अभिनवगुप्त ।

See ना. शा. 28/46,

48 ततं चैवावनद्धं च धनं सुषिरमेव च ।

ना. शा. 28/1

49 ना. शा. 32 / 500

50 ना. शा. 32 / 501

51 ना. शा. 14 / 2

52 ना. शा. 14 / 11

53 ना. शा. 23 / 4, 5

53a ना. शा. V / 17

54 ना. शा. V / 17

were regarded as naturally more suitable for recitation and ladies for singing<sup>55</sup>. As women have a naturally melodious voice, so men have strength<sup>56</sup>. The female singer was required to be beautiful, talented and of soft and sweet voice. She used to be a *śyāmā*<sup>57</sup>. The chief dancer was called Tauriṣa and he used to be adept in playing all kinds of musical instruments<sup>58</sup>.

It seems that music was one of the required qualifications in the selection of the dramatic artists. Bharata has stressed the ability of the hero to play the musical instruments<sup>59</sup>. An actor (*bharata*) is defined as one who is at the helm of affairs, who can play a variety of roles and who can handle the musical instruments<sup>60</sup>. The Sūtradhāra must know vocal and instrumental music.<sup>61</sup> Bharata enjoins that an actor should not be careless about words, dance, vocal and instrumental music<sup>62</sup>. Qualities of an actor (*pātra*) among other things included knowledge of rhythm and tempo (*laya*) and of vocal music and instrumental music<sup>63</sup>.

The *Daśarūpa* mentions 4 styles of procedure, based on the conduct of the hero. Out of these styles, the graceful style (*Kaiśikī*) is delightful through the use of song and dance<sup>64</sup>. This shows how the knowledge of music was an essential requisite of every actor and especially so of the hero and the Sūtradhāra.

Bharata recognised ten types of plays. Out of them the *Nāṭikā*, was cast in the musical mould. It abounded in dance and song. According to Viśvanātha its heroine should be engrossed in music<sup>65</sup>. The *Ratnāvalī* is a perfect *Nāṭikā* and but for the factor of exceeding the four-Act-limit *Mūlavikāgnimitram* is also a charming *Nāṭikā* as observed by Keith<sup>66</sup>. Sylvan Lévi says "Le *Nāṭikā* par se nature autant que per son nom se rapproche de la dance scenique; le drame est 'action meme<sup>67</sup>.'" Due to the profuseness

- 55 एवं स्वभावसिद्धं स्त्रीणां गानं नृणां च पाठ्यविधिः । ना. शा. 32 / 506  
 56 स्त्रीणां स्वभावमधुरः कण्ठो नृणां बलत्वं च ॥ ना. शा. 32 / 503  
 57 ना. शा. 32 / 498  
 58 ना. शा. 35 / 94  
 59 चतुरातोद्यविद्यानं . . . . / ना. शा. 35 / 100  
 60 धृयवदेको यस्माद्दुद्धरेदनेकभूमिकायुवतः ।  
 भाण्डग्राहोपकरणैर्नाट्यं भरतो भवेत्तस्मात् ॥ ना. शा. 35 / 91  
 61 गानस्य च वाद्यस्य पाठ्यस्याप्येकभावविहितस्य ।  
 शिष्टोपदेशयोगात् सूत्रज्ञः सूत्रधारस्तु । ना. शा. 35 / 98  
 62 ना. शा. 27 / 47  
 63 ना. शा. 27 / 100, 101  
 64 द. रू. II 77  
 65 बहुनृत्यगीतपाठ्या नाटिका । ना. शा. 26 / 61  
 66 Keith : *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 350.  
 67 Lévi *Le Theatre Indian, Paris*(1890)

of music and dance the performance of a Nāṭikā lasted for nine Muhūrtas i.e., for more than seven hours. In the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodara Gupta (8th Cen. A.D.) we have an historical record that the first Act of *Ratnāvalī* lasted for the whole night, in a show wherein the dancing girls of Benaras had taken part.

Every dramatic performance of a Sanskrit drama was preceded by a preliminary ritual called the Pūrvaraṅga described elaborately by Bharata in the fifth Chapter. Later works on dramaturgy do not do so. The purpose of this preliminary ritual was to ward off evils<sup>69</sup>. The Pūrvaraṅga abounded in song, dance and orchestral music<sup>70</sup>. Bharata says "These songs outside (the performance of a play) are to be sung by persons behind the curtain to the accompaniment of drums and the stringed instruments<sup>71</sup>. Then after removing the curtain, dances and recitals are to be performed with the playing of the musical instruments and some songs<sup>72</sup>.

The Pūrvaraṅga was followed by the recitation of the benedictory verses (Nāṇḍī). It was recited by the Sūtradhāra in the Madhyama key<sup>73</sup>.

After the Nāṇḍī came the Prologue and sometimes the Naṭi used to sing a song to regale the audience as in the *Śākuntalam*.

This brings us to the interesting question of the singing of certain conventional songs called the Dhruvās. Bharata has devoted Chapter 32 to the detailed delineation of the Dhruvās with examples in Sanskrit and other dialects. The *Nāṭya-Darpaṇa* and *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* refer to 5 kinds of Dhruvās and give illustrations<sup>74</sup>. But surprisingly enough I could not find any reference to these traditional songs in the *Daśarūpa*. A Dhruvā song is defined by Bharata, thus<sup>75</sup>.

या ऋचः पाणिका गाथा सप्तरूपाङ्गमेव च ।  
सप्तरूपप्रमाणं हि सा ध्रुवेत्यभिसंज्ञिता ॥  
वाक्यवर्णा ह्यलंकारा लया यत्यथपाणयः ।  
ध्रुवमन्योन्यसम्बद्धा यस्मात्तस्माद् ध्रुवा स्मृता ।

They were composed in various metres as suitable to various situations and sentiments. A Dhruvā had one topic only (Ekavastu). They were of 5 types viz. (a) Prāveśikī i.e. preceding an entry of

68 रंगे पूर्वः पूर्वरङ्गः ।

69 सा. दर्पण VI / 22

70 पूर्वरङ्गविधाने तु कर्तव्यो गानजो विधिः ।

ना. शा. 32 / 483

71 ना. शा. V / 8 to 11

72 ना. शा. V / 12 to 15

73 सूत्रधारः पठेत्तत्र मध्यमं स्वरमाश्रितम् ।

ना. शा. V / 107, 108

74 ना. द. P. 103; सं. र. Vol. I. 90

75 ना. शा. 32 / 2; 32 / 8

a character (b) Ākṣepikī i.e. casual or marking change of sequence (c) Prāsādikī i.e. pleasing or marking change of sentiment (d) Āntarā i.e. intermediate or a stop gap song (e) Naiśkrāmikī i.e. succeeding an exit<sup>76</sup>.

The Prāveśikī Dhruvā was sung to usher in a character on the stage<sup>77</sup>. According to Bharata the entry of a *dramatis personae* was signalled by the playing of the orchestra and the singing of the Dhruvā song of the Prāveśikī type. At the end of every Act when all the characters on the stage took their exit a Naiśkrāmikī Dhruvā was sung<sup>78</sup>. An Ākṣepikī or casual song was sung in a fast tempo to signify a change of sequence<sup>79</sup>. Change of sentiment was denoted by singing of a Prāsādikī or pleasing Dhruvā for cheering up the audience<sup>80</sup>. The intermediate or the Āntarā Dhruvā was sung to mark time, while a character had fallen in trance or sleep or rage on the stage<sup>81</sup>. Besides these 5-fold Dhruvās there were other types of Dhruvās such as those sung in the Pūrvaraṅga and those which formed part of the drama proper.

The fourth Act of *Vikramorvaśiyam* contains 20 Anyokti Stanzas composed in the Mahārāṣṭri except one (V. 56). They are all Dhruvā Songs. There are two Prāveśikī Dhruvās in verses 1 and 5 as expressly mentioned in the relevant stage directions. Verses 4 and 75 are Naiśkrāmikī variety of the Dhruvās, while the rest are the Ākṣepikī Dhruvās whose purpose is Ākṣepa i.e. diversion and suggestion. Bharata has left the use of such Dhruvās to the choice and experience of the dramatist himself. The stage directions after the verses 1 and 5 in terms mention the type of those Dhruvās as Ākṣepikī. The Dhruvās have for their base certain objects and animals as prescribed by Bharata.<sup>82</sup>

These Dhruvās are composed by Kālidāsa, himself. The Dhruvās in other dramas might have been composed by the author concerned<sup>83</sup> or by the stage artists themselves suitable to the occasion. The latter view is advanced by Dr. Raghavan.<sup>84</sup> These songs used to be in the Śauraseni or in the Māgadhī dialects,<sup>85</sup> or in

76 ना. शा. 32 / 24, 7, 26, 27

ना. द. P. 193

77 ना. शा. 32 / 365

78 ना. शा. 32 / 366

79 ना. शा. 32 / 367

80 ना. शा. 32 / 368

81 ना. शा. 32 / 369

82 ना. शा. 32 / 376

83 कविर्धुवेति कवेः प्रवन्धकर्तुरियं पञ्चविधा ध्रुवा ।

ना. द. P. 195

84 Dr. Raghavan: *Journal of the Musical Academy*, Madras, Vol. 25

85 ना. शा. 32 / 440

the Mahārāṣṭrī as in the *Vikramorvaśiyam*. For the gods the Dhruvās used to be in Sanskrit and in case of human beings they used to be composed in Ardha-Sanskrit.<sup>86</sup> A Dhruvā song used to be either in one line or two or four lined verses.<sup>87</sup> The *Nāṭya-Śāstra* and the *Nāṭya Darpaṇa* give a number of illustrations of the Dhruvās in the Sanskrit and in Prakrits. It seems that a Dhruvā used to be sung first and was followed by an orchestral reproduction thereof which in turn was followed by a dance.<sup>88</sup> The acting of the Dhruvās by the dancer was called the Nāṭyāyita. These songs used to be sung in different Tālas.<sup>89</sup> I did not find mention of any Rāga made by Bharata in connection with the singing of Dhruvā songs. Bharata says music is based on melody, rhythm, and diction.<sup>90</sup> The *Nāṭya-Darpaṇa* mentions that the Dhruvā songs should be sung as per the melody and rhythm.<sup>91</sup> Among the musical instruments urged for special use in singing of the Dhruvās was a Koṇa and two lutes.<sup>92</sup> The words in the song were followed by the notes of the flute.<sup>93</sup>

Bharata sponsors the playing of the drums when a Dhruvā has been sung. The orchestra either preceded or followed the singing of the Dhruvās and did not accompany them as we have to-day. Bharata discourages the playing of the drums at a time when the song or its Varṇas have been finished or it was beginning afresh.<sup>94</sup> It seems that the musical instruments preceded and gave a signal of the beginning of the music and then the song was sung and later on the dancer acted the substance of the song in keeping with the sentiment. In the *Mālavikāgnimitram* this sequence is illustrated in the first two Acts. On the occasion of the musical contest at the end of the first Act the judge Parivrājikā remarks that music has begun.<sup>95</sup> The party thereafter witnesses the musical performance of Mālavikā. She negotiates the preliminary Alāpas (Upagānam) and then sings the song of four lines (Catuṣpadī Vastu).<sup>96</sup>

86 ना. शा. 32 / 441

87 शंकरः शूलभृत्, पातु मां लोकवृत् ।

ना. शा. 32 / 51

88 पूर्वं गानं ततो वाद्यं ततो नृत्तं प्रयोजयेत् ।

ना. शा. 32 / 435

89 ना. शा. 31 / 48 to 61

90 गान्धर्वमिति तत् ज्ञेयं स्वरतालपदाश्रयम् ।

ना. शा. 28 / 8

91 गेयं स्वरतालैर्गानार्हम् ॥

ना. द. P. 195

92 ना. शा. 29 / 118

93 यं यं गीतः स्वरं गच्छेत् तं तं वंशेन वादयेत् ।

शारीरवैणवंशानाम् एकीभावः प्रशस्यते ॥

ना. शा. 30 / 11

94 ना. शा. IV 325

95 हन्त प्रवृत्तम् संगीतकम् ।

मा. Act I

96 *Mālavikāgnimitram* II 4

After singing this song she dances to interpret the substance of the said song.<sup>97</sup>

Two types of dances were recognised by the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, viz., the violent dance of men called the Tāṇḍava invented by Śiva himself and the tender and voluptuous dance of Pārvatī called the Lāsya. Keith remarks that the latter alone, by reason of its special importance, is carefully analysed into ten parts by the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* which shows the essential union of song and dance.<sup>98</sup> Bharata has prescribed some Do's and Don't's for the dance. He commends dance in a play on such occasions as when the principle words of a song (in a play) as well as its Varnas come to a close or when any character attains good fortune or in a love scene between a married couple or when the lover is near and a (suitable) season or the like is visible.<sup>99</sup> On the other hand, he condemns dance in case of a heroine who is enraged, deceived or separated. No dance should be performed when dialogue is on.<sup>100</sup> Bharata says that a song should be sung and a female dancer should delineate the meaning of the song and translate the plot of the play into dance. Thus the dancer played a vital role as an interpreter of the dramatic action.<sup>101</sup>

Thus background music need not be regarded as an exclusively modern stage feature. The different types of Dhruvā songs were sung by the singer and the songstress who formed the chorus. The orchestra either preceded or followed the Dhruvā song. The Greek-like chorus and orchestra was called Kutapa and it supplied the background musical score to the dramatic performance. It was a concordance of song, dance and orchestra. It was used either to signify the entry or the exit of characters or to mark a change of sentiment or sequence or to mark time in case a character fell into a trance or rage on the stage. From the elaborate treatment of the topic of the Dhruvā songs by Bharata and thereafter as late as the Twelfth Century A.D., by the *Nāṭya-Darpaṇa* and by the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, we can reasonably infer that these Dhruvā songs formed a traditional musical background in the production technique of the Sanskrit plays.

Apart from this conventional role in the production of a Sanskrit drama, music had also a considerable dramatic value as can be gathered from the study of the existing plays. Out of the list of about 59 plays mentioned by Wilson in his *Hindu Theatre*,

97 ततो यथारसमभिनयति । मा० II

98 Keith: *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 338

99 ना. शा. IV/311 to 314

100 ना. शा. IV/315, 316

101 ना. शा. IV/285, 287



I have consulted those by Bhāsa, Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harṣa, Bhavabhūti, Viśākhadatta and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa as representative specimens.

In the selected plays we get songs sung by the Naṭī in the Prologues to *Śākuntalam* and the *Pratimā*. In the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Mālavikā sings a song and dances (II 4). In the *Vikramorvaśīyam* there are twenty Dhruvā songs which were sung. In the *Nāgānandam* Malayavati sings a song to the accompaniment of a lute played by herself (I 13). In the romantic comedy *Ratnāvalī* the Ceṭī Madanikā sings three songs successfully (I 13, 14, 15). In the *Śākuntalam* Hamsapadikā rehearses a song in the music hall (V 1). In the VIII Act of *Mṛcchakaṭikam* Śakāra sings some songs not mentioned in the text. Besides these unquestionable songs there are songs sung by the Court bards (Vaitālikas), either by a single bard as in the *Vikramorvaśīyam* (II 1), the *Nāgānandam* (II 13) the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (II 12), the *Ratnāvalī* (I 23) or by a pair of bards as in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* (III 20) or in the *Śākuntalam* (V 7, 8).

Three questions arise here as to whether a male or a female person rendered these songs, whether they were sung on or off the stage, and what was the language of their composition.

Now all these songs except that by Śakāra and the bards are sung by female characters. As regards the Dhruvā songs in the *Vikramorvaśīyam*, I presume that they were also sung by a songstress, a Śyāmā. Ignoring Śakāra's farcical musical venture and the professional bardic songs we can reasonably say that the song in the Sanskrit drama was a feminine credit. Hence Bharata says that women have a natural talent for song.<sup>55</sup>

Now out of these, all the panegerical musical pieces by the bards, as well as the Dhruvās in the *Vikramorvaśīyam* were sung behind the curtain. So also the song by Hamsapadikā. But Malayavati, Mālavikā, Madanikā, the Naṭīs in the *Śākuntalam* and the *Pratimā* and Śakāra do sing on the stage. Hence I submit that it will not be correct to maintain that all the songs in the Sanskrit Dramas were rendered off the stage. It is true that this evidence is slight in quantity but surely substantial in quality as all these song hits had a significant dramatic purpose.

As to the language of the text of these songs the following are in the Sanskrit language viz. *Nāgānandam* (I-13), *Mālavikāgnimitram* (II-4), *Vikramorvaśīyam* (IV-56). Besides all the bardic songs in the selected plays are in Sanskrit. Rest of the songs are in Prakrit and mainly in Māhārāṣṭrī. So it cannot be urged that there were no songs composed in Sanskrit. It is true that Prakrit due to its preponderance of liquid sounds and perspicuity of diction and paucity of compounds lends itself more fluently to vocal rendering.

But it will be seen that Sanskrit was not taboo as a language of musical composition. The ravishing beauty of Rebhila's song is found in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* (III-6).

Turning from the song to the musical instruments we find the *Viṇā* (lute) mentioned in the *Nāgānandam*, the *Svapnavāsavadattam*, the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*, the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* and the *Cāru-datta*. The blowing of the conches is heard in the *Mālatī-Mādhavam* (Act VI). The *Mṛdaṅga* is heard in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Act I). Various types of drums and flutes are mentioned in the third Act of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. Out of these instruments the *Viṇā* seems to be the most favourite. In the *Nāgānandam* Malayavati plays on the lute and sings a song (I-13). In the *Svapnavāsavadattam* and the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* Udayana's pet lute *Ghoṣavatī* plays a significant dramatic role. In the third Act of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* Śarvilaka is impressed by the array of musical instruments seen in Cārudatta's house and exclaims that it seems to be the house of a drama-teacher.

Out of these, except for the lute played by Malayavati, all other musical instruments are played behind the curtain. *Ghoṣavatī* is exhibited on the stage in the *Svapnavāsavadattam* and the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* but not played, I presume, except by an imaginative actor. It is presumed that all other musical instruments were played by the orchestra.

In Sanskrit dramas we get references in praise of the musical instruments. In the *Svapnavāsavadattam* (Act-VI) the *Nāgānandam* (Act I), the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* and the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* (Act III), the lute is praised as being melodious to the ear. In the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* Cārudatta calls it as a jewel not born out of the ocean. *Bhāsa* describes it as a co-wife arrogating the love of the lover.<sup>102</sup> The impact of lute-playing is described exquisitely in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* (III-6) and the *Nāgānandam* (I-14). King Udayana is said to curb the wild elephants by playing on his lute. The description of the playing on the *Puškara* (tabor) is perfectly given in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (I-21).

As to the dance representation on the stage we find the two *Ceṭis* and the *Vidūṣaka* *Vasantaka* dancing in the *Ratnāvalī* (Act I). Thereafter in the fourth Act *Vasantaka* dances a victory dance to celebrate the victory of his royal friend over the king of the *Kosalas* and again a dance of delight at the union of the Hero and the Heroine. In the *Mālavikāgnimitram* *Mālavikā* dances on the stage (Act II). In the fourth Act of the *Vikramorvaśīyam* the king dances on the stage (verses 12, 24, 31, 58). The dance was an unmistakable

102 स्त्रीणां तु कान्तरतिविघ्नकरीसपत्नी । चारुदत्ते Act III

ble feature of the romantic comedy. The popular dance seems to be *carcarī*.

Concededly, *Mālavikā*, the *Ceṭis*, *Vasantaka* and king *Purūravas* dance on the stage. As to the dance numbers associated with *Anyokti* Stanzas in the IV Act of the *Vikramorvaśīyam*, however, there seems to be a lack of unanimity among scholars. Dr. Raghavan is of the view that these stanzas were not interpreted by a dance on the stage and were only sung behind the curtain.<sup>84</sup> While Prof. H. D. Velankar has opined that "These artists may have normally remained behind the curtain, appearing on the stage through the wings only at the time of singing and dancing, but otherwise leaving the king alone on the stage."<sup>103</sup> Respectfully I am inclined to accept the latter view for two reasons. Dancers formed part of the personnel of the ancient dramatic companies. The chief of the dancers was called the *Taurīśa*. Hence no producer would ignore such an excellent opportunity to present dancing on the stage. Secondly, the fact that the king is also led to dance on the stage on some occasions also persuades me to accept this view, as stage-dancers must have suggested dancing to him, possibly, as a relief to his love-lorn condition.

Besides these express dance situations supported by stage directions one can infer that the following *inter alia* must have been used by a resourceful theatrical producer as possible dance situations. *Śakuntalā*'s annoyance at the boisterous bee (I-13), *Vasantasenā* being chased by *Śakāra* (*Mṛcchakaṭīkam* Act-I), the *Kanduka-Kriḍā* of *Padmāvati* (*Svapnavāsavadattam* Act II), the maids decorating the feet of *Mālavikā* with dyes and anklets (*Mālavikāgnimitram* Act III), or *Vāsavadattā* worshipping the king (*Ratnāvalī* Act II). The dance of gods displayed by the magician in *Ratnāvalī* (IV, 11) would also lend itself to a brilliant scenic masque. The description of the perfect figure of a dancer is seen in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (II 3). In II 8 the Judge *Parivrajikā*'s appreciation of *Mālavikā*'s dance is a master piece of aesthetic judgment. Dance was so overwhelming in its influence on the Sanskrit drama that even the *Janāntīkam* (aside) was acted with a dance-gesture *Tripatākā-Kara*).

Heard melodies are sweet but those unheard are sweeter still says Keats. We have references to unseen dances and unheard music in the course of dialogue as when the King describes the citizens of *Kauśāmbī* dancing with gay abandon in the *Madana-Mahotsava* (*Ratnāvalī* Act I), or when in the *Mṛcchakaṭīkam* (Act IV) *Maitreya* describes to the *Ceṭi* the girls dancing in *Vasantasenā*'s palace. The

powerful hang over of Rebhila's soulful music on Cārudatta is irresistible though we do not hear the singer. The spring songs are mentioned in the *Śākuntalam* (Act VI).

The Saṅgita Śālā or the Music Hall is not unknown to the Sanskrit drama. Mālavikā dances in the music hall. Cārudatta's drawing room as gathered from Śarvilaka's observations (Act III) resembles a music hall with its display of musical instruments. Music hall was an essential apartment in the royal palaces. We get frequent references to it. *Ratnāvalī* (Act III), *Śākuntalam* (Act V) and *Mālatī-Mādhavam* (Act II) etc.

The music hall brings in its wake the consideration of several technical terms of music which we come across in the Sanskrit plays. *Carcari* is a musical dance number. It plays a vital role in the IV Act of the *Vikramorvaśīyam*. In the *Ratnāvalī* (Act I) the Ceṭṣi poke fun at Vasantaka as he confuses a *Dvipadī* song with a *Carcari*. We hear the *Dvipadī* a kind of Prakrit composition set to music, in the *Ratnāvalī* (I, 13, 14, 15) and also in the *Vikramorvaśīyam* (Act IV). Mālavikā sings a *Catuṣpada Vastu* (song of four lines-Act II 4). *Kākalī* is a song in sweet low tone. Malaya-vatī sings a *Kākalī* in the *Nāgānandam* (I 13). In the *Mr̥cchakaṭīkam* (Act III) the Vidūṣaka ridicules a male singer singing a *Kākalī* as being as detestible as the chanting of incantations by an old Purohita sporting a garland of stale flowers. *Kākalī* was essentially a song for a female artist. *Upagānam* was the preparatory Ālāpas before singing a song as done by Mālavikā (II 4). The initial blandishments on a musical instrument like a Puṣkara were called the *mārjanā* (*Mālavikāgnimitram* I 21). We get express reference to the *Prāveśikī* and the *Akṣepikī* Dhruvās in the Fourth Act of *Vikramorvaśīyam*. The Madhyama Svara is mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (I 21). The three kinds of tempo (laya) viz. fast, middling and slow are mentioned in the *Nāgānandam* (I 14). This very verse is repeated by Harṣa himself in his *Priyadarśikā* (III 10). The term Rāga is not found by me in any of the Sanskrit dramas used in the sense of peculiar arrangement of musical notes. It is suggested that the term Dhātu in the above verse means a Rāga. It is difficult to agree. Dhātu means a mode of playing on a musical instrument.<sup>104</sup> In the *Nāgānandam* the *mandra* (bass) and the *tāra* (treble) notes in the gamut are referred to in I 12. *Calitam* is a kind of dance seen in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act II). According to Kāṭayavema it is a kind of dance wherein a dancer gives expression to her own sentiments under the guise of giving vent to some past incident. The musical terms cited here are only illustrative and not exhaustive.

The question of the place of music in Sanskrit drama can now be examined as to its existence, extent and execution. From the above discussion, little doubt will be left as to the unmistakable existence of music in all its threefold varieties of song, dance and orchestra in the production and composition of a Sanskrit play.

On the production side the Sanskrit stage was cheered up by a variety of Dhruvā songs sung to the tune of the orchestra. The theatre responded with the jingling of the anklets of the danseuse which served as the background music like the overtures of a modern circus show. Music had a literary value too. The songs of Mālavikā and Malayavati, of Madanikā and Hamsapadikā and of the Naṭīs and the dances of Ratnāvali, Mālavikā and the Ceṭīs thrilled the audience. The comic dance of the Vidūṣaka between the pair of Ceṭīs in the Ratnāvali made them laugh heartily. Malayavati plays on a lute and sings the Kākali song. We have a dramatic use of the lute Ghoṣavati in the *Svapna-Vāsavadattam* and the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyana*.

When we turn to the question of the extent of vocal music on the Sanskrit stage, we are treading on a controversial ground. The Dhruvās were sung both in the Pūrvaraṅga and in the course of the performance of the play. The Nāndī and the Bharatavākyam were recited. As to the verses appearing in the text of the drama I submit that all the verses were not set to music except for those which carry a stage direction *gāyati* i.e. to be sung as in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (II 4) *Nāgānandam* (I 13), *Ratnāvali* (I 13, 14, 15). In this connection, the distinction between the words *paṭhati* (recites) and *gāyati* (sings) must not be lost sight of. Even Bharata was conscious of it.<sup>105</sup> These verse-songs are either in the Prakrit and mostly in the Māhārāṣṭrī dialect but sometimes we get them in Sanskrit as in *Nāgānandam* (I 13), the *Vikramorvaśīyam* (IV 56), not to mention the songs of the bards which are all in Sanskrit.

As to the execution of music in the Sanskrit drama, we may safely say it was spectacular in variety and rich in content. All the actors were gifted musicians including the hero and the heroine. They were perfect in rhythm.<sup>106</sup> Ladies were believed to have a natural talent for vocal music, while men were good at recitation.<sup>55</sup> The Sanskrit dramas were essentially meant for stage performance and were not what Dobrée calls closet dramas, literary pieces to be enjoyed in the arm chair. In the days of Rājaśekhara three Sanskrit plays were performed on successive days like the modern dramatic festivals.

105 ना. शा. 32 / 503, 506

106 ना. शा. 31 / 485

In the English Drama we have plays i.e. dialogue dramas, operas, i.e. musical dramas, and ballets i.e. dance dramas. There is no sufficient evidence to infer that the Sanskrit drama had any such pure operas or ballets in the English Dramatic tradition. It is true that the performance of a Nāṭikā scintillated with music and dance and that the music played the dominant note. But a Nāṭikā like the *Ratnāvalī* had also prose dialogue and hence it cannot be classified as a pure opera. The same remarks hold good for the ballets. In a ballet the action is unfolded through the medium of postures and gesticulations. In my panel of the Sanskrit Dramas I could not find any pure ballet, though there are dance sequences as in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* etc. But there is no unmixed dance drama in Sanskrit to my knowledge. It is true that there used to be an auxiliary dance on the stage to heighten the sentiments as in the fourth Act of the *Vikramorvaśiyam*. It will be seen that the Sanskrit drama made use of the elements of songs, dance and instrumental music freely and richly in both its production and literary aspects and hence we may say that a Sanskrit Drama partook of the characteristics of a play, an opera and a ballet rolled into one. It was a synthesis of the three.

Having discussed the place of music in the Sanskrit Drama let us consider the purpose of music in drama. Plato said music is a moral law. It gives a soul to the universe, wings to the mind, flight to the imagination, a charm to sadness, gaiety and life to everything else. Bharata regards music to be as sacred as the Vedic Mantras.<sup>107</sup> The first purpose of music in drama seems to be to ward off evil and to ensure a successful performance.<sup>108</sup> Especially the music in the Pūrvaraṅga and Nāndī fulfil this purpose. The second purpose of music was to heighten the development of the Rasa. Music illuminated the performance as the stars illuminate the sky. The Dhruvā songs must hence be sung in accordance with the sentiments concerned, enjoins Bharata.<sup>109</sup> This evocative quality of music is stressed by Walt Whitman who says "all music is what awakes from you when you are reminded by the instruments". Shakespeare calls music as the food of love.<sup>110</sup> The third purpose of music is that it lends beauty and charm to drama, as the colours beautify the outline of a painter's sketch.<sup>111</sup> Bharata

107 पाठञ्च श्रुत्वा तथा चैव गानं वादित्रमेव च ।

वेदमंत्रार्थवच्चनैः समं ह्येतेद् भविष्यति ।

ना. शा. 36/26

108 ना. शा. 32 / 493

109 यथारसकृता या स्युः ध्रुवाः प्रकरणाश्रयाः ।

नक्षत्राणीव गगनं नाट्यमुद्योतयन्ति ताः ॥

ना. शा. 32 / 487

110 *Twelfth Night*, Act. I.

111 See foot note 1

says that song and instrumental music are the bed or foundation of the drama.<sup>112</sup> According to the *Daśarūpa* music is a helpful auxiliary to drama.<sup>113</sup> Thus music was used to ward off the danger from the evil spirits and to cheer up the jaded spirits of the audience by stimulating the appropriate sentiments. Music lent a beauty and charm to the performance. Finally, it conduced to the pleasure of the audience which is the aesthetic purpose of all art.

It will be half truth to say that music served only as an external embellishment to a Sanskrit Drama. Music is used for integral dramatic purposes also. It is used by play-wrights like Kālidāsa, Bhāsa and Harṣa for regaling the audience as when the Naṭī in the prologue to the *Śākuntalam* sings a song in praise of summer,<sup>114</sup> or when the Naṭī in the *Pratimā* sings a song for the autumn. The Sanskrit dramatists were aware of the impact of music on the audience and hence in order to please them at the outset some music was provided in the prologue. In the prologues to the following plays viz. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, *Ratnāvalī*, *Mṛcchakaṭīkam*, *Mālatī-Mādhavam*, *Nāgānandam*, *Veṇīśaṅhāram*, *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyana* and the *Mudrā-Rākṣasam*, the Sūtra-dhāra merely says "let us start Music", though actually no song is sung on the stage. In all these cases I presume, that these words were followed by musical overtures produced by the Kutapa. This helped a lot in focussing the attention of the audience on the stage.

Another set type of music was produced by the songs of the Vaitālikas. A bard used to sing in various measures of music or rhythms. His office was to indicate time to the king at dawn, or noon by music and song. He also celebrated the royal victory.<sup>115</sup>

Apart from this conventioned use of song as obtained in the prologue or in the bardic songs, let us consider the dramatic impact of music. Music sometimes was used for a dramatic purpose as it had an unquestionable bearing on the dramatic action.

Music was used as a medium of communication of love. Mālavikā expresses her love to the king by a song (II 4). So also the song sung by Malayavatī to the accompaniment of a lute in the *Nāgānandam* (I 13). Not only music was used as a language of love but it also helps to intensify a sentiment e.g., to air the pangs of separation. The songs and dances in the fourth Act of *Vikra-*

112 शय्यां हि नाट्यस्य वदन्ति गीतम् ।

ना. शा. 32 / 493

शय्यां हि नाट्यस्य वदन्ति वाद्यम् ॥

ना. शा. 33 / 301

113 द. रू. I. 15

114 शाकुन्तले I. 5

115 विविधेन तालेन व्यवहरन्ति इति वैतालिकाः ।

तत्तत्प्रहरयोग्यैः रागैस्तत्कालवाचिभिः ।

सरभसमेव वितालं गायन् वैतालिको भवति ॥-भावप्रकाश

*morvāṣīyam* heighten the pathetic sentiment through the string of songs and sequences of dance. Even the king Purūravas dances in the course of his lamentations.

Music was a spur to evoke past memories. The songs of Hamsa-padikā in the *Śālcuntalam*<sup>116</sup> evokes a nameless restlessness in the king on hearing the sweet musical notes coming from the music hall. Shelley said 'Music when soft voices die, vibrates in the memory'. This song leaves the King disconsolate and prepares him to regain the memory of Śakuntalā, his sylvan partner of a chance encounter. Similar evocative dramatic use of the lute Ghoṣavati is made in the Sixth Act of the *Svapnavāsavadattam*. At the sight of the lute Udayana's memories of Vāsavadattā are raked up pathetically.

Music also excites great thoughts in the King Duṣyanta on hearing the song of his one time lover, viz. the great philosophy of life that men become restive on seeing beauty and on listening to sweetness.<sup>117</sup> Copland a great American musical critic calls this kind of music as an aspect of the human spirit.

Music added to the spectacular effect on the stage. In the *Ratnāvalī* the songs of Madanikā, the dance of ceṣis who drag Vasantaka to dance added greatly to the showmanship. So also the dance of victory and of joy performed by Vasantaka. The dance and song of Mālavikā is exquisite in its scenic effect.

Here we may inquire as to why music played such a vital role in the Sanskrit Drama. One of the reasons seems to be the emotional integration of the sentiment (Rasa) and melody (Svara). According to Bharata, the sentiment formed the pith and substance of drama.<sup>118</sup> In fact Bharata is the pioneer of the Rasa theory in the Sanskrit poetics. Rasa is produced as a result of the interaction between the *vibhāvas* (determinants) *anubhāvas* (consequents) and *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* (transitory stages).<sup>119</sup> He regarded that there were eight sentiments. The *Śānta rasa* was added later by the *Daśarūpa*. The dramatic character is significantly called a Pātra as it is a medium of communication of the *rasa* to the audience.<sup>120</sup> Bharata says that the notes Sā and Re stimulate the heroic, the furious and the marvellous sentiments, while the notes Ma and Pa promote the erotic and the comic sentiments. Ga and Ni are conducive to the pathetic sentiment, while Dha excites the terrible

116 शाकुन्तले V 1

117 शाकुन्तले V 2

118 न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते ।

119 विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः ।

120 पीयते रसम् अनेन इति पात्रम् ।



and the odious sentiments.<sup>121</sup> Rasa is also intimately connected with the Laya (Tempo).<sup>122</sup> The middling tempo was suitable for the erotic and the comic, while the slow tempo fostered the pathetic sentiment. The fast tempo was appropriate to the rest of the sentiments.<sup>123</sup>

Even the suitability of the hour of performance of a play was determined by the use of music. For example, a play rich in instrumental music was to be performed in the afternoon, while a play highlighted by vocal and instrumental music was to be performed appropriately in the evening.<sup>124</sup>

It seems from Chapter XXVII of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* that dramatic competitions used to be held in the past. The assessors (Prāśnikas) included a musician (Gandharva). The ideal place for the assessors to sit was about six yards away from the stage.<sup>125</sup> We have an example of a dance test in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*. The king on the recommendation of the assessors used to award the banner to a successful actor. To ensure success Bharata enjoins the producers to concentrate on the co-ordination (Sama) of the various production values such as acting, recitation, song, instrumental music,<sup>126</sup> etc. However, Bharata seems to be a shrewd critic for he is not slow to caution the producers that excess of music must be eschewed. The imbalances of music and dance would tire the artists and the audience. Boredom can never beget true sentiment.<sup>127</sup> Shakespeare echoes the same note of circumspection,

How sour sweet music is

When time is broke and no proportion kept.<sup>128</sup>

Thus music was an indispensable ingredient of the Sanskrit Drama. Bharata's conception of the ideal dramatic performance is that which includes among other factors good instrumental music,

121 ना. शा. 29 / 1 to 4

122 छन्दोक्षरपदानां हि समत्वं यत्प्रकीर्तितम् ।  
कलाकलान्तरकृतः स लयो मानसंज्ञितः ॥

ना. शा.

123 शृंगारहास्ययोर्मध्यलयः । करुणे विलम्बितः ।  
वीररीद्राद्भुतवीभत्सभयानकेषु द्रुतः ॥

124 ना. शा. 27 / 93. 94

125 ना. शा. 27 / 74

126 ना. शा. 27 / 82

127 गीते वाद्ये च नृत्ये च विकृतेऽति प्रसंगतः ।  
खेदोभवेत्प्रयोक्तृणां प्रेक्षकाणां तथैव च ॥  
खिन्नानां रसभावेषु स्पष्टतां नोपजायते ।  
ततः शेषप्रयोगस्तु न रागजनको भवेत् ॥

ना. शा. 5 / 163, 164

128 *Richard II*, Act. V, 2.

good songs and good recitation.<sup>129</sup> He says that the best show occurs when all the factors combine.<sup>130</sup>

In the days of Bharata the Southerners were supposed to be better cultivated patrons of music than the Northerners.<sup>131</sup>

Before moving on to the conclusion, I may concede that there are some limitations governing our study of Bharata. We cannot maintain that at this distant date we know the exact meaning of all the technical terms used by him. Of course, Abhinavagupta is to Bharata what Sāyaṇa is to the Ṛgveda. However, the pitfalls in relying wholly on Sāyaṇa are too well-known. Secondly, we do not know whether Bharata continued to be an authority when Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti wrote.

In conclusion, we may state that the Sanskrit Drama was rooted in religion and music. It was born and brought up in musical atmosphere. Music had an irresistible appeal to the audience. Music had a production value as well as significant dramatic value, and hence unquestionably music was a vital element in the traditional Sanskrit Drama. Dr. Ghosh says that 'the ancient play was produced through words, gestures, postures, costumes, make-up, songs and dances of actors, and the instrumental music was played during the performance whenever necessary'.<sup>132</sup> In fine, with Cārudatta we may say that even though the notes of songs have ceased, yet we continue to hear their echoes through the corridors of time.<sup>133</sup>

129 ना. शा. 27 // 102

130 ना. शा. 27 / 104

131 ना. शा. 14 / 36

132 Dr. Man Mohan Ghosh : *Introduction to Nāṭya śāstra* p. XI.III.

133 यत्सत्यं विरतेऽपि गीतासमये गच्छामि शृण्वन्नित्थं ॥

# ANTIQUITY OF JAIN TĪRTHAÑKARAS AND BUDDHIST LITERATURE

By

BHAGCHANDRA JAIN

Jainism is believed to be a pre-Vedic religion. Jainas are referred to in early Vedic literature by the name of Vrātyas.<sup>1</sup> They are identified as the members of Śramaṇa cult which is led by Jainas. The Ṛgveda,<sup>2</sup> the oldest scripture of Hindus refer to Ṛṣabhadeva frequently. Besides, the Hindu Purāṇas<sup>3</sup> contain the accounts of his life and these tally with Jaina accounts.

Epigraphical evidence is also available to prove the historicity of Ṛṣabhadeva. The Kāyotsarga (dedication of body) Yoga pose of sitting and standing images engraved in the seals of Mohenjodaro and Harappa are identified by some scholars as Ṛṣabha images.<sup>4</sup> The ancient Hathigumpha inscriptions of king Khāravela refers to an image of Ṛṣabha which was taken away to Magadha by king Nanda.<sup>5</sup> Similar evidence is found with regard to other Tirthaṅkaras who, too, had been historical personages of immense reputation in philosophical and religious circles.<sup>6</sup>

Buddhist literature refers to Ṛṣabhadeva and some other Jaina Tirthaṅkaras which provides a field to accept an antiquity of them. It may be noted here that there was a time when European scholars

1. Vrātya āsīdiyamana eva ca prajāpati samaisyat; sa prajāpati suvarṇamāt-mānamapaśyat. Tat prājanayat. sa udatiṣṭhat, Atharvaveda, 15.1-4; Na punaretat sarva vrātyaparam pratipādanam, api tu kiñcidviltanam mahādhi-kāram, puṇyaśilam, viśvāsammānyam karmaparairbrāhmaṇair vidviṣtam vrātyamanulakṣya vacanamiti mantavyam, Śāyaṇbhāṣya. Also see Manus-mṛti, 8.39; Āryoṅkā Adideśa by Sampurnananda.

Confer; Dr. Ananda Guruge, Vidyodaya Lipi, Colombo, 1962, p. 71, where arguments are adduced to prove that Vrātyas of Eastern India were the survivals of Indus Valley Civilization.

2. *Rgveda*, 10.121.60.
3. *Viṣṇu Purāna*, Wilson's edition, p. 163. *Bhagavati Purāna* 5.3.6. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, 50; *Kūrma Purāna*, 41; *Agnipurāna*, 10; *Garuḍa Purāna*, 1.
4. Kamata Prasad, *JA*, Vol. 1. No. ii. 1935, p. 19.
5. *JBORS.*, iii. 465.
6. See for the evidence of Supārśvanātha, *JA*, Vol. xiv. No. 1. 1958. *The Yajurveda* refers to Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara, as a king and scholar who is whole-heartedly devoted to his subjects, 10. 25; Kamata Prasad establishes the historicity of Ariṣṭanemi on two grounds, (i) If the historicity of Kṛṣṇa is admitted, the same privilege cannot be denied to Ariṣṭanemi. (ii) On the basis of a certain grant found in Kathiavada, published in the *Times of India* of 19th March 1935, p. 9, and deciphered by Pranānatha. He says that this grant belonging to king Nebuchadnezzar I (1140 B.C.) or II (600 B.C.) of Babylon, which mentions Nemi, goes to prove his antiquity, *JA*, iv. iii. pp. 89-90.

regarded Jainism as a religion of medieval advent of an off-shoot of Buddhism.<sup>7</sup> Jacobi is the first scholar to establish in 1884 the antiquity of Jainism as an independent and pre-Buddhistic religion, on the data available from the Pāli Canon. He regarded Pārśvanātha as a historical person and the founder of Jainism. But he also remarked: "But there is nothing to prove that Pārśva was the founder of Jainism. Jaina tradition is unanimous in making Ṛṣabhā, the first Tirthaṅkara (as its founder) . . . There may be something historical in the tradition which makes him the first Tirthaṅkara."<sup>8</sup>

The Pāli Canon refers to Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta as an elder heretical teacher. It is also familiar with some characteristics of Pārśvanātha tradition. Besides, Buddhist literature mentions Ṛṣabhadeva, Ajita, Padma, Caṇḍa, Puṣpadanta, Vimāla, Dharma, and Ariṣṭanemi, the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras.

Ṛṣabhadeva is called one of the Jain Tirthaṅkaras in Chinese Buddhist literature.<sup>9</sup> *The Manjuśrīmūlakalpa*<sup>10</sup> refers to him as "Ṛṣabhā-nirgrantharūpin" and *the Dharmottara-pradīpa*<sup>11</sup> mentions him along with the name of Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra.

It may be noted here that the names and numbers of Buddhas, Paṅcāloka-buddhas and Bodhisattvas in Buddhism appear to have been influenced by the names of Jaina Tirthaṅkaras. For instance, Ajita, the name of the second Tirthaṅkara, has been given to the Paṅcāloka-buddha who lived ninety-one kappas ago.<sup>12</sup> The Vepulla Pavvata in the time of Kassapa Buddha appears to have been named after Supassa (Pāli) or Supārśva, the seventh Tirthaṅkara of Jainas. The people of Rājagaha were called Suppiya or the followers of Supassa at that time.<sup>13</sup>

Padma or Paduma, the sixth Tirthaṅkara, is a name of the eighth of the twenty-four Buddhas.<sup>14</sup> It is also a name of a Paṅcāloka-buddha to whom Anupama Thera offered some *akuli* flowers.<sup>15</sup> Paduma is also referred to by the name of Cakkavatti of eight kappas ago, a previous birth of Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja.<sup>16</sup>

7. Weber, *Indische Studien*, xvi. 210; *Jaina Itihasa Series*, No. I.P. 6; *Jainism in North India*, Introduction. Lassen adduces four points of coincidences, which, according to his opinion prove that Jainism has branched off from Buddhism, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iv. p. 763. This theory has been refuted by Jacobi. See *Jaina Sutras*, I. intro. xxi.

8. *JA*. Vol. ix. p. 163.

9. *The Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p. 184.

10. 45.27, ed. Ganapati Shastri, Trivendrum, 1920; *Buddhist Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. Nirgrantha.

11. p. 286.

12. *Theragāthā apadāna*, i. 68.

13. *Samyutta Nikāya*, ii. 192.

14. *Jātaka*, i. 36.

15. *Theragāthā Apadāna*, I. 335; *Majjhim Nikāya*, iii. 70; *Petavatthu*, 75.

16. *Apadāna*, i. 50.

Caṇḍa, the eighth Tirthaṅkara, is the name of a chief lay supporter of Śikhī Buddha.<sup>17</sup> Pupphavati is the name of Benaras in the Jātaka.<sup>18</sup> It would have been named after Puṣpadanta, the ninth Tirthaṅkara of Jainas. Vimala, a Paccekabuddha has been named after the thirteenth Tirthaṅkara by that time.<sup>19</sup> A king who lived sixty-one kappas ago, has also been called Vimala.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, Dhamma is the name of the fifteenth Tirthaṅkara of Jainas. A Bodhisattva who was born as Devaputta in a Kamāvacara Deva-world has also been referred to by this name.<sup>21</sup> In the *Milindapañha*<sup>22</sup> he is called a Yakkha.<sup>23</sup>

Ariṣṭanemi or Nemi, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara of Jainas is also referred to in Pāli literature. *The Dhammikasutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*<sup>24</sup> speaks of Aranemi as one of the six Tirthaṅkaras (Satthāre). *The Majjhima Nikāya*<sup>25</sup> refers to Ariṣṭha as one of the twenty-four Pratyekabuddhas who inhabited the Ṛṣigiri mountain. *The Dīgha Nikāya*<sup>26</sup> draws our attention to the name of "Draḍhanemi" as a Cakkavatti. In the same work there is a reference to king Ariṣṭhanemi who is called a Yakkha.<sup>27</sup> All these past references probably are to the Ariṣṭhanemi of Jaina Tirthaṅkara.

Jainism had been a prominent religion in Ceylon before Buddhism was brought there. It is therefore not unnatural if we find some places named after the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras. For instance, Ariṣṭha-pavvata is a mountain which is identified with modern Riti-gala near Habarane in the North-Central Province.<sup>28</sup> Paṇḍukābhaya lived there for seven years, awaiting an opportunity to make war on his uncles and it was near this place that he ultimately defeated them.<sup>29</sup>

Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tirthaṅkara of the Jainas, who flourished 250 years earlier than Mahāvīra or Nigaṇṭha Nātaputt at Benaras, was born to the king Aśvasena and queen Vāmā. He is

17. *Buddhavaṃsa*, xxi. 122.

18. *Jātaka*, ii. 131 ff.

19. *Majjhima Nikāya*, iii. 70; *Apadāna*, i. 107.

20. *Apadāna*, i. 205; *Theragāthā Apadāna*, i. 115.

21. *Dhammajātaka*.

22. p. 212.

23. *DPPN*, s. v. Dhamma.

24. Sunetto Mūgapakkho ca Aranemi ca Brāhmaṇo.  
Kuddālako ahu satthā Hatthipālo ca Mānavo.

Ime cha Satthāre Tiltthakare kāmesu vitarāge anekasataparivāre sasavaka-saṅghe padutthacitto akkoseyya paribhāseyya, bahum so apuññaṃ pasaveyya 'ti. A. iii. 373.

25. *Isigilisutta*.

26. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, iii. p. 60.

27. Paccesanti pakāseṇti tatola tattalā tatotlā.

Ojasi tejasī tatojasi sūro rājā Ariṣṭha Nemi. D. iii. 201.

28. *Mahāvamsa* Trans. 72. n. 3.

29. *Mahāvamsa*, x. 63-72.

said to have attained Nirvāṇa on the Sammeda Śikhara which is called the Pārśvanātha Hill.

In Pāli literature various doctrines of Jainas have been acknowledged. They belong to Pārśvanātha or Ariṣṭanemi, if not to earlier Tirthaṅkaras. Pārśvanātha was known as Purisājāniya or the distinguished man of the Aṅguttara Nikāya<sup>30</sup>. The Dharmottara-pradīpa also refers to both Pārśvanātha and Ariṣṭanemi<sup>31</sup>.

The Cātuyāmasaṃvara which is attributed to Nigaṇṭha Nāta-putta in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, is in reality a teaching of Pārśvanātha. Some Nigaṇṭhas are apparently mentioned as followers of Pārśvanātha in Pāli literature. For instance, Vappa<sup>32</sup>, Upāli<sup>33</sup>, Abhaya<sup>34</sup>, Aggivessāyana Saccaka<sup>35</sup>, Dīghatapassi<sup>36</sup>, Asibandhaka-putta Gāmini<sup>37</sup>, Deva Ninka<sup>38</sup>, Upatikkha<sup>39</sup>, Siha Senāpati<sup>40</sup> are lay followers while Sacca, Lolā, Avavādikā, Paṭacarā<sup>41</sup> etc. are lay women followers of the Pārśvanātha tradition. They had later on become the follower of Nigaṇṭha Nāta-putta.<sup>42</sup> Jacobi, therefore, says "that Pārśva was a historical person and is now admitted by all as very probable."

Mahāvīra or Nigaṇṭha Nāta-putta of Pāli literature was born in Kuṇḍagrāma (Kotiggama) of the Mahāvagga, a suburb of Vaiśālī and an important seat of the Jñātri Kṣatriyas. He was the son of Siddhārtha and Triśalā who belonged to the Jñātri Kṣatriyas. He renounced worldly enjoyment at the age of thirty without getting married<sup>43</sup> and became a Nigaṇṭha ascetic. He then underwent a course of severe bodily mortification for the next twelve years and attained omniscience.

The Pāli Canon does not mention anything of the early life of Mahāvīra, but refers to the period of his mission as a religious teacher. He was called "Nigaṇṭha" in the sense that he is free from all bonds, and was called Nāta-putta because Nāta or Nāya or Jñātri was the name of his clan.<sup>44</sup>

30. A. i. 290; ii. 115, quoted by J. C. Jain in *The Life in Ancient India*, p. 19; also see *Kalpasūtra* 6.149; Schubring, *Die Lehre Der Jainas*, p. 24. Jacobi, *SBE*. xiv. pp. intro. xiv-xxi; Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I. p. 173.

31. p. 286.

32. A. ii. 198 ff.

33. M. i. 371 ff.

34. M. i. 392 ff.

35. M. i. 237 ff.; NA. i. 450.

36. M. i. 371 ff.

37. S. iv. 312 ff.

38. Ninkha (Nika) is a Deva who visits the Buddha in the company of several other Devas and utters a verse in praise of Nigaṇṭha Nāta-putta.

Juguechi tapako bhikkhu cātuyāma susamvuto.

Nittham sutam ca ācikkham na hi nūna kibbsi siyā.

39. *Mahāvagga*.

40. S. i. 65. f.

41. J. iii. 1.

42. M. i. 371 ff.

43. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition Mahāvīra is said to have been married.

44. *SnA*. ii. 423.

As Gotama is generally referred to as the "Buddha", "Jina" came to be used as the popular name of ᅅᅅabha and other Tīrthaᅅkaras, and their adherents began to be called "Jainas". The Pāli Nikāyas mention "Nigaᅅᅅha" in place of Jainas (Amhākam ganthānakilesa palibujjhanakilesa natthi, kilosaganthirahita mayaᅅ ti evaᅅ vaditāya laddhānamavasena Nigaᅅᅅho)<sup>45</sup>. The term "Nigaᅅᅅha" for a Jaina came to be used perhaps along with the origin of Jainism itself.

The Pāli Canon is supposed to be written about 2300 years back. The teachings and data of Jainism we find there can be understood of even earlier than this period since those accounts are referred to in them. The concept of Paccekabuddhas in Buddhism was gradually developed on imitation of Jaina ideology, as we have already seen, which paves a way to ponder over the theory.

45. MA. i. 423; Cf. Mv. i. 113. 5; Mahāvyutpatti, 3550; Sp. 276. 3; Divyāvadāna, 143. 12; AS. i. 231. 5. LV. 380. 12; Bodhisatvabhūmi, 246.6; Cf. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 300. The Dharmottarapradīpa and the Tattvasaᅅgraha refer to Nigaᅅᅅha Nātaputta as Vardhamāna.

# A NOTE ON CĀRVĀKA VIEWS

referred to in the  
SURASUNDARĪCARIA AND NĀṆAPANCAMĪKAHĀO

By  
K. V. APTE

The Cārvāka or Lokāyata philosophy is a very important chapter in Indian Philosophy. The Cārvāka view must have much appealed to most people who are generally extroverts and are usually tempted by the promise of quick happiness in this very world and life, as it emphasises the materialistic outlook. Consequently, in the philosophical field, the Cārvāka thinkers must have proved themselves to be formidable foes to other philosophers who insisted on the introspectional attitude, and believed in the Karma philosophy, the next world and the rest.

Unfortunately, no original work treating of the views of this materialistic school of India is available at present. But scholars like Dakshinranjana Shastri in his *A Short History of Materialism and Hedonism*, D. Chattopadhyaya in his *Lokāyata*, and S. Athavale in his *Cārvāka : History and Philosophy (in Marathi)* have collected bits of information about the views said to be held by the Cārvākas. In fact, many references to Cārvāka view and philosophy are found in Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina literature—religious or philosophical and secular. Particularly, Jaina literary works often mention the Cārvāka views as those of the Nāstikas. The works referred to above do not make special references to such Jaina works. An attempt therefore is made in this short note to collect the Cārvāka views as mentioned in two Jaina poetic works, *Surasundarīcarīa* and *Nāṇapancamīkahāo*.

*The Surasundarīcarīa* was written by a Jaina sage Dhaneśvara belonging to the eleventh century of Vikrama Saṁvat (See: Sanskrit Introduction to *Surasundarīcarīa*, P. 29). In this work, as the name suggests, Surasundarī is the heroine. One day, we are told, a female ascetic well versed in Nāstika philosophy came to Surasundarī, offered her blessings and started to lecture on the Cārvāka views. The author does not specifically state that she is explaining the Cārvāka or Lokāyata opinions. But from her statements (Sura. XII. 44-52) it is very easy to understand that she is mentioning the views that are ascribed to the Cārvākas. The points of Cārvāka philosophy she mentions are given in the following paragraphs:—

(i) There is in this world no other means of knowledge except Perception (Sura XII. 47ab).



(ii) There is no substance, namely, soul apart from the body (Sura XII. 46ab). For, like the horn of an ass, the soul is not apprehended with the means of knowledge, namely, perception (Sura XII. 46cd). And even if other means of knowledge are assumed, they cannot prove the existence of the self (Sura XII. 47cd). For example, inference. In this world, inference proceeds from and is based on Perception; and inference too does not intimate the existence of soul (Sura XII. 48ab). Moreover, there is no sign (*liṅga*), i. e. middle term in the syllogism to infer the soul, because the latter is beyond the range of sensual perception (Sura XII. 48cd).

(iii) The so-called soul is really a mere combination or amalgamation of the group of five (great) elements; and when the elements disintegrate, the soul exists no more; now, in the absence of the soul, how can there be any next world (Sura XII. 50)? In fact, there is nothing else [like the next world—either heaven or hell except this world (Sura XII. 44 cd), where the soul finds itself at present.].

(iv) In order to secure the next world, observance of good conduct, of celibacy, etc., very difficult to put into practice, is practised by fools only who have ruined themselves and who have ruined others also (Sura XII. 50-51).

(v) Those wretched people who shave their head and face (i. e. become ascetics) for the sake of attaining the next world are indeed deceived of sensual pleasures, by clever rogues (*dhutta*) (Sura XII. 45).

(vi) In order to deceive people, the clever rogues have composed various scriptures (or, religious or philosophical works—*suttha*); but how can they be proved or established as the wise persons do not accept them to be authoritative?

(vii) Hence, leaving aside the distinction whether things are good or bad, approachable or non-approachable, right or wrong, enjoyable or non-enjoyable (*gammāgama-vibhāga*), enjoy the sensual objects (Sura XII. 52 ab). Casting off doubt, eat tasty flesh and drink wine (Sura XII. 52 cd). Thus, the desired things are to be enjoyed, according to one's own will (Sura XII. 44 ab).

Let us now consider the *Nāṇapancamīkahāo*. *Nāṇapancamīkahāo* is composed by the Jaina monk Maheśvarasūri who is not later than Vikrama Saṃvat 1109 (See: Introduction to *Nāṇapancamīkahāo*, P, 7). This work is a collection of ten stories intended to point out the importance of the vow of *Nāṇapancamī*. The tenth story deals with a person named Bhavissayatta. Once, we are told, Bhavissayatta sees a Jaina sage and points out to him that some disputants hold peculiar views (Nāṇa X. 303-311), mentions them and then requests him to preach the (correct) religion which will disprove such views. He further says that such views make

people Nāstika (*jāyai nāhittam*). This shows that Bhavissayatta has referred to some Nāstika views. And the latter are the same as are said to be held by the Cārvākas. These views are as follows:—

(i) Whatever is apprehended by perception is true or real; and the rest, i. e. whatever is not so apprehended is untrue or false (Nāṇa X. 303). Whatever in this world is separated by time, etc. (*kālāi-vavahiya*) is exactly (unreal) like the horn of a hare, as it is not apprehended by sense-organs (Nāṇa X. 304).

(ii) There is indeed no soul or self apart from the five (great) elements; consciousness is in the elements themselves (as if it is their power) (Nāṇa X. 305).

(iii) Even if soul is assumed to exist, it is said, it is either released (*mutta*) or otherwise (i. e. bound). Here we say: The former is clearly intimated by perception; but how is the latter reasonably proved (Nāṇa X. 309)? How is the released soul connected with action in this world? How can the released soul go to a place at the end, i. e., top (in Jainism, a released soul rises upwards and reaches the top of the world) of the world, when it is free from action (Nāṇa X. 310)?

(iv) The result of fasting and the rest is only to remove indigestion; and initiation (into monkhood) in case of foolish people is laid down only for collecting or begging food (Nāṇa X. 306).

(v) Installation of gods (images), concentration or meditation, recital or study of scriptures (*sattha*) and extreme *nihūḍana* (the meaning of this word is not clear), etc. are like sport of a child or a fool (*bāla*), as there is no next world. And as there is no next world in fact, (pious acts like giving) gifts, etc. are useless (Nāṇa X. 307-308).

(vi) Thus understanding the matter, maintain this cage-like body with pleasure, or have the physical happiness; for, there is no return, to this world, of the body, when it is reduced to<sup>1</sup> ashes (Nāṇa X. 311).

After a perusal of the Cārvāka views as found in *Surasundarī-carīa* and *Nāṇapañcamīkahāo*, we can note the following points:—

(i) The Cārvākas have limited themselves to this empirical life only. It is really eat-drink-and-enjoy philosophy of life.

(ii) From ethical point of view, the doctrine of action and consequently of the next world are discarded.

(iii) Naturally, any reality beyond or underlying the world is not admitted.

Another important point one can note is this:—Barring a few minor modifications here and there, the Cārvāka philosophy has remained more or less static through so many years.

1. Compare the oft-quoted line—*Bhasmībhūtasya dehasya punarāgamanam kutaḥ*.

# THE DRAVIDIAN PROBLEM

By

STEPHEN FUCHS

Every nation has its myths of a glorious beginning and Golden Age. These myths are much cherished and with great reluctance abandoned long after history has proved them unfounded or untrue. Thus the Germans were used to hold on to the myth of a Nordic origin of their ancestors. The Japanese believed that they were descended from the Sun. And in South India it is still a widely undisputed dogma that the Dravidians had arrived in India at least 1500 years before the Aryans and at one time held sway over the whole of India. Theirs was a culture and literature far older and superior to that of the Aryans.

However, the findings of recent archaeological research have cast serious doubts on the truth of such myths. This holds good also for the question of Dravidian origins.

In 1947 Sir Mortimer Wheeler carried out excavations in the ruins of the ancient town of Isila at the foot of the Brahmagiri, a mountain in Mysore State.<sup>1</sup> He found that the lowest levels of the site belonged to a primitive Neolithic culture. Its typical artefact was the stone axe of the pointed-butt type with polished cutting edge and oval section. Its pottery was of a very crude, hand-made type. The people of this culture must have been primitive shifting cultivators who kept pigs and fowls and probably also domesticated cattle. Very few implements of copper or bronze were found. It is therefore hard to associate the Dravidians with this type of culture. In fact, wherever excavations on such a level have been made in South India, a similar primitive Neolithic stone-age culture was discovered. It lasted apparently well into the first millennium B.C.

At Isila as well as in other sites, for instance that excavated by B. Subbarao in Bellary District, the Neolithic phase was overlaid by a civilization on a much higher level of cultural achievement. There is a wide gap between this second phase and the Neolithic culture preceding it. This second phase is called a Megalith Culture, because its most striking feature is the custom of burying the dead, after excarnation, in or below stone cists, so-called dolmens, often surrounded by stone circles. Other important traits of this second phase are the existence of wheel-turned brown and black

1. M. Wheeler (1947/8), p. 185.

pottery, and the knowledge and use of iron. It is significant that in the Megalith Culture the iron implements follow immediately the lithic ones, without the usual intermediate stage of copper or bronze implements.

This Megalith Culture can be found all over central South India, south of the river Krishna<sup>2</sup>. The number of megaliths in this area is amazingly high and goes into many thousands. They are of various types, but most striking are the so-called "port-holed cists", box-shaped dolmens with a round hole in the front stone slab, the so-called "soul-hole". Some of these cists stand on the surface, but most of them are sunk more or less deeply into the ground. Often they are surrounded by large boulders placed in a wide circle.

Megaliths can be found in many other regions of India, in Assam as well as in Central India. But these latter megaliths are different in shape and function and owe their existence to conceptions obviously at variance to those associated with the culture of the megalithic tombs in South India.

The fact of the wide divergence between the Megalith Culture and the Neolithic one preceding it convinced Wheeler that this new phase could not have grown gradually and slowly on the spot, but must have been imported by a wave of immigrants from a region outside of South India. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf went a step further. He pointed out that the area covered by megalithic tombs was roughly identical with that inhabited by the Dravida-speaking peoples<sup>3</sup>. The immense number of such tombs in South India would suggest that the megalith builders had come in large numbers. They brought along a superior form of culture, for the use of iron and the potter's wheel are proofs of higher sophistication. As it is not likely that immigrants of such a superior culture adopted the language of the earlier primitive population, this would imply that it was they who brought the Dravidian language to South India. There is no other possibility of explaining the existence of the Dravidian languages in India. Had the megalith builders spoken a different language, the disappearance of this language in a few hundred years and the rapid expansion and literary bloom of the Dravidian languages in early historical times would be a complete mystery. Indeed, the coincidence between the distribution of megalithic tombs of the South Indian type and the Dravidian languages speaks clearly in favour of the correlation: Iron-age megalith builders—Dravidian speakers.<sup>4</sup>

2. M. Wheeler (1947/8), pp. 300 ff.

3. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (1955), p. 163. We cannot speak of a Dravidian 'race', as Dravidian languages are spoken by populations belonging to various races.

4. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (1955), p. 163.

This assumption is well supported by the dating of the megalithic site at Isila and elsewhere. In the immediate neighbourhood of Isila three rock inscriptions of King Ashoka were found which he had addressed to the headmen of the town. These rock inscriptions prove that about the middle of the third century B.C. this town belonged to the Mauryan empire. The Mauryan dominion over Isila consequently must have been contemporaneous with at least a part of the local Megalith Culture. For it is most unlikely that King Ashoka addressed his edicts to primitive shifting cultivators. The addressees must have been headmen of a town of some importance in the Mauryan empire. The phase following that of the Megalith Culture, on the other hand, which belongs to the so-called Andhra Culture, does not fit into the period of King Ashoka's rule; it can be dated by finds of Roman and Sātavāhana coins as belonging into the first century B.C.

Thus in Brahmagiri at least the Megalith Culture must at the latest have begun around 300 B.C. It is of course possible that megalithic sites exist in South India which are earlier than those of Brahmagiri. However, few of the dolmens have been examined and consequently little is known about the beginning and duration of the Megalith Culture as a whole. Certainly there must have been considerable overlapping of cultures, the Neolithic Culture surviving long into the time of the Megalith Culture, and the latter again into the Andhra Culture.

Having established the historical fact that in the time of the Mauryan empire the Megalith Culture flourished at least at Brahmagiri, it is easy to find evidence from other sources that during the same time Dravidian dynasties ruled in South India. From Ashoka's inscriptions it is well known that around the middle of the third century B.C. the Dravidian dynasties of the Cholas, Pandyas and Keralas ruled in South India. The kingdom of the Pandyas might have existed already earlier, in the end of the fourth century B.C., because it is mentioned by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta, the grandfather of King Ashoka. Archaeologically no other culture is known in South India but that of the megalith builders which was sufficiently politically advanced to have rulers like the Pandyas and Cholas.

Fürer-Haimendorf advances additional reasons for the comparatively late arrival of the Dravidians in South India.<sup>5</sup> He states, for once, that the Dravidian languages in South India are still closely connected, thus their division cannot be very ancient. Then, the close integration and compactness of the Dravidian language group fits the assumption of a comparatively recent Dravidian ex-

5. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (1955), pp. 165-6.

pansion. If the Dravidians of today were the remnants of ancient Dravidian populations, which once occupied the whole of India and in the course of a process of attrition were gradually pushed southwards by victorious Aryans, one would expect their languages to comprise a large number of splinter groups and to show secondary amalgamations of fragments thrown together in the general southward retreat. But nothing of the kind is to be seen; all the Dravidian languages are closely related, and appear rather as the branches of a group still in a state of organic growth than the remnants of a once larger complex.

It is true that Dravidian languages are spoken in eastern Central India, even in Bihar and in the Ganges Valley, but the speakers of these Dravidian languages are invariably aboriginal tribes, such as the Maler and Oraons, tribes which certainly were never of Dravidian stock, but adopted these languages after giving up their original manner of speech. Moreover, their dialects, as also the dialects of the Gonds and Khonds in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, are akin to modern Dravidian languages and show few ancient features.

Fürer-Haimendorf further points out that the early Vedic scriptures do not mention the Dravidas (Dramilas). The name *nishada* (noseless) used for the indigenous hostile population of northern India is certainly a misnomer for the South Indian Dravidians. Later scriptures describe them as a people living in the South, prosperous, on a high level of civilization, and good sea-farers. On the other hand, old Dravidian literature similarly is silent about the Aryans. No mention can be found about a retreat or a war of attrition with the Aryans. This would suggest that the Aryans did not meet any Dravidians in North India when they first settled in North India and gradually advanced towards the Ganges Valley. Even if the Dravidians arrived in India by the same route, centuries later, they must have missed the Aryans completely, because they advanced along the western coast southwards, while the Aryans had progressed in a south-eastern direction. And as the number of Aryans cannot have been very high, perhaps much less than a hundred thousand,<sup>6</sup> it was easy to miss them on the immense expansion of the North Indian plains.

If the early Dravidians were immigrants, as we have tried to prove so long, the question now arises from which country did they come and by what route. So far linguists have not been able to ascribe the Dravidian languages to any known language group or to tell us where they came into existence. Nor are many traces left of the route by which they arrived in South India. The only

6. R. Heine-Geldern (1964), p. 195.

indication of the route which the Dravidians might have taken on their migration to South India is the fact that the Brahuīs in Baluchistan have many Dravidian elements in their language.<sup>7</sup>

It is significant that among them as well as among other tribes in the region customs have survived which are obviously of megalithic character. Even in this century monuments of megalithic type were erected in the region of Quetta. It is also very significant that W. A. Fairservis discovered a large megalithic site with port-holed cists of the South Indian type at Edith Shahr near Bela in Baluchistan.<sup>8</sup> From somewhere near this region the megalith builders must consequently have started their migration in the middle of the first millenium B.C., wandered along the Indus southwards and, as Fürer-Haimendorf assumes, embarked from some place at the mouth of the Indus sailing along the coast until they reached the South. In the assumption of a sea-route he follows D. H. Gordon.<sup>9</sup>

R. Heine-Geldern, however, another Austrian anthropologist, believes that the megalith builders could very well have advanced towards South India through Gujarat and the Deccan.<sup>10</sup> The absence of megalithic tombs in these provinces, he asserts, cannot be used as an objection against the probability of this migration route, because, contrary to a general assumption, just in prehistoric and protohistoric times migrant peoples have often covered immense distances in very short times, especially if the regions through which they passed were scantily populated and politically not strongly organized. Barnett, however, does mention an old tradition in Tamilnad according to which Gujarat and the Deccan had once been Dravidian countries.<sup>11</sup> This statement is supported by an observation by Fürer-Haimendorf that an overlapping of the diametrically opposed North Indian and South Indian kinship and marriage systems took place among the Marathi-speaking populations. These kinship and marriage systems contain a strong substratum of southern Dravidian systems which are now overlaid by the northern Aryan kinship and marriage organization.

Recently D. D. Kosambi has reported the existence of megalithic monuments in the Deccan, in the neighbourhood of Poona.<sup>12</sup> However, he omits giving a more detailed description of them and saying whether they also contained tombs as in South India. If they resembled the South Indian megaliths the possible route of

7. R. Caldwell (1956), p. 633.

8. W. A. Fairservis (1961), pp. 23-29; see also: M. Wheeler (1947/8), p. 301.

9. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (1955), p. 164.

10. R. Heine-Geldern (1964), p. 190.

11. L. D. Barnett (1921), p. 593.

12. D. D. Kosambi (1967), pp. 112, 114.

the Dravidians on their migration to South India would be confirmed. Megaliths of the southern type have also been reported from sites near Nagpur and in the South Mirzapur District. But unfortunately these megaliths in the north-western coastal regions have now disappeared without trace. The relative scarcity of megalithic tombs in the north western coastal regions would not be surprising, for there suitable stone material would be lacking. And the disappearance of Dravidian elements in their language could easily be explained through the strong Aryanization to which the population of these tracts was exposed for many centuries.

The objection that in contemporary Indian literature there is no mention of any invasion of such a people as the Dravidians were is, according to Heine-Geldern, of little consequence because in the first millenium B.C. these regions through which the Dravidians must have advanced were outside the Aryan sphere of influence and consequently did not receive the attention of Indian literature. It is a well-known fact that not even the invasion of India by Alexander the Great was found worthy of comment in Indian literature.

Where the megalith builders learned the manufacture and use of iron implements is difficult to say. But since N. R. Banerjee has proved by his excavation at Ujjain<sup>13</sup> that already in the eighth century B.C. iron was known in this region of India, the megalith builders could well have learned the use of iron on their migration through Malwa. (Likewise it is now assumed that they also learned to form their peculiar type of pottery in India, and did not bring it along from abroad.) Banerjee suggests that a connection existed between the South Indian technique of fashioning iron and that of Baluchistan found on burial sites in cairns. He assumes that the knowledge of iron technique reached South India around 700 B.C., a date which would fit fairly well into the most likely time of the arrival of the Dravidians in South India. Heine-Geldern, however, believes that Banerjee's dating is too early: the abundance of iron in the megalithic tombs and the complete absence of any weapons and tools made of bronze or copper suggest a later date.<sup>14</sup> He ventures the proposition that the Dravidians were started on their migration to South India by the conquest of Baluchistan and southern Sind under Darius, King of the Persians, around, or shortly before, 500 B.C.

Fürer-Haimendorf, further, rejects the traditional theory according to which the Dravidians abandoned North India because they had to yield to the warlike Aryans when they poured into

13. R. Heine-Geldern (1964), p. 191; N. R. Banerjee (1963), p. 180.

14. R. Heine-Geldern (1964), p. 191.



India. He asserts that there is no evidence that at any time a Dravidian-speaking population resided in North India. But this assertion of Fürer-Haimendorf met with strong opposition.<sup>15</sup> His opponents point out that linguists have discovered old Dravidian influences in the Indo-Aryan languages of India, especially in Sanskrit, not only in their vocabulary, but also in their phonetics and in several other structural features. However, most of these influences appear for the first time only in the early classical literature, when the Aryans had already advanced into the Ganges Valley, but had not yet spread all over northern India. In fact, in later Sanskrit literature, comparatively few Dravidian words seem to have been adopted.<sup>16</sup>

This implies that the Dravidian influence on Sanskrit happened when the Aryans met in the Ganges Valley aboriginal tribes which spoke either Dravidian or Munda languages. For Burrow<sup>17</sup> points out that at the same time the Aryans there adopted also a number of Munda words, obviously from the Munda tribes who, coming from the East, had shortly before occupied the forests of north-eastern Central India and advanced even into the Ganges Valley. But in the same area, side by side with the Mundas, lived Dravidian-speaking tribes. In fact, they still live there. The fact of early Dravidian influences on Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages is therefore no proof of the presence of the Dravidians proper in North India. The Maler and Oraons from whom the early Aryans very probably adopted their Dravidian words and grammatical structures have a tradition that they had originally lived in South India, more exactly in the Carnatic. These tribes have also a number of cultural traits which they share with South Indian peoples.<sup>18</sup>

Fürer-Haimendorf's assertion that the presence of Dravidians proper in the North of India cannot be proved is therefore still valid, and Heine-Geldern's laboured assumption that the Harappans were an earlier invasion of Dravida-speaking peoples need not be taken seriously. Moreover, until the Harappa script is deciphered we have no right whatever to assume that the Indus Valley people were speaking a Dravidian language.<sup>19</sup> The few Dravidian words in Rigvedic Sanskrit—Burrow lists nine such words—do not justify such an assumption. Moreover, there is not the slightest indication that the Harappans ever practised megalithic burial. The whole culture of Mohenjo daro and Harappa differs totally from

15. M. B. Emeneau (1954), p. 287; S. Subbarao (1958), p. 121.

16. T. Burrow (1959), pp. 43, 379 ff.

17. T. Burrow (1959), p. 378.

18. A. Aiyappan (1955), p. 43.

19. R. L. Hardgrave (1965), p. 9.

that of the megalith builders. This of course does not prove that the Harappans did not speak a Dravidian language, but on the other hand there is no reason whatever to assume that they did.

Nothing definite can be said about the racial constitution of the Dravidian immigrants of South India. Probably they were a mixed race. This assumption is borne out by the anthropometric analysis of the skeletons found in the megalithic tombs. The skeletons found at Brahmagiri, for instance, belong to various races. The same is true of the Adittanalur bone remains.<sup>20</sup> Some of the skulls have elements in common with the Mediterranean race, others display Veddid or Australoid characteristics. This suggests that a racial mixture or at least a close symbiosis between the megalith builders and the earlier local population took place.

So far we have traced back the Dravidian megalith builders to Baluchistan. But which was their original homeland? It has already been stated that so far the Dravidian languages cannot be associated with any other linguistic group. Thus we must look out for megalith sites where the cists are port-holed as in South India. We have found such cists in Baluchistan, which justifies the assumption that the South Indian megalith builders had at some time lived in Baluchistan. Can their original homeland be ascertained? The regions nearest to India where port-holed cists are typical for the culture of a people are Jordanian Palestine and the Caucasus. Jordan in Palestine can at once be eliminated as the probable homeland of the South Indian megalith builders, for even if we, to bridge the chronological gap, would be willing to assume a still unknown hypothetical link in Arabia from Palestine in the first millenium B.C. only populations could have emerged that spoke Semitic languages. But if the South Indian megalith builders did not speak a Dravidian language, they certainly did not speak a Semitic one. The other hypothesis, brought forward by some anthropologists, that the megalith builders arrived in South India crossing the sea from some unknown distant country cannot be accepted for reason of the great number of immigrants. In those early times, even if the Arabs did have the boats capable of crossing the seas, they could not build them big enough to transport the large population which the immense number of megalithic tombs in South India warrant.

The only alternative left is the Caucasus. It is well known that since the earliest times numerous population changes have ever been taking place in the northern parts of West Asia. The languages which at a time were spoken there have in the course of the millenia often completely disappeared, either due to displace-

20. D. K. Chatterjee and P. Gupta (1963), p. 36.

ments, or super-impositions by populations speaking other languages, or simply due to emigrations, as in the case of the Indo-Aryans, to give one example. Here indeed all eventualities were possible. The absence in present times of the Dravidian language in the Caucasus need therefore not be taken as a proof that this language was not spoken there in 2000 B.C. For the assumption of the Caucasus being the original homeland of the South Indian megalith builders, however, is evidenced by the fact that we find port-holed cists there which closely resemble those of South India. And they are early enough to make a migration from the Caucasus via Persia and Baluchistan possible. They belong mostly into the second millenium B.C.<sup>21</sup> Banerjee assigns 1500 B.C. to them.<sup>22</sup>

Traces of the route which the Megalith builders of the Caucasus took on their migration to Baluchistan are not completely lacking. Banerjee has already mentioned the existence of North Persian dolmens in the region of the Caspian Sea, but it is unknown whether these dolmens had port-holes. The early Iron age cemetery at Sialk near Kashan in Central Persia which Ghirshman excavated gives more favourable information.<sup>23</sup> The people of this iron age used for the roof-like structures which they erected over the graves of their dead, stone slabs which they obviously had taken from older megalith tombs in the neighbourhood. Some of the stone slabs thus re-used contained port-holes. As Ghirshman has proved, the people who buried their dead in this manner at Sialk belonged to an early wave of Aryan Iranians.<sup>24</sup> Since the iron age cemetery at Sialk can be dated between 1000 and 800 B.C., the dolmens from which these Aryan Iranians took the material for their own mound structures can safely be assigned to the second millenium B.C.

The megalith builders who apparently lived around 1500 B.C. in the Caucasus decided for some unknown reasons to migrate southwards. They reached Central Persia where they stayed for some time. Then they proceeded to Baluchistan and settled in the neighbourhood of Karachi, at Edith Shahr. In the first millenium B.C. they wandered off once more until they finally settled in South India.

This is the history of the Dravidian megalith builders as it presents itself at present to the archaeologists. Historical research consequently casts serious doubts on the ancient traditions of the Dravidians about the ancient origin—antedating the Aryan invasion by at least 1500 years—and wide sway of Dravidian culture in pre-Aryan times over the whole of India. These doubts may have

21. R. Heine-Geldern (1964), p. 192.

22. K. R. Srinivasan and N. R. Banerjee (1953), p. 108.

23. R. Ghirshman (1939), pp. 26-7.

24. R. Ghirshman (1954), p. 76-83.

their political repercussions, because the leaders of the Dravidian revival movement base their thus exaggerated claims just on their earlier arrival and alleged former dominion over the whole of India from which they feel to have been unjustly dispossessed by the later Aryan invaders.<sup>25</sup> In the light of modern historical research they will have to reduce their exaggerated claims even for dominance over South India. Their comparatively late arrival in South India, perhaps even after the Aryan arrival in North India, should make them more modest in their political demands. Moreover, early Tamilian literature reveals that the early Tamil rulers eagerly invited Brahmin priests into their courts, and that the Aryanization of the South, as far as it went, proceeded peacefully and in an orderly manner, and was generally welcomed by the Dravidians themselves. A self-assertion of the Dravidians and the desire for a revival of their old identity are certainly justified, but such movements should observe moderation and not resort to violence and bloodshed. There is plenty of scope for the Dravidians within the Indian nation, and a propaganda for complete independence is neither in the interest nor for the benefit of the Indian South, nor can such fissiparous movements in any way be justified by history. It is fortunate that the Dravida Munnetra Kazagham has at present leaders who realize this and act accordingly. This is the more fortunate since for the first time in their history they have been voted into power by the people of Madras State.

25. R. L. Hardgrave (1965), p. 1 ff.

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# SOME ANCIENT KINGS OF CEYLON

By

B. C. LAW

The Chronicles of Ceylon written in Pali give us ample materials for preparing a systematic account of the ancient kings of Ceylon. Among the Chronicles the *Dīpavaṃsa*<sup>1</sup> is the earliest known work. The *Mahāvamsa*<sup>2</sup> (the great chronicle) written by Mahānāma is undoubtedly the more finished product of literary and poetical art employed in the earlier works of the same type. It is considered as the national epic of Ceylon. The *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvamsa* show great similarity with regard to materials. Winternitz is right in assuming that Mahānāma took all those materials which are missing in the *Dīpavaṃsa*<sup>3</sup> from the old *aṭṭhakathās* or commentaries. W. Geiger's *Die Geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon*, Leipzig, 1905, and *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvamsa* translated by E. M. Coomaraswamy (Colombo, 1908) are very useful aids to the study of the history of the ancient kings of Ceylon. The *Cūlavamsa*<sup>4</sup> represents a later continuation of the *Mahāvamsa*. In other words, it is just a supplement to the *Mahāvamsa*. The *Mahāvamsa-aṭṭhakathā*<sup>5</sup> also known as the *Vamsaṭṭhappakāsinī* is an important publication, and is very helpful in making the subject matter under discussion interesting and instructive. All these works should be studied with caution and criticism and we should be careful in separating facts from fictions.

My work entitled "On the Chronicles of Ceylon" published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1947, is an endeavour towards an exhaustive study of the chronicles of Ceylon in a spirit of scientific research. Geiger's notable publication, the *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvamsa and their historical development of Ceylon*, is no doubt a critical study of these two well-known works of Vamsa literature of Ceylon. Equally important are Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (2 Vols. 1937 and 1938) and his *Pali Literature of Ceylon* (Royal Asiatic Society Publication).

In ancient Sinhalese inscriptions the following kings of Ceylon are mentioned: Vasabha (127-171 A.D.), Vaṅkanāsika Tissa (168-171 A.D.), Gajabāhukagāmaṇī (171-193 A.D.), Mahallanāga (193-199 A.D.) and Kaniṭṭha Tissa (223-241 A.D.).<sup>6</sup>

1. First edited by Oldenberg (1879) and re-edited by B. C. Law in 1958.
2. Edited by W. Geiger in 1908.
3. *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 215.
4. Edited by W. Geiger in 1925 for the PTS., London.
5. Edited by G. P. Malalasekera in two Vols. (1935) for PTS., London.
6. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, pp. 58 ff.; 140 ff.; 148 ff., 208 ff.; 252 ff.; vide also B. C. Law, *Buddhist Studies*, p. 727; E. Muller, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, pp. 25 ff.; ASC., vol. xiii, 1896, pp. 47-48.

Vijaya was the first king of Ceylon. He was the eldest son of Sihabāhu of Sihapura in the kingdom of Lāla situated between Kaliṅga and Vaṅga and to the east of Magadha. Sihabāhu was the founder of Sihapura, the capital of Lāla. According to legend he received this name from the circumstance of his having been begotten by a lion on his mother, who was a princess of the royal family of Vaṅga. As recorded by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, the legend goes to represent Sihabāhu as the prince who was banished for his lawlessness by the then king of South India, and he accidentally landed on Ratnadīpa and settled there to become the precursor or progenitor of the Indo-Aryan settlers.<sup>7</sup> Sihabāhu who was the king of Lāla reigned for 38 years (Circa. 483-445 B.C.). Vijaya and Ajātasattu (Ajātasātru) of Magadha were contemporaries. The twenty-fourth year of Ajātasattu's reign corresponds to the sixteenth year of Vijaya's i.e. Ceylon's reign.<sup>8</sup> Vijaya's great grandmother was a Kaliṅga princess who was married to the king of Vaṅga. Vijaya founded the city of Tambapaṇṇi<sup>9</sup> and his followers built villages called Anurādhagāma, Upatissagāma, Vijitapura, Ujjeni and Uruvelā.<sup>10</sup>

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was the most powerful king who was considered as the national hero of Ceylon and the saviour of Buddhist faith and Buddhist civilisation. He proceeded to Kāsapabbata<sup>11</sup> near Anurādhapura. He accompanied by ten heroes was victorious in fighting with the Damiḷa king.<sup>12</sup> The Damiḷa<sup>13</sup> king Eḷāra was killed by him in a single combat near the southern gate of Anurādhapura.<sup>14</sup> His body was burnt with great honour. A tomb over the ashes was built by king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and ordered that no music would be played by those passing it.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi became the undisputed monarch of Laṅkā after defeating the thirty Damiḷa kings and freed the island of Ceylon from foreign domination.<sup>15</sup> He also defeated the army under Bhaluka, nephew of Eḷāra. He overpowered 32 Damiḷa kings.<sup>16</sup> He built the Maricavaṭṭi dagoba containing the relic of the Buddha. He did great works of piety. He first built the Lohapāsāda (Brazen

7. Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, pp. 42-43.

8. *Mahāvamsa*, VI, 38 ff.; VI, 6 ff.; VIII, 1-3; *Dīpavamsa*, IX, 6 ff.; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, PTS Tr. Series No. 20. Intro. p. xvi; *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 606 ff.

9. *Mahāvamsa*, VII, 39ff.

10. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 43-45.

11. It was probably near the modern Kahagalagāma or the village of the Kaha mountain about 18 miles south-east of Anurādhapura. *Mahāvamsa*, (Geiger) Ch. 25, v. 50; Cf. *Ibid.*, Ch. 10, v. 27.

12. *Sumāṅgalavilāsini*, p. 640.

13. The Damiḷas commonly known as the Tamils were a powerful south-Indian tribe. For more details v. Law, *Geographical Essays*, pp. 76 ff.

14. A. M. Hocart, *MASC.*, vol. I, 1924, p. 54; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 312.

15. *Thūpavamsa*, PTS., p. 63.

16. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXV, 75.

palace) of nine storeys. He had the Mahāthūpa erected on the spot visited by the Buddha. After his conquest of the Damiḷas, he was unable to sleep for a month on account of great delight.<sup>17</sup> At the suggestion of the monks he took the fast of eight vows.<sup>18</sup> Duṭṭhagāmaṇi fought with the Damiḷas,<sup>19</sup> killed many of them<sup>20</sup> and brought them under his control.<sup>21</sup> He inflicted a crushing defeat upon them.<sup>22</sup> The Damiḷas were defeated at Mahiyaṅgana where he built the golden shrine and worshipped it.<sup>23</sup> Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was about to drive the Damiḷas out of Sīhaladīpa. During his reign Buddhism was in its most flourishing condition. He conquered them once again on the other side of the Ganges and stayed for four months in the city called Mahāgāmaṇi.<sup>24</sup> He captured Nadika at Nandigāma.<sup>25</sup> As a national hero of the Sinhalese people in the ancient period of their history, after having established his kingdom at Anurādhapura he became a great protector of the Buddhist Church. He built in his capital Maricavaṭṭi-Vihāra<sup>26</sup> and the most celebrated monument of Ceylon called the Mahāthūpa (now called Ruwanwāli Dagoba). He lived up to the age of sixty-eight.<sup>27</sup> Saddhātissa was his successor.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya or Gāmaṇi Abhaya was the king of Ceylon from 101 to 77 B.C. He was the son of Kākavaṇṇatissa. He was refused permission by his father to fight with the Damiḷas<sup>28</sup> and fled in anger to the hills. After the death of his father he fought against his brother Tissa for the throne. He marched against the Damiḷa King Eḷāra. He began to capture fortresses. Vijitapura fell after a siege of four months.

King Kittisirimeghavaṇṇa (Chinese *chi-mi-kia-po-mo*) of Ceylon (A.D. 362-389) was the son and successor of Mahāsena, who made ample amends for the wrong done by his father to the Mahāvihāra. He was the contemporary of Samudragupta (Chinese *san-meou-to-lo-kiu-to*) and Rudradāman II. With the permission of Samudra-

17. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (PTS), p. 640.—*So kira dvattimsa Damiḷarājāno vijitvā Anurādhapure pattābhiseko tuṭṭhasomanassena māsaṃ niddaṃ na labhi.*

18. *Dhammapada Commy.* (PTS), II, 640.

19. *Mahāvamsa Commy.* (PTS), p. 24.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 489.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 437.

22. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 577; Cf. *Thūpavaṃsa* (PTS). Ed. B. C. Law, pp. 58-60; B. C. Law, *The Legend of the Topes* (*Bibliotheca Indica series*, No. 268, RASB Publication), p. 57.

23. *Thūpavaṃsa*, Ed. B. C. Law, PTS, p. 59. *Damiḷemaddanto asiti hatthubbedham kaṅcuka-cetiṃ karetvya pūjamakāsi.*

24. *Mahāvamsa Commy.*, p. 476.

25. *Mahāvamsa*, XXV, 14.

26. *Mahāvamsa Commy.*, p. 499.

27. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 47.

28. The repeated incursions of the Damiḷas or Tamils or Dravidians particularly those from the Coja country were made with the object of plundering, destroying life and property and desecrating shrines. They also aimed at the permanent or temporary occupation of the island of Ceylon (Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 22).



gupta, which he sought for, he erected a monastery near the Mahābodhivihāra at Bodh-Gayā for the shelter of the Buddhist monks.<sup>29</sup> Hiuen Tsang saw this monastery towards the middle of the 7th century A.D.<sup>30</sup> The king ruled for forty-seven years. He was considered as the greatest king of Ceylon after Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Devānaṃpiyatissa.

Muṭasiva was the king of Ceylon from 307 to 247 B.C. He reigned for 60 years.<sup>31</sup> He laid out the beautiful garden called Mahāmeghavana adorned with fruit and flowering tress (*phalapupphatarūpetam*).<sup>32</sup> Devānaṃpiyatissa was his second son.<sup>33</sup>

Devānaṃpiyatissa ruled Ceylon from 247 to 207 B.C. He assumed his surname Devānaṃpiya. He constructed the Mahāmeghavana. He was the contemporary of Aśoka. He and Aśoka were on friendly terms. After the death of Devānaṃpiyatissa Buddhism began to show signs of decline. Aśoka's son Mahinda went to Ceylon and endeavoured to review Buddhism there.

Vaṭṭagāmaṇī was the founder of the Abhayagirivihāra in the north of Anurādhapur.<sup>34</sup> It was at the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī that the *Tripitaka* (*Tipitaka*) and the *Atthakathā* (commentary) orally handed down in former times were written in books (... potthakesu likhāpayuṃ).<sup>35</sup> Among the kings of Ceylon incidentally mentioned by the celebrated Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghoṣa, who flourished in the 5th century A.D., Muṭasiva, Devānaṃpiyatissa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī-Abhaya<sup>36</sup> and Vaṭṭagāmaṇī reigned in pre-Christian times. Vaṭṭagāmaṇī was the greatest of the kings who followed Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.

He was succeeded by his son Coranāga, also known as Mahānāga. He destroyed many monasteries. He ruled Ceylon for 12 years. He was poisoned by his queen Anulā.<sup>37</sup> This woman also murdered Coranāga's successor Tissa and her four paramours. She was killed by Kuṭakaṇṇatissa.

Paṇḍavāsudeva was Vijaya's successor. He was the youngest son of Vijaya's brother Sumitta. He died after a reign of 30 years and was followed by his eldest son Abhaya who reigned for 20 years (414-394 B.C.) in Upatissagāma. He was deposed. Paṇḍukābhaya (377-307 B.C.) was Abhaya's successor. He was the grandfather

29. Sylvain Levi, *Les Missions de Wang Hiuen ts'e dans l'Inde*; JA, 1900, pp. 401ff.

30. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II, pp. 133 ff.; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, p. 136.

31. *Mahāvamsa*, XI, v. 2—*saṭṭhivassāni*.

32. *Ibid.*, XI, v. 2.

33. *Ibid.*, XI, v. 6—*vissuto dutiyo suto*.

34. *Nikāya saṅgraha* E. Wickramasinghe, p. 11.

35. *Dīpavaṃsa*, XX, 20-21; *Mahāvamsa*, XXXIII, 100-101.

36. *Atthasālinī*, PTS., p. 80.

37. *Mahāvamsa*, XXXIV, vs. 11-14—*visam bhakkho mato. Papañcasūdanī*, II (Sinhalese Ed.), p. 920.

of Devānaṃpiyatissa. He was an illegitimate son of Cittā by her cousin, Dīghagāmaṇī. He was known as Paṇḍuvāsa and Paṇḍuka.<sup>38</sup> He built monasteries for the *niḡaṇṭhas* (Jainas) and dwellings for the Ājīvakas.<sup>39</sup> A reign of seventy years is ascribed to him.

Gajabāhu was another king of Ceylon. He invited Parakkama-bāhu I to his court to gain his favour. Parakkama made preparations to wage war against him. Gajabāhu suffered many reverses and fell into the hands of Parakkama's army. Parakkama saved him from death. Gajabāhu gave his kingdom to Parakkama as he had no heir.<sup>40</sup>

Gajabāhukagāmaṇī was the son of Vaṅkanāsikatissa. He reigned for 22 years (*dvāvīsavassāni*). He and his wise mother founded a great *vihāra*. He built a dagoba (*thūpa*) and gave it for the use of the Brotherhood. He had the Gāmaṇitissa-tank dug at his own cost and gave it to the Abhayagirivihāra for its upkeep.<sup>41</sup>

Asila, son of Muṭasiva and brother of Devānaṃpiyatissa, born of the same mother, defeated the two Damiḷas, Sena and Guttaka, and reigned at Anurādhapur for 10 years (155-145 B.C.).<sup>42</sup> He was conquered by Eḷāra. He built a Caitya at Asokamālaka.<sup>43</sup>

Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī Abhaya, son of Mahādāthika, was another king of Ceylon. He was killed by his younger brother. He raised the cone of the Mahāthūpa and made additions to the Lohapāsāda and the Thūpārāma. He built a *vihāra* and the Mahāgāmaṇḍi tank to the south of Anurādhapura. He issued orders not to slaughter animals in Ceylon. He gave robes to the whole brotherhood of monks in the island of Ceylon. He also gave alms-bowls filled with *Kumbhaṇḍaka*<sup>44</sup> fruits and he was since then known as Āmaṇḍakagāmaṇī.<sup>45</sup> Sena also known as Silāmegha<sup>46</sup> was another king of Ceylon. During his reign the Paṇḍu king invaded Ceylon and Sena had to leave his throne. He afterwards made a treaty with the Paṇḍu king and got back his throne. His good deeds consisted of the construction of a monastery and a tall mansion in Jetavana. He built many monasteries. Pulatthinagara was his capital.<sup>47</sup>

38. *Dīpavaṃsa*, X, 2 and 9.

39. *Mahāvamsa*, X, vs. 97-101; X, v. 102.

40. For more details vide *Cūlavamsa*, (PTS) Chs. 63, 66, 70-71.

41. *Mahāvamsa*, xxxv, 115 ff.; *Dīpavaṃsa*, xxii, vs. 13, 28, 29.

42. *Cūlavamsa*, (PTS), Ch. 82, vs. 20-21.

43. *Mahāvamsa*, xxi 10 ff.; *Mahāvamsa Commy.*, p. 358—*Aseḷo nāma rājā cetiyam kāresi*.

44. It is called gourd, pumpkin gourd. It is called in Latin *cucurbita Pepo*, Roxb; *cucurbita maxima* Duchesne. There are three kinds of gourd, all distinct, which were found in the Mucalinda lake (Cf. *Jāt.*, I, p. 441).

45. *Mahāv.*, XXXV, 1-10; *Mahāv. Commy.*, PTS., p. 640.

46. *Cūlavamsa*, 4.3.

47. *Ibid.*, I, 1ff.

Vijayabāhu I was a king noted for his works of public utility. He was crowned king under the title of Sirisaṅghabodhi. He married a Kalinga princess named Tilokasundarī. He repaired many tanks and restored many hermitages in various parts of the country.<sup>48</sup>

Mahānāga, a brother of Devānaṃpiyatissa, resided in Mahāgāma. He was noted for his magnificent gifts in connection with the art of healing at Penambarigana. He may be identified either with Mahādāthika Mahānāga or with Mahallanāga (A.D. 196-202). He was banished from the court on account of some offence. He founded an independent dynasty which was never overcome by the Damilas.

Dhātusena was an orthodox king of Ceylon (460-78 A.D.). He was the son of Dāṭhānāma. He belonged to the family of the Moriyas. He performed ceremonies in honour of images and shrines. His work was the construction of the Kālavāpi. He built 18 monasteries and tanks. He showed great favour to the monks and did many acts of charity.<sup>49</sup> It was he who ordered to recite the *Dīpavaṃsa* at the annual festival held in honour of an image of Mahinda in the 5th century A.D.<sup>50</sup>

Ilanāga restored the Nāgamahāvihāra<sup>51</sup> and gave land for its maintenance. The death of an eminent novice of the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon and the arrival of Fa-hien in the Sīhaladīpa are the contemporary events. This novice was no other than Mahādhammakathī (Chinese *Ta-mo-kui-ti*) mentioned in the *Cūlavāṃsa*.<sup>52</sup> Mahādhammakathī lived during the reign of king Buddhadāsa. (362-409 A.D.). This fact helps us to accept the three kings of Ceylon, Buddhadāsa, Upatissa I and Mahānāma as the contemporaries of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta. Mahānāma's exact date is A.D. 428 according to the Chinese sources. The contemporaneity of Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta, two well-known Buddhist commentators, may be taken to establish the contemporaneity of Sirinivāsa Siripāla, the king of Ceylon, and Accuta Vikkanta, the king of the Coḷas.

Another notable king of Ceylon was Parakkamabāhu I (Parākramabāhu) who reigned in the 12th century (A.D. 1153-1186). His reign saw the Augustan age of the history of Ceylon. He was a wise and untiring king with a heart full of joy.<sup>53</sup> He was a great

48. *Ibid.*, chaps. lviii-lx.

49. *Cūlavāṃsa* (PTS), XXXVIII, 14 ff.; 30 ff.

50. *Dīpavaṃsa*, Ed. Oldenberg, Intro., pp. 8-9.

51. *Mahāvāṃsa*, XXXV, 31.

52. Chap. XXXVII, 175—*Tass'eva raṅṅo rajjanṇhi Mahādhammakathī yati suttāni parivattesi sīhalāya niruttijjā.*

53. *Akampito anolino pitisampunṇamānaso—Cūlavāṃsa*, (PTS), Ed. Geiger, vol. I, p. 326.

leader of mankind. He was endowed with an extra-ordinary energy and discernment and carried on the government for 32 or 33 years. He was successful in reconciling the three sects of monks belonging to the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana. He adorned the island of Laṅkā with beautiful monasteries, gardens, tanks, etc. which he constructed. A park by the name of Bhorikaccha was laid out by him in Ceylon.<sup>54</sup> He was experienced in statecraft and made Raṅkā peaceful. He was the son of King Mānābharana.<sup>55</sup> According to the Cūlavamsa (lxi, v. 26) he was born at Punkhagāma in south Ceylon where Mānābharana ruled.<sup>56</sup> The Kitti-Nissanka-Malla slab inscription states a different view, according to which king Parakkama was born at Simhapura.<sup>57</sup> He succeeded to the throne after the death of Kittisirimegha. He was succeeded by his sister's son, Vijayabāhu II.

Parakkama married Bhaddavati and Rūpavati,<sup>58</sup> who belonged to the house of the great king Kittisirimegha. She was very beautiful, clever, virtuous and highly famous.

Parakkama was a patron of learning and was himself versed in medical lore.<sup>59</sup> During his reign a systematic compilation of sub-commentaries took place under the guidance of Thera Kassapa. Many works were composed in Pali and Sinhalese from the time of the Mahāthera Buddhaghosa<sup>60</sup> up to his time.

Parakkama promoted the welfare of the state and the church. He saved many people from their misfortunes and by gifts of diverse kinds he gave them his patronage. He gave security to animals and to the fish and the birds.<sup>61</sup> He resided at Pulastipura (Pulatthipura). He emulated the example of king Aśoka and like him paid visits to the Buddhist church.

The most eminent in the long list of Ceylonese kings, Parakkama after consolidating his power devoted himself to the objects of royal solicitude, religion and agriculture. He was not in favour of immeasurable taxes. He re-built the city of Polonnaruva. He paid much attention to religion, and his first task was to bring about the unification of the contending sects and the restoration of the power and influence of the orthodox church, the Mahāvihāra. A Ceylonese elder named Dhammakitti was deputed by him as one of the envoys to the king of Rāmāñña.<sup>62</sup> The two sects, the Sāgaliyas

54. *Cūlav.*, lxxix, v. 11—*Bharukacchābhīdhānaṃ uyyānaṃ akāraṃ*.

55. *Cūlavamsa*, lxi, 3 ff., v. 52.

56. Cf. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 250.

57. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. II, 80-81.

58. S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon 1947*, (MASC., Vol. V), pp. 9-10.

59. "āyubbede sayam cāpi nīpunatto narādhipo."

60. Vide Law, *Buddhaghosa* (JBBRAS, 1946) as to his date etc.

61. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. II, pp. 80-83.

62. Lower Burma—*Cūlavamsa*, LXXXVI, 32—*Suvannabhūmi* is identical with Lower Burma (Pegu & Moulmein districts). According to the *Sāsavamsa* (p. 10), *Suvannabhūmi* is Thaton at the mouth of the Sittaung river.

(Sāgalikas) and the Dhammarucikas, belonging to the parent vihāra of Abhayagiri, flourished side by side along with the Mahāvihāra and continued to receive royal benefactions, until all of them were united into one Order at the time of king Parakkamabāhu I.<sup>63</sup> After his death there was some trouble in the island through invasions and consequent dissensions which affected the religious institutions of the country.<sup>64</sup> Parakkama tried his best to place the monks in their rightful position. He excluded the undisciplined monks from the order and purified the Mahāvihāra. He established harmony among the monks of the Mahāvihāra, and then brought about reconciliation of these monks with those of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana. He provided lodgings for the members of the order and treated them to a constant flow of spiritual and material gifts.<sup>65</sup> The king's proclamation gave direction for the proper observance of the Vinaya rules and dealt with the procedure that the subjects who actually joined the Order or desired to join it, should follow.<sup>66</sup>

Parakkamabāhu's plan of campaign was to attack Mahānāgākula or Mahānāgahula, the capital of Rohaṇa.<sup>67</sup> He conquered Rohaṇa.<sup>67</sup> Parakkama grew angry and wanted to capture or kill the king of Arimaddana.<sup>68</sup> He captured the town of Rājīnā. He conquered the Paṇḍu kingdom and founded in memory of this conquest a splendid village named Paṇḍuvijaya, which prospered through all times.<sup>69</sup> About 1165 A.D. king Parakkama sent a Tamil general, Ādicca, on an expedition against Rāmaññadesa.<sup>70</sup>

Parakkama had a square hall erected in the middle of the town with four entrances and many large rooms and instituted a great alms-giving in which everything needful was to be had daily for those who kept the precepts of moral discipline. Four alms-houses were built. He used to test in every way the healing activities of the physicians and also used to examine day and night the favourable or the unfavourable condition of the sick.<sup>71</sup>

The excellent city of Pulatthinagara was rebuilt by Parakkama in grandeur<sup>72</sup> and beauty (*raṃaṇīyaṇ*). It was richly supplied with hundreds of pinnacled houses or resting places.<sup>73</sup> He gave alms to the Brahmins.<sup>74</sup> Pañcasattatimandira was built for hold-

63. *Cūlavamsa*, XXXVIII. 75 ff., XXXIX; 15 41.

64. Law, *Buddhist Studies*, 494 ff.

65. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. II, p. 275.

66. Dr. W. A. de Silva in the *Buddhist Studies* Ed. by Dr. B. C. Law, p. 495.

67. *Cūlavamsa*, LXXV. v. 135.

68. Pali name for Pagan in Burma (Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 14).

69. *Cūlavamsa*, LXXVII, vs. 104-105.

70. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, vol. I, p. 260.

71. *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 73, v. 46.

72. Viśālaṃ really means large or extensive.

73. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bombay Ed., 1902, 5-9-14.

74. *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 73. vs. 55-71.

ing the *Paritta*<sup>75</sup> ceremonies. He built a Dharmāgāra or the hall for preaching religion and discussing religious topics.

The king was desirous of building large monasteries suitable for the monks. He founded the great Jetavana monastery. For the Theras (elders) dwelling there he built eight three-storied costly palaces. For the Thera Sāriputta he erected an extensive and glorious palace with rooms, terraces and chambers. He also built the Isipatanavihāra and the Kusinārāvihāra in the suburbs called the Rājavesibhujaṅga and Simhapura.

In order to save the people from the sufferings of famine the king had many tanks and canals made in different places for the use of the Buddhist monks. He is said to have re-built 216 among which is especially included the great tank, Uruvela.<sup>76</sup> He founded eighteen relic shrines, Bodhi tree,<sup>77</sup> Bodhi temples and Bodhi terraces, and built five dancing halls.

The glory of Parakkama (Parākrama) stands up in the later history of Ceylon like an isolated peak. Thirty years after his death the country had declined to its former low level.<sup>78</sup>

75. The *Paritta* is a small collection of texts gathered from the *Sutta Piṭaka*. It is learnt by heart and recited on appropriate occasions to conjure various evils, physical and moral. Some of the miscellaneous extracts found in it are purely of religious and ethical character. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, 608; Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, pp. 3-4; *Cūḷavamsa* (PTS), Ch. 73, v. 73.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 246 ff.

77. The great Bo-tree *Aśvattha* stood as a living symbol of Buddhism, and a living branch of it was brought over for planting on the virgin soil of Ceylon (Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 58).

78. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 34.

# EARLY MAN IN INDIA

By

H. D. SANKALIA

During the last five years, not only the Palaeolithic map of India has been considerably filled up, but some more positive information obtained about the habitat of Early Man. His skeletal remains, however, still elude us.

Now except Assam in the east, Kashmir Valley proper in the north, Tinnevely District of Madras in the extreme south and Kerala in the southwest, and Sindh in the west, the whole of the Indian sub-continent has given evidence of the existence of Early Man whose two main tools/weapons were the hand-axe and cleaver. These at times, whatever be the region, show perfect mastery over the material. This conclusion is in perfect accord with what Clark and Piggott have said, "Despite all difficulties the idea consistently triumphed over matter," and the same fundamental forms were produced.<sup>1</sup> No Stone Age remains can be expected in the Ganga-Yamuna doab, as this region is filled up by hundreds of feet of silt throughout the Pleistocene, and so if there were any remains of Early Man they would lie buried.

Formerly it was thought that on the south-east coast and Karnataka, the Stone Age population was more and thickly concentrated. Though this assumption still broadly remains true, still from my personal observation I could say that such "dense" population—even in pockets—could be postulated in areas like Sisunia hill in District Bankura, West Bengal, at Lalitpur, District Jhansi, U.P., at Nagari and Chitorgarh, District Chitorgarh, Rajasthan, and Pedhamli, District Mehsana, Gujarat and Nasik and Nevasa, District Nasik and Ahmednagar, both in Maharashtra. At every one of these places, literally hundreds of tools have been discovered. From these discoveries we could go a step forward, if such sites are studied more carefully and in every possible detail. For instance, at a camp site like Chirki—Nevasa, a crudely made row of boulders may be seen, which might have supported a wind-screen made of thickets, whereas by plotting the tools in relation to the boulders, one could say how many tools could have been made and how many persons could have lived in this camp. Such instructive picture of the life of man is possible, provided the sites are not denuded of tools as soon as these are noticed.

1. Clark, Grahame and Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric Societies*, 1965, p. 52.

Until the discoveries are followed by such careful plotting, we have to speculate about the man's habitat from the distribution of tools. Such distribution maps do definitely show that Early Man lived all along the banks of rivers which then flowed in very wide beds. High altitudes, above 2500 ft.<sup>2</sup> seem to have been avoided, possibly because they were heavily forested, or it was difficult to get water easily. Likewise very low, marshy areas near the river deltas or the sea coasts would not be preferred, though the foothills near the sea, for instance near Madras, or Bombay, if otherwise suitable, were preferred.<sup>3</sup> Preference seems to have been shown for areas where raw material was easily available, as at Nasik, where there is dyke of fine grained basalt, at Lalitpur where huge granite boulders might have afforded shelter as well as material for tools and water could be had from the stream. However, at Nevasa-Chirki no reasons for the selection of the site—a huge outcrop of coarse reddish basalt, with no dyke in the vicinity—are apparent.

What were these regions like? We can only speculate. Nevasa, Nagari, Lalitpur, Sisunia, Anagwadi, District Bijapur, Karnatak, Vaddamadurai and Attirampakkam are almost open sites today, with rolling plains, with very little vegetation, whereas areas like Bulsar, Pira Nala on the Narbada, are fairly forested. So it is indeed difficult to say anything definite about the past environment from the present ecological setting, unless we have palynological data. Otherwise the picture is bound to be full of contradictions. For Bulsar on the west-coast, 150 miles south of Bombay gets over 100 inches of rain, whereas the rest of the regions not more than 30 inches.

We might say, as has been customary hitherto, though not strictly based on scientific data, that the climate almost everywhere was first more wet than today which enabled the deposition both by colluvial and alluvial agencies, possibly accelerated by local uplifts, of thick coarse gravels all over the *Peninsular India*. Then followed a drier phase. Early man should have been a witness to these great climatic changes—spread over a long time no doubt—for his tools are found embedded in the coarse gravels.

For the periglacial regions of the Panjab (both East and West) we have better ecological data. Eastern Panjab—the Kangra District in particular—is well-wooded and fed by perennial streams,

2. Though Torralba, a site in Spain is over 10,000 ft. in height.

3. It is not possible, in our present knowledge, to speculate as some scholars would like to do, and say that the hand-axe makers preferred, say the low, maritime and warm regions, and the flake fabricators liked the upland which was comparatively cold. Such fine ecological distinctions need to be supported by adequate evidence.



though often flowing at high gradients over bouldery beds. The western areas on the Indus and the Sohan near Rawalpindi are more open, the rivers flowing over an open rolling plateau.

At no site, however, the tools have been found in large numbers, so it is not possible to say which areas in particular were preferred by Early Man, except a very general statement that he lived in the open along the river banks, availability of the raw material in the form of river pebbles being the only consideration. The climate was decidedly colder than in the peninsular India during the Interglacial periods, and must have been extremely cold during the glacial period viz. the third glacial through which man is believed to have lived on, making finer tools. In the summer months there were huge dust-storms as today which in the course of ages have deposited huge deposits of loess.

What did these men do? We can only infer from their surviving tools. These are six types of pebble tools, cores and flakes in the north (Panjab) and handaxes, cleavers, huge cores and flakes, some of the later might or could have been used as choppers and scrapers.

The exact use of these tools cannot be inferred, because we get little help from the surviving preliterate peoples in India, Africa, Australia, New Guinea, and Tasmania. Nowhere tools exactly like the handaxe or the cleaver are made today or were made in the recent past. At most Sohan-like pebble tools may be found among the Eskimos and the Tasmanians. From such a comparative ethnographic study Paterson inferred that the Sohan pebble tools might have been used for cutting-slicing, gouging—chiselling, piercing—boring, pounding and smashing, rasping, skimming—flensing, scraping—stripping. No Sohan pebble tool seems to be suitable for rubbing and grinding, smoothing—planing and digging.<sup>4</sup>

These primarily convex-edged tools, prepared in the simplest way by sharpening the edge, would be useful for:

- (i) climbing trees to collect fruits by making notches in the tree trunk,
- (ii) breaking and grinding nuts and seeds to pieces,
- (iii) collecting honey, insects, grubs and small animals and preparing receptacles of bark and wood.
- (iv) digging roots and fishing (?)

It is further inferred that the Soan people might have used wooden tools,<sup>5</sup> plain pointed sticks, digging sticks and clubs, for

4. Paterson, T. T. and H. J. H. Drummond, *Soan the Palaeolithic of Pakistan*, (Karachi 1962) p. 114.

5. *Ibid*, p. 115.

killing animals, and constructed rude shelters of bark or leaves, but they did not remain long at one site. They were not sparsely distributed.

In short, the Soan people were simple food-gatherers and not war-like.

As opposed to these simple folk, the makers of handaxes and cleavers, and flakes and blades wanted pointed artifacts and artifacts with sharp cutting edges—artifacts which would or could be used as lance-spear and javelin head.

The handaxe-cleaver man was a hunter, who chased big game and who fought and defended himself against enemies of all types.<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that exactly opposite conclusion was drawn by Zeuner<sup>7</sup> who described the handaxe (or the Abbevillio-Acheulian) culture of vegetable and grub-gatherers.

This very facile picture of the life of Early Man in the Panjab suffers from over-simplification and ignores certain evidence. For instance, in all the Soan groups, flakes do occur, and their number gradually increases. What were these flakes used for, if not like the flakes used by the hand-axe people?

Secondly, by accepting these views, India could be divided into two broad zones: a peaceful, non-violent Panjab (assuming the non-existence of hand-axes which we know occur in the same chronological horizon as the pebble tools in northern India), and a violent, war-like Peninsular India. This is a picture which is totally against the whole ethnological and cultural history of the land.

Moreover, appreciable number of pebble tools, in many cases exactly like the Soan pebble tools have been found from the heart of the hand-axe-cleaver culture, viz. from the districts of Kurnool and Cuddappa in Andhra Pradesh. According to Paterson's view we shall have to infer either a mixed life of food-gatherer and hunter or co-existence of two diametrically opposite groups of people. Hence such oversimplification of the case is not warranted.

What is true is that since the Early Stone Age is far removed from us, and belongs to the dim past, we cannot really infer the exact or even the most probable use of the tools. At best our inferences are approximate. Thus the pebble tools might have been used for all the purposes listed above. The hand-axe has various sub-types. The pointed heavy-butted one could have been used as a digging tool, whereas the flat triangular with sharp edges around could have served as a lance-head. Some of these with notches in the lateral sides might have been hafted in a bone

6. *Ibid.*

7. Zeuner, F. E., *Dating the Past*, p. 292.

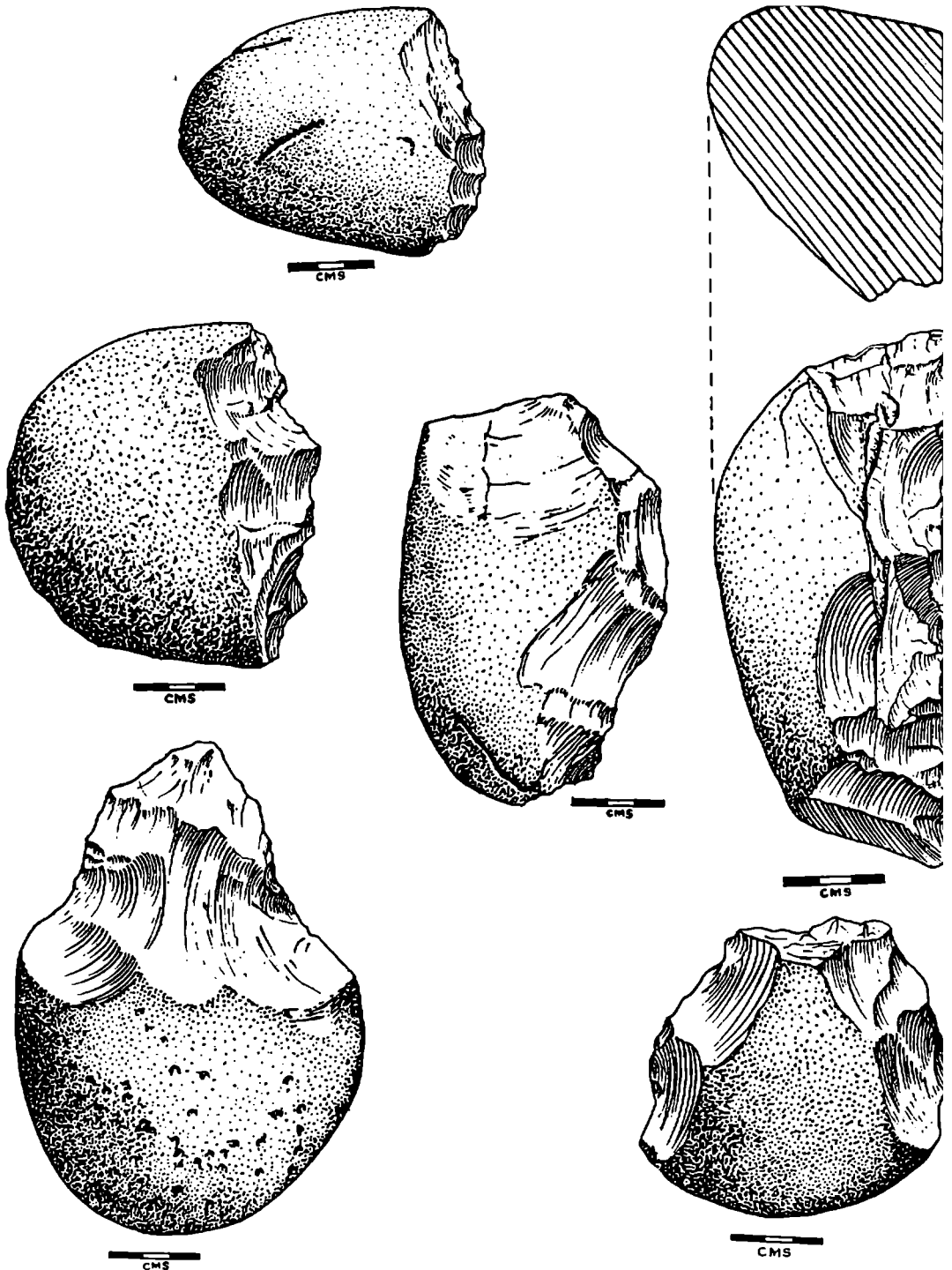


Fig. 1

Tools made of pebble by Early Man in the Panjab (Sohan Culture) and used for digging and cutting purposes, but not for hunting. Hence the Sohan Man is believed to be "Non-Violent"!!

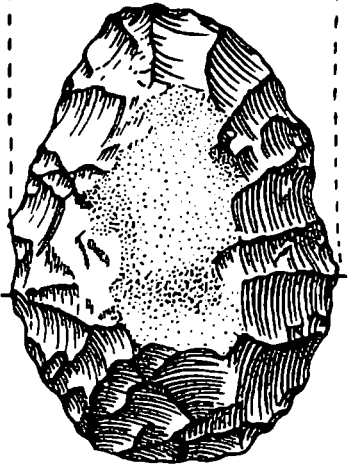
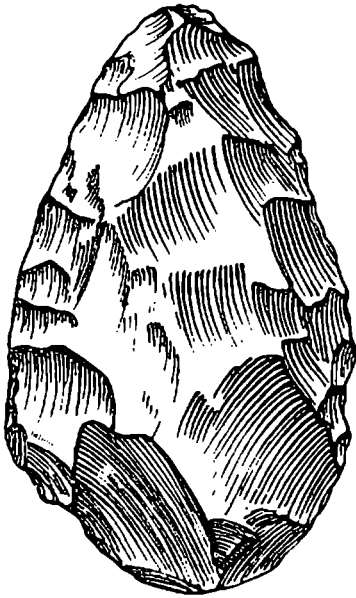
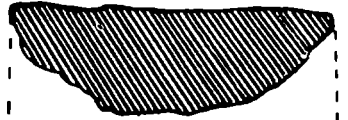
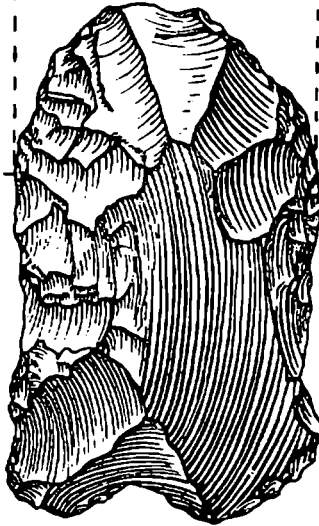
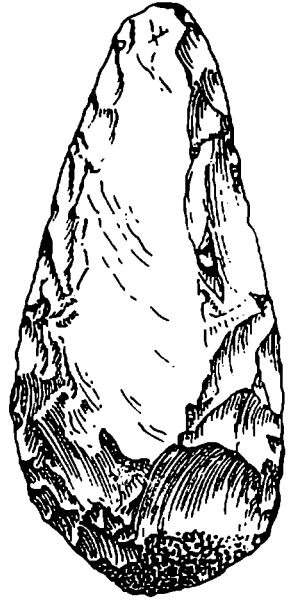
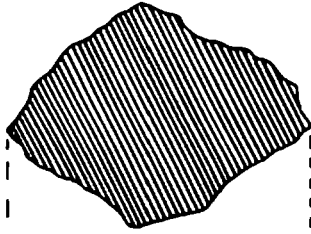
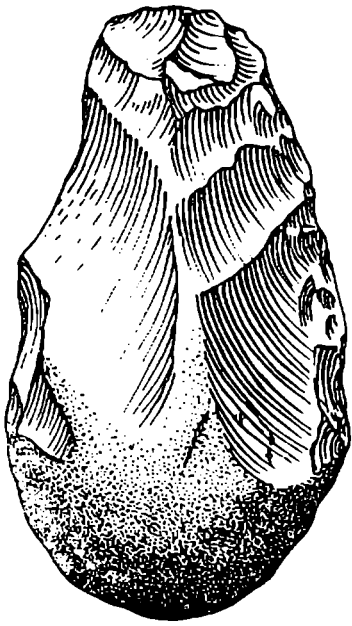
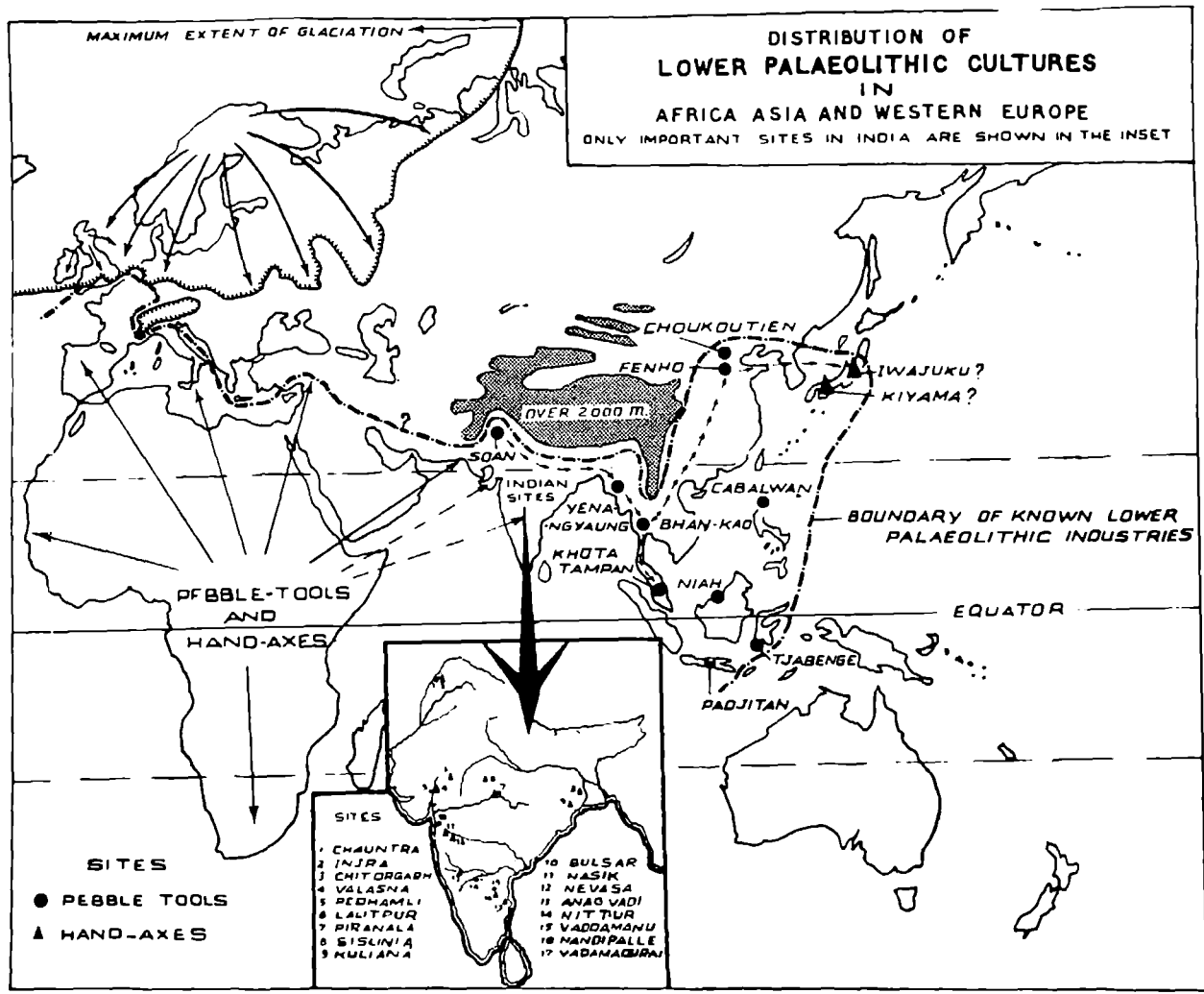


Fig. 2

Hand-axes and cleaver-Tools of Early Man used for hunting as well as for digging as well as cutting wood and chopping meat. Hence the Hand-axe Man believed to be a "Warrior"!!



or wood handle.<sup>8</sup> The finer elongated ovates might have been thrown as bolts, as recently Jeffreys has suggested.<sup>9</sup> For he says that these tools have edge around, which is never found abraided. If so, such weapons were used against flocks of water fowl. Thus the handaxe was truly an all-purpose tool.

The cleaver, on the other hand, with its four types of edges, and butts must have had a use similar to our axe and such broad straight, convex or edged tools—for cutting and chopping. The latter need not have been very hard or tough material, for the edges of the cleavers are rarely found battered. Hence it is also possible as Clark has suggested, that one of the main uses of the cleavers (as well as handaxes) was as meat mattocks and flensers for dealing with thick-skinned large game.<sup>10</sup>

There is definite evidence that some cleaver and hand-axe types from Central India and Karnatak (Mysore) respectively were hafted.<sup>11</sup>

Next the question of dating the Early Stone Age Cultures, and the question of their origin.

The Early Sohan has been placed in the Second Inter-glacial during the Middle Pleistocene with a proviso that it might have originated in the Lower Pleistocene. From then on the culture developed through the Third Glacial and Interglacial periods and later it is believed that the Soan people migrated to Peninsular India when the conditions in the Panjab became unsuitable during the drier loessic phase at the time of the Third Interglacial period.

There is no such geological and climatic evidence for the handaxe-cleaver and pebble tool culture in Peninsular India. It was once thought that since the handaxe industry was found in the original laterite and in the boulder conglomerate and the tools were patinated etc. the industry was very old (pre-lateritic) and belonged to the Early Middle Pleistocene.<sup>12</sup> This view is now challenged. Nowhere the tools have been found in the laterite.<sup>13</sup> It is all detrital laterite. Secondly, in the latter occur primitive as well as advanced hand-axes and cleavers, though they might be patinated and one may divide the assemblage into Early and Late groups according to the state of preservation. Similar is the story

8. Sankalia, H.D., *Stone Age Tools*, p. 92.

9. Jeffreys, M.D., "The Hand Bolt" *Man*, No. 148, 1965.

10. Clark, J.D., "Human Ecology etc." in *Current Anthropology*, Vol. I, 1960, p. 315.

11. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 94, and Pappu, R.S., *Pleistocene Studies in the Upper Krishna Basin*, Ph.D. thesis Deccan College and Poona University Libraries. pl. 9, 1.

12. De Terra and Paterson, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, p. 328.

13. How these were expected in the laterite is surprising, because the latter is weathering *in situ* of hard, solid rock.

of the so-called development of the hand-axe industry in the Narmada. Though there is the preponderance of large pebble-butted flakes and cores, still there do exist alongside ovates and cleavers. Hence it is not possible to agree with De Terra now that Early Man might have gone to the north from the south (Madras).<sup>14</sup> In fact, according to his data, unfortunately not fully published, hand-axes occur in the Second Interglacial deposits in Western Panjab.<sup>15</sup> In our present knowledge, this would be the earliest occurrence of the hand-axe in the Indian sub-continent. At one time De Terra<sup>16</sup> equated this Second Interglacial terrace (T<sub>1</sub>) with the Narbada Lower Group, and so also did Zeuner.<sup>17</sup> But now it appears unwise to attempt such distant correlations, particularly when the Narbada Lower group is not independently dated.

In the rest of Peninsular India the conditions are still more difficult. Nowhere there is clear, undisputed stratigraphical evidence to support the typological development, which undoubtedly there is. We have advanced or simplified Acheulian hand-axe-cleaver industry along with the Abbevillian and ordinary pebble tools. And if we date the Acheulian to the last Interglacial, as did Wainright<sup>18</sup> from his observation on the Lower Narbada then it will belong to the Upper Pleistocene. We cannot at this stage determine the exact sub-phase of the Pleistocene, but it is worth citing the evidence from the Potwar, West Punjab. Here occur a highly advanced Acheulian hand-axe-cleaver industry called Late Stellenbosch by Paterson and Drummond after the famous type site in South Africa which is also representative of the various types. This view was further confirmed by Graziosi who has illustrated the tools photographically. Paterson assigns this (Middle and Upper) Stellenbosch industry to the second phase (U<sub>2</sub>) of the Upper Pleistocene, in other words Penultimate Interglacial,<sup>19</sup> in the Himalayas. And this approximately would be the period for the highly advanced hand-axe-cleaver industry from Gujarat-Saurashtra, Eastern Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, (Lalitpur particularly), West Bengal, Andhra, Mysore and Madras.

The absolute date for this very late phase of the Acheulian might be around 50,000 B.C.<sup>20</sup> For a C-14 date for the Acheulian

14. De Terra and Paterson, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 302. This is repeated by Paterson and Drummond.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 321. (Soan *The Palaeolithic of Pakistan*, p. 13, Fig. 2) though no additional information is given.

17. Zeuner, F.E., *The Stone Age and Pleistocene Chronology in Gujarat*, p. 44.

18. Wainright, G.J., *The Pleistocene Deposits of the Lower Narmada* (Baroda 1964), p. 44.

19. Paterson and Drummond, *op. cit.*, p. 13, Fig. 2.

20. Howell, F.C. and J.D. Clark "Acheulian Huntergatherers in sub-Saharan Africa" in *African Ecology & Human Evolution*, Ed. by F. Clark Howell and Francois Bourliere, 1963, p. 488.

Culture at Kalambo Falls, Africa is 55,300 B.C.  $\pm$  300. In fact, with the two dates for the Middle Stone Age industry from Mula Dam the entire chronological sequence at Kalambo Falls would suit the Indian context as well.

This leads to the final problem. How did this uniform development embracing the whole of the Indian sub-continent take place? Was it due to a slow, imperceptible diffusion or the diffusion within India and also from outside India—particularly Eastern Africa where we witness a well-attested development of the hand-axe-cleaver industry at several sites, but best at the Olduvai Gorge right from the earliest stage called Oldowan now and dated to 1.7 to 2.2 million years?

If Africa was not the source of hand-axe-cleaver culture in India, could it be Western Asia whence in proto-historical and historic times cultures and peoples have migrated to India? Central Asia, parts of which are within the Soviet Union are reported to have yielded Chellean and Acheulian tools, for instance, from the Azykh cave in the Azerbaidzhan in the Transcaucasus. Here besides hand-axes and side-scrapers, fragments of bones of rhinoceros, cave bear and giant deer were also present. Unfortunately, a critical evaluation of the material is not possible for want of information.<sup>21</sup> Elsewhere, according to Klein<sup>22</sup> not one of the so-called Chellean localities in the USSR has presented artifacts in geological/palaeontological context. Those found from Southern Kazakhstan by Kh. A. Alpysbaev and Ronow as late as 1965 in Tadzikistan and Kirgizia and described as Lower Palaeolithic represent "the discovery on the surface of a single artifact."<sup>23</sup> This is indeed insufficient for any kind of evaluation and culture contacts.

As far as Europe is concerned, it is assumed that Early Man went there from Africa. But no specific route was suggested. Professor Chard<sup>24</sup> thinks that since hand-axes have been found both in Spain, as well as in Morocco and Algeria, it was through the Straits of Gibraltar and Spain that man must have crossed over to Europe. If this is conceded then we have to credit the man with willingness as well as ability to cross water barriers. Granted this, man could enter Europe from Africa any time he chose, and not necessarily when the sea-level was low. It should

21. Klien G. Richard, "Chellean and Acheulian on the territory of the Soviet Union....." in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 68, No. 2, April 1966, p. 3; also Ranov, V.A., "On the relations between the Palaeolithic Cultures of Central Asia and Some Oriental Countries." *VII International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, Moscow 1964.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

24. Chard, S.C., "Implications of Early Human Migrations from Africa to Europe." *Man*, 1963, No. 152. See also Howell, F. Clark, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. I 1960, pp. 195-232 and *Science* Vol. XXX. 1959, pp. 831-44.



be remembered that even during the Glacial maxima the sea-level was not so low as to make the Straits of Gibraltar dry or afford a land-bridge across the Mediterranean.<sup>25</sup>

This view might necessitate some modification for Chard had not taken into account the Bosphorous-Dardanallas region, because no hand-axes had been reported from the Balkans. But now bifacial tools have been found in Greece.<sup>26</sup>

If, however, any migration from Africa is to be credited for the birth of the Soan Culture and also the hand-axe culture in the Panjab where both occur earliest (in India) then some likely land-bridge between both these countries have to be postulated, unless we agree with Chard that large masses of water did not offer any insurmountable obstacle to man's migration from one continent to another.

It was once held by geologists like Blandford and Medlicott that Saurashtra was connected with Africa, but this connexion was probably during the pre-Pleistocene times.<sup>27</sup> Whether it continued to survive later, is not known. From the Pleistocene times it is an island. So how the influence or man reached the Panjab from East Africa is not clear from the map (reproduced here with some additions) given by Cornwall and by Clark and Piggott. The only land route is via Arabia-Iran-Baluchistan/Afghanistan. So if a sea route was chosen and was most feasible it was either direct from East Africa to Sind or Saurashtra or *via* the Red Sea and Arabia to Western coast of India, more specifically Saurashtra where hand-axes have now been found. Clark and Piggott have suggested the route lay along the northern coast of the Gulf of Oman, perhaps during a period of lower sea-level, implying thereby that the Red Sea was non-existent. But then no pebble tools or hand-axes have been found in Arabia so far.<sup>28</sup>

This does not explain or account for the existence of pebble tools in the Panjab—in the Second Interglacial. Could not such unspecialized tools be made independently in different countries? Now besides Africa—East, North and South—India—North as well as Peninsular India—Central Asia and China, Japan<sup>29</sup> has yielded such tools. Not one, but diverse centres of origin are most likely.

Finally who was this man? In the previous edition it was suggested that the makers of the hand-axe and the pebble tools might have been different. As yet no evidence is available about

25. Cornwall, I.W., *The World of Ancient Man*, London 1964, p. 118.

26. Higgs, E.S. *Man.*, 1963, No. 2.

27. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Kathiawar, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

28. Clark, Grahame and Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric Societies*, p. 52, and map 1, p. 37.

29. Sato Tatsuo et al., "The Lower Palaeolithic Implements from Nyu, Oita Prefecture" *Journal of the Archaeological Society of Nippon*, Vol. 47, 1962, pp. 49-67.

the man himself from the Indian sub-continent. From outside, though the evidence is yet negligible, "still the massive chinless mandibles from Ternifine and Sidi Abderrahman in Algeria and Morocco respectively, and the skull from Bed II at Olduvai all found with early hand-axe industries agree in conforming broadly to the Pithecanthropine type." In other words, both the early hand-axe industries and the industries of Choukoutien seem to have been made by hominids belonging to the same phase in the evolution of man. That is, distinct types of tools could be produced in different parts of the Lower Palaeolithic world by men of the same broad physical type and at the same level of economic development.

A more advanced type of men (women) having a larger brain size seems to be responsible for the finer—Acheulian—hand-axes, at least in Africa and England.<sup>30</sup> Was it also so in India? We do not know.

30. Clark and Piggott, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

IDENTIFICATION OF PLACE-NAMES  
MENTIONED IN THE JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF  
AMOGHAVARSHA I : ŚAKA 742

By

S. A. SALI

These plates, found at Javakheḍa, taluka Shahada, district Dhulia (Maharashtra State), were published by Shri D. R. Bhat, Curator, Rajwade Samshodhan Mandal, Dhulia, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 129f. They record the grant of the village Vāyipadraka by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I while he was camping at Śrī-Nisvapuraka, to a Brāhmaṇa named Joggāḍḍi-bhaṭṭa, son of Revāḍḍi-bhaṭṭa, on the occasion of the Dakshināyana-saṅkrānti which occurred on Friday the 8th of the bright half of Āshāḍha in the expired Śaka year 742. Vāyipadraka was bounded by Laghu-Moyipadraka in the east, Umbaropika-grāma in the south, the boundary of the same village in the west and Vindhya mountain in the north.

Prof. Mirashi gives a correct reading as Umbharopika for Umbaropika.<sup>1</sup> The donated village Vāyipadraka was included, according to Mirashi's correct reading, in the Division of Prakāshāya.<sup>2</sup>

Bhat identifies Śrī-Nisvapuraka with Nisarapur near Kukshi in Madhya Bharat and except this he has not tried to identify other villages mentioned in the said grant. Mirashi, however, has made an attempt in this connection, but his identifications do not seem to be satisfactory.

This writer agrees with Mirashi when he says that Nisarapur near Kukshi in Madhya Bharat is not likely to be identical with Nisvapuraka. Yet, at the same time, he disagrees with the latter's identification of Śrī-Nisvapuraka with Navalpur. To this writer, the name Śrī-Nisvapuraka, where Amoghavarsha I was camping, appears to be a joint-name of the village, i. e., Nisvapuraka near Śrī. These two villages can be identified with Shrikhed and Nisarapur (1" Survey Sheet No. 46 K/10) lying only about 300 m. apart from each other, on the right bank of the Umri Nālā, a feeder of the river Gomai, and about 9 km. north-east of Javakheḍa (where the plates were found) which is also situated on the right bank of the same Nālā near its confluence with the latter.

1. V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, p. 207f.

2. *Ibid.*

Mirashi rightly says that the camp was probably situated not very far from the donated village. It is, therefore, necessary to look for the villages around the above mentioned Shrikhed-Nisarapur, which could be identified with those mentioned in the plates. It may be said after Mirashi that the donated village Vāyipadraka cannot now be traced. Mohida and Umri, which in Mirashi's opinion are identical with respectively Moyipadraka and Umbharopika, are far away from Shrikhed-Nisarapur. None of the present villages in the area bears a name phonetically similar to Umbharopika of the plates. That there existed in the vicinity of Shrikhed and Nisarapur a certain village by name Umri—a name phonetically near to Umbharopika—on the banks of Umri Nālā sometime in the past can be surmised from the name Umri Nālā. Because, the custom of naming Nālās or streams after a prominent village on their banks is still prevalent in the region.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, Umbharopika can be identified with the village Umri existing sometime in the past on the Umri Nālā upstream from Shrikhed-Nisarapur. Moyipadraka can be satisfactorily identified with Moyda (1" Survey Sheet No. 46 K/14), a village situated about 15 km. east of Shrikhed-Nisarapur on the Khetiā-Rājpur road. The donated village Vāyipadraka lay somewhere between Shrikhed-Nisarapur and Moyda, and to the south of the Satpurā mentioned in the plates as Vindhya.

3. Interestingly enough in the area around the villages mentioned in this article there are two examples of Nālās which have been named after the villages situated on their banks; e.g. Sankrālī Nālā named after the village Sankrālī Buzrug and Bandhāra Nālā named after the village Bandhāra Khurd (see 1" Survey Sheet No. 46 K/10).

# THE BUDDHIST CAVES AT SUDHAGARH

By

OWEN C. KAIL

The Buddhist caves at Sudhagarh consist of two separate groups—one at Nenavali and the other at Thanale; in addition there is an isolated cell at the village of Gomashi, six miles south-west of Nenavali. Both groups are located in the Sudhagarh taluka of Kolaba district and stand in the shadow of the Sudhagarh fort.

The easiest approach is from Panvel via Pen to Nagothana and thence to the village of Pali which lies at the foot of the Sarasgadh fort. Pali is a convenient halting place as facilities for food and shelter are available.

The Thanale caves are 11 miles from Pali and to reach them one should proceed along the Pali-Khopoli road for about 7 miles upto the village of Pedli or Perli; the *kutch*a track to the right leads to Thanale and Nenavali. The village of Thanale is now 4 miles distant and can be identified by the twin wells by the road. From here the path winds through the hillside village across the valley to the caves which are nearly 3 miles from the twin wells.

## *The Thanale group:*

The Thanale group of caves face west and overlook the ravine. The path is easy to traverse except for the last mile when it disappears in the undergrowth of pith, *karvanda* and bamboo.

There are in all 23 excavations which are in a fair state of preservation. The path leading from cave to cave does not now exist, having been eroded away by centuries of rain and wind.

The most important excavation in this group is the *vihāra*, which consists of a low pit or assembly area, a raised plinth or verandah with steps leading upto it from the pit, and cells cut into all three walls.

The entrances to the cells are ornamented with the Chaitya-motif and between two adjacent cells are niches also decorated with the Chaitya arch. The space between the Chaitya arches is filled with the Rail pattern and a lattice window cut in the stone. Each cell has a stone bench. Polished grey-stone plaques have been let into the northern and eastern walls seven feet above the floor of the verandah. Two of them bear brief inscriptions in the Brāhmī script of the third century B.C. testifying to donations made towards the construction of some of these caves. Above the niche or



Fig. 1  
**SUDHAGARH**  
Thanale: Vihāra.

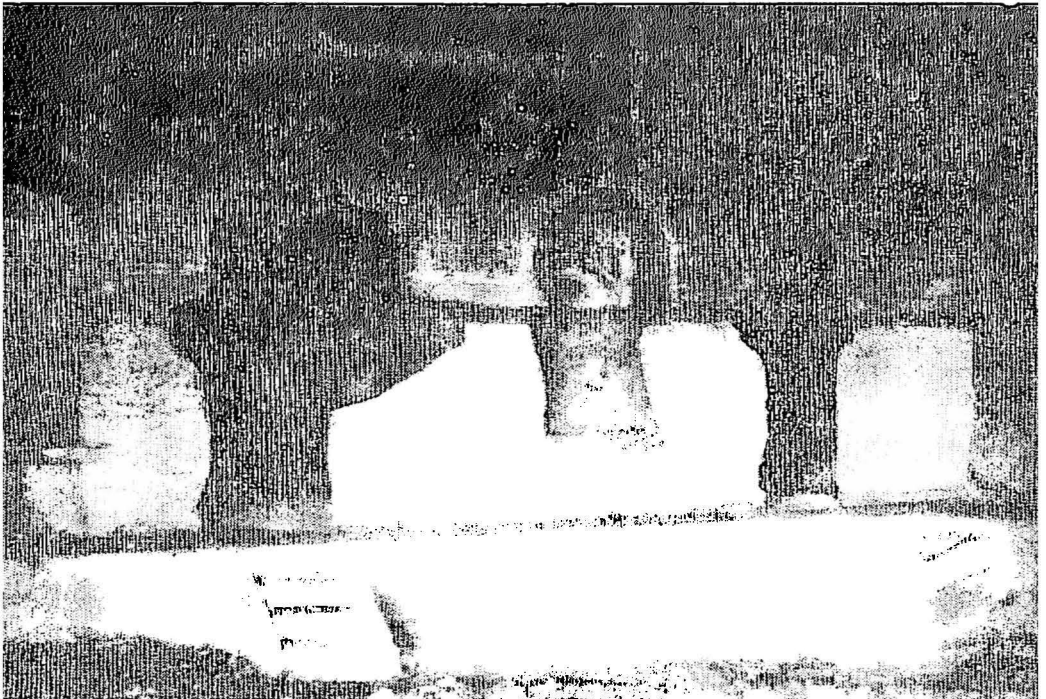


Fig. 2  
**SUDHAGARH**  
Thanale: Vihāra.

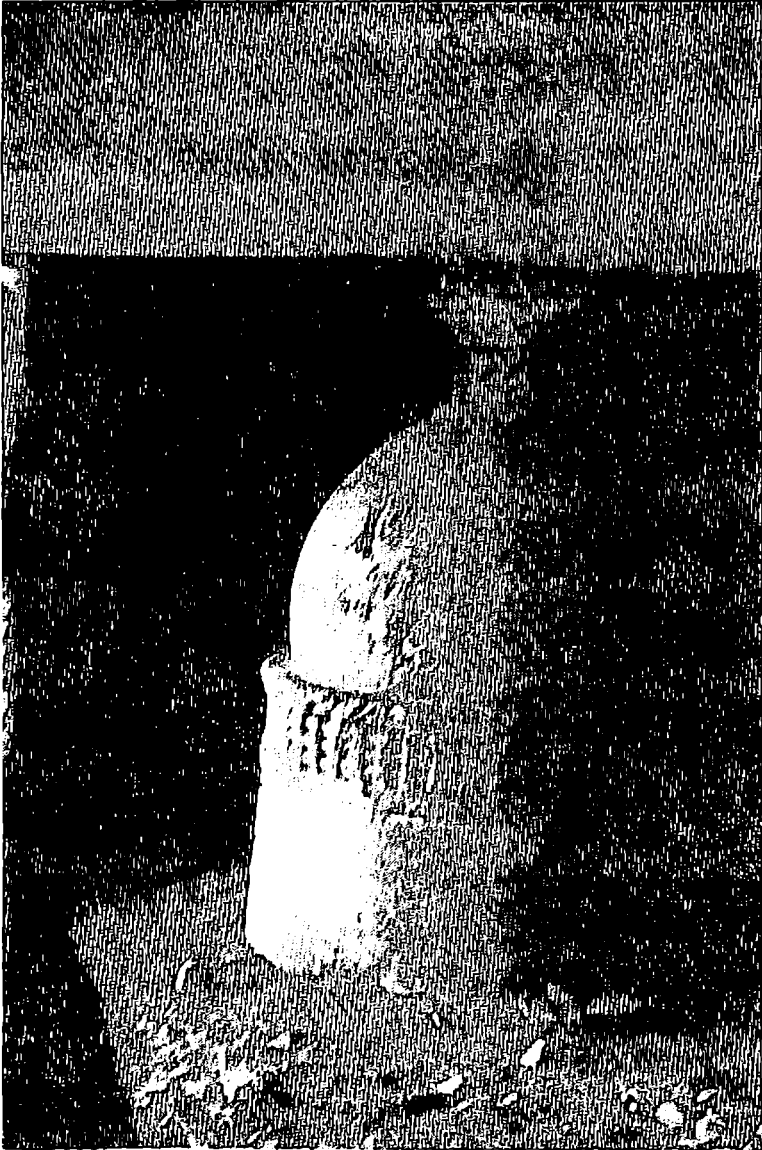


Fig. 3  
SUDHAGARII  
Thanale: Detail of Stupa.

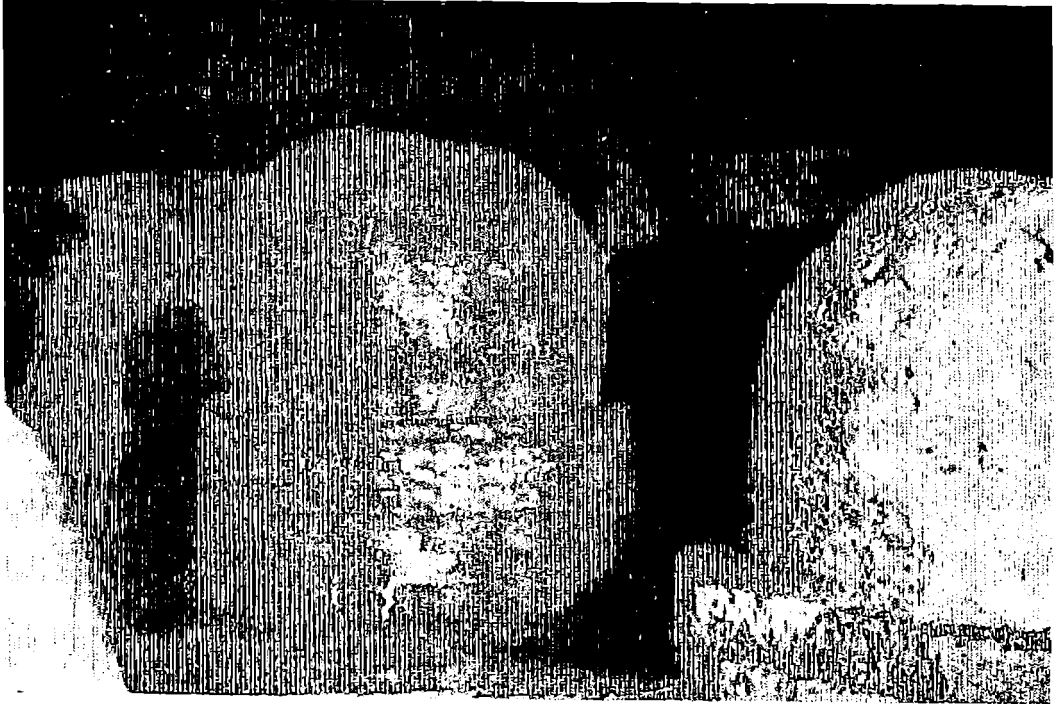


Fig. 4  
**SUDHAGARIH**  
Thanale: Stupa Gallery.

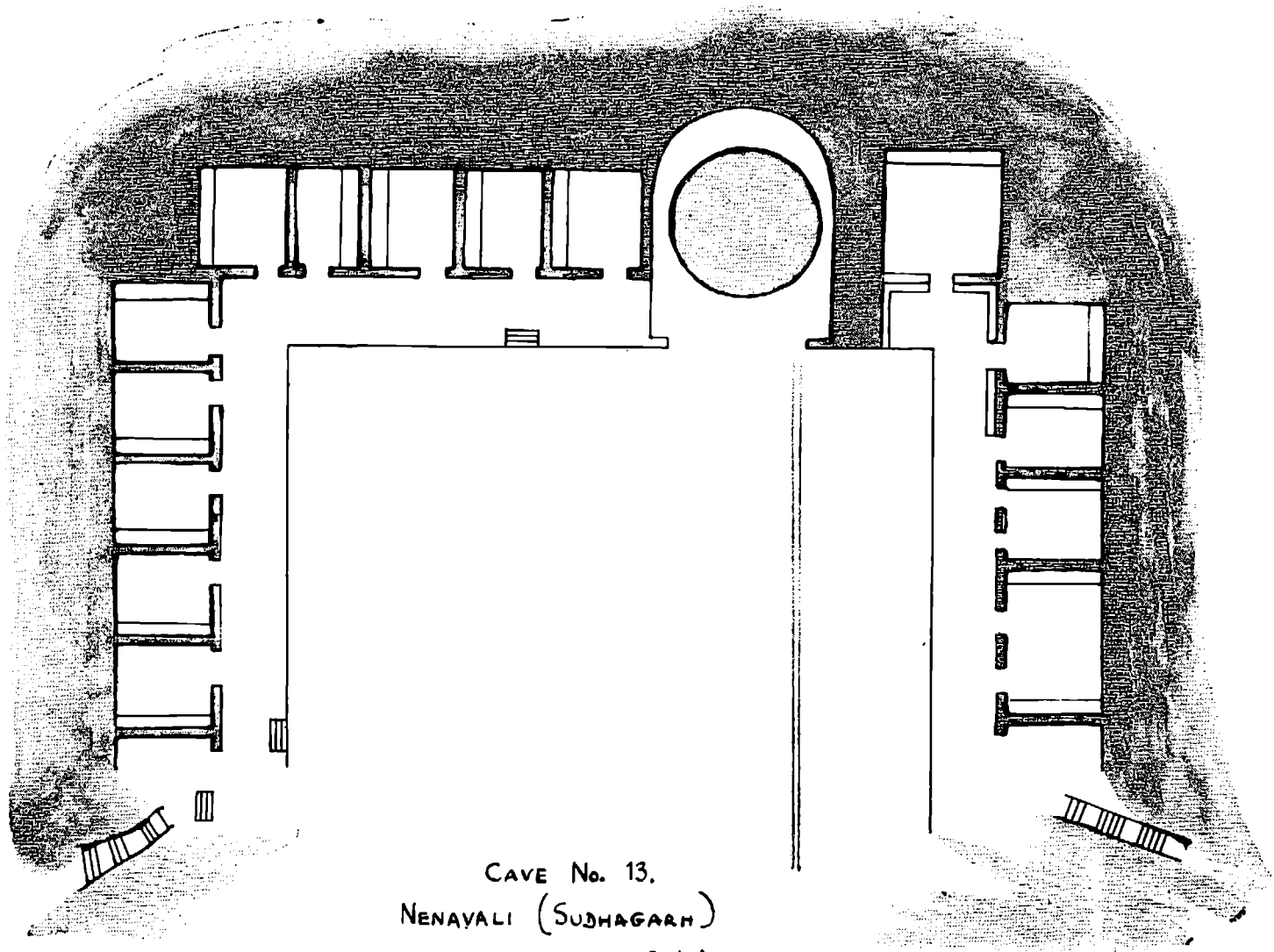




Fig. 5  
**SUDHAGARIH**  
Nenavali: Cave No. 13.



Fig. 6  
**SUDHAGARIH**  
Nenavali: Cave No. 13.



CAVE No. 13.  
NENAYALI (SUBHAGARH)

O. KAIL 1955.

Fig. 7

alcove on the northern wall is a large bas-relief of a five-headed serpent which is repeated in miniature on the southern wall. Adjacent to this is another engraving of a couple standing on a fish. Though this panel is not in keeping with the rest of the architecture, it does not necessarily mean it is a latter addition. Such sculptures did form part of the ornamentation of Hinayāna architecture.

Imitation windows have been carved on the walls between the entrances to the cells. The lattice which is not square but diamond-shaped is only an inch deep and was not cut through the walls. The southern wall is further ornamented with the Rail pattern which instead of having straight bars has "wavy" horizontal bands. This variation of an established Buddhist symbol does not appear in any of the groups in Western India. The ceiling of the *vihāra* has a large painting of the lotus-flower in white, red and black and there appears to be some letters or symbols at the four cardinal points of the flower. Considering the condition of the painting it is most unlikely that it was outlined two thousand years ago, unless it was periodically "touched up." As such I am of the opinion that it is a comparatively recent addition to the caves and the contribution of the inhabitants of the village of Thanale.

This *vihāra* is by far the most interesting in both the groups, and bears by comparison an abundance of decoration, carving and inscriptions.

The Chaitya cave is comparatively devoid of interest. The characteristic *chaitya*-arch entrance whether in stone or wood has entirely disappeared. A solitary *stupa* or dagoba 12 feet in height stands at the far end with faint traces of the Rail pattern at the upper end of the cylinder. Steps leading from the Chaitya to the adjacent caves have long since crumbled and the only path now available, which is dangerous, is along the face of the rock.

An interesting excavation is what may be termed the *stupa* gallery. It consists of a large low-roofed cell with eight *stupas* carved from the same rock. The *stupas* range from three-and-a-half to four-and-a-half feet in height. They are regular *stupas* ornamented with the Rail pattern and have stone shafts and square abacus. In addition there are two small niches in the side and back walls which are ornamented with Chaitya arches. The floor of the cell is littered with rubble and stones and there is no path leading from this cave to the one adjacent. This *stupa* gallery is similar to the *stupa* galleries at Bhaja and Kanheri. They are not devotional *stupas* but are funerary mounds, the relics and jewels of a Buddhist saint being enshrined in a hollow receptacle in the square abacus.

The remaining excavations towards the north are either single cells or double-storied cells and are in a fine state of preservation;

stairs leading to the upper stories have unfortunately fallen away in the same landslide which removed the facade of the Chaitya cave.

*The Nenavali group:*

The caves at Nenavali are about 22 miles from Pali or a further 11 miles from Thanale via the villages of Bhairampada and Pachapur. If travelling by Jeep one can get within half a mile of the Nenavali caves.

This group is sometimes referred to as the Karsamble group. The caves face east and overlook the Bhira pipe-line in the distance. The group consists of 37 excavations but many of them are multiple caves, as in the case of the Chaitya-cum-*vihāra* where 16 caves make up this excavation. The entire group is in an advanced state of ruin and in many cases the overhanging rock has collapsed, thereby blocking entry to the cells. In the same manner all traces of *pondhis* or cisterns which used to serve the caves have disappeared.

The majority of the caves were natural caverns which were converted into *bhikshu-grihas* (cells) or *vihāras* regardless of the fact that the rock was unsuitable for normal cave excavation, as was necessary two thousand years ago. An easily noticeable flaw is the layer of red laterite which occurs in an otherwise homogeneous mass of Deccan lava, which was the cause of the caves crumbling, and which eventually led to the early evacuation of the settlement.

The most important excavation in this group is Cave No. 13 which is a large excavation consisting of 15 cells and one Chaitya cell carved in the three walls. It consists of a large assembly area fifty-five feet long by forty-four feet broad and around this is a verandah or plinth (similar to that at Thanale) two feet higher than the pit and eight feet wide. In the northern wall are four cells each having a stone bench. The southern wall has five cells each with a stone bench and the western wall has seven cells each also with a stone bench. The Chaitya cell is the second cell from the right. An unusual feature is that the floor of the Chaitya is level with the pit, whereas the floors of the other cells are level with the verandah. Stone steps lead from the assembly area to the verandah.

The Chaitya cell has the conventional arched roof and contains a *stupa* which is nine feet high. There is no ornamentation whatsoever on the *stupa*, not even the Rail pattern on the upper end of the cylinder—an indication of its antiquity. Local inhabitants however state that a loose stone slab was fitted into the top of the *stupa* which bears out the theory that a wooden umbrella was once fitted to the top. There is today no trace of the umbrella or shaft. There are signs of water seeping into the arched roof of the Chaitya

cell and being lead around the *stupa* and across the floor to the edge of the cliff. This runnel which is nine inches wide and twelve inches deep is flanged, so that the runnel could be covered with stone slabs.

Remnants of a short flight of three stone steps exist at the northern and southern ends of the assembly hall, leading up to the verandah and the caves beyond.

There are several square and round sockets in the ceiling corresponding with similar sockets in the floor. From their position and layout it is apparent they were used for the fitment of a wooden or rood screen, which was intended to close off the *vihāra*, leaving the Chaitya open to light and to visiting monks and others. The low roof however and the distance of the *stupa* from the cliff makes it highly improbable that much sunlight ever reached it. Other Chaitya caves were constructed with Chaitya windows, through which the light filtered on to the dagoba. In caves where the Chaitya window did not exist a rood screen in front served the purpose. In the case of this cell a Chaitya door existed, as remnants of the lintel of the door are still visible today.

In the majority of Buddhist cave groups, *pondhis* or cisterns were excavated at the entrance to and under the caves, and water was lead into the *pondhis* by a system of runnels. In a few cases as at Kanheri these *pondhis* were fed by springs. At Nenavali however, only one *pondhi* was located which was filled with rubble. All other *pondhis* have most probably been filled with earth and stones and are now difficult to locate.

Most of the other cells consist of single, double or triple units the entrance to the second and third cells being through the cell in front. All the cells have the usual stone bench, but in the double cells a lamp-niche has been cut into the side wall near the door.

The small inner cells were furnished with wooden doors, as sockets for such arrangements are noticeable. This feature is repeated so often that in spite of the two other thicknesses of wall between the innermost cell and the outer entrance of the cave, one is lead to believe that inner-most compartment was used as a strong room.

There are traces of the walls and the ceilings having been plastered with a mixture of clay, paddy husk and lime and lesser traces of red and black colour are also visible. There is no doubt that these attempts at decoration were made by much later occupants and as such they can be ignored.

Six miles south-east of Nenavali is a single isolated cell at the village of Gomashi, containing a figure of the Buddha in the *Bhūmi-sparśamudrā* or Earth-touching-attitude. This image places the cave

in the sixth or seventh century A.D. when it was occupied by the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

Buddhist caves either belong to the Hīnayāna or to the Mahāyāna periods. Caves excavated by the Hīnayāna Buddhists are austere and plain, the main form of ornamentation being the Chaitya arch and the Rail. Caves belonging to the Mahāyāna period are remarkable for a profusion of sculpture and painting, mainly depicting the Buddha in one of his *mudrās* or attitudes. Many Hīnayāna settlements were later occupied by the Mahāyāna Buddhists who overlaid the simple and austere decoration with an abundance of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other figures.

The Nenauali group is remarkable for a total absence of any form of ornamentation. This immediately places the group as belonging to the earlier part of Hīnayāna period, as opposed to the Thanale group whose Chaitya and Vihāra are decorated with conventional Buddhist symbols. As such the Thanale group follows that at Nenauali. This is further borne out by the fact that at Nenauali the Assembly Hall (*vihāra*) and the place of worship (the Chaitya) were located in the same excavation. Later on as the principles of Buddhist cave architecture evolved, the Chaitya cell was separated from the Assembly Hall as at Thanale.

The Thanale group therefore belongs to the same period as the early excavations at Bhaja and Karla, i. e. 150 B.C. Under the circumstances however Nenauali is naturally earlier and if we fix its date at 200 B.C. we shall not be far out i. e. the date of the Cuttack excavations and before those at Kathiawar.

When Hīnayāna Buddhism gave way to the Mahāyāna, neither of these groups were occupied by the Mahāyānists, who came in a small band as far as Gomashi, where they left the Bhūmi-Sparśa image of Buddha. They either ignored the existing excavations at Nenauali and Thanale or occupied them without making any changes.

It would now not be out of place to describe the circumstances under which these caves were discovered and which was the cause of some controversy in the local press a few years ago. The credit for their "discovery" goes to the late Prof. D. D. Kosambi, who claimed to have found the caves where he expected them to be—on the old trade route from Rewas to Kolhapur, although they were not shown in the Gazetteers. He was also the first to read the two inscriptions in the Brahmi script at Thanale. This script he dated at 250—150 B.C.

Four factors prompted the Professor in his search for these caves. Almost all the Buddhist caves in the Deccan: (a) were situated along or near the ancient trade routes (b) overlooked river valleys (c) were in the vicinity of the Passes to the plateau (d) which Passes

in the Middle Ages were commanded by feudal forts.

Sudhagarh lay on the trade route from Rewas to Kolhapur via Mahad and Bhor. Two of the smaller tributaries of the Mula river flow down the valleys in this area. The Vaghjai, Savasana and Dera-Ghutka Passes on either side of Sudhagarh give access to the plateau, and overshadowing all are the forts of Sudhagarh and Sarasgadh.

Yet no caves were reported in this area, which is the Sudhagarh taluka of what used to be the old Bhor State; possibly the reason for their omission is that the Gazetteers usually covered 'British' territory and the maps made by setting up theodolites some distance from the towering Deccan scarp, missed the caves lying in its shadow. With the co-operation of the Archaeological Club of the National Defence Academy, Khadakvasla, a careful search of the area was made using aerial survey and high powered telescopes, which eventually resulted in the discovery of the caves at Sudhagarh.

The Sudhagarh caves throw new light on the role of Buddhism, particularly in this area. For besides bringing a higher degree of civilisation to the wilderness and new knowledge of agriculture and crops, the first monks evidently played a leading role in the economic development of the peninsula. They were respected by tribesmen, supported by kings and merchants and immune from the depredations of robbers. Moreover aged traders often became monks, bringing with them to the monastery their own personal wealth and property, which eventually converted these monastic establishments in banking houses, granaries and supply depots for the caravans. This is clearly seen at Nenavali where small inner cells were fitted with strong wooden doors, though there were two other thicknesses of cells between the inner strong room and the outer entrance to the cave.

These caves must have had well-filled treasuries, and we know from ancient Chinese records that interest was charged and the surplus produce of the fields, orchards and gardens owned by the monasteries, was sold. The profits from such trade not only housed and fed idle monks, but was used for the purchase of gold, jewels and ornaments for devotional purposes, and clothing, vessels and supplies for the caravans.

This situation continued till the number of self-sufficient villages increased to such an extent that the very nature of the trade changed and the general importance of a long distance trade collapsed.

By the time of Harsha in the seventh century A.D. such monasteries had become uneconomical and a drain upon the country's resources. But till the end of the Gupta period they played an important role in the development of the economy of the Deccan.

AN INSCRIBED KESHAVA IMAGE FROM  
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK\*

By

M. S. NAGARAJA RAO

While going through the pages of Zimmer's Volume II (1955), I was struck by the caption of Plate No. 388, which said, "Bengal—Vishṇu Trivikrama—XI-XII century". The image roused my curiosity as it bore a beautifully engraved Kannada inscription on its pedestal. I, therefore, wished to know from where in Bengal, an image with Kannada inscription came. It is with the kindness of Mr. Jean Schmidt, Dept. of Far East, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, who forwarded me a good photograph of the sculpture, that I could examine, study and write the following note.

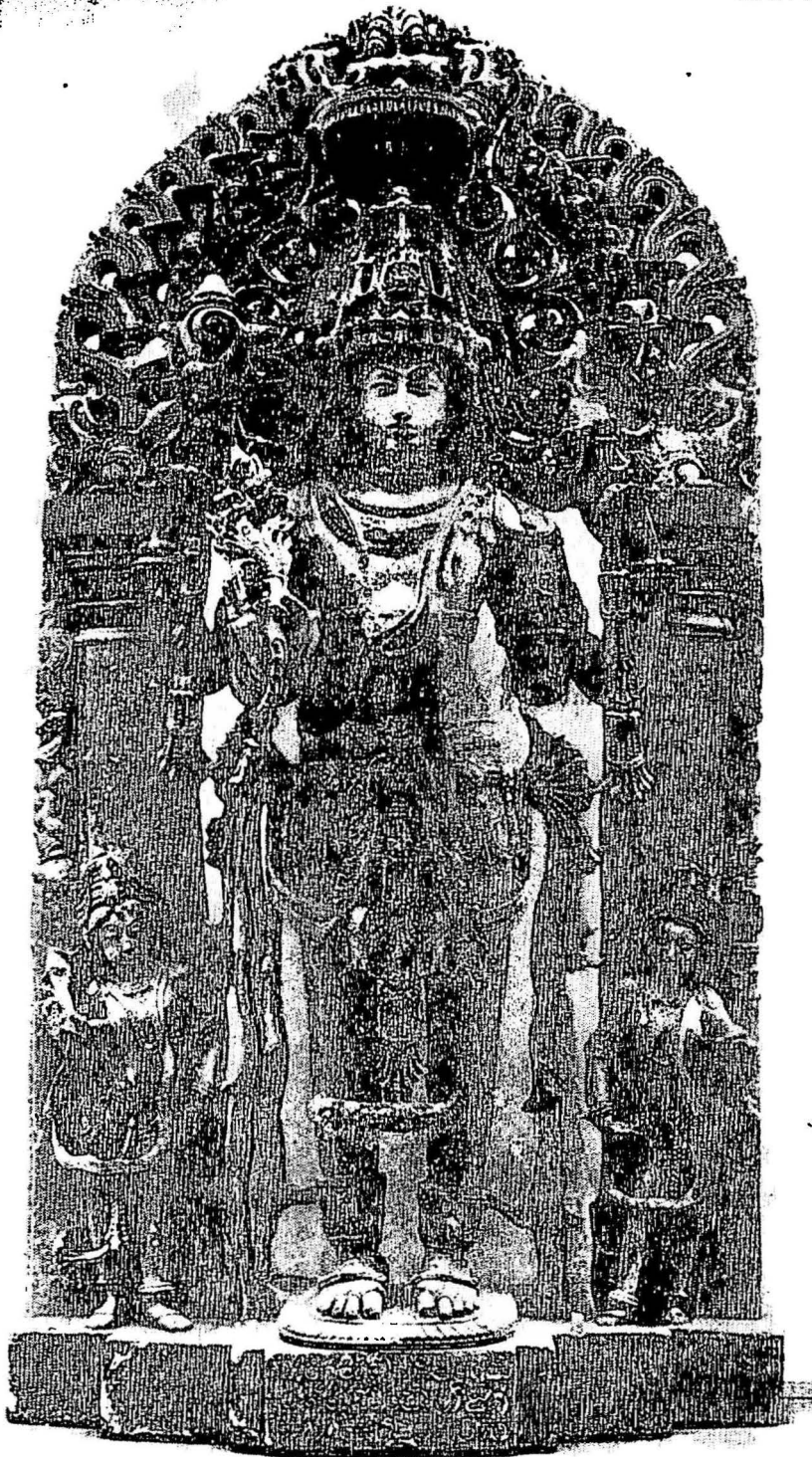
The image (see illustration) is in standing posture in the *sambhaṅga*. It is encircled at the top by a decorative *Makaratorana* which culminates at the top centre by a *kīrtimukha* and *chatra*, umbrella, which projects and canopies the head of the deity. Then the ten incarnations of Vishṇu are sculptured around, viz., *Matsya* (fish), *Kūrma* (tortoise), *Varāha* (boar), *Narasimha*, and *Vāmana* to the right of the deity; and, *Rāma*, *Balarāma*, *Paraśurāma*, *Buddha* and *Kalki* to the left. Just behind the head of the deity is the nimbus or halo, the outer periphery of which is decorated with delicately carved floral scrolls. The deity himself is richly decorated and a heavy crown with delicate carvings adorns the head. One of the four hands, the front left, is mutilated. The others hold the following attributes: the back right hand, *Śaṅkha*; the back left, *Cakra* (the disc part of it again mutilated); the front right, *Padma*; and the front left which must have held *gadā* is mutilated as already noted.

The deity is attended by two of his consorts who could be identified as *Śrīdevī* and *Bhūdevī*. They are adorned with *kirīṭamukuṭas* and other ornaments. They hold in their hands a lotus stalk each.

The pedestal in front bears a three-line inscription of 12th century A.D. which reads:—

\* Mr. Aschwin Lipp, Research Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, kindly informs me that he has published a note on this image in the Bulletin. He has however kindly permitted me to publish this detailed note, as more information is included. The specimen is said to come from Kikkeri, in Mysore. My thanks are due to Mr. Aschwin Lipp for the permission and Mr. Jean Schmidt for the photograph.





38481. VISHNU, STONE  
INDIAN, XI-XII CENTURY

THE METROPOLITAN  
MUSEUM OF ART

Sarasvatigāṇadāsi Baḷḷigrāme—  
 ye Rūvāri Dāsōjana  
 Besa "Kēsavamūrti"

It means that (this is) the image of Keshava, a work of the sculptor (rūvāri), Dāsōja of Baḷḷigrāma, who belongs to (the order of sculptors known as) *Sarasvatigāṇa*.

With this brief description of the image under study, we shall now discuss its other aspects.

*Identification:*

At the outset, it is to be mentioned that the image is of Keshava and not of Trivikrama as mentioned by Zimmer (1955, *op. cit.*). The identification is provided by the unquestionable authority of the inscription on the pedestal. This is corroborated by the literary evidence as well. According to *Rūpamaṇḍana* (Rao, T.A.G., p. 229), Keshava which is one of the twentyfour manifestations of Viṣṇu, should be sculptured with the following attributed in his four hands in the prescribed order: the back right hand, *Śaṅkha*; back left, *Cakra*; front left, *gadā*; and front right, *Padma*. The same arrangement is prescribed in the *Pātālakhanda* of the *Padma-purāṇa* (Rao, T.A.G., *Op. cit.*). However, according to the latter, the emblems of Pradyumna are similar to those of Keshava. But in the present instance that the image is of Keshava is beyond doubt, as it is given in the inscription at the base.

*Provenance:*

The image certainly does not belong to Bengal. On the other hand, it is a typical sculpture of the Hoysala period and of Hoysala region, i. e., the sculpture comes from Karnatak and in all probability, from Belur in the Hasan district of Mysore state.<sup>1</sup> This is confirmed from the following: As already mentioned, the inscription<sup>2</sup> on the pedestal mentions that this is a sculpture made by the sculptor Dāsōja who hailed from Baḷḷigrāma, and belonged to the order of sculptors known as *Sarasvatigāṇa*.<sup>3</sup>

1. Dr. Sarasvati, in a footnote, makes a cursory remark that this sculpture is wrongly attributed to Bengal, but does not elaborate as to where from this sculpture comes (Sarasvati, S.K., 1957, p. 188).
2. Such signed images are commonly met with in many Hoysala temples. The signatures at the base mention the names of the artists who executed them. For example, Belur, Halebid, Nuggihalli and Somanathpur (Narasimhachar, R., 1917, p. 5).
3. On a pillar in the Nākarēshvara temple at Sūḍi, (Taluka, Ron, Dist. Dharwar, Mysore State) there is an inscription, palaeographically ascribable to 12th century, which extols the great qualities of a sculptor (Rūvāri) called Chaṭṭōja son of Kētōja. He is described as a friend (or follower) of *Sarasvatigāṇa*. Thus the existence of an order of sculptors belonging to this *Sarasvatigāṇa* is confirmed (Information from Sri A. M. Annigeri, Research Assistant, Mysore Archaeological Department and acknowledged with thanks).

This Dāsôja is not a new name in Hoysala art, particularly in connection with the construction of the famous Hoysala temple of Chennakeshava at Belur. As noted above, he came from Baḷḷigrāma, the present village Baḷḷigāmi (in the Shikaripur taluka of Shimoga district, Mysore state), which is itself famous for many beautiful monuments (MAR, 1931, pp. 58-65). He and his son, Chāvaṇa, executed many sculptures in the Belur temple. Thus the famous bracket figure of a lady dressing her long hair on the exterior of the temple, the sculpture of Durgā and another bracket figure—again of a lady making her hair—on a pillar in the pillared hall of the temple [†-MAR, 1931, pp. 35,36 and 44 (Pl. X, 1) respectively] are all works of Dāsôja of Baḷḷigrāma and bear his name inscribed on the pedestal below (EC, Vol. V, Nos. 34, 36 and 37 respectively on p. 124). Many other bracket images bear the name of his son Chāvaṇa (EC, Vol. V, Nos. 35, 39 on p. 124 and No. 45 on p. 125). Another female sculpture in the Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid (MAR, 1917, p. 2 and Pl. II, 2) is executed by one Dāsôja. However, it is not certain whether he is Dāsôja of Baḷḷigrāma or another with the same name. But that Dāsôja worked at Belur is certain from the evidence of the signed bracket figures. Therefore, in all probability, the image comes from Belur.<sup>4</sup>

#### Date:

As already mentioned, the image is a typical Hoysala piece of art, which can be surmised from the style. The exquisitely carved *Prabhāvalī* with the ten incarnations, the heavy ornamentation, particularly the elaborately carved *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, the long *Vaijayanṭīmālā* and the typical lions with twirled tail standing on the heads of the elephants on the sides of the *Prabhāvalī* are all characteristic features of the Hoysala sculptural art. A cursory comparison of the image with those carved on the exterior of the temples at Belur, Halebid or Somanathapur will bring home the similarity of the sculpture under study with them.

Further we may again refer to the epigraph at the base. Dāsôja of Baḷḷigrāma is the author of this image. As already noted, this Dāsôja participated in the construction and carvings of the Belur temple. The temple, as we know, was constructed by Hoysala monarch Viṣṇuvardhana in A.D. 1117 (EC, Vol. V, Belur, No. 58, pp. 127-134 and MAR, 1931, p. 20) to commemorate his con-

4. An image of Keshava in the central shrine of Keshava temple at Somanathapur is reported to have been missing (Narasimhachar, R., 1917, p. 3). Would this image under study be the same as that of missing image of Somanathapur? It is certainly not. For, the present image is the work of Dāsôja of Baḷḷigrāma who worked at Belur in A.D. 1117. But the temple of Keshava at Somanathapur was constructed in A.D. 1268 by Soma, a high officer under the Hoysala ruler, Narasimha III (Narasimhachar, R., *Ibid.*, p. 1 and E. C., Vol. III, T. Narsipur No. 97).

version to Vaishṇavism from Jainism. Thus, the date of Dāsōja is fixed in A.D. 1117. This clearly shows that the image under study must have been carved around A.D. 1117. Therefore, on comparative evidence as well as inscriptional evidence, the sculpture could easily be dated to the early part of 12th century A.D.

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# CHRISTIAN ART IN GOA—SOME REFLECTIONS

By

E. R. HAMBYE

I recently revisited Goa, and took a particular interest in its Christian monuments, above all those of Old Goa, that extraordinary memory-haunted capital where marvels of past glories remind us, even more than in Fatehpur-Sikri, of the passing of civilisations. In the course of one of those leisurely explorations about Old Goa, I had in mind to see those churches, which are now almost always closed. Some just must not be missed, such as St. Catherine's near the Franciscan house, and the Rosary church which is built on the western edge of the hill called *Monte Santo*.

While rummaging here and there in the loft of the Rosary Church, a section of which has already collapsed, I came across a small ledge, obviously belonging to some altar-piece, but thrown away on a heap of discarded bits of wood. The ledge, hardly more than 50 cm. in height, and about 7 cm. wide, had kept its pristine beauty in spite of wicked times: a small Atlas, naked and crouching, holding up a dwarf pillar. The carving was remarkable by its boldness, its details and its proportions.

This can serve as symbol of the extraordinary achievements of Christian Art in Goa, more precisely in the three well-known districts of Ilhas, Salsette and Bardês.

## I. SOME OF THE DATA

Such an art reached its climax in churches, but we should not overlook the other religious establishments, such as monasteries and colleges. Considerable destruction,<sup>1</sup> some of it only as recently as the second half of the 19th cent., has deprived us of many of these buildings. But those which are still standing, are notable for their achievements and their diversity: friaries of the Franciscans in Old Goa and at Pilar, near Goa Velha; their smaller sister institutions attached to almost each parish-church of Bardês district, once manned by the same Franciscans; Jesuit houses of Old Goa (only about half of the old Professed House attached to Bom Jesus Basilica remains) and in Rachol, with the corresponding smaller residences alongside most of the Salsette churches, where the Jesuits worked for more than 150 years; the very large convent of Santa Monica in Old Goa, which once upon a time was the biggest such monastery for nuns in the whole Portuguese empire, including Portugal itself.

1. A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portuguesa* (Lisbon), 1886, vol. I, p. 166.

We shall however be satisfied to restrict ourselves to a report on the many churches of the present Goa State. They still represent the most imposing series of Christian monuments left to our admiration there: outstanding churches of the great religious orders or humble parish churches, richly endowed chapels of towns or simple shrines of the road-side, they add up to one of the richest and yet concentrated *ensemble* of such religious buildings in India, and perhaps even in many other parts of the world. Actually we are faced with an unexpected and most striking type of conservatory, where we meet with almost anything of Indo-European religious art the 16th-18th centuries have produced.

Let us begin to analyse some of the significant characteristics of this treasure trove. First, we are impressed by a sound, basic approach to religious architecture, which for the most part leaves little to be desired. Here we have to mention the use of vaulting, not only in the presbyteries, which is the rule, but also, though not so commonly, in the nave itself. Various types of vaulting were introduced there, such as the barrel-vault, the groined vault, and also the cover ceiling with penetrations, which is characteristic of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. In some churches, like those of Penha de Francês (Bardês) and Santanna (Ilhas) such vaulting system is reinforced by transversal arches, an obvious reminder of medieval technique. This is also the case with the quadripartite vaults of the Sé (the cathedral of Old Goa, still the biggest church of its kind in India today<sup>2</sup>), or even of the magnificent sacristies of Bom Jesus and of the Franciscan church in the same place. Domes or cupolas, however much developed since the Renaissance, are found rather rarely, and the case of St Cajetan's, again in Old Goa, and its church of Our Lady of Divine Providence is exceptional. It is a clear attempt to reproduce in India the great models of the Italian Baroque, under the particular influence of St Peter's and St Andrea della Valle's in Rome.

To this architectural survey we must add some remarks on the general use and function of ornamentation meant to underline and interpret the architectonic features of the churches. While we find in Goa all the decorative sensitiveness of the Baroque times, it tends to keep rather sober, even austere, especially if compared to the efflorescence of Brazil for the same period. Yet such embellishment, as there is, is often well developed, making much use of stucci effects, and this is especially the case with presbyteries, and with the eastern wall which gives entrance to these. In case of greater churches, especially those built during the 17th cent., nave

2. M. T. Chicó, 'Aspects of the Religious Art of Portuguese India', MARG 8 (1954-55), pp. 23-5.

and transepts have often received an adequate decorative treatment, for instance in Margao and in Santanna.

Facades<sup>3</sup> in Goa are too clearly treated according to the Renaissance principles of three successive orders, etc., but they are sufficiently diversified as to make a good picture of variety. More classical in this respect is the facade of the Sé (the collapsed northern tower prevents us today from experiencing the full effect this structure should give us), as well as that of the Augustinian church in Old Goa, which is now, alas!, a heap of broken stones and columns, except for the one side left standing of the northern tower. From the old designs of the latter facade we know that, it enjoyed a remarkable influence on other churches, for instance on Santanna. More Baroque and also more refined is the facade of Bom Jesus, though it may be considered as more sophisticated. This is also the case with some of the Bardês churches, such as Calangute and Assagão, on which the Rococo style is already at work.<sup>4</sup>

The facades of most of those churches still remain functional, meaning here that they are not merely juxtaposed to the edifice. In this they contrast with many examples in Europe for the same period.

Churches in Goa were, and many still are, lavishly furnished. If we want to appreciate the contrast between a bare building and its full embellishment, we could find it today in Old Goa. It would suffice to compare between the restored church of St John of God, which is practically innocent of any interior decoration, and that St. Francis of Assisi, the adornment of which is definitely more intricate than that even of the Sé and the Bom Jesus.

Among the most outstanding achievements of ecclesiastical furniture, the altar-pieces (reredos) and the pulpits appear perhaps as the best achievements.<sup>5</sup> To these we must add the following: statues of all sorts, either in conjunction with altars and pulpits, or independent; tomb-stones and sepulchres, though there were of course not originally intended as mere pieces of furniture. Other expressions of such a concern for beauty and details are the more common items, such as chairs, tables, and the often impressive cupboards and almirahs of the sacristies, particularly those still so well preserved in Bom Jesus. In all this we meet perhaps with one of the fundamental features of Indo-Portuguese art, that constant, but characteristically sober, urge for decoration, which seems to have reached its climax by the middle of the 17th cent. While the baptismal

3. Carlos de Azevedo, *Arte cristã na Índia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1959, pp. 30-31; 33-50.

4. M. T. Chicó, 'Igrejas de Goa' *Gazeta de Orta*, 1956, p. 333.

5. *Ibid.*, 'A Escultura decorativa a Talha Dourada nas Igrejas da Índia Portuguesa'. *Belas Artes* (Lisbon), 1954, No. 7, pp. 23-30.

fonts do not offer as much decorative merits as other pieces of church appointments, some command our attention, for instance at the Sé and in the Rosario church (Old Goa), with their late Gothic and Manueline design of great beauty.

The art of painting was practised very early in Goa, at first by European artists working either with European or local materials; later by local artists, who are responsible for the bulk of what we find today in churches and museums. These works can be divided into independent and semi-independent paintings, and murals.<sup>6</sup> The semi-independent paintings are those which are incorporated into altar-pieces, of which we have some striking examples on the main altar, dedicated to the Holy Spirit, in the Margao church; they may also serve for the concerted decorative themes which mark the upper part of the wall around the sanctuary arch, as found in Bom Jesus and at Ribandar. Such pictures for a long time used wood as support, and this practice was actually never completely given up, likely owing to the difficulty in getting good canvas in the east. Murals are also found in Goan churches, but with much restraint. Surviving examples, such as in Santa Monica and in St. Francis of Assisi, show both the use of distemper and oil. They cannot be said to have reached a very high quality.

We must also mention the accomplishments of the jewellers and workers in precious metals, who lent their artistic talents to fashioning various sacred utensils, such as chalices, monstrances, crosses, censers, etc. In spite of appropriations of much of these treasures leading to destruction and forcible exportation, in the wake of the anticlerical fever of the late 18th century, and the 19th century, there still remain enough samples of this art as to make us wonder respectfully at the abilities of the local craftsmen. For, though some pieces were imported from Europe (e.g., the splendid Toledo monstrance of Margao), most of what we have today was made locally. Absolutely outstanding in this respect is the large reliquary of St. Francis Xavier's body, made in Goa in 1636-7. Local embroidery found also an outlet in some well-preserved vestments for liturgical use, such as those of Verna (Salsette) and Margao.<sup>7</sup>

## II. AN APPRAISAL

Strangely enough, religious art in Goa has found few, if any, commentators until very recently. True enough, a real school of historians developed in Goa since the middle of the 19th cent. Scholars from outside, be Portuguese or other Europeans and Americans, showed also some interest in the history of Goa, both religious and

6. Carlos Azevedo, *Op. cit.*, pp. 93-110.

7. R. dos Santos, 'A Índia Portuguesa e as Artes Decorativas', *Belas Artes* (Lisbon), 1954, No. 7, pp. 3-16.



secular. However their labours were focussed rather on political, social and religious questions. They neglected the history and interpretation of art. In the following reflections, we shall make use of our personal notes, besides the works of several Portuguese scholars, whose main contributions are noted at the end of this article.

It is almost a platitude to state that Christian art in Goa depended on Portuguese models. Yet we should not understand by this any claim to Lusitanian exclusiveness. For, while the art of Portugal itself for the period under review was original up to a point, it was intimately related with the general evolution of the Renaissance and Baroque periods throughout Europe. Like in other smaller countries of Europe, such as the Netherlands, Switzerland and Bohemia, Portugal could not manage without accepting, to a greater extent than her bigger sister states, influences from outside. It is well known that English influence played its part in the evolution of late Gothic in Portugal. During the 15th century, Flemish artists brought there their improved art of painting. Italians became influential during the Renaissance and even later on, without speaking of later Spanish and French impacts. Similar influences played also an important role in the Portuguese dominions of Asia and America. It can be added as a personal opinion that the Lusitanians were perhaps more devoted to architecture than to any other fine art. Actually in course of their world expansion they built enormously, and generally very well indeed.

From the last flourish of Gothic (Manueline period, 1495-1521), there remain in Goa, as belated manifestation of that age, the Rosario church, the main door of St. Francis of Assisi, the tower of St. Peter's at Panelim, and finally the already mentioned baptismal fonts of both the Sé and Rosario church. These remnants are characterised by the use of multi-ribbed vaults (Rosario, St. Peter's tower), and by an almost *romanesque* treatment of the general architecture and decoration. Not much there can be found of the exuberance of the Jeronymos monastery at Belem, except in the details of St. Francis door and of both the baptismal fonts.<sup>8</sup> This apparent poverty must have been caused in Goa by lack of suitable artists and material, if not of resources, since we can hardly accept a conscious return to the austerity of centuries gone-by. What is still more unexpected is to find Gothic rooms in Santa Monica, though they were built between 1606 and 1627. It may be due to a sense of tradition,

8. Carlos de Azevedo, *Arte cristã na Índia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1959, p. 27-29; M. T. Chicó, 'A Igreja do Priorado do Rosário na Velha Goa, a arte Manuelina e a Arte do Guzarates', *Belas Artes* (Lisbon), 1954, No. 7, pp. 17-22.

perhaps even to a desire of creating a monastic atmosphere associated even then with medieval times and traditions.

All the remainder of the Goa ecclesiastical architecture belongs to the late Renaissance, and above all to the Baroque and Roccoco periods. Goa has hardly known the early Renaissance, though the Sé could be regarded as an attempt at recreating a church where the Baroque approach stands at the cross-roads between classical lines and an insistence on dynamic ornamentation. The Sé actually belongs to the category of hall-churches, a late medieval method of construction, which aimed at setting the central nave and the aisles at equal height with their vaulting at the same elevation. I doubt however that this is wholly applicable to the Sé of Goa. At any rate it certainly follows to some extent the general plan of Portalegre church in Alentejo, central Portugal.

Churches multiplied in Old Goa and the three aforesaid districts from the last quarter of the 16th cent. onwards, and their tempo hardly abated during the first half of the next century. Besides the diocesan clergy, the orders mostly responsible for most of the constructions were the Franciscans of the Observance and the Jesuits, though in Ilhas the Dominicans and also the Augustinians played no mean role. The ground-plan of nearly all those churches is rather simple: a large rectangle, sometimes very broad, to which the presbytery or choir is attached. Such is already the case of St Peter's (built in 1542/43, but refashioned some 50 years later), and it is repeated not without some variety in so many instances. The cruciform ground-plan is rarer, but it also exists, especially in major constructions, e.g. Sé, Bom Jesus (1594-1605), Santanna, Margao, etc. It was already delineated at the priory church of Rosario, already mentioned for its Manueline character, and which was erected in 1543. From what we know of the plans of the now destroyed church of the Old St Paul's College which was the first house of the Jesuits in Goa, sunk-panelled vaults first appeared there, and as a normal feature of the time they were imitated in many churches, at least for the vaulting of the presbytery.

As we have already indicated, Portuguese models are far from being exclusively influential. C. de Azevedo<sup>9</sup> finds also in Goa, and in other centres of Lusitanian culture, many traces of direct Italian influence, received occasionally through artists and engineers called to India, and also through the use of the treatises of classical architecture. One can easily surmise that local artists had to be somehow guided, and that therefore they were supplied with both formal treatises and even with manuscripts displaying sket-

9. *Op. cit.*, p. 41-2.

ches of such types, as plan of churches, ornamentation, etc. Only researches in archives, particularly in accounts and the like, would tell us more precisely how far such influences worked out. To cite only a few instances, Italian influences are already traceable in the Sé, but they are still more evident in Bom Jesus, and were more than likely a feature of the now destroyed Augustinian church at Old Goa. An unequivocal Italian style characterises, of course, the church of O. Lady of Divine Providence at St Cajetan's. A tendency towards 'gigantism' in decoration and sculpture seems also of Italian origin.

From the middle of the 17th cent. Lusitanian, Italian and French influences mingled freely. We find also that in the latter part of the same century and during the 18th ornamentation, particularly in altar-pieces, was submitted to the imitation of French models, those of the Louis XIV and Louis XV types in particular. This is even more noticeable in the ordinary pieces of furniture, chairs, tables and the like, many samples of which can be found, for instance, in the Rachol seminary.

In spite of such European influences, which were never completely absent from Goa it must be admitted that thanks to local artists and craftsmen 'colonial' art underwent some transformation, a process in some ways comparable to that which altered the Persian art in India into the Mughal. On the whole the Indian genius in Goa is almost exclusively found in the church embellishment. In the first place, there is a definite tendency towards concentrating these adornments particularly on the presbytery, so as to produce an impression of calculated wealth. Notable, no doubt, is the extensive gilding on the scale which perhaps merited the name 'The Golden' for Goa. In the second place, we meet with a rather facile assimilation of well-known Indian motifs, if not Indo-Saracenic ones; the use of the lotus-flower under all its possible forms, even so twisted as to make it palatable to the Baroque taste for dynamic curves. Well-known in this respect is the alabastre monument of Catherine de Sa in the Rosario church which is rather an exceptional case of definite Indo-Saracenic style, often attributed to influences coming from Gujarat. Mario Tavares Chicó has also mentioned some reredos columns, which support the upper and half-protuding baldachino of the altar-pieces. It looks as they were meant to reproduce with much adaptation the cobra-heads protecting Vishnu's statues. They could also appear as stylised Nagas, such as the altar-pieces of the two churches of Damão (Madre de Deus and Cathedral) show us.<sup>10</sup>

10. M. T. Chicó, 'A Escultura...', *loc. cit.*

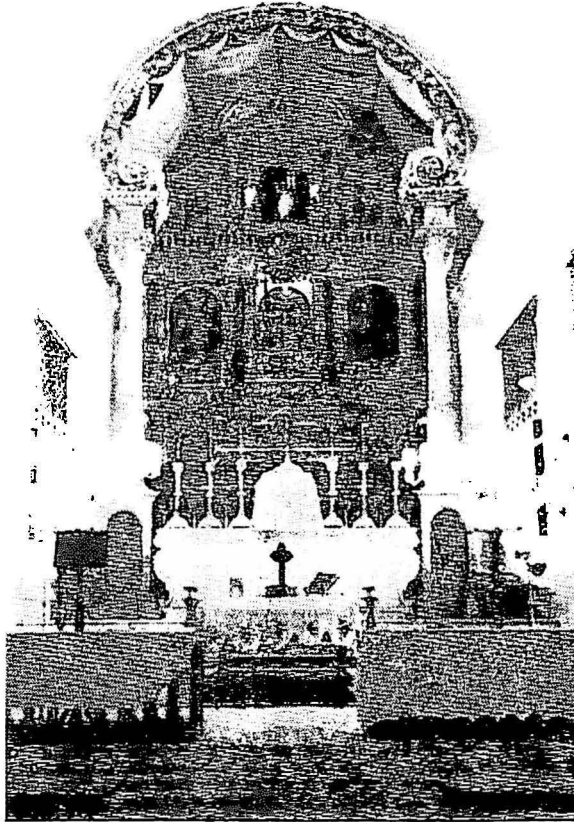


Fig. 1  
**MARGAO CHURCH OF H. SPIRIT (SALSETTE)**  
Main altar, a typical example of gilt retables, combined  
with bas-relief and paintings.



Fig. 2  
**RIBANDAR CHURCH**  
A magnificent statue of the Risen Christ—wood carving  
likely of the 17th cent. (?)—local craftsmanship—the  
statue is about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of life size.

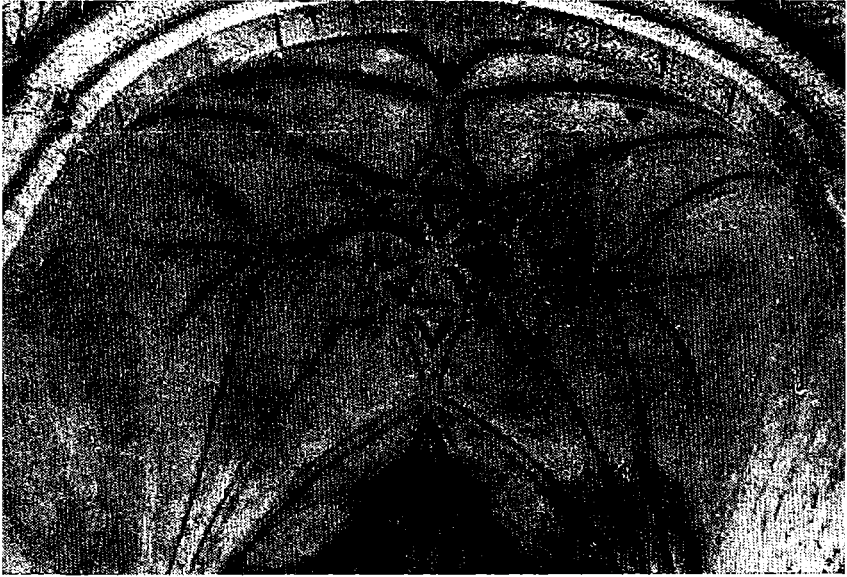


Fig. 3  
**ROSARIO CHURCH—OLD GOA**  
The Mammeline, multi-ribbed vault of the presbytery,  
which has great similarity with the Jeronymos church  
at Belem near Lisbon.

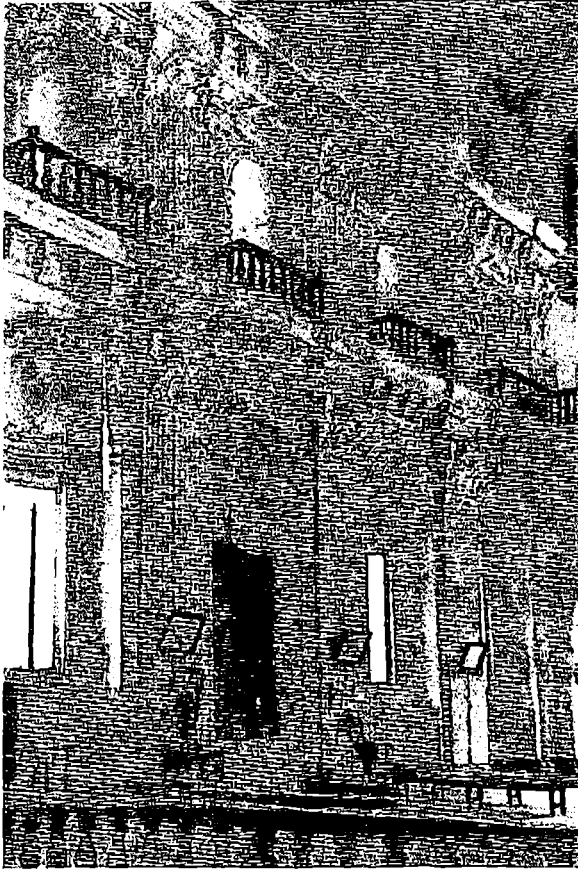


Fig. 5  
**SANTANNA CHURCH (ILHAS)**  
Northern side of the nave, showing Baroque ornamentation in stucco, and beginning of vaults and transversal arches.

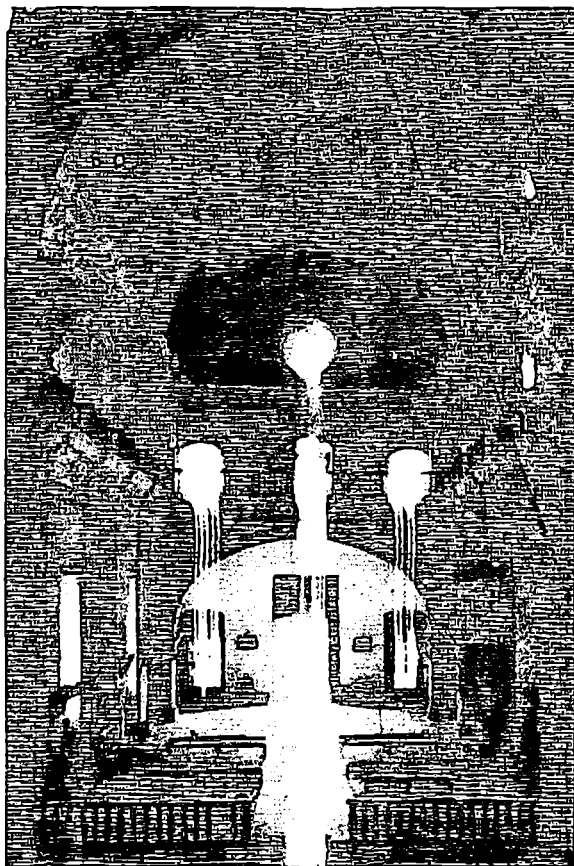


Fig. 4  
**SANTANNA CHURCH (ILHAS)**  
View from presbytery towards the nave, showing its full-fledged vaulting system.



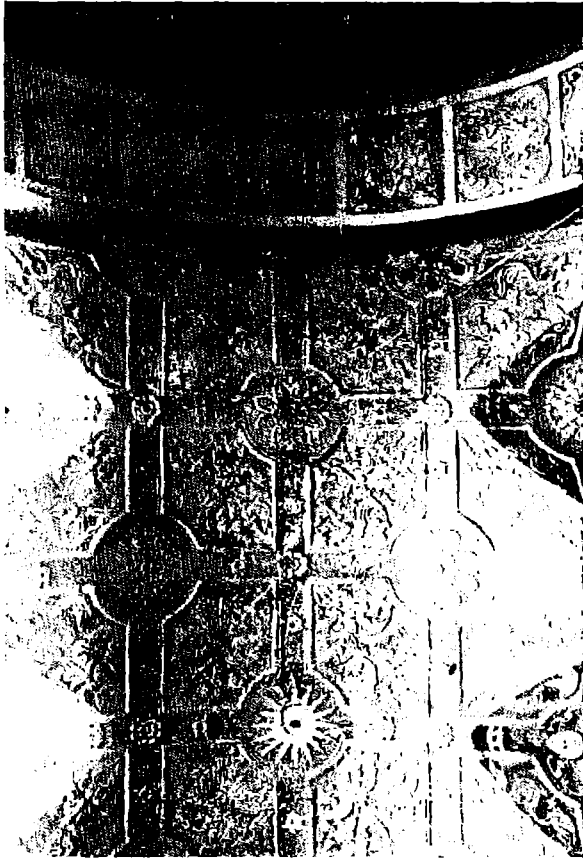


Fig. 6

**VERNA CHURCH (SALSETTE)**

**Vault of the presbytery, a cover ceiling with penetration  
—stucco work of rare delicacy, with use of lotus-flower.**

While looking up to the lunette (east side) of the northern transept of Margao church we are confronted with a large representation in stucco, which has its counterpart in the southern transept. That representation shows the Blessed Virgin Mary standing above a peacock. Would such unexpected theme be inspired by the pictorial legend of Parvati, as often found in Hindu sculpture, and where the peacock is so closely connected with that society?

Certain paintings of more local flavour indicate also a possible Indian influence, such as those of the narthex of the Blessed Sacrament chapel in the Sé. Some Old Testament personages represented there, such as Jacob, look much more like Mughals or even Arabs than one would find in contemporary European portrayals. Indian influence can also be traced in certain types of sculptures, statues and bas-reliefs, especially those of the more popular kind, and also in the treatment of faces which display a kind of local expressionism of striking effect.

### CONCLUSION

In spite of so many losses, the religious art of Goa still forms a very rich, diverse, and as far as the rest of Asia is concerned, exceptional achievement.

Of course, not all and everything has reached a state of perfection one could wish for. Many statues, for instance, are of a rather debased type, and though ancient, which is not a criterion of value by itself, they fall in the category of artistic rubbish, which has always afflicted Christian churches ever since the advent of semi-commercialised production. Yet, barring those pieces of inferior worth, the picture as a whole is extremely encouraging, all the more because it gives the lie to the usual interpretation or presumption of the decadence of the period, and similar associated dicta.

Indeed the greatest development of Goan art corresponds to the century (end of 16th-end of 17th cent.) during which the Portuguese enterprise suffered most. Such a paradoxical situation goes a long way to prove that religious devotion expressed in art was not so intimately connected with political and even economic circumstances, as often thought even today, and that the local population, without speaking of foreign settlers, kept unabated their urge for creating and building.

From the merely technical viewpoint, such an art is often remarkable, sometimes outstanding. To mention only one point, the use of the laterite material, found in such quantity in Goa, for the construction not only of small churches but of the imposing shrines

of old Goa displays a technical imagination by no means reduced to trite formulas.

Such a collection of 16th-18th cent. productions deserve our esteem and our affection more than ever before. It has become part and parcel of our Indian heritage, almost as much as our Indo-Persian monuments of the Mughal period. It is urgent that an exhaustive catalogue be prepared and published by competent people. It is not enough to preserve as national monuments the few samples found in Old Goa, excellent though they may be. Actually much of what we admire in Goa today cannot always be sharply divided in more or less important, on account of a variety of an exceptional character. So many churches of humble villages and small towns can actually compete with the greater buildings, and often preserve marvellous pieces not found elsewhere. The study of Indo-European art in Goa, as well as in Daman, Diu, Mylapore etc., has only begun. Scholars of today and tomorrow have there a great and entrancing task to perform.

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# A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FOLKLORE OF MAHARASHTRA 1950-1966

By

DURGA BHAGVAT

This is the sequel of my article with the same title in the last issue of the Journal, (Vols. 39-40/1964-5 New Series), dealing with the period 1806-1950. The special feature of the period after 1950 is that the folklore pursuit has taken shape of a cultural movement in general in Maharashtra as well as in other states. There are no figures like Rajwade, or Sane Guruji, who symbolised an earnest interest in folklore and produced something approaching a school in the field. There is no periodical like the Maharashtra Sāhitya Patrikā, which has some years promoted folklore collections. However it does not mean that the folklore activity in Maharashtra is diminished because there are no eminent scholars or periodicals specially devoted to it. On the contrary folklore has now acquired a much larger base and the activities are consolidated on account of the policy of the government to encourage traditional lore and to reshape rural culture. The establishment of the Folklore Committee by the Government of Maharashtra makes a new epoch in the folklore activities of the province and the consciousness about the cultural value of folklore is increasing day by day. Folklore conferences--or rather folk-culture conferences are held now and then. Recitals of folk-songs, narration of folk-tales, practice of folk-dances have become a regular feature of our public life. Folk-arts are also drawing more and more attention. In short, the folklore activities are spread widely and rooted firmly in the soil. The real question is of assessing the writings and probing in the nature of compilations which are quite numerous. Are the compilations made judiciously? Are the studies regulated by any methodology? Has any new thought arisen since the demise of Rajwade? Are the achievements satisfactory? These are the questions which a reviewer has to answer while analysing the material as it comes from various pens and the following pages record the findings as briefly as possible.

*The Publications of the Folklore Committee of the Maharashtra State:*

The publications of the Committee are called 'Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā,' or the Maharashtra Folklore Series.

In 1956 the Government of Maharashtra established the Committee to collect folklore, which is an essential feature of the traditional culture which is fast disappearing.

The first volume of the series (1956) is a compilation of folk-songs and folk-tales, riddles etc., and has an introduction by the chairman and editor, Shri C. G. Karve. As the collection was not based on any principle of selection, the introduction, which is superficial, seems to suffice the purpose of such a wide and loose collection.

In this collection the folklore collections of Vijaya Desai (from Malvan), of Ramchandra Vishvanath Adhikari (general) and Miss Sulochana Saptarshi are important. In the collection of Adhikari there is a tale of four Kumbhar women who made a vow to the god-ling Mhasoba, that if their chatties were sold they would dance naked before him. When the chatties were sold the women closed their eyes and started dancing naked before the deity. A milkman saw this and in order to make fun of the women started dancing naked too with them. The women asked the deity to watch their nakedness. The man also said some coarse words. Then the women opened their eyes and he ran away.

The government officer in charge took objection to the tale and the publication was detained. Most of the members of the Committee (excepting one) pleaded that folklore was traditional and the decent and indecent is hard to be mixed up.

The scientific attitude of the folklorist should be to enlist every type of material faithfully and since the publication is meant for adults and scholars no omission is permissible. The book was released, when the chairman Shri Karve who was responsible for procuring this collection pleaded with the Committee's solid backing. In the meanwhile the second volume also was printed and awaited publication and both the volumes were published together. But when the third volume was on the way, I gave a collection of myths, one of them a *myth of genesis and an introduction*. I was supposed to write notes on all the tales in the collections in this volume. When the printed material came to me, to my greatest surprise and shock, I found out that my tale of genesis was dropped by the editor and chairman and the entire introduction, without informing me. The chairman who had pleaded and made the Committee his tool in proving the legitimacy of the above-mentioned tale, had now used his censorship on my contribution. I am of a firm opinion that in any scientific literature there can be no obscenity and hence I submitted my resignation and got out of the Committee. In the fourth volume Shri Karve mentions my resignation 'on a principle' but does not give the reason of why I was obliged to take the decision. And hence I have to relate the episode here in order to draw attention of ethnologists, anthropologists, folklorists, sociologists and

even linguists to this deliberate destruction of social facts. Folklore is what it is. It is not what it should be.

Moreover if the above tale is studied in a proper light, the vow of the potter women was a serious one, indicating their faith. Naked dance accompanied with grotesque gestures and obscene words, are a ritual which male gods like Mhasoba and Maruti demand from women. Especially the role of the potter in a village community, is significant, like that of a priest. A pot is symbol of the body and the potter symbolises the creator. Hence the forces of creation, are symbolised as the religious tradition demands. And with a vast and deep tantric background, the crudest observances also have a function to perform. If the folklorist is not aware of the function of each bit of his collections, the collections will not be of much use to anybody.

Folklore is an elementary state and forms the base of the cultural foundation of the society. Dr. Verrier Elwin's collections are to be taken as a model for any folkloristic collection. These collections have no inhibitions. No serious and important ethnologist and folklorist can afford wasting and ignoring these potent facts of the cultural past. Because such things also exist, we admire the moral beauty of many myths all the more.

*Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā*, Vol. 2, 1957.

This is like the first a general collection of folksongs and a few folktales and popular riddles. The collections on the Ahmednagar folklore and that of Khandesh are significant. Especially the contribution of the late Miss Sulochana Saptarshi of Ahmednagar is large and useful.

*Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā*, Vol. 3, 1957.

This is perhaps the neatest and most relevant production of the Folklore Committee, though as a rule the editing is weak. This is a collection of myths, legends and popular beliefs in Maharashtra, and most of the material is new and useful. Barring a couple of exceptions, the authors or collectors have narrated the stories in a matter-of-fact manner and thus preserved the dignity of narration of tales.

The biggest and best collection is of R. V. Adhikari of thirtytwo legends from various places in Maharashtra. Then come collections from V. R. Sonar (13 tales), Bhimrao Andhale (5), C. R. Birve (2), V. B. Vitekar (8), Suresh Joshi (4), P. P. Phalke (1), S. G. Rasal (1), Vijaya Desai (4), Anasuya Limaye (2), Sushila Borse (5), Sarojini Babar (2), Durga Bhagavat (5), Harihar Matekar (5), and D. G. Borse (26). On the whole there are 95 legends in this collection, from different parts of Maharashtra, including the tribal localities.

*Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā*, Vol. 4, 1960.

This is a collection of the tribal folklore of Maharashtra. The introduction on tribal folklore and culture is full of wrong information and interpretations, as is likely to happen when the writer has neither studied the literature on the tribes nor is conversant with their customs as a field-worker. As for example, his analysis of the motifs of tribal folk-tales is far from accurate. His interpretation of the tribal arts also is immature—and though he makes a propaganda in its favour, it is feeble and even artificial; because his information is borrowed, (though he does not mention the literary sources).

I shall tackle some of the important contributions briefly and record the rest.

### 1. *The Dang tribals:*

There are various tribal communities in the Dang, viz. the Bhils, the Kuknas, the Kuṇbis and Varlis etc. The Bhils are found in Khandesh also and the remaining three tribes in the Thana and Colaba districts. The importance of giving the Dangi folklore in this volume is that the Dang was a reserved area in the British period and there was a controversy between Gujarat and Maharashtra about its possession. Now it has been attached to Gujarat.

Dr. Naresh Kavadi has written a brief article on the Dangs and its folklore and followed by two small collections of songs by Miss Kusum Tapasvi and Mrs. Mohile.

Shri D. G. Borse has collected folk-songs of the Bhils as well as of the tribals in the Thana District. The biggest collection is from the Thana District. Dr. L. N. Chapekar, has given folk-tales and songs of the Thakurs. Dr. Mrs. Vijaya Punekar has given the folk-songs of the Sonkolis; both are good collections. The best however is the article of Shri S. R. Potdar, on the Pavras of Satpura, who is not an anthropologist or an academician. He gives very important bits of the mythology about the god Indra whom the Bhils and Pavras worship.

*Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā*, Vol. 5, 1961; edited by Dr. Sarojini Babar (pp. 296).

After the death of Shri C. G. Karve, Dr. Babar became the chairman of the Committee and subsequently the editor of its publications. The fifth volume has introduction, not by the editor as is expected, but by Prof. Waman Chorghade, a popular compiler and commentator of folk-songs and tales as we have seen in the former part of my critical bibliography. In the introduction Chorghade admits that he has not studied folklore in the proper sense. The

introduction is as superficial as his observations are hackneyed. He has nothing special to convey. Comparing this introduction to those of Karve's there is nothing more to regret in this introduction than those of his predecessor. Weak editorials are a characteristic of all the publications of this series. It makes no difference whether it is a Karve, or Chorghade or Miss Babar. The introductions have no other justification than the convention, that a publication of a responsible public body must have an introduction in order to preserve a decorum.

This, like the first two publications of the Committee, is a general collection of songs and tales by various compilers.

The collection of Dr. Babar of the ovi-tales of the Dhangars are important. The rest of the songs are repetitive; this is a sign of defective editing. Some songs, though in rustic language, are not at all folk-songs. They are songs composed by some educated and sophisticated person who has used the village-dialect as his medium of expression, viz. most of the songs presented by Shri N. R. Shende come under this category. The best example of this is the song about the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, who is supposed to have visited Rāmtek (Ramgiri) and who according to Shri Shende was pining for his beloved wife from whom he was separated and sent her a message, through the cloud-messenger. So he wrote his poem *Meghadūta*. The song is as follows:—

- रामाचं रामटेक, गडावर गड भारी  
तेथी बैमला राज काली  
रामाचं रामटेक, दिसा मागोव गेले दिस  
काली करे अस्तुरीचा ध्यास  
रामाचं रामटेक, सुव्यां डुवाया लागला  
काळा मेघ वर आला  
रामाचं रामटेक, काली मेघाले बोलला  
माही खबर दे अस्तुरीला  
रामाचं रामटेक, काली गह्यावरून गेला  
डोंगराचा माथा रडाया लागला  
रामाचं रामटेक, कळसावर उभी वीज  
काली हृदयात अंकुरे प्रीतीवीज  
रामाचं रामटेक, दाही दिशा झाल्या एक  
ऐकोन कालीची आर्त हाक  
रामाचं रामटेक, काली सांगे खाणाखुणा  
जाता राखी सावधाना  
रामाचं रामटेक, सरके मेघ उत्तरेला  
वारा सोवतीला आला  
रामाचं रामटेक, डोळ्याची केली दौत  
लिही आसनाच्या अक्षरात  
रामाचं रामटेक, काली 'मेघदूत' लिही  
राहे रामटेक ग्वाही



The translation of this so-called folk-song or to be more appropriately described as the lyric, is as such:—

Rāmṭek of Rām;  
 It is a fort of forts.  
 There sat the prince Kālī  
 Rāmṭek of Rām  
 Days after days passed,  
 Kālī longed for his wife.  
 Rāmṭek of Rām  
 The Sun was sinking,  
 And the dark cloud arose  
 Rāmṭek of Rām  
 Kālī spoke to the cloud  
 "Carry my news, to my wife".  
 Rāmṭek of Rām,  
 Kālī was choked with a sob.  
 The peak of the hill started crying.  
 Rāmṭek of Rām.  
 On the peak stood the lightning,  
 In the heart of Kālī sprouted the love-seed  
 Rāmṭek of Rām,  
 The peacock flew on the peak.  
 Kālī sobbed pitiously.  
 Rāmṭek of Rām  
 The ten quarters mingled together.  
 When they heard the sad cry of Kālī.  
 Rāmṭek of Rām  
 The Cloud-king bowed to him  
 "Order me, my lord."  
 Rāmṭek of Rām  
 Kālī told him the signs on the way.  
 "Be, careful when you go"  
 Rāmṭek of Rām  
 The cloud moved towards the north  
 The wind accompanied him.  
 Rāmṭek of Rām,  
 He made inkpot of his eyes,  
 And wrote in the letters of tears.  
 Rāmṭek of Rām,  
 Kālī wrote the "*Meghadūta*"  
 Rāmṭek stands a witness to it.

The contents of the song are enough to prove that it is not a folk-song but a modern lyric written in the rural language, imitating the folk-song mannerisms of *ovī*. The device of arranging

the stray ovis in the lyric-form has ultimately resulted in this kind of imitation by local poets. I have nothing to say if such songs are called modern lyrics; literary critics can tackle their merits. But such songs cannot be incorporated in folk-songs or even popular songs.

Some points to prove the invalidity of this song, are that the composer of the song has used the controversy about Rāmṭek being the Rāmgiri described by Kālidāsa in his poem the *Meghadūta*. Dr. V. V. Mirashi stated this view point. Then some others like Shri Paranjpe and others stated that the Rāmgiri was not Rāmṭek but Rāmgarh in the Madhyapradesh. The Vidarbhaits were hurt by this and clung more and more to Mirashi's statement. Shri Shende is one of them, and hence the emphasis on Rāmṭek belonging to Rām (where according to Kālidāsa in his exile Rām had stayed with Sitā) and makes it the refrain of the song.

That a highly literary and abstract poem like the *Meghadūta* should be mentioned in a folk-song is enough to prove the sophistication in the song. Even the literary devices are sophisticated and modern, viz. the expressions like calling Kālidāsa 'Kālī' to make the name sound more familiar and homely and even local, so that no reader should object to the court-poet's presence in the song. Kālidāsa is called the king, or prince Kālī, another simplified version of the court-poet.

The theme of the forlorn Yakṣa in the *Meghadūta* is superimposed on the court-poet himself who was imagined to be separated from his 'wife'. Kālidāsa also makes the cloud his messenger; the cloud travels to the north.

The discrepancy in this lyric poem is also obvious. From the beginning Kālidāsa is said to be pining for his beloved wife. How is it then that the seed of love suddenly sprouts in his heart? Was love not already there?

The expressions like 'गह्वचरला' (overwhelmed with emotion), 'आर्त हाक' (pitious call), 'अंकुरे प्रीतबीज' 'sprouts the love-seed, 'डोळ्यांची दौत the inkpot of eyes, 'आसवांची अक्षरं' letters of tears, and the last statement that the *Meghadūta* was written by Kālidāsa on Rāmṭek, are enough to prove the sophistication of diction and the whole theme. The song is obviously artificial and not traditional.

The biggest wonder however, is that Shri Shende tells us that he or rather his wife obtained this song—the best song in her possession—from a Kaikadi woman who was bemoaning the loss of her own husband whose name also was Kālī. Her own dead Kālī, was the symbol of the ancient Kālī, the court-poet, who stayed on Rāmṭek

when he was separated from his wife and to memorise the event he wrote his poem Meghadūta. The Kaikadi woman vouchsafed that this song was an ancient traditional treasure of Rāmṭek when we know that the Kaikadis are not an indigenous race of Maharashtra (or even Vidarbha) but are south Indian nomads and speak a Dravidian dialect which has no affinity to the Vidarbha-dialect of Marathi. We have naturally to halt before we accept the genuineness of the folk-song on Kālidāsa, though we pay a compliment to the ingenuity of the compiler.

As this song is only one of the many samples of Shri Shende's compilations, I do not go in further details of them. There is a song of Kṛṣṇa. 'परदरी तू उदय चंद्राचा वनी' etc. in the compilation of Mrs. Annapurnabai Joshi. This is not a folksong but a famous song by Parvatibai Gokhale. The first two lines are corrupted by the singer. They are 'शरदूतू उदय चंद्राचा, वनि वृंद उभा गौळणिचा'.

The song 'Kṛṣṇa's Joke' (कृष्णाचा विनोद) is also a famous Marathi song and no folksong.

Many folk-songs and ovis have appeared in the previous collections of this series and had the editor been attentive, much of the repetitions could have been omitted.

*Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā*, Vol. 6, 1962. Bālrāje—edited by Dr. Sarojini Babar.

From the sixth publication onwards the outer garb of the series is changed. The first is that each publication has a fanciful, romantic name e.g. 'Bālrāje' means the baby-prince. The cover is also designed to suit the gaudy popular taste. The contents also have more and more bearing towards the popular taste and scholarship is conspicuous by its absence.

The present volume as the title suggests is about the baby, of course a boy, who is the prince of the family. Dr. Babar has written an introduction in her usual romanticized manner, by using the same hackneyed points which characterize all her writings. The editing is as weak as it possibly could be.

The writers and the subjects are as follows.

Prof. N. S. Pohnekar: My comely Darling Boy (बाळग राजसमाजा)

Mrs. Girijabai Kelkar: The Old Culture ( जुनी संस्कृति )

Ashok Deshpande: The Mother ( माउली )

Mrs. Malati Dandekar: The Mother, Child and Cradle (माता, बाळ आणि पाळणा )

Anandibai Shirke: Old Nursery Songs. ( शिशुगीते, जुनी )

Dr. Sarojini Babar: The Ornaments of the Child. ( वाढ-लेणी )

Kamal Wagh: Konkanī Folk-songs. ( कोंकणी लोकगीते )

Prof. Gajmal Mali: Women's Songs from Khandesh ( खानदेशी स्त्रियांची गाणी )

Mrs. Tara Paranjpe: Baby-wear and the growing child. ( अंगडीचं होत, घोंगडीचं झालं )

The articles are of the same type as the authors have taken the same source of the *ovi*-songs, glorifying maternal love. Then the authors have made a general use of lullabies, game-songs etc. They have sometimes given songs which are not at all folk-songs. Writers like Malati Dandekar, Sarojini Babar, Borse etc. who have written books on folk-songs before, produce many of the same folk-songs, and present them in the same style. The whole compilation is thus full of hackneyed comments and many a time the contents of articles also overlap. The second part of the volume contains the following:

Dr. Harikrishna Rathor: The emotional outburst of filial love in women's songs ( स्त्री गीतांतील वात्सल्य सिधूचा भावोन्मेष )

Dr. G. V. Tagare: The Child in folk-songs ( लोकसाहित्यातले लेकर )

Prof. Vimal Thatte: The Comely Baby. ( राजस वाढ )

Damodar Kude: Filial Love in Ahirani Songs ( अहिराणी लोकगीतांतील वात्सल्य )

V. V. Joshi: Life of my Darling Baby-boy ( माझ्या राजसाचं जिणं )

Dr. Y. K. Deshpande: Folk-songs on the Child in Vidarbha. ( विदर्भातील बालविषयक लोकगीते )

Prof. D. G. Borse: Nursery Songs from Khandesh. ( खानदेशातील बालगीते )

Prof. Anand Yadav: The Heap of Rubies and Pearls (माणिक मोत्यांची रास)

P. R. Shinde: The Mother at the Grinding wheel ( जात्यावरील आई )

Harihar Matekar: My Innocent Baby-boy ( वाढ नेणंता ग माझा )  
The book is also a compilation of songs by various authors; but I do not produce the list here as it has nothing special to offer and is similar in quality to the former list which I have given. The book on the whole is disappointing.

*Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā*, Vol. 7; *Lok-sāhitya Bhāṣā āṇi Saṁskṛti*. Folklore Language and Culture—1963. Ed. Dr. Sarojini Babar.

This is the seventh publication of the Folklore Committee of the Maharashtra State. That the Committee was striving towards specialization can be seen from the third and fourth publications, viz. myths, the tribal folklore etc. In these attempts, there is a judiciousness in the selection of the themes. But in this publication the very theme involves an inaccuracy and even ambiguity. The ambiguity is created by the wrong concept viz 'folklore-language'. As all the students of folklore know, there is no special language of folklore or folk-literature viz. folk-songs and folk-tales. Folklore being local, the language in which songs are sung and stories are narrated is the local language. In religious songs and tales, sometimes an archaic expression does come, but such archaic words and expressions are a relic of older literature and language which had been current in the locality in the bygone days. No expression in folklore is separate from the local linguistic usages. Local language, whether urban or rustic is substratum of all folklore. But from the title a wrong notion is set up viz. that folklore-language is a special type of language. Once such theme has been accepted by the Committee, most of the writing is done on the rural language in different localities and people, in which the illustrations are taken from folklore, mostly folk-songs. These illustrations could be easily found in the current dialects of the people in these localities. The relation of folklore to the local language is a problem which could be better handled from the literary rather from the linguistic or grammatical angle. One can discuss the poetical elegance, imagery, motifs, rhetorics, style etc. while discussing folk-songs and folk-tales. But to conceive a separate language of folklore, and after the linguistic and grammatical peculiarities of rural dialects is something that can have no bearing on folklore proper. All that is said about linguistics and grammar of folklore (or folk-literature) appears to be fallacious.

The following analysis of some of the articles will suffice to prove it.

1. Loksāhityācī Śabdāsampadā va sād-ṣaḍśāda (लोक साहित्याची शब्दसंपदा व सादषडसाद) The Word-Wealth of Folklore and its Echoes, by Prof. K. P. Kulkarni.

The title though extremely high-sounding suggests nothing about the contents. Prof. K. P. Kulkarni was a linguist and the general theme is a phonetic analysis of the language of folklore, viz. the language of the people. This, being the language of the people, says Prof. Kulkarni, is more alive than 'the Standard-language'. It 'reflects the soul of the Society', because folklore is made of grinding songs, marriage-songs, riddles, bhajans etc.; it is rich in cultural acquisition and hence the language of folklore is also richer

than the normal standardized language' etc. Such are the trends of the thoughts the author has about folklore. Though such statements are flattering to 'folklore' they do not prove any insight in folklore. It only shows the application of dialects in Marathi to the supposed language of folklore and thus substantiate a fallacy.

2. Prof. S. N. Banhattis' article also has the same type of title-Strigitiānce' Śabdārthavaibhava" (स्त्री गीतांचें शब्दार्थ वैभव ) —The Richness of Words, and Meanings in Women's Songs.

He says the same thing about the love expressed in the *ovis* for various relatives and the endeavoring terms etc. But the same terms are in vogue in Maharashtra and except a few words like *mālan* (मालन) for daughter, or *harṇī* (हरणी) the doe, for the mother etc. folk-songs do not have any variation from the normal language the villagers use in their daily life.

3. The third article by Dr. G. M. Patil is 'The Grammar of Folklore' (लोकसाहित्याचे व्याकरण). As I have already pointed out folklore has no grammar apart from the grammar of the language in vogue, and hence whatever grammar has been discussed here has no bearing on folklore.

4. In the fourth article 'Some verbal Specialities of the maternal Home of Marathi' (मराठीच्या माहेरातील काही शब्द विशेष ) N. S. Pohnerkar discusses the rural language of Marathwada, and its grammatical formations. For illustration he uses the words from the *ovis*.

5. The fifth article by Shri N. S. Navare is 'An analysis of Marathi Proverbs' (मराठी म्हणींची मीमांसा ) Though the article is weak in presenting the definition and purpose of the proverb theoretically, some illustrations about the inaccuracies in the proverbs and their real purport are valuable; e.g. the proverbs घोडे पेंड खाते, ताकास तूर etc. The former proverb should be घोडे पेण खाते i.e. the horse takes rest on the halts on its way and not that it eats the 'pend' which the cattle eat, and horses do not. In the second proverb the word should be तग and not ताक. The proverb means not to mix the 'tur' pulse with 'buttermilk'. This is senseless. But the correct expression is 'not to mix' the 'tur' plants with the 'hemp' plants.

6. The sixth article of Prof. Gajmal Mali on the "Creation of Folkliterature and Tradition' ( लोकसाहित्याची निर्मिती आणि परंपरा ) is hackneyed.

7. The seventh and last article of Dr. Sarojini Babar is on the notation of folk-songs. She gives a pseudo-poetic description of the sweet music of folk-songs as they are sung early in the morning —two songs. The third song is चल ग सखे वारुळाला. She says

that it should be sung in a particular mode but does not give the notation.

Thus the whole publication deals with the fictitious aspect of the folklore-language and is silent on 'culture'.

*Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā*, Vol. 8, *Jā Majhyā Māherā*—Go to my Mother's House ( जा माझ्या माहेरा 1964, Edited by Dr. Sarojini Babar.

This is a collection, a general collection of *ovi* and other songs, which have practically no bearing on the meaning the title suggests, viz. the maternal home or the mother and the father. It has all the lapses of the former collections edited by Dr. Babar, viz. lack of editing, duplication and repetition of the same material, hackneyed comments, etc.

There are some *tatoo* and *rangoli* (threshold-drawing) patterns given at the end, but no information.

*Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā*, Vol. 9, 1965.

The ninth publication is on folk-music ( लोकसंगीत ).

Half of the book is devoted to the musical notation of the songs, in which Dr. Babar and Dr. Vimal Chorghade have participated.

The rest is some *ovi* and other songs, followed with the usual hackneyed comments.

*Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā*, Vol. 10, 1965 *Ek hotā Rājā*—Once upon a Time there was a King ( एक होता राजा ).

This is a stupendous collection of folk-songs, tales, proverbs, riddles etc.—of about 700 pages. Except some material, viz. the songs of the Dhangars, of the Gondhal, and of Bhavānī, most of the songs etc. are repetitions from former collections. The Dhangar mythology is important.

The editorial is, as usual, defective. The lack of indexing for such voluminous publication is a lacuna.

*Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā*, Vol. 11, *Loksāhitya: Sāj-śiṅagār*—Folk lore: Adornment ( लोक साहित्य : साजशिणगार ) 1965.

The publication is a collection of essays from various scholars, mostly members of the Folklore Committee, supposed to be 'researches' on different aspects of folklore. As the title suggests, there is almost nothing in the writings incorporated in the book about adornment, ornaments etc. At least for this volume which was intended to present scholarly treatment of the subject and not mere at random collections without proper ethnological or ritualistic setting, ought

to have either a suitable title or no title at all. However since the publication symbolises not only the attitude of the Committee towards folklore research but actual fruits of the scholars' studies in the subject. I shall review the articles briefly. I have already written a detailed review of it in the magazine *Abhiruchi* (February 1966) and I give only a summary of it here emphasizing only some crucial points.

The book has a foreword of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, who adores the editor for her dedication to folklore etc. a usual type of foreword from ministers, high officials and leaders.

Then follows the editor's introduction, a solemn ritual with a set Miss-Babar formula, which is not in any way different from any of her writings. However, since this is an introduction to a scholarly publication, I shall give only a few specimens from it in order to acquaint the reader with the general trends of scholarship, prevalent in this government-sponsored Committee.

In the introduction the editor points out that the present collections of essays were the papers which were submitted to the Folklore Committee on the occasion of the Folk-Culture Conference. The essays were supposed to take a review of the progress of various folklore studies in Maharashtra and were based on the thoughts of these scholars about 'folklore-research'. She further says that the views expressed in the articles are based on the individual's opinion of folklore and hence there is room for controversy.

Miss Babar makes no difference between individual view point and the results obtained after a long search for truth after weighing the data in a disciplined manner. She seems to be unaware of the fact that preconceived ideas are harmful to research and that 'opinions' or 'view-points' have little value in the logical study of any subject.

She then relates two incidents which can have only a place in a fiction; viz. two characters of old women as symbols of the repositories and preservers of folk-songs. Both the meetings are accidental meetings, the one in a train journey, another in a village homestead. The first old woman is poor, the second is rich and bedecked with jewellery. The conversations are in the traditional riddle-style, which lead us nowhere except the fact that both these strangers adore the editor for her beauty, zeal, scholarship etc. and bless her. This type of the benevolent old woman is now appearing rather too often in the personal narratives of quite a few folklore writers (for instance Shri N. R. Shende). As a matter of fact this old woman is the prototype of the benevolent fairy who bestows many gifts on the hero or heroine in a folk-tale: naturally the heroine



in this case is the folklorist herself. The second meeting with the rich old woman is memorable because she describes the editor as a bride, as a prospective daughter-in-law and all the pomp of her prospective wedding.

There is nothing more in the introduction except such quasi-sentimental descriptions with illustrative folk-songs. The editor wants to emphasize that as among the classical musicians the folk-singers also have their schools or 'gharānās'. The 'old women' are representatives of these schools. No further technical information is available about these 'gharānās'.

The second article is on the ornaments of women and children by Mrs. Anasuya Limaye. She is the only writer who has been faithful to the title of the subject. Comparing to her book '*Ghātā-varūl Śramikāncī Lok Gīte*' (घाटावरील श्रमिकांची लोकगीते) this article is very flat.

Raja Mahajan's article on the woman's life as portrayed in the Ahirani folk-songs (अहिराणी लोकगीतातले स्त्री जीवन) deals only with a few hackneyed ovis and the style is also the same. He has taken no note of the same type of literature already published by compilers like Borse. Prof. S. N. Banahatti's article on the inspiration in folklore (लोकसाहित्यातील प्रेरणा) is also of an elementary nature. The statement that 'folklore is inspired by a feeling of the marvellous and the supernatural' is contrary to the statement that 'folklore is inspired by the natural and the simple'.

Prof. Anant Kanekar's article, on the appearance of the Sonkolis' (सोनकोळी लोकांचे रंगण) is the weakest performance in the book. It comprises the anthropometrical measurements of Sonkolis by Dr. Kurulkar and same description of the habitat and dress and personal decoration of the fishermen of Bombay. Folk-songs have little part to play in this description.

Sopandeo Chaudhari's article 'Folklore is that Which takes You along with It' (सहित नेणारे ते लोकसाहित्य) is based on the definition of Vinoba of literature or Sāhitya, in general. Vinoba's definition is not accepted by critics of literature and still less acceptable shall be Chaudhari's definition of folk-literature.

On the cover of the publication the editor has cited a passage by Vinoba on folk-songs. Vinoba wants 'new folk-songs with scientific and philosophical contents as shall be useful in guiding the people.' How can such concept of folk-songs be ever permissible?

Prof. Waman Chorghade, in his article, 'Folklore and Its Compilation', (लोकसाहित्य : संकलन व संग्रह) takes the same view and includes many regional short-stories and poems of modern Marathi writers in folklore.

Shri N. R. Shende's article, 'Folklore: Its Colour, Form, Flavour and Fragrance', ( लोक साहित्यातील रंग, रूप, रस व गंध ) is full of extravagant remarks in glorifying folklore. He tries to give a historical survey of the writings on Indian folklore, but his bibliographical knowledge is scanty and also faulty, viz. his remark that 'Mary Frere was the first to give an impetus to the study of Indian folklore. Then came Hislop and after him Dr. Verrier Elwin'. It would appear from this that Hislop and Elwin were contemporaries. His study suffers both from lack of information and misinterpretation.

Dr. G. M. Patil's article, 'The Language of Folklore ( लोक साहित्यातील भाषा ) has little to do with folklore. He writes on grammar in a very general way. It seems from the title of the book that folklore has a separate language. His analysis of the rural language as illustrated by a few *ovi*-songs is superficial and unconvincing.

Mrs. Malati Dandekar's article, Regionalism in Folklore, ( लोक साहित्यातील प्रादेशिकता ) deals with some motifs regionally distributed. But since she has shown no discrimination in variations in the motifs and regional verbal similarities, the material though good in places has not yielded proper results.

Shri N. S. Pohanerkar has written on the 'Reference to the Saints in Folklore', ( लोक साहित्यातील संतांचा उल्लेख ) which is quite superficial. I need hardly mention the articles of Sharadini Mohite on the social life in folklore, and others. Even the article of the late Shri N. V. Gadgil on the folk-songs of the Punjab can only illustrate how an article on folk-songs should not be written. Shri Gadgil quotes a definition of folk-songs from English and handles the theme in a juvenile manner.

Mrs. Jajodia writes on the sentiments found in the folk-songs from other provinces, which is quite superficial and even very disappointing are two articles of Shri Vinod Rao one in English and the other in Marathi on Folk-arts and the Folklore as a national treasure. In superfluity it competes only on the performance of the editor on the same subject. Prof. Gajmal Mali's article on Folk-art incorporates the Himaru embroidery in folk-arts and makes general remarks about folk-toys and the threshold drawings of *rangoli*.

*Maharashtra Lok Sāhitya Mālā*, Vol. 12, 1965. Janalokāncā Sāmveda: ( जनलोकांचा सामवेद ) The Sāma-Veda of the People ed. Dr. Sarojini Babar.

This is a tremendously large volume of over eight hundred pages; but the quantity is deceptive as far as the quality is concerned. This compilation is based on the songs of the gods and goddesses, like, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, Śiva and Pārvatī, Vithobā, Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī, Rāma and Sitā, Māruti etc.

This volume is like the rest of the publications edited by Dr. Babar and has the same defects of repetitions, exaggerations, pseudo sentimentalism etc. But there are some charming examples of Miss Babar's literary extravagance in some of the introductory portions. viz. कौसल्येचा राम (pp. 167 ff.) is a personal essay, describing her intimate talk with Rāma; when she visits the Rām temple at Nasik: The others are similar talks with Rukmīṇī and Sītā (p. 507, pp. 251 ff). Can such pieces be really accommodated in serious publication on the governmental levels?

Mrs. Malati Dandekar: *Lok-Sāhityāce Leṇe* (लोकसाहित्याचे लेणे) The Ornament of Folklore, Kolhapur, 1952.

This is a copious collection of mostly ovis from the agriculturist communities of the Satara District. The arrangement of material, the headings, and the way of describing the contents of the songs is imitative of Sane Guruji. As a local collection it has its value; but many a time the outside collections also get mixed with the local stuff and we are at a loss to find the real locality of the songs.

Mrs. Dandekar has also published stories based on the pattern of folk-tales, such as *Maīcyā Goṣṭī* (माईच्या गोष्टी) (1962) and *Taiṅcyā Goṣṭī* (ताईच्या गोष्टी), (1965) the tales of Mai and Tai which may become popular with children.

Mrs. Anasuya Limaye: *Ghāṭavarīl Śramikāncī Lokgīte* (घाटा वरिल श्रमिकांची लोकगीते) Poona, 1955.

This is a useful and authentic collection of the agricultural people from the Ghats or Desh viz. Poona, Satara etc. Mrs. Limaye gives the locality and the community of each person she obtained the songs from. She gives songs both of men and women. She is conscious of the limitations of her study of her compilations as well. Yet she has done her best to maintain the standard which study demands. There is no exaggeration in the introduction; it is brief and accurate. She has dispensed with the pseudo-poetic element which dominates the writings of most of her contemporaries. She gives notes whenever they are necessary. There are eight chapters viz. the Nāgpañcamī songs, Purānic songs, women's game-songs, the Śimgā-festival-songs, marriage-songs, pregnancy-songs and small-pox songs. These are followed by three appendices, viz. glossary, a small though inadequate bibliography and above all an index. The University of Poona rightly sponsored this book on behalf of their extra-mural activities board—Bahih-Śālā-Śikṣaṇa Granthamālā.

Durga Bhagvat: *Loksāhityācī Ruprekḥā* (लोकसाहित्याची रूपरेखा) Outline of Folklore, Bombay, 1956.

This is the first book of a scientific nature on folklore in Marathi. It discusses the nature of folklore, and its studies in general and Indian folklore in particular.

The synopsis of this book viz. the *Outline of Indian Folklore* is published in English (Bombay 1959).

The second monograph in English is *The Riddle in Indian Life Lore and Literature* (Bombay 1964). It discourses the origin of the riddle in India, its linguistic form and ritualistic function in detail. This book is the expansion of the chapter on folklore in the above-mentioned book. The Translation of the Old Deccan Days by Marry Frere, *Dakhkhancyā Lok-Kathā* (दख्खनच्या लोककथा); Poona 1954, and a part of *the Tales of South India* by Natesa Shastri in Marathi (1959), a part of *the Jātakas* (जातक कथा) Poona (1960), are my efforts to give standard translations of world-reckoned folk-tale collections of India.

Another major translation work is the translation of Loksāhitya of Rabindranath Tagore into Marathi (Bombay, 1968). This book of Tagore has not yet been translated in any other language.

Besides this I have contributed seventeen Marathi folktales to the *Folklore* (Calcutta) in between 1959-63. A part of my book on the riddles also appeared in it.

An article, 'Love in Marathi Folklore' appeared in *the Quest* in May 1957.

Gangaram Janu Awari: *Ādivāsīncī Lokgīte* (आदिवासींची लोकगीते) Folk-songs of Ādivāsis, Nasik, 1957.

The compiler comes from an Ādivāsī community of Nasik, which, we do not know. He does not always mention from what tribe he has collected the songs. The songs are accompanied by a myth about Mahādeo. Then follow the twelve songs of the Thakurs. Then comes a section of three legends and myths of the Thakurs. Then the compiler gives some myths about Kansarī or the corn-goddess of the Varlis. It is followed by the songs of the dance called Kāmbad—nāc.

Marriage-songs come as a general section. No tribe is referred to in this section. In spite of some lapses, the collection is useful for some songs and myths. e.g. There is a bridal-song (pp. 34-5). (वारिक धनु राजा चालला.) The bride is leaving her parents and going to her bride-groom's house. Her parents, brother, sister and relatives are overwhelmed with grief of the parting. At the time of saying farewell, the bride says to them "why are you so overcome with grief now, my father, when you sold me, the slender bow, which the

king, my husband is carrying away now. I am now sold to the stranger and going with him. Why do you weep, my father, mother, brother and sister”?

The simile of a bow of the hunter king to the bride, is striking, and befitting the forest dwellers' experience. Yet the incomparable sadness that the parents feel when the daughter leaves them is a common feature of all marriage-songs. Kālidāsa has used the motif in his *Sākuntala*.

The unique contribution of this compilation, however, is a myth of the Mahādeo of the Hills. This is a typically tribal tale. It is about the marriage of Mahādeo and Pārvatī and the birth of the god Gaṇeśa. The god Nārāyaṇa is the chief relative of Mahādeo who finds a suitable bride for him and performs the marriage. The god Brahmadeo is the priest. Mahādeo practises penance for twelve years after marriage and has nothing to do with his wife. In the meanwhile Pārvatī comes of age and feels that if her marriage is not consummated now, the couple would be committing the sin of infanticide. So she takes the form of a female ass and goes to Mahādeo's hermitage and starts grazing there. Mahādeo comes out with a stick to beat and drive her out. She then assumes a human form and Mahādeo is enamoured of her. He unites with her. No sooner is the intercourse over than she snatches his turban and runs away with it. Mahādeo is ashamed of his fall. Pārvatī becomes now pregnant and in due course gives birth to her son Gaṇeśa. After some years Mahādeo comes to his wife and seeing the boy, doubts his wife's fidelity. She then shows him the turban.

The myth is narrated in chaste prose, of the tribal Marathi. The compiler has taken no liberty either with the style nor with the language as many others do to “embellish” the crudities of the “rustic” narration. After the compilation of the old Kahāṇīs, this is the best version of a religious tale that I have come across. The theme of the myth is based on sexual union of the celestial couple and it could have become cheap and vulgar if the compiler had brought in any individual style in narration. But he being one of the tribals, has naturally escaped the complexities which face the more sophisticated and educated compilers of folk-tales. In this simple and straight-forward narration, the natural grace of the language, and the function of sex which are so essential to the narration of the myth are preserved. This narration can be a model to future compilers.

In the Thakur songs, two songs viz. the one on the local legend of the Saptasṅgi Devī of the Vani-hill and another of the Rivers Par and Nar are important. (pp. 65—68).

The compiler also gives three legends of Rāma and Sitā, while they were staying in the Pañchavaṭī at Nasik. Those legends are in ordinary Marathi prose.

Another important myth and songs are of the corn-goddess Kansari of the Varlis. (p. 77).

These songs and dances are known as 'Kāmbaḍa' songs and dances.

These Kāmbaḍ dances are ritualistic dances and the compiler gives songs of preparing the 'Kaṭha' musical instrument which is of great importance in the ritual singing.

The last section is of marriage songs. In this section Avari gives important rituals and songs. The most important is the ritual of guiding of turmeric (as in almost all marriage rituals of Hindus and tribals in India). It is here we first come across the ritualistic importance of the 'Chavali' grain in marriage, in Western India. Among the tribals of Nasik there is a ritual called "Irul-tirul-mangal-caval" ( इरुळ तिरुळ मंगळ चवळ ) The bridegroom scatters the grains of the runner beans on the ground and the bride picks them up. It is said that Rāma did it so, and Sitā collected the grains. Since then it became customary in weddings.

Among the Pathare Prabhus of Bombay, the vegetable of 'chavali' or runner beans is essential in marriage. I was also told by a Sonar alias Daivadnya lady that formerly in their weddings, in the Navagrahapūjā or the worship of the nine planets, chavali preparation was an essential offering.

Had Avari been guided properly, the collection would have been richer and more systematic. It is a pity nothing more comes from him, obviously on account of the lack of further patronage.

Borse D. G.: *Girijā* ( गिरिजा ) Jalgon, 1951.

This is the first collection of *ovis* from the rural communities in Khandesh. Shri Borse is a careful compiler and painstaking field-worker, and his compilations are important. The book has a foreword by Prof. D. V. Potdar, which throws no light either on folklore or culture of Khandesh. This introduction is as superfluous as the previous introductions by Potdar.

The arrangement of the *ovis* is based on the old pattern (as initiated by Chorghade and others two decades ago) viz. describing the incidents in the life of a woman, chronologically. Borse also invents an imaginary heroine, Girijā and weaves the events round her by means of the *ovis*.

2. *Tāpitarang* (तापीतरंग): The Waves of the Tapi River: Malegaon, 1957.

This is a collection of *ovis* like the former one, in the Ahirani. The collection of the *ovis* is substantial, but Borse's discussion on the classification of the *ovis* etc. is defective. He is an excellent compiler but no critic, or scholar of folklore, and hence his theoretical interpretations lack precision and method viz. in the introduction of this book, he quotes an *ovi*.

सायंक्या वाई उनी केवढी करनी  
पिवया पायासाठे मोर लागला झुरनी

(Oh Salunki—Maina bird, what an act you have accomplished, for your yellow feet, the peacock is moaning).

Borse interprets the song as a satire on a husband who goes mad over the beauty of his wife. Really speaking, the song refers to a well-known legend in which the peacock exchanges his beautiful yellow feet with the maina bird, who wanted to attend a wedding. The shrewd maina never returned the legs. So when in the rainy season when the peacock has to dance he looks at his ugly legs and weeps. He is ever mourning for the loss of his yellow feet. The peacock and maina are not considered to be a couple by tradition as the parrot and maina are.

Dr. N. G. Nandapurkar: *Māherachan Marāthī* (महैरचं मराठी) Hyderabad (Dn.), Śake 1875 (A.D. 1953).

This book is a collection of *ovis* of Women from Marathwada. Though the compiler says that they have been collected from various castes and communities, including the Jains, he does not indicate which songs come from what community or locality. This is mostly due to the method of arranging stray *ovis* in the form of a composite song of many verses under a suitable title. The arrangement does not differ from that of Sane Guruji, though the usual appreciative comments are discreetly dropped by the compiler. Under this arrangement the stray *ovis* are made to look like one complete song; but the process is fallacious.

He has also indicated, though cursorily, the phonetic peculiarities of the dialectical Marathi in the Marathwada, and on this plea calls the book, *The Marathi of the Mothers' Home* viz. the birth place of the Marathi language, which according to him is Marathwada. Such regional patriotism, which is narrow and harmful to the judgment of the material, is daily increasing among the folklorists, who have nothing else but the glory of the regional history to fall back upon. Such trends are ultimately harmful to scholarship.

The *ovis* Dr. Nandapurkar has presented are the same type as found in the previous collections of Kamalbai Deshpande, Sane Guruji and Malati Dandekar.

(2) Marāṭhīcī Māyā (मराठीची माया) The Māyā (the magical quality) of Marathi, Aurangabad, 1958.

The title is ambiguous. Māyā means the divine power, magic or affection. Which of these meanings the compiler has in his mind is not indicated by the contents.

The bifurcation of or the lack of any connection between the title and the subject-matter occurs here also.

This book is a collection of *ovis*, mostly from the Tuljapur Taluka, and four long songs.

The classification is according to the usual accepted form which is now become a kind of a norm of grouping the stray *ovis* under a poetic heading; usually the heading is chosen from a line of an *ovi*. The classification is made after a deity like Viṭhobā, Śiva, Ambābai etc. or the relationship in the family, or a sacred place like Pandharpur, or a festival like Divālī, Nāgpañcamī etc. In the introduction Dr. Nandapurkar says that he has a rich collection of *ovis*, and songs, viz. about a lakh from Marathwada. In his three books about three thousand and three hundred songs (mostly *ovis*) are published.

Of his collection of the *ovis* about Rāma and Sitā, he says, that if they are properly arranged would give the full story of the Rāmāyaṇa. He thereby suggests that the compiler has to provide a sequence to the stray *ovis* or a bunch of *ovis* as they are sung by women. To me this seems to be an incorrect way of presenting the material. The very function of the *ovi*, which is a series of short work songs is completely pushed in the background, and after sometime gets totally forgotten. The *Ovi* which such compilers aspire for is a literary specimen. A number of such stray specimens, arranged in the light of the sequence of the Rāmāyaṇa story, is like reconstructing scattered and broken relics of a song-narrative which was as though a whole, once upon a time. The work involves labour and knack in arrangement as well, but the very process is futile. Since there was never one complete Rāmāyaṇa—a replica of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, which was folk-Rāmāyaṇa. Whatever was there as sung by women, was an imitation of the original on the lines of local renowned poets. As a part of the ritual, uttering god's name while grinding the corn early in the morning, gave inspiration to women in Maharashtra to sing the *ovis* about various gods, as they did their work. Their own loved ones come next. The function of the *ovi* is ovation, praise of somebody, a god, a hero or the loved one is implied in it. To seek a parallel in whole of the



Rāmāyaṇa or Mahābhārata, in these broken bits which are composed and sung according to the urge of the singer, is the misrepresentation of folk-songs. It is better to give the *ovis* in their original scattered form and a separate index to guide the scholar. This will give the reader a better idea of the original *ovis* as they are found in reality and their unitary structure. To compile the *ovis* by giving them a sequence, and turning them in literary compositions or lyrics is compiling a fiction by distorting the fact.

I do appreciate the tremendous efforts, the faith and the vigour with which Dr. Nandapurkar has worked. It is a misfortune that his sudden death put an end to his future publications.

(3) *Marāṭhīcā Mohor* (मराठीचा मोहोर) The Blossom of Marathi. Aurangabad, 1958. This is one of the three publications of Dr. Nandapurkar and I am unable to procure a copy of it and hence it remains to be reviewed.

Dr. Nandapurkar's contribution is the most significant contribution from Marathwada. He has restrained from giving hackneyed appreciation of the poetic pieces as most others have done. He gives the collection without dabbling with the original version as we see in *Marāṭhīcī Māyā*. The most important portion in this book is the section on Ambābāi of Tuljāpur. Then come the *ovis* on the life of the saint Janābāi and other devotees of Viṭhobā, of Pandharpur. Janābāi is the most popular figure in the *ovi* literature of women. While giving all types of *ovis* about her the compiler has given pieces of prose comments on certain crisis in Janābāi's life. They are a contrast to the simple flow of rural Marathi in the *ovis* and instead of enhancing the beauty of the *ovis*, mars it.

Then come the *ovis* on the Tulsi plant and Viṭṭhala. Then come the *ovis* on the parents, who are said to be holy beings. Then come the *ovis* on the purity of one's caste and family, on the chaste women's way of wearing the sari when she is walking on the street, on the mother's house, the brother, the sister, the daughter, the guest etc.

A discrepancy caused by giving the heading to the artificial *ovi* grouping can be seen in the *ovis*, under the caption,—The traveller has not returned (गावी गेलेला आला नाही). Most of the *ovis* appear to be the yearning of a woman for her beloved or husband. But there are some *ovis* which are about the brother whose arrival a sister is eagerly awaiting (pp. 96-97).

Dr. Nandapurkar's collection is larger than any other collection though the themes are stereotype.

There is a collection of *ovis* from a woman of Devshing. She has composed a number of *ovis* from some of the experience of her own life, as Nandapurkar says (p. 107). This collection cannot be

accepted as authentic folk-songs; the collection is obviously out of place here. It is modern rural poetry. The only importance of this collection is that it illustrates that the *ovis* are still traditional in outlook and even presentation. Yet as Nandapurkar points out 'sparks of individual talent' are visible in some places. The *ovi* is the perennially popular form with easy and graceful expression; and even rustic poet can handle it well. Since it is easy and imitable the *ovi* collections everywhere are so rich; the form is traditional and yet yielding to expression of new images and incidents. This is why the *ovi* is also the most vulnerable form of folk-songs.

N. S. Pohnerkar: *Rampāryāt* (रामपायात), At Dawn, Hyderabad, 1956.

This is a collection of *ovis* and two old songs, Cindhī (the rag) and the Rājasūya Sacrifice of the Pāṇḍavas. Cindhī is a famous old song based on the popular legend, in which Draupadī, the foster sister of Kṛṣṇa tears her costly golden sari in order to dress the bleeding finger of her foster-brother Kṛṣṇa, while his real sister Subhadrā, though jealous of Draupadī, was not able to find a rag to do the same. This is an old song, now anonymous. It is no folk-song. Yet as the song is famous and now difficult to obtain, as it is buried in old books, it is good to get it, with some variations from different localities. The same is the case of the song on the Rājasūya sacrifice of the Pāṇḍavas. The introduction of the book is based on the poetic elegance of *ovis* and the poetic talents of women, a repetition of Sane Guruji's statement in general. It bears no new point.

The collection is representative of *ovis* which are found in Marathwada, but the compiler does not give us from which localities and communities they have been collected. Broadly speaking they are the *ovis* which women sing at dawn when they grind the corn. The compiler has grouped the *ovis* under one theme viz. a song-form and given them a heading as suits his taste. This pattern is also set by Sane Guruji. The special contribution of *ovis* containing themes from the Rāmāyaṇa, and on the local places of pilgrimages, Vaijānāth of Parali and Jogāi of Ambe.

Vyankatesh Vakil: *Bhāratīya Lok-kathā*; (भारतीय लोककथा) Bombay, 1961.

This is a small collection of folk-tales from Vardha district, narrated in popular style. The stories of Lākhārāṇī, Gaṇapati and Viṭhobā, the husband of Rāhī and Rukmiṇī are an addition to the folklore of Maharashtra, especially the story of Viṭhobā. The stories about Rāhī (not Rādhā) are scarce. Here this story is a positive contribution to the mythology of Viṭhobā, the god of Pandharpur.

V. V. Joshi: (1) *Chandrapurī Lok-kathā* (चन्द्रपुरी लोक कथा) Folk-tales in Chanda, Bombay 1960 and (2) *Gondvanī Lok-kathā*, ( गोंडवणी लोक कथा ) Tales from the Gondvana, are collections of tales from Chanda and Gondavana. But except for the names of the localities the tales are very ordinary compared to the tales of Shri Setu Madhavrao Pagdi. The author's first collection, viz. *Lok-kathā va Lokgīte* which I have already reviewed was better in every respect compared to this material which is of little use to folklorist in his studies.

Vimal Thatte: (1) *Vanavāsī Sitā* (वनवासी सीता), Hyderabad (Andhra), 1961.

*Vanavāsī Sitā*: The meaning of the title is 'The Exiled Sitā; twice did Sitā go in the exile, once with her husband and Laxman for fourteen years and then exiled permanently by Rāma during her pregnancy, because she was maliciously stigmatised by a subject, on account of her long stay in Laṅkā.

In the preface (दोन शब्द) the compiler says that the collection of the *ovis* and a few songs in the book are not about Rāma but Sitā, because women are attached to Sitā. The *ovis* are collected from Aurangabad, Nanded and Ambe, towns in Marathwada. The compiler does not tell us which communities they have been collected from; neither does she compare them. This preface is followed by a note of the publisher, and another note on the Marathi publications in Hyderabad, the fourth publication being this. Then follows an introduction of thirty-one pages. The author gives a list of incidents in these songs which are not found in Vālmīkī's *Rāmāyaṇa* and she also mentions certain omissions like the killing of Kumbhakarṇa, Khara, Dūṣaṇa, the Jaṭāyu episode etc.

The major defect, (if it were to be called a defect) in assessing the collection of isolated *ovis* and a few songs, from here and there, as representative of the folk-Rāmāyaṇa, among the women is obvious. As Mrs. Thatte says, this is only a collection of the songs about the forlorn Sitā and not of Rāma, as women sing less about him. If the compilation were to follow the original theme about the forlorn Sitā then the compiler should have restricted to Sitā and her episodes only. But since *ovis* are isolated bits of rhymes and since the compilers in Maharashtra for the last three decades are accustomed to arrange them subjectwise and then comment on them as if it was one whole song or a chain of songs, they assume a sequence which is not found in the folk-*ovi*-form.

The fallacy of this so-called discovery of folk-Rāmāyaṇa from the floating rhymes like the *ovis* can be seen clearly; and hence the compiler's explanation about the omission of the original episodes

in the Rāmāyaṇa in this imaginary whole folk-Rāmāyaṇa, on the plea that these episodes do not appeal to feminine taste and fancy, is rather unconvincing. About the changes and additions in the 'folk-version', a comment is necessary. Mrs. Thatte mentions Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa etc. but in comparing the folk-episodes, makes reference to the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa alone. Some of the episodes, or new versions in the folk-poetry mentioned by Mrs. Thatte are the episodes of the Lakṣmaṇa's line forbidding Sītā to cross it, and of Lava and Kuśa and she observes that the original versions could be found in some Rāmāyaṇa later than Vālmiki's. If she had not ignored the source of many of these episodes, the Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa of Eknāth (a saint from Marathwada) and so far believed to be the earliest Marathi version of the Rāmāyaṇa, many of her conjectures would have been substantiated. The Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa follows the Ānanda and Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, as well as the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa. The whole of the discussion in the introduction, thus suffers from lack of any type of authentic information, and she could have done better only if she had enumerated such episodes and mentioned merely that they were not in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. Such lack of study of the Rāmāyaṇa in the correct perspective is seen in all the essays that follow. Almost all her comments are borrowings from the Sane Guruji School and from Prof. Nandapurkar who first collected (through his pupils) the *ovis* from Marathwada. Except that we get a collection of the *ovis* based on some episodes in the Rāmāyaṇa, from Marathwada, this book serves no other purpose.

*Santāncan Māher: (संतानंच माहेर)* The Maternal Home of the Saints, Hyderabad (Dn), 1964.

This is a collection of *ovis* which chiefly women sing while grinding corn. Women start the *ovis* with a bunch of traditional *ovis*—which enumerates each *ovi* such as the 1st, 2nd, 3rd *ovi* etc. dedicated to different gods and saints (as are given at the beginning of the collection) and when the grinding is about to finish they sing the 'last *ovis*' about the end of the grinding operation and thank the grinding wheel; these *ovis* are given on p. 25. The compiler has nowhere mentioned this and arranged the single *ovis* in bunches with pseudo 'attractive' headings viz. all *ovis* on 'the first *ovi*' grouped together which create the appearance of these being single continuous song on that particular *ovi*, with a number of repetitive expressions which abide in folk-songs normally. In reality such *ovis* begin with the first *ovi* and then go on to the last. Every singer has her own group. No repetition of the same number is allowed.

The accompanying notes are superfluous and the songs on Draupadi have but a remote bearing on Pandharpur.

This collection though it lacks editing like the previous one, is more useful for reference about the material on Pandharpur, Viṭhobā. Rukmiṇī, Tulsī and some of the saints like Janābāī. The compiler also includes contemporary ovis in which the house of Tanpure Maharaj in Pandharpur is mentioned.

(पंढरी पंढरी जनाला जावे झाली । जाता हवेली लागली । तनपुऱ्या महाराजाची).

The last chapter on the Pandharpur as a maternal home of women should have been dropped out because most of the subject-matter is covered in the preceding general portion. The introduction to the book is written by Mrs. Maltibai Dandekar which is superficial and obviously written in haste. She, however, makes a suggestive remark that the title and contents of 'Santāncan Māher' reminds her of a similar earlier book of the late Prof. Nandapurkar, viz Marāṭhīcha Māher; the two books resemble each other as much as the twins do.

This book lacks even the meagre glossary which the previous one has.

*In Santāncan Māher* (संतान्चं माहेर) The Maternal Home of the Saints, Mrs. Thatte presents a collection of ovis, grouped under suitable titles, as Prof. Nandapurkar did. There is nothing special about this book except repetition of what has already been published on the ovis of the Saints. Little has been the original contribution of Mrs. Thatte. The Pseudo-sentimentalism is the mainstay of her writing.

Dr. Y. M. Pathan (Editor), *Marāṭhvādyātil Lok-kathā*—Folktales from Marathwada ( मराठवाड्यातील लोक कथा ) Bahihśālā—Śikṣaṅ-Maṅḍal Granthamālā, Marathwada University, Aurangabad, 1962. This small book of ninety six pages is a collection of twenty-nine tales by fourteen authors.

1. Sukharam Hivrale: The Writ of Saṭvī, the Goddess of Fate (two tales).
2. Mrs. Tara Paranjpe: (1) The Tale of the Sunday in the month of Pauṣa and (2) The Tree of Money.
3. Bhagvan Bhatkar: (1) The Mad Nāryā.
4. Prabhakar Vaishnav; (1) The Brahmin Woman and her Seven Sons. (2) The Cunning Wife. (3) The Debt (4) The Smart Brahman (5) The Quarrel.
5. R. R. Borale: The Engagement.
6. Harihar Matekar: (1) The Fate (2) Catura. (चतुर)
7. Bhaskar Kulkarni: (1) Laxmi's seat (2) The river-deep (झेह) of the Waternymph. (3) The Slanting Nandi

8. Anil Phadke: (1) Oh! the Paisa has fallen! (2) The Real Holy Man.
9. Miss Vijaya Shikarkhane: The Legend of Murdeśvar.
10. P. N. Deshpande: (1) The Dried Stems of the Tuvār grain from Ter (2) Three Sisters. (3) The Legend of Tānājī Deshmukh.
11. Maruti Karad: The Legend of Chikhali Village.
12. Lakshmikant Tamboli: (1) The Legend of Santajibuvā Māli. (2) The legend of Kayadhu.
13. Chandrakant Patil: The Legends of (1) Miskindbuvā and (2) Jogai.
14. Prof. Gajmal Mali: The Mother's Home.

The book is remarkable for complete lack of editing except for the editor's (not editorial) introduction, which will be discussed duly for its contents. The arrangement of the tales according to the class they belong to viz. myth, fairy tale, legend and folktale is completely lacking; neither are the stories arranged according to the names of the compilers as I have listed them above. This lack of any sequence is obvious from the table of contents, which appears as.

(१) सटवीचा लेखा	श्री सुखराम हिवराळे
(२) पुपी आइतवाराची कहाणी	सौ. तारा परांजपे
(३) येडा नात्या	श्री भगवान भटकर
(४) ब्राह्मणी व तिची सात मुले	श्री प्रभाकर वैष्णव
(५) वृत्त पत्नी	श्री प्रभाकर वैष्णव
(६) सटवी अक्षर	श्री सुखराम हिवराळे
(७) पैशाचं झाड	सौ. तारा परांजपे
(८) ऋण	श्री प्रभाकर वैष्णव

It can also be seen from the stories that they are not arranged according to their narrative or cultural importance. Hence there is no sequence of relation between two tales. The editor could have at least put the two tales about the goddess of fate by the same compiler, together. The tales are not accompanied with either topical or cultural notes either from the compilers themselves or the editor. The language of the narratives is rustic in some cases and sophisticated, even to the point to make them look like short stories in others. But for the few local legends, the rest of the tales do not represent Marathwada in any way, except that they are collected from that territory. The editor has mentioned this fact.

The collection on the whole lacks in good myths and even important local legends. They are very ordinary tales, and have no representative character of any kind.

The editor does not give any notes of comparison when much material was available from the old District Gazetteers, other collections and cultural literature.

The editor seems to have taken for granted, like many of the so called senior editors of Marathi folklore-collections,—Shri C. G. Karve for instance, that only an introduction is enough to furnish the editorial work.

The introduction itself though of thirty two pages (one third of the collection) has hardly anything to offer by way of criticism, history, method or even analysis of the collection. The editor has chiefly drawn from Dr. S. V. Ketkar's book '*Prācīna Mahārāṣṭra*' (प्राचीन महाराष्ट्र) and my book '*Lokasāhityācī Rūparekhā*'. (लोक साहित्याची रूपरेखा) He is reproducing most of my material and passing a few irrelevant comments hence and these without judging the sources of the original writing. As for instance, on pages 7-8, he quotes a sentence of mine without context viz. 'In the whole of the Vedic literature there is only one illustration (e.g. the story of the thieves who stole the lotus stalks, in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*), and that too with a passing reference to the popular tale and comments that this statement should be verified in the light of the collection of the translation of the fortythree tales by Shri N. G. Chapekar in his book, *Vaidic Nibandha* (वैदिक निबंध). Though all the tales in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* are before him, the editor has not been able to verify the little anecdote that I have had mentioned. What he wants to suggest, perhaps, is that I have not taken a proper note of the 'tales', and hence my statement is not accurate. The truth about the 'tales' in the A.B. is that they are sacerdotal tales, called Arthavāda. Had the editor gone carefully through the tales in Shri Chapekar's book, he would have known the nature and content of Vedic myths and legends. As far as my statement is concerned, I was searching for secular tales and this was the solitary example in the *Brāhmaṇa* where a passing reference to a secular tale is made. The editor has misconstrued the very purport of my statement.

His treatment of bibliographical literature, both books and periodical writings is sketchy, though he enumerates some books, articles and tries to build up the chronological history of Marathi folklore-writings. He refers to folklore of different provinces of India, viz. Bengal, Gujarat, Sindh etc. and makes superfluous comments. On p. 12 he writes 'The author of *Indian Tales of Fun, Folly and Folklore* mentions, that the secret of lasting nature of these tales is their popularity but does not say who the author is. This book is surely not an outstanding book on Indian folklore. On page twentynine he gives statement from '*The Science of Folklore*' of Alexander Krappe, but does not give the number of page etc.

in the footnote, as he has given in a number of other cases. It seems that he is handling the reference material very casually or he is quoting from a secondhand reference.

His introduction to the contents is, on the whole, disappointing and the publication sponsored by the University is not encouraging. The reason for this may be that both the editor and the University had the Marathi Lok-kathā of Dr. Sarojini Babar sponsored by the University of Poona, as their model.

Dr. Naresh Kavadi: (1) *Bharali Candrabhāgā* (भरली चन्द्रभागा) The Candrabhāgā River is full, Sholapur, 1960.

This is a collection of folksongs, mostly *ovis*, from Sholapur. The songs are hackneyed and the arrangement is on Sane Gurujis' model. There is nothing special about this collection except the fact that they are collected in a particular locality in which Pandharpur stands and the river Chandrabhāgā flows. The Vārkarī movement for the past six centuries provided a semi-sophisticated poetic pattern even to the *ovi* songs all over Maharashtra. Sholapur district might have been the first place where the *ovis* on Viṭhobā were first sung by women as Dr. Kavadi suggests. But there is nothing special about the *ovis* of this collection, since those collected in Nasik, Poona, Aurangabad and other places, as the collections themselves prove, are just the same.

The *ovis* which have a reference to places like Barshi, Karmale, and other legendary references present a local colouring and are useful to the folklorist for understanding of the cultural setting.

Mrs. Kamalabai Badave:—*Pandharicā Parisar* (पंढरीचा परिसर) The Surroundings of Pandharī, Pandharpur 1963.

This is a book which is a precursor of the *Janalokāncā Sāma-veda* etc. and hence nothing more is to be said about it than what has already been said about the latter. It contains *ovi* about Pandharpur, Viṭhobā and the saints etc.

Shri Setu Madhavrao Pagadi, *Goṇḍvanātil Kathā*, (गोंडवनातील कथा) Bombay, 1961.

This is the first collection of the tales of the Gonds in the Andhra Pradesh, collected by Shri Pagadi, who knows the dialect well. Most of the Gonds are found in Maharashtra and hence the myths given by Shri Pagadi, though in popular style are an important addition to the Gondi lore. The myth of creation is the best.

S. G. Suradkar and Mrs. Kamalabai Suradkar: *Dagadātil Pāzar* (दगडातील पाझर). The Oozings from the Rocks; Nagpur, 1964.

This is a collection of folksongs, mostly *ovis* from Vidarbha, mostly the Nagpur side, arranged into divisions, and accompanied



with appreciative commentaries, which are of the Sane Guruji-type and hence have no personal touch in them.

Most of the portion of the book is hackneyed with a few exceptions. Some *ovis* in the Suradkars' compilations, are new and they are presented without as they are; the compilers have not changed the original diction which some other compiler would have found coarse and changed it. The compilers are embarrassed while presenting the data. Yet they are faithful in presenting them as they are (p. 4). The Suradkars have accomplished this difficult task without damaging the aesthetic spirit of the songs. They have also given legends and *ovis* about birds; among which the legend about the cuckoo is important.

N. R. Shende: *Loksāhitya Sampadā* ( लोकसाहित्य संपदा ), The Wealth of Folklore, Nagpur, 1964.

This is another hackneyed collection and even unreliable since it contains songs which are modern and composed to suit the glorification of Vidarbha as the birth place of Jijābāī, the mother of Shivaji and has the Rāmṭek Hill which Prof. V. V. Mirashi believes to be the Rāmgiri which is mentioned in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. Shri Shende interprets it as a place where Kālidāsa himself lived. Some of the articles in his book are incorporated in the Maharashtra Loksāhityamālā and I have already reviewed the important ones. Hence I do not repeat the remarks here.

S. D. Patil: *Jānapada Gitāncā Saṅgraha*: (जानपद-गीतांचा संग्रह) Rural Songs, Malegaon, 1953.

This is a pamphlet carelessly compiled and has no place in the field of folksongs except its title.

#### *Ethnological Literature and its contribution to Folklore:*

Ethnological literature has always been complementary to folklore studies. All rituals connected with marriage, birth, death etc. bind the two disciplines together.

Among such books, the important are as follows.

Dr. L. N. Chapekar: *The Thakurs of Sahyadri* (2nd ed. Bombay, 1966).

Dr. Mrs. Vijaya Punekar: *The Sonkolis* (Bombay, 1962).

K. J. Save: *The Warlis*, (Bombay, 1937).

Kale: *The Agaris*, (Bombay, 1958).

In Marathi two books are important. (1) *Jangalce Rāje* (जंगलचे राजे) the Rulers of the Forest (Gargoti 1955) by Mrs. Kusum Nargolkar

and Vasant Nargolkar and (2) *Maharashtratil Ādivasī va tyānce praśna*, (महाराष्ट्रातील आदिवासी व त्यांचे प्रश्न), The tribals in Maharashtra and their problems, Poona, 1963, by Dr. Sudhir Phadke.

Most of the publications in English are Ph.D. theses, generally these socio-anthropological monographs have a chapter on customs. Customs include all events like marriage, feasts and fasts. The folklore viz. tales and songs used in these books is of secondary importance. The authors do not compile it with an understanding which advanced folklore studies demand. The songs and tales are merely listed in them and their functional importance is seldom discussed. Among these books the, *Jangalce Rāje* is more satisfactory than the rest. The authors while describing the life of the Varlis of Thana and Colaba district have devoted a chapter to folksongs and folk-tales. Small though the collection is, it gives the reader a clear idea of the indigenous folklore of the tribe. The authors are careful in presenting the cultural setting of the songs and tales and narrate the tales in a direct and matter-of-fact way, while the so-called folklorists are spoiling their compilations by pseudo-sentimentalism. The chapter on religion and magic is also a good contribution to the understanding of the living beliefs of the people.

R. C. Dhere: *Marāṭhī Lok Sanskr̥tice Upāsak* (मराठी लोक संस्कृतिचे उपासक) The Devotees of Marathi Folk-culture, Poona, 1964.

This is a unique book on popular religion of Maharashtra. It deals with certain obscure cults and bards and priests that represent them. The book is a compromise between the scholarly and popular presentation. But the compromise is not based on an attitude of sacrificing scholarship to the popular taste. On the contrary Shri Dhere is conscious of his own limitations. He rightly points out that the lacuna of scholarship in this type of writing is due to the fact that there is a dearth of scholarly literature on the cults of Vāsudeva, Gandhal, Bhāruḍ etc. On the whole the book is written to acquaint the common reader with these cults. The author tries to trace the origins of the cults, but does not go deep down to the very root to search their origins in local folk-elements; neither does he go to the Puranic lore which would have held some clues to establish the connections of these cults with some cults of the past. The cults of Gondhal and Bhāruḍ are based in the Reṇukā legend, but the spread of the Reṇukā-cult and legend in the later puranic lore and various local cults in India, especially South India should have been studied by the author, because this material is available in ethnological literature. But for the vague reference to the legend of Reṇukā, from 'The Village Gods in South India' by Whitehead there is no valid reference even to the tale

except the very secondary source of the 'Story of the Mang woman' in the *Lokkathā Kunj* of Shree Mahadeo Shastri Joshi. I have to point here once again that the *Lok-kathā Kunj* is an entirely popular collection of folk-tales related in the short-story manner. The tales are borrowed from other collections. This tale is a depiction of the Dhangar-*ovis* collected by Shri Mundale and published in a report of the *Bhārat-Itihāsa Samshodhak Maṇḍal* of Poona. Some statements like 'it is to be borne in mind that folk-culture is different from primitive culture, because the primitive culture has never come into contact with the urban culture and hence it is same all over the World' stand open to criticism.

M. N. Patil: *Rasamādhurī* (रसमाधुरी), The sweet Flavour, Alibag, 1965.

This is a small book of about 59 songs. The writer of the introduction is Dr. Mrs. Savita Jajodia. She tells us that there are 38 songs of the Āgri community divided under seven headings. viz. (1) songs of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (2) Lullabies (3) songs of transplantation in the rice-field (4) marriage-songs (5) Holi songs (6) songs about the grown-up daughter and (7) songs about brother and sister.

Then come the songs of 'the tribals of the Konkan' under two sections viz. (1) marriage-songs and (2) Dasara-songs.

The compiler however does not give the names of the tribes nor their locality; and hence these songs have little value for reference, in any study.

Then comes a section of Marathi *ovis* whether of the Āgris or a general collection, we do not know.

The songs on the Gaṇeśa-festival are also there and the last section is on 'the beauty of some Marathi folk-songs'.

The introduction is full of vague appreciative remarks and nowhere touches the poetic excellence of the songs as one would expect.

Though we need collections of folklore from rural communities in order to understand the cultural background of the people, collections of this nature do not serve the purpose. This collection is unsystematic and gives even modern songs, which are not folk-songs. The Āgris are an important agricultural community in the Thana and Colaba districts and they have abundant songs too. Shri Patil's collection is meagre and does not portray the events to the full extent; e.g. the marriage songs abound in agricultural communities and that is a section which retains older elements of culture. But in this book we find only six songs and they are not

the very best. A collection of these songs which I had published in the 'Stree' magazine, years ago (as the first part of this bibliography has recorded) is much larger than this.

The prose appreciative portions accompanying these songs, are keeping up with the vogue of pseudo-sentimental oration and naturally do not serve any useful purpose. The comments are superfluous and do not give any more important information than the songs themselves give. The only usefulness of the book is that it has added a score more Āgri-songs to our store of Folk-songs.

Mrs. Vasudha Mane: *Govyatīl Dhālo* (गोव्यातील धालो) The Dhālo from Goa, Bombay, 1964.

This is a collection of the Dhālo ritual songs from Goa. It is the first time that the Hindu songs in Goa have been presented in a book form. Excepting an article or two hardly anything has been ever written on the folksongs of Hindu Goa. Mrs. Mane mixed with the women of various communities and collected these songs. The collection though small is unique and presents the Dhālo festival in a lucid style and yet the information is good. Mrs. Mane is aware of her limitations and the vastness of the task she has undertaken and proceeds cautiously with her search of the songs and aspires to give more as occasion demands. The presentation is popular.

Y. B. Patil: *Khāndeshī Lok-kathā* (खानदेशी लोक कथा) Folktales of Khandesh, Poona 1964.

These tales are a compilation of some 'authentic stories' or rather events the compiler has heard. However what is heard is not a genuine product always. Most of these stories are anecdotes which one hears in abundance. But these anecdotes have neither wit nor wisdom. They are drab and very ordinary. They are no folktales. Whatever element of folktales was there in a few stories also has been damaged by the compiler in relating them in a short-story manner. So these are neither good short stories nor folktales.

*Periodical Literature:* Coming to the periodical literature in English, I have to draw the readers' attention to the most significant contribution of the late Dr. D. D. Kosambi on prehistory of India. *Dr. D. D. Kosambi: The living Prehistory of India (Scientific American Feb. 1967)*. This posthumously published article of Dr. Kosambi is the only of its kind even among the vast literature available on the archaeology and prehistory of Maharashtra. Dr. Kosambi has minutely described each and every prehistoric relic he comes across the plateau of the Deccan viz. South-Maharashtra, habited by the Dhangars or shepherds. Though Dr. Kosambi has the whole India in his mind for the application of his

theory or the caste organization emerging out of the social adjustment between the food-gatherers and the immigrant cultivators, the illustrations he gives are from the locale of Maharashtra, mostly Poona and the South Maharashtra which has abundant relics of the prehistoric stone age. In the present Dhangar community Prof. Kosambi discovers stone implements which he calls 'modern microliths' with which the Dhangars castrate one sheep at a time and then throw the implement away. The method of making the implement, the shape and the function of it are just the same as it was in the prehistoric times of the early iron age. Prof. Kosambi then gives evidence of the living relics of prehistory from the hunting tribe, the Pārḍhis.

Dr. Kosambi not only mentions the ancient and new microliths and stone-songs, but goes further in hunting them with the living culture of these communities, as their worship, dance-ritual and mythology reveal. This part which is mere folklore to the others, becomes a living organism, a part of the long continuous whole of a culture of a province. This province is not a separate cultural unit but an integral part of the peninsular India. The Pārḍhis originally hailed from Gujarat and the Dhangars spread from inside South India. This interlinking of the people and their traditions with the prehistoric past is the unique contribution of Dr. Kosambi to Indian culture. He is the first one to show that folklore is a product of culture and capable on shedding light on stone-relics which to most scholars are isolated from the living known culture.

*Las Actividades en el Folklore Despue de la Independencia India.* (Report from 'Folklore Americando. Year 13, No. 13, Lima, Peru. 1965) by Hari S. Upadhyaya. The essay called 'The Activities in Folklore in post-Independent India: As the title of this essay in Spanish suggests it covers the entire Indian field of folklore, the subject is tremendously vast and no single person can make justice to it even if he had to write a large volume on it. The task becomes even almost impossible for an untrained person who tries his hand at it whether he has to write a big volume or a small essay. An expert's touch becomes obvious in whatever he handles. Hari Upadhyaya is evidently no expert. His information of folklore save that of his own province viz. the United Province is not only meagre but even faulty. The first they would expect in this essay was correct information about post-independence activities in folklore of different provinces. But this sense of chronology is lacking in the treatment of the subjects. Upadhyaya gives only lists of books with random comments, e.g. with reference to Folklore of Bengal he includes books like *Memansingh Gitika*, by Dineshchandra Sen, *Thakur-mar Jhuli* by Daksina Mitra-Muzumdar and Folk-tales of

Bengal by L. B. Day, which are obviously very old pioneer publications. In giving the folklore of Madhya Pradesh he gives only a few names of Dr. Verrier Elwin's books which are pre-independence publications and drops his best work on folk-tales.

As far as Maharashtra is concerned he mentions the name of Sarojini Babar as the chairman of the Folklore Committee of the Government of Maharashtra but does not give name either of a single of the Government publications or Dr. Baber's. The title of my book is *Lokasāhityāchi Ruparekha* (Outline of Folklore) which he turns into The Outline of Marathi Folklore. The translation of the 'Aparūṣey Vāṅmaya' (अपरुषेय वाङ्मय) of Dr. Kamalabai Deshpande should have been rather 'feminine literature' rather than 'revealed literature'. Y. N. Kelkar's book 'Aitihasik Povade' (ऐतिहासिक पोवाडे, Historical Ballads) has no bearing with folklore. Authors should be very cautious when they write in foreign journals about their own country. Every statement should be verified before it is released to the press; a wrong impression on a fresh soil can seldom be corrected later.

E. D. Kulkarni, Technical Terms in Elephant Lore (Turner Jubilee Volume, I, Poona, 1958), is an important article useful for the student of animal-lore in India.

## APPENDIX

### Marathi Periodical Literature

The list of periodical literature is not exhaustive but it is fairly representative. The mass of periodical literature is so vast that it was not possible for me to go through it in the short span of time.

#### स्त्री

१९५० डिसेंबर,	मालती दांडेकर,	काव्यमय सोयरिक
१९५२ डिसेंबर,	दुर्गा भागवत,	पक्ष्याचें बोल.
१९६२ एप्रिल,	सविता जाजोदिया,	भात भरना.

#### अहमदनगर कॉलेज त्रैमासिक

१९५१ ऑगस्ट,	उ. भा. कोठारी,	स्त्रीहृदय
१९५२ फेब्रुवारी	उ. भा. कोठारी,	पंढरीचा विट्ठल

#### संगम

१९५२ ऑक्टोबर,	सुलोचना सप्तर्षि,	प्रेमाचा अथांग सागर
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#### वसंत

१९५२ जून	मालती दांडेकर,	ग्रामीण महिला वाङ्मय
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#### साहित्य-सहकार

१९५२ सप्टेंबर, ऑक्टोबर,	दुर्गा भागवत,	वणजारी ओव्या व गीते.
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## सहाद्री

१९५२ दिवाळी,	दुर्गा भागवत,	कूट-कथानक
१९५३ जानेवारी	दुर्गा भागवत,	लोकगीतांचा प्राचीन प्रचारक वररुचि.
१९५३ जानेवारी,	श्याम परमार,	माळव्यातील श्रावण गीते.
	(अनुवादक, श्रीपाद फडके)	
१९५३ फेब्रुवारी,	कमलाबाई देशपांडे,	'लोकसाहित्य-लेखाचे निमित्ताने'
(या लेखात १९५२-५३ मधल्या मासिकातील लोकसाहित्य विषयक लेखांची जंत्री दिली आहे.)		
१९५४ जानेवारी,	द. वा. पोतदार,	हितोपदेश आणि पंचतंत्र

## साहित्य पत्रिका

१९५२ एप्रिल, मे, जून,	सरोजिनी बाबर,	खेड्यातील स्त्रियांची कविता.
१९५३ मे, जून	अनसूया भागवत (लिमये)	जानपद ओवी.

## फेसरी

१९५३, ४ जानेवारी,	दुर्गा भागवत,	ट्यूटॉनिक लोकसाहित्य.
१९६० दिवाळी,	दुर्गा भागवत,	दैवत कथा

## हंस

१९५९ दिवाळी,	ग. ग. भावे,	लोकगीतांची घडण
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## सयकथा

१९५२, फेब्रुवारी,	दुर्गा भागवत,	हादग्याची किंवा भोंडल्याची गाणी.
१९५२, एप्रिल	दुर्गा भागवत,	तुळशीच्या कथा.
१९५२ ऑक्टोबर	नरेश कवडी,	लोकविद्या आणि सहा महारी वग.
दिवाळी,	अनसूया लिमये,	लोक वाङ्मय
१९६३, मार्च, एप्रिल	दुर्गा भागवत,	शिवगौरी कथा व राधाकृष्ण गीते. (अनुवाद. रवीन्द्रनाथ लोकसाहित्यपरंपरा)
१९६५, एप्रिल	दुर्गा भागवत,	धर्म, मंत्र व परंपरा
	दुर्गा भागवत,	अमेरिकन लोकसाहित्य.

(A summary of prof. Richard M. Dorson's lecture in Summer before the British Folklore Society in 1963)

## मौज

१९५१ दिवाळी,	दुर्गा भागवत,	लोकसाहित्यातील उत्पत्तिकथा
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## मराठवाडा

१९५१ दिवाळी	डॉ. ना. गो. नांदापूरकर	गंगा खोडची गीतमंगा.
१९५२ दिवाळी	प्रकाश, (वार्षिक, उस्मानिया विद्यापीठ)	
	डॉ. ना. गो. नांदापूरकर,	उपेक्षित काव्यसंपदा
	सन्मति मासिक (सोलापुर)	
१९५३ डिसेंबर,	डॉ. ना. गो. नांदापूरकर	उगवले नारायण.

### प्रतिष्ठान

१९५३ सप्टेंबर,	डाॅ. ना. गो. नांदापूरकर,	पहिली ओवी.
१९६७, मे,	सौ. सुहासिनी इल्लेकर,	ओवी: ग्रांथिक व मौखिक.

### नवभारत

१९६७, एप्रिल,	सु. तु. कुलकर्णी,	वारली लोकांचे उखानें.
१९६७ जूलै, ऑगस्ट,	दुर्गा भागवत	कदंब पूजन

### अमृत

१९६१, जूलै,	भालचंद्र फडके	उस्मानाबाद जिल्ह्यातील महारी ओव्या.
१९६१, दिवाळी,	मालती दांडेकर,	शाही सर्गिंदर (ओव्या)
१९६६, फेब्रुवारी,	लाडो,	एक सिंधी लोकगीत.
१९६६ जूलै, फेब्रुवारी	सु. वा. कुलकर्णी	कातकऱ्यांचे उखाणे

### आलोचना

१९६२-६३ जूलै, ऑगस्ट,	दुर्गा भागवत.	कवि संगीत व राधाकृष्णाची गीते
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(रवींद्रनाथ टागोर यांच्या लोकसाहित्य या पुस्तकातील दोन प्रकरणांचा अनुवाद)

### शशी

१९५८ मार्च,	प्रभाकर हर्डेकर,	झूमर (मैथिली लोकगीत)
१९६३, जून, जूलै, ऑगस्ट,	सविता जाजोदिया,	राजस्थानी कहाण्या
दिवाळी व डिसेंबर,		

### प्रसाद

१९६२	सौ. सरोजिनी पंतसचिव	लोककथा,
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### ललना

१९६१, जून,	सविता जाजोदिया,	राजस्थानी लोकगीत; स्त्री आणि विरह.
१९६१ दिवाळी,	आनंद यादव,	आईच्या ओव्या
१९६३,	मं. भा. नाडकर्णी	कुंडे कुस्कुर (मालवणी लोक- कथा.)
१९६३ डिसेंबर,	भालचंद्र फडके,	महार. स्त्रियांची गोड गाणी

### चित्रमयजगत्

१९५२ जूलै,	मो. वा. चिपळूणकर,	हवामानसंबंधीचे वाकप्रचार
१९५४ एप्रिल	चिं. ग. कर्वे,	लोकसाहित्य
१९६० ऑक्टोबर,	दमनक,	पंचतंत्र.
१९६० दिवाळी,	दिनकर दातार,	गरवा नृत्य
१९६१ जूलै,	दुर्गा भागवत	भारतीय साहित्यांतील कथा- वाङ्मयाची काही बीजे



### रहस्यरंजन

१९६१ जूँ, दुर्गा भागवत, लोकसाहित्य  
(रवींद्रनाथ यांच्या 'लोकसाहित्य' या पुस्तकाच्या पहिल्या प्रकरणाचा अनुवाद)

### दीपलक्ष्मी

१९५८, ऑक्टोबर, सरोजिनी, वावर, महालक्ष्मी गौरी  
१९६१ फेब्रुवारी, चारुशीला गुप्ते, विदर्भाची अस्मितादर्शक काही  
लोकगीते.  
१९६१ दिवाळी, चारुशीला गुप्ते, लोकसाहित्यातील विनोद

### वसुधा

१९६५, एप्रिल, मे, शामराव निळकंठ ओक, अरेवियन नाइट्स मधील काही  
अपरिचित गोष्टी

### आलोचना

फेब्रुवारी १९६३ दुर्गा भागवत, कविरचना  
मार्च " ग्रामसाहित्य  
एप्रिल " बालगाणी

Note: I have not reviewed some of Dr. Baber's books because their nature is the same as of her other writings mentioned in this article. They are मराठीतील स्त्रीवन, (1962) ग्रामलक्ष्मी (1966), राही-हविमणी (1962) वरत्रीच्या लेकी (1966) etc.

# SHAKESPEARE'S MARATHI TRANSLATORS

By

KUMUD A. MEHTA

The famous Despatch of the Court of Directors for 1854 enunciated the Government of India's policy in the field of education. In 1857 the University of Bombay was created. The Elphinstone College and the Grant Medical College had commenced their labours earlier. The decades to come witnessed the direct results of this occidental system of education. A University-trained stratum was created which to use the words of Toynbee had 'effectively cultivated the Western arts of peace.' The new learning, predicated on Western scientific and aesthetic values was sought to be applied in the Indian *milieu*. The educated were not simply content with the study of foreign literary works. They undertook the hazards of translating them into the vernacular languages or strove to create new writing on parallel lines. They banded themselves into amateur groups to produce plays on their own.

The subtle forces unleashed by the new system of education began unfolding themselves in the theatre world. They found articulate form in the creation of a number of dramatic clubs and groups. In Bombay the Parsi Elphinstone Society and the Kālidāsa Elphinstone Society staged Shakespearean productions. The first Shakespearean venture of the Parsi Elphinstone Society was *The Taming of the Shrew*, which was staged in 1861. C. S. Nazir, who was the moving spirit behind every activity of the Society, wrote later a Gujarati play, *Kadak Kanya ne Khisela Parnya* based upon *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Honeymoon*. In 1867 the Kālidāsa Elphinstone Society, which was composed in the main of Maharashtrian amateurs, produced *Julius Caesar*. In 1864 the Shakespeare Society of the Elphinstone College was born and a Shakespearean production became an annual event in the College.

The passion for the new drama could not be satisfied by merely presenting a Shakespearean production annually. For the theatre-conscious the next logical step was to attempt translations of English plays or their adaptations into the vernacular languages. Later, with more experience, they tried their hand at original plays in the mother tongue.

A significant illustration of this is Vinayak Janardan Kirtane's *Thorle Madhavrao Peshve*. This play dealt with Maharashtra's immediate past. It was published in 1861, when the playwright was

only twenty years old and, in all likelihood, he commenced writing the play when he was still a student at the Elphinstone College.

The respect for Shakespeare was accompanied with a straining for the past, an effort to draw inspiration from Indian classical sources. This duality expressed itself in the field of the drama in the choice of plays for translation. Marathi historians of the drama speak of this period as one when 'bookish' plays were most in vogue and by 'bookish' they mean in contradistinction to Puranic plays, plays translated from classical Sanskrit or from English. Parsurampant Godbole took the lead with his *Veṅṅāsanhāra*, *Uttararāma Carita*, *Śakuntalā* and *Mṛcchakaṭīka* which were Marathi translations from the original Sanskrit. Mahadeo Shastri Kolhatkar began the cycle of translations from Shakespeare. His translation of *Othello* was published in 1867. Eight years later, in 1875 Nilkantha Janardan Kirtane published his translation of *The Tempest* and after another eight years followed two translations of *Hamlet*. These Marathi renderings of Shakespeare indicate in some measure the literary taste of the time and the nature of Shakespeare's influence on the intellectual life of Maharashtra.

Vishnushastri Chiplunkar devoted a whole essay in the *Nibandhamālā* to the problems of translation. The caption was a line from Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*. King Dushyanta is painting a picture and Sānumatī watching him marvels at his skill. She feels her friend Śakuntalā is actually there in front of her. The essayist probably used the quotation to suggest what a translation ought to be like. He believed that the word अर्थांतर (translation) was a new addition to the language, and borrowed from the West. He wrote that the ancients had used छाया or reflection for a piece rendered from one language to another.

Chiplunkar set down what he believed ought to be the equipment of a good translator. The good translator must have a good command of the language from which he is translating and of the language into which he is translating. The book that he seeks to translate must be one that *can* be translated and finally the translator must experience a sense of oneness with the author of the original work. Chiplunkar then elaborated upon the special difficulty of translating poetry. He referred to lines he had quoted in an earlier essay:—

सौवर्णानि सरोजानि निर्मातुं सन्ति शिल्पिनः ।  
तत्र सौरभनिर्माणे चतुरश्चतुराननः ॥

"There are craftsmen who can fashion a golden lotus but only the Lord of Creation (Brahmadeva) can instil into it its fragrance".

The articles in the *Nibandhamālā* were warm in their welcome of the translations from Shakespeare.

These renderings were without exception *prose* renderings. Only the songs in all the plays, and parts of the masque and the whole Epilogue in *The Tempest* were rendered into verse. The prose employed by all the translators is the flat, dry prose of the periodical press of the time. The translators were conscientious enough. Kirtane knew *The Tempest* well, having taught it to his class in Indore. Kolhatkar was in the Educational Service and familiar with the play he had undertaken to translate. He died at the age of forty-four and when his *Othello* was published posthumously, the editor had to choose from the many alternative renderings (of various lines) attempted by the translator. Agarkar was an extremely well-read man. He began his translation in April 1882 and finished it in Dongri jail in August of the same year. The translators sought earnestly to be faithful to the original. In fact, both Kirtane and Kolhatkar retained the original names of the titles and of the characters. And yet the rendering is wooden and its prosaic quality derives perhaps from the aims of the translators themselves. They sought to educate their readers.

When a verse rendering of any part of a play was attempted, it assumed the form of rhymed couplets. The songs from the Masque in *The Tempest* employed a Sanskritized diction and the Epilogue borrowed the language of devotion. These words sound more soothing to the ear than the baldness of the prose and the couplets of the Epilogue must have seemed to the translator easier to manipulate.

“And my ending is despair,  
Unless I be relieved by prayer,  
Which pierces so, that it assaults  
Mercy itself, and frees all faults.  
As you from crimes would pardon'd be,  
Let your indulgence set me free.”

मंत्र तंत्र विद्या सर्व की त्यागीली  
निराशा राहिली आधारची ॥  
परि कीर्तनाचा घोष भावे केल्या  
येई देव राया दया साची ॥  
भरवाल जरी कीर्तनाचा रंग  
होई पापभंग निश्चयेची ॥  
काय सांगू तुम्हा कीर्तनमहिमा ।  
अगाध तो आम्हा वर्णवेना ॥  
ईश्वर कीर्तनी लय जे लावीती  
त्याची सर्व जाती पापें लया ॥

There is here a lack of terseness; there is a note of conventional piety that is absent in Shakespeare and besides Kirtane uses the word *Kirtan* four times in six lines!

The main difficulty is the *blank verse* itself. The translators tend to enlarge what in Shakespeare is merely a hint. There is an absence of metaphor and a tendency to paraphrase.

Othello's last lines are,

Soft you, a word or two;  
I have done the state some service and they know it;  
No more of that: I pray you in your letters,  
When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,  
Speak of them as they are; nothing extenuate,  
Nor set down aught in malice; then must you speak  
Of one that lov'd not wisely, but too well;  
Of one not easily jealous, but being wrought,  
Perplex'd in the extreme; of one whose hand—  
Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away.  
Richer than all his tribe; of one whose subdued eyes,  
Albeit unused to the melting mood;  
Dropt tears as fast as the Arabian trees;  
Their medicinal gum;

Mahadeoshastri Kolhatkar translates the words carefully, but there is no hint of the poetry of the original.

सावकाशीनें घ्या, जतावळी करुं नका आणि आपण जाण्यापूर्वी मला आपणापाशीं जे दोन शब्द बोलायचे आहेत ते कृपा करून ऐकून घ्या. माझें म्हणणें असें आहे कीं, मी थोडाबहुत सरकारच्या उपयोगी पडलो आहे आणि ती गोष्ट सरकारासहि विदित आहे, तेव्हां त्याविषयीं कांही विशेष सांगणें नाहीं. परंतु मुख्यत्वे सांगणें एवढेच आहे कीं, या दुर्दैवानें घडून आलेल्या गोष्टीची हकीकत सरकारास कळविण्याकरितां जी पत्र लिहाल त्यांत मजविषयाचा प्रकार जसा वास्तविक आहे तसा लिहा. त्यांत कांहीं न्यून करुं नका आणि द्रोह बुद्धीनें पदरचेहि कांहीं घालूं नका. तुम्ही मजविषयीं असें लिहा कीं मी आपल्या प्रिय पत्नीवर परकाष्टेचें प्रेम करीत असें परंतु हे प्रेमवेडें वेडें होतें. त्यांत शहाणपणा नव्हता.

Belsare attempted a translation of *The Tempest* in 1904. He renders the simplicity of:—

“We are such stuff  
As dreams are made on:  
and our little life  
Is rounded with a sleep”

into the elaborate bombast of:

सारांश आम्ही प्राणी हे असे आहो ! स्वप्नातल्याप्रमाणेंच सारा आमचा बाजार ! अगोदर आमचें जीवित अगदीं अल्प, तशांत त्याचें टोक महानिद्रेंत वळले असल्यामुळें ते अधिकच अल्प झाले आहे. शिव शिव ! काय आमचें दैन्य ! फार वाईट ! मला उपरति होते.

Agarkar found it impossible to convey the peace of Christmas-tide, the religious background implicit in Marcellus' lines in the opening scene of *Hamlet*.

"Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes  
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,  
The bird of dawning singeth all night long;  
... So hallow'd and so gracious is the time."

In his attempt to explain and enlarge the lines that follow Agarkar makes them almost unrecognizable.

"But look, the Morn, in russet mantle clad,  
Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastern hill,"  
is translated thus:

"पण हें पहा, अरुणोदय होऊन दिशा फाकल्या आणि पूर्वेकडील क्षितिजापासून भगवान सूर्यनारायणाचें रक्तविंब वर येऊन त्याच्या रक्तकांतीनें पर्वताची शिखरें नाहल्यासारखीं झाली आहेत."

Agarkar was aware of his own limitations and in his Introduction to the play confessed that the Muse of Poetry and Music never did favour him with her blessings.

"कित्येकांचें असें म्हणणें पडलें की ज्या ठिकाणीं मूळांत गाण्याजोगी पद्ये आहेत त्या ठिकाणीं भाषांतरांतहि तसलीं पद्ये करून घालावीं ही सूचना मला बरी वाटली परंतु कवितादेवीचा कर तर राहिलाच, पण करांगुलि सुद्धां नसल्यामुळें . . आमचे मित्र रा. शंकर मोरो रानडे, बि.ए. यांची आराधना केली."

Right down to the early years of the 20th century translators spoke in their prefaces of Shakespeare's plot-construction, of his ability to create life-like characters. Prof. L. C. Knights has in his essay 'How many Children had Lady Macbeth?' suggested another method of approach to Shakespeare. He favours an approach based upon 'a consideration of his plays as dramatic poems, of his use of language to obtain a total complex emotional response'. He believes that 'plot', 'character', 'rhythm', 'construction', each of these is merely "an abstraction from the total response in the mind of the reader or spectator brought into being by written or spoken words". It is this lack of attention to the written word that mars these Marathi translations. What other explanation can one offer for Kirtane's making do with one adjective सुंदर to render Miranda's 'brave', 'beauteous', 'goodly'? Miranda's exclamation

"O, wonder!

How many goodly creatures are there here!  
How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world  
That has such people in 't!"

is rendered thus:

वा काय चमत्कार ! किती तरी सुंदर प्राणी येथें आले आहेत आहे. एकूण माणसें मोठीं सुंदरच असतात. ज्या नवीन जगामध्ये अशी सुंदर मनुष्ये असतात ते जगहि अति सुंदरच असेल.

Translators merely sought to domesticate the classics, to ensure that a gist of the original was rendered into Marathi. They did not approach the task of translation with the aim of enhancing the resources of their own tongue by creating new words or structures to suggest the qualities of the original. Neither did they work in accordance with the principle of 'equivalent effect' adopted by modern translators, whereby the translation seeks to create in the minds of its readers the exact impression that the original work had on its own contemporaries. For example, in his introduction to *Tratika* (2nd ed. 1894), which was based upon *The Taming of the Shrew*, V. B. Kelkar frankly admits that he has put in a great deal that is his own and he asks the reader not to judge his work as a translation. *Tratika* was a stage success. It reproduces the situation of *The Taming of the Shrew* but the words in it can under no circumstances be described as Marathi equivalents of the original.

Some translators believed that they could avoid a literal translation by altering names and by changing the nature of certain episodes to suit Indian life and Indian taste. K. G. Natu called his translation of *Julius Caesar*, *Vijaysing*. The Ides of March became *Vijayādaśamī*, the river Tiber became the Ganges. In Act I, sc. 2, Cassius boasts that he carried the tired Caesar across the Tiber in the manner of his ancestor Aeneas who had carried the aged Anchises from the flames of Troy. In *Vijayasing* Kutilsing compares his own feat to Bhīma's transporting Kuntī and his brothers across the Ganges in order to escape the perils of the house of lac. But all these transpositions are trivial for when it came to rendering Caesar's pithy line, 'Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;' Natu could merely find these words "तो कुटीलसिंग पहा रोडका जसा काहीं सहा महिन्याचा उपवाशी".

S. M. Paranjape in his translation of *Macbeth* (published in 1898 under the title *Manajirao*) deletes lines of the most intense poetic suggestiveness. Banquo's lines uttered in front of Macbeth's castle have in Prof. L. C. Knights' words "images of love and procreation supernaturally sanctioned".

"This guest of summer,  
The temple-haunting martlet, does approve,  
By his lov'd mansionary, that the heaven's breath,  
Smells wooingly here; no jutty, frieze,  
Buttress, nor coign of vantage, but this bird,  
Hath made his pendent bed, and procreant cradle:  
Where they most breed and haunt, I have observ'd,

The air is delicate.”

In *Manajirao* the lines are reduced to a bare and inaccurate

“या वसंतऋतूंत चोहोकडेच गर वारा असतो, पण हें ठिकाण उंचावर असल्यामुळे येथे वाऱ्याची विशेष मजा आहे खरी”.

One is compelled to apply to those prose versions in Marathi of Shakespeare's plays the words used by Salvador de Madariaga for the Spanish versions of *Hamlet* in prose. He writes, “There are some competent Spanish versions of *Hamlet* in prose. But they cannot be counted as real translations, for *Hamlet* is a poem, perhaps, in the deepest sense of the word, the most poetical of Shakespeare's plays. Verse is indispensable”. Marathi translators did not set themselves the kind of problem that Madariga set himself. He searched for a form of verse which was free and fluid, which could give scope to “the haunting moodiness, to the changes in soul-weather” which gave its character to the play (Shakespeare Survey, 6, 1953). The Marathi translators paid no heed to the aesthetic qualities of Shakespeare's verse and idiom. Not one of the translators was himself a poet and could claim what A. W. Schlegel did, when he wrote to Tieck in 1837: “My translation (of Shakespeare) has transformed the German theatre”. In his book *Shakespeare in Germany 1740-1815*, R. Pascal speaks of the influence of Shakespeare on the language of the Sturm and Drang group. He writes: “They interpret the imaged speech of Shakespeare as a liberation from the flat rationalistic language of the preceding generations. They create, using Shakespeare as a model, a highly subjective language of passion, in which the choice and connection of imagery is very personal, in which syntax is twisted to the demands of emotion”. The language of the Marathi drama did not feel this kind of impact of Shakespeare's verse at all.

Where Shakespeare's influence can, perhaps, be traced is in the borrowings from his themes and his characters. K. P. Khadilkar acknowledges his debt to Shakespeare in his introduction to the first edition of *Sawai Madhavrao yancha mrutyu*. He writes that when he was at college he saw *Hamlet* and *Othello* performed on the Marathi stage. He began to toy with the idea of introducing the characters of Iago and of Hamlet into one play. Just then he happened to read Vasudev Shastri Khare's *Life of Nana Fadnavis*. He read intently the part describing the circumstances that led to the suicide of Sawai Madhavrao. He thought he had found a विचारवानपण विकारवश Hamlet (a Hamlet with a meditative yet impulsive cast of mind.) Khadilkar says that in order to introduce into the same play the character of Iago, he invested one of the *mantriks* sent by Bajirao with the attributes of Iago. Khadilkar states that the policy pursued by Nana Fadnavis is expressed in the political terminology of



his own (the playwright's) times. And in actual fact the political intention of the playwright often obtrudes so forcefully that one is left with the impression that his main purpose is to vindicate the political strategy of Nana Fadnavis. Besides, as far as characterization goes, Sawai Madhavrao in his credulity resembles Othello more than he does Hamlet. In *Bhaubandki* Khadilkar is influenced by *Macbeth*. Utilizing once more Vasudev Shastri Khare as his source, he gives his historical material an imaginative turn for dramatic purposes. ( कांही ठिकाणीं कथाभागस थोडेसे काल्पनिक वळण दिले आहे )

Khadilkar borrowed from *Macbeth* the theme of a character goaded to murder a kinsman at the instigation of an ambitious and heartless wife. Khadilkar even utilised some of Shakespeare's motifs such as the apparition of the murdered man calling out for help. The blood-stained daggers were used to create an effect quite different from the original. In *Bhaubandki* the daggers help to drive away the fears in Raghoba's mind. Raghoba dips his finger in the blood on the daggers and makes a red mark on the forehead of his wife. She in her turn vows that she will mix this blood with the vermilion powder she uses daily for the mark on her forehead. This will be a guarantee of enduring glory.

Thus motifs and suggestions for characterization are borrowed from Shakespeare and transformed—sometimes beyond recognition. But the texture of the language holds no echoes of Shakespeare.

With the popularity of the musical drama, Shakespeare's plots, his lines were turned into a peg on which a wholly different structure could rest. Thus *Romeo and Juliet* became *Taravilasa*, a romantic comedy about a family feud and final reconciliation. *Gazals, ovis, pads* pushed out all vestiges of the original. Tara loses her heart to Vilasa when she sees him face an enraged elephant. All the ensuing difficulties are ended by the providential intervention of a *hakim* who brings the dead back to life and sings the glory of God.

खुदा करे तो क्या नहि होता फत्तर जिंदा बनता

रामचरन धूलि से उठाई गौतमजी की बनिता

Musicals apart, even in a play like अतिपीडचरित (based on *King Lear*) the translator states unhesitatingly in his Introduction that he decided to allow Atipidaraja (*King Lear*) and Mrugankamala (*Cordelia*) to live. He concedes that Coleridge or Schlegel might have regarded such a change as untenable. But he himself firmly believes that the fact that these two characters continue to live provides a more convincing end to the play.

One fails to find in Marathi writing the kind of influence that Pushkin could be said to have felt when he composed *Boris Godunov*. Pushkin tried his hand at a full working out of the theme of usurpation. In her article 'Shakespeare's Influence on Pushkin' (Shakespeare Survey, 5, 1952) Tatiana A. Wolff tells us of Pushkin's indebtedness to Shakespeare in the style and the structure of the play, in the use of blank verse, in the mingling of verse and prose, with prose used chiefly in the comic scenes and blank verse in the tragic (often with rhymed endings for closing emphasis), in the long period of time the play covers, in the constant changes of scene with corresponding change of mood. It is hard to find in Marathi plays such Shakespearean affinities, or to find Marathi playwrights 'giddy' from reading Shakespeare as Pushkin was.

Of late, translators have felt the need to pay greater attention to the language of the play. In his translation of *Othello* Shirwadkar uses verse for the more important speeches and for the soliloquies. The lines that Mahadeo Shastri Kolhatkar had rendered so faithfully into the prose of his own day now read:

धांवा—

जाण्यापूर्वी ऐकून घ्या माझे दोन शब्द,  
मी केली आहे सेवा या राज्याची मनोभावान.  
पण ते सांगायची नाही आवश्यकता, एकच विनंती,  
या दुर्दैवी घटनांचा इतिहास कळवतांना  
महेश्वराला दाखवा तो आहे तसाच, जे घडलं तें सांगा,  
उणं न करतां स्नेहानं, अधिक न दाखवतां द्वेषानं।

आणखी एक सांगा—

त्याच्या प्रेमात नव्हता विवेक, पण होती अपार उत्कटता  
त्याच्या स्वभावांत नव्हता संशय पण तो हरवून बसला स्वतःला  
कारस्थानानं विणलेल्या एका भयानक कोळिष्टकांत;  
आणि अखेरी गमाऊन केला रस्त पृथ्वी पेक्षां मूल्यवान्

Almost one hundred years after Mahadeo Shastri Kolhatkar's pioneering attempt, Shakespeare's blank verse still manages to elude the translators but less so. There are inversions in the syntax, pauses, but no fluid flow yet. And besides there are serious flaws still. For how else could:

“ . . . of one whose subdued eyes

Albeit unused to the melting mood”

assume the harsh accents of the inaccurate

'कोणत्याहि प्रसंगी पर्वतासारखा अविचल उभा राहणाराच तों?

Nana Jog faced quite squarely the problems relating to a modern translation of *Hamlet*. He attempted a stage version in three Acts. For Hamlet's soliloquies which he considered the soul of the play he employed free verse. He broke with the convention of 'domes-

licating' a foreign play and refused to turn a grave-yard into a *samādhi*. He was sharply aware of the 'poetic' quality of the original, knew only too well that in the course of watching the play the spectator was also an intent listener. He was moving in the right direction.

The beginning of Hamlet's fourth soliloquy is rendered ably thus:

एकच प्रश्न : जगावं की मरावं ?  
 दुर्देवाचे शस्त्रप्रहार सहन करणं आंतल्या आंत किंवा निःपात संकटाचा करीत प्रतिकार  
 सदैव, यांतल कोणतं जगणं उदात्त नि कोणतं उणं ?  
 —आणि मृत्यू ?  
 मृत्यू म्हणजे निद्रा !—शेवटची

Even with every intention of being faithful to the original the translator can rarely suggest the rich associations that a line holds. There is no equivalent for:

"So excellent a king, that was to this  
 Hyperion to a satyr".

or for 'like Niobe, all tears'

The translation of some lines moves away from the *sense* of the original. When

"My father's brother; but no more like my father  
 Than I to Hercules" is rendered as

"हं ! कुठं तो गजेंद्र न् कुठं हा उंदीर". The self-depreciation is lost here.

All of which goes to prove that even for a conscientious translator Shakespeare's works present a formidable difficulty. Those translators who were carried away by Shakespeare's skill at characterization or at the construction of plots could do no justice to his plays. The devices of 'domesticating' a play by giving it local colour in order to make it understood or acceptable to Maharashtrian spectators did not bring Shakespeare's work closer to the reader. The Marathi language as such did not feel the impact of the translations. Nana Jog discarded these conventional modes of approach and concentrated on the flow of the play's language and the mood it expressed; so he came closer in spirit to the original playwright's intent. This again proves that though the difficulties of translating Shakespeare are big enough they are not unsurmountable.

# IDENTIFICATION OF AL BILĀDURĪ'S USAIFĀN

By

B. D. MIRCHANDANI

The Arab historian Al Bilādūrī in his *Futūh'l Buldān*, written about the year 869 A.D., mentions the conquest of a country called 'Usaifān,<sup>1</sup> situated between Kashmir, Multan and Kabul, in the time of Caliph M'utassim bi-llah (838-841).<sup>2</sup> This country, he tells us, was governed by a king who worshipped idols.

The name 'Usaifān does not occur in Sanskrit works.

It seems to me that the appellation 'Usaifān is probably intended for the Sanskrit *Uḍḍiyāna*<sup>3</sup> (Pāli *Ujjāna*), which was the ancient name of the country of the Swāt valley. What adds to the probability of this identification is that the position of the Swāt country is quite in accordance with the broad geographical indications of Al Bilādūrī. 'Usaifān, no doubt, is not a very close transcript of *Uḍḍiyāna*, but that is due perhaps to the difficulty of adapting the Indian name to Arabic phonetics or to the perversion of the original transcript under constant copying.

The Swāt valley is at present inhabited by the Yusufzai Afghans, whose occupation of the country dates from about the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Elliot thought that 'Usaifān could not possibly be the modern Swāt. For, as he remarked, "If the Yusufzai had not been declared to have occupied the present tract at a much later period, one might have conceived them to be here alluded to."<sup>5</sup> Had he only thought of connecting that appellation with the ancient name of the Swāt country rather than with the name of its present inhabitants, he might have probably concluded that 'Usaifān was the Arab corruption or alteration of the Sanskrit *Uḍḍiyāna*, as seems to me to be the case. No other writer, so far as I am aware, has endeavoured to identify 'Usaifān.

1. 'Usaifān is the exact form of the name as presented by Al Bilādūrī in Arabic characters. See *Journal Asiatique* for February 1845 in which the relevant chapter from Al Bilādūrī's text has been reproduced.
2. See Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, i, pp. 129-30.
3. *Uḍḍiyāna*, in Sanskrit meaning "garden", the commonly accepted form of the name, is incorrect. It is based upon a learned popular etymology. See Aurel Stein, "An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat", *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 42, p. 1 n; Sylvian Levi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, pp. 105f.
4. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xxiii, p. 185. Cf. Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India* (iii, p. 1130): "The Yusufzai quitted their ancient habitation between Ghazni and Kandahar, and after various unsuccessful attempts to obtain Kabul, finally established themselves in Swat and Bajawar. They were in Babar's time new comers".
5. *Op. cit.*, i, p. 451.

The Chinese pilgrims of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries call the country of the Swāt valley *U-chang* or *U-chang-na*. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India* (pp. 93-4) writes: Hwen Thsang travelled to *U-cang-na*, or *Udyāna*, which was situated on the river *Su-po-fa-su-to*, the *Subhavastu* and *Suvastu* of Sanskrit, the *Suastus* of Arrian, and the Swāt or Süat river of the present day. It is called *U-chang*<sup>6</sup> by the earlier pilgrims *Fa-Hian* and *Sung-yun* which is a close transcript of *Ujjāna*,<sup>7</sup> the Pali form of *Udyāna*. The country is described as highly irrigated and very fertile... Hwen Thsang makes it 5000 *li*, or 833 miles, in circuit, which must be very near the truth if, as was most probably the case, it included all the tributaries of the Swāt river."<sup>8</sup>

Uḍḍyāna. the region of the Swāt valley has great historic interest. It was one of the conquests of Alexander the Great. A generation later, along with other territories in the north-west, it came into the possession of Chandragupta Maurya. Fa-Hian, who travelled in India in the early part of the fifth century A.D., describes it as the most northerly province of India. The language used by the people and their food and clothing was the same as in the "Middle Kingdom", which term, at this time, signified the country "south of Muttra". He found the religion of Buddha flourishing, and he records the existence of 500 monasteries in the country. He mentions a tradition that when Buddha visited the country he left behind him a foot-print.<sup>9</sup> A stone showing the foot-print with the Kharoshthī inscription *Bodhasa Sakamuṇisa padani* has been found at the village of Tirath in Upper Swāt.<sup>10</sup> Sung-yun, who visited the country in 519 A.D., says: "The people and productions are very abundant . . . The king of the country observes a vegetable diet; on the great fast days he pays adoration to Buddha, both morning and evening, with sound of drums, conch, *vīṇā*, flute and all kinds of wind instruments. After mid-day he devotes himself to the affairs of government. Supposing a man has committed murder, they only banish him to the desert mountains affording him just food enough to keep him alive."<sup>11</sup> A century later, when Hiuen Tsiang passed through the country, the monasteries number-

6. Legge in his edition of Fa-hien (*A Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 28) gives *Woo-chang*.
7. Ujjāna is named in the *Mahābhārata* in the Vana Parva as one of the *tīrthas* or holy places of the north—*JRAS*, 1839, v. p. 115.
8. Cf. Yule (*Travels of Marco Polo*, i, p. 164 n): "Udyāna lay to the north of Peshawar on the Swāt river, but from the extent assigned to it by Hiuen Tsiang, the name probably covered a large part of the whole hill region south of the Hindu-Kush from Chitrāl to the Indus, as indeed it is represented in the Map of Vivien de Saint-Martin (*Pelerins Bouddhistes*. ii)".
9. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, pp. 11, 29.
10. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. ii, pt. I, pp. 8-9.
11. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Introduction, pp. xciii and xciv (popular edition).

ing about 1400 lay "generally waste and desolate", and as against some 18,000 monks who formerly lived in them there were now very few.<sup>12</sup>

Al Bilādūrī tells us a romantic story about the conversion to Islam of the idol-worshipping king of 'Usaifān. If my identification of the country with modern Swāt be correct, this "wise king", as the Arab historian calls him, in all probability must have been a Buddhist.

12. *Ibid.*, i. p. 120 (standard edition). Deane (*JRAS*, 1896, p. 655) observes: "This was no exaggeration as ruins are found all through the country".

# TRUTH HAS TO BE TOLD

By

A. K. PRIOLKAR

A few days back, a friend drew my attention to a recent volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay (combined volumes 39-40), which has been published as "Dr. José Gerson da Cunha Memorial Volume" and includes an article on the life and work of Dr. Cunha by Professor George Mark Moraes. On a perusal of this article, I was surprised to note that the writer had used Dr. Cunha's life merely as a peg on which to hang a rambling dissertation which appeared to have been motivated by a desire to glorify the culture of the Portuguese and whitewash the record of their misdeeds. One expects that a measure of dignity and decorum would be maintained even in handling controversial issues or in dealing with the writer's differences of opinion with other workers. I was pained to find that the article on Dr. Cunha did not measure up to these expectations.

2. The writer claims that force was not used in the proselytising activities of the Christian missionaries in Goa. Extensive original material bearing on such activities has been published in Portuguese by Dr. Cunha Rivara (*Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, Vols. IV-VI), Fr. Silva Rego (*Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, Vols. I-XII), Fr. J. Wicki (*Documenta Indica*, Vols. I-VII), Prof. Pissurlencar and others. To enable a reader not conversant with Portuguese to obtain a clear idea of the methods used and results achieved by the Christian missionaries, I presented a fully-documented account of these activities in my book "*The Goa Inquisition*" (1961) published as a quatercentenary commemoration study of that institution. I have also discussed the problem of the language of Goa on a number of occasions. The facts presented and views expressed in my writings have proved unpalatable to some of the admirers of the culture and policies of the Portuguese, of whom Prof. Moraes appears to be one. In his case the extent of provocation provided by my writings seems to have been so far-reaching that it has almost resulted in converting the "Dr. Cunha Memorial Volume" into "Priolkar Memorial Volume"!

3. Dr. Antonio Noronha, a former Judge of the High Court of Goa, in his monograph "*The Hindus and the Portuguese Republic*" (*A India Portuguesa*, Vol. II, 1923) presents a vivid account

of the proselytising policies of the Portuguese, which is based on a careful study of contemporary official records. He sums up in the following words the manner in which conversions actually took place:

“It is known how such rapid and extensive conversions took place: some by fear of physical force; others from moral cowardice; many because they could not overcome the love for the country of their birth from which they would otherwise be expelled; not a few to avoid the loss of their properties and interests; some with their eyes on lucrative jobs—and almost none from conviction.” (p. 261).

It must be remembered that Dr. Noronha was himself an admirer of the Portuguese race and culture and was uninfluenced by sentiments of Indian nationalism; and that his book was published by the Goa Government. He differed from some other admirers of the Portuguese only in that, with his judicial background and outlook, he could not take liberties with the evidence on record! Recently, Prof. Pandurang Pissurlencar, a distinguished historian, who worked as the Director of Archives in Goa till the very end of the Portuguese regime and was honoured and respected by the Portuguese rulers, has published an article on “Christianisation of Goa”, in which he lends full support to Dr. Noronha’s verdict after a careful review of contemporary evidence (vide श्री शांतादुर्गा चतुःशताब्दी महोत्सव ग्रंथ 1967, pp. 91-122). The following concluding paragraphs from this article summarise the writer’s considered views on the futile attempts to whitewash the record of the Portuguese:

“The well-known historian Fr. Heras wrote that the Portuguese never expelled the Hindus from Goa. Actual decrees of expulsion existing in the Government Archives and elsewhere bear witness against this statement. In 1566, 3566 Goans, many of them Brahmans, were converted to Christianity through the efforts of the Jesuits. It is recorded in contemporary writings of the Jesuits themselves that these conversions took place through the fear of expulsion. It is well-known that the powers to expel the Hindus were conferred on many religious dignitaries by the Government in 1566.

“The eminent historian Fr. Heras, referred to above, also held the opinion that the Inquisition had no jurisdiction over non-Christians. I have also produced evidence in refutation of this view. In the Lisbon library there is a manuscript of “*Repertorio Geral*” by Delgado Figueira which contains a list of Hindus imprisoned by the Goa Inquisition since 1565. This list also includes the names of many New Christians who were punished for having returned to the Hindu religion.



“Cunha Rivara, Fr. Silva Rego, Fr. Wicki, Fr. Schurhammer and myself have brought to light many unpublished documents which throw light on this question. Even from the writings of the Catholic writers of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, one soon understands the methods by which conversion of the Goan Hindus took place. And when one takes into account the social and religious sentiments of the Hindus of that period, one appreciates the real nature of the problem”.

Finally, I would like to reproduce the verdict of another recognised authority on the Portuguese history, Professor Dr. C. R. Boxer of the King's College (London University):

“It is obvious that these discriminatory and coercive measures, if they did not actually force people to become Christians at the point of the sword, made it very difficult for them to remain anything else. . . .

“It is true that on other occasions the Jesuits categorically denied that they made Christians by force, but it is equally clear from the published documentation that they often used methods which were tantamount to coercion, when they could count on the support of such priest-ridden bigots as Francisco Barreto and Dom Constantino de Bragança. . . .”

(“A Note on Portuguese Missionary Methods in the East,” *Ceylon Historical Journal*, 1965).

In the face of these categorical and objective judgements of men of recognised competence in the field, no difficulty need be experienced in assessing the true worth of Prof. Moraes' comments on this issue.

4. It will be seen that neither Dr. Noronha nor any of the other scholars quoted above, when they denounce the Portuguese for having made Christians by “force”, limit the connotation of that word to “physical force” alone, as Prof. Moraes has done. Obviously, the use of the other forms of force can be as cruel and inhuman and its use for effecting conversions as much open to objection as that of physical force. One wonders if the only situation which Prof. Moraes would consider objectionable is where conversion is effected by forcing the holy water of baptism down the throat of an individual, as one administers an unpleasant medicine to an unwilling baby! Fr. Francisco de Souza, a Jesuit historian, relates an episode in which a band of boys from “the noblest and richest” Hindu families, while passing through a river on their way to a temple at Divar (Goa), were illegally seized by Portuguese soldiers and carried to Goa. Here they were lodged in the house of Cathecumens and given instruction in Christian religion. The

unfortunate parents, confronted with the choice of losing their children or giving up their faith, adopted the latter course. (*Oriente Conquistad a Jesus Christo*, Part I, Con. 1, Div. 11, § 50). Should not this be described as conversion by force? Where a person agrees to embrace Christianity under a threat of exile and loss of all earthly possessions or under a threat of imprisonment for life, as thousands of individuals are known to have done, would not this constitute conversion by force? It must be remembered that the documentary evidence on this subject at present available is almost entirely one-sided, as it is confined to the writings of the Portuguese Officials and missionaries. It is natural that discretion or revulsion would lead to the omission from this record of the more gruesome or cruel atrocities perpetrated in the course of conversion. In his work "*Jesuit Letters and Indian History*" (Bombay, 1955) Fr. John Correa-Afonso, referring to the periodical reports which Jesuits were required to furnish to their superiors, writes: "Already in these instructions it is laid down that general information should be written with thought and care in a main letter, which might be shown to anyone, while information of a more private nature should be set down in a separate sheet which is known as a *hijuela*." (p. 3). Perhaps many more instances of use of "force" in conversions would come to light if all the "hijuelas" were published. There is reason to believe that care was taken to censor even private correspondence, with a view to eliminating references likely to cause embarrassment. In the fourth edition of Fr. Stephen's *Purana*, published at Mangalore in 1907, a letter written by Fr. Stephens to his brother Prof. Richard Stephens on October 24, 1583 is printed. A passage in this letter runs as follows:

"For as in many other places subject to the Portuguese the pagan temples have been destroyed, and . . . (Here many things are missing) . . . a most industrious procurator" (p. XXXI).

It is not unlikely that the "many things" which are missing here would have contained references to some unmentionable incidents which had occurred during the destruction of the temples. I have confirmed that the missing sentences have been deleted even in the copy of the original letter which is available in the National Library at Brussels.

5. No one doubts that among the Christian religious dignitaries there were many noble individuals with great courage and high regard for truth. When some shocking incident came to their notice, they did not hesitate to denounce it publicly. An instance of this is provided by the following extract from an oration given by the Archbishop of Evora at the Cathedral Church of Lisbon in 1897:

"The Inquisition was an infamous tribunal at all places. But the infamy never reached greater depths nor was more vile, more black and more completely determined by mundane interests than at the Tribunal of Goa, by irony called the Holy Office. Here the Inquisitors went to the length of imprisoning in its jails women who resisted their advances, and after having satisfied their bestial instincts there, ordering that they be burnt as heretics."

It may be noted that this extract appears in a publication of the Portuguese government of Goa. (*A India Portuguesa*, Vol. II, Goa 1923, p. 263).

6. In my account of the Goa Inquisition I have attempted to weigh evidence with scrupulous care and present an objective picture. I have written about the pernicious Hindu practices like that of Sati in as frank and outspoken manner as about the Goa Inquisition. Many reviewers have commented with approval on the restrained and dispassionate approach adopted by me in "The Goa Inquisition". I would like to quote the following remarks of Prof. Dr. C. R. Boxer, as an example:

"It is difficult for a non-Roman Catholic to write with restraint about the so-called and self-styled "Holy Office of the Inquisition" and indeed there is no reason why he should; but Prof. Priolkar has certainly achieved this feat."

7. As in the matter of the use of force in the proselytising activities of the Portuguese, in the case of Inquisition also, Prof. Moraes has adopted the simple technique of brushing aside all evidence to the contrary, and suggesting that all those who do not agree with him are guilty of painting a distorted or exaggerated picture. There is no doubt considerable consistency in his views. Since he prefers to believe, all the evidence notwithstanding, that most of the conversions were effected without the use of force there would be little tendency to apostasy on the part of the converts; and it therefore follows that the Inquisition, whose main function was to prevent, detect and punish heretical tendencies must have had hardly any work to do!

8. My view that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi and that it has never enjoyed the status of a literary language in Goa has also roused the ire of Prof. Moraes and other individuals who claim that Goa possesses a distinctive cultural personality. They fear that such distinctiveness would be blurred if it is admitted that Goa shares a common literary language with the rest of Maharashtra. The question therefore is bound up with the demand that Goa be retained as a separate political unit as a memorial to the Portuguese association; and it is on account of these political overtones

that considerable passion and prejudice tend to be imported in its discussion.

9. To understand the background of this problem, it must be remembered that until recently Goan Catholics insisted on being described as Portuguese even when they migrated to what was then British India. In 1926, the Consul General of Portugal at Bombay took exception to Goan Catholics being described in the official documents issued by the educational institutions in Bombay as "Portuguese" and agreed to the suggestion of the Bombay Government that they might be described as "Portuguese Indians". (Vide, letter from Bombay Government to Government of India, No. 4533 A, dated October 1, 1926). The suggestion was also approved by the Government of India. But this decision provoked violent protest from the Goan Catholics, who took up the matter with the Portugal Government and had the decision reversed. Until 1946, in *the Times of India Directory of Bombay* the Goan and other Christians were described as European residents of Bombay! Goan Catholics scrupulously avoided all association with Marathi, lest they be accused of carrying the taint of being Indians. Konkani was never taught in schools and the upper strata of the community spoke Portuguese or English even in their homes. Recently, a few members of the community, as an aid to research or for political reasons, have cultivated a slight acquaintance with Marathi, and frequently, this little learning proves a dangerous thing! Dr. Cunha belonged to this category and it appears that so does Prof. Moraes.

10. Dr. Cunha Rivara, a Portuguese savant who came to India in 1855 as the Secretary General to the Goa Government, was responsible for creating an interest in Konkani among Goan Catholics. He had no knowledge of any Indian language and in his "*Historical Essay on Konkani Language*", an English translation of which I have annexed to my book on "*The Printing Press in India*" (1958), he erroneously classifies a number of Marathi Puranas and other miscellaneous poems of Jesuit authorship as Konkani works. He was shocked to note that in spite of the existence of a rich literature produced by the Christian missionaries in what he believed to be Konkani language, Goan Catholics were ashamed of recognising Konkani as their mother-tongue and made pathetic attempts to treat Portuguese as their mother-tongue. A school of thought has arisen among the Goan Catholics since then which, accepting the well-meant but erroneous views of Dr. Cunha Rivara, affirms that Konkani is their literary language.

11. In "*The Origin of Bombay*" (JBBRAS, Extra Number, 1900), Dr. Cunha referred to Fr. Stephens' famous *Purana* as follows:

“He wrote a life of Jesus in Portuguese and then translated it in 1614 in Konkani, which language he called *Lingua Marasta Brahmana*” (p. 164).

Though Fr. Stephens has himself explicitly stated that “this entire work is written in Marathi language” (हें सर्व मराठिये भासेन लिहिलें आहे.) it would appear Dr. Cunha was not prepared to take him at his word, probably because this would be contrary to the opinion of a Portuguese scholar, Dr. Cunha Rivara, that the *Purana* was written in Konkani!

12. I have examined the problem of relationship between Marathi and Konkani in all its aspects in the following three publications:

- (i) *Goa : Fact versus Fiction* (1962)
- (ii) *Goa Re-discovered* (1967)
- (iii) ग्रंथिक मराठी भाषा आणि कोंकणी बोलणी (1966) (Lectures delivered under the auspices of the Poona University).

I have also discussed the subject in a recent essay on “Saraswat Brahmins and their Literary Output” (सारस्वत ब्राह्मण आणि त्यांचे सारस्वत published in a Marathi volume edited by Prof. Pandurang Pissurlencar (श्री गान्तादुर्गा चतुःशताब्दी महोत्सव ग्रंथ, Bombay, 1967, pp. 1-52.). A perusal of these works should enable any impartial student to judge the worth and validity of Dr. Moraes' criticism of my views. In these matters too, his technique appears to be to brush aside all evidence which is at variance with his favourite preconceptions. Just as he refuses to accept the verdict of Dr. Noronha, a Judge of the Goa High Court, regarding the methods used by the Christian missionaries in their proselytising activities, he refuses to accept the conclusion of Dr. Cunha Rivara, the father of the pro-Konkani movement among the Goan Catholics, that “the pre-Christian writings in Konkani were destroyed by the missioners in their mistaken zeal to propagate the faith”. Brushing aside all evidence to the contrary, he persists in describing this as an “unsubstantiated charge”. In a letter addressed to the King of Portugal on November 28, 1548, D. João de Albuquerque narrates how he seized a collection of Hindu books from the house of a prominent Hindu resident of Divar (Goa); and when the Governor sent Dadaji, a Hindu leader who held the important office of *Tanador-mor* under the Portuguese, and another servant to D. Albuquerque with instructions that the books be restored to its owner, the latter was so furious that he attempted to assault them with a stick and drove them away! (Vide F. d' Ayalla, *Goa : Antiga e Moderna*, 1927, pp. 73-74). Does Prof. Moraes really believe that individuals like Bishop D. Albuquerque collected Hindu literature merely with the intention of preserving it as a valued possession? A further illus-

tration of his inclination to be "a greater Papist than the Pope" is provided by his disagreement with Fr. Dalgado, a well-known protagonist of Konkani. He asserts:

"Nor is it possible to agree with the opinion of Dr. Sebastino Rodolpho Dalgado that the literary Konkani was created by the efforts of the Christian missionaries". (p. 29).

13. Dr. Cunha admitted that he could not trace any Konkani work produced in Goa during the pre-Portuguese period, though he stated that a "tradition current in the country ascribes to certain Konkani Brahmans writings which were once extant". Dr. S. M. Katre, in his work "*The Formation of Konkani*" (Bombay, 1942), which Prof. Moraes himself refers to as an "admirable work", also concludes that "Konkani at no time enjoyed the status of being a medium of serious literature". He writes:

"It is commonly averred that before the advent of the Portuguese there was a flourishing Konkani literature which was destroyed by the Portuguese Inquisition which commenced by a ruling of 30th June 1541 (?) and continued for nearly two centuries. But the fact that Christian missionaries themselves were studying the native tongue and composing grammars shows that the mother tongue continued to be in vogue inspite of the persecution. But of literature as such we have no trace. The efforts of Father Stephens did not give us any Konkani literature, his own Purana being in the form of Marathi current in Goa during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries. It would appear from this, as well as from the absence of any literature of Konkani outside Goa before the seventeenth century that Konkani at no time enjoyed the status of being a medium of serious literature or a Court language." (pp. 152-3).

Though Prof. Moraes too has not discovered any pre-Portuguese Konkani literature, he has not the slightest doubt that such literature did exist. Since he refuses to believe that pre-Portuguese Hindu literature was destroyed by the missionaries, he explains that "the reasons for the disappearance of Konkani literature of the pre-Portuguese period seems to be that the cultured classes among the Christians in Goa gave up reading the Hindu religious books of Konkani and Marathi of which this literature must have been largely composed, because their pastors frowned upon such reading." (p-29). It must be admitted that this theory, though it may run counter to available evidence and appear contrary to human nature, is consistent with his view that conversions were mostly motivated by conviction! He then proceeds to account for the disappearance

of this literature among Hindus who remained in Goa and those who migrated to neighbouring territories, as follows:

“On the other hand, the Hindus who left Goa, on being compelled to cultivate Marathi and Kannada according to the regions in which they found themselves, naturally took to the literature in one or the other of the two languages to the neglect of writings in their own mother-tongue, while the Hindus who remained behind lost interest in Konkani and increasingly took to Marathi.” (p. 29).

While Prof. Moraes' theory is that the Catholics who remained in Goa lost interest in the pre-Portuguese Konkani literature “because their pastors frowned upon such reading”, he allows the loss of interest in this literature on the part of the Hindus in Goa to remain as an unexplained mystery! Nor does he consider it necessary to enlighten the reader as to the circumstances in which the Hindus who migrated to the neighbouring territory “were compelled to” cultivate Marathi “to the neglect of writings in their own mother-tongue”. The cultural and social environment in the territories surrounding Goa to which the Goan Hindus migrated was identical with that prevailing in Goa before the advent of the Portuguese and some of these territories later became part of Goa. There is no known incident in the cultural or political environment in these countries which could account for the Goan emigrants suddenly feeling themselves under compulsion to abandon their mother-tongue. In fact, if it is true that the Goans considered Konkani as their literary mother-tongue, one would expect that so would the Hindus in these neighbouring territories, which were separated from Goa only by the accident of Portuguese conquest. If Prof. Moraes' theory is accepted, it becomes difficult to understand why old Konkani literature disappeared completely and the output of new Konkani literature ceased suddenly both in Goa and in surrounding territories. On the other hand, there has been a continuous tradition both among the Konkani-speaking Hindus in Goa as well as in the neighbouring territories that Marathi is their literary mother-tongue and they continue to this day to learn that language alone in schools and to cherish existing literature and produce new literature in that language.

14. It may be mentioned that pre-Portuguese Marathi literature produced by Goans has been discovered in the libraries in Portugal. Prof. Pissurlencar discovered in the public library at Praga (Portugal) a manuscript containing, *inter alia*, a transliteration in the Roman script of a work “*Krishna-Charitra-Kathā*”, which was written in Marathi verse by a Goan poet Krishnadas Shama in 1526, at Salsette (Goa), before it came under the Portuguese rule. Recently, a Devanagari manuscript of this work has

been discovered in Goa. It is interesting to note that this work, which is an exposition in Marathi of the 10th *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata* by a Goan poet, preceded by nearly half a century the exposition of the 11th *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata* by the Marathi poet Ekanatha, which was written in 1573 and is considered as Ekanatha's literary masterpiece.

15. The truth is that evidence that Marathi was the only literary language of the Goans prior to the advent of the Portuguese is sufficiently strong to satisfy any student who approaches the question with an open mind. Inscriptions in Marathi on copper-plate and stone have been discovered in Goa which date back to 14th and 15th centuries. (Vide Prof. P. Pissurlencar, *Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa*, 1938). Even more convincing is the fact that the Christian missionaries themselves found it necessary to produce their major works in Marathi. In a passage in Fr. Stephens' *Christian Purana*, which is reproduced below, there is a graphic account of the circumstances in which that work came to be written:

जैसें तेआं तेआं दिपावतीं ।  
 देसपरिचीं पुराणें हाती ।  
 तैसीं पुस्तके कां न मेळती ।  
 आमंचा देसीं ॥ ( १४२ )  
 हा मोटा अभिप्रावो जि हमणे ।  
 तुमीं तरि वारिलीं मागिलीं पुराणें ।  
 तरि प्रतिपुस्तके आमकारणें ।  
 कैसीं न करिती तुमी ॥ ( १४३ )  
 या पासोनियां जी आता ।  
 जेंतियांच्या पुराणकथा ।  
 नव्या क्रिस्तावांचेया चिता ।  
 आठवती देखा ॥ ( १४४ )  
 जरि भराटिये भासेचीं कांहीं ।  
 शास्त्रपुराणें होतीं आमां टाई ।  
 तरि लोकांचा मनोरथु पै ।  
 पूर्ण होता ॥ ( १४५ )

It is clear from the last of these verses that the old Hindu literature which the converts had been forbidden to read was written in Marathi and that Fr. Stephens' *Purana* was written in response to a demand from the converts for Christian literature to replace this Hindu literature. It is interesting to note that Prof. Moraes reproduces in his article the first two verses of the above passage but not the last two. One would like to believe that this omission is not accounted for by the fact that while the first two verses do not specify the language in which the old Hindu literature was written, and could be mistaken to be consistent with Prof. Moraes' theory, the last two leave no room for doubt on that point!



16. The following passage, taken from an address delivered by Prof. Pissurlencar to the Lisbon University on March 22, 1960, may be considered as an impartial and authoritative summing up of the present position of this controversy:

“The truth is that there does not exist any vestige of the existence of a Konkani literature prior to the conquest of Goa by the Portuguese. Literature did exist in Goa; but it was written either in Marathi or in Sanskrit.”

17. Prof. Pissurlencar discovered in the public library at Braga (Portugal) two codices containing translations in Konkani prose of Marathi poems dealing with some episodes in *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, which were written in the Roman script. Since it is well-known that a large number of translations and summaries of Sanskrit and Marathi works were prepared by the new converts for the use of the missionaries, he expressed the view that these too were the work of some Brahman convert. Prof. Moraes has indulged in a good deal of hair-splitting on this point and has advanced the theory that these were transliterations in Roman script made by the Jesuits of Konkani translations originally made during the pre-Portuguese period. He asks: Why did the Christian missionaries need translations, since by this time they were well-versed in both Marathi and Konkani? Why was a full length rendering necessary when a summary would have sufficed? It is obviously easy to counter this hair-splitting with more hair-splitting. For instance, one can reasonably imagine that a large number of missionaries conversant with Konkani only co-existed with a small number conversant with both Konkani and Marathi; and that the translations were intended for a missionary of the former category. But even if it is assumed that during the pre-Portuguese period some translations were made of Marathi poems as a form of paraphrase or as a matter of literary curiosity, in the face of the conclusive considerations set forth above, does this at all help to establish that Konkani was the sole or the major literary language of Goans during the pre-Portuguese period?

18. Prof. Moraes writes: “Prof. Priolkar showed the present writer a photo-print of a MS from Portugal in which both the Marathi original and Konkani translation (interlinear) were in the Kannada script of the Vijayanagara period.” (p. 27). So far as I remember, a photo-stat of a manuscript, apparently written in the Kannada script, was received by me from Prof. Mariano de Saldanha, who felt that the manuscript might contain Konkani writing and wished to have it deciphered. However, none of the individuals, both in Bombay and other centres, whom I approached, could decipher the manuscript and to this day I am completely in the dark about its contents. I am sure Prof. Moraes also is not in

a position to read the manuscript himself. In the circumstances, I was intrigued to read the precise description of the contents of the manuscript given by him.

19. One of the major difficulties in the way of those who wish to use "Konkani" as a literary language is the fact that it exists in a multitude of forms, none of which has been recognised as the standard form. Dr. Cunha observed (*Vide: The Konkani Language and Literature*, p. 41) that Konkani "has from the absence of a norm to regulate its forms, dwindled into the state of *jargon* or *patois*" and pointed out that this was one of the reasons why he was pessimistic about the prospects of its development. According to Prof. Moraes' theory, the Portuguese missionaries in Goa were confronted with two communal dialects of Konkani, one spoken by "Chaddos" and the other by Saraswats; and though "the missioners could adopt either of the dialects" they selected the former for literary purposes merely because they came into contact with the Saraswat converts earlier. Though he is a firm believer in the existence of pre-Portuguese Konkani literature, he apparently does not believe that a standard literary form of Konkani had evolved till then, since, obviously, this would have been selected by the Portuguese for literary purposes!

20. Later, Prof. Moraes writes that the Portuguese missionaries considered the dialect spoken in North Konkani as a dialect of Konkani which "was distinguished as the Canarim of the North from the literary dialect of Goa which was denominated "Bramana Canarim" (p. 48). The basis for this assertion is the fact that Cunha Rivara published in 1858, under the title "*Grammatica da Lingua Concani no Dialecto do Norte*", a grammar of this dialect which had been written by a Portuguese missionary in the 17th century. Cunha Rivara also gave the title "*Grammatica da Lingua Concani*" to the second edition published in 1857 of a work by Fr. Stephens which was originally published in 1640 under the title "*Arte da Lingua Canarim*", and there is little doubt that the title given by him to the grammar of the North Konkani dialect was not the same as given by its author. It is not known what the title in the original manuscript was; but there is no reason to assume that it was "*Arte Canarina na Lingua do Norte*" or that the original author believed the language to be a dialect of Konkani. On the contrary there are grounds to assume that he believed it to be Marathi. In 1778, another grammar of this dialect and a book on *Doutrina Christã* written therein were published in Rome; and the grammar, an English translation of which I have published in *the Journal of the University of Bombay*, Sept. 1954 (Vol. XXIII, Part 2), bears the title "*Grammatica Marastta*". It thus appears probable that the local Christian missionaries considered this language as a form of

Marathi and that Cunha Rivara, just as in his blind enthusiasm he believed the language of Fr. Stephens' Purana was Konkani, described the language dealt with in the grammar as Konkani of the North!

21. It is well-known that in Goa at present there is a wide divergence between the Konkani dialects spoken by the Hindus and the Catholics, and there is also diversity between the forms spoken by each community according to caste and locality. There are also pronounced geographical variations between the forms spoken in Goa and outside. Thus the present position is that the appellation 'Konkani' is applied to numerous dialects and none of these forms has found acceptance as the standard literary medium. Once it is recognised that there is no standard form of Konkani, the question whether the variety of forms have always been known by a common appellation 'Konkani', can have only an academic interest; and the manner in which the controversy on this point is eventually resolved ceases to have much practical significance.

22. The controversy has its origin in the fact that in the literature in the Goan dialect produced by the Portuguese as well as in the voluminous contemporary correspondence of the Jesuits which has been published, this dialect is referred to as "Lingoa Canarim", "Lingoa Bramana" or "Lingoa Bramana vulgar", etc., and the appellation "Konkani" does not appear. On the other hand, the word "Konkani", appears in a work of Tomé Pires, who was in Goa in 1510, in a work of Miguel de Almeida of 1658 and in a vocabulary by Fr. Diogo Ribeiro which is popularly believed to be written in 1626. Obviously, the reasons why the term Konkani was not generally used by the missionary writers calls for some explanation; and, in this connection, the precise sense which the word Konkani, in the rare instances in which it was used, was intended to carry has been a subject of academic debate. I have devoted an entire chapter to this issue in my work "शांखिक मराठी भाषा आणि कोंकणी बोली" (pp. 64-81). Prof. Moraes deals with this question in an Appendix to his article. He has little that is new or original to contribute to the debate, either by way of fresh evidence or significant evaluation of existing evidence; but has chosen to indulge in a good deal of invective, which is as futile as it is unseemly and unwarranted. As explained above, this is a purely academic issue; and even if it turns out that the word Konkani was used in the sense of the language of Konkani or a part thereof, to the extent that it is admitted that none of the numerous dialects to which the term was applied had been accepted as a literary standard, this fact will have little significance from the point of view of the claim that Konkani is the traditional literary mother-tongue of Goa. Of course, though from the point of view of those who sincerely desire the development of Konkani as a literary language, the

statement that the numerous dialects were known by that common name may have little practical value, it may to some extent serve the purpose of those whose entire interest in Konkani springs from its usefulness as an argument in favour of retaining Goa as a separate political unit.

23. Before concluding, I wish to add a few words in clarification of my personal attitude to the problems referred to in the foregoing paragraphs. In the study of these problems, my endeavour has always been to avoid bias resulting from pride, passion or prejudice related to race, religion, caste or language. Even where, as in "*The Goa Inquisition*", reference to the misdeeds of the Portuguese was inevitable, it has been recognised that my presentation is marked by balance and restraint. I hold the Christian religion in high esteem and bear no ill-will or animus against the Goan Catholics or the Konkani language. I have eulogised the achievements of the Goan Catholics in various fields of activity and I count numerous individuals from that community among my personal friends. As will be clear from the foregoing discussion, old literature in Konkani is confined to the writings of the Portuguese missionaries in Goa and I have been attempting to draw the attention of the public to the importance and value of this literature and to promote research therein. I have myself devoted considerable time and energy to an intensive study of the literature produced by the missionaries, whether in literary Marathi or in the spoken dialect, and have made a number of such works available to the public by bringing out fresh and fully annotated editions. In this connection, I have obtained micro-films or photo-stats of most of the works which are available only in European libraries. Four students working under my guidance secured the Ph. D. degree by writing theses on subjects related to the Christian literature in Marathi and Konkani or the dialects of Marathi. My efforts to introduce this literature in the courses of study in various Universities have also borne fruit. Many leaders of the Christian community have expressed appreciation of my efforts in this field.

24. Since truth must be the primary concern of the research worker, he must strive to rise above passion, prejudice and self-interest so that these may not cloud his vision. Where passion and prejudice provide the primary motivation for a writer and truth tends to be relegated to the background, there is a negation of the spirit of research.

# GENDER OF ENGLISH LOAN NOUNS IN MARATHI

By

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR

1. Marathi is the southernmost Modern Indo-Aryan language with population over 3 crores and spread over quite a large area. It is therefore natural that there is no one standard form of the language and dialectal differences are rich and varied. As it happens in many other languages, Marathi also contains quite a large number of borrowed words from various languages with which it came into contact in the course of its history. Its most recent contact was with English starting from early 19th century. English had a great impact on people both because the speakers of English were the rulers and in technological development at least, vastly superior. The language of the conquerors was readily studied by the people for very obvious reasons and it is natural that it exercised a great influence on the development of the language. The vocabulary was enriched by new concepts, objects and social practices. The educated in particular were drawing very heavily on this new rich language and in course of time, these borrowed words from English became a part of Marathi.

2. Many other Indian languages went through the same situation. *But in some of them at least additional sounds, mostly vowels, were added to the English words to bring them in line with the structure of the borrowing languages.* Words like *səʃəʃən* or *istəʃən* in Hindi exemplify these. Since Sindhi nouns normally end in a vowel, borrowed English word got an additional vowel to make it an open syllable, the exact vowel to be added depending on the gender which the borrowed word would take in Sindhi. e. g. *fəʃəru*, *məʃəru* etc. This however did not happen in the case of English words coming into Marathi. There is no perceptible vocalic or consonantal addition or change in the English words as they are being assimilated in Marathi. The minor change which can be noticed will be available even if these words are used in the English language. In other words, no phonetic change takes place because they are being borrowed in Marathi. Changes like retroflexion occur because that is the peculiarity of our pronunciation.

3. Gender is an arbitrary grammatical category having no relationship to the sex in actual life, though in a large number of cases there is an agreement between the two. This is why 'kəḷətrə' or 'dārā' in Sanskrit meaning a wife are respectively neuter and masculine. In Marathi 'kəḷā' or 'Kuṭumb' meaning the same thing are respectively masculine and neuter. 'Sentinell' in French in the sense of a sentry is feminine. Therefore in the case of words which are assimilated in the language and are thus a regular part of the vocabulary for generations, the question of discussing the gender is superfluous. But the question of gender in the case of borrowed words is a little different. This is because when words are borrowed in the English and are to be assigned genders, the process need not be totally arbitrary. If it were so, no agreement would be possible in

N = palatal nasal.

the community. In the case of native words there is an unbroken tradition of centuries and the society respects it. That not being the case here, it is worthwhile looking into the gender assignment and finding out forces working towards it. It appears to me that three types of forces are likely to operate :

(i) *Some kind of structural pressure :*

In the case of words which end in a vowel ( open syllables ), the final vowel may exert a pressure in the direction of a particular gender unless pressure from another direction is more powerful.

(ii) *Gender of the semantically equivalent word in the borrowing language:*

It is also possible that assignment of gender to foreign words borrowed in the language may be influenced by the gender of the semantically equivalent or corresponding words existing in the language. Since the latter is already accepted by the society, the borrowed word of similar content gets the same gender.

(iii) *The borrowed word may retain the gender of the original language.*

4. The loan words in Marathi can also be classified according to the motive in borrowing these items. Three classes can be thought of :

- (A) Compulsory borrowings ;
- (B) Prestige borrowings ;
- (C) Borrowings mid-way between the two.

(A) This would include words which have got to be borrowed because they represent new concepts, ideas, situations or things facing us because of our association with the life and culture of a foreign country ruling over us for long - a country superior to us in many spheres and thus enabling us to fill in the semantic gap.

(B) This class includes borrowings which are not a 'must' in the sense that their place can be adequately filled in by the existing words in the language. Here the foreign words are used for prestige value, to show off one's education and high place in the society.

(C) One could think of a third reason for borrowing words from another language. In this category we could include borrowed words which stand for things which are not entirely new, ideas which are not completely foreign but which represent a new or a better product or higher development, e. g. take a word like *ṭowel* ( towel ). We have in Marathi a word ' *pāNēca* ' ( *paneha* ) which does nearly the same job but in ' *towel* ' there is a refinement, a polish or variety which is not conveyed by the native word. The same thing can be said about another word ' *holdal* ' ( *holdall* ). The work which is done by ' *holdal* ' is not new. Marathi people have been travelling all along, packing their things neatly in some way or the other. But ' *holdall* ' conveys some thing which a Marathi word ' *walkēṭi* ' does not. The Marathi word stands for bedding.

May be this is a valid analysis of the motives underlying borrowing of words but it is not pertinent to our discussion at present since the motive does not seem to have any bearing on the assignment of gender. For the purposes of our enquiry the gender of the author is taken as the standard and variations from other informants wherever existing are shown. With a view to finding out possible variations, informants of different age group, education and profession are used.

1. Post-graduate teacher of Sanskrit  
Education M.A., Ph.D., *Brahmin* ... .. AGE - 40
  2. Post-graduate student of Mathematics  
Education B.A., Place-Bombay., *Brahmin*... .. AGE - 20
  3. School boy  
Education 8th standard; place-Bombay., *Brahmin*... AGE - 12
  4. Post-graduate teacher in Politics  
Education M.A.; Place-Sholapur., *Brahmin*. AGE - 37
  5. Peon - cum - clerk  
Education F.Y. Arts.; Place-Bombay., *Maratha* ... AGE - 20
  6. Administrative officer in the University  
Education B.A.; Place-Malvan (*Konkan*)  
*Bhandari* ( *Intermediate* ) ... .. AGE - 40
  7. Post-graduate teacher in Psychology  
Education M.A., *Kayastha Brahmin* AGE - 50
  8. Administrative Officer  
Education B.A., LL.B., Place-Rajapur., *Maratha*... AGE - 47
  9. Superintendent in the University Office  
Education B.A., Place-Kankavli ( *Konkan* )  
*Advanced Community* ... .. AGE - 40
5. These loan words can be divided into two groups :
- (a) words ending in a vowel.
  - (b) words ending in a consonant.

6. (a) *Words with vowel ending :*

It seems possible to give a structural interpretation of the gender in the case of words ending in an open syllable.

**RULE 1 :** All loan words with stem ending in ' ā ' are assigned Masculine gender.

sofa ( sofa ), k a mera ( camera ), sinema ( cinema ), koṭa ( quota ), aḡenda ( agenda ), p a r a ( para ), aḡibra ( algebra ), viṣa ( visa ), formyula ( formula ), influanza ( influenza ), mālaria ( malaria ), soḡa ( soda ).

**RULE 2 :** All loan words ending in ' ū ' also are assigned Masculine gender.

skru ( screw ), vṡu ( view ), kyū ( queue ), zu ( zoo ), ṣampū ( shampoo )

**EXCEPTION :** ' Kārṡyū ' is an exception to the above rule.

This has been assigned feminine gender. It is possible that the pressure of the semantically equivalent Marathi word-*Bāḡdi*—is stronger and since the Marathi word is in feminine, *kārṡyū* also has been assigned that gender.

**RULE 3 :** All loan words ending in ' o ' are in the Masculine gender. ziro ( zero ), sto ( stove ), aro ( arrow ), ṣo ( show ), fono ( phono ), reḡio ( radio ), foḡo ( photo ).

**RULE 4 :** All loan words ending in ' e ' and ' o ' are assigned Masculine gender.

eksre ( X-ray ), sārve ( survey ), ple ( play ), lo ( law ).

**RULE 5 :** All loan words ending in 'i' are assigned feminine gender. balkōni (balcony), kemisṭri (chemistry), myūnsipālīṭi (municipality), kōmṇōni (company), kāmīṭi (committee), hīṣṭri (history), gōgrāfi (Geography), baundri (boundary), kōṅṭri (country), bōḍi (body), vḥiski (whisky), kaṅḍi (candy), fakṭri (factory), yūnivērsīṭi (university).

**EXCEPTIONS :** 'Janewari' and 'Febriwari,' though ending in 'i' have been assigned masculine because both these are normally used with the Marathi word 'māhina' (month) which is in masculine.

'ṭibi' (T. B.) is masculine for the same reason. It usually goes with the word 'rog' which means a disease. T. B. is a type of disease.

'māṭini'—This also is assigned masculine gender because of the pressure of māṭiniśō really a compound word and has masculine gender.

All the informants agree with the analysis above except in the case of the two words—'January' and 'February' which informant No. 5 takes as feminine. In his case the structural pressure is stronger than the pressure of the associate word 'month.'

It should also be noted that Marathi does not have words ending in 'o,' 'e,' 'ə' except those which are obviously loan words. In the case of words ending in 'a,' 'i,' 'u' the above structural rules do not completely apply because there are a large number of words ending in 'a' and 'u' vowels but are not masculine and those ending in 'i' are not feminine. e. g. : 'bhāṣa (bhāshā), rāc na (racnā), mala' are feminine. 'baju (baju), jadu' etc. are feminine. But 'dāhi (dahi), moti' etc. are neuter.

#### 6. (b) Words with consonantal ending :

No structural rules can be stated for the assignment of gender for this class of words. An attempt is being made to analyse them on the basis of the corresponding competing words from Marathi. These loan words, therefore, can be classified in the following three categories :

(A) Loan words in whose case the assignment of gender is influenced by the gender of the semantically corresponding word or a word very near to it in meaning.

(B) Loan words which have been assigned gender different from that of the corresponding Marathi word.

(C) Loan words which have no semantically corresponding word in Marathi.

#### a—Masculine

Following are the loan words from this category which have been assigned masculine gender.

Loan word	Phonetic transcription	Marathi word (Roman transliteration)	VARIATIONS		
			gender	Total No.	informants
towel	... ʃəwel	paneā	N	1	6
paper	... pepər	kāgād	—	—	—
cheroot	... čirut	hidi-larger size	—	—	—
toast	... tōst	(baked-bread)	—	—	—
cheque	... ček	kāgād (a special type)	—	—	—



Loan word	Phonetic transcription	Marathi word (Roman transliteration)	Variations		
			gender	Total No.	informants
result	... rɪjləʃ	nikāl, pariṇām	—	—	—
paint	... penʃ	rang	N	2	2,6
cancer	... kənsər	roga (type of)	—	—	—
bomb	... bəmb	goḷā	—	—	—
dance	... dɑ:ns	nāc	—	—	—
score	... skɔ:ər	āḱḱā	—	—	—
ball	... bəl	čəṇḱu	—	—	—
month	... mʌnθ	malinā	—	—	—
police	... pɔ:lɪs	šipāi	—	—	—
sweater	... sveɪər	garan coat	—	—	—
volume	... vɔljum	granth	F	2	2,8
juice	... dʒju:s	rasa	—	—	—
class	... klʌs	varga	—	—	—
number	... nʌmbər	āḱḱā krama	—	—	—
figure	... fɪgər	āḱḱā ākruti	—	—	—
stamp	... stʌmp	stikṣa	—	—	—
chance	... čʌns	yogāyoga	—	—	—
change	... eɪnʃ	pherphār, badal	—	—	—
accident	... ʌksɪdənt	apghāt	N	2	5,6

It can be seen that there is a complete uniformity regarding gender in respect of 20 words out of 24. The interesting variation is in respect of volume. The two informants who use the word in the feminine gender are related as brother and sister. The children use in the feminine gender while the parents have the masculine.

(B) Loan words in masculine and not agreeing with the gender of the corresponding Marathi words.

Loan word	Phonetic transcription	Marathi word	gender of the		Variation
			Marathi word	Marathi word	
froek	... frɔ:k	zabla	N	M(8)N(1)0	
tyre	... ʧaɪər	eāḱ	N	M(9)	
interview	... ɪntərvju	mulāḱhat	F	M(9)	
chance	... čʌns	sandhi	F	M(9)	
challenge	... čɛleʃNʃ	āhvān	N	M(5)1,4,6,7,8 F(3)2,3,5,v N(i)9	
blouse	... blaʊz	polka	N	M(8)	
holdall	... hɔldəl	vāḱkati	F	8(8)	

It is interesting to note that though the gender of these loan words is different from the semantically corresponding Marathi words, in the case of 3 out of 7 words there is complete uniformity amongst all the informants and in the case of other words there is high consensus. Only the word 'challenge' has all the three genders. Here there is only one informant who has the same gender (N) as the corresponding Marathi word. Is it a coincidence that he is a graduate with Marathi as his special subject? This is also a case where a father uses one (M) gender and children another (F).

(C) Loan words in masculine which have no semantically corresponding Marathi words. All these are neuter words in English.

suit	... su:t	—	—	—
coat	... ko:t	—	—	—
phone	... fo:n	—	—	—

brush	...	brəṣ	—	(5) M 1,2,3,4,7 (4) N 5,0,8,0
bonus	...	bonəs	—	(8) M No. 5 does not use it.
stipend	...	stajpenḍ	—	(5) M 1,2,3,0,8 (2) F 4,7 (2) N 5,8
band	...	bəṇḍ	—	(7) M—1—4,0—7,0 (2) N 5,8
truck	...	trə:k	—	—
stamp	...	stəmp	—	—
coach	...	ko:ç	—	(0) M 1—4,7,8 (2) N 6,0 No. 5 does not use it.

Out of ten words, unanimity is found in respect of five words. 'Suit' and 'Coat' are primarily men's wear. 'Phone' was in the beginning more of an office equipment and hence used by men. 'Truck' similarly is associated with men. Can this explain the masculine gender of these words? In some cases, the possibilities seem to be good.

*a-Feminine*

<i>Loan word</i>	<i>Phonetic transcription</i>	<i>Marathi word</i>	<i>Variation</i>
border	... bərdər	simā	—
wire	... wuyər	tār	—
change	... čəNj	moḍ	—
bank	... bənk	peḍhi	—
battalion	... bətəlɪən	pəlʈən	—
corporation	... kərpərəʃən	municipality (word already assimilated)	2 do not speak it
bat	... bət	pləʃi	—
wicket	... vɪkeṭ	dāṇḍi	—
run	... rən	dhāv	(3) M 1,3,5,0,8 (4) F 2,3,7,0
race	... re:s	sharyət	—
lipstick	... lipstɪk	oṣṭəkāṇḍi (artificial)	F(0)1,4,5,0,7,8,0 N(2) 2,3
rifle	... rəyʃəl	banduk	—
date	... de:ʃ	tārɪkɪh	—
clip	... klɪp	tāçṇi (variety of)	—
total	... tətəl	berɪj	—
pencil	... pensɪl	lekṭṭṇi (variety of)	—
powder	... paʋḍər	pūḍ	—
cigarette	... sɪgrət	bɪdɪ (variety of)	—
bag	... bəg	thāɪɪ	—
purse	... pərs	pɪshəvɪ	—
meeting	... mɪʃɪNɪg	səbhā	—
list	... lɪ:st	yādi	(6) F 1—4,0,7 (3) N 5,8,0
train	... ʃre:n	gāḍi	—
tram	... trəm	gāḍi (variety of)	—
motor	... mətər	gāḍi ( " )	—
bicycle	... baɪsɪkəl	gāḍi ( " )	—
examination	... eɡzəməɪnəʃən	parɪkʃhā—	(5) F 2,3,7,8,0
joke	... ʃo:k	māskəri	(4) M 1,4,5,0

<i>Loan word</i>	<i>Phonetic transcription</i>	<i>Marathi word</i>	<i>Variation</i>
enjoyment	... eNjoyment	mauj	(6) F 1—5,9 (1) N 6 (1) M 8
drill	... dʀi:l	kavāit	(6) F 1,4,5,6,7,9 (3) N 2,3,7
war	... wə:r	luḍhāi	(4) F 1,7,8,9 (5) N 2—6
price	... prais	kinmat	(7) F (2) do not use it.
tip	... ʈip	bukshis	—
division	... diviʃən	vargā, vibhāgani	—
company	... kəmpəni	sangat, maṇḍali	—
ribbon	... ribən	plūt	—

There is a unanimity in the assignment of gender in respect of 30 out of 34 words. 'Lipstick' is again a case of family Variation.

*b-Feminine*

<i>Loan word</i>	<i>Phonetic transcription</i>	<i>Marathi word</i>	<i>Gender of Marathi word</i>	<i>Variation</i>
purse	... pɔ:rs	pākiḥ	N	—
bread	... bre:d	pāv	M	(4) F 2,4,0,8 (5) M 1,3,5,7,9
union	... yuniyən	sangh	M	(7) F 1—5,8—9 (2) N 6,7
administration	... ædminisʈreʃən	kārbhār	M	(3) F 1,5,0 (6) N 2,3,4,0,7,8
blade	... ble:d	pāta	N	(7) F 1,2,3,4,0,7,9 (2) N 5,8

In comparison with similar class of masculine gender loan words, there is little agreement amongst the informants here. It is only in the case of 'purse' there is unanimity amongst all the informants in assigning it a feminine gender though 'pākit' is in neuter. Is 'purse' more associated with women than men? In respect of 'bread' majority take the gender of the corresponding Marathi word 'pāv.' But it is only a majority of one. It is possible that those who use it in the feminine are unconsciously influenced by 'bhākar'—the baked bread which is the Maharashtrian's staple diet. In the case of 'administration' 6 out of 9 take it as neuter which is the gender of the word in English. As against this 'union' is used in feminine by 7.

*C-Feminine*

<i>Loan word</i>	<i>Phonetic transcription</i>	<i>Marathi word</i>	<i>Variation</i>
1. cake	... ke:k	...	(2) M 2,0 (7) F 1,3—8
2. circus	... sɔ:kəs	—	(1) N 5 (8) F 1—4,6—9
3. film	... fil:m	—	—
4. innig	... ini:ŋ	—	—

In respect of 'cake,' no conjecture can be ventured. 'Circus' is assigned to feminine gender by all except informant 5 who incidentally is Maratha by caste.

<i>a-Neuter</i>			
1. post	... post	ṭapāl	No. 5 does not use it
2. theatre	... thietər	nātakgruha	...
3. picture	... pikčər	chitra	(1) M 3 (8) N 1,2,4—0
4. secretariate	... sekretəriet	kāryālaya Sachivālaya	...
5. vote	... vho:ṭ	nut	(1) 3 does not use it
6. bench	... beNč	bāk	(2) M—1,7 (7) N 2—0,8,0
7. parcel	... parsəl	puḍkā	...
8. kerosene	... kerosin	tel	...
9. cheese	... či:j	loṇi-kind of	—
10. lemonade	... lemonəḍ	limbupāṇi	(1) M 5 (8) N 1—4,6—0
11. orange	... oreNj	kind of drink	(1) N 5 (8) N 1—4,6—0
12. station	... sṭešən	...	...
13. junction	... jənkšən	kind of station	...
14. pressure	... prešər	vajan	(1) M—6 (8) N
15. pistol	... pistul	small banduk	...
16. table	... ṭəbəl	mej	...
17. card	... kærḍ	putra	...
18. office	... əfis	kāryālaya	...
19. hostel	... hoštəl	vasatigruha	...
20. gate	... ge:ṭ	dār, darvājā	(2) M 0,8 (7) F 1—5,7,0
21. cupboard	... kəbərḍ	kapāt	...
22. ship	... šip	jahāj, boṭ	(5) N 1,3,6,7,8,0 (8) F 2,4,5
23. helicopter	... helikəṭər	vimān-type of	(2) M 1,6 (7) N 2—,7—0
24. aeroplane	... əroplən	vimān	...
25. science	... sayəns	shāstra	...
26. physics	... fɪjiks	shāstra-kind of	...

Here also in the case of a very large majority of words, there is complete unanimity amongst all the informants. In the case of 'gate' and 'ship' there are two corresponding Marathi words—'dār, darvājā' and 'jahāj, boat' (In normal parlance the finer distinction between the two, if any, is ignored). As regards 'bench,' there is a variation in the gender of the corresponding Marathi word—'bāk.' It is used in both *M* and *N*. Picture is again a case of family variation. Informant No. 5 alone uses 'lemonade' and 'orange' in Masculine. The Variation in the case of 'helicopter' is intriguing. The loan word—'aeroplane' has a corresponding Marathi word 'vimān' and since 'helicopter' is a variety of plane, it was expected that it also would be in neuter. But two informants—both educated, one a teacher and the other an administrator, belonging to different castes—have it in masculine.

*b-Neuter*

<i>Loan word</i>	<i>Phonetic transcription</i>	<i>Marathi word</i>	<i>Variation</i>
1. button	... bəton	gunḍi F	...
2. permit	... pərmit	parvānā-M parvāngi-F	(1) M—6 (8) N 1—5,7—0

3. operation	... əprešən	shastrakriyā F	...
4. excursion	... ekskəršən	sahul F	(8) N (1) does not use it
5. market	... markeṭ	bājār M	(8) N 1—5,7—9 (1) 6 not using it
6. percentage	... porsentej	ṭakkewāri F	(6) N—1,4,6—9 (3) F—2,3,5

It is understandable that loan words which differ in gender from the corresponding Marathi word take neuter which is the gender in English.

*c-Neuter*

1. icecream	... niskrim		
2. sauce	... səs		(1) M—1 (1) F—8 (7) N—2—7,9 (8) N (1) does not use it—3
3. licenso	... laysens		
4. reservation	... rizərvešən		...
5. nomination	... nominešən		...
6. injection	... iNjekšən		...
7. cricket	... kriket		...
8. badminton	... bədmintən		...
9. tennis	... tennis		...
10. rubber	... rəbər		(7) M 1—4,6,8,9 (2) N 5,7
11. engine	... iNjin		...
12. cement	... simenṭ		...
13. vitamin	... viṭrmin		...
14. stool	... sṭul		(1) M—5 (8) 1—V,6—9
15. calculus	... kəlkyuləs		...

Out of 15 words, 12 words have the same gender—neuter for all the informants. This is the gender in English from where the words have been loaned. 'Sauce' is one word which is used in all the three genders by different informants. 'Rubber' is a word where the claims of *M* and *N* are fairly evenly distributed. In my speech, there is a free variation in respect of the gender of this word. 'Stool' is a peculiar case. Here informant No. 5 whose assignment of gender is markedly different from others uses it in the masculine.

If some generalization can be made, one could say that (1) loan words denoting measurements and currency are in the masculine :

sekənd (second), inc (inch), dələr (dollar), šiliN (shilling), paunḍ (pound). But 'miniṭ' is in the neuter for all informants.

(2) Names of drinks ending in a consonant are in neuter. Those which end in a vowel are governed by structural rules.

(3) Same thing applies to various games. e. g. kriket (cricket), tennis (tennis), bədmintən (badminton) are in Neuter. 'Fuṭbəl' (football), as an exception is in Masculine. May be because of 'bəl' which is in masculine. The cricket apparatus varies in gender. e. g. 'bət' (bat) and 'viket' (wicket), are in feminine while 'stəmp' (stump) is in masculine.

(4) Vehicles like 'tre:n (train), bəs (bus) trəm (tram), skuṭər (scooter), are in feminine but 'eroplən' (aeroplane) is in neuter because of Marathi word 'vimān' while there is variation in respect of 'helikəptər' (helicopter).

(5) Large number of words ending in šən are in neuter but it cannot be stated as a rule because of words like egzəminəšən, kərporešən etc. which are in feminine.

## REVIEWS

*The Mission of Wang Hiuen—Ts'c in India:* Written in French by M. Sylvain Levi, Translated by Dr. S. P. Chatterjee; ed. by Dr. B. C. Law, (Indian Geographical Society, Calcutta, 1967).

The Travels of Wang Hieun-Ts'e, a Chinese ambassador to India in the seventh century A.D. are compared to the travels of Hiouen Tsang by ideologists. The travel-accounts are written in Chinese and are preserved only in fragments, never-the-less, they are an important source both of the political and religious history of Northern India, Tibet and Nepal. The Chinese ambassador played an important role in uniting Tibet and Nepal against Northern India and putting an end to the life of King Harsha Shilāditya. Many legends about the Buddhist relics are recorded. M. Sylvain Levi translated these records from the Chinese in French and Dr. Chatterjee has translated the French version in English, having furnished the text with copious notes.

The book deserves compliments from the students of history and religion likewise.

D. B.

*Kuka Movement:* By Fauja Singh Bajwa, Motilal Banarasi-dass, Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi, 1965, pp. 236 + XVI, Price Rs. 20/-

In the last few years there has been a spate of historical writings on the Indian Freedom Movement. The present work is devoted to a study of one of the early phases of that movement.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh died in 1839, and within ten years of his death the sovereign Sikh state of Lahore passed into British hands. The Kuka movement owed its rise to the social, religious and political conditions that prevailed in the Punjab after the annexation of the province. The founder of the movement was Ram Singh, a soldier in the Sikh army, who on the eve of the First Anglo-Sikh war in 1845 quitted the army, threw his musket into the Sutlej and returned home. "He did this", the Author explains, "not because he was devoid of patriotism. but because he was convinced that the requisite conditions of success were utterly lacking".

At this village of Bhaini, near Ludhiana, Ram Singh led a life of simplicity and piety. By his teachings he endeavoured to restore the Sikh faith in its purity and to purge the Sikh society of the evils that had crept into it. Gradually he gathered round him a considerable following. The Kukas as his disciples came to be known—now called the Namdharis thus formed a puritan Sikh sect. "Every possible effort was made to inculcate in the minds of the devotees the love of a pure and simple life. They must believe in and practise truth and love. They must abstain from the evils of drinking, stealing, adultery, falsehood, slandering, back-biting and cheating etc. The defaulters were to be penalised with social boycott". As special marks of distinction each devotee was required to keep a woollen rosary, put on a white dress and to have a white turban tied in a straight manner.

In 1863 the British became alive to the political aims of the movement. A series of expressive measures followed against the Kukas, culminating in 1872 in the arrest and deportation of Ram Singh to Burma where he died thirteen years later. The contacts established by the Kukas with Kashmir and Nepal, and later with Russia, leave no manner of doubt that Ram Singh entertained designs for the overthrow of the English and the restoration of the Sikh rule in the Punjab. Some writers maintain that the movement initiated by Ram Singh was a socio-religious movement which was driven to politics only because of the Government policy of persecution. That view is combated by Prof. Bajwa. "The Kuka Movement", he asserts, "started with a political aim. To say that it intended to achieve merely social and religious amelioration would be to do injustice to the memories of those who led it or who laid down their precious lives in the service of the country. Another view held by some people that it was a reform movement driven to politics by the imperial policy of distrust and harassment does only half justice to it, because it mentions merely the negative aspect. The policy of persecution adopted by the Government was the result and not the cause so much of the Kuka political designs". For lack of contemporary evidence a definitive pronouncement on the point at issue is not possible. Admittedly Ram Singh did not join the revolt of 1857, but that failure on his part is explained by Prof. Bajwa as follows: "Although his movement was started one month before the Great Revolt broke out, he had hardly any backing at the time. Of course it was open to him to take a personal plunge into the rebellion but that by itself would have scarcely achieved anything. And then, there was his passionate belief that it was no use to win freedom, if it could not be retained".

The Kukas for reasons of secrecy hardly kept any records. The history of the sect, therefore, has been reconstructed almost en-

tirely from police and official records—records which in the nature of things cannot be trusted to be scrupulously fair or unbiased. The author, however, makes judicious use of the material and his assessment of the movement is by and large fair and objective. Little is known about the Kukas outside the Sikh circles. The book is, therefore, welcome and deserves to be widely read.

B. D. M.

*A Mythical Image: The ideal of India in German Romanticism:* By A. Leslie Willson; Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.. 1964, (XI, 261 Pages), Price: £ 7.50

Probably no country was so much fascinated by the image of India as was Germany throughout many centuries. References to India in German literature can be traced back to Eschenbach's great epic poem *Parzival* (1210), and a few decades ago Thomas Mann treated an Indian legend in his story "The Transposed Heads". We Indians are aware of the keen interest and the great zeal with which German scholars turned to Indology, translated into German all that was good in Sanskrit literature, offered critical studies of various Sanskrit texts and developed a new science in the comparative study of languages.. Great German philosophers were occupied with our philosophical, religious and mythological wealth, some like Schopenhauer have even assimilated some basic Indian thoughts and ideas. The impact of Indian art, literature and thought on German minds has remained a comparatively neglected field of investigation, though it has been of far reaching effect during certain epochs of German literature. That is especially true of the German romantic movement. Hence the importance of Prof. Willson's recent and welcome book on the subject.

As for the title "mythical image" the author himself offers an explanation: "Myth is at once an external reality and the resonance of the internal vicissitudes of man according to Jerome S. Bruner, and it is in this seeming contradictory sense that the term mythical image is used here. The phrase does not mean the image of myth but the image of India as a source of inspiration to the poetic imagination of the German Romanticist and, in that role, as a basis for ideal reality.' On page 71 the author describes this image which is the creation of 'the mythopoeic mind of the romanticist: "India was an ancient land watered by a holy river, the Ganges, the river of Paradise, which came to symbolize for the Romanticists the idyllic existence they saw reflected in Hindu culture. A protean spirit served and guarded by a superior class of holy men, implanted into



every denizen of that land a simplicity and peace of soul which made for balanced virtues and ease of living. It was a land where poetry permeated every aspect of human wisdom, creating a sublime harmony of all knowledge. Here philosophy was one with religion, and a Universal Spirit was immanent in every creature and in every creation of nature. A mellow kinship pervaded all things. A marvellous magic was the companion of ordinary reality. Here, truly, was aesthetic perfection, and here one could find perfect contentment." Nature, personified and humanized, became an essential ingredient in the striking harmony found in Hindu culture among the branches of wisdom and the arts: philosophy, history, poetry, mythology, music, law, religion, and nature were blended and intermingled into a melodious unison expressing human knowledge and human yearning to know perfection in the essence of God.

In Part I the author discusses the principal sources from which knowledge about India was drawn: a multitude of travel books and commentaries that formed a curious mixture of fact, fiction and opinion. All the attributes of India and the Hindu however needed the stamp of authenticity to initiate the development of a mythical image, and this stamp was supplied by the first Sanskrit translators. From all these sources, scattered and incoherent, Herder then developed an ideal, mythical image which created inspiration and became an object of longing for the early Romantics in Germany. Part II is devoted exclusively to Herder who possessed the marvellous gift of entering into the spirit of an alien mind and culture and who undoubtedly stands at the beginning of the history of Indian lore in Germany. In Part III "The Scrutiny of the Image" is considered the elaboration of the ideal impression of India on the part of Romantic translators, mythologists and philosophers. Prof. Willson has rightly pointed out the important role which Friedrich Majer, the Romantic Indologist, played, though he is probably the least known of them all. The author devotes some very illuminating pages to the silent influence of this eminent mythologist on some great minds like that of Goethe. Part IV deals with the main theme "The Projection of the Image" in which are discussed the main Romantic poets absorbed with the vision of India. Among them are to be found some of the very great poets of Germany like Tieck, Jean Paul, Novalis, Hölderlin. In the last part, "The Reflection of the Image," we see how the weakened image still lingers and glows in the works of E.T.A. Hoffmann, Heinrich Heine and A. Stifter.

The great contribution of the author, however, is his brilliant chapter on the great poet Novalis, in which he convincingly points out to the influences of India on the symbol of the Blue Flower

which gives a new dimension to this symbolism. The primary concept of the Blue Flower as a symbol in Novalis' novel "Heinrich von Ofterdingen" is its depiction of poetic vision; in the course of the novel, however, it is also employed as the "mediator in the reconciliation of divergent religions, a motif of perfect, transcendental love, and a symbol of the merging into harmonious synthesis of the disparate qualities of man and nature."

Herder, Majer and Novalis who had already engaged the attention of the author prior to the publication of this book have been treated here at length as the main interpreters of Indian thought and spirit to their German readers.

Another great asset of this book is the exhaustive bibliography at the end of the book. I, however, miss a few names. The bibliography does not mention Janert's Catalogue of University Dissertations in Germany, Austria and Switzerland dealing with Indian themes. (Klaus Ludwig Janert: Verzeichnis indien-kundlicher Hochschulschriften, 1961, Wiesbaden). Also Alsdorf's book on Indo-German Cultural Relations published in 1942 in Heidelberg.

All literature on this subject that is available in the German language is, however, inaccessible to most Indians on account of the language difficulty. Prof. Willson's book is important from two points of view: firstly, it is written in English and therefore easily accessible to all Indian readers who wish to inform themselves on this subject which Prof Willson has dealt with in a scientific, objective and lucid manner betraying a heart that sympathetically throbs for India and the Indian culture. Secondly, it reveals "a new dimension in the literature of Romanticism and a brilliant new stratum in the intellectual landscape of the Romantic age." It strikes home the conviction that India was a vital force which animated some of the best minds in Germany during the Romantic Age and that the traces have not yet disappeared even in contemporary German literature. Is it not romantic and symbolic that the Image of *India* in *German* Literature should have been projected by an *American* scholar?

R.V.P.

*A Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict by Aśoka: Text, Translation and Notes* by G. Pugliese Carratelli and G. Garbini, Foreword by G. Tucci, Introduction by U. Scerrato, Serie Orientale Roma, XXIX, ISWEO, 1964, pp. xi + 62. Prezzo L. 2.500

With the publication of this booklet—the XXIXth of the *Serie Orientale Roma*, one more authentic and useful work is made available to the scholarly world.

The Kandahar bilingual inscription is not only the first Greek Inscription discovered in Afghanistan, but is also the sole Greek inscription of Aśoka, the third Mauryan emperor. It is, therefore, a unique find.

Much has been written about this emperor and much more could be written about him with fresh evidences. He remains yet an enigmatic emperor. In fact a correct assessment of his true personality is still wanting inspite of the abundance of literature written on him. "He appears to many people in many guises, a conqueror who forsook conquest when he saw the suffering it caused, a saint, a combination of monk and monarch, a political genius, a king with a rare understanding of human beings—and so the images can be multiplied" (Romila Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, p. 1). "His greatest claim to recognition lies in the fact that he understood his age, and in terms of the Indian background, realized the requirements it demanded. He was not a narrow religious sectarian, as some have made him out to be, for his ultimate aims covered both the religious and secular aspects of life" (*ibid.*).

Whatever could be the exact assessment of this ruler, he was not only one of the greatest rulers the world has ever known, but one of its greatest men as well. He had engraved on rocks and pillars in different parts of his vast empire, a series of proclamations stating explicitly his *dharma*, describing his deeds and expressing his hopes and prayers for the material and spiritual welfare of his people. Though autobiographical in nature, the edicts are administrative orders and exhortations addressed to state officials and people in general. And having a propaganda value they have been placed at important cross-roads on major contemporary trade-routes or near centres of administration or at religious places, and written in different dialects and scripts. Though most of the edicts are in the Indian Brahmi alphabet, those of Mansehra and Shah-bāzgarhi are in the Kharoshthi, and of Taxila and Lamghan in the Aramaic script.

The present Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict of Aśoka, however, shows the use of Greek, for the first time, by the Mauryan emperor. This "important document" with a total height of 55 cm. has come to light in the spring of 1957. It has 13½ lines of Greek text and 8 lines of Aramaic text. And the book under review, discusses "the problems to which the inscription gives rise, and the interpretations of the scholars that have studied it, after its first publication" (p. x). This edict, like others, "was placed at the entrance to an important city that saw a great movement of people and traffic, and

on a trade route as well; that is, the southern branch of the great caravan route that linked "Upper" Asia with Persia and the Mediterranean, which became known to history owing to the conquests of Cyrus, and was trodden by the army of Alexander" (p. 18).

This Kandahar Edict of Aśoka "is the most concrete testimony of the presence of Greeks in these regions" (p. 8). And not only a Greek population is referred to in at least two of his Major Rock Edicts—V and XIII, but one of his Buddhist missionaries was a Greek named Dhammarakhita from beyond Afghanistan (Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India* p. 140). In his very useful and scholarly introduction, Scerrato states: "the Kandahar Edict is not to be viewed as part of Aśoka's religious propaganda outside the boundaries of his Empire; on the contrary, it is closely linked to his work of propaganda inside his territories" (p. 25).

The Kandahar Bilingual Edict is distinct in many ways. It is the most westerly proof of Buddhism yet found; it is Aśoka's sole Greek inscription; it is the most easterly of Greek inscriptions; it is the first complete Aramaic inscription discovered in the area reaching to the Indus; as evidence of the meeting between East and West it is without doubt extremely stimulating and fraught with implications; it proves beyond all shadow of doubt that the *yonas* under Aśoka were Greeks and not Iranians or Persianized peoples as might still have been argued before the text's discovery; it seems to solve the controversial question of the length of the first Macedonian domination in what had been Achaemenian satrapies and to fix with sufficient accuracy the western confines of the Maurya empire; it offers some clues of first importance to the historical topography of Afghanistan; it clears up quite decisively the general problem of the Aśokan chronology; that is to say, the way in which the years of rule recorded in some of the Edicts are to be calculated; it substantiates Kātyāyana's assertion that *yavanani* means the *yavanalipi*—i. e. 'Greek writing; and it offers an excellent starting point for future research. (cf. pp. 5, 7, 8, 17, 23).

The renowned scholar Giuseppe Tucci makes a laudable statement in his thought-provoking brief foreword. "No doubt the inscription", says he, "that implicitly confirms the importance of the Greek element in that part of the Asian world, is bound to give rise to additional controversy, which will further stress and clarify its significance, such being exactly the aim our publication proposes to attain in the interest of our common studies". "This inscription", he continues, "proves once more how very close to us are the countries of Asia, how closely bound they are to our own history, through remote but uninterrupted events; it therefore ensues that every document which is brought to light represents a common heri-

tage of our culture' (pp. x & xi). After all the Greeks, Persians and Indians were all of Aryan stock.

In spite of some printing mistakes like "Priyadrasi" (p. 5) and "dot not deem" (p. 14), this useful source book prepared with scholarly care and collaboration of the archaeologist, historian and linguist—very vital to all, deserves congratulations. The authors have done their job with credit. The four excellent photographs of the edict and the bibliography on pp. 1, 29, and 41, have greatly enhanced the value of the book. We recommend this useful work to the average reader as well as the specialist.

L. B. K.

1. *An Introduction to Archaeology*: By H. D. Sankalia, Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1965, pp. xii and 31; Price Rs. 3/-
2. *Excavations at Langhnaj: 1944-63 Part I Archaeology*: By H. D. Sankalia, Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1965, pp. xii and 81. Price Rs. 35/-
3. *Chalcolithic Chandoli*: By S. B. Deo and Z. D. Ansari, Deccan College Postgraduate Research Institute, Poona, 1965, pp. xvi and 206, Price Rs. 35/-
4. *Excavations at Dwarka, 1963*: By Z. D. Ansari and M. S. Mate: Deccan College Postgraduate Research Institute, Poona, 1966, pp. xiv and 103, Price Rs. 25/-
5. *Ashmound Excavations at Kupgal*: By G. G. Majumdar and S. N. Rajguru, Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute. Poona, 1966, pp. xiv and 60, Price Rs. 20/-
6. *Excavations of Devnimori*: By R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, M. S. University of Baroda, 1966, pp. xviii and 197, Price Rs. 45/-

Archaeology, according to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "is, or should be, a scientifically ordered branch of knowledge, professed by men of truly scientific training, on a certain subject, namely the remains of ancient human activity. It is, or should be, also the art that deals scientifically with these remains, that excavates them from the earth where they have been buried, conserves them and restores them and publishes them for the interest of ourselves and posterity."

Archaeology, however, is not a mere science. It is a humanized science. It is the systematic study of antiquities and the reconstructing of the past history of nations and peoples, from the remains of

buildings, burial places, implements, utensils, and ornaments, belonging to periods of which we have very few or no written records. Archaeology is thus the science of life. This will seem paradoxical to those who have never known the joy of seeing ruins laden with prodigious secrets emerge from the earth. New centres of civilization appear almost every year as excavations begin in regions as yet unexplored. By discovering the material elements of which history is made, the archaeologist restores to history the movement of life and supplies a reasonably exact knowledge of the customs and ideas of vanished races. This is obvious today when new discoveries bring to our knowledge centres of civilization absolutely unknown even twenty years ago.

The books under review are some of the volumes by renowned archaeologists like Dr. H. D. Sankalia, who have prepared with scholarly care a survey of contemporary archaeological research and the major discoveries in the field which have been a feature of the 20th century.

*An Introduction to Archaeology* by Dr. H. D. Sankalia is a small booklet being the first in the series entitled "History of Man" planned by the Department of Archaeology, University of Poona and the Deccan College. "The aim of the series", states the author in the preface, "is to transmit the new knowledge acquired with the help of archaeology and sister disciplines to schools and colleges in India" (p. v.) The author indicates that like a detective, an archaeologist cannot afford to neglect anything.

The booklet with 23 illustrations, gives a brief account of artificial and natural mounds, dating of objects on stratigraphic evidence, the working of C-14 method, pottery types, burials, buried soil, bones, burnt grain, marine archaeology etc. etc. A chart at the end, showing the relationship of archaeology with other branches of humanities and sciences, enhances the value of the book.

It is a very interesting and useful reading for teachers and students alike.

*Excavations at Langhnaj: 1944-63 Part I Archaeology* describes the results of expeditions from 1944-63 at Langhnaj in Gujarat. It is an authoritative survey, admirably documented and illustrated with XXIII plates, maps, 8 plans and 4 appendices. Its author Dr. H. D. Sankalia effectively reconstructs from a variety of archaeological material, a lively picture of Langhnaj's past, searching out the traces of man from the earliest times.

According to the expeditions the microlithic man of Langhnaj used ill-baked pottery, hunted rhinoceros and buried the dead in a highly flexed posture within the kitchen debris, before 2500 B.C. He

was ignorant of the dog, though the wolf was known to him. By 2000 B.C. he handled the mace (ring-stone) and used copper knife, microliths and red-and-black pottery. By 100 B.C.-A.D. man of Langhnaj used modern-looking wheel-made pottery, iron arrow-head, bones and microliths too. It may be said, in the words of the author, "that a people whose main occupation was hunting and fishing and who buried the dead in a highly flexed posture, lived along the river banks and sandy mounds in Northern and Central Gujarat some 5000 years ago" (p. 69).

Modern archaeology has made the study of pottery one of its most fruitful methods of investigations. And "A *Technical Note on Langhnaj Pottery*" by Dr. G. G. Majumdar (pp. 47-53) concluding that Langhnaj excavation represents "a primitive technological stage in pottery making" is a very useful and thought-provoking addition to the volume.

Another note on "*Metallurgical Analysis*" by K.T.M. Hegde (pp. 66-67) observing that "this metal is in recrystallised condition" is also very illuminating.

The 4 appendices, a list of "Select Bibliography" (pp. 74-75) and an "Index" (pp. 76-80) are added attractions of the Report.

The publication is a distinct service to the research scholars who are interested in consulting original source material and it is certainly a welcome addition to archaeological literature.

*Chalcolithic Chandoli* is a report on the excavations at Chandoli Khurd, a deserted village 3 miles to the east of Manchar, on the right bank of the river Ghod in the Poona district of the State of Maharashtra. The excavations give "a fairly clear picture of the material equipment of the inhabitants of chalcolithic Chandoli in the second millennium B.C." (p. 137), a coherent picture of their life and "the nature of the cultural contacts which evidently influenced such a pattern of life" (p. 137). Profusely illustrated with 83 figures, line drawings and maps, the book is useful both for the serious scholars of history, archaeology, art and anthropology and for the general reader of history. With a systematic study of the Burials (Ch. III), the Stone Tools (Ch. V), the Blade Industry (Ch. V), Pottery (Ch. VII), Beads (Ch. VII), Copper Objects (Ch. V), Terracotta Objects (Ch. X) and Stone Objects (Ch. XI), the authors indicate a reasonably exact knowledge of the customs and ideas of the Stone Age of Chandoli. They restore to history the colour and movement of life. The great interchange of civilizations that took place between one country and another as early as the prehistoric epoch, is brought to our attention. On the ceramic evidence, for example, the excavators Dr. Deo and Dr. Ansari, suggest not only Chandoli's affinity with Navdatoli in Central India and Nevasa in

Maharashtra" (p. 143) but also "a new vista of culture contacts" opened by "the find of a theriomorphic vessel in the form of a bull with strokes in black colour all over the body." "It may be noted in this connection", say the authors, "that similar bull-vessels have been reported from Tepe Giyan in Iran as also from Crete, Egypt, Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia." (p. 124). The range of chronology "between 1440 and 1000 B.C. or later" (p. 25) due to "its dominance of the Jorwe fabric and acquaintance with some sort of the cream-slipped ware" (p. 25) is also suggested.

The authors have studied carefully the urn-burials, polished stone tools like axes, chisels, adzes, cores, hammer-stones, 1473 microliths like flakes, blades, borers, lunates, arrow-heads, triangles, trapeze, scrapers, cores and points, a variety of pottery with 14 ceramic fabrics as also the variety of ceramic traditions, 79 beads of stone, shell and copper belonging to the protohistoric to late mediaeval period, 24 copper objects like tools, weapons, ornaments, fish-hooks, and beads, a variety of terracotta objects like lamps, sharpeners, discs, wheels, cakes, stoppers, toy animals, stands and theriomorphic figures, and stone objects like saddle-querns, rubber-stones, pounders, anvils, stone-balls and sharpening stones, houses of mud walls and human skeletons. But no adequate idea of the racial character of the inhabitants of ancient Chandoli can be had (cf. p. 137).

The use of flax to weave beads is the earliest in India and proves a contact between Chandoli and Central India. "The Chandoli evidence might imply", according to the authors, "the existence of textiles in the second millennium B.C in Maharashtra" (p. 114).

The very scholarly four appendices: I "Human Skeletal Remains from Chandoli" (with 8 Tables and 32 Photos) by K. C. Malhotra (pp. 143-177), II "Studies in Copper Objects Recovered from Chalcolithic Levels at Chandoli" by K. T. M. Hegde (pp. 185-186), III "Shell Remains from the Excavation at Chandoli" by Dr. (Mrs.) D. R. Shah (pp. 189-193), IV "A Note on the History of Flax" by A. N. Gulati (pp. 195-201) at the end, are very useful and are a great asset to the present work. They enhance the academic importance of the present volume.

Besides the authors of this learned report, Dr. S. M. Katre, Director of the Deccan College, Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Head of the Department of Archaeology, Deccan College, and the authors of the four notes, deserve our congratulations. There is no doubt that the publication is a useful source book.

*Excavations at Dwarka, 1963, with X Plates and 34 Figures* is one of the contributions "from present and past faculty members



and research scholars of the Deccan College, giving a cross-section of the manifold research that it has sponsored during the past twenty-five years." (p. v). And in the very words of the reputed archaeologist Dr. H. D. Sankalia himself "the publication helps in demonstrating that the present Dwarka on the Western Coast of Saurashtra is at least 2000 years old. From this step we have to go further backwards in time in search of still earlier Dwarkas, which may lie hidden, in the vicinity of the present Dwarka or elsewhere" (p. viii).

"The immediate aim of the present excavation was to ascertain archaeologically the antiquity of Dwarka" (p. 19). And the authors Drs. Ansari and Mate have done it ably and successfully by exposing five different periods before the modern times. The excavators reveal the existence of the earliest period reaching back to the first-second centuries B.C. followed in succession by the periods of first four centuries of the Christian Era, 7th-8th centuries A.D. and period of Gujarat Sultans: 1260 to 1895 A.D. A systematic uncovering and analytic study of (P. IV) coins, Burnished Redware, Slipped Red Ware, Painted Red Ware, polychrome glass bangles and glazed ware, (P. III) Slipped Red Ware, structures, Painted Red Ware, Burnished coarse Black Ware, (P. II) amphora, Red Ware and Black Ware, (P. I) Slipped Red Ware, Coarse Red Ware and Black Ware have been responsible to these different strata of Dwarka. Besides 19 types of pottery, a number of amulets, beads, shell bangles, metal objects, ivory lids, iron weight and incense burner have also been unearthed and examined.

A learned note on "*Dwarka in Literature and Archaeology*" by Dr. H. D. Sankalia is an added attraction of this work under review.

This report is a valuable contribution to literature on Indian history and archaeology. This publication which contributes considerably to our knowledge of the personality of India should deservedly find a place in the library of the teacher and student alike interested in the history and civilization of India.

*Ashmound Excavations at Kupgal* is a small but profusely illustrated monograph on the ashmounds of Kupgal situated about 8 km. north-east of Bellary town and about 9 km. west of the river Hagari in the district of Bellary.

This work of G. G. Majumdar and S. N. Rajguru is devoted solely to the excavation of Kupgal ashmound, the descriptions of the objects like liṅga, bones, potsherds, flakes, stone tools found therein, the study of ashes, slags, soils and patination, and ultimately to the possible interpretation of the problem of Neolithic ashmounds as based on archaeological and scientific studies.

Though a full account of the problem of ashmounds and of the history of earlier investigations of Newbold (1843), Bruce Foote, Knox, Fawcett, Sewell (1899), Longhurst (1916), Modi (1927), Munn (1928-36), Yazdani (1936), Woolley, Dikshit, Subbarao (1948), Zeuner (1960) and Allchain (1963) has been given and a worthy tribute is paid to all those of different nationalities, the authors of the work under review conclude: "The data obtained from the excavation and the laboratory examination of the materials have enabled us to throw more light on the problem of ashmounds". The study has revealed, in the words of Dr. Sankalia, "the existence of a pre-Neolithic Stone Age industry at the base of a buried/fossil soil. This soil was found to occur below the ashmound and formed a distant chronological gap between the ashmound activity (Neolithic) and the patinated basaltic flake industry (pre-Neolithic). Further the scientific study of this natural soil profile has enabled the authors to postulate the probable environments obtaining during pre-Neolithic and Neolithic times" (p. vii).

The laboratory studies of the 3 experiments:

I Burning of Cow Dung Cakes (Dry)

II Heating of the Cow Dung Ashes to High Temperature, and

III Studies of Fusion Temperatures of Ashes and Slags from  
Excavation

and the 7 Tables describing the results of morphometric analysis of sands, pebbles and soils, enhance the interest and academic value of the present volume. Heartly welcome to this publication.

*Excavations of Devni mori* is another valuable report of the excavation conducted from 1960 to 1963 by Drs. R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary of the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, M. S. University of Baroda, 1966.

Illustrated with 68 plates and 49 figures this report of the excavations conducted for four seasons on the *Sangharama* in the valley of Devnimori, in the Bhiloda taluka, Sabarkantha District, Gujarat State, is one more feather to the cap of the archaeologist. A systematic study of pottery, coins, inscriptions, images, structures, terracotta objects, metal objects, glass objects found during the excavations and explorations at Devnimori has revealed that the valley was occupied from the prehistoric period and the occupation continued, with occasional breaks, upto the present. The hunters of the Stone Age used the loessic area. The Buddhist Samgha preferred the open area on the river, whereas the other sects specially the Shaivites preferred more lonely places as could be judged from their temples. The Buddhists erected lovely stupa and a fine settlement in beautiful natural environment in the valley (p. 187).

The inscriptions and the Buddhist stupa belong to the 4th century A.D. While the coins reveal the periods of the Kshatrapas of Ujjain (c. A.D. 100 to c. A.D. 400) and the Maitrakas of Valabhi (A.D. 480 to A.D. 766).

There are numerous plates, line drawings and maps to illustrate this scholarly and well-documented admirable text. Serious students of history, art, architecture, archaeology, anthropology, numismatics, ceramics, beads, metallurgy and glass as well as the general readers, are bound to be fascinated by this work. For such an extensive study of the subject the learned authors deserve congratulations.

The books under review prove how archaeology is a discipline striving to obtain knowledge about man and his past way of life by exploration and excavation.

L. B. K.

*NIRUKTA NOTES*, Series I: M. A. Mehendale, Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series: 24., Deccan College, Poona, pp. 72 and Addendum, 1965, Rs. 10/-

This is a collection of articles by Dr. M. A. Mehendale on problems of *Nirukta* exegesis. All but one of the nine articles had appeared earlier in various publications and it was a good idea to bring them together so as to make them easily available to students of the *Nirukta*.

The articles deal with Yāska's etymological explanations of *ṭṛca*, *danḍa*, *ratharyati*, *artha*, *sīmatas*, *saṃtavītvat* and *viścakadrā-karṣaḥ*. One article shows that the word *vāyasa* occurring in a Vedic passage cited in the *Nirukta* means 'a cock' and not 'a crow', while another makes it appear plausible that the language of Yāska still had the intervocalic *ḷ* and *ḷh* as in the Ṛgveda.

In these articles Dr. Mehendale has passed under review the views of all earlier authorities, commentators Durga and Skanda-Maheśvara as well as modern scholars like Roth, Sarup, Sköld, Rajavade and Varma. The discussion is characterized by a fair appraisal of these views and shows a clear understanding of the problems involved. Dr. Mehendale has not spared himself in making the investigation as thorough as possible, as for example in the examination of the Akrūra legend in the article on *danḍa* or in determining the meaning of *viścakadra* and *ākṛṣa* in the last article.

The work bears the stamp of deep scholarship and will no doubt be of great help to students of the *Nirukta*.

R. P. K.

**STUDIES IN HEMACANDRA'S DEŚĪNĀMAMĀLĀ:** Hari-vallabh C. Bhayani, P. V. Research Institute, Hindu University, Varanasi, pp. 96, 1966, Rs. 3/-

These studies in the *Deśināmamālā* of Hemacandra are based on material collected for a series of three lectures which Dr. Bhayani delivered in 1963 under the auspices of the Parshwanath Vidya-shram, Hindu University, Varanasi. The purpose of the studies is twofold, to ascertain the correct form of some of the Deśya words listed by Hemacandra in his work and to determine the correct meaning of some of them.

Dr. Bhayani has found that quite a large number of Deśya words occur in the *Deśināmamālā* in two or sometimes more forms. Some of the duplicated forms are, according to him, due to scribal errors in the sources utilised by Hemacandra for his collection, e.g. *cālavāso* and *vālavāso* both meaning 'a head ornament', the former being due to a scribal error, *piḍacchā* for *piucchā*, *dosāṇyam* for *rosāṇyam* and so on. But for the most part the variations are due to phonological changes some of which can be met with in MIA languages. He has analysed such variations in no less than thirty-two types and has furnished nearly three hundred illustrations of these, e.g. *airāṇī/erāṇī*, *palahī/valahī*, *manjīra/manjīra*, *villarī/vallārī* and so on.

In a section called 'Correction of erroneous interpretations' Dr. Bhayani refers to over a hundred and fifty words from the *Deśināmamālā* and points out that the rendering of these words by P. Ramanujaswami, who brought out the revised Second Edition of the *Deśināmamālā*, is inaccurate and often shows a misunderstanding of Hemacandra's Sanskrit commentary. The last section contains a list of Deśya words from Svayambhū's *Paumacariya*; some of these are found in the *Deśināmamālā*, while others are not.

In the Introduction Dr. Bhayani draws attention to the need of a close investigation of MIA and NIA languages and of Apabhraṃśa works in particular, for ascertaining the correct meaning of Deśya words as well as for determining their origin or derivation.

The work reveals a thorough study of Hemacandra's work and will be found useful particularly by students of Apabhraṃśa literature.

R. P. K.

**KAVI-KAUMUDĪ of Kalya Lakṣmīṅśimha:** Edited by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, Karnatak University, Dharwar. pp. 64, 1965, Rs. 1.50

The *Kavi-kaumudī* is a collection of nearly a hundred and fifty stanzas, all of the *anyokti* type, written by Kalya Lakṣmīnṛsimha. Dr. Krishnamoorthy of the Karnatak University has edited the work from two manuscripts in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore. In the brief Introduction the editor refers to what information is available about the author, whom he assigns to the period between 1700 and 1800.

The *anyoktis*, written in various metres, are addressed to a large number of objects in nature like the sun, the moon, clouds, trees, flowers etc. as well as to creatures like the crow, the cuckoo, the owl, the lion, even the dog and the donkey. As is well-known, *anyoktis* are meant to reveal indirectly a poet's reflections on the human situation. We find, therefore, in these stanzas praise, censure, criticism, etc. of human conduct.

The poet naturally relies heavily on all the ancient conventions of the Sanskrit poets and is deeply influenced by earlier writers, particularly Jagannātha Paṇḍita. He shows a great fondness for alliteration. Though not much originality can be claimed for the poet, we do come across, here and there, a flash of fresh insight or a piece of new observation.

A pleasant feature of this publication is the English translation of the stanzas supplied by Dr. Krishnamoorthy. It is not literal and is therefore free from the inelegance usually characterising such translations from Sanskrit. It clearly brings out the sense of the stanzas and is extremely readable.

R. P. K.

*NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA* of Bharatamuni, with the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* of Abhinavaguptācārya, Vol. IV (Chapters 28-37): Edited by Ramakrishna Kavi and J. S. Pade, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 145, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1964, Pp. xv + 568, Rs. 25/-

This is the Fourth and concluding Volume of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* together with Abhinavagupta's commentary, published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series of Baroda. The first three volumes were all edited by Shri Ramakrishna Kavi, but unfortunately he passed away when only the first 32 pages of the present Fourth Volume were printed. The work of completing the editing of the volume was then entrusted to Shri J. S. Pade of the Oriental Institute. He had to make a fresh copy for the press of the remaining part of the text, for which he had to rely on the material left behind by Shri Kavi. Shri Kavi, however, had left no notes about the mss. used by him in the preparation of the text, and in the Chapter on *dhruvās*, he

had supplied no variants in the case of the Prakrit verses. Shri Kavi was to have written an Introduction after the printing of the Fourth Volume was over. His sad demise has, therefore, deprived scholars not only of details about the mss. used and their evaluation, but also of his mature views on various problems connected with this difficult text.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is now available to scholars in its entirety. It is obscure in places, but that is rather due to the difficult nature of topics connected with music treated in these chapters, partly also due to inaccuracies in the mss. Shri Pade has carried out his task with great competence. His critical acumen is shown by the numerous corrections he has suggested in the body of the text as well as the commentary.

The authorities of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, deserve to be congratulated on the completion of this four-volume venture.

R. P. K.

*AN ANTHOLOGY OF SANSKRIT COURT POETRY: Vidyākara's Subhāṣita ratnakōṣa: Translated into English by Daniel H. H. Ingalls, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 44, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1965, pp. 611, Rs. 15.00*

The *Subhāṣitaratnakōṣa* of Vidyākara was edited by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale and published in the Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 42. The present volume is an English translation of that work and is called 'An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry' apparently because practically all the authors whose verses are included in it were court poets. There is a fairly long General Introduction at the beginning besides separate Introductions to each of the fifty sections into which Vidyākara's anthology is divided.. At the end there is a list of corrections, alternative readings and emendations of the printed text adopted by the translator. This is followed by notes on the verses where problems of textual criticism as well as exegesis are discussed. There are full indexes of meters, words, authors, subjects etc. We have thus as full an aid to the understanding, appreciation and study of Vidyākara's anthology as one may reasonably expect.

The translation of the verses is in poetic form except in the case of punning verses, which are relegated to the Notes where a literal prose translation with their double meaning is given. The translation is meant for Sanskritists as well as other readers of literature; hence it is said to aim not at being literal or free but at being ac-

curate and impliedly also poetic. For, Professor Ingalls remarks that translations of Sanskrit poetry have for the most part been made by English speakers who were strangers to poetry or by Indians who were strangers to English. This would appear to be hardly fair either to the former or to the latter, considering the type of readers for whom literal translations are generally meant. However, it may be granted that Ingalls' translations of the verses are extremely readable as well as accurate.

It is, however, possible to refer to cases—very few though these are—where the translation does not appear to be correct. Thus 326b *svarlokasya sudhaikapānacaṣako mitraṃ ca tārāpatiḥ* is 'and the moon, the one cup for drinking nectar for the world of gods', not 'his (i. e. Kāma's) is the single cup of immortality in heaven; the moon is his friend.' The idea that the moon is full of nectar which is drunk by the gods is well-known. 1115cd *smartavyatām upagatesu saroruheṣu dhig jīvitavyasanam asya malīmasasya* is 'when the lotuses are no longer there; fie on the addiction to life of this dirty (black) bee', not 'forgetful of the lotuses; fie on a craving that costs the addict bee his life'. The locative absolute clause contains a well-known idiom. 1549a *vīraprasūr jayati bhārgavareṇukāiva* is 'O Bhārgava, blessed is Reṇukā, the mother of a hero', not 'blessed is Reṇukā, the hero mother of the Bhārgavas'. It is necessary to separate the word *bhārgava* from *reṇukā* and understand it as a vocative. In 52 it is a little surprising that the technical meaning of *kaṛaṇa* and *aṅgahāra*, described at length in the *Nāṭya-sāstra* of Bharata is missed.

It may also be noted that a few of the emendations proposed do not appear to be necessary. Thus in 261d *veṣāntara-vīracanaṃ pratyudāste (prati + udāste)* yields a very good sense 'remains indifferent to a change of dress by the beloved (because he finds her rain-soaked appearance so alluring)'; it is not necessary to read *pratyupāste* 'helps her change her dress'. That would be a very unusual idea and could hardly have been intended. In 890a *-pihito* is adopted at the suggestion of Dr. V. Raghavan for *-pihita-* (in *ghanatamatamahpuñjapihita-*). But if at all the text is to be emended we should read *-pihitam* rather than *-pihito*. It is *cakṣuḥ*, the eye, that is closed by the thick darkness; that is why it is *vṛthonmeṣam*, serving no purpose even when open. There is no point in saying that the lover is concealed by darkness. That might even make the lady's task of locating him rather difficult.

A few additions also require to be made to the list of corrections. 11d *dhairyō* should be read for *ghairyō*; 504c *dharmi* should be read for *gharmi*; 617d *kiṃ nu* should be read for *kiṃ na*; 604d *māyīm* for *māyī*; 1114a *devatāḥ* should be read for *devatā*. Sur-

prisingly, some misprints appear in the list itself: 764c *sayyā* (for *śayyā*), 787a *brasyad* and *braśyad* (for *bhrasyad* and *bhraśyad*), 850b *ksāmā* (for *kṣāmā*), 1587b *bhīṣa* (for *bhīṣa*), 1638a *juṭaṃ* (for *jaṭaṃ*) and 1702c *nipātā* (for *nipāta*).

Such errors of inaccurate transliteration are to be found in this work in rather a large number: To mention only a few, we have *vipralamba* (pp. 3 and 15), *pathākasthānas* (p. 297), *Dvarkā* (pp. 321 and 324), *valmiki* (p. 402), *paṭu-* (for *puṭa-*, p. 508) and so on. There are a few misprints even in the English portion of the work: from for form (p. 6 1.15), that for than (p. 23 1.32 and p. 550 1.24), poetic (p. 165 1.10), tail for toil (p. 256 l. 20) and 96.2% (for 1.96%, p. 589). It would not have been necessary to draw attention to these blemishes in an otherwise beautiful production were it not that the Harvard Oriental Series has enjoyed a thoroughly well-deserved reputation for meticulous printing.

One or two remarks made in the course of the Introductions and Notes also call for comment. *Balarāma* was the elder brother of *Krishna*, not younger (p. 98). The moon's favourite among *Dakṣa's* daughters is *Rohiṇī*, not *Revatī* (p. 535). Though *Pṛiti* also is sometimes mentioned as *Madana's* wife, it is *Rati* who is most frequently so referred to. It was *Rati* who accompanied him on his fatal mission and in the situation of 323 it is *Rati* who should more appropriately be understood as addressed rather than *Pṛiti*.

It is in no spirit of carping criticism that these remarks are made. The great value of *Ingalls's* work will in no way be impaired thereby. Indeed the importance of this publication cannot be over-estimated. The translations, perfected over a period of six years, are not the only distinguishing feature of this work. The General Introduction also may be regarded as an important landmark in the evaluation of Classical Sanskrit poetry by a Westerner.

In the first part of the Introduction called 'Sanskrit Poetry and Sanskrit Poetics' *Ingalls* shows a deep understanding of the nature of Sanskrit poetry and a thorough appreciation of the theories of Sanskrit rhetoricians. He points out how the highly inflected character of Sanskrit together with its abundance of synonyms and synonymous constructions led to the rigid and complicated form of the *śloka*. A feature of Sanskrit poetry to which he draws pointed attention is its impersonality, its lack of reference to specific individuals. Referring to the fact that in the five hundred or so verses that deal with love in *Vidyākara's* anthology one will not find the name of a single lover, he goes on to show how impersonality comes closer to making a thing appear universal, how it can be poetically effective even to a Western taste and how the finest effects of suggestion are possible only when applied to types, not to indi-



viduals. It is to this feature of Sanskrit tradition that he mainly attributes the absence of tragedy in Sanskrit literature. Tragedy in the Greek or Shakespearean sense, he says, does not occur to types. This part of the Introduction is concluded with a detailed appreciation of *Kumārasambhava*, I. 23-24, where following Appaya Dikṣita's lead he brings out all the various suggestions evoked by the verses in the manner of a Sanskrit rhetorician.

The second part of the Introduction deals with the question of the sources of Vidyākara's anthology. In the brief but trenchant third and last part called 'on the passing of judgments' Ingalls criticises Fitzedward Hall, A. A. Macdonell and others for basing their judgment on nineteenth-century Western morals and nineteenth-century Western notions of literature. His criticism of A. B. Keith that apparently no word ever passed beyond his head to his heart appears to be a little too harsh. But Ingalls's strongest criticism is reserved for D. D. Kosambi, who in the Introduction to his edition of Vidyākara's text had tried to explain Sanskrit poetry in terms of the theory of the class origins of literature. Pointing out that a parallel rise of new social classes and of great artists was confined only to the golden age of Greece, of Rome and of eighteenth-century Germany, Ingalls refers to the fact that in China and India, on the other hand, the greatest periods of art, not only in poetry, but in painting and sculpture and architecture and philosophy were the five centuries from the Tang dynasty to that of the Yüan in the former and the six or seven centuries from the end of the Guptas to the coming of the Moslems in the latter, and that in neither country there arose any new social classes of note during those periods. Insisting that the path of the critic of poetry must begin with poetry, not with theories of society, Ingalls concludes with Buddha's remark to Mālunḅyaputta about a man wounded with an arrow who would not let the surgeon draw the shaft until he knew the caste of the man who shot it and asks if that man was more unreasonable than one who would not listen to beauty until he knows that it comes from a new economic class that advances the techniques of production. Verily a Daniel comes to judgment.

R. P. K.

*Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume: Vidarbha Samshodhan Mandal, Nagpur, 1965.*

MM. Dr. Mirashi is a highly respected name in Indology. He is one of our leading oriental scholars and has made very significant contribution to different branches of oriental learning. His work on Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, two of the foremost Sanskrit dramatists,

is wellknown to our students of Sanskrit Literature. The recent controversy on Rāmagiri, made famous by the immortal Bhāvākāvya Meghadūta is still fresh in the minds of us all and has proved once again, if proof at all was necessary, Dr. Mirashi's clarity of thought, mastery over details and logical power.

Epigraphy and Numismatics particularly of the pre-Muhammedan Period are his special fields of study. It is in his writings on these subjects that we see Dr. Mirashi at his best. His profundity, scientific unbiased approach to problems of history, judicious method of evaluating history are well-brought out here and should really be a model for younger scholars in the field.

It is meet that a volume of Indological studies should be presented to Dr. Mirashi. What strikes even a casual reader of this Volume is that contributions to it have come from scholars all over India and from nearly all branches of orientology. This speaks eloquently of the high place Dr. Mirashi holds in the field of Indology and the great esteem and affection in which he is held by all the co-workers. This is a worthy effort in which scholars from different fields have contributed their share towards repaying the debt which Indology owes to this savant. Sanskrit, Vedic and Classical, Dharma and Artha Śāstra, Philosophy, Epigraphy are all represented here and that too by those who are competent to do so. In a review of a volume of this kind it is neither possible nor advisable to single out individual authors for comment. One does notice that a few here are just short notes, a few are merely informative while in quite a large number, substantial contribution is made to the subject. The three poems in Sanskrit in praise of Dr. Mirashi make very good reading. The utility of the Volume is also enhanced by the bibliography of Dr. Mirashi's writings.

One can in the end unhesitatingly say that this Felicitation Volume of 458 pages is a fitting tribute to a scholar whose life is an essay in dedicated service to the cause of oriental learning.

S. N. G.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

1. The Brahma-Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa with the Commentary of Śaṅkarācārya II. 2, ed. by S. N. Gajendragadkar, Bombay, University of Bombay, 1965, p. XIII, 177. Rs. 5.00
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4. The Art of Nepal in the Francis Hopp' Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts, Budapest, 1963, p. 42.

Statement about ownership and other particulars about the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

FORM IV  
(See Rule 8)

1. Place of Publication Bombay.
  
2. Periodicity of its Publication Annual.
  
3. Printer's Name .. P.H. Raman.  
Nationality .. Indian.  
Address .. Associated Advertisers & Printers,  
505, Tardeo Arthur Road,  
Bombay-34.
  
4. Publisher's Name Shri Ramanlal K. Desai.  
Nationality Indian.  
Address Hon. Secretary,  
The Asiatic Society of Bombay,  
Town Hall, Bombay-1.
  
5. Editor's Name Editorial Board :—  
(i) MM. Dr. P.V. Kane.  
(ii) Dr. S.N. Gajendragadkar.  
Nationality .. Indian.  
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I, Ramanlal K. Desai, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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Printed by P.H. Raman at Associated Advertisers & Printers, 505 Tardeo Arthur Road, Bombay 84, Published by Ramanlal K. Desai B.A., B.Sc. (London), Bar-at-Law, Honorary Secretary for the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Bombay 1.