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V. M. KULKARNI

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**TRANSLITERATION OF THE
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अ	a	औ	au	ठ	th	भ	bh
आ	ā	क	k	ड	d	म	m
इ	i	ख	kh	ढ	dh	य	y
ई	ī	ग	g	ण	n	र	r
उ	u	घ	gh	त	t	ल	l
ऊ	ū	ङ	ṅ	थ	th	व	v
ऋ	r̄	च	c	द	d	श	ś
ॠ	.....	r̄	छ	.....	ch	ध	.....	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)			m̄			× (Jihvāmūliya)			h̄		
◌ (Anunāsika)			ṁ			× (Upadhmaniya)			ḥ		
: (Visarga)			h̄			s (Avagraha)			'		

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS**

ARABIC

ا	.....	a	ز	.....	z	ق	.....	q	.....	i or e
ب	.....	b	س	.....	s	ك	.....	k	.....	u or o
ت	.....	t	ش	.....	sh	ل	.....	l	.....	ā,
ث	.....	th	ص	.....	s	م	.....	m	.....	i, e
ج	.....	j	ض	.....	d	ن	.....	n	.....	ū, ō
ح	h	ط	t	و	w	ai, ay
خ	kh	ظ	z	ه	h	au, aw
د	d	ع	'	ي	y	silent t
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ء	'		h̄
ر	r	ف	f	ا	a		

PERSIAN

پ	p	چ	ch	ژ	zh	گ	g
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PERCEPTION IS IMPOSSIBLE

(AN EXPOSITION OF NĀGĀRJUNA'S MĀDHYAMAKA-KĀRIKĀ, CHAPTER III)

K. V. APTE

In course of time, after Buddha, a great schism took place among his followers that led to two sects called Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Of the many schools of Hīnayāna Buddhism, the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika were the two main schools. From Mahāyāna Buddhism arose two great schools namely Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda. The upholders of the Śūnyavāda were also called Mādhyamikas. Both the Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas hold that all things, external as well as internal, are real. The Vijñānavāda denies the existence of the external objects and posits the reality of the internal thing namely cognition (Vijñāna). The Mādhyamikas go a step further and deny the absolute reality of external things as well as internal cognitions.

Nāgārjuna is, according to some, the founder of the Mādhyamika philosophy, while according to others, he is merely a systematic exponent of the Mādhyamika view. Nāgārjuna, tradition says, was born in a Brahmin family, in Southern India. He was well-versed in the Brahmanical lore; he was later on converted to Buddhism. He is said to have composed many works.

Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamaka-kārikā*¹ (= MK) is a well-known work con-

1. In the translation, the following equivalents in English are employed for the Sanskrit words in the original :---

Gati	Going	Gantā	Goer
Gantavya	Goal	Draṣṭr, draṣṭā	Seer
Draṣṭavya	Seeable, the thing to be seen, visual object or thing		
Darśana	Eye	Gocara	Object
Gamyamāna	(the) Being gone	Gata	(the) gone
Agata	(the) not-gone	Dagdha	(the) Burnt
Adagdha	(the) Not-burnt	Dṛṣṭa	(the) Seen
Adrṣṭa	(the) Not-seen	Dagdha	Burner
Darśanatvayogāt	Being not connected with the seeing		
Darśana-kriyā	Act of seeing		
Darśana-svabhāva	That whose nature is to see		
Adarśana-svabhāva	That whose nature is not-to-see		
Dṛṣi-kriyā	Act of Seeing		
Darśana-dvaya	Two seeings		
Dharmamātra	Thing alone		
Vijñāna	Consciousness		

In presenting this criticism, the usual method of Pūrva-pakṣa and Uttara-pakṣa is followed.

The text of the MK edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya is used here.

sisting of twenty-seven chapters. The whole of *MK* is a refutation of various philosophical views entertained in the Ābhidharmic circles of Buddhism. The third chapter of *MK* is called *Cakṣurādīndriya-parīkṣā*; it refutes the concept of sensual knowledge or perception. The present article discusses, giving an English translation of the verses in *MK* III, on the basis of the explanation² offered by Candrakīrti, this refutation of the sensual knowledge.

In our practical life we presume the possibility of perceiving external things and internal ideas. Our usual view in this connection is :- Our sense-organs come into contact with their objects and perception takes place. Thus, we say :- We see external things with our eyes, hear sounds with ears, taste different things with tongue, smell with nose, and get tactual sensation with skin. Mind, the internal organ, perceives internal thoughts and the rest.

This act of perception presupposes three factors, namely, (i) the thing to be perceived or the perceptible, (ii) the means or instrument of perceiving, and (iii) one who perceives or the perceiver.

In criticising perceptive knowledge what Nāgārjuna does is to show that factors involved in the act of perception are impossible or unreasonable. In doing so, Nāgārjuna elaborately criticises the visual perception first, and at the end remarks that this very criticism is applicable to other senses like the ear and the like.

Nāgārjuna's Criticism

Before Nāgārjuna starts his criticism, he states the *prima facie* view that believes in the existence of the thing to be seen or the seeable, the instrument of seeing, and the seer.

(a) Denial of the eye

Now, the objector says :- Even if the going,³ the goer and the goal do not exist, still we must accept, in order that the⁴ sermon (of Buddha) be possible, that the seer, the seeable or the thing to be seen (visual object), and the eye (*darśana*), etc. do exist. That is to say :- It may be that, as you said, the going, etc. may not be possible. Still you cannot deny the seer and the like, because Buddha in his sermons speaks of sensual knowledge. Then, in order that Buddha's words regarding perceptive knowledge should be

2. Nāgārjuna himself is said to have composed a commentary on his own *MK*. *Buddhapālita* as well as *Bhāvaviveka* wrote commentaries on *MK*. But all these three commentaries are lost in the original. Only the commentary (*vṛtti*) of *Candrakīrti* called *Prasannapadā* is available in Sanskrit.

3. This point of the objector is with reference to Nāgārjuna's criticism of the going, the goer and the goal, in *MK* Chapter II. For a full discussion of this criticism of the going etc., vide Dr. K. V. Apte, "Going? You cannot go!". (An Exposition of Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamaka-kārikā*, Chapter II), Shivaji University Journal, Vol. IV, 1971.

4. Buddha in his sermons has spoken as to how the perceptive knowledge takes place. This statement of his is recorded in Buddhist texts.

true, it must be granted that the seer, the seeable and the means of seeing which are the factors essential for sensual knowledge are existent. Hence in Abhidharma philosophy, the existence of these factors is admitted. For example, it is said in the Abhidharma⁵ (texts or philosophy) :—

MK III. 1 : The eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the sense of touch and the mind are the six sense-organs, and the seeable things and the like are their objects (*gocara*).

Explanation :—In this *kārikā*, the word *darśana* is to be thus explained : That which sees is the *darśana* i. e. the eye (*paśyati iti darśanam*). And form or colour (*rūpa*) is said to be the object (*viṣaya*) of the eye.

Buddha in his sermons spoke of the sense-organs in order to account for the sensual knowledge. Following him, Abhidharma texts admit the existence of the six sense-organs as well as their objects. Thus, we have to accept that there must exist, in their own nature (*svabhāvataḥ*), the sense-organs like the eye and others.

Against this *prima facie* view, we point out, the eye and other sense-organs do not exist. Hence they cannot apprehend their objects.

Now, in order to show that the eye does not see (its object namely) the form, the author of the *MK* says :—

MK III. 2 : The eye does not see its own self; and when it does not see itself, how can it see the other (objects) ?

Explanation :—The objector said that the sense-organs like the eye apprehend their objects. We deny that. We point out that the senses are not able to perceive their own objects. To take the concrete case of the sense-organ namely the eye, we bring to the notice of the objector the fact that the eye does not see itself. (That the eye does not see itself is a patent fact in ordinary life) Our contention is :—The eye does not see itself, because it would be contradictory to say that a thing acts upon itself. For example, to say that an axe cuts itself would be absurd.

Now, if the eye has no capacity to see itself, how can it be said that the eye can see objects other than itself ? If the eye is unable to apprehend itself, we will have to say that the eye cannot see, just as the ear cannot see, other objects like the blue and so on.

Hence we have to conclude that there is no eye that can see.

The objector then urges :—Even though the eye does not see itself, still it can see other objects, just as the fire, though it does not burn itself, can burn things other than itself. His point is :—He admits that the eye

5. The Abhidharma view of sensual knowledge is thus expressed :—Consciousness (*vijñāna*) originates depending upon a sense-organ and a perceptible object (See below Footnote 18). This naturally presumes the existence of the sense-organs.

does not see itself. But this does not mean that the eye will not be able to see things other than itself. In this connection, the example of the fire can be cited. It is quite true that the fire cannot burn itself, but, as one observes in this world, the fire is able to burn things other than itself. In the same way, one has to say that the eye, though it is not able to see itself, does see objects other than itself. Or better, one can even say that the eye sees not itself but sees other things only.

This view of the Pūrvapakṣin, we remark, is quite improper. This view is not reasonable, because the example of the fire is inadequate to explain that the eye can see other things. For—

MK III. 3 :—The illustration of the fire (adduced by the objector) for the function (and the existence) of the eye is not adequate, because that illustration along with the eye stands repudiated by (our previous arguments in connection with the concepts of space like) the being gone, the gone and the not-gone.

Explanation :—The word sadarsāna in this kārikā is to be explained thus :—that which is along with the eye (saha darśanena vartate iti).

In order to establish the function (and the existence) of the eye, the objector has put forward the example of the fire. But we bring to his notice that the illustration of the fire is not sufficient or adequate enough. That is to say, the example of the fire cannot satisfactorily explain what the objector desires in the case of the eye. For, the illustration of the fire introduced by the objector in order to elucidate the function of the eye has been, along with the eye for which the instance⁶ of fire was given by the objector, is repudiated by our previous arguments that rejected the concepts of space like the being gone, the gone, and the not-gone. That is, the arguments we employed to criticise the going and the like are able to repudiate what the objector says about the fire and the eye. We have already shown that any space—it may be either the (space) gone or the not-gone or the (space) being gone—is not gone (see *MK II.1*). In a similar way, we have to say in the case of the fire. Neither the thing which is burnt (dagdha) nor the thing that is not-burnt (adagdha) is burnt by⁷ the fire. In the same way, the argument is to be applied to the case of the eye. In a previous⁸ kārikā (*MK II.1*) it was said that there cannot be gone

6. For these arguments, see *MK II*, and also :— Dr. K. V. Apte, 'Going ? You cannot go !' (See footnote 3).

7. Like *MK II. 1* we can compose the following couplet :—

न दग्धं दह्यते तावददग्धं नैव दह्यते ।
दग्धादग्धविनिर्मुक्तं दह्यमानं न दह्यते ॥

8. This karika II. 1 runs as follows :—

गतं न गम्यते तावदगतं नैव गम्यते ।
गतागतविनिर्मुक्तं गम्यमानं न गम्यते ॥

either the (space called the) gone or the (space called the) not-gone or the (space called the) being gone; we can now compose a similar couplet applicable to the case of the eye :—

न दृष्टं दृश्यते तावददृष्टं नैव दृश्यते ।
दृष्टादृष्टविनिर्मुक्तं दृश्यमानं न दृश्यते ॥

(Translation :—The seen (thing) is not seen; the not-seen (thing) is not seen; and apart from the seen and the not-seen (thing) there is nothing like ' the being seen ' which can be seen.)

Moreover, in the case of the going, etc., it was pointed out by the *Kārikakāra*⁹ previously that the goer does not go and so on. This argument too applies to the fire that is taken to be the burner. Hence we have to say :—the burner (*dagdhā*) does not burn¹⁰, and so on. The same argument is applicable in the case of the eye, and we have to say :—The seer (*draṣṭā*) does not see¹¹ and so on.

Thus, the criticism (*dūṣana*) that was levelled against (the concepts of space which is either) the being gone or the gone or the not-gone is equally applicable to the seer and the like, along with the example of the fire. Hence it is not proper or reasonable to argue that, like the fire, the function and existence of the eye can be established. Thus it stands proved that just as the eye does not see itself, so also it does not see other things.

Now, when such is the case, then :—

MK III. 4 :—In so far as the eye cannot be not-seeing (*apaśyamāna*), how is it proper or reasonable to say that the eye is that which sees ? Explanation :— In the order of the words of this *kārikā*, *Candrakīrti* points out, though the word 'paśyatīti' follows the word 'darśanam', yet in interpreting the stanza, we have to change the order of these two words thus :— "Paśyatīti darsanam". In suggesting this change in the order of the words the point of *Candrakīrti* is this :—If the words 'darśanam paśyatīti' are taken as they are, they will mean :— (the fact that) the eye sees. But this is not the

9. In the *karika* II. 8 which runs thus :—

गन्ता न गच्छति तावदगन्ता नैव गच्छति ।
अन्यो गन्तुरगन्तुश्च कस्तृतीयो हि गच्छति ॥

A goer does not go; so also a non-goer does never go. (Now) who is the third (person) apart from a goer and a non-goer that can go ?

10. The full arguments will be :—A burner does not burn; so also a non-burner does never burn. (Now) what is the third (thing) apart from a burner and a non-burner that can burn ?

11. The full argument will be:— A seer does not see; so also a non-seer does never see. (Now) who is the third (person) apart from a seer and a non-seer that can see ?

In this respect, we can compose a similar couplet :—

द्रष्टा न पश्यति तावदद्रष्टा नैव पश्यति ।
अन्यो द्रष्टुरद्रष्टुश्च कस्तृतीयो हि पश्यति ॥

meaning intended by the Kārikākāra. The latter has in his mind the etymological explanation of the word darśana. Hence we have to change the order of the words so as to yield the intended meaning, namely, that which sees is the darśana (i. e. the eye).

It was argued above (MK III. 3) that the eye sees neither itself nor any other thing. This means that the eye does not see anything at all. That is, the eye is not-seeing. Now, if the eye is not-seeing, it is not (i. e. it cannot be called) the eye; for, the eye is that which sees (paśyatīti darśanam). The two terms 'eye' and 'not-seeing, cannot go together; the 'not-seeing eye' is an absurdity. And if we grant for the sake of argument, that there can be 'not-seeing eye', then we will have to discard the very definition of the eye, namely, the eye is that which sees. For, the not-seeing thing (apaśyataḥ), being not connected with the seeing (darśanatva-ayogāt), cannot be called the eye, just as a (not-seeing) pillar etc. cannot be called the eye. Hence the etymological explanation of the word eye (darśana), namely, 'darśana is that which sees' is not proper at all.

Moreover, we would like to know, when the objector has said 'that which sees is the darśana (eye)', what kind of relation does he imagine or conceive between the eye (darśana) and the act of seeing? Does he suppose that the act of seeing (darśana-kriyā) is related to the eye (cakṣuḥ) whose nature is to see (darśana-svabhāva) or is related to the eye whose nature is not-to-see? That is to say, is the act of seeing related to the "seeing" eye or "not-seeing" eye? Now, whatever relation the objector may assume between the two, the relation in either case is not proper at all, points out the Kārikākāra in the next kārikā :—

MK III. 5 :— Neither the eye sees nor the not-eye sees. (How is it reasonable¹² then to say that the eye is that which sees?) And it should be admitted (upagamyatām) that the seer gets repudiated with the repudiation of the eye itself.

Explanation :— Let us consider the two alternative relations proposed by the objector. (a) In the first alternative, the act of seeing is related to the eye whose nature is to see. On this view, we urge, the relation between the act of seeing and the eye whose nature is to see is not reasonable; for, this relation leads to the statement, 'the eye possessing the act of seeing (dṛśi-kriyā-yukta) sees', which involves the contingency (prasaṅga) of there being two acts of seeing, and (consequently) the contingency of there being two seeings. That is to say :—When the eye is presumed as having the nature to see, it means that the eye is already connected with one act of seeing. Of such eye (possessing the act of seeing) is now predicated

12. According to the commentator Candrakīrti, the first line of MK III. 5 is to be construed with the second line of the previous stanza, MK III. 4.

another act of seeing by means of the finite verb 'sees', in the statement, 'the eye possessing the act of seeing sees'. Thus, the statement, namely, 'the eye possessing the act of seeing sees', involves the first contingency of there being two acts of seeing (while actually there is only one act of seeing). The second contingency follows thus :—When there are two acts of seeing, there are consequently¹³ two seeings (while actually there is only one seeing). Due to these two contingencies, a relation cannot be assumed between the act of seeing and the eye whose nature is to see. (b) In the second alternative, the objector imagines a relation between the act of seeing and the eye whose nature is not-to-see. In this connection, we point out, it is obvious that if the nature of the eye is not-to-see (adarśana-svabhāva), this eye is nothing more than a not-eye (adarśana). And a not-eye (i. e. that which is not an eye) cannot see, just as the tip of the finger cannot see; for, it is devoid of the act of seeing (darśana-kriyā-rahitatvāt). In other words :— If a relation is assumed between the act of seeing and the eye whose nature is not-to-see, it will lead to the statement, namely, 'a not-eye (= an eye whose nature is not-to-see) sees'. This really means that the so-called eye (whose nature is not-to-see) cannot see at all, because it does not possess the act of seeing, just as a finger-tip (whose nature is not-to-see) cannot see anything at all.

Thus, neither the eye sees nor the not-eye sees. How is it then proper to say that the eye is that which sees¹⁴ ?

(b) Denial of the Seer.

Now, the objector slightly shifting his position argues :—When we offered the etymological explanation of the word darśana as darśana is that which sees, we do not mean that the eye is the accomplishing agent (kartṛ-sādhana), but we take the eye to be that with the help of which the seer sees (paśyati anena iti darśanam), that is, we take the eye to be the accomplishing instrument (karaṇa-sādhana). The objector's point is :—The word darśana is not to be explained as meaning that the eye is the accomplishing agent or that the eye acts in the capacity of an agent or that the eye is the agent of seeing, but the word darśana is to be explained to mean that the eye is the accomplishing instrument or that the eye acts in the capacity of an instrument or that the eye is merely an instrument (with which the seer is able to see). When the word darśana is so understood, there does not arise the contingency of the fault pointed out by the Siddhāntin. The whole point of the objector is :— The word darśana is not to be explained as that which is the seer or the agent of the act of seeing, but as that

13. For when there are two acts, two results follow.

14. After this, at this stage, the commentator Candrakīrti states a prima facie view and his reply to it. As both these are slightly digressive, I have given them not here, but in an Appendix at the end so that there should not be a break in the running argument.

which is an instrument or means useful for seer in the act of seeing. Then no fault arises. The objector then continues :— The seer is that who sees with the help of this darśana (= the eye) which is only the instrument (karaṇa-bhūta). Now, this seer—he may be consciousness¹⁵ (vijñāna) or soul (ātmā)—does exist. Thus, on the basis of the existence of the agent (here, the seer), the existence of the eye (which is the instrument of seeing) is also established. That is to say : Eye is the instrument of seeing. The fact of sensual perception requires the existence of the perceiver or the seer. (This seer may be either consciousness or soul). The seer requires the instrument (namely the eye) to see. Thus, on the basis of the existence of the seer, the existence of the eye has to be admitted.

This argument of the objector is replied in (in the second line of this kārikā, III, 5) thus :—With the repudiation of the eye, the seer is also repudiated. This means :—whatever fault or criticism (dūṣaṇa) was already mentioned in the kārikā ' स्वमात्मानं etc. (MK III. 2), in case of the eye, the same fault, it should be noted, occurs in the (concept of the) seer also. To make this point clear, in the case of the seer, we can compose the following couplet :—

स्वमात्मानं नैव द्रष्ट्वा दर्शनेन विपश्यति ।
न पश्यति यदात्मानं कथं द्रक्ष्यति तत्परान् ॥

(Translation :— The seer does not see, by means of the eye, his own self. When he does not see himself, how will he be able to see other things ?)

Thus, it is proved that the seer also, like the eye, does not exist.

(c) Denial of the eye and the seeable.

The objector then urges :— The seer cannot be repudiated. The existence of the seer has to be accepted. One must say :—The seer does exist, because of the existence of his object (karma) and instrument (karaṇa). In this world, one observes, the object and the instrument do not exist for a person who is not existing at all, for instance, for the son of a barren woman. But in case of the seer, there do exist the instrument namely the eye, and the object namely the seeable (the visual thing or the thing to be seen). Hence there does exist the seer, like the cutter, who has got his object and instrument. In other words :—Our empirical experience shows non-existence of an object and an instrument for a non-existent person like

15. According to the Vaibhṅṣikas, in the act of apprehension, there is no separate apprehender, but the consciousness (vijñāna) itself is the perceiver or apprehender (cittaṃ vijānāti). Citta is the same as vijñāna.

16. Buddhism accepts the doctrine of soullessness or Nairātmya. Both Vaibhṅṣikas and the Sautrāntikas deny the existence of a permanent self (Nātmāsti - AK III. 18; na ca ātmā kaścit - PVB, p. 139). Yet, sometimes, the citta (= manas, vijñāna) is said to be the self (cittaṃ ātma-śabdena ucyate—Sphutarthā, Chapter I, p. 86).

the son of a barren woman. The object and the instrument exist for an existing agent or person. The existence of the object and the instrument shows the existence of the person for whom they are useful. For example, the existence of an instrument of cutting like the axe and the existence of an object like a tree which is to be cut, shows the existence of the cutter, the agent of the act of cutting. In this world, the instrument of seeing namely the eye and the object of seeing (= a visual thing) do exist. Their existence therefore proves the existence of the seer.

We reply : Really speaking, the seeable thing and the eye do not exist at all. Then, whence can there be the seer?—The seeable object and the eye are dependent on or relative to the seer. And when the concept of the seer is examined, we find :—

MK III. 6 :—There cannot be the seer either with the eye or without the eye. How can then there be the seeable object and the eye, when the seer is non-existent ?

Explanation :— The objector's view that on the basis of the existence of the object and the instrument, one is to infer the existence of the seer is not tenable, because a seer is not someone who exists by himself independent of anything else. Let us presume, for the sake of argument, that there is someone, in this world, who is a seer. This seer can be (i) either dependent on or relative to the eye (*darśana*) (ii) or not relative to the eye. On the first alternative, again, there are two further possibilities : (a) Not disregarding (or not excluding, or taking into account) (*atiraskṛtya*) the eye, the seer is relative to the eye. (b) Disregarding (or excluding, or not taking into account) the eye (*tiraskṛtya*), the seer is relative to the eye. Now, if the seer is desired or intended (*iṣyate*) to be relative to the eye, taking into account the eye, in that case there will be the expectancy of the eye (*darśanāpekṣā*) for the seer who is (i) either already proved, or (ii) who is not already proved. A seer who is already proved does not depend or does not depend or does not expect or is not relative to the eye; for, what can the expectancy of the eye accomplish in case of the seer who is already proved and (hence already) existent ? For, whatever is already established or proved is not to be proved or established again. If, on the other hand, an unproved seer is said to depend on or to expect the eye, then the seer cannot expect, like the son of a barren woman, the eye, because his (seer's) existence is not as yet established (*asiddhatvāt*). In this way, taking the eye into account, the seer cannot be said to depend on the eye. The whole point of this argument is :—A seer is either already proved or not already proved. If he is already proved, he does not need, for his establishment, the expectancy of or dependence on the eye. And if the seer is not already proved (i. e. if he is yet to be established), how can he, being non-existent, like the son of a barren woman, expect or depend upon the eye ? Thus, even if the eye is taken into account, the seer cannot be said to depend on or be relative

to the eye. (b) Now, if the seer is desired or intended to be relative to the eye, not taking the eye into account (tiraskṛtya), the seer does not exist, as he is not depending on the eye (darśana-nirapekṣatvāt). This matter has been already¹⁷ pointed out, says Candrakīrti.

Thus, there cannot be the seer, either taking the eye into account or not taking the eye into account. Under that circumstance, when the seer does not exist, there cannot exist the seeable object as well as the eye, in the absence of their cause namely the seer. That is to say, the concepts of the seeable thing and the instrument of seeing are possible, if a seer exists. And if the seer who is the ground (or cause) for the ideas of seeable object and the instrument of seeing does not exist, we cannot speak of the existence of the seeable thing and the eye. And hence how can the seer be established or proved, on the basis of the existence of the eye and the seeable object?

In this connection the objector urges :— One can prove the existence of a cause from the existence of its effects. For example, from the existence of a child one can establish the existence of his parents. This is true in case of the seeable thing and the eye and their effects. And hence one can say :—The eye and the seeable thing do exist, because there exist their effects (kārya-sadbhāva). To make the relation more explicit, it can be said :—

MK III.7 :— Just as a son is born depending on (pratītya) the mother and the father, so also the production of consciousness (vijñāna) is said to be depending upon the eye and the form or colour (rūpa).

Explanation :— A son is born depending upon his parents. So also consciousness¹⁸ originates depending upon the eye and the form (i. e. the seeable thing). From the conglomeration¹⁹ (sannipāta) of these three (i. e.

17. It was said in the introductory remarks to *MK III. 6* that without the seeable thing and the eye, the seer cannot exist.

18. Vijñāna (consciousness) is also called citta or manas (Ekasya vijñānasya tridhā nirdeśaḥ kriyate manaḥ cittam vijñānam ca—*Vibhāṣā PV*, p. 8; cittam mano'ṭha vijñānam ekārtham—*AK II. 34*) Vijñāna is apprehension of each object (vijñānam prativijñaptiḥ—*AK I, 16*). This consciousness is of six kinds (vijñānam hi ṣaḍvidham—*ADM, P. 54*), five depending upon the five sense-organs and the sixth depending upon the mind, namely, eye-, ear-, nose-, tongue-, touch- consciousness, and mind consciousness (See : *Nālandikā* on *AK I. 16*). Consciousness originates depending upon the sense-organs and the sense-objects.

(चक्षुः प्रतीत्य रूपं च उत्पद्यते चक्षुर्विज्ञानं यावद् मनःप्रतीत्य धर्मान् च उत्पद्यते मनोविज्ञानम् । quoted by *Vibhāṣā PV*, p.269.)

19. In Vaibhāṣika philosophy, the elements (dharma) are momentary existences. And the phenomenon of knowledge can be resolved into elements simultaneously flashing into existence. Thus, a moment of colour (rūpa), a moment of the sense-of-vision-matter and a moment of pure consciousness arising simultaneously in close contiguity constitute what is called a sensation (sparśa) of colour (Trayāṅgām sannipātaḥ sparśaḥ) (see : *Stcherbatsky, CCB, p. 46*).

the eye, the seeable object and the consciousness), there arises the *sāsrava*²⁰ *sparśa*; depending upon the *sparśa*, there springs up feeling (*vedanā*), and craving (*ṭṣṇā*) is born depending upon the feeling. Thus, these four factors in human life (namely, consciousness, *sparśa*, feeling and craving) come into existence²¹, depending upon the seeable object and the eye as their causes. Hence one must admit the existence of the seeable thing and the eye, because their effects are existent.

This view of the objector is not acceptable. We urge :—The seeable object and the eye can exist, if there exist the four things beginning with consciousness. But the fact is that :—

MK III.8 :— The group of the four (factors) beginning with consciousness does not exist, because the seeable thing and the eye do not exist. How can then come into existence (the next links in the *Bhava-cakra* like) the clinging and the like ?

Explanation :— It is already shown that the seer does not exist. In the absence of the seer, there do not exist the seeable thing and the eye. In the absence of the seeable object and the eye, there cannot arise the group of the four factors beginning with consciousness i. e. consciousness, *sparśa*, feeling and craving. In other words in the absence of the visual thing and the eye, the four factors like consciousness and so on cannot come into existence at all. (The main point of this argument is :—In the absence of the preceding link in *Bhava-cakra*, the succeeding link cannot come into existence). Thus, we say, on the basis of consciousness, it is not possible to show the existence of the visual thing and the eye.

Now the objector argues :— The four things beginning with consciousness namely consciousness, *sparśa*, feeling and craving do exist, because their effects are in existence. To clarify :—Here (in the *Bhava-cakra*), it is said, clinging or grasping (*upādāna*) originates depending²¹ upon the craving (*ṭṣṇā*), and so on. Thus, from the group of the four factors beginning with consciousness, there originate clinging (*upādāna*), becoming (*bhava*), birth (*Jāti*), and old age, death and the rest. Now, as the

20. *Sparśa* is one of the twelve links in the *Bhava-cakra* in Buddhism (See below Footnote 21); but there it is called *sparśa* only. It is not clear why *Candrakīrti* uses the term *sāsrava-sparśa* here. The idea denoted by the word *sāsrava* is thus explained : “All elements of life may assume two different characters : they either are characterised by a tendency towards life, commotion and turmoil, and then they are called *sāsrava* i. e. influenced by passions; or they are uninfluenced (*anāsrava*)” (Stcherbatsky, CCB, p. 41; also see : *Ibid*, pp. 80-81).

21. This has a reference to the Buddhist doctrine of *Dependent Origination* (*pratītya-samutpāda*). The underlying principle of this doctrine is : ‘This being, that arises (*asmiṃ sati, idam bhavati*).’ This dependent origination as applied to human life is called *Bhava-cakra* which consists of twelve links. The details of this *Bhava-cakra* are mentioned in various Buddhist works. Following are its twelve links :— (1) Ignorance

effects of the four factors like the consciousness etc. exist there must exist the four factors including consciousness.

We reply :- There will arise the clinging (upādāna) and the like, if there can be the group of four things beginning with consciousness. But we have already asserted that this group of the four factors beginning with consciousness is not possible at all, in the absence of the seeable thing and the eye. And when there cannot exist the four factors like the consciousness and so on, how can there originate their effects like the clinging (upādāna) and so on? In other words :- In the absence of the seer, the visual thing and the eye are not possible. In the absence of the seeable object and the eye, the group of four factors beginning with consciousness cannot originate. And in the absence of consciousness and the rest, their effects like the clinging (upādāna) and so on cannot come into existence.

(Briefly we can say :- Neither instrument of seeing (the eye), nor the seeable, nor the agent of seeing (seer) is possible.)

Now, the Kārikākāra, in order to extend his repudiation of the eye to the remaining sense-organs²² (āyatana), remarks in the last kārikā :-

(Continued from page 11)

(avidyā) (2) Impressions of karmic forces or conformations of dispositions (saṃskāra) (3) Initial consciousness in the embryo (vijñāna) (4) Psycho-physical organism or mind-body-complex (nāma-rūpa) (5) Six provinces or bases or six sense-organs including the mind (ṣaḍāyatana) (6) Sense-object-contact or sensation (sparśa) (7) Sense-experience of feeling (vedanā) (8) Thirst or desire or craving (tṛṣṇā) (9) Clinging or grasping or attachment (upādāna) (10) Will-to-be-born or becoming (bhava) (11) Birth or rebirth (jāti), and (12) Old age (jarā), death (maraṇa), grief (śoka), mourning (paridevana), and so on.

22. The Sarvāsti-vāda School of Buddhism believed in the existence of all things. In all, this school admitted the existence of seventy-five elements (dharmas). These elements are classified in various ways, from different view-points. Division into twelve āyatanas is one way of classifying these elements. This Āyatana-classification is based on the division of cognitive faculties and their objects. The details can be given as follows:--

Twelve Āyatanas

Six internal (adhyātma)
or receptive faculties
(indriya)

Six external (bāhya)
or objects (viṣaya)

Six internal bases (Āyatana) :--(i) sense of vision (cakṣurindriya) (ii) sense of audition (śrotra-indriya) (iii) Sense of smelling (ghrāṇa-indriya) (iv) sense of taste (jihvendriya) (v) Sense of touch (kāyendriya), and (vi) faculty of intellect or consciousness (mana-indriya).

Six external bases (Āyatana) are :--(i) colour and shape or form (rūpa) (ii) sound (śabda) (iii) odour or smell (gandha) (iv) taste (rasa) (v) tangible (spraṅṅavya), and (vi) non-sensuous objects (dharmāḥ or dharmā-Āyatana).

In the Bhava-cakra, the fifth link is the six sense-organs (ṣaḍāyatana). And the context shows that here by the word Āyatana, Candrakīrti is referring to the sense-organs.

MK III.9 :- By the repudiatory argument of the eye, one should understand, there are repudiated the ear, the nose, the tongue, the sense of touch and the mind and also the hearer, the thing to be heard, and so on.

Explanation²³ :—The criticism of the seer, the eye and the seeable thing is to be extended to other sense-organs like the ear and the like, and also to the concepts of the hearer and the thing to be heard and the rest.

One can sum up by saying :- As the factors involved in the act of perception namely the eye and other sense-organs, the perceptible things and the percipient are not possible or reasonable, perception is unreasonable or impossible.

Appendix (See Footnote 14)

Now here, remarks Candrakīrti, some people will argue thus :- When a thing or object (dharma) is being produced (utpadyamāna), it alone (dharma-mātram) is produced as devoid of any activity (nirvyāpāra). Under that circumstance, nobody can see any object (viśaya) at all, as he is without any activity (kriyāyāḥ abhāvāt). In other words, things are born without any activity at all. Thus, a seer is devoid of any activity; and the eye is without any activity. Thus, being without any activity, nobody will be able to see anything at all. It is obvious then that the eye does not see. This statement thus stands already proved. No further proof is required for it. But the Siddhāntin is trying to prove again this already proved matter. But that is futile; for, no attempt is essential to prove a matter which is already proved.

Candrakīrti meets this argument by saying :- The view that a thing originates as devoid of any activity means that the activity has no part in worldly dealings which are concerned with various things. Now, if activity has no participation in the worldly dealings (vyavahāra), then a thing (dharma) also cannot form any part in the worldly dealings, like a sky-flower, because it is devoid of activity. The point is : Empirical dealings are concerned with things. Some kind of activity is :— then essential for the things. Now, if a thing has no activity, the activity will not be able to participate in empirical matters. And if activity has no participation in worldly matters, it is obvious that things also cannot have any part in the worldly dealings. How can then there be a thing alone without activity ?

The objector may then say :- I admit a thing (dharma) forming a part of worldly dealings only from the view-point of empirical truth (Vyavahāra-satya)

Candrakīrti then urges :- Just as you take or admit ' thing alone ' as

23. The last kārikā MK III.9 is very easy to understand. Candrakīrti therefore does not write a single word by way of explanation. But under this kārikā he quotes from two other Buddhist works namely *Lalitavistara* and *Acāryopali-ṛicchā*.

the empirical truth (Vyavahāra-satya), so also you should accept activity too as empirical truth.

Candrakīrti then adds :— If the objector is thinking of the real or transcendental truth (tattva-cintā), then he will have to admit that ' a thing alone ' does not exist at all, just as activity does not exist at all.

It is, goes on Candrakīrti, said in the (Catuḥ-śataka :—

“ A thing possessed of activity is not eternal. There is no activity in that which is all-pervading. A thing without activity is equal to a non-existent thing. Then why do you not prefer the (doctrine of) Soullessness (*nairātmya*) ? ”

Thus, concludes Candrakīrti, our statement (namely, the eye does not see, etc.) is not contradictory to (the view of) others, and so also it does not involve the fault of being a means (*sādhana*) to prove what has been already proved.

Abbreviations

<i>ADM</i>	<i>Abhidharmāmrta</i> (of Ghoṣaka)
<i>AK</i>	<i>Abhidharma-kośa</i> (of Vasubandhu)
<i>CCB</i>	<i>Central Conception of Buddhism</i> (by Stcherbatsky)
<i>MK</i>	<i>Mādhyamaka-kārikā</i> (of Nāgārjuna)
<i>PVB</i>	<i>Pramāṇa-vārtika-bhāṣya</i> (of Prajñākara-gupta)
<i>Sphuṭārthā</i>	<i>Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-sphuṭārthā</i>
<i>Vibhāṣā PV</i>	<i>Vibhāṣā-prabhā-vṛtti.</i>

ŚĀṆKARĀCĀRYA'S SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF SOME RĠVEDIC RKS

(AS REFLECTED IN HIS PHILOSOPHICAL POEM ŚATAŚLOKĪ)

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Some of the European and American Indologists (even after their minute study of *R̥gveda* and other Vedas) still hold the view that ' The Vedic hymns, for instance (according to their view) offer prayers to different Gods and Goddesses such as Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Savitṛ, Sarasvatī, Śraddhā etc., but they do not refer to One Absolute Reality—The One God in whom all these Gods—deities dwell.'

It is really unfortunate that these eminent Indologists should hold this view in spite of clear unequivocal statements of some *R̥gvedic* ṛsis to the effect that the *R̥gvedic* hymns were composed mainly for the purpose of thorough understanding and realization of the One Absolute Reality (Ekam Sat) Let us, for instance, take the following ṛk :—

ऋचोअक्षरे परमेव्योमन् यस्मिन् देवा अधिविश्वे निषेदुः ।
यस्तन्न वेद किमृचा करिष्यति
य इत्तद्विदुस्त इमे समासते ॥

(*R̥gveda* I. 164, 39)

Sāyaṇa explains the ṛk thus :—

The Highest Reality described in the Vedas is the one abode in which all the Gods or deities (Devas) dwell. For him who does not realise the Absolute Reality even after studying the Vedas, the performance of rituals is utterly futile. But those, who realise this Absolute Reality, become one with it, become identified with it.

Another well-known ṛk refers to the One Absolute Reality thus :—

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहु—
रथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वद—
न्त्यग्निं यमं मातीरेश्वानमाहुः ॥

(*R̥gveda* I. 164, 46)

“ Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, The Divine Suparna (the Sun) The celestial fire (Agni in the form of lightning) the Mātariśvan (the wind-God blowing in the mid-sky) are but different names of the One Reality (Ekam Sat) so say the profoundly wise (Vipra) men.”

This means that the Rgvedic poets (ṛsis) knew and realised the One-Absolute and also knew that it was named differently by different poets in their devotional songs. These songs composed in different metres were sung in sacrifices in which were invoked deities like Indra, Varuṇa, Agni etc., but these deities were no other than the One Absolute (Ekam Sat) assuming different names and forms for the convenience of the sacrificers. Sacrifice is nothing but worship; and in worship, a devotee requires some sort of image, idol or some visible thing with name and form. Vedic ṛsis, therefore, first conceived the Sun as the first manifest form of the Absolute which has no form, and for whose existence there is no perceptible proof. But even the Sun could not be worshipped-physically, and no physical thing could be offered to him; they, therefore, chose fire, the visible representative of the Sun on the Earth. Thus fire became the first visible symbol of the nameless and formless Absolute and was named Agni Devatā. In course of time, other deities or Devatās were conceived as representative phases of the Sun-God who himself was the direct symbol of the Unmanifested Absolute. But the other deities-Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa Mātariśvan (the wind-God) also could not be directly worshipped and offerings, could not be presented to them; the sacrificial fire, therefore, was conceived to be the messenger through whom various offerings were delivered (such as rice ghee, curds etc.) to these deities. But all these deities also were formless, invisible. They therefore were supposed to be present (whenever invoked) in the sacrificial hall in the form of the ṛks (Rgvedic verses) sung by the priests in the sacrifice.

This then is a short history of the several Devatās that are invoked and worshipped by the priests in various sacrifices from times immemorial. In pre-historic times, these deities were worshipped and invoked in sacrifices performed throughout the ancient world. But the cult of sacrifice first came to be established in Arctic regions near the North Pole as the veteran Vedic scholar in India B. G. Tilak has in his '*Arctic Home of the Vedas*' conclusively proved. In these sacrifices, the different deities invoked and worshipped should not be regarded as independent Gods or deities with divine powers (at times rivalling with one another for supremacy but they are different manifested forms of the One Universal God ('Deva Ekam' of Rgvedic hymns). It would be wrong to say that the Rgvedic deities invoked severally by the Vedic seers furnish evidence to prove that in Rgvedic times Polytheism was believed in, and accepted as a doctrine by the Aryans. The two ṛks quoted and interpreted by me above amply prove that the Vedic seers firmly believed in Monotheism in its philosophical and spiritual sense, and showed their dislike for polytheism or for the matter of that Henotheism.

The object of the present paper is to show that several hymns of the *Rgveda* contain deep philosophical as well as spiritual meaning although

apparently they refer to things that are relevant to sacrificial performance such as several deities and things that are a part of sacrificial rituals.

Sāyaṇa, the great commentator of *Rgveda*, usually gives this apparent ritualistic sense of the ṛks or hymns, he is however sometimes constrained to give this philosophical sense of these ṛks; for some ṛks do not yield coherent sense unless they are spiritually interpreted. Sometimes the ritualistic sense of the ṛks is useful for the performance of the sacrifice; but even then he is aware of the deep philosophical meaning of the ṛks; and this meaning he gives after the first apparent meaning is given.

But Śrī Śāṅkarācārya (= Śāṅkara) the great savant and one of the greatest exponents of Vedic religion has given a spiritual interpretation of the following ṛks by incorporating in his philosophical poem called *Śataśloki* (ŚŚ)—a Collection or Anthology of Hundred Verses :—

युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगात्
 स उ श्रेयान् भवति जायमानः ।
 तं धीरासः क्वय उन्नमन्ति
 स्वाध्यो इ मनसा देवयन्तः ॥

(*Rgveda* III, 8, 4)

The following verse from ŚŚ has borrowed some words and paraphrases others from the above ṛk thus :—

यः सत्वाकारवृत्तौ प्रतिफलति युवा देहमात्रावृत्तोऽपि
 तद्धर्मैर्बाल्यवाद्ध्योदिभिरनुपहतः प्राण आविर्बभूव ।
 श्रेयान् साध्यस्तमेतं सुनिपुणमतयः सत्यसंकल्पभाजो
 ह्यभ्यासाद् देवयन्तः परिणतमनसा साकमूर्ध्वं तयन्ति ॥

(ŚŚ v. 45)

Sāyaṇa in his usual context of the paraphernalia of a sacrifice has interpreted the above ṛk as referring to the sacrificial pillar (yūpa) while it is hoisted and planted in the sacrificial hall.

“ Here comes the sacrificial post encircled with strong ropes; it is made out of a big tree and wrapped in fine cloth; wise priests appointed for the sacrifice long for the arrival of this yūpa and all the while meditating on the sacrificial deity to be invoked raise the post aloft. ”

The above verse the ŚŚ may be freely translated as follows :

“ The omnipotent soul (Paramātman) is reflected in the inner heart (Buddhitattva or Antaḥkaraṇa) in the human body and assumes the form of an individual soul. It is not affected by the conditions of the body, such as childhood, old age, youth etc. Salvation is the goal of this individual soul in human life; and the most advanced yogins who have attained

self-realization initiate this ever young individual soul in human body into a higher spiritual Sādhanā.”

According to a pet theory of some Vedic scholars from the West (and of India too) the first and the tenth Maṇḍalas are later additions to the rest of the Maṇḍalas in *Ṛgveda Samhitā*, and these later Maṇḍalas also contain merely a ‘germ’ of philosophical thoughts that are not found in the rest of the Maṇḍalas (eight in number). But the ṛk quoted above belongs to the third Maṇḍala and according to its interpretation by Śaṅkara the ṛk in question yields highest philosophic sense. The pet theory of these Vedic scholars, therefore, stands completely refuted.

From the commentary of Sāyaṇa on this ṛk one can easily infer that he was aware of the deep philosophic meaning of the above ṛk; for in support of the philosophic meaning of the ṛk he quotes a passage from *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (Ait. 2-2)

युवा सुवासा परिवीन आगात् इति उत्तमथा परिदधाति । प्राणो वै युवा सुवासाः सोऽयं शरीरः
परिवृतः स उ श्रेयान् भवति जायमान इति श्रेयान् ह्येष एतद् भवति जायमानस्तं धीरासः कवय
उन्नयन्ति स्वाश्रयो मनसा देवयन्त इति ये वा अनूचानास्त कवयस्त एवैनं तदुन्नयन्ति ।

The ṛk quoted above is interpreted by *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* as referring to the ever young Jivātmā. As soon as he enters a new human body, he is hailed with delight by the spiritually advanced men in the society and in course of time they initiate this youth into the mysteries of philosophy enshrined in the Vedas.

Be it noted that the Brāhmaṇas (the commentaries on the Vedas) were, on the one hand, pledged to interpret the Ṛgvedic hymns as yielding a meaning which has some sort of connection with the rituals of the sacrifice; but on the other hand, they had to explain the secret philosophical meaning of the hymns as faithful interpreters.

Śaṅkara had thoroughly grasped the secret spiritual meaning of the hymns and with his spiritual Sādhanā had realised the highest truth—The Imperishable One (The Akṣara) in the inner most recesses of the heart (Parame vyoman).

(2) Another ṛk from *Ṛgveda* describes in unequivocal terms, the ‘Universal Soul’ made manifest by his own miraculous power (Māyā).

The ṛk is as follows :—

प॒त॒ङ्ग॒म॒क्त॒म॒सु॒र॒स्य॒ मा॒यया॑
हृ॒दा प॑श्यन्ति॒ मन॑सा विप॒श्चितः॑ ।
स॒मु॒द्रे अ॒न्तः क॒वयो॑ विचक्षते
म॒री॒चीनां॑ प॒दमि॑च्छन्ति वे॒धसः॑ ॥

(*Rgveda* X. 177, 1)

Sāyaṇa while commenting on this ṛk first speaks of the Universal Soul (Paramātman) as dwelling in the Sun who is one of the myriad manifested forms of the (Paramātman). Great yogins long for identifying themselves with this paramātman dwelling inside the Sun's apparent Orb, by means of deep meditation.

But immediately afterwards Sāyaṇa refers to the inner meaning (which is the real and ultimate meaning) of this ṛk; and this he does without any such remark as 'Here some say' or 'others say'. This shows that even for the sacrificial rites, he accepts this ṛk. in its purely spiritual sense.

Obviously, therefore, Sāyaṇa never meant that every ṛk in *Rgveda* was composed for serving the purpose of some sacrificial rite.

We may now assert with confidence that hundreds of ṛks in *Rgveda* containing highest spiritual truths were originally composed by ancient seers (ṛṣis) to highlight the Omnipresence of the One Absolute Reality (Devā Ekah).

This then is the 'Secret of the Veda' which Swami Dayanand Saraswati and following him Sri Aurobindo of Pondicherry revealed and presented it to modern thinkers as well as Western and Eastern Vedic scholars.

But to resume the discussion of the above ṛk from *Rgveda*—Sāyaṇa's commentary on this ṛk is as follows :—while interpreting the ṛk in its spiritual sense, Sāyaṇa says (The original Sanskrit text of the commentary deserves to be quoted in full) :—

माययाक्तं जीवरूपेणाभिव्यक्तमात्मानं विपश्चितो वेदान्ताभिज्ञा हृत्स्थेनान्तर्मुखेन मनसा । पतङ्गं पतति व्याप्नोतीति पतङ्गः परमात्मा तं पश्यन्ति । अपाधिपरित्यागेन जीवात्मना परमात्मना तादात्म्यं साक्षात्कुर्वन्ति इत्यर्थः । अपि च ते कवतः कान्तदशिनः वेदान्ताभिज्ञाः समुद्रे समुद्भवन्ति अस्माद् भूतानि इति समुद्रः परमात्मा तस्मिन्नधिष्ठानभूतेऽन्तर्मध्ये सर्वं दृश्यजातं अहस्तत्वेन विचक्षते विपश्यन्तीति । अतो दृग्व्यतिरिक्तस्य सर्वस्य मिथ्यात्वात् वेधसो विधातारस्तं मरीचीनां वृत्तिजानानां पदं अधिष्ठानभूतं सच्चित्सुखात्मकं यत्परं ब्रह्म तदेवेच्छन्ति । तद्भावप्राप्तिमेव कामयन्ते ।

(Sāyaṇa's Commentary on *Rgveda* X. 177, I)

This is the secret meaning of the ṛk as given by Sāyaṇa—the ritualistic interpreter of *Rgveda*.

In spite of this interpretation of Sāyaṇa, modern Vedic scholars are parading before the modern thinkers their much advertised linguistic and historical interpretation of *Rgveda* !!

This ṛk pregnant with high spiritual philosophy is incorporated by Śaṅkara (almost verbatim) in the following verse of the ŚŚ :—

तज्ज्ञाः पश्यन्ति बुद्ध्या परमबलवतो माययाऽक्तं पतङ्गं
बुद्धावन्तः समुद्रे प्रतिफलितमरीच्याःपदवेधसस्तम् ।

याद्गुणावानुपाधिः प्रतिफलति तथाज्ञातस्मिन् यथास्यं
प्राप्तावशानुरूपं प्रतिफलति यथावस्थितं सत्सदैव ॥

(ŚŚ v. 51)

Several words from the ṛk, quoted above have been taken bodily by Śāṅkara in his verse. पतङ्गं, मायया समुद्रे, वेधसः अन्तः and पश्यन्ति; while others like विपश्चितः and असुरस्य are taken after paraphrasing them.

Following is a free translation of the verse :—“ Men endowed with spiritual knowledge realise the Universal Soul who has manifested himself by virtue of his wonderful power. He (the Universal Soul) is reflected in the Buddhitattva (of Prakṛti) and thus transforms himself into Jīvātmās. Every such Jīvātmā has his infinite individual characteristics and appears in his own different form from others. But this difference is due to the infinite variety of the Buddhitattva or Antaḥkaraṇa, in which the Universal Soul is reflected. The seers, however, realise fully that every such Jīvātmā is originally the Universal Soul Himself. ”

(3) Śāṅkara, through another verse of his ŚŚ, interprets spiritually another ṛk from Ṛgveda, quoted below :—

रूपं रूपं प्रतिरूपो बभूव
तदस्य रूपं प्रतिचक्षणाय ।
इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूपं इयते
युक्ता ह्यस्य हरयः शता दश ॥

(Ṛg VI. 47, 18)

According to Sāyaṇa, the meaning of this ṛk is as follows :—“ This Indra (devatā) being a representative of all other Devatās can (naturally) assume the forms of other Devatās like Agni etc., and he assumes their forms to maintain their separate individuality (such as Agni, Viṣṇu, Rudra, etc.). And being Indra he assumes these manifold forms and goes to his many worshippers (to bless them); for his horses that carry him everywhere are innumerable.

After giving this meaning which is useful to him in invoking the omniscient and omnipotent Indra in sacrifices, he gives another spiritual meaning of this ṛk with the introductory remark :—‘ Others interpret the ṛk thus ’.

Indra—The Paramātmā—being omnipresent like the sky and being the most glorious (taking the etymological meaning of the root (Indra—to be most glorious) is ecstasy incarnate. He on account of the conditional cause of his — The Antaḥkaraṇa — becomes different in different bodies and is called Jīvātmā. He (the Paramātmā) with his wonderfully eternal powers gets himself bound by the movements of the Organs (jñānendriyas,

karmendriyas and mind) and becomes innumerable Jīvātmās — only to show his myriad forms — created by means of his Prakṛti.

This spiritual interpretation of the ṛk is accepted by Śaṅkara with the words of the ṛk interwoven in the following verse of his ŚŚ :—

रूपं रूपं प्रतीदं प्रतिफलनवशात् प्रातिरूप्यं प्रपेदे
हृद्येको द्रष्टा द्वितीयो भवति च सलिले सर्वतोऽनन्तरूपः ।
इन्द्रो मायाभिरास्ते श्रुतिरिति वहति व्यापकं ब्रह्म तस्मात्
जीवत्वं यात्यकस्मादति विमलतरे बिम्बितं बुद्ध्युपाधौ ॥

(Śataśloki v. 50)

“ Paramātmā being reflected in the Antaḥkaraṇa sees his infinite forms in the Universe just as a person sees his own form reflected in the water. The ṛk describes the omniscience and omnipresence of Brahman that thus becomes Jīvātmās. ”

The following verse from *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* echoes and illustrates the sense of the above ṛk :—

त्वं स्त्री त्वं पुमानसि त्वं कुमार उत वा कुमारी ।
त्वं जीर्णो दण्डेन वञ्चसि त्वं जातो भवसि विश्वतोमुखः ॥

The following ṛk from *Rgveda* is saturated with highest philosophical thought :—

एकः सुपर्णः स समुद्रमाविवेश
स इदं विश्वं भुवनं विचष्टे ।
तं पाकैर्न मनसा पश्यमन्ति—
तं माता रेळ्हि स उ रेळ्हि मातरम् ॥

(*Rgveda* X-114-4)

Taken in its literal meaning, the ṛk would pass for an utterly incoherent jargon, and in fact would carry no sense at all. But if we brush aside its outward or expressed sense and draw out the inner philosophical meaning by the process of Dhvani and call it an example of Atyanta-tiraskṛtavācya-dhvani we would get a splendid spiritual sense out of the ṛk thus :— The Suparṇa God sun or rather the Prāṇa-Paramātmā entered into the world (created by him) and made it manifest. Him I saw with my mind fully trained (pākena manasā) by yogic sādhanā and I realised him by identifying myself with him. Like a cow and her calf affectionately fondling each other, the Prakṛti (Māyā) (A mother) and Her Lord (Puruṣa in Śāṅkhya terminology). Her child both are eternally locked in each other's embrace.

The only connection of this ṛk—with the performance of sacrifice is that, according to Sāyaṇa the Suparṇa is the God sun (Devatā) invoked in the sacrifice.

It was probably an after thought of the Śrauta Sūtras that suggested

the linking of Vedic hymns with the sacrificial rituals. Originally hundreds of such hymns (floating Sūktas) were patently spiritual in sense; but these Sūktas were written—composed in highly figurative Sanskrit language in especially śleṣa (paronomasia) figure which was very often employed to conceal the highly philosophical sense within. Every epithet of a deity conveyed double meaning. The one applicable to the deity invoked, the other applicable to Paramātmā—The Ultimate Reality Most of the western scholars did not care to dive deep into the inner meaning of the hymn or the ṛk.

This statement of mine will be corroborated by the following ṛk :—

यत्रानन्दाश्च मोहाश्च मुदः प्रमुद आसते ।

कामस्य यत्राप्ताः कामस्तत्र माममृतं कृधीन्द्रायेन्दो परिस्रव ॥

(*Rgveda* IX. 113, 11)

Sāyaṇa with his usual practice of connecting every ṛk with some sacrificial rites interprets this ṛk as referring to the Soma plant that is invoked or prayed for bestowing perennial joy or immortality.

But Śaṅkara brings out the inner meaning of the ṛk gets it interwoven in the following verse from his ŚŚ :—

यत्रानन्दाश्च मोदा प्रमुद इति मुदश्चासते सर्व एते

यत्राप्ताः सर्वकामाः स्युरखिलविरमाकेवलीभाव आस्ते ।

मां तत्रानन्दसान्द्रे कृधि चिरममृतसोमपिभूषपूर्णा

धारासिन्द्राय देहीत्यपि निगमगिरो भ्रूयुमान्तर्गताय ॥

(*ŚŚ*, v. 72)

This verse describes, in the language of the ṛk quoted above the ecstasy or exultation or the perennial joy of a perfect Yogī in his Samādhi. In deep Samādhi the Prāṇaśakti wakens up and travels through the Suṣumnā Nāḍi and rests in between the two eyebrows in a place called in yogic terminology Ājñācakra. There the mind of a yogī is joined to the Kuṇḍalīnī which in its turn gets completely identified with Paramātman dwelling in the form of Antarātmā in the innermost minute recesses in the brain—brahmarandhra in yogic term. What joy—highest joy experienced by the yogī there in the state of Samādhi is described in detail in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. In *Taittiriya Upaniṣad* and *Aitareya Upaniṣad*—where we get a description of a ladder of joy. With steps higher and still higher showing the increasing degree of joy. The joy of a yogī in Samādhi is in its highest degree.

From all this discussion we may now safely draw the conclusion—that *Rgveda* as well as the other Vedas in all their hymns proclaim the one Universal Soul as the highest—and ultimate reality and suggest that the ultimate goal of human life is the complete identification of our individual soul with the inner soul (Antarātmā) that is nothing but the universal soul in miniature.

HUNTING—A ROYAL SPORT IN ANCIENT INDIA

G. V. BAPAT

To primitive man hunting was more a matter of necessity than a sport though he may have appreciated and enjoyed the excitement it provided. It would seem that with the progress of urbanization, inhabitants of cities were gradually alienated from the deep forests some way off, and the animals which lived in them. However, citizens of the walled cities of India had to walk only a few furlongs from their city gates to be in the countryside and among the animals living there, and alienation was not the complete severance as it is in modern metropolitan cities. Still, with the growth of cities and new professions, the city-dweller was no longer forced to fall back upon hunting for his daily supply of food. Perhaps the growth of religions which preached ahimsā had something to do with a general reluctance among the more sophisticated people to kill animals. It would appear that in course of time hunting came to be looked upon as a sport to be enjoyed for the thrill of it rather than as a part of man's struggle for existence.

As far as the city-dweller with his normal vocations to attend to was concerned, hunting would be a sort of a test of his endurance, skill in using his weapons, horsemanship and such other accomplishments. From references in Sanskrit literature, it would seem that two classes of hunters existed side by side : (1) those, who hunted animals as a matter necessity, (2) those like kings, who did so for recreation.

Curiously enough, Sanskrit writers display two different attitudes or reactions to the two classes of hunters. Those whom necessity drove to hunt animals—Vyādhas, Niṣādas and the like—seem to have been despised. In the *Brahmapurāṇa*, for instance, a Vyādha is spoken of in the most uncomplimentary terms¹. Vālmīki, too, roundly cursed a Niṣāda², though in this case there was provocation enough as the latter had disregarded a rule of hunting. In both the cases, as also in *Padmapurāṇa*³, the words pāpaniścayaḥ, pāpātmā, pāpacittaḥ, pāpaḥ are uncomplimentary enough to indicate the writers' attitude.

On the contrary, kings like Duṣyanta and Arjuna out hunting are glorified. Perhaps, though killing animals was basically repugnant to the sophisticated poets, it was acceptable when practised occasionally and with due deference to rules of hunting as is suggested by Vālmīki's curse. It may also be that Niṣādas etc. were considered as poachers who had no right to kill animals in forests as forests may have been the king's property. In the

1. *Brahmapurāṇa*, 80/6-9.

2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bāl. 3/5.

3. *Padmapurāṇa* II, 42/29-22.

story of Satyavān and Sāvitrī in the *Matsyapurāṇa*⁴ there is a beautiful description of wild animals which reflects the poet's familiarity with the ways of animals in their natural habitat. It is worth noting that Satyavān, the son of a king, does not kill or even disturb the animals at all, though as a prince he could have done so. One wonders whether this could be taken to indicate that even princes did not constantly pester wild animals or indulge in wholesale massacre of them for table purposes or for fun.

When kings did hunt, however, they practised hunting in two ways : (1) individually; (2) in the form of an organised hunt. Sitting up near water-courses, or high up in trees over a kill, and awaiting the arrival of animals would be the technique followed by the individual hunter. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Daśaratha provides a vivid account of how he sat up at night on the banks of the Sarayū river waiting for the beasts of the forest to come up for a drink of water⁵. The technique is clear, though one may doubt if Daśaratha could have killed an elephant or a buffalo with his arrows only. Rāmacandra pursuing the "golden deer" exemplifies the method of chasing the animal to be hunted.

That the second method of organising a hunt was also followed as far back as the period of composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is clear from a reference in that epic to animals stampeding in panic and the consequent inference that a king must have come out on a hunting expedition.⁶

Detailed accounts of organised hunts are, however, rather scarce. It is, therefore, proposed to discuss in this paper a fairly long account in *Padmapurāṇa*, Bhūmikhaṇḍa, Adhyāyas 42-45. The discussion will be with reference to the poet's way of handling the episode, the animal's side of it, the hunter's side of it, the conclusions to which it all leads regarding the sport.

Even if it be assumed that the *Padmapurāṇa* is about 700 years old, though it may be older than that, the account enables us to form some idea about the practice of organised hunting seven good centuries ago, just as the works of Chaucer enable us to form an idea of life in 14th century England.

Of course, the poet has treated the episode imaginatively mixing fact with fiction. What appears to be fact after a reasonable consideration of the account could be separated from fiction and submitted for further consideration.

The hunting episode which is a complete unit in itself, forms a part of a larger "frame" story, the obvious purpose of both being didactic. The poet has presented the episode in the form of a battle between two armies. Ikṣvāku, king of Ayōdhyā, lead his courtiers and group of hunters, while a majestic king of boars leads his followers and family. The poet has "humanised" the boar. This device has enabled the poet to read the boar's

4. *Matsyapurāṇa*, Ad. 208.

5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayo. Sar. 63/11-24,

6. *Rāmāyaṇa* Ayōdhyā., Sar. 96/9.

mind, to express his ideas, to make the whole account vivid, racy, lively and colourful. Further, it has helped the poet to bring out the formidable pugnacity and courageousness of the boar.

The account of the hunt is not a mere record of the animals which the king "bagged". It is an interpretative account which enables the reader to look at the hunt from two sides—king's and the boar's—and appreciate it as a battle of wits too. This lends dignity to the account. To modern readers the "humanisation" may appear a little naive and unconvincing. Two things may, however, be said in defence of the method :— (1) It was a common practice in days gone by. Chaucer, in his story of the cock, the hen and the fox does it delightfully. (2) Modern writers like D. H. Lawrence have attempted to interpret the thoughts and reactions of animals in terms of human thoughts and reactions as in the case of the cock in *The Man Who Died* or the mosquito in his poem on that insect. If Lawrence does not make his animals talk, R. D. Bach does so very convincingly in his *Jonathan Livingstone Seagull* (MacMillan). It is all a matter of conventions prevailing in an age and the writer's sympathy; that of the writers of the Purāṇas would appear to have been very catholic indeed.

Spread over four adhyāyas and two-hundred stanzas, the account of the hunt is mostly in a two-line measure which comes very close to accents, or rhythms and simplicity of ordinary conversation. The style of narration is suitable for an exciting account full of brisk action. However, where the feeling demands, the poet has employed Bhujāṅgaprayāta,⁷ Toṭaka⁸ Pañcācā-mara⁹, Upendravajrā¹⁰, i. e., four-line measures. The poet has used very few alaṅkāras, those used being of the simplest kind¹¹. From this it would seem that the author did not belong to the "Paṇḍita-kāvya" school, or that he was incapable of elaboration in that manner, or that he deliberately kept his narrative free from fanciful embellishment. To judge by the verve with which the poet has rendered a faithful account, it seems that he could have indulged in rhetorical embellishments but did not choose to do so as they might have impeded the easy natural movement of the action. To the present writer the poet's choice of simplicity as the best ornament appears to have been a very wise one.

The narrative is well-organised. Adhyāya 42 make a direct, brief opening to the effect that once Ikṣvāku, King of Ayōdhyā, accompanied by his wife Sudevā, daughter of Kāśīrājā proceeded to a forest on the banks of the Gaṅgā for a hunt. One day he saw a magnificent boar followed by his

7. *Padma*, II, 43/47, 48.

8. *Padma*, II, 44/3,4.

9. *ibid.*, II, 43/33, 34.

10. *ibid.*, II, 42/17

11. *ibid.*, II, 42/39, 44; 43/32 42, 81 etc.

4...

“wife” and large family¹². Ikṣvāku decided to hunt the boar; from this point Ikṣvāku fades into the background while the boar, in the position of a king besieged by his enemies, takes over, deliberates, makes up his mind, issues instructions and consoles his lady.¹³

The hunt is on in the 43rd adhyāya. The preliminaries on both sides are over¹⁴ and soon the two armies are locked in grim battle. Here again, though the moves on both sides receive the poet's attention, it is the boar who steals the show. By the end of the adhyāya (i. e. Stanza 82), the skirmishing is finished; the two kings are face to face with each other like Rāmacandra and Rāvaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.¹⁵ The attitudes of Ikṣvāku and the boar are very similar to those of Rāma and Rāvaṇa.¹⁶ The desperate but courageous boar, every inch a king, makes charge after charge and at last is killed by Ikṣvāku. This is narrated in eight stanzas in Adhyāya 44, the other three stanzas being utilized for the boar's re-transformation into a Gandharva.

The boar's mate and her children rally and make a stand; she had no chance, however, and goes down fighting. This is described with verve in 32 stanzas of the 45th adhyāya. Though the dying sow is made to tell the stories of her own and the boar previous lives, in the next two adhyāyas, the account of the hunt comes to a close at the end of the 45th adhyāya. It will be seen that the poet's way of narration has lifted the account to the dignity of a battle (and not a one-sided hunt) in which the poet's sympathies are with the boar.

It seems rather surprising that the poet should have chosen a boar as the hero of his story when he could as easily have chosen a lion or an elephant. Indirectly, the poet accounts for his choice when he makes his boar speak proudly of the courage and prowess of boars.¹⁷ Normally, the boar is “family man”, willing to let well alone, but a very formidable opponent when disturbed and roused; this can be made out from a charming picture of a boar family in the *Matsyapurāṇa*¹⁸ and from the *Padmapurāṇa*.¹⁹ The gregarious habits of the boar have provided the poet with an opportunity to match the human army with a boar-army. The determination and courageousness of the boar have been useful to the poet in spelling out the whole

12. *Padma*, II, 42/1-10.

13. *ibid.*, II, 42/10-75.

14. *ibid.*, II, 43/1-26.

15. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Yud., Sar. 107.

16. जेद्व्यमिति काकुत्स्थो मर्तव्यमिति रावणः । *Rāmāyaṇa*, Yud. 107/7.

17. द्वयोश्च सिंहयोर्मध्ये जलं पिबति सूकरः । द्वयोः सूकरयोर्मध्ये सिंहो नैव पिबत्यपः । एवं सूकरजातिषु दृश्यते बलमुत्तमम् । *Padma* II, 43/61,62.

18. कान्तप्राथसमुत्थानैः कान्तमार्गानुगामिनी । करोति केवलं मुस्तैर्वराही पोतकानुगा ॥ —*Matsya.*, 208/23.

19. *Padma* II, 42/17; 19/21.

duty of the warrior²⁰ and composing a characteristically determined reply of the boar's sons to their mother.²¹

We may now follow the hunt proper. The magnificent boar, with his formidable tusks glistening, stands grunting at the head of his "army" in the shadow of a mountain; he is easily the centre-piece in Adhyāya 43. The action begins with a word from Ikṣvāku to his men to drive the boar towards him (the king). The Lubdhakas begin to beat the jungle and the battle is on; the Lubdhakas close in on the boar. With great sympathy and admiration, the poet follows the movements of the boar evading the low-born hunters,²² rushing at and overthrowing them,²³ grunting proudly,²⁴ feigning to evade his pursuers,²⁵ taking cover and brusting out again,²⁶ tearing open the bodies of men, horses and elephants with his terrible tusks,²⁷ and scattering his enemies. The first round is definitely the boar's²⁸ though he is wounded and knows that he stands no chance in the end. The poet, however, follows up the boar's actions to the end and describes his last spirited rushes in which he overthrows the king's horse and unseats his royal foe.²⁹

Not to be outdone by the boar, his widow, too, makes a stand and gives battle with such spirit and ferocity³⁰ that Queen Sudevā remarks on the destruction caused by the sow. The entire account though raised to epic grandeur, is very vivid and telling. A close study of the details persuades the reader to conclude that the account was written by someone who was well-acquainted with organised hunting.

Thus far regarding the boar's side of the hunt. Now we may consider the King's side of it. From Adhyāya 42, Stanzas 7 and 8 it seems that certain forest areas were reserved by kings hunting grounds. The mention of lions in the Gangetic region may be a point for dispute as the only lions now in India are to be found in the Gir forest, far away from the river Gangā. The point cannot be dismissed off-hand, however. We come across strange bits of information in Purāṇas sometimes, and what is now rare is made to appear to have been fairly common at one time. For instance, there is a reference in *Matsyapurāṇa*, Adhyāya 236, Stanza 11 to white crows (albinos), though such crows are very rare in India now, and one pair is said to be in the zoo at Mysore³¹. The presence of lions in the locality mentioned by the poet is a question for zoologists to settle.

Ladies seem to have gone out with hunting parties and watched the

20. *Padma*. II, 42/12-59.

21. " II, 42/71-75.

22. " II, 43/35, 36.

23. " II, 43/33.

24. " II, 43/36.

25. " II, 43/39.

26. *Padma*. II, 43/39.

27. " II, 43/49, 50, 56.

28. " II, 43/57-62.

29. " II, 44/5-6.

30. " II, 44/17-23.

31. *Times of India*, May 6, 1976.

actual hunting as Sudevā does in the *Padmapurāna* story. Lubdhakas were employed by the king. They seem to have set up nets, traps and cages,³² tracked animals and "beaten" the forest. The nets were intended to cut off retreat and, if possible, to catch animals alive. Of this, however, a little later.

It appears that the king and his retinue, duly mounted on horses, elephants etc., positioned themselves at strategic points; it would also appear that nets, cages and traps were set up suitably in advance. Then, at a word from the king the hunt was on³³. The Lubdhakas with their dogs advanced and began beating the selected area and driving the wild animals in it out of their lairs. Though the beat was a very noisy affair, it was well-organised since its purpose was skilfully to force the hunted animals to work their way towards the point where the king was stationed, and force them to break cover within range of the king's weapons³⁴.

That the beaters were armed is apparent from several references in the text. The expressions *sapāśapāni lubdhakaḥ*³⁵, *pāśa*³⁷, *suvicchidya pāśān*³⁸ suggest the interesting possibility that the Lubdhakas carries nooses or lassos with them in order to capture the animals. Even though the Lubdhakas were armed, the process of beating was a dangerous affair³⁹.

The weapons which the poet mentions are : bow and arrow, sword, tomara (an iron club or javelin ?), *Bhuṣuṇḍī* (?), *gadā* (mace), *mudgara* (a hammer ?), *pāśa* (a noose), *cakra* (?), *vajra* (?); the other instruments used were *vāgura*, *jāla*, *kuṭaka* (?), *pañjara nādī*.

When the Lubdhakas had driven the animals towards the princely hunter, it was for him to kill the animal. The procedure seems to have been to use the long-range weapon, the bow and arrow first and, if it came to that, the short-range weapons like the sword or the *gadā* as king *Ikṣvāku* does in the story. If, like *Ikṣvāku*, the hunter rode a mount, it was likely that the hunted animal might attack the mount and unseat the rider. In that case, the rider would be open to grave risk from injuries resulting from his fall or inflicted upon him by the hunted animal⁴⁰.

It is to be understood that the horses, elephants to be used as mounts, and the dogs to be set on the tracks of the wild beasts were well-trained because, otherwise, they would panic and spoil the hunt.

If the poet is to be taken at his word, the boar-hunt he describes was a pretty horrible affair; by the time the boar had been killed, the area over

32. *Padma*. II, 43/58.

33. " II, 43/5.

34. " II, 43/6.

35. " II, 43/28-31.

36. " II, 43/38.

37. " II, 43/57,

38. *Padma*. II, 43/48.

39. " II, 43/32-34 }
56-58 }

40. " II, 44/4-5; }
43/49. }

which the hunters had ranged was quite bespattered with blood and strewn with men and animals, wounded, dying or dead.

To return to the conjecture that kings were interested not only killing wild beasts but also in capturing them alive, this is strengthened by references in the text to *vāgurā*, *jāla*, *pañjara*, *pāśa* and *nādi*. Except *pāśa* and *nādi* which could be used to strangle animals to death, the others are obviously to be used to capture animals alive. Perhaps one of the objectives of organised hunting was to catch animals alive and take them back to the city. This view is supported by the recommendation in the *Matsyapurāna* (supposed to be one of the oldest of the Purānas) that along with other provisions and stores, a king should keep his fort well-stored with poisonous snakes, leopards, tigers, lions, deer (also animals of the forest) and birds.⁴¹ Some of these animals seem to have a practical use for a king as they were to be used to test whether food prepared for a king was poisoned or not. In this connection the *Matsyapurāna* mentions *cakōras*, *kōkilas*, *hamsas*, *bhṅgarājas*, *krauñcas*, *kṛkavākus*, *śukas*, *sārikās*, *cāmīkaras*, *kāraṇḍavas*, *vānaras*, *jīvajīvakas*, *pṛṣatas*, *śikhīs*, and records⁴² their reactions to poisoned food. Whether the tests are infallible or not is immaterial here. The relevant point is that at least some of the animals are denizens of the forest. If a king wished to have them at hand for testing food, he would catch them alive when he went on a hunting expedition, bring them home and keep them as pets in his zoo.

This interesting account of the boar-hunt in the *Padmapurāna* appears to have been based on the personal experience of the poet. It provides us with a good deal of information on a royal activity, detailed information regarding which is not easily available.

41. कृभाश्वाशीविषैः कार्यो व्यालसिहादयस्तथा ।

मृगाश्च पक्षिणश्चैव रक्ष्यास्ते च परस्परम् ॥ *Matsya.*, 216/40

42. *Matsya.*, 218/17-22.

RAJASUYA AND ' JANARAJYA '

V. S. BHANDARI

Rājasūya or king's-inauguration-sacrifice is intended exclusively for kings. It is a part of the coronation ceremony, as it is said 'By performing the Rājasūya sacrifice, one becomes a king'¹ (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* V. 2·3·2). The Mantras for the sacrifice, are to be found in the Adhyāyas IX and X of the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*. They are also to be found in the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* (XV. 1-9), *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā* (2·6·1·2-13) *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (1·8·1-26) and *Kaṭiṣṭhala Saṃhitā* (8-7-11). Rājasūya, according to Śrauta-sūtras, consists of a long succession of sacrificial performances spread over a period of two years. It includes seven distinct Soma sacrifices.

Rājasūya begins on the 1st of Phālguna and the Abhyārohaṇīya and other libations occupy the first half the month. Then follows a year of offerings, including the Cāturmāsya offerings, the Mahāpitṛyajña, the Purodāśa of Tryambaka and ending with the Śunāsirīya rite. On the first of Caitra begins Abhiṣecanīya, with offerings to the Devasus, the preparation of the waters of all kinds of the consecration and the proclaiming before consecration of the prince to the Gods and to the people.

In this rite of characteristic importance is the Digvyasthāpana, the mounting of the king on the quarters. The king steps on a tiger skin, He then performs a mimic raid with his chariot, the details of which are variously given, but which clearly represents the submission of his fellow princes and their acceptance of a place of inferiority, which is marked by the homage they all pay to him. Before this mimic raid, he is formally anointed. A game of dice of a symbolic character, expressing the king's success is also recorded. The Abhiṣecanīya is followed by the preparations for the Daśapeya. The Rājasūya is full of interesting magic rites. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal remarks:— One of the first things which strikes the student of the ceremony is the pronoun 'he' by which king-elect is studiously designated. It is only after the sprinkling stage that he is called king that is only when the ceremony is complete, he becomes invested with royal powers; before that he is an ordinary citizen².

Among the preliminary offerings at Rājasūya, Ś. B. (V. 3.1) refers to eleven Ratni-havis (jewel offering) which are offered to eleven Ratnis. The recipients of Ratni-havis are (1) Senānī (2) Purohita (3) Mahiṣī (4) Sūta (5) Grāmanī (Head-man) (6) Kṣattrī (chamberlain) (7) Saṅgrahitṛ (the master of treasury) (8) Bhāgadugha (the collector of Revenue) (9) Akṣavāda

1. राजसूयेनेद्वा राजा भवति । झ. ब्रा. ५, २, ३, २.

2. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal : *Hindu Polity* p. 193.

(keeper of the dice) (10) Govikartana (master of forest) (11) Patagala courier).

K. P. Jayaswal says "The Ratnis tend to be high functionaries or Ministers of the State. In the selection of Ratnis the principle of class and caste representation appears to have operated. The Ratnis ministers existed before the king came to the throne. they were king makers. The whole procedure symbolises the obtainment of the approval of the differentiated organs of Government in sacrificer's consecration to king-ships".³

To 'Anumati' or for the Divine favour, a rice-cake is offered on eight potsherds. This Anumati is symbolic of the approval of the earth (Motherland).

The sacrificer takes a fire-brand from Dakṣiṇāgni for offering the Apāmārga oblation. Having placed the fire-brand he offers an offering of Apāmārga seeds, with sacrificial ladle called Sruvā. He throws the dipping spoon towards the place, where he offers oblation. This is symbolic of the slaughter of the demon.

As one of the purposes of this rite is to destroy the enemy with a sort of magic, in the performance of the rite, the name of the enemy whom the sacrificer desires to destroy is uttered. Adhvaryu and others return to the sacrificial place. He holds the right hand of the sacrificer, proclaims his name, parentage and the caste in which he is born. Here blessings are invoked from different Gods for the sacrificer. Savitar is to quicken him for sway of rulers. Agni is to give him over-lordship on householder, Soma over the trees being called Vanaspati. Bṛhaspati is to bestow on him control over the speech. Indra, representing royalty being king of Gods, is to give him over-lordship. Paśupati, lord of cattle, is to make him possess cattle. Mitra is for true speaking and lastly Varuṇa being the moral Governor of the world is prayed to make the sacrificer, the protector of the law. This Mantra contemplates the protection of law as a necessary duty of a king.

Manu also says "As a king was created by taking qualities and parts of Gods like Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Sūrya, Agni, Varuṇa, Candra, Kubera, he was able to over-power all other creatures by his lustre⁴ (7.4-5). Thus in this rite by invoking the main qualities of the prominent deities, in the sacrificer, the main purpose of the Rājasūya viz. the over-lordship on the world is achieved. There are the Mantras which are used for collecting and mixing waters from different streams, and from the ocean, and other sources, for Abhiṣeka or consecration of a king. First the sacrificer brings waters from the Sarasvatī river.

3. *ibid.*, pp. 196-198.

4. यस्मादेष सुरेन्द्राणां मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो वृषः ।
तस्मादभिभवस्येष सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥ मनुस्मृति ७.५ ।

Next he steps into the water and takes the ripple that rises before him. The ripple is addressed as the wave of male and is described as the " giver of the country " (10·2) it is requested to give the kingdom of the country. This is a sort of ' National prayer ' which is useful and significant as it contains the element of Nationality. When these waters flow from the rivers to the place of sacrifice they bring abundant wealth. The Abhiṣecana (the anointing) is two-fold : the first part is sprinkling of waters by what may be described as different estates of the realm, and the second is theological anointing on the head by the priest before king-elect ascends the throne.

Next he spreads a tiger skin, which is one of the emblems of royalty. The tiger being the king of beasts, is symbolic of heroic strength and courage, which the sacrificer king is supposed to gain by the performance of Rājasūya sacrifice. The sacrificer dons first a silken garment (tārpya) and then secondly a red woolen garment (Pañḍva), thirdly a mantle (adhvāsa) and lastly a yellow turban with the ends hanging down, These garments present the womb and navel of the kingly power and symbolize the development of an embryo, till it reaches maturity and progressive stages of the king's consecration.

The Adhvaryu strings the bow, an emblem of military and princely rank. He gives the king three arrows and the bow.

Announcement of the consecrated king is to be made to all human beings. All the Gods are informed about this consecration, with the declaration of the characteristics of these Gods, Those qualities of Gods like ' the exalted glory ', ' Law maintainer ' etc. are now transferred to the consecrated king thus qualifying him for over-lordship over all the people. The king is to ascend or master quarters, this ascending of the four quarters and the Zenith is symbolic of king's assuming the universal sovereignty.

As a part of coronation, the king is made to stand on the tiger skin, a symbol of sovereignty. A piece of gold is placed under his foot with the Mantra ' Mṛtyoh ' (10·15) with a request to save the sacrificer king from death. A crown of gold pierced with nine holes or hundred holes is placed on the king's head. This golden crown is supposed to bring to the king the brilliance, vigour, victory and ever lasting life. Nine holes in the crown may represent nine directions, on which the king is to obtain over-lordship. Hundred holes stand for innumerable numbers, representing innumerable subjects over which the king is going to rule. The king after mounting the chariot (Garta) views " Diti and Aditi " (limitations and infinity) the two together meaning the entire aggregate of the visible nature. It is also interpreted by Mahīdhara as referring to the function of the king to watch who is virtuous and sinful in the kingdom.⁶

5. राष्ट्रदा राष्ट्रं मे देहि । वा. सं. १०.२

6. अयं पापी अयं पुण्यवानिति युद्धं फलतमित्यर्थः । वा. सं. १०-१६ महीधरभाष्य

The sacrificer king, sprinkled upon with the Palāśa by Purohita or Adhvaryu later on by his brother, a Rājanya and a Vaiśya, man of the people also sprinkle the king from three other vessels of consecrated water. This is done in order to gain support and co-operation from all in the consecration ceremony.

The consecration water sprinkled on the body of the king is to be besmeared over the whole body by the rite known as 'Kaṇḍūyanābhiṣeka' and the Mantra 'Praparvatasya' (V. S. 10·19) is recited. This mantra can also be interpreted as meaning the great rivers like Gaṅgā etc. good for navigation, flowing from mountains like Himalaya, come to the fields of the sacrificer who performs the Rājasūya sacrifice. Thus besides other purpose of the performance of the Rājasūya, inviting rains as well as the irrigation of the land are also its symbolic purposes.

The sacrificer makes three steps on the tiger skin, in imitation of Viṣṇu's three strides, as the sun, over the earth and through firmament and heaven. This is symbolic of the fact that the king conquers all the three worlds. Just like Vājapeya here also the chariot is taken down from its stand and four horses are yoked at the right corner of the altar.

Later on the charioteer who has mounted the chariot along with the sacrificer, urges the right horse with the whip for victory. Then he stops the chariot in the assembly of cows. He touches the cows with the end of the bow in order to be united with power. The sacrificer gives hundred coins to the owner of the cows. Then he passes on in front of the sacrificial stake and stops the chariot before the hall where he prays to Indra.

Next he offers four Rathavimocaniya or chariot unharnessing oblations. Afterwards the sacrificer dismounts from the chariot.

Next the sacrificer touches one of the two gold discs or golden beads fastened to the right wheel of the chariot stand. These beads are made of gold weighing hundred Raktikas (Rattis), hundred being symbolic of hundred years of life.

The Adhvaryu praises an Āsandi, knitted with strings, which has been placed on the tiger skin. This throne of Āsandi later on became the symbol of sovereignty. The sacrificer is asked to sit on the throne. The Adhvaryu puts five dice in sacrificer's hand and addresses them as 'Abhibhūrasi'. (V. S. 10·20). These dice are in the shape of golden shells and they represent the four quarters and the Zenith. This game of dice is intended as symbolizing the king's Digvijaya of victorious sway in every quarter.

Next, the sacrificer addresses the Brahman priest. The priest in reply tells the sacrificer that he is identical with God Savitṛ, Varuṇa, Indra and Rudra. The priest makes a significant remark that his strength lies in the people. That shows that as a sovereign king he has to depend on the strength and good-will of the people for the solidarity of his kingdom.

In the Rājasūya oblations are prepared for eight Devasus, Quickening or Furthering Gods, and the Adhvaryu recites the mantras, holding the sacrificer by his right arm and proclaiming his name and parentage. There Adhvaryu recites the following mantras :—

इमं देवा असपत्नं ॐ सुवध्वं महते क्षत्राय महते
 ज्यैष्ठ्याय महते जानराज्यायेन्द्रस्येन्द्रियाय ।
 इमममुष्यं पुत्रममुष्यै पुत्रमस्यै विश एष वोऽमी
 राजा सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां ॐ राजा ॥

(वा. सं ९, ४०, १०, १८)

‘ Gods quicken him that none may be his rival, for mighty kṣatra hood, for mighty elderliness, for mighty people’s rule, for Indra’s strength. Him, son of such a man and such a woman of such people. This is your king, you people, soma is Lord and king of us the Brāhmaṇas. (V. S. IX. 40 X. 18). In this mantra, the word ‘ jānarājya ’ has been interpreted by Dr. Egging and Griffith as meaning ‘ Lord-ship ’, while Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, takes it to mean ‘ National rule ’, Mahīdhara, the commentator on the V. S. has explained, the word ‘ Jānarājya ’ as जनानामिदं जानं, जानं च तद्राज्यं च जानराज्यम् । on the basis of that we can say that ‘ Jānarājya ’ stood for ‘ People’s rule ’ or ‘ Government by the people and for the people ’. It may also be added that seeds of the Democratic form of Govt. of the later times were sown in this Jānarājya, during the Vedic times. But as the word Jānarājya occurs in connection with the Abhiṣeka ceremony of a king as a part the Rājasūya, it is possible that like the present British and Japanese Systems of Govt. Jānarājya was a democratic form of govt. under an constitutional monarch. where people had a voice and they participated in the administration of the country.

We can draw the conclusion that during Vedic times, a king was not a hereditary one, but he was elected by the people. Moreover, king-ship was a sort of trust and although a king was ‘ The ruler, ’ he had to rule the kingdom with the help and active participation of the people in the administration of the country.

IDENTITY OF TAUTĀTITA

M. S. BHAT

Among the medieval compendiums of Indian philosophy, the *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* (*SDS*) occupies an unique position. Mādhavācārya is generally held to be the author of *SDS*. It is pertinent to distinguish this author who styles himself as Sāyaṇa-Mādhava i. e. Mādhava, son of Sāyaṇa from his namesake Mādhava (alias Vidyāraṇya) who happens to be the brother of Sāyaṇa.¹

The references to some verses of Venkaṭanātha's *Tattvamuktākālāpa* in the *SDS* would be more justifiable if one views the author of the *SDS* to be son of Sāyaṇa and not Vidyāraṇya-Mādhava on the ground that usually authors quote their predecessors removed from them by one or two generations rather than their immediate contemporaries.

By a rough estimate, the author of the *SDS* had referred to 250 authorities by way of either quotations or adducing their views, most of which have been traced by the previous scholarly editors of the *SDS*². An attempt is made in this paper to trace the quotations attributed to the school of Tautātita and to investigate fully his individuality.

The first long quotation consisting of ten verses occurs in the *Ārhatadarśana*³ of the *SDS* and it runs as follows : तथा चोक्तं तीतातितैः

सर्वज्ञो दृश्यते तावन्नैदानीमस्मदादिभिः ।
दृष्टो न चैकदेशोऽस्ति लिङ्गं वा योऽनुमापयेत् ॥ १ ॥
न चागमविधिः कश्चिन्नित्यसर्वज्ञबोधकः ।
न च तत्रार्थवादानां तात्पर्यमपि कल्प्यते ॥ २ ॥
न चान्यार्थप्रधानैस्तैस्तदस्तित्वं विधीयते ।
न चानुवदितुं शक्यः पूर्वमन्यैरबोधितः ॥ ३ ॥
अनादेरागमस्यार्थो न च सर्वज्ञ आदिमान् ।
कृत्रिमेण त्वसत्येन स कथं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ४ ॥

1. See M. M. R. Narasimhachariar's paper on "Mādhavācārya and his two brothers", *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLV.
2. (a) *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* of Sāyaṇa-Mādhava ed. with com. *Darśanāṅkurā* by MM Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar, Poona, First edition 1924, Second edition, 1951.
(b) *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* of Sāyaṇa-Mādhava ed. by V. G. Apte (A. S. S. No. 51) Poona, 1906, 1927, 1950.
(c) *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* trans. by E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough (reprint), New Delhi, 1976.
3. *SDS*, ed. V. S. Abhyankar, Poona, pp. 56-57.

अथ तद्वचनेनैव सर्वज्ञोऽज्ञैः प्रतीयते ।
 प्रकल्प्यत कथं सिद्धिरन्योन्याश्रययोस्तयोः ॥ ५ ॥
 सर्वज्ञोक्ततया वाक्यं सत्यं तेन तदस्तिता ।
 कथं तदुभयं सिद्ध्येत्सिद्धमूलान्तरादृते ॥ ६ ॥
 असर्वज्ञप्रणीतात्तु वचनान्मूलवर्जितात् ।
 सर्वज्ञमवगच्छन्तः स्ववाक्यात्कं न जानते ॥ ७ ॥
 सर्वज्ञसदृशं कंचिद्यदि पश्येम संप्रति ।
 उपमानेन सर्वज्ञं जानीयाम ततो वदम् ॥ ८ ॥
 उपदेशोऽपि बुद्धस्य धर्माधिमादिगोचरः ।
 अन्यथा नोपपद्येत सावैश्वर्यं यदि नाभवत् ॥ ९ ॥
 एवमर्थपत्तिरपि प्रमाणं नात्र युज्यते ।
 उपदेशस्य सत्यत्वं यतो नाध्यक्षमीक्ष्यते ॥ १० ॥

The first nine verses are translated by Cowell and Gough as follows :—

“ 1. No omniscient being is seen by the sense here in this world by ourselves or others; nor is there any part of him seen which might help us as a sign to infer his existence.

2. Nor is there any injunction (*vidhi*) of scripture which reveals an eternal omniscient one, nor can the meaning of the explanatory passages (*arthavāda*) be applied here.

3. His existence is not declared by those passages which refer to quite other topics; and it cannot be contained in any emphatic repetitions (*anuvāda*), as it had never been mentioned elsewhere before.

4. An omniscient being who had beginning can never be the subject of of the eternal Veda; and how can he be established by a made and spurious Veda ?

5. Do you say that this omniscient one is accepted on his own word ? How can you establish either when they thus both depend on reciprocal support ?

6. (If you say) ‘The saying is true because it was uttered by one omniscient, and this proves the Arhat’s existence’; how can either point be established without some previously established foundation ?

7. But they who accept a (supposed) omniscient on the baseless word of a parviscient know nothing of the meaning of a real omniscient’s words.

8. And again, if we now could see anything like an omniscient being, we might have a chance of recognising him by the (well-known fourth) proof, comparison (*Upamāna*)

9. And the teaching of Buddha (as well as that of Jina) which embraces virtue, vice etc. would not be established as an authoritative if there were not in him the attribute of omniscience and so on.”

There is, however, one noteworthy circumstance connected with these verses to which Pandit Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar has not drawn attention, viz. the coincidences between these verses and the verses in the *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-vārttika*⁴ of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa condemning the Buddha's omniscience are so close that the only way to explain them is to suppose a conscious effort on the part of the author of *SDS* to summarise the gist of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa's arguments and to attribute them to the school of Tautātīta. I give below a few of the more important coincidences⁵.

सर्वज्ञो दृश्यते तावन्नेदानीमस्मदादिभिः ।
 निराकरणवच्छक्या न चासीदिति कल्पना ॥ ११७ ॥
 भविष्यति न दृष्टं च प्रत्यक्षस्य मनागपि ।
 सामर्थ्यं नानुमानादेर्लिङ्गादिरहिते क्वचित् ॥ ११५ ॥
 नचागमेन सर्वज्ञस्तदीयेऽन्योन्यसंश्रयात् ।
 नरान्तरप्रणीतस्य प्रामाण्यं गम्यते कथम् ॥ ११८ ॥
 न चाप्येवं परो नित्यः शक्यो लब्धुमिहागमः ।
 नित्यं चेदर्थवादत्वं तत्परे स्यादनित्यता ॥ ११९ ॥
 आगमस्य नित्यत्वं सिद्धे तत्कल्पना वृथा ।
 यतस्तं प्रतिपद्यन्ते धर्ममेव ततो नराः ॥ १२० ॥
 नतं तदागमात्सिद्धे च तेनागमो विना ।
 दृष्टान्तोऽपि न तस्यान्यो नृषु कश्चित्प्रवर्तते ॥ १४२ ॥
 नित्यागमावबोधोऽपि प्रत्याख्येयोऽनया दिशा ।
 नहि तत्रापि विश्रम्भो दृष्टोऽनेन कृतोऽथवा ॥ १४३ ॥
 अलौकिकार्थवाचित्वं नृवाक्यत्वं सतीति च ।
 परस्परमपेक्षयैव बौद्धादेः स्वान्मृषार्थता ॥ १२८ ॥
 वदेदेवं च यो नाम वादो प्रथमसङ्गतः ।
 तस्यापि हेतुः स्यादेष भवन्तं प्रत्यसंशयम् ॥ १२९ ॥
 बुद्धादीनामसार्वज्ञ्यमिति सत्यवचो मम ।
 मदुक्तत्वाद्यर्थैवाग्निरूपणो भास्वर इत्यपि ॥ १३० ॥
 सर्वज्ञोऽसाविति ह्येव तत्काले तु बुभुत्सुभिः ।
 तज्ज्ञानज्ञेयविज्ञानरहितैर्गम्यते कथम् ॥ १३४ ॥
 कल्पनीयाश्च सर्वज्ञा भवेयुर्बह्वस्तव ।
 य एव स्यादसर्वज्ञः स सर्वज्ञं न बुध्यते ॥ १३५ ॥

4. (a) *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-vārttika* of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa edited with the commentary *Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathi Miśra by Manavalli Ramasastry Tailanga, Benares, 1898.
- (b) *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-vārttika* translation by Ganganath Jha (*Bibliotheca Indica*), Calcutta, 1903.
5. *Ibid.*, (a) l. f. 2 pp. 79-88. (b) pp. 38-42.

वचनाद्बुद्ध इत्येवमपवादो हि संश्रितः ।
 यदि षड्भिः प्रमाणैः स्यात्सर्वज्ञः केन वार्यते ॥ १११ ॥
 एकेन तु प्रमाणेन सर्वज्ञो येन कल्प्यते ।
 नूनं स चक्षुषा सर्वान् रसादीन् प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ११२ ॥

MM Ganganath Jha translated them as follows :

“ 117. An omniscient person is not seen by us at the present moment nor, is it possible to prove (by means of Inference) that such a one existed before, as is done in the case of the negation of such a person.

115. With regard to objects in the future (such as Dharma etc.) we do not ever find the applicability of Sense-perception, nor that of Inference and the rest, in a case where is no proper mark (to serve as the Middle Term).

118. Nor can the existence of the omniscient one to be proved by Scriptures; for in that case there would be mutual inter-dependence. And how can one ever believe the authenticity of a Scripture composed by another *man* ?

119. Nor can we get at any other Scripture (save the Veda) which is eternal. If the eulogies (occurring in the Veda in praise of an Omniscient person) were eternal, then, non-eternality would belong to the Scripture itself.

120. The eternality of the Scripture (Veda) having been established, all other assumptions (of an omniscient Author and the like) became needless. For men could prove the existence of Duty by means of the same (Scripture) whereby, (you seek) to prove the existence of an omniscient person.

142. Such an assumption could not be proved by anything except (their) Scriptures; nor again could the (authority of these) Scriptures themselves be established without the above assumption (and thus there would be a mutual dependence). Nor can such a theoriser get at any similar instance among ordinary men (that could prove the particular faculty of their Jiva).

143. The idea of an eternal Scripture too, is to be refuted in the same manner. Because with regard to that also, there is no such a belief as that ‘ This is seen by this person, or composed by him ’.

128. Because, while being a human assertion it refers to the super-sensuous subjects; therefore too, account of mutual dependence, the Scripture of Buddha and others would come to be false.

129. The antagonist who meets you for the first time could, while arguing also have the following argument (at his disposal) against you.

130. My assertion that ‘ Buddha etc. are non-omniscient is true, because it is my assertion, like my assertion ‘ Fire is hot, and bright ’.

134. That "He is omniscient", how could even his contemporary enquirers know, being (as they were) devoid any conception of his cognitions and the objects thereof ?

135. Thus then you will have to assume many omniscient persons (among his contemporaries and their followers so that each of these could be cognisant of the omniscience of his predecessor). For he who is himself non-omniscient could never recognize another person to be omniscient.

111. If there really existed a person knowing all things, through the six means of knowledge, how could such a person be denied ?

112. But if a person be assumed to be knowing all things by a single means of knowledge, such a person would doubtless perceive taste and other objects, by means of the eye alone."

Pandit Abhyankar who wrote a masterly commentary entitled *Darśanānikurā* on the *SDS* interprets Tautātitaḥ by Bauddhaiḥ *loco citato*⁶. That he was more or less guided by the contextual meaning rather than by anything else. We need not expect a critical and a historical perspective in a scholar brought up in the traditional learning. Not only the Jains but also the Buddhists believed their respective founders to be omniscient. The tenor of the two passages quoted above is towards criticism of the omniscience of the Buddha. It would be seen further from the above two passages that there are several verses in which the words differ but the ideas are so much alike that an intimate connection between the two is strongly suggested.

The second quotation which occurs in the Pāṇinīyadarśana⁷ of the *SDS* is identical with the verse 69 belonging to the Sphoṭavāda section of the *Mīmāṃsā-Ślokaṛtika*⁸ of Kumārilaḥ and thus sets at rest any misgivings regarding the identity of Tautātita. The tradition preserved in the *Śaṅkara-digvijaya* of Vidyāraṇya affords a valuable confirmation regarding the expression Tautātita⁹. The Commentator, Dhanapatisuri (19th cen. A. D.) of *Śaṅkaradigvijaya*, while commenting on the verse 119, Canto X paraphrases Tautātitaḥ by Kumārilaḥ.

Further, Bhavadevabhaṭṭa (circa 1100 A. D.)¹⁰ had written a commentary

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

7. यावन्तो यादृशा ये च यदर्थप्रतिपादने ।

वर्णाः प्रजातसामर्थ्यास्ते तथैवावबोधकाः ॥ *SDS*, ed. by V. S. Abhayankar, Poona, 1924, p. 302.

8. *Op. cit.* 1.1.5 p. 527.

9. *Vide canto X, verse 119 ab* :

तथागतकथा गता तदनुयायि नैयायिकं

वचोऽजनि न चोदितो वदति जातु तौतातितः । *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* of Vidyāraṇya ed. with comms. of Dhanapatisuri and Acyuta (A. S. S. 22), Poona 1891, p. 414.

10. *Vide Tattvabindu* by Vācaspatiśiśra ed. by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Annamalai, 1936, intro. p. 68.

entitled *Tautātitamatatilaka* on the *Mīmāṃsā-Tantravārttika* of Kumārila-bhatta. So *Tutāta* must be one of the names of Kumārila and not of Prabhākara as is generally believed.

The last reference to *Tautātita*¹¹ is not exactly a quotation but refers to the view of *Tautātita* adhered to by Vācaspati in his commentary entitled *Nyāyakaṇikā* on the *Vidhiviveka* of Maṇḍanamīśra. It is worthwhile to remember here that Vācaspati's works in the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* are (1) the *Nyāyakaṇikā* a commentary on Maṇḍana Mīśra's *Vidhiviveka* and (2) the *Tattvabindu*, wherein he refutes the sphoṭa theory on the lines already enunciated by Kumārila in his Sphoṭavāda section of the *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-vārttika*. Here too Pandit Abhyankar explains *Tautātitamataṃ avalambya* by *Cārvākamatānusāreṇa āśaṅkya* i.e. 'having raised an objection by following the view of Cārvāka' which is palpably wrong. It is all the more surprising that Pandit Abhyankar who has shown his acquaintance with *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* by writing a new commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā-Nyāya-Prakāśa* of Āpadeva should confuse *Tautātita* with *Bauddha* or *Cārvāka* !

11. *SDS*, ed. by V. S. Abhyankar, Poona, 1924, p. 438. The relevant passage in *Nyāyakaṇikā* on *Vidhiviveka* is : वाद्यकारणदोषग्रहणस्य चाप्रामाण्यनिश्चयहेतुभाव-
मात्रेण प्रामाण्यापह्नत्वेन तदभावे बोधमात्रादेन प्रामाण्योपपत्तौ न तदभासोऽपेक्षणीयः
vide Benares Ed., 1907, p. 167.

SĀMAGĀNA : A BLENDING OF TWO TYPES OF MUSIC.

USHA R. BHISE

The music of *Sāmaveda* is a finished product and has a fairly long period of development. The Vedic literature itself has provided us with certain pieces of information which suggest that two different streams of musical tradition have flowed into it.

1

The most obvious evidence which we get is the use of two different musical instruments—one is a wind instrument—*venu*, and the other is a string instrument—*viṇa*, there being a set of musicians using *venu* as the accompaniment and another set using *viṇa* for the same purpose. As for the relation between these two groups of musicians it may be stated that the flutists were not as sophisticated as their lute-playing brethren as the flute is commonly taken to be the more primitive of the two instruments. Even though it was not as refined as the *vaiṇika* music, it was so popular that the *vaiṇika* tradition could not ignore it altogether. Efforts were made to reconcile the two as can be learnt from the following statement in the *Nāradiya Śikṣā* :

यः सामगानां प्रथमः स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः ।
यो द्वितीयः स गान्धारस्तृतीयस्त्वृषमः स्मृतः ॥
चतुर्थः षड्ज इत्याहुः पञ्चमो धैवतो भवेत् ।
षष्ठो निषादो विज्ञेयः सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः ॥ (1·5·1-2)

This is how the corresponding placement of musical notes in both the systems were shown. This was necessary in view of the *Sāmaga-s* using both *venu* and *viṇā* as their accompaniment.

2

A further evidence is furnished by the terminology of the ancient music. We come across two sets of technical terms used for the names of musical notes in some of the old works. The *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, one of the oldest works dealing with the problem of human voice, prefers to mention the different pitches of human voice by the term *yama*, "the controller" against the more widely accepted term *svara*. The seven notes of the gamut are referred to as कुष्ठप्रथमाद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थमन्द्रातिस्वार्याः सप्त यमाः (*Taitt. Pr.* 23-12). The *Nāradiya Śikṣa* which is a somewhat later work makes use of another set of terms for the seven musical notes viz.

षड्जश्च ऋषभश्चैव गान्धारो मध्यमस्तथा
पञ्चमो धैवदश्चैव निषादः सप्तमः स्वरः ॥ (1·2·5)

6...

At the same time this work is aware of earlier terminology of the *Taitt. Pr.* cf.

ऋग्वेदस्तु द्वितीयेन तृतीयेन च वर्तते ।
 उच्चमध्यमघानस्वरो भवति पार्थिवः ॥
 तृतीयप्रथमकृष्टान् कुर्वन्त्याह्वरकाः स्वरान् ।
 द्वितीयाद्यांस्तु मन्द्रान्नांस्त्रैस्तिरीयाश्चतुरः स्वरान् ॥
 प्रथमश्च द्वितीयश्च तृतीयोऽथ चतुर्थकः ।
 मन्द्रः कृष्टो ह्यतिस्वारः एतान् कुर्वन्ति सामगाः ॥
 द्वितीयप्रथमावेती नाण्डिभाल्लविनां स्वरो ।
 तथा गानपथावेती स्वरो वाजमनेयिनाम् ॥ (1.1.10-13)

Thus an account of the different schools of Vaidikas using certain notes only for recitation is furnished here. The same work, however, while discussing the practice of *Sāmaveda* switches on to a different terminology (vide *Nār. Ś.* 1.2.5 quoted above). Thus, while giving an account of the *mūrechanā*-s of the sages the *śadja* set of terminology is used (*śadje tūttaramandrā syāt* etc. *Nār. Ś.* 1.2.11-13). This is followed by statements about the notes which are favourite with different classes of beings like gods, semi-divine beings, spirits etc. (1.2.15-16) under the same terminology. Likewise the colours of the seven notes and their castes (1.4.1-4) their absolute pitches (1.5.3-4), their production (1.5.5-11) and their deities (1.5.12-18) are mentioned under the same terminology. It is only when the author means to describe *gātraviṇa* that he reverts to the older terminology; thus the place of each note in the human body starting with the *Kruṣṣa* is first mentioned (1.7.1-2) and then commences the description of *gātraviṇa* as

अङ्गुष्ठस्योत्तमे कृष्टोऽगुष्ठे तु प्रथमः स्वरः ॥ (1.7.3 ff)

The same ancient terminology is resorted to while giving the account of the *śruti*-s and their relations with the seven notes (1.7.9-14).

In *Nāradiya Śikṣā* itself we find the two sets of terminology used side by side. A minor point of divergence in this matter is to be found at *Nār. Ś.* 1.6.20.

स्वरः स्थानाच्च्युतो यस्तु स्वस्थानमनिवर्तते ।

विस्वरं सामगा ब्रूयन्विरक्तमिति वीणिनः ॥

This makes a distinction between *sāmaga*-s and *viṇin*-s, giving us as faint indication of a tripartite division into *sāmaga*, *viṇin* and *veṇuvādins*. Following a discussion of the defects of *sāman*-chanting, this verse says that a particular note which goes astray from its proper *sthāna* is called *Viṣvara* by the *Sāmaga*-s and *Virakta* by the wielders of lute.

During the course of explaining the behaviour of *svara*-s in the *SV* a mention is made of three *grāma*-s as

षड्जमध्यमगान्धारस्तयो ग्रामाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
 भूर्लोकोज्जायते षड्जो भुवर्लोकोच्च मध्यमः ॥
 स्वर्गान्ध्यात् गान्धारो नादस्य मतं यथा । (1·2·6-7)

Out of these *śadja* and *madhyama* grāmas are described at length

गान्धारस्याधिपत्येन निषादस्य गतागतैः ।
 धैवतस्य च दीर्घत्यान्मध्यमग्राम उच्यते ॥
 ईषत् स्पृष्टो निषादस्तु गान्धारश्चाधिको भवेत् ।
 धैवतः कम्पितो यत्र षड्जग्रामं तु निर्दिशेत् ॥ (1·4·7-8)

Some more details about the *madhyamagrāma* follow (1·4·10-11). But the author seems to be quite unfamiliar with the *gāndhāragrāma*. Only at one place he gives a comparative picture of the *tāna*-s in the three *grāma*-s as

विंशति मध्यमग्रामे षड्जग्रामे चतुर्दश ।
 तानान् पञ्चदशेच्छन्ति गान्धारग्राममाश्रितान् ॥ (1·2·8)

Barring this the *Nār. Ś.* does not show any acquaintance with *gāndhāragrāma*. The three *grāma*-s are assigned to three regions of the world viz. *bhū*, *bhuvar* and *svarga*. The *gāndhāragrāma* existed in the heaven, whereas *śadja* and *madhyama* *grāmas* existed on the earth and the adjacent region respectively. Stripping these statements of their mythical element, it may be said that by earthly or *laukika* the author means his own society. The adjacent region refers to a society which was different from his own but with which he was quite familiar. By heaven some distant place is meant. Perhaps it was a hilly region as can be conjectured from the numerous connections of the divine beings with mountain tops.* Anyway heaven stands for a distant place, difficult to reach, inhabited by alien and perhaps superior races. The *gāndhāragrāma* belonged to such a region. However it became a part and parcel of the *svaramaṇḍala* cf.

मप्य स्वरास्त्रयो ग्रामा मूर्छनास्त्वेकविंशतिः ।
 ताना एकोनपञ्चाशत् इत्येतत् स्वरमण्डलम् ॥ (Nār. Ś. 1·2·4)

(The 49 *tānas* are distributed as 20 in the *madhyama grāma*, 14 in the *śadja grāma* and 15 in the *gāndhāra*). As the concept of *grāma* is linked with the musical scale, an impact of different types of scales on each other is suggested.

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More decisive is the evidence furnished by some legends from the *Brāhmaṇa*-s. The legends explain the origin of the *sāman*. All of them have a few points in common : (a) The difference between *ṛc* and *sāman*, (b) *ṛc* being a female principle and *sāman* the male one, suggests the supe-

* e. g. The *soma* stalks, the juice of which is offered to Gods in the sacrifices is to be had from the top of mount Mūjavat.

riority of *sāman* over the *ṛc*, (c) *ṛc* approaching *sāman* with a request to have union, (d) *sāman* refusing it on the grounds of inequality of the two and (e) finally the union taking place after *ṛc* improving herself.

The following account is given by the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Pañc III 23).

“ The *Ṛc* and *Sāman* were originally in the form of *Sā* and *Ama*. The *Ṛc* which was in the form of a woman approached *Ama* and expressed her desire to have a union and beget progeny. But *Ama* refused and said that as he was greater it did not befit him to have a union with her. Then *Ṛc* took one more *Ṛc* and then approached *Ama*. But *Ama* said. the greatness of both of you put together will not equal that of mine. Then three *Ṛcs* joined together and approached him and requested him. Then *Sā* and *Ama* were united ”. This account stresses the inferiority of *Ṛc*. which stands for the form of music to which it was subjected.

The *Jaiminiyopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (1.17.3) has the following version : At the beginning *sat* was *prāṇa* and mind. *Asat* was *apāna* and speech. Then *sat* and *asat* are shown to represent the male and the female principle respectively. *Ṛc* was a female and desired to have a union with *Ama*, who was a male. *Ama* asked her who she was. So she replied ‘ I am *Sā* ’ and he said ‘ I am *Ama* ’. Then she asked him to have a union with her but he said ‘ you are my sister. So you seek union somewhere else ’. She said ‘ I do not find anybody with whom I can have union. So I will have union with you ’. He told her ‘ Purify yourself, you are impure ’. She tried all means to purify herself. But all those forms of poetry – *gāthā*, *nārāsamsī*, *kumbhya*, *purāṇa*, *ailbā* and *rebha* were unsuccessful. Finally she succeeded in her attempt by the *virāj*. By this she obtained progeny.

The next account is from the same Brāhmaṇa (1.18.4) but with slight variation: Water was alone in the beginning. The water was rising in the form of the waves as a result of which two cavities were formed viz. *Ṛc* (*Sā*) and *Sāman* (*Ama*). They desired to have a union. He said ‘ You are my sister, so seek somebody else ’. She swam to a distance. *Āditya* tried to follow her but was not able to do so, as she disappeared. So he said ‘ I do not find you ’. He promised her a boon if she would be seen by him. She appeared and again disappeared into the waves. After thus dodging him she was finally united with him and created the word *Sāman*.

These accounts of the origin of *Sāman* indicate that the *Sāman*-music was of a superior type and the *Ṛc*-music was of an inferior one. The attempts at fusing the two landed into difficulties. After several failures and successive alterations brought about in the *Ṛc*-music it became fit for getting blended with the *Sāman*-music.

SOME TRENDS IN INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY*

R. N. DANDEKAR

Modern historiography was a child of the late 18th century, but it soon assumed such an important status in the academic life that Augustin Thierry was moved to proclaim : History would be the hallmark of the 19th century and would lend it its name, just as philosophy had given its name to the 18th.

The concept of history has been ever changing. Indeed, the history of the concept of history is a fascinating subject by itself. A reference can, however, be made here only to a few relevant points in that connection. It is suggested, as, for instance, by the Ranke school of historiography, that the primary function of a historian is to tell the story as it actually happened. History-writing is comparable to the work of an enquiry commission. The various available sources are like witnesses before the commission; but they are not to be taken on trust; they are to be thoroughly cross-examined, and every detail has to be double-checked. History is thus believed to be concerned exclusively with facts and not with generalizations. It is essentially a science of facts. Such a view also generally disclaims any alliance between history on the one hand and literature and philosophy on the other. A historian is mainly a servant and faithful chronicler of the past, not its critic, courtier, or legislator. He reconstructs events or historical moments on a temporal axis, but does not try to provide any conceptual framework for them.

As against this, it is strongly urged that history is not merely a compilation of facts, but an insight into a moving process of life. Mere facts and details are not history; they are essential only as a sound basis. History is how one looks at the sum-total of facts; it is a purposive interpretation of the known facts. History is, indeed, an independent system of thought and has its own methodology. It represents the movement of ideas. The first concern of a historian is, no doubt, a meticulous collection of facts, but far more important are the generalization, interpretation, and integration which must necessarily follow. Debates on a microscopic level, such as those regarding dates, etc., are by no means to be discouraged in so far as they help the ascertainment of historical facts, but history primarily consists in making those facts weave a coherent pattern. History, it is further pointed out, is a piece of structural analysis. It seeks to extract meaning and implications of the story. A constant exercise of judgement is what is expected of a historian. Accordingly, the purpose of the study of history is said to be the acquisition of human self-knowledge. It is emphasised that history, to be concrete and alive, should

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combine in itself both the actuality of the field of treatment and a justifiable and well-founded morality of analysed conclusions.¹

It is this latter view which generally holds the ground at present. One now sees a definite shift from narrative history to history as problem.

One also now sees considerable widening of the scope of history. It was once assumed that political power was the great shaping force of civilisation, and the great lever by which the vast majority was raised to a higher mental and moral plane. Even in ancient India, the grand-sire of the *Mahābhārata* is shown to have posed the question as to whether the times influenced the king or the king influenced the times and to have unhesitatingly declared that, without doubt, it was the king who influenced the times.² History accordingly used to portray, as Voltaire said, none but kings, ministers, and generals. Just as the aim of history was regarded as being narration and not analysis and interpretation of facts, so too its subject-matter was regarded as being confined to individuals not groups, to notables not nonentities. It was believed that, within the collective experience of humanity, what was most fascinating for accounts and most available for narration were the adventures of great men and of states. History was, accordingly, biographical or political, and was constituted mainly of power and war. The focus was on kings and princes, and drums and trumpets. There has now occurred a fundamental reorientation of perspectives. The pioneering patchwork period of survey-histories is already over. The scope of history has broadened from the rulers to the ruled, from state to society, from individuals to people, from royal palaces and battlefields to huts and farms, from weapons of war to tools of production, from politics to the entire social life with its socio-economic, intellectual, cultural, and scientific developments. History today includes not only every manifestation of political activity among men but the entire range of human experience. A historic fact, it is observed, no longer means the explosion of an important event which ruptures the silence of time, but rather a chosen and constructed phenomenon whose regularity facilitates its identification and examination by means of a chronological series of identical premises within given time intervals.³ In other words, history implies the study of the evolution of given phenomena in a temporal framework. Individuals, however great and important, are no longer allowed to monopolise the attention of historians. History, it is asserted, is being democratised.

Verily, in view of the growing realisation of the fundamental unity of human interests, there is now a demand that national ideals must be understood on the background of humanity as a whole. It is pointed out that archaeology is establishing a kind of rhythmic unity of mankind and that,

1. See : C. S. Srinivasachari, in *ABORI* 31, p. 67.
2. *Rājā kālasya kāraṇam* : *Mahābhārata* 12. 70. 6.
3. See : François Furet, in *Diogenes* 89, 111.

therefore, the history of a people can no longer be adequately studied in isolation.

Modern historiography was born in the age of enlightenment in Europe and has since brought forth various approaches to the study and presentation of history. A brief notice may be incidentally taken here of some typical ones of these. There was, for instance, the approach which had been inspired by the desire to overthrow the hegemony of religion and to study every aspect of human activity from the point of view of human reason. This attitude reflected the self-assertive consciousness of the rationalists and their belief that, in the preceding periods, the world was woefully steeped in superstition and darkness which fact had warped a proper historical sense. The romanticists provided a kind of corrective to this view by calling for greater sympathy in the study of the past and by emphasising naturism or the influence of external environments. It had been already asserted that man was essentially a creature of his environments in which the geographical factors played the most important role. According to Hegel, who vigorously attacked naturism, the process of history is entirely different from that of nature. Nature is cyclical and repetitive, while history never repeats itself and takes a spiral course. Human reason is the chief moulding factor in history which latter implies the objectivization of mind in the form of actions and institutions. History, says Hegel, is made up of the efforts of the human spirit to recover full consciousness and freedom. It is not nature which makes the man; rather the man works out his own destiny. Therefore, the real subject-matter of history is thought and its various manifestations.

The Hegelian dialectics may be said to have given rise, on the one hand, to the critical era of historiography initiated by Ranke and, on the other, to the historical materialism of Marx. Ranke is often regarded as the greatest history-writer of the modern times. To him, the science of history was a holy work purifying the soul. Indeed, he considered history to be religion. According to Ranke, men of action were the deciding factor in history. He put great stress on eschewing all romantic element—all invention and imagination—from historical writings and on rigorously sticking to facts. He wanted the study of the past to be divorced from the passions of the present. It is, however, Marx who has exercised by far the most profound influence on the recent thinking about history. He vehemently asserted that it was not the consciousness of man that determined his being, but that, on the contrary, his social being determined his consciousness. Marx's main thesis is that the character of the social, political, and cultural life of a people is determined by the modes and relations of production in economic life. But he does not regard man as just a passive agent of nature. For, man, according to him, is given the opportunity and privilege to create and re-create the social world. He stresses the integral relation of history with natural science and industry. Though Marx regarded

economic causes as the basic factor in the historical process, he never believed that everything could be explained by what might be called monistic materialism. As his friend Engels has explained, the economic situation is doubtlessly the basis; but the various elements of the superstructure—political, legal, and philosophical theories and religious ideas—also exercise their influence on the course of historical struggles and, in many cases, preponderate in determining their form. The orientation given to historiography by Darwin's theory of evolution and natural selection as also by Comte's positivist philosophy which sponsored the law of three states or stages of intellectual development, namely, theological, metaphysical, and scientific, was also by no means negligible. Particularly significant, however, was the affirmation of the positivists that science, including history, consisted of two factors—the ascertainment of facts and the discovery by inductive method of the laws behind those facts.

By the way, it may be mentioned that Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, who can be regarded as a pioneer of modern historiography in India, belonged to the Ranke school of historiography (Bhandarkar has actually compared the critical method of research to the method pursued by a judge in coming to a decision), that most of his successors have generally followed his lead though a few of them have inevitably turned romanticists, and that the present rage in India is historical materialism.

Once it was accepted that the primary function of a historian was to provide a purposive interpretation of facts, that a historian had to extract a meaning and evolve a pattern out of the facts, attempts were made to find out if there could have been any one single dominant motive force, any law, which governed the historical process through the ages. In other words, could one speak of the focal theme of history? Religion was naturally the first and foremost motivating factor to strike a student of world-history. Toynbee, for instance, proclaims: As I have gone on, religion has come to take the central place in my picture of the universe. Even in the development of India, he fully realises the exceptional importance of the religious factor. He does not go so far as to believe that the saints and the philosophers have been responsible for the ruin of civilisations but he admits that they have been the involuntary artisans of that disintegration which has occurred periodically and which has affected the forms of culture. In the historical process he has often noticed a parallelism between religion and society. Religion, it may be incidentally added, has influenced the course of history both favourably and adversely. As for the latter kind of influence, some scholars have even gone to the extent of pronouncing that history, down to the present day, is a melancholy record of the horrors which can attend religion, that religion has become the synonym for hatred, indeed, the last refuge of human savagery.⁴ Referring to the post-partition carnage in India,

4. Cf. A. N. Whitehead, *Religion in the Making*, p. 26.

Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have vociferated in great anguish that Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs and others took great pride in their sacred faiths and testified to their truth by breaking the heads of one another.

Toynbee enunciates some other laws governing historical development by means of such catch-phrases as challenge and response, stimulus and pressure, affiliation and rupture, defeat and rally. A reference may be made here, in passing, to another view of Toynbee's. He believed that in theory all peoples were capable of creating high civilizations; if they did not succeed, it was because of lazy life due to plenty, or sapped energies due to inhospitable environments, or exhaustion due to efforts to adjust to surrounding conditions.

What is called social dynamics is sometimes mentioned as the basic law of history. A constant movement towards expansion is a natural instinct in every social organism. History denotes a development, a transition; not merely a sequence of events but a process of becoming. It reflects constant changes in social relationships. In the context of India, for instance, her history would mainly imply an analytical study of caste and sub-caste relationships.

And, finally, from the Marxist point of view, history is defined as a presentation in chronological order of successive developments in the means and relations of production.⁵ This definition clearly sets forth the focal theme of history. It is, indeed, claimed that the changes in economic structures have a vital bearing even on the social relationships mentioned above. As suggested earlier, the most dominant trend in the writings relating to the history of India, in recent years, has been its Marxist interpretation.

As is well-known, India could boast of hardly any real historiography until almost the middle of the 19th century. Serious activity in that field, if any, in the earlier periods, seems to have been laggard and only occasional. The Veda may be reflecting to some extent the phenomenon of the mythologization of history, but of pure history it contains but a few and stray scraps. The *Purāṇas*, which are traditionally often coupled with—or, in some cases, even identified with—*Itihāsa* (which word has come to denote history), hardly deserve to be regarded as historical writings in the true sense of the term. They are rather treatises on universal history. They usually speak in terms of *yugas* or cosmic epochs rather than of real historical periods. It has been rightly observed that they start with cosmogony and end with the dynasties of the future and that the periods of real history form only an episode in the cosmic cycle so that even they are generally transformed into mystical or legendary themes. The genealogies contained in the *Purāṇas* and similar works too can rarely be treated as faithful records of the past. Indeed, the basic task of a historian of India consists in scrupulously isolating the religious and social pretences proclaimed as truths in the *Purāṇas* and

5. See : D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1956, p. 1.

other scriptures. In the so-called historical Kāvya also, history is either completely submerged under poetry or it is transformed into legend. It is certainly most surprising that in the rich and voluminous treasures of Sanskrit literature real historical writings should have been so conspicuous by their dearth.

There is, however, some truth in the statement that the paucity of historical writing by the Hindus does not necessarily imply the absence of historical sense on their part. It is, for instance, not quite impossible to reconstruct certain aspects of Indian history, in its widest sense, by means of a judicious study of myths and local folklore. Intensive and scientifically carried out anthropological, ethnographical, and sociological research would certainly help us to understand the dynamic processes of the interaction of culture and the individual interest, of the objective world and man's subjective world, and to gain an insight into the originality, uniqueness, and spontaneity of social experiences in various communities at the level of myths, legends, usages, and popular tradition.⁶ Verily, such multi-disciplined study constitutes an important feature of modern Indological research. Apart from such indirect manifestation of the historical sense of the Hindus, a mention may be made here of the archives and genealogical records which seem to have been maintained by many Hindu courts. Such documents, which become available but rarely, are seen to start at human-secular-historical level, but unfortunately they soon assume superhuman-metaphysical-legendary proportions. Muslims, in the medieval period, had a keener but more restricted sense of history. They evinced little or no interest in the early history of India. They believed that the only true religion was that of the *Quran*, and that history should aim at revealing the ways of God to men. Most of the Muslim historians were courtiers, and even through their official chronicles they sought to represent kings and princes as agents and symbols of the divine purpose.

It is strange but true that the Indians learnt what may be properly called the history of India first from the writings of the British. These writings naturally reflected various trends. There had, of course, been in vogue some popular accounts which represented India as a mysterious land of magic, wealth, and wisdom. Such accounts may as well be ignored in the present context. In 1811 appeared John Malcolm's *Sketch of the Political History of India*. It was obviously inspired by the desire to flatter the East India Company for the sake of purely personal interests. James Mill was one of those Europeans who measured India by the standards with which they had been familiar and found her deficient. He felt that the entire Indian society had become depraved and needed to be thoroughly changed. In his *The History of British India* (1818), the second and the third books in which deal with the Hindu and the Muslim periods respectively, he has applied utilitarian

6. See : D. D. Kosambi, *Op. cit.* (particularly the first two chapters).

logic to Indian civilisation. He had full faith in the power of government and law to change the people and, therefore, advocated free use of that power for improving Indian society. He argued that happiness and not political liberty should be the end in view. This may have been a reaction against the plea which had been made earlier by Sir William Jones for a sympathetic understanding of India's problems. Jones had commended the desirability of maintaining the original institutions of the Hindus and reconciling the people of England to the nature of Hindustan. Later Indologists like Max Mueller also glorified things Indian and suggested that the change in them, if any, should be attempted with due deference to the time-honoured ideologies and institutions. Such romantic zest for India's past was sometimes interpreted as being intended for exalting the Hindus in the eyes of their European masters and thereby ameliorating the temper of the government.

Elphinstone did not accept Mill's premise that human nature was everywhere the same and that it could be changed by government and law. He felt that human nature might differ in different countries and that history should describe rather than evaluate those differences. In his *The History of India* (1841), therefore, Elphinstone simply describes the political story and the nature of Indian society. Grant, before him, represented yet another trend. He was an evangelist and sincerely believed that the British rule in India was an event which was divinely conceived and pre-ordained for redeeming a condemned humanity and that a radical change in the nature of Hindostan could be effected through Christianity and education. Elliot magnified the evil consequences of the tension between the Hindus and the Muslims in the medieval period and fondly hoped that his *History of India* would teach the 'bombastic Baboos of India' some lessons in the benefits of the British rule, while Maine pointed to India's age-old economic stagnation, as reflected in her much-flaunted village communities, as the root-cause of her degradation. Vincent Smith looked upon history as a means for using the past to understand the present and to plan for the future. His was frankly an administrator's pragmatic approach. Nevertheless, Vincent Smith also seems to have been guided by certain sound academic principles of historiography.

All British historians, however, had one purpose in common, namely, the justification and further strengthening of the British rule in India. This they sought to achieve by constantly harping on the highly desirable effect of that rule. They also deliberately tried to create a kind of psychosis among the Indians that India had always been subject to foreign invasions and internal feuds, that there had been no political unity in India at any time, that the cultural unity of India was a fiction, and that whatever was good in India was due to European influence. The British historians, who had mostly been administrators and soldiers, firmly believed that the British had a mission to fulfil in India, that the British rule was a blessing

for India, and that the British came to India just when they were most needed. What had been worse was that a few of them played a game of duplicity. On the one hand, writing about Indian polity, they vehemently condemned oriental despotism in order to highlight against that background the liberality of the British rule, and, on the other, writing about the traditional Indian society, they intentionally presented it in favourable light so as to encourage among the Indians a kind of self-complacency as also a remissness regarding the inherent weakness of that society. Another feature of the British histories of India was that they over-emphasised political and administrative matters. The British historians generally lacked academic detachment on the one hand and grasp of local institutions and traditions on the other. Actually, they instinctively shrank from contact with the natives. Their main sources were official despatches, archives, and reports. Even so, their view of history was much too narrow, for, according to them, the area of state-activity was limited to law and order.

It cannot, however, be gainsaid that the work of the early British historians of India was quite systematic and that it provided a fairly solid foundation for future histories. But the attitude of a majority of them was annoyingly patronizing and, in some cases, patently contemptuous. Such an attitude was bound to evoke strong reaction. A tradition of national Indian historians soon started evolving—and this in two main directions. There were the extremists who experienced a kind of righteous indignation at what, they were convinced (though not always justifiably), were deliberate misrepresentations and distortions by the British historians. Their attitude was aggressive as well as defensive. Among other things, these extremists accused the British of deep-seated prejudices, called attention to the utter depravity of the character of the British high officials by pointing out, for instance, that Clive was a veritable gangster, a confessed forger, liar, and cheat, and exposed the diabolical designs of the British for the economic exploitation of India. At the same time, standing on the defensive, the extremist nationalist historians tried to revamp the image of India, which, they thought, had been tarnished by the British, not only by vindicating and rationalizing various aspects of Indian culture but also by asserting the superiority in many respects of that culture over the western culture. It was not seldom a case of inverted inferiority complex. For instance, they stressed the pristine purity and innate sublimity of the Veda by censuring its later degenerate accretions, sought to justify the caste-system and the position of women and the Śūdras, and glorified even ordinary things by foisting symbolic meaning on them. They further spoke, among other things, of the golden age in India, of the unity in diversity which characterised Indian culture, of the existence of democratic ideology and republican states in ancient India, of the heroic exploits of intrepid warriors like Candrar Gupta II, of the saints who succeeded in promoting Hindu-Muslim brotherhood, and, above all, of the perennial

values of Indian spiritualism as against the ultimate emptiness and futility of western materialism. Incidentally, a reference may be made in this very context to the few communal apologists against the British colonial historians who accepted the main premises of the latter but argued that their respective communities had not been responsible for any misdeeds.

The other direction in which the nationalist reaction expressed itself was that of critical historical research so remarkably exemplified by Ramakrishna Bhandarkar. The critical rationalist historians did not allow themselves to be unduly ruffled by the supposed iniquities of the British historians or to become overintoxicated by nationalist sentiments. They concentrated on patient scientific research, viewed historical events objectively and dispassionately and re-presented the history of India in the right perspective by soberly rectifying the distorted versions not only of the British but also of the other historians including the Indian.

One has reason to suspect that this latter extremely desirable trend in historiography is being surreptitiously stifled in the post-independence era in India. The ideals of the present such as non-violence, communal harmony, composite culture, peaceful co-existence, and secular state are represented, even in spite of the lack of any positive evidence, as having been *actual* facts in the history of India. History, it will be agreed, must not be thus turned into a backward projection of present politics. It is further feared that the historians are tending to become forgetful of their credo, namely, that history is no respecter of persons or communities, that history must not bow before the exigencies of political situation, and that the fear of wounding the susceptibilities of any community or group should not come in the way of critical history being written or re-written. For, history of India is being re-written; some know why it has to be re-written and others know that it must be re-written but are uncertain what tone and what form the new approach should assume.⁷

It may not be correct to speak of the emergence in the modern times of any distinct and strong school of Indian historiography (except perhaps the newly evolving Marxist school), but one cannot fail to detect the manifest growth of historical consciousness and the gradual development of a specific methodology. Some of the ideas and assumptions which have oriented this methodology may be briefly set forth here. In the West, the tendency is becoming increasingly evident to regard history of India as a distinctive and independent discipline and not just a part of Orientology—as a social science and not merely an aspect of classical studies. It has now become a subject with an individuality of its own. Similarly, it is now fully realised that all history constitutes but an interim report which is liable to be modified and even superseded. History of India, in particular, is rightly

7. See : J. D. M. Derrett, in *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (ed. C. H. Philips), p. 354.

said to be an exercise in a series of hypotheses.⁸ The process of re-examining, re-interpreting, and re-writing history in the light of newer material and from a fresher point of view has come to be regarded as a continuing process. History, it is emphasised, must offer an endless series of courts of appeal and must always be ready to re-open closed cases.

It is also clearly realised that history is not an exact science. Because of the indeterminacy of the object of history and the many imponderable factors involved in it, the laws of historical change cannot be predicted with the scientific certainty of the laws of physical change. It is, indeed, suggested that the unreasonable ambitions of history as a whole will have to be given up.⁹ Historical generalisations on a universal level are no doubt likely to prove trivial or platitudinous. But one would find it difficult—indeed, impossible—to attempt any generalisations even in respect of such a vast and varied country as India—a country which can hardly be regarded as having ever presented itself as a single unit in the historical sense. It may be recalled that in India there exists a wide range of inner cultural differentiations due to extraordinary variations in soil, topography, climate, seasons, and produce, and that these stratifications have penetrated all the layers of society at deeply physical and psychological levels. It is said, perhaps too much exaggeratedly that a single period of time in the history of India as a whole contains within itself centuries of the history of the European continent. One would, verily, be tempted to ask oneself whether the history of India as such was at all possible. Periodisation, on any principle, for India as a whole is unthinkable. One, therefore, wonders whether, in the absence, at any given time, of a common socio-economic—or even religio-philosophical—basis for the whole country, one would not have to think in terms of regional or dynastic history. It is perhaps this kind of thinking which has encouraged narrower specialisation in recent years. The common tendency now is to confine detailed studies to smaller historical themes without, of course, ever losing sight of the basic concept of the general social change. As regards regional histories, it is generally agreed that their purpose should not be regional aggrandisement or glorification but that it should be to provide local pattern and information for which more evidence may exist in one region than in another.¹⁰

It is said that the history of India has developed within a two-dimensional framework, preoccupied with men and events and neglectful of other aspects of social life which are of greater consequence. However, the broadened multi-dimensional concept of history is now universally accepted. A detailed scientific study of a people as a whole—of its material activity,

8. See : Romila Thapar, in *Indian Society Historical Probing*s (ed. R. S. Sharma), New Delhi, 1974, p. 96.

9. See : François Furet, in *Diogenes* 89, p. 123.

10. See : Romila Thapar, in *Proceedings of the 24th Indian History Congress*, Calcutta, 1963, pp. 349-50.

political life, modes and relations of production, social organization, ideological trends, and religious institutions—is what history now aims at. But these various aspects of social life are not to be set forth as parallel developments, they are rather to be interwoven into a single meaningful pattern. Correspondingly, insistence on the use of a plurality of sources has become a distinctive feature of modern historiography relating to India. A reference may be made, in this context, to what are called the combined methods in Indology. Time was when too much reliance was placed on literary texts, particularly in connection with the history of ancient India. These texts having been largely of a religious character, the religio-philosophical culture received disproportionate emphasis. Archaeology (including epigraphy and numismatics), anthropology, ethnography, and sociology have now provided a kind of counter-balance. It has now become possible, through the use of the tools and analytical methods developed by these disciplines, to obtain a full and integrated view of the complex Indian culture. In this connection, special stress is laid on the insight which one is likely to gain into various human communities and their evolution through structural analysis as well as through direct observation for which latter there is still much scope in India. It should be remembered that in India, more than in several other countries, the past is inextricably interwoven with the present. The need for a multi-dimensional, problem-oriented structural-functional approach to the history of India is now generally recognised. Historiography of India is tending to be transformed from a stray individual effort into a well-co-ordinated collaborative enterprise. The data derived from the various disciplines are, however, not to be simply combined, but they are to be organically organized into some conceptual scheme as far as possible. Of course, the continuous growth in recent years of record-consciousness is to be welcomed. But it is also to be remembered that behind formalized written document as also behind institutions there are men and that it is men that history, among other things, seeks to grasp. One has to overcome the stiffness of official records by trying to penetrate through them to the circumstances under which they must have been created. Incidentally, it is satisfying to see that non-official sources like pamphlets, tracts, old newspaper files, biographies, essays, and letters, which may be said to reflect mostly the middle-class thinking, are being given their due importance. In this connection the need for the knowledge of modern Indian languages cannot be overemphasised.

Facts, which are brought to light by such multi-disciplined sources, constitute the inevitable basic foundation of the edifice of history. It is, however, necessary to warn ourselves, particularly in the present times, against the temptation to try to fit these facts into a pre-conceived pattern rather than to allow a pattern to emerge naturally from the facts. Facts of history are said to be polyglot; they easily pick up the language a historian wishes them to speak. But the golden rule in this connection is that theories must not be used to interpret facts; facts

must be used to build up theories. Another rule which may be mentioned in this very context is that current norms must not be employed to judge the trends of earlier periods. And the third rule is that commonsense is often better than inadequate statistics.

Modern historians of India have become conscious of the mistaken practice of viewing India's history from the centre. They feel convinced that it was a vain effort to present an integrated history of India by adjusting the developments in other parts of the country to the pattern dictated by the centre. They have also succeeded in reversing some undesirable trends of the earlier historiography, such as that unduly greater attention was paid, particularly by the classical Indologists, to the early periods of Indian history than to the Middle Ages and modern times, that South India and the Deccan were not given legitimate coverage, that the continuity of India's cultural tradition was often mistaken for stagnation, and that no attempt was made to discover any pattern of evolution in the history of India. Modern historians of India also view with disapproval the tendency to depend overmuch on precedents from the other parts of the world. For instance, they think that it may prove futile to try to discover in India the institution of slavery similar to the one known in Greece. Another pitfall which is being scrupulously avoided is the once popular assumption of foreign, particularly of Greek, borrowing or influence. Parallel development perhaps offers a more satisfactory and convincing explanation in all cases of supposed borrowing.

The history of India, it is pointed out, has for long concerned itself with 'big things' and not with 'little things'; it has also concerned itself only with tensions. It is suggested that if 'little things' and 'small people' were taken into account by history, tensions would cease to be important.¹¹ One may incidentally add here that another new trend in historiography, which is visible also in respect of the history of India, is the recognition of the facts that history must have its lay appeal and that historians must not remain exclusively professional. Finally it may be emphasised that Indian history need not any longer remain an exercise in mysterious digressions into uncheckable and unexplorable realms: as has been well said, it is now inspired by science and empiricism rather than by dogma and prophecy.

It is said that there are five main views of Indian history: the British imperialistic view, the Hindu or Muslim communal view, the nationalistic view, the factual-judicial view, and the Marxist view. As has been indicated above, it is the Marxist view which seems to be steadily prevailing in recent years. We have already had occasion to refer to the Marxist concept of and Marxist approach to history. To put it briefly, Marxism insists on the

11. See : N. K. Sinha, in *Proceedings of the 31st Indian History Congress, Patna, 1970*, pp. 7-8.

history of the people as against the bourgeois portrayal of persons; it judges everything from the point of view of dialectical materialism; and, according to it, the focal theme of history is the development in the means and relations of production. A detailed critique of this position is certainly not called for here. However, a few general observations may be made in regard to the application of the Marxist methodology to the history of India.

To begin with, one would challenge Marx's observation that the history of India is nothing but the history of successive intruders.¹² Even a cursory study of the several periods in the history of India would expose the patently superficial character of that observation. One has also to give up Marx's theory of the unchangeableness of Asiatic societies, for, considerable changes can be shown to have occurred in the Indian society even from the materialistic point of view. As a matter of fact, Marx has based his whole theory primarily and essentially on his knowledge of the European situation as it had obtained in the various periods of history; it may not, therefore, be validly applied in toto to Asian countries like India. Indeed, so far as India is concerned, it would be necessary to modify the stages of the socio-economic development as laid down so firmly by Marx. For instance, the hard and fast distinction between the stage of food-gatherers and that of food-producers is completely shaken by the excavations at Kalibangan where evidence has become available of plough-farming having been known in India as early as 2500 B.C. Similarly, India does not seem to have ever had a classical slave economy in the same sense as Greece or Rome. There was no period in the history of India in which her economy depended upon large-scale chattel slavery, which, according to orthodox Marxism, inevitably preceded the feudal stage of history. And whatever loose kind of feudalism there may have existed in India, it cannot be said to conform to the orthodox Marxist definition of it. It is thus difficult to fit Indian history into the neat scheme of periodization which Marx and Engels have laid down as the inevitable course of historical development.

The Marxist approach to Indian history often implies the application of modern criteria to ancient India. As has been rightly pointed out, it is wrong to use comparisons with different levels of modern society to infer back to earlier stages.¹³ The *varnas* in ancient India, for instance, cannot be identified with the economic classes of Marxism. Indeed, the concept of social class, which is a key component of Marxian theory, has invited many theoretical objections, and its application to all periods of history has not always proved fruitful. One would also do well to remind oneself that research in the economic field in India is still in a nebulous condition and that adequate evidence is still not available to justify the assumption of

12. See : R. C. Majumdar, in *India Quarterly* 13, p. 274.

13. See : F. R. Allchin, in *Man* 1, 1966, p. 255.

any conscious class struggle. Similarly, the concepts of human freedom and social necessity, which are pertinent in this context, cannot be regarded as having the same content and the same relevance for all times and all climes. It may also be asked whether all human institutions everywhere follow the same line of development. The laws of social change are by no means as predictable as the laws of physical change are generally supposed to be.

What is, however, perhaps particularly serious is that the more or less exclusive emphasis which the Marxist approach places on the means and relations of production is likely to present Indian history in a wrong perspective. For instance, it would tend to eclipse or to misrepresent what has been generally regarded as India's peculiar glory and her particular contribution, namely, her richly varied metaphysical and religious speculations.¹⁴ It has been rightly emphasised that an ideological revolution may bring even to the labourer, while his instruments of production remain unchanged, a higher human content with increased dignity and rights. Religion has, at the great turning points of history, been the chief instrument of such ideological revolution. The Marxist denigration of religion as a whole is, therefore, no longer valid. In view of this, it is, indeed, difficult to digest such suggestions as that the Bhakti movement, which comprised the religious experience and aspirations of a large part of the Indian population and which provided a remarkable stimulus to artistic and literary creative activity during almost two millenia, owed its success to the fact that it suited the feudal ideology perfectly. And, may one not presume that an ethical concept can have classless and timeless validity?¹⁵ Again, our purely aesthetic appreciation of the difference in the treatment of love by Vālmiki and Kālidāsa is not going to be affected in any way, whether or not that difference reflects the transition from slave-holding to feudalism. It is also possible that social and cultural factors would influence the economic development as much as the other way round. To suggest that the basis of any formal culture must lie in the availability of a food supply or that throughout the course of Indian history there was no escape for the proletariat from coercion and oppression is egregiously one-sided and meagrely evidenced. As has been very wisely pointed out, it is a pity that, for many Marxist historians, materialism, which opens on only an arc of man's full circle, is the only aperture through which to perceive man's whole history.¹⁶ One may not wholly concede the élitist view according to which modern India is what its élite, that is, the western-educated political élite emerging from the middle class, made it, or the power theory of history which, it is claimed, helps one understand better the Indian social development during the last two centuries, or, again, the *Mahābhārata*

14. See : F. R. Allchin, in *BSOAS* 22, p. 375.

15. See : A. L. Basham, in *JESHO* 1, p. 345.

16. See : Daniel H. H. Ingalls, in *JAOS* 77, p. 227.

pronouncement that kings make the times, but one cannot deny that historical research has to be based not on mere assumptions regarding social relations but on the rockbottom of an adequate understanding of human nature which the economic and political organization of society presupposes.

Marxist approach to the history of India has no doubt served as a corrective for the over-sentimentalised and over-spiritualised accounts of India, particularly of ancient India, but, it is feared, it is tending to err in the opposite direction. The fault perhaps lies not with Marxism but with some of the avowed Marxist historians who seem inclined to out-Marx Marx in their odd and generally unintelligible standards. An outstanding Marxist historian of India has himself protested that some of the so-called Marxists conveniently forget that Marxism is not a substitute for thinking but that it is a methodology of analysis.¹⁷ Their application of dialectical materialism to the interpretation of the history of India is grossly mechanical rather than critically discerning. Marxism cannot claim to provide the only scientific approach to historical research relating to India : at the same time, such line of inquiry cannot be altogether ignored. Only, modern historians of India have to be on their guard against becoming slaves of a doctrine and a methodology instead of being their masters.

It will be generally agreed that in historiography the question of periodization is crucial but particularly irksome. The most significant turning points in history may be said to mark the beginning of new periods. These turning points are usually supposed to be occasioned by influential personalities or dynasties, or important events, or stages in the socio-economic development, or vicissitudes in political power. According to Marxism, a long-range historical epoch is distinguished by its mode of economic production. A number of modern historians of India, accordingly, insist that historical periods must be demarcated on the basis not of religion, race, and politics, but of the socio-economic conditions as determined by the means and relations of production. At the same time they feel constrained to admit that major wars, dynastic displacements, religious upheavals, etc., do often signalise fundamental change in the productive relations of the people.

Periodization of Indian history in terms of ancient, medieval, and modern does not seem to have been an old practice. It was first brought into vogue by the British historians in the second quarter of the 19th century. On the face of it such periodization would seem to imply mere chronological division and to have no conceptual significance whatsoever. But even chronological division does presuppose some kind of conceptual criteria. This is acutely felt particularly in connection with the medieval period of Indian history. The question as to which should be the chronological starting point of the medieval period has always vexed the historians of India. Besides, the term 'medieval' itself has acquired a peculiar non-temporal connotation in general

17. See : D. D. Kosambi, in *ABORI* 29, p. 277.

historiography. Whatever that may be, most of the historians of India today prefer the nomenclature, ancient period, medieval period, and modern period presumably because it is more simple and straightforward and involves less theoretical commitment. The British historians have also adopted the scheme of the Hindu, the Muslim, and the British periods corresponding loosely with the ancient, the medieval, and the modern periods respectively. There can be no two opinions that such periodization, though commonly accepted in standard text-books is, as very aptly pointed out, misleading in its emphasis and questionable in its assumptions.¹⁸ It has also been suggested that the language of the source-material sometimes determines the periodization.

A typical Marxist exercise in the periodization of Indian history may be broadly set forth here :¹⁹ After the gentile societies of the pre-Aryan tribes of the stone ages, the Indus valley civilization grew in the third millennium B.C. This civilization decayed just before the advent of the Aryans in Panjab about 1500 B.C. At about 900 B. C. began the first main period of the development of the Gaṅgā-civilization. It continued in the Maurya and the Kuṣāṇa (that is the pre-climax) and the Gupta (that is the climax) ages. After Harṣa (who signalled the first after-climax), there began, about 700 A. D., the period of slow decay and stagnation during the middle ages. This period saw the spread of the Indian variety of world-wide feudalism. The middle of the 19th century marked, on the one hand, the beginning of the fight for national liberation and, on the other, the rise of modern capitalistic India. The *R̥gveda*, according to this view, was the main document of the last stage of the primitive tribal society of the Aryans, while the major *Brāhmaṇa*-texts belonged to the first stages of the developing slave-holder society which reached its pre-climax and climax under the Mauryas and the Guptas respectively. Popular Hinduism was the religion of Indian feudalism. Indian slave-holding generally remained undeveloped, and, the Indian society having been more or less stagnant, the history of India did not show such dramatic transitions from slave-holding to feudalism as in Europe. It is hardly necessary to comment on this highly arbitrary scheme.

By and large, the question of periodization of the history of India as a whole is likely to remain an open question at least from the theoretical point of view. Nevertheless, modern historians of India have at least recognised certain limitations in this connection. As has been already pointed out, in view of the fact that India is a vast and varied country, periodization for India as a whole is almost impossible. Another difficulty in the way of a neat periodization is that not all aspects of research have developed at the same rate or in parallel directions. And, finally, the periodization conceived for the European continent does not necessarily suit the conditions in Asian countries like India.

18. Romila Thapar, *A History of India* 1, Penguin Books, 1966, p. 21.

19. See : W. Ruben, *Einführung in der Indienkunde*, Berlin, 1952; " Indological studies in the German Democratic Republic ", *VBQ* 27, pp. 197-211.

Rain and Sex-pairing (mithuna)

SADASHIV A. DANGE

Rain or water was believed to be the nourishing fluid by the Vedic people and the point is attested from many passages in the RV. But one of the most eloquent is the expression *apām re'āmsi*, where it would mean "the fluids (*re'āmsi* frō \sqrt{ri} = "to flow" or "to move") of water"; but the employment of the word *retas* in this expression is an example of "word play" which the Vedic seers very often indulged in. Parjanya is called *reto-dhas* (III. 56. 3); and we have also the concept of the "three sprinklers of semen" (V. 69. 2; VIII. 33. 7), who are the three fires at the three regions, the sun at the heavenly region the lightning at the mid-region and the sacrificial fire or the fire in the terrestrial waters (*agni payasvān* at I. 23. 23), who are believed to fructify the waters (females) in the three worlds. The sun is said to be the archetype of the seeders; he is the "seed-sprinkler" (X.40. 11). The female counterpart in the case of these "sprinklers of the seed" is the earth in the most prominent image, of which the creepers, cows, and all females are phases. Parjanya has his female counterpart in the plants (V. 85. 1, 8; VII. 101. 1; 102. 2), while the sun has his females in the waters in the orb. In the case of the cloud the lightning fire has his waters that get fructified into rains. The cosmic fluid (rain) was the result of the sex-act; and, as a next step gave the concept of the ritual-couples, in ritual persons, objects or even the verses, lauds or the *sāmans*. Such verses were the *āhanasyāḥ*, the utterance of which was believed to provide the semen for the symbolic re-birth of the sacrificer or for the gain a restoration of fertility. Some of the bricks at the ritual of the *agnicayana* (arranging the fire-altar) were called "*retaḥ-sicau*". In the same line fall also such expressions as *reto vai nābhāneṣṭhaḥ*, or *mithunam vāmadevaḥ*, which refer to the *sāmans*, that were considered to be a charm for procreation. On the basis of this sexual coupling developed the imagery of the marriage of various objects. Thus we have the following passage: "The waters were, indeed, the wives of the gods; they desired sex-union; after them did the wind-god (Vāyu) run, and copulated with them; they developed the foetus; to them did the gods say, 'Release it now'; they released it—the Rathantra *sāman* on the first day;..... the Bṛhat they released on the second day. In that they created the thunder of the rain-god (*parjanya* *goso* ' *nvasṛjyata*); hence do they sound the drums at the recitation of the Bṛhat-*sāman*; thereby Parjanya becomes prone to release rain" (Jai; Br. III. 118; esp. last *varṣukaḥ parjanya bhavati*). The point to be noted is that it is not the sounding of the drums that is the only reason for the advent of the rains. It is mainly the formation of the sexual couples

(*mithuna*) Br̥hat-Rathantara *sāmans* is one couple; the other is Wind and Waters. We have noted earlier that the waters are the females at the three levels and they are to be seeded by the three "seeders" the fires. Here we have one more seeding principle, Vāyu. But Vāyu is the fire in the mid-region (Nir. VII. 2) along with Indra. Here we have another passage about the waters and their seeders "Waters were, indeed, the wives of the gods; they desired sexual union (*tā mithunam aiccanta*) they approached the gods Mitra and Varuṇa" (Jai. Br. I. 140). This *mithuna* is brought in here to support the creation of cattle. At yet another place the waters are said to be approached by gods themselves (*tā devā upāyacchan*); they got the foetus and produced the blue lotuses (Ibid II. 200). Here the waters are obviously on the terrestrial plane as the mention of the blue lotuses indicates. However the concept of the formation of the foetus prior to and as a prerequisite for the gain of rain is well developed in the Vedic people. The word *garbha* had two shades of meaning: i) the foetus; and ii) the one that causes the foetus. The one who causes the foetus is the fire and this happens at three planes as noted earlier the ones to take the foetus are the waters conceived as the females. In this sense is the expression about Vāyu, "he is the *garbha* of the world" (X. 168.4 *bhuvanasya garbhaḥ*) to be understood, where the idea is that the Principle of wind is the impregnator of the cosmic forces. The wind is hence able to fructify the mid-region also. Sāyana (on RV I. 88.1) echoes this belief when he quotes. "In the mid-region all is 'woman'; and Vāyu is the man that unites with all" (*Sarvā Strī madhyamasthānā Pumān Vāyuś Ca sarvagah*) here the context is of rain. Allied to this, but far more common is the concept of the fire (Agni) being the *garbha* of the waters (cf. RV I. 72.2, III. 1.12, 13). As the *garbha* of the the waters he helps form the clouds, by creating foetuses in the watery vapours. He is the *garbha* in the sense of causing the formation of the *garbha*. Likewise the 'Bird' (the sun) is the *apām garbha* ("garbha of the waters") that pacifies by the showers of rain (*vṛṣṭibhis tarpayantam; see I. 164.52*). The concept of *garbha* is here directly connected with rain. Earlier in the same hymn (v. 33) we have the riddle-like and startling expression, "here did the Father plant the foetus" (*atrā pitā duhitur garbham ā dhāt*). The image is of two well opened up saucers (*uttānayoś camvoḥ*) representing the sky and earth, in the interior of which is the foetus placed. The idea is that the sky and the earth must separate and yet unite; the separation is to have a clear duality that is needed for the generating of the *garbha* (where there is no duality, the concept is of the bi-sexual deity, as we shall have occasion to see later). The motif of separation and union will soon be discussed. At another place in an unmistakable and clear reference to rain-waters, we have the *garbhas* oozing out from the darkness of the clouds (X. 73. 2). The sacrifice is the way and the sacrificial fire is the "son" that energates the Father (Heaven) to produce the *garbha* and sustain it (III. 1. 8, 10).

The imagery of the formation of the foetus works on the belief of the two worlds copulating. This image is extended to other gods also, the earth, the plants or the waters being the woman. Thus Indra knows the plants and causes the *garbha* in them (III. 57.3). At the advents of the stormy Maruts (the wind-gods in a band) the earth bears the foetus as a woman does at the union with her husband (V. 58.7; cf. VI. 66.3). About Parjanya we have already seen that he is the seeder who creates the *garbha* in all the female species. Soma causes the *foetus* in the waters called Vasativarī by mixing with them at the ritual of placing the pressed out shoots of Soma in them for swelling and repressing on the ritual-plane (IX. 19. 5); and, by this sympathetic action, he causes the foetus in the mid-region waters; this helps form the clouds. The earth gets the fluid from the mid-region and becomes *garbharasā* for cultivation (I. 164.8). The Maruts again and again (i. e. yearly) help the formation of the cosmic foetus, through the medium of the sacrifice (I. 6.4 *punar garbhatvam erire, dadhānā nāma yajñiyam*). In all the cases of the formation of the *garbha*, the stages were—— the evaporation of the waters by the heat of the sun; and the formation of the cloud by the mid-region fire. This was set in the sacrificial environment; and it was believed that the sacrifice aided this process. The belief that it rains when the mid-region forms a *garbha* continued; and in the Brhatsamhitā Varāhamihira refers to various opinions regarding the formation of the foetus. According to one opinion, the formation began in the month of Kārtika after the bright half (Br. Sam. XXI. 5; also com. by Bhatta Utpala, *kārtika-śuklāntam atītya garbha-divasā syuḥ*). If the rains come after the period of eight months, i.e. about Aṣāḍha, the formation would require roughly the same time as that in the case of a woman.

The concept of the *garbha* prior to the coming of the rains is closely associated with that of the marriage. As we have noted above, the *garbha* is formed, according to one image, by the union between the fire and the waters. But, according to another, the union of the two great elements, Heaven and Earth, forms the basis of rain. There was the belief that these two are to be got married. They are the high parents; and their marriage developed as the basis to the ritual, for the formation of other couples in the ritual-set-up. The belief that these two united to create rain, or were to be so united, is traced to the period at least as old as the RV. It is to be noted however, that the relationship between these two is twofold in the RV. They are in close embrace and are to be separated, which forms the exploit of many gods (II. 12. 2; X. 89. 4 etc); their marriage does not come clearly in the RV. They are said to be full of the nourishing fluid (I. 159. 2 *bhūviretasā pitārā*); and Indra is said to lead these parents for the enjoyment of *retas* (I/155. 3 *ni mātārā nayati retase bhūje*). About these two Agni is said to cause the “milk” of the “cow” and the “*Śukra* of the bull (I. 160. 3), where the couple is presented zoomorphically. These references indicate the release of rain. The intimate relationship of the wife

and husband between them is indicated when the earth is requested to send rain from her *abhra* (cloud), which actually is controlled by Heaven (V. 84. 3) The two myths that of the separation of Heaven and Earth, and that of their union again for the formation of rain (heavenly semen) are presented generally exclusive of each other in the RV. In one place, however, there is fusion of these two motifs : They are said to be separated by the law of Varuṇa; and, in the same context, they are said to be "honey-milking" (*madhudoghe*, a clear rain-symbol) and "gheeful" (*ghṛtavāti*, another rain-symbol VI. 70. 1, 2). This cannot be taken simply as an accidental description. The point marks a step further than the myth of the mere separation of these two elements. This also suggests that it is the union of the separated that is necessary for the release of the nourishing fluid, rain (*retas*). The myth of pure separation¹ is a light-myth, indicating that the close primeval embrace of the elements was due to darkness and non-distinctness of forms. As an extend clarification it might indicate the advent of the first ray of the morning sun after the gloom of the night. This myth is like that of SHU, the light-god from ancient Egypt separating his own children, Seb (male, here Earth) and Nut (female, Sky).² There is no indication of rain in this myth, as it is the myth of creation; and it suggests the first distinction of the two elements due to the first ray of light; but there is another myth regarding Heaven and Earth from New Zealand. The myth is twofold and is as follows: Heaven and Earth, the parents lie in a close embrace; and the gods get produced inside; they get suffocated and devise a plan to separate the parents. Here this exploit is accomplished not by the god of light but by the forest-god, represented by a tree. He plants his head (roots) on the belly of the mother (Earth) and stretches the father (Sky) by his feet (branches) up. These parents are still separated. The Father, being sorry, sometimes weeps, and drops fall on the body of the Mother (Earth) in the form of rain³. Here, as in the Vedic myths, separation is needed for rain. But in this myth rain is not semen which is the case in the Vedic myth. It will be seen that the myth of separation and rain is later than that of mere separation for, rain is an occasional phenomenon while the gain of light from the sun-rise is a daily one. The rain-gain and the union of the high parents in the Vedic tradition gave rise to another myth. It is the marriage of the earth (E) and Heaven (H). This is enacted in rituals and forms the basis of many other ritual-couples (*mithunas*). We refer below to some accounts from the Brāhmanas.

1. For a study, A. Seisenberg, " The Separation of the Sky and the Earth at Creation " , Folk-lore 70, London, 1959, pp. 477-82.
2. R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1959, p. 48f.
3. Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*, I, London, 1948, p. 46; J. Macmillan Brown, *Maori and Polynesia*, London, 1907; A. L. Kroeber and T. T. Waterman, *Source-book in Anthropology*, New York, 1931, P. 444ff. The names of the parents are Rangi (Sky) and Papa (Earth). See also *Folk-tales of All Nations*, Ed. F. H. Lee, New York, 1946.

According to one of the accounts as it occurs in the Ai. Br. (IV. 27): “ These two worlds together; they separated; (now) it did not rain, nor anything fell. The five tribes were thus, in disharmony. The two (H-E) did the gods (then) bring together; they two, coming, together, got married, by this *devavivāha* (*tau sañ yantāv ‘ etam devavivāham vyavahetām*)”. This *devavivāha* has two aspects: One is the performance of sacrifice, by which the smoke is received by the heavenly region and rain from there by the earth; the other aspect is the employment of proper ritual-chants (*sāmans*). It is said in the same context, that the yonder one is impelled (quickened) by this one (Earth) by the Rathantara *sāman*; and the yonder one impels this one by the Bṛhat *sāman*. Further, that the yonder one is impelled by this one by the chant of Nodhas; and the yonder one impels this one by the Śyeta chant. It is also said that this one sends to the yonder one the smoke of the sacrificial fire; and, that yonder one sends her the “ salt ” (or saline earth, *ūṣān*), for salt is nourishment. It will be seen that salt or saline earth symbolizes rain here. The point seems to be that rain is sustaining, and so is salt. The equation is actually spelt out by the Ai. Br. (Ibid *ūṣaḥ-poṣo janamejayaka iti*, where the belief is supported from the reference to the dialogue with Janamejaya). However, the identification seems to have deeper implication. Salt here stands as the symbol of semen also, which is the symbol of rain well attested in the RV. Other symbols for rain like the tear, the sweat and urine are explained this way⁴. Tear occurs as the cosmic fluid of generation (Śat. Br. IV 1.2.1-9). Rain is the perspiration of the Maruts (RV V. 58.7); and rain is also said to be the urine of the cosmic horse (the sun) (Bṛhad. Up. I. 1); and when the RV-seer says that the Maruts lead the cloud for raining, he employs a very clear image, that of the urinating horse (I. 64.6 *atyam na mihe vi nayanti vājinam*). We have about the same account in the Jai. Br. (I. 145), with slight difference: “ These two worlds, being together, separated; nothing dropped from them (ie. no rains came); thereby the gods and the men began to perish; for due to gifts from here (in the form of sacrificial offerings) do the gods get sustenance; and, by what is gifted from above (rain) do men live. They (Bṛhat and Rathantara *sāmans*) said that they would both perform the marriage by means of their own bodies. The Śyeta *sāman* was the body—the dear body of Rathantara, which was itself Agni. The laud of Nodhas⁵ was that of Bṛhat. With these two did they perform the marriage (of H and E). (The result was that) saline earth (salt, *ūṣān*) did the other one send to this one; and this one sent the (sacrificial) smoke to the other one, from here. Rain itself did the other one (Heavenly region) send as gift for her (Earth) from there; (the

4. Mait. Sam. IV. 6.3; cf. Śat. Br. IV. 2. 1. 11 for the eye as the source of rains and of corn; R. Clark, op. cit., p. 72;

5. Nodhas is the seer of RV I. 58.- 64; VIII. 88; IX. 93; here the laud on RV VIII, 88.1 is meant. The Śyeta *sāman* is on RV VIII. 49.1.

actual word used is *sulka*, which is “bridal surety”); and the *devayajana* (sacrificial ground) this one (Earth) for the yonder one (Heaven)”. Here and in the passage from the Ai. Br. noted above, as these two are married, the word used is in the feminine gender (*asaṁ amuṣyai*; and *iyam amuṣyai*); but that probably indicates only the ladies on both the sides, as in a human marriage; they do not indicate that the marriage was between two females, or, better, that the two worlds were here considered to be females. Actually, the upper world is conceived both as the woman and the man in the RV; and the word *rodas*⁶ might indicate that. But, as a sexual couple the feminine cannot be taken as they are. They are to be taken as Man and Woman, forming a couple. In these passages the place of the sacrifice, including the smoke and the offering causing it, stands for the earth (woman); rain and *uṣāḥ* stand for heaven (Man). There is a minute difference between these accounts, which may be noted. The Ai. Br. does not say that the other two *sāmans* (chants) are the own bodies of the Rathantara and the Bṛhat; in the passage from the Jai. Br. they are said to be the own bodies of the Rathantara and Bṛhat. But this is implied even in the Ai. Br. passage. The common motif at both the places is that the marriage between the chants (or lauds) is representative of that of the two worlds. In the other two lauds being the own bodies of the earlier lauds, there is clear indication of the method of substitution and also of innovation in the method of symbolizing the worlds. Here the marriage is for the gain of rain. It is clear that, with the ascendancy of the system of sacrificial details the lauds came to be mentioned. Shorn of the lauds, the picture that remains is of a simple sacrifice where the smoke of the offerings is believed to generate rains. The point reverts to that of the belief in the peculiar relationship between the fire and the waters, noted earlier.⁷ And, if even the fire and the sacrificial aids are taken away (which amounts to ritual-aids) the plain belief is that of the copulating worlds. It would, thus, be clear that the passages referred to above show a mixture of two beliefs: i) Simple coupling which indicates, and acts as a charm for, the coupling of the two worlds—the PARENTS; and ii) coupling in the atmosphere of the fire ritual. In the Vedic rites for rain both these got mixed; but there are rites from elsewhere wherein the two aspects are independent of each other. In the passages examined above the *sāmans* are caused to be married. Now, there is a very important reference to indicate a former couple that represented H and E. This is named as the *mena-menā* couple. The Jai. Br., which heads the tradition of the *sāmans*, refers to the *mena-menā* couple and tries to devalue it. It says: “They caused the *mena* and the *menā* to be married; hence they (the others) say (rightly) that the *mena-menā* are not to be married; it

6. The word is the dual of the fem. ; etymologically it means, “the crying one”.

7. Among the Zuni it was customary to smoke the pipe; see Encl. R. E., XI p. 632a, VIII, p. 505.

is, verily, the marriage of the Bṛhat and the Rathantara that he (the sacrificer or the priest) accomplishes (Ibid, loc. cit. *menā-menam vāva te tad vyavahetām; tasmād āhur na menā-menam vyūhyam iti; bṛhad-rathantarayoreva vaiṣa vivāham abhyārohati*). The whole scheme of parallels may be given as under:

The object : Rain-gain; scheme of coupling

<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Heaven	Earth
Bṛhat-sāman	Rathantara-sāman
Naudhasa-sāman	Śyeta-sāman
Mena	Menā
saline earth	Smoke, offerings through
Salt semen, RAIN	Fire

The mention of the *mena-menā* couple is important in the history and the tradition of the ritual couple-formation. It is clear that it was an earlier type or it may be that when the Jai. Br. refers to it as a method to be discarded, it may be praising the laud-couple method as against the *mena-menā* one. Actually human couples or mixed zoo-anthropomorphic couples did figure in fertility rites of the Vedic Aryans (cf. Jai. Br. II.405 "they cause the Magadha and the prostitute to perform the sexual act at the southern end of the altar", *dakṣiṇe Vdy'ante mithunīkārayanti* at the Mahavrata also the Horse-sacrifice)⁸. The word *menā* has a very ancient history and the RV also mentions this word in similar a meaning. The word occurs six times in the RV, but the corresponding masculine form *mena* is not found in it. The word *menā* indicates a beautiful girl (cf. II.39.2 where it comes as the standard of comparison for the Aśvins) and an auspicious girl (I. 95. 6 in the dual, *ubhe bhadre joṣayete na mene*). The mention that the girls were auspicious is clear in the comparison with the Aśvins and also in the fact of the earth and the sky being called *mene* (Ibid 62.7). In the rest of the places (three in all) the word comes in the singular; but only with Indra. At one place Indra is said to have himself become *menā* of one Vṛṣaṇaśva (I. 51.13 *menābhavo vṛṣaṇśvasya su-krato*). At another place the same is said about him (X. 111.3 *āt menām kṛṇvann acyutaḥ*). In the last place there is a riddle-like expression. Indra is said to have made the *menā* of the horse the "mother" of the cow (I. 121.2 *menām aśvasya parimātaram goḥ*). Scholars take this exploit, generally following Sāyaṇa as a sort of a wonder and believe that Indra produced a cow from the mare.⁹ The expression "the *menā* of the horse" (*aśvasya menām*) here and "the *menā* of Vṛṣaṇaśva" are similar and it is clear that Vṛṣaṇaśva is not an

8. For this motif and Erotic sculpture, see Dange, "Sex in Stone and the Vedic Mithuna." *ABORI*, Diamond J, No. 1978.

9. For example Geldner, "female animal" for *menā*. Macdonell-Keith; *Vedic Index*, take Vṛṣaṇaśva as a real person.

historical figure; but it is simply "the virile horse" (according to the accent) this will show that in "the *menā* of *Vṛṣaṇāśva*". We have the indication of a mixed (zoo-anthropomorphic) couple that acted at a ritual; and, on the authority of the Jai. Br., this couple must have represented the H-E couple for the gain of rain. And the same must have been the concept in the second expression, "the *menā* of the Horse". In the latter context there is a clear reference to the gain of rain along with the motif of the separation of H and E (I. 121.2 *stambhid ha dyām dharuṇam pṛṣāyat*; see also *Sāyāna*). Though there is no clear reference to the marriage of H and E or of the *mena* and the *menā* it is clear enough that the horse is the *mena* the male counterpart of the *menā*. The concept is a mixed one. We are told that it is Indra who became the *menā* suggesting the bi-sexual nature of Indra. Or from another angle the *menā* of the horse is an aspect of Indra in the ritual of rain. We may compare the rituals where a girl impersonates Indra for example, the girl in the rain-forecasting ritual among the Behirs was believed to be possessed of Indra.¹⁰ Bi-sexual deities are not foreign to the Vedic rituals and they are seen also elsewhere.¹¹ The exact ritual-example of the 'menā of the Horse' is the Horse-sacrifice where the *Mahiṣī* (*menā* according to this terminology) united with the *vṛṣan aśva* virile horse cf. the epithets of the horse. Taitt. Sam. VII.9 *vṛṣā vām aśva reto dadhātu* and Vāj. Sam. XXIII 18 *sam añjim cārayā vṛṣan*. The RV does not contain a full-fledged ritual of the Horse-sacrifice, nor is it expected to contain it being only a collection of the *mantras* but it does have two whole hymns (I. 162-3) about the sacrificial horse and the cooking of its flesh. The references to the "menā of the horse" without any doubt whatsoever have to be understood in relation to this sacrifice. There is a probability of the *menā* (and the *mena*) being some sort of dolls, to be ritually married; but it is very weak and there is no proof for this practice. When the Jai. Br. refers to the marriage of the *mena-menā* it obviously refers to this Vedic practice which probably the adherents of the Chāndoga school did not much opt for, as they wanted to stress the importance of the lauds. There is another interesting detail in the case of the marriage between the lauds. It is said that the marriage was to be accomplished at the *nidhana* which is the end of the *sāmans* (Jai. Br. loc. cit.). The *nidhana*, hence was supposed to be the portion whereat the *sāmans* could unite. Now at another place it is said that the *nidhana* is the very semen of the lauds (Ibid I. 211 *tad u hovāca janasruteyaḥ vīryam vā etat sāmno yat nidhanam*). Thus the word *nidhana* in this aspect indicated the genitals.

The marriage of the worlds was, thus, accomplished by various ways. Now, there is another interesting point to be noted in this connection,

10. G. Chaube, "Behir Songs for rain," *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, VI., p.176.

11. See Dange "The Vedic Mithuna-Concept and Practice" *J. Or. Instt., Baroda*, Silver J. No. March-June, 1976.

which has parallels elsewhere. The Jai. Br. has in this respect the following : 'The 'lord' is to be defeated' (loc. cit. *sa īśvaraḥ parābhavitoḥ*). That means, this symbolic ritual of marriage, or that of copulation, was to defeat the 'lord of rain'. The word *īśvara* is not found in the older Vedic texts, though *īśāna* is there. The concept of *īśvara*, hence, is comparatively new and does not, probably, convey the god who is merciful (cf. also *ibid* I. 140; II. 237). In any case here is the concept of a god who is not very helpful; and he has to be defeated for the gain of rain. We might compare the Gandharva Viśvāvasu, or Śuśna (the rough aspect of the sun); and this defeat is with the peculiar and sexual ritual. Belief obtains that the high god who controls rain has to be enraged to release rain. The concept in the present expression is not far from it. This probably explains also the seemingly incestual relationship between Yama and Yamī,¹² or the Father and the Daughter. In all such cases the names are symbolic and hold good only in the ritual set up.

The motif of the copulation of the two worlds is seen prominently in the ritual of Agnicayana, (the piling of the altar), and one of the purposes is the gain of rain. In one of the layers there two bricks, called *retah-sicau* ("sprinklers of semen") are laid. These bricks are identified with the two worlds: Heaven and Earth, giving the idea that the two worlds sprinkle the semen (rain). Actually this is what is said "These worlds sprinkle the semen" (*ibid*; cf. the RV, where they are said to be *bhūriretasā*, noted earlier). The point is further explained in the following way : "From this world does he send the *retas* (semen) in the form of the sacrificial smoke; that becomes rain (in the yonder world) there (*ito vā-ayam retoḥ siñcati dhūmam, sa amutra vṛṣṭir bhavati*); that one sends that (rain) thence (Śat. Br. VII. 4. 2. 22). The thought that lies under the whole description is the sexual union of the two worlds. In another context we have the same motif. The context is the placing of the *paridhi-s* (sticks that form the protective boundary) round the sacrificial fire. The texts enjoin that the priest should place one of the *paridhi-s* with the following *mantra* : May Heaven and Earth have a common 'desire' Go to the speckled (horses) of the Maruts (the clouds); becoming a young cow go to heaven, thence carry rain to us; for, indeed when Heaven and Earth have common 'desire' (*sam-jānāte*) it rains (Śat. Br. I.8.312) The *paridhi-s* were believed to be aspects of the sacrificial fire itself; they were the brothers of the fire¹³. Now when *paridhi* goes to heaven, in the form of a cow (*vaśā*) there is the suggestion of a coupling with the upper fire who then becomes the bull. Thus the *paridhi*-fire and the upper fire (in the mid-region, as is clear from the mention of the Maruts) from the couple and release rain. The Jai. Br. connects the *paridhi-s* with rain

12. See "Dance The Ritual of the Twins" at *Paranjape Fel. Vol.*, Ajanta Pubn. Delhi.

13. Śat. Br. I. 2.3. 1-2; Taitt. Br. III. 2.8. 10.11.

directly. Thus it is said : When the water sprinkled on the *paridhi*-s falls out it is established, for water is semen this one (Earth) is the womb. This way in the womb alone is the semen established, (and) from there (Heaven) is semen (rain) sprinkled down and here the plants are created (I. 53). Here the Jai. Br. works on the set identification of the fire-altar (*vedi*) and the earth and in the sprinkling of the *vedi*, the earth is sprinkled by the heavenly semen (rain)¹⁴.

The principle of the formation of the couple is seen also in the verses called *viṣṭuti* ("Special prayer", lit.). The *viṣṭuti* is formed by grouping three verses or parts of verses each beginning with the sound *hiñ* or *huñ*. The *hiñ* (or *huñ*) sound and the verse forms a *mithuna*, the *hiñ* or *huñ* being the male. Here this *mithuna* is closely associated with the idea of the gain of rain. It is said that he who practises the *viṣṭutis* does not die a premature death and for him rains comes timely. It is also said that the three verses (or parts of verses) that go to form the unit of a *viṣṭuti* represent the three worlds. The *hiñ* (or *huñ*) sound unites them (Pañc. Br. II.2.2 ; 3.5). The union of the worlds (here three) has to be taken to bring rain, though it is not specifically mentioned in this passage. The Jai. Br. associates various chants (*stobha*-s) with rain. It says that chants with dissimilar beginning should be united; for they form the couple which is productive (*ajāmi mithuna* as against *jāmi mithuna*; *jāmi* is mutually similar, like two individuals of the same sex = non-productive; it is the *ajāmi* couple dissimilar one that procreates). After suggesting the formation of the *hiñ* (or *huñ*) with the verses (into a *viṣṭuti*) the text says further : That one (heaven = *hiñ/huñ*) is Bhaga this one (Earth) is Bhid. That one is the man, this one is the woman when the yonder (that) one sprinkles (*varṣati*, "rains down"), this one "brings forth". When indeed, the man sprinkles semen in the woman, does she "brings forth" (Jai. Br. I.330). The couple Bhaga Bhid (H-E) is, indeed symbolic, for the latter has the sense of the 'split' (or the "slit") which indicates the woman; and may be compared with the symbolism in the couple of the chants having 'one less' (woman suggesting the minus member) and 'one more. (suggesting the member in excess, ie. the male organ)¹⁵. The efficacy of the various combinations of the lauds forming couples or even singly, is clear in such expressions as, "Once the rains receded from this world, by means of the Cyavana laud the gods caused it to fall" (Pañc. Br. XIII.5.12).

Various symbolic sounds in the ritual atmosphere were believed to cause it to rain. Thus it is said : "with the utterance 'O *śrāvaya* ' ("cause to it to be heard) the gods created the wind; it advanced with '*astu śrauṣaḥ*' ("may it be heard"), the clouds began to float, with '*yaja*' ('offer') the lightning (sparkled), with '*ye yajāmahe*' (we who sacrifice) the thunder

14. For the *vedi* as the earth, Sat. Br. I.2.5.9; Taitt. Br. I.6.1.5 etc.

15. The topic is discussed elsewhere by the author.

roared, (and) with the utterance 'vaśat', they caused it to rain" (Śat. Br. I.5.2.4) The sexual imagery including the bi-sexual (cf. *menā* = Indra) is seen vividly in the case of the Subrahmanyā laud and the Subrahmanya priest the former being considered as the woman and the latter the man. The Subrahmanya laud (*nigada*) is said to have destroyed the Asuras and the Rākṣasas by the creation of rain itself becoming the wonder in three genders. It is said that when the gods were performing the sacrifice the Asuras and the demons destroyed it, the gods called out loudly, "Brahma-Om." At this call the sun (Āditya) became 'Parjanya' the god of rain and transforming himself into a cloud rushed to the gods. He killed the demons and the Asuras by the lightning and the showers of rain. Now, the Subrahmanyā formula and the priest of that name is said to have all the three genders : "Thus it is said, that the Subrahmanyā is the woman, the man (feminine masculine) and the neuter. As Parjanya advances becoming a cloud thereby he is man; as with the rain-shower and the thunder, thereby woman and as with the lightning, thereby the neuter: "(Śaḍv. Br. I.2). The point is that the sun himself came to the help of the gods when the words "Subrahmanya Om" were uttered. This would indicate that Subrahma is the name of the sun; and in another aspect it is the name of cloud, symbolically. Rain is thus considered as the Brahman, and when it does not flow, it is sealed in the sun and the cloud. Another point is that the Subrahma = Sun = Cloud deity is not only bi-sexual but also tri-sexual. The imagery reverts to the concept of Indra being the *menā*, though he is himself masculine. Thus the general belief of the release of rain being due to the formation of a sexual couple persists. It is the result of a union of the male-female elements and this may be due to two different entities coming to unite or one entity itself splitting to form a sexual duality.

THE CAITYA-YAJŪA*

SINDHU S. DANGE

The *Caitya-yajŪa* is rather an obscure ritual from the *Gṛhyasūtras*—obscure in the sense that it is not found in most of the *Gṛhyasūtra* texts. Actually, it is found only in the *Āśvalāyana Gr. S.* (I. 12.1-4). It consists of an offering to the *caitya*. A similar sacrifice, though not named *Caitya-yajŪa* as such, obtains in the *Pāraskara Gr. S.* (III. 11. 10-11); but the ritual with its name obtains only at the *Āśv. Gr. S.*, which describes it as follows :

At a *Caitya-sacrifice*, the sacrificer should make an offering to the *Caitya* prior to the *sviṣṭakṛt* offering. However, if the *Caitya* is at a distance, the offering is to be sent through a messenger. The messenger is called *Palāśa-dūta* the name indicating a leaf in general, or, more particularly the leaf of the tree of that name (*Butea Frondosa*). The sacrificer is to prepare two balls of food with the verse, “where, O king of the woods, the secret names of the gods you know, there lead these offerings” (RV. V. 5.10). He should then tuck them on a carrying-pole. Pointing to one of the balls he should address the ‘messenger’, “Carry this offering to the *Caitya*”; and pointing to the second one.” This is for you, “indicating that the other ball is the food for the messenger on the way. If there is anything of a danger in between the place of this sacrifice and the actual habitat of the *Caitya*, the sacrificer should give to (ie. place near) the messenger a weapon. If there be a river in the way, he should place something like a raft near the messenger, helping him cross the river.

In the context of the peculiar importance given to the *Caitya-yajŪa* by the *Āśv. Gr. S.* and its absence in other *Gr. S.* texts, it is necessary to probe the concept behind the word *caitya*, and also the social implication thereof. *Gārgya Nārāyana*, the commentator of the *Āśv. Gr. S.* explains the word *caitya* as “*citte bhavah*” (i. e. *caitya* is that which is resolved in the mind). He explains further that if a man makes a vow regarding the offerings to be given to a certain deity in the event of some gain or the like, and fulfils the same, on his accomplishing the gain with the offering of a *sthālipāka*, a *caru* or a beast, the sacrifice is the *caitya-yajŪa* (and the desire itself is the *caitya*). This explanation cannot be accepted; as it is based on the later concept of *citi*, which indicates “mind.” or “soul”, the individual soul as against the cosmic soul.¹ The word *caitya* is also sought to be derived from the word *citā*, which means “funeral pyre”, and that it originally has connection with the funeral pyre, the tumulus raised over the ashes of the dead, or a tree mark-

* From *Ritual-Symbolism from the Gṛhyasūtras*, project by the writer as the Springer Research Scholar, University of Bombay (1977-79).

1. *Encl of Rel. and Ethics* III, p, 335 b; also see *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* III 26, 61.

ing the spot². This opinion is quite acceptable and goes well with the etymological sense of the word *citi*. Here also the point to be noted is that the word *citi* has been formed from the root, \sqrt{Ci} , "to collect", or 'to arrange in particular manner". Rapson says and plausibly so, that the concept of the "funeral monument" seems to have been in vogue from the earliest phases of Indian literature whether Brahmanic Buddhist or Jain, and that the custom of erecting such monuments obtains. The Prakrit and the Pali equivalents of the word are 'chetiya' (as written by Rapson), and it is practically synonymous to *stūpa*. In the later ages, *caitya* was used to indicate any auspicious shrine, or even a sacred tree³. Yet, this cannot be the whole truth. The main point, as we have noted above, is the concept of collection or arrangement in a typical fashion. This was the most original meaning behind the word *citi*. This will be proved from such words as *śyena-citi*, *kañka-citi*, etc.⁴ which indicate the arrangement of the altar in certain magical rites. In line with this comes the *śmaśāna-cit* in the *Śulva-sūtras*.⁵ The word *citi* is used even in the context of the ritual of the dead, which is only one phase of the general concept behind the word. In the rituals of the dead there obtains a rite called *samcayana* (fr. *sam* + \sqrt{Ci} .) which also signifies the collections of bones after cremation and their arrangement in a particular fashion. The bones of a male were collected in a plain jar (or urn); and the bones of a woman were collected in an urn having the signs of a female, such as breasts. The bones were to be picked up with the thumb and the ring-finger (as is the case even this day), and were to be placed into the urn. The bones of the feet were to be placed first, and those of the head last. This urn was, then, placed in a trench devoid of any flow of water, except the rainwater, or it was also, alternatively, placed under the root of a tree⁶. After this came the rite called *Pitṛmedha*, which was also called by the term *śmaśāna*, performed generally on the New-moon day⁷. In this context we have the structure called *loṣṭa-citi*. For this *loṣṭa-citi* the spot selected was to be out of sight for the common men, and out of the village, and in a hidden place. But, it must be open to the sun-rays. To this spot the urn of bone was to be brought; the bones were to be taken away from the urn, and were to be laid on the bed of sacred grass (*darbha*) in such a way that the arrangement would look like the figures of a human-being. The figure was to be covered with an old piece of cloth. The urn was to be des-

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. For the *citis* of various shapes see *Baudhāyana Śulva S.* III-X; *Āpastamba Śulva S.* IV-VI.

5. *Baudhāyana Śulva S.* VIII. 1-3; *Āpastamba Śulva S.* IV 14, 10-15.

6. Aśv. Gr. S. IV 5, 1-8, and the com. of Gārgya Narāyaṇa also Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 366-7.

7. *Encl. of Rel. and Ethics* IV, p. 478, 479^a under "Death and Disposal of the Dead" (Hindu), article by A. Hillebrandt; also *Śrauta Kōśa* I-ii, VSM, Poona pp. 1096-1109.

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troyed. Over the remains was to be erected a monument according to a set pattern. This was the *loṣṭa-citi*. There seems to be no doubt that this gave rise to the concept and practice of the *caitya* and the Buddhist *stūpa*.⁸

What has been described above may be compared with the *caitya* in the *caitya-yajña* in the *Āśv. Gr. S.* That *caitya*, most probably, refers to some such mound, built in a far away and a secluded place, out of reach for people normally, may be beyond a river. As the place was secluded and full of trees, it must have been believed to contain spirits or wild beasts; hence the provision of a weapon ! And the raft for the 'messenger' to cross the river!! It appears that such *caityas* were, more often than not, for some important persons in the family.

The reference to a raft, or a mini-boat, is rather interesting. One of the numerous and frequently mentioned characteristic details regarding the ritual of *śmaśāna* is a piece of reed which is immured, apparently for the purpose of serving as a boat for the dead.⁹ The idea is that the dead have to cross a river, while entering the other world. The *Palāśa-dūta* sent with the offerings to the *caitya* must have been believed to cross this river, on the conceptual plane; hence was the necessity to provide him with a raft or a mini-boat. We have noted earlier that a similar rite obtains in the *Pāraskara Gr. S.* (III.11. 10, 11); and even there the raft is mentioned. We have noted that, among the *Gr. S.*, it is the *Āśv. Gr. S.* which mentions the rite in certain details, though meagre. The indication is that this rite had already begun to die off, its place being taken by the libations to be offered at the *śrāddha* performed in the house itself. And though some holy places, or river-side haunts came to be famous for the performance of *śrāddhas*, the *caitya-yajña* went behind curtain to leave the ritual-drama to the *Śrāddhas*.

8. Cf. *Encl. of Rel. and Ethics*, IV, 479 a The *stūpa* of the Buddhist tradition first comes in the Vinaya texts in the context of the Cchabbaggiyas; see Meena Talim, "Origin of the Cchabbaggiyas", *Proceeding of Prakrit Seminar*, Bombay University, 1971, p. 214. The Vinaya texts may be dated to the third century B. C. But actually, in the written form they belong to 1st Century B. C.; see Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Calcutta, 1933 pp. 5-8.

9. *Encl. Rel. Ethics* IV, p. 479 a, also p. 475 b; also my paper, "A lost (!) Funeral Custom in the R̥gveda (RV X.135)", *Summaries of Papers*, 28th Session, All India Or. Conf., Dharwar, 1976. Even in the ritual of the *Śrāddha* a mini-boat is made of sugarcane and is given to the brahmin in the funeral ceremony; See *Garuḍa Purāṇa*. II 4. 36 & 37.

THE MOON IN THE VEDIC LITERATURE*

G. V. DAVANE

The problems of the identity of the moon with Soma has attracted attention of the scholars long since. In this paper there is an attempt to collect together all possible details about the moon from the Vedic literature to analyse them, and then to study the various aspects of the moon critically and comparatively. The information has been collected from the Saṁhitās of the four Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Āraṇyakas and the principal Upaniṣads.

1. THE MOON IN THE RV :

(a) *The words for the moon* — The most common word is 'candramāh'. The word 'candra' occurs mostly as an adjective, meaning 'bright', which Sāyaṇa renders as 'delighting'. In some places, as a noun, it means 'gold'. The authors of the *Vedic Index* have said that 'candra' in the sense of the moon has been used for the first time in the *AV*; but even in the *RV* the word can better be interpreted as the moon in a few places e. g. II.2, 4 चन्द्रमिव सुरुचं ह्यार आ देवुः. Though Sāyaṇa takes it to mean gold, Griffith translates it as the moon. Similarly in X 106, 8 Aśvins have been addressed as 'पतरेव चचरा चन्द्रनिर्णिक'. Here Sāyaṇa gives both the meanings 'the moon' and 'gold'. Wilson follows the former in his translation. In cases like these 'candra' clearly means the moon; in a few more cases 'candra' as the moon would yield a better meaning. The word 'indu' mostly occurs in the sense of 'Soma' and very rarely in the sense of the moon. Grassmann in his *Wörterbuch zum Rgveda* gives 'the shining drop' as the meaning and applies it to Soma alone. The word 'candramāh' means the moon only. It is derived from mā to measure. The word 'Soma' is used in the sense of the moon rarely in books IX and X.

(b) *Information about the moon* — (i) The phases of the moon नवौनवो भवति जायमानः (X 85,19). (ii) The regularity of appearance, following the laws of Varuṇa (I 24, 10). (iii) The measurer of time, the banner of the day (X 85, 19). (iv) The maker of the seasons (X 85, 5, X 85, 18 etc.). (v) The prolonger of life (X 85, 19). (vi) The sun and the moon as companions entering upon an agreement (X 85, 18) and as two forms of Agni (I 95, 1). (vii) The lustre of the moon borrowed from the sun (I 84, 15 — according to Sāyaṇa and Griffith). (viii) The moon as an eagle running through the aerial waters (I 105, 1). (ix) As lying in the lap of the stars (X 85, 2). (x) As a suitor of Sūryā — when identified with Soma (X 85). (xi) Born from the mind of the Cosmic Being (X 90, 13).

* This paper was read at the XXVIII Session of the *All-India Oriental Conference*, held at Dharwar in November 1976.

(c) *Candra-Soma identity* — This aspect of the moon has been studied by a number of scholars Hillebrandt¹ claimed that throughout the *RV* Soma primarily means the moon and only secondarily as the juice. The opinion is repeated by Griffith,² though he does not deny such identification in the later portions of the *RV*, as is clear from his introduction to book IX. Griswold³ contradicts this view and maintains that the moon was identified with Soma in the post-Vedic literature. Bergaigne⁴ contends that Soma was not accepted as the moon in the *RV*, but more definitely was identified with the Sun. Macdonell⁵ feels that in the whole of the *RV* there is no single distinct and explicit instance either of the identification or of the conception that the moon is the food of the gods. Yet in the *Vedic Index* the foot-note to the word 'candra' is "The identification is closely found in the later portions of the *RV*". The same opinion is expressed by Eggeling.⁶ Akshay Kumari Devi⁷ remarks — "The Soma-drink, the Soma-plant and Soma as the moon, though entirely separate, have been, in later Vedic times, confused into a religious ritual and mysticism."

In the light of these various opinions we can study the references to Soma and Indu critically and try to review the problem once again. It is clear that the word 'candra' or 'candramas' has never been used in the sense of the Soma-juice. The word Indu, on the other hand almost always means 'the juice' and very rarely as in VI 39, 3 'the moon'. As far as 'Soma' is concerned, the word is clearly used in the sense of the moon and the identity of the two is clearly intended in some passages e. g.

I 34, 2. त्रयः पवयो मधुवाहने रथे सोमस्य वेनामनु विश्व इसद्विदुः ।

VIII 48, 13 त्वं सोम पितृभिः संविदानोऽनु द्यावापृथिवी आ तंतन्य ।

IX 17, 5 अति त्री सोम रोचना रोहन्न भ्राजसे दिवस्य ।

IX 27, 5 एष सूर्येण हासते पवमानो अधि दधि ।

IX 97, 9 दिवा हरिर्ददशे नक्तमृजः ।

X 85, 3 सोमं यं ब्रह्माणो विदुर्न तस्याश्नाति कश्चन ।

IX 86, 9 अधि द्यामस्थात् राजा पवित्रमत्येति ।

Though it is so, the two are often mentioned together separately e. g.

VI 47, 4 असं स वरिमाणं पृथिव्या सोमो दाधारोर्वन्तरिक्षम् ।

VIII 82, 8 यो अप्सु चन्द्रमाइव सोमश्चमूषु ददशे ।

1. *Vedische Mythologie*.

2. *Hymns of the Atharvaveda* XIV 3. f. n.

3. *The Religion of the Rgveda*.

4. *Vedic Religion* - A Bergaigne, translated into English by Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, Pt. I.

5. *Vedic Mythology*. p. 113.

6. Translation of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I 6, 4, 5. f. n.

7. *Evolution of the Rgvedic Pantheon*.

There are some places where 'Soma', 'drapsa' etc. have been interpreted as 'the moon' by the scholars like Griffith; but where, they can be better understood as the juice e. g. VIII 96, 13 अवं द्रप्सो अंशुमतीमतिष्ठदियानः कृष्णो दशभिः सहस्रैः । ; IX 15,5 where सिन्धूनां पतिर्भवन् suits the juice better. So also in X 30, 2 अरुणः सुपर्णः can be better taken as the juice.

Thus candra-soma identity was just taking its shape in the *RV* and was not yet fixed in the minds of the Vedic seers. It should be noted that the 'Haoma' had no connection with the moon in the Avestā. It is clear that the moon was always super human for the Rgvedic seers, while Soma, in the beginning was just a beverage, dear to gods and men. As the next step it was first identified with 'the Drink of Immortality' and then only it was elevated to the rank of a deity. Now the flowing juice has a shining glow. It was often referred to as 'चन्द्रास इन्द्रवः', thus reminding the poets of the bright moon. Further the moon was looked upon as the store-house of nectar in other mythologies like the Teutonic also. Hence the invigorating Soma-juice, the Drink of Immortality, easily offered itself for identification with the moon. The detailed process in this regard has been clearly described by Griswold.⁵

(d) A few remarks about *RV* I 84, 15 —

अत्राह गोरमन्वत् नाम त्वष्टुरपीच्यम् । इत्था चन्द्रमसो गुहे ॥

According to Sāyana the ऋ means : The rays of the sun found their concealed lustre in this orb of the moving moon. Wilson construes गेः with त्वष्टुः and understands that the rays of the sun found bull of Tvaṣṭṛ, concealed in the mansion of the moon. Griffith takes 'The people' as the subject of and refers Tvaṣṭṛ's Bull to the sun. In the f. n. to the ऋ he takes it as explaining the fact that the light of the moon is borrowed from the sun. However, Geldner understands it quite differently. He translates it as follows :— "There, in the house of the moon, they (i.e. gods or seers) reminded themselves of the secret name of the cow of Tvaṣṭṛ". In the detailed f. n. to this stanza he connects the triplet 13-15 with III 48, 2-4 and explains that this cow of Tvaṣṭṛ is the Soma-plant, which was kept concealed by him on the Śuryaṇavat. Though it is not possible for us to discuss the whole of that interesting f. n. here, it clearly points out the identity of Soma with the moon. Further I feel that the clear reference to 'the house of the moon' can be taken as the first indistinct hint at the moon being an abode of the departed souls. I 164, 30 refers to a place 'मद्या आ पस्त्यावाम्' where a soul lives on Svadhā. May this also not refer to the moon, amidst the aerial waters?

2. THE MOON IN THE OTHER SAMHITĀS :

(A) The ideas about the moon, as seen in the *RV* are now developed further.

(a) The phases of the moon, hence the moon as the measurer of time and prolonger of life (*AV* VII 81, 2; IX 10, 9; X 7, 33; X 8, 25; *YV* (*Vāj. Mādhy. S.* XIII 9, 10 and 45, 46; *Kāṇ. S.* XXV 3, 7, XXV 9, 2; *T. S.* VII 4, 8, 12)

— Repeating the Brahmodya कः स्विकेकाली चन्द्रमा जायते पुनः ।

कः स्विकेकाली चरति क उ स्विज्जायते पुनः ।

किं स्विद्धिमस्य भेषजं किंम्वापनं महत् ॥९॥ वा. मध्यन्दिन शु. य. सं. XXIII 9

सूर्य एकाकी चरति चन्द्रमा जायते पुनः ।

अग्निहिमस्य भेषजं भूमिरावपनं महत् ॥१०॥

(b) The moon as the creator of seasons (*AV* VIII 8, 23; XIII 3). It is in this connection that the moon is described as staying with Anumati, the 14th night and Rākā, the Full-moon night. (*YV Kāṭh. S.* XII 8, *Mai. S.* IV 3, 5).

(c) Birth of the moon from the mind of the Cosmic Being and her intimate connection with the mind (*AV* XIX 6, 7; *YV Vāj. Mādhy. S.* XXXI 12.)

(d) The sun and the moon as playing children and companions performing different functions (*AV* VII 81, 1).

(e) Candra-Soma identity has been fully accepted in the other Saṁhitās. The moon is called the lord of the planets as well as of the plants. (*AV* VI 21, 2; XIV 1, 1—3; XIX 6, 11; XX 143, 1. *YV Kāṭh. S.* XI. 3, XI 5; *Mai. S.* II 1, 5; III 2, 11; IV 4, 12; *T. S.* II 4, 4, 20 *Vāj. Mādhy. S.* XXXIII 90.)

(f) Many of the Saṁhitās repeat *RV* I 84, 15 अत्राह गोस्मन्त... discussed above. (*AV* XX 42, 3; *YV Mai. S.* II 13, 6; *SV Pūrvārcika* II 4, 3; *Uttarārcika* III 8, 3).

(B) In addition to this some interesting points about the moon have been added by these Saṁhitās.

(i) *AV* VIII 2 calls the sun and the moon as the sons of Aditi. *AV* XVII describes them as the right and the left eyes of the Supreme Being. *Vrātya*, while *AV* X 7, 33 refers to the moon as the eye of Brahmā; so also *Mai. S.* IV 6, 3, *Mai. S.* IV 2 calls the moon as the eye of Pitr̥s, while IV 6, 1 calls the sun and moon as eyes of Prajāpati.

(ii) *AV* VIII 8, 23 poetically calls the moon 'the driver of the car of the year.'

(iii) The effect of the moon upon the vegetation and the medicinal herbs is referred to very often in this Saṁhitā. VI 21 calls the moon as the best of the medicines.

(iv) The moon is intimately connected with the well-being of progeny and cattle. In the *AV* the deities Anumati and Rākā, so also Sinivālī and Kuhu (Amāvasyā) are often invoked for the welfare of the children and the pregnant woman.

(v) The *Sāmhitās* refer to the fact that the light of the moon is borrowed from the sun and further look upon the moon as a Gandharva, the stars being the nymphs :—

सुषुम्णः सूर्यरोमिदचन्द्रमा गन्धर्वस्तस्य नक्षत्राण्यप्सरसो ऽ (मे) कुरयो नाम ।
(*YV Vāj. Kān. S. XX 2,3; Kāth. S. XVIII 14; Kapis. S. XXIX 3; Mai. S. II 12, 2*). Similarly *Mai. S. II 13, 15* addresses the Goddess of Planets as *Nakṣatrani* and says.” सा चन्द्रमास गर्भमधत्थाः ।

(vi) In this connection *Kāth. S. XI 3* gives an interesting account :—

प्रजापतिर्व सोमाय राज्ञे दुहितुरददानक्षत्राणि ।

स रोहिण्यामेवावसत् ।

.... तस्मिन्नृते यक्ष्मोऽगृह्णाच्चन्द्रमा वं सोमो राजा ।

यद्राजानं यक्ष्मोऽगृह्णात्तद्राजयक्ष्मस्य जन्म ।

Prajāpati offered his daughters, the *Nakṣatras* to king *Soma*, the moon. He stayed with *Rohini* alone. Hence the other daughters complained to the father, who warned the son-in-law to behave properly. He agreed; but failed to keep the promise. The father-in-law cursed him and the moon was caught hold of by Tuberculosis or consumption. This is how the waning of the moon is interpreted.

(vii) *Kapis. S. XXXVIII 2, XLV 2* calls the moon as *Vṛtra* and looks upon the moon's disappearance on the New Moon night at *Vṛtra* being killed by *Indra*.

(viii) *T. S. V 2, 33* interprets the black-spot on the body of the moon as a worthy offering made by the Earth into the Heaven. This is the first attempt to interpret the spot; through the eye of a priest.

(ix) *YV Vā. Mādhy. S. XXIV 35, XXV 7, 5* and *Mai. S. III 14, 16* give an interesting detail. In the list of the animals to be offered to the various deities we read : पुरुषमृगश्चन्द्रमसः । Is this not an early hint at the spot on the moon being looked upon as a deer?

(x) *AV XIX 9, 10* refers to the ग्रहाश्चान्द्रमासाः (The demons that seize the moon).

3. THE MOON IN THE BRĀHMAṆAS :

(A) What the *Sāmhitās* have said about the moon is repeated and developed further.

(a) The phases of the moon—The riddle referring to चन्द्रमा जायते पुनः । is repeated e. g. *T. Br. III 9, 5*.

The moon as the measurer of time—*Ś. Br. V. 7,1, 19* remarks that the year is linked upto the moon by means of the seasons. *G. Br. Pūrvabhāga II 8* looks upon the two fortnights as the wings of the bird—the moon.

(b) The moon as the creator of days, nights and seasons, (*T. Br. III, 1,6; J. Br. 314; Ś. Br. 1, 6, 4, 5; Śaḍ. Br. II 4, II 10*). In this connection the

moon is looked upon as having intercourse with Anumati and Rākā (*G. Br. Uttarabhāga* I 10; *Śad. Br.* IV 6). Similarly the moon and the stars are described as forming a loving couple. *G. Br. Pūrvabhāga* I 33 remarks — यत्र ह्यैव चन्द्रमास्तत्र नक्षत्राणि । यत्र वै नक्षत्राणि तश्चन्द्रमा इत्येते द्वे योनी एकं मिथुनम् ।

(c) Similarly the statement of the *Saṁhitās* सुवुष्णः सूर्यरश्मिश्चन्द्रमाः । तस्यवेकुरयो नाम । is repeated in the *Brāhmaṇas* e. g. *Ś. B.* IX 4, 19, obviously accepting the fact that the light of the moon really comes from the moon. *T. Br.* III 11, 1 says that the stars are established in the moon, and the moon in the sun. Similarly while explaining the derivation of the word *Āditya* *Ś. Br.* XI 8, 3, 1 remarks that *Āditya* takes away the lustre of the moon.

(d) Candra-Soma identity has been totally accepted now. *G. Br. Pūrvabhāga* V 14 says that Soma becomes the moon and visits the whole universe. *J. Br.* III 50 records that Soma once disappeared from the gods. When they searched for it तेषु एतेन रूपेणादृश्यत यश्चन्द्रमंसः । Similarly in the *Ai. Br.* VII 10, *Ś. Br.* XI 1,5,3 and in many other places the identity has been clearly expressed.

(e) The sun and the moon dividing their functions as अहरेव नावन्यतरोऽभिजयेत्, रात्रिमन्वतरः । *J. Br.* II 98.

(f) The intimate connection of the moon with the mind has been alluded to in a number of places e. g. *Ś. Br.* XIV 5,5, 7; XIV 6, 2, 13; *G. Br. Pūrvabhāga* II 12. The moon is identified with the mind in *Ś. Br.* XIV 4, 1, 17; XIV 6, 1, 7; *J. Br.* II 54.

(g) The sun and the moon are looked upon as the eyes of *Prajāpati* (*Ś. Br.* VII 1, 2, 7) and the eyes of *Svāhā*, the daughter of *Brahmā* (*Sad. Br.* IV 7).

(h) The moon is connected with the well-being of the cattle (*Ś. Br.* XI 1, 5, 1—2). (i) The moon has also been looked upon as *Vṛtra* in the *Śāṅkh. Br.* III 5, 6; *Ś. Br.* VI 2, 2, 16 remarks चन्द्रो वै देवानां पशुस्तं देवाः पीर्णमासामालभन्ते । Eggeling adds a f. n. that here the moon has been identified with *Vṛtra*.

(j) As in the *T. S.* the *Ai. Br.* IV 27 calls the black spot on the moon as the *देवयजन* established by the Earth in the Heaven.

(B) Further the *Brāhmaṇas* have added some new ideas about the moon--

(i) The waning of the moon is looked upon as the moon being eaten by the gods (*Ai. Br.* IV 4, VII 10; *Ś. Br.* VII 3,1, 46; XI 1,3,3; XIV 9,1,10; *Ś. Br.* XI 1,5,3 says that Candra-Soma is pressed by gods on the Full Moon night and in the remaining fortnight the moon enters waters, plants and cattle and then returns after a fortnight. (ii) If the *RV* had faintly suggested the moon's connection with the departed souls (Section I above); the idea is

now fully developed in the Brāhmanas (Ś Br. XIV 9,1,10). Ś. Br. IX 1,2,39 says that whenever a sacrifice is completed the essence goes to the moon. Ś. Br. IX 4, 4, 1 describes the moon as one of the six doors, leading to Brahman. J. Br. III 341 remarks:—One who performs Agnihotra goes to Ādityaloka, then mounts the chariot of the sun-beams and goes to the moon. (iii) T. Br. II 2, 10, 3 and J. Br. III 368 give an interesting derivation of the word 'candramāh.' Prajāpati's son Indra cried for the moon 'चंद्र मे आहर'. The father brought the lustre from the heaven. The text remarks स यश्चन्द्रं मे इत्यब्रवीत् तस्माच्चन्द्रमाः। (iv) Ai. Br. symbolically interprets the passing of rain into the moon, and the disappearance of the moon on the Amāvasyā as death of these two. (v) Ś. Br. XI 1, 5, 1-2 describes the moon as a watch-dog eager to seize the cattle of the sacrificer and suggests that the black spot on the moon is a hare. J. Br. III 341 clearly identifies the departed performer of Agnihotra with the hare. एष वै शशो य एषोऽन्तश्चन्द्रमसि।

4. THE MOON IN THE ĀRANYAKAS :

(a) The Candra-Soma identity is very often repeated e. g. Śāṅkh. Ār. IV. 9.

(b) The Sun and the moon as forms of one lustre. Śāṅkh. Ār. IV. 12.

(c) The moon as abode of the manes and the waxing and the waning of the moon being dependent upon the manes. Śāṅkh. Ār. III 2 तेषां प्राणैः पूर्वपक्ष आप्यायते। तानपरपक्षेण प्रजनयति। Being an abode of Pitṛs the moon is called 'स्वर्गस्य द्वारम्' in Tai. Ār. X 64, 1.

(d) Intimate connection of the moon with the mind. The birth of the moon from the mind of the Cosmic Being—अभितप्तस्य हृदयं निरभिद्यत हृदयान्मनो मनसश्चन्द्रमाः। remarks चन्द्रमा मनो भूत्वा हृदयं प्राविश्यत्। (Ai. Ār. II 1, 7). Again Ai. Ār. II 4, 3 The identity is repeated in Ai. Ār. II 1, 5, Śāṅkh. Ār. IV. 8, X 4, XI 6. Śāṅkh. Ār. XI 1 says that Prājapati elevated the human being and placed the various deities in him and says, "मनसि चन्द्रमसम्।". Tai. Ār. refers to परमात्मन् as moving in the moon through the mind.

(e) The moon's favour is looked upon as essential for the progeny and the cattle.

5. THE MOON IN THE UPANISADS :

(a) The well-established identity of the moon with Soma forms a common topic e. g. Ch. Up. I 6, 4, II 9, 1, III 13, 2; Br. Up. II 1, 3 (where, following the Ś. Br. the moon is called बृहत्पाण्डरवासाः सोमो राजा। Kau Up. II 9. Mai. Up. calls the moon' a sprout of nectar.'

(b) The most favourite reference to the moon is as the abode of the departed souls, in the description of the Dhūmādimārga. Ch. Up. IV. 15 3; V 10, 2; V 10, 4; Br. Up. V 16, 1; VI 2, 16; Pr. Up. I. 9, Kau. Up. I 2 (where the moon is called स्वर्गद्वारम्).

(c) The intimate connection of the moon with the mind is also a very common topic e. g. *Ch. Up.* I 3, 16; II 5,7; III 1,6; II 2,13; *Ai Up.* 1 4.

(d) In the Pañcāgnividyā the moon's connection with the rain also is suggested (*Bṛ. Up.* VI 2, 10).

6. A FEW SIMILAR IDEAS IN OTHER MYTHOLOGIES OF THE WORLD :

Thus the various aspects of the moon have attracted attention of the Vedic Aryans, as was the case with other primitive people also. Mr. Fallaize⁹ has rightly said, "The moon occupies a prominent place in the primitive folk-lore, for which her periodical growth, diminution and disappearance, phases more marked than those of the sun, may, not unreasonably be held to be responsible". Many of the ideas about the moon as found in the Vedic literature are met with in other,¹⁰ mythologies also.

(a) As in the Vedic literature so also in the Teutonic mythology 'the Elixir of Life,' issuing from Mimmer's well is kept by Odin in the moon.

(b) The waxing and waning of the moon have been variously interpreted in different mythologies, e. g. In the Eddic mythology the God Mane steers the course of the moon for this purpose.

(c) The notion of the eclipses of the sun and the moon being caused by a demon or demons is traced to Svarbhānu in the *RV.V* 40. It is repeated in other places in the Vedic literature also. This has its parallels in other¹¹ mythologies like the Teutonic, Siberian etc.

(d) The spot on the moon has been variously interpreted in the different mythologies. Mangolians and Altai's believe that a hare dwells in the moon. The Chinese believe that the rabbit 'Pu' sits there pounding the drugs of the elixir. According to a Mexican myth once the sun angrily threw a rabbit on the face of the moon, which darkened the moon's face. In a number of myths a hare is associated with the moon.

(e) If the Vedic Aryans look upon the moon as an eye of the creator, the moon has been described as springing from the creator's eye in the Japanese and Indonesian mythologies, reminding us of the Puranic myth about the birth of the moon from Atri's eye.

(f) The moon's effect upon vegetation and fertility is recognised in the Celtic and Armenian mythologies.

(g) The moon's intimate connection with the mind also is noted in other mythologies e. g. The Armenians call epilepsy as 'the moon disease.'

8. *The religion of the Rgvada*, P. 237.

9. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 63.

10. *Mythology of All Races*, Volumes I to XII.

11. My paper on 'the Rāhu-Ketu myth'—in *Vishveshvarananda Indological Journal* Vol. XIII 1975.

The sun and the moon have been looked upon as forming a couple, the moon being mostly the female, in many mythologies. It is, however, worth noting that this idea is totally absent in the Vedic literature.

Many of the beautiful fancies about the moon, which later became favourite with the classical Sanskrit poets can be traced to the Vedic literature.

A list of abbreviations used

RV—*R̥gveda*; *YV*—*Yajurveda*; *SV*—*Sāmaveda*; *AV*—*Atharvaveda*; *Vāj.* *Mādhy. S.*—*Vājasaneyī Mādhyandina Saṁhitā*; *Kāṇ.S.*—*Kāṇva Saṁhitā*; *T. S.*—*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*; *Kāṭh. S.*—*Kāṭhaka. Saṁhitā*; *Mai. S.*—*Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*; *Kāpiṣ. S.*—*Kapiṣṭhala Saṁhita*; *T. Br.*—*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*; *Ś. Br.*—*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. *G. Br.*—*Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*; *J. Br.*—*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*; *Sad. Br.*—*Śaḍviṁsa Brāhmaṇa* *Ai. Br.*—*Aitaraya Brāhmaṇa* *Śāṅkh. Br.*—*Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*; *Sāṅkh. Ā.*—*Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*; *Tat. Ar.*—*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. *Ai A.*—*Aitaraya Āraṇyaka*; *Ch. Up.*—*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*; *Br. Up.*—*Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*; *Kau. Up.*—*Kauṣitakī Upaniṣad*; *Mai. Up.*—*Maitryupaniṣad*; *Ai. Up.*—*Aitareyopaniṣad*; *Pr. Up.*—*Praśnopaniṣad*

DHARMAPĀLA'S STONE BOAT

M. K. DHAVALIKAR

In the *Rāmācharita* of Sandhyakara Nandin occurs the following verse :

*Tatkulādipo nripatirabhūd
Dharmo dhāmvān ivekshvākuḥ
yasyābdhimitīrṇāgrāvaṇau
rarājāpi kīrttiravadātā (I, 4)*

The verse, which occurs in connection with the eulogy of the famous king of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, Dharmapāla, has proved to be controversial only because of the reference to the stone boat of the king. But even the ancient commentator has explained the word *grāvaṇau* as *śilā-naukā* meaning thereby a stone boat and there should not therefore be any doubt regarding the correct meaning of the word which is very clear. Dr. R. C. Majumdar and his associates who have edited the text of the *Rāmācharita*, however, do not accept the meaning; they have observed that "What is meant by stone boat (*śilā-naukā*) is not very clear. What important historical event is alluded to in this obscure passage, we shall perhaps never know." They are of the opinion that the passage probably implies a naval expedition undertaken by the king.¹

Another savant, Professor Hem Chandra Ray Choudhuri, has explained the meaning of the passage with the help of the evidence from the Javanese text *Tantu Panggelaran*. This particular text is of the nature of a *Purāna* and thus contains material relating to theology, cosmogony, and mythological lore.² In a story of a *guru*, given in this text, there is a reference to a king using a piece of stone as boat. Dr. Ray Choudhuri observes that the reference to the stone boat by the *guru* in the story "is doubtless intended to illustrate his possession of miraculous powers. It is not improbable that posterity attributed to Dharmapāla, just those magic powers that they had learnt to associate with the adepts of the *Bhujāngamaṇḍalas* or orders of Saiva or Buddhist wizards. . . . Sandhyakara Nandin lived some three centuries after Dharmapāla. In his days the figure of the real founder of Pāla imperialism must have become almost mythical, and we need not be surprised at the attribution to him of the use of a stone-boat like that of Mahampu Palyat of Javanese legend."³

1. *Rāmācharita* of Sandhyakara Nandin edited by R. C. Majumdar and others, Rajshahi, 1939, Introduction, p.x.

2. R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Dacca, 1938, Vol. II, pp. 113, 133.

3. "The Stone Boat of Dharmapāla" in *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, Dr. R. K. Mookerji Vol., Pt. II, Allahabad, 1947, p. 604.

It would thus become clear that scholars are not prepared to accept the meaning of the word given by the commentator, possibly because the very word 'stone boat' is something which, on the face of it, looks absurd. But on no account the reference to a stone boat should be dismissed as absurd simply because there exists such a stone boat of considerable antiquity, more probably of the period to which the king Dharmapāla belongs. Fortunately one such boat hewn out of stone has been recently brought to light by Dr. Tarun Chandra Sharma of the Department of Anthropology, Gauhati University, Gauhati. The boat lies on the hill in the University Campus at Jalukbari, Gauhati. It cannot be said to be of exquisite workmanship. The very fact that it lies on the top of the hill shows that it was in all probability fashioned there itself for carving it somewhere and then hauling it to the top of the hill would indeed have an arduous task, although not impossible.

The stone boat at Jalukbari does not possess any characteristic features which would enable us to date it precisely on the basis of stylistic evidence and any attempt at dating it is therefore bound to be futile. But fortunately there is some evidence which is of immense help in this connection. It is furnished by a few large terracotta boats which have been found in different parts of the city of Gauhati. There are three such terracotta boats which have so far come to light. Of these, two are in the University Campus at Jalukbari itself and the third is located at the foot of the Navagraha hill of the city of Gauhati. The latter was excavated by the writer⁴ and has proved to be extremely interesting inasmuch as it is the only of its kind in the country.

We carried a small excavation at the foot of the Navagraha hill in order to study the nature of the huge terracotta boat, the plan of which was discernible on the surface. On excavation, the boat was found to be 2.95 m long, 85 cm. wide and 24 cm. thick while the maximum thickness of its edge was 12 cm. The boat lay in an exactly north-south orientation. Its southern end was destroyed by a later pit while in the middle it was destroyed by the pit dug recently to bury the wires supporting an electric pole.

The boat is made of fine clay and is well baked. It has an oblong, projecting prow and similar stern while the base is flat. It is very likely that the boat was made separately elsewhere and carried to the place where it now lies. The exterior of the boat is somewhat rough, but the interior is nicely smoothened.

4. The writer and his colleague Dr. Z. D. Ansari were invited by Professor M. C. Goswami, Head of the Department of Anthropology, Gauhati University, Gauhati to carry out archaeological excavations at Gauhati in collaboration with them in the field season of 1970 and we were accordingly deputed by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, then Head of the Department of Archaeology, Deccan College, Poona. The writer is thankful to the authorities of both the Gauhati University and the Deccan College, Poona for permitting him and his colleague Dr. Ansari to excavate at Gauhati.

A few potsherds were found within the boat while the pottery from the surrounding area in the trench is what we now call the "Ambari Ware"⁵. The circumstantial evidence therefore leads us to assign the boat to the first cultural period at Ambari, that is, Circa 7th to 12th century. A. D.

Another similar boat has also been found recently 0.5 km. south of the Gauhati University Campus; it lies five feet below ground. It is about 4 m long, 1 m wide and 1 m deep. It came to light accidentally when some earth digging was in progress. Yet one more similar boat, also in the University Campus at Jalukbari, was unearthed by Dr. Tarun Chandra Sharma, of the Department of Anthropology, Gauhati University and it is presently enclosed within a structure of an impermanent nature with a view to protecting it from the ravages of natural and human agencies as well.

The discovery of these boats at Gauhati and its environs is indeed unique and has no parallel not only within the country but also elsewhere. It recalls to the mind the Sutton Hoo ship burial in England. The latter is dated to the middle of seventh century A. D. But it was huge wooden boat in sharp contrast to the terracotta boat at Navagraha which therefore can be said to be the only of its kind. The question then naturally arises regarding the exact purpose of the boat. As the boat was anteriorly robbed to its contents, it is difficult to hazard any guess regarding its function. The making of the boat must have involved considerable expense of time and labour. It could therefore have been ordered to be made only by a dignitary. Very probably it was meant for enshrining mortal remains. Other terracotta boats of Gauhati may also have been used for the same purpose. This hypothesis gains support from the fact even today the custom of canoe burials is in vogue among some of the Nāga tribes of Assam.⁶

The existence of the terracotta boats and a stone boat in close proximity to each other in the Jalukbari campus is sufficient to show that they may not be far removed from each other in point of time and we may not be far off the mark if we assign the stone boat also to the second cultural period at Gauhati from 7th to 12th centuries A. D.⁷ The reign of the king Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty also falls within this span. This would suggest that Dharmapāla may have ordered a stone boat to be made like the one at Gauhati. It may or may not have contained his ashes. But it should be stated in this connection that symbolic burials without ashes are not unknown in India; the most convincing evidence of symbolic burials is reported from Kalibangan,

5. Z. D. Ansari & M. K. Dhavalikar, "Excavations at Ambari (Gauhati) : 1970", *Journal of the University of Poona (Humanities Section)*, No. 35, 1971, pp. 82-83.

6. The practice of canoe burials is also in vogue among many Pacific Islanders. See G. J. M. Gerrits, "Burial-Canoes and Canoe-Burials in the Trobriand and Marshall Bonnet Islands, (Melanesia)", *Anthropos*, Vol. 69, No. 1-2, (1974), pp. 224-231.

7. Z. D. Ansari & M. K. Dhavalikar, *Op. cit.* pp. 79-81.

a Harappan settlement on the banks of the ancient Saraswati.⁸ And it is exactly this idea of the symbolic burial which is hinted at by the stanza quoted at the beginning; it tells us that the king's (Rāmapāla's) glory and the stone boat traversed the high seas. The stone boat thus symbolizes the glory of the king and it can therefore be interpreted to mean that the glory of the king was perpetuated by the stone boat.

8. B. K. Thapar, "Synthesis of the Multiple Data as obtained from Kalibangan", *vide* D. P. Agrawal and A. Ghosh (Jt. Ed.), *Radio-Carbon and Indian Archaeology*, Bombay, 1973, p. 270.

BHOJA'S SRNGARAPRAKASA

Prakrit Text Restored

V. M. KULKARNI

In various articles contributed to various journals I have so far endeavoured to restore the corrupt Prakrit passages in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (SP) by tracing them to their primary or secondary sources. As regards the restoration of such passages there was absolutely no question of any controversy. For it was based on solid basis. But a considerable number of Prakrit passages in SP are such as cannot be traced to their sources primary or secondary. Their sources are irretrievably lost. And they are not quoted in any other work either on poetics or prosody or grammar.

Naturally, the restoration of such Prakrit passages may not be universally acceptable. There is scope for other scholars to suggest better or more meaningful emendations. As most of these Prakrit passages are at present almost unintelligible on account of the corrupt readings or loss of letters/words in the text, indicated by dots by the Editor, I venture to present in this paper seventy-five of these obscure Prakrit gāthās, corrected (and provided with Sanskrit chāyā by me.)

- (1) Uttamā pragalbhā yathā —
Nihuaṁ khunīsasijjai — — — (Vol. III p. 619)

This gāthā may tentatively be restored as follows :

णिहुअं खु णीससिज्जइ^१ रुव्वइ राईसु तं^२पि णीसद्दं ।

^३पइम्मि कआवराहे हिअइच्छिआणि ^४णुविज्जति ॥

निभूतं खलु निःश्वस्यते रुदयते रात्रिषु तदपि निःशब्दम् ।

पत्यौ कृतापराधे हृदयेप्सितानि हनूयन्ते ॥

1. Ruvvhai — 2. Viṇīsandam — 3. Vaiakaāvarāhā
4. Ṇṇapijjanti — SP. p. 619.

- (2) Madhyamā'nūḍha — mugdhā yathā —
Māṇam pucchaha — — — (Vol. III p. 622)

This gāthā is quite corrupt. It is not found cited as an illustration elsewhere nor in any Prakrit poetic work. Tentatively, it may be restored as follows :

माणं पुच्छह दिण्णा जस्स तुमं सो^१पिओ त्ति सहिआओ ।

^२सासिज्जइ घणपुलएहि होतवहूएँ अंगेहि ॥

मैनां पुच्छत्त दत्ता यस्य त्वं स प्रिय इति सङ्खः ।

कयते घनपुलकैः भविष्यद्-वहवा अङ्गैः ॥

1. Paottisahiā — 2. Ositthicia —

(3) Uttamoḍhamugdhā yathā —

Dūlihai asoyam — — — — — (Vol. III p. 634)

¹दुलह-असौमं घरेइ बहुआए वण्णिअं (अथवा, बहुएँ ओणामिअं) दिअरो ।

उण्णामिअ-मांसल-बाहू-मूल-णिव्वण्णण-सअण्हो ॥

दुलंभाशोकं धारयति वध्वा वणितम् (अथवा) अवनामितं देवरः ।

उन्नामित-मांसल-बाहुमूल-निर्वर्णन-सतृष्णः ॥

1. Dulihai — 2. Ūṇṇāmia — SP. p. 634.

(4) Uttamā dhīroḍha — madhyā yathā —

Sandatṭhā hara-jualam — — — — — (Vol. III p. 635)

संदट्टाहर-जुअलं कपिअ-कओलअ लविखअं सहइ ।

लडह-बहुआएँ हसिअं पुणो वि दिअरे रइमणम्मि ॥

सदंष्टाघर-युगलं कम्पित-कपोल-लक्षितं राजते ।

सुन्दर-वध्वा हसितं पुनरपि देवरे रतिमनसि ॥

(5) Uttamā'nūḍha — pragalbhā (nāyikā) yathā —

Cakkammium sasalilam — — — — — (Vol. III p. 636)

¹चंकमिउं च² सलीलं हसिउं च³ सविभमं हअ-कुमारी ।⁴चं च पुलोएउं ⁵अविहा [रे भो] केण सिक्खविआ ॥

चङ्कमितुं च सलीलं हसितुं च सविभ्रमं हत-कुमारी ।

वक्रं च प्रलोकयितुम् अविहा (रे भो) केन शिक्षिता ॥

1. Cakkammium — 2. Sasalilam — 3. Pasavimbhamam — 4. Evam kam ca — 5. Avie — SP p. 636

(6) Madhyamā anūḍhā (nāyikā) yathā —

Gajjantāi sunanto — — — — — (Vol. III p. 637)

¹गिज्जंताइ सुणंतो को ²मंगलगाइआण गोआइं ।

जइ तस्स णाम-सरिसं वरस्स गोत्तं ण हु हुवंतं ॥

गीयमानानि शृण्वन् (= अश्रोष्यत्) को मङ्गलगायिकानां गेयानि ।

यदि तस्य नाम-सदृशं वरस्य गोत्तं न खल्वभविष्यत् ॥

1. Gajjantāi — 2. Mangai-kālaāṇa geālam — SP p. 637

(7) Madhyamā'nūḍhamugdhā (nāyikā) yathā —

O duddha — gandha-muhie — — — — — (Vol. III p. 638)

ओ दुद्ध-गंध-मुहिए कुमारि ¹देवि व्व बंदणिज्जासि ।अण्णोण्णा-गहि [अ]-विसमो [भो] गाभो च्चिअ ²कुओ एवं ॥

हे दुग्धगन्धमुखि कुमारि देवि व वन्दनीयासि ।

अन्योन्य-गृहीत-विषमो भो ग्राम एव कुत एवम् ॥

1. Deho u — 2. Kuoe — SP. p. 638

- (8) *Madhyamā dhīroḍhā* — *mugdha (nāyikā) yathā* —
Putti bhuvamgi vva vimukka — — — — (Vol. III p. 638)

पुत्ति ¹भुअंगि व्व विमुक्क-कंचुआ सिसिर-पवण-²मलिन-सिरी ।
 भूमिहृग्गअ-वअणा पुलइज्जसि ¹इह भुअंगेहि ॥
 पुत्ति भुजङ्गीव विमुक्क-कंचुका शिशिर-पवन-मलिनश्रीः ।
 भूमिगृहोदगतवदना प्रलोकसे इह भुजङ्गैः ॥

1. *Bhuvamgi* — 2. *Mahila* — 3. *Ia* — *SP* p. 638

- (9) *Madhyamā adhirā' nūḍha-mugdā (nāyikā) yathā* —
Tuha ṇavalaa — pahara — — — (Vol. III p. 638)

तुह णवलअपहर-¹पडिच्छणत्थ-सच्चविअ-समुह-सिण्ण-करं ।
 अज्ज वि रे किं पुच्छसि ²कुमारिअं को³ तुह पिओ त्ति ॥
 तव नवलता-प्रहार-प्रतेषणार्थ-दणित-समुख-स्विन्न-करम् ।
 अद्यापि रे किं पृच्छसि कुमारिकां कस्तव प्रिय इति ॥

1. *Paḍicchaṇuddha* — 2. *Kumāriam* 3. *Kottudalao* — *SP* p. 638

Navalatikā (also called *Cūtalatikā*) is one of the love-festivals described by *Vātsyayāna* (in his *Kāmasūtra*) and *Bhoja* (in his *SK* and *SP*.) It is defined as :

यत्र कस्ते प्रिय इति पृच्छदिमः पलाशादिनवलताभिः
 प्रियो जनो हन्यते सा चूतलतिका ।

Hemacandra thus defines and illustrates “*ṇavalayā*”

जत्थ पलासलयाए जणेहि पइणाम पुच्छिया जुवई ।
 अकहंती णिहणिज्जइ णिहमविसेसो णवलया सा ॥
 यदाह-नियमविशेषश्च ‘ णवलया ’ ज्ञेया ।
 आदाय पलाशलतां भ्राम्यति लोकोऽखिलो यस्याम् ।
 पृष्टा पातिनाम स्त्री निहन्यते चाप्यकथयन्ती ॥
 यथा—

दौलाविलाससमए पुच्छंतीहि सहीहि पइणामं ।
 लङ्गीहि हणिज्जंती वहुया णवलयावयं भरइ ॥

—देशीनाममाला .

- (10) *Kaniṣṭhā anūḍhā* — *mugdā yathā* —
Ajja mae māucchā — — — — (Vol. III p. 642)

अज्ज मए माउच्छा मोज्झअ सइज्ज गेहे मणोरहब्भहिअं (मणोरहुव्वरिअं ?) ।
 गहवइ-उत्त¹-कडिल्लं दि[ट्टं] णिअ²-रूव-लावणिअं ॥
 अद्य मया मातृव्वसः (सखि) रजक प्रातिवेशिक-गृहे मनोरथाभ्यधिकम्
 (- मनोरथातिक्रान्तम् ?)

गृहपति-पुत्र-कटी-वस्त्रं दृष्टं निजरूप-लावणिकम् (लावण्यम्) ॥

1. *Vaḍillam*— 2. *Rūbalāvaviām*— *SP* p. 642

- (11) Kanisthā dhīra — madhyā (nāyikā) yathā —
Thanaravarana — — — — (Vol. III p. 642)

¹यणभर-जोव्वण²मइआ [अ] गन्विरी भमइ तुज्ज रे जाआ ।

तेण तुमं कामिज्जसि रोसेण³ण मह⁴अणुराअओ ॥

स्तन-भर-यौवनवती च गर्ववती भ्रमति तव रे जाया ।

तेन त्वं काम्यसे रोषेण न ममानुरागतः ॥

1. Ravarana — 2. Mmhaṇā 3. Ṇamaha — 4. Asareo — SP p. 642

- (12) Kanisthā dhīroḍha — pragalbhā yathā —
Avvī mārijjāmo — — — — (Vol. III p. 644)

¹अव्वो मारिज्जामो इमिणा² पावासुअस्स पुत्तेण ।

जं जं पेच्छइ पहिअं तं तं बप्पो त्ति बाहरइ ॥

अहो म्मियामहे अनेन प्रवासिनः पुत्तेण ।

यं यं प्रेक्षते पथिकं तं तं पित्तुरिति व्याहरि ॥

1. Avvī — 2. Pavvo — SP p. 644

- (13) Anūḍhā (nāyikā) yatha —
Jaha khellasi pappullām — — — — (Vol. III p. 645)

जह खेल्लसि¹पप्फुल्लं (? उत्फुल्लं) अम्मो धीरेण (पत्तिअ) ससिमुहि ।

²धण्णं कं पि रमीहिंसि³ दोलाअंतेण जहणेण ॥

यथा खेलसि प्रफुल्लाम् (? उत्फुल्लिकाम्) अहो धैर्येण (प्रतीहि) शशिमुखि ।

धन्यं कमपि रमयिष्यसि दोलायमानेन जघनेन ॥

1. Pappullāmmoddhinehi — 2. Dhaṇṇakkapi — 3. Dolaantena
SP p. 645

Note : The gāthā is quite corrupt. We have a gāthā in GS (II. 96) which speaks of the *Utphullikā* game. It, however, does not help us to restore this gāthā.

- (14) Adhīroḍha-mugdhā (nāyikā) yathā —
Tām kam pi kaam — — — — (Vol. III p. 645)

तं कं पि कअं¹ उग्गिण्ण-पहर-भअ²-वेविरीए³ वहुआए ।

पडिआ वि जेण णाआ हत्थाहि⁴ लआ ण दिअरेण ॥

तत् किमपि कृतमुद्गीर्णं-प्रहार-भय-वेपन-शीलया वच्चा ।

पतितापि येन ज्ञाता हस्ताल्लता न देवरेण ॥

1. Uggina — 2. Peviriē — 3. Vahūāe — 4. Lalaā — SP p. 645

- (15) Adhīrottamāyā vipralambhe' nubhāva-sampad yathā —
Jāva a ṇa dei ohim — — — — (Vol. III p. 840)

जाव अ ण देइ ओहि परिरंभं जाव णेअ सिद्धिलेइ ।

भरणेण¹ पुणोऽअं मह तावग्गइआविओ अप्पा ॥

यावच्च न ददात्यर्वाधि परिरंभं यावन्नैव शिथिलयति ।

भरणेन पुनरयं मम तावद् गुरूकृत आत्मा ॥

1. Punnaam — SP p. 840

(16) *Tatraiva pratyādānamapratīṣiddham yathā —*

Ua hujjanti piucchā — — —

(Vol. III p. 854)

This *gāthā* expresses in similar, if not identical, words the same idea as found in the *GS VII. 68* and *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*

उअ हुज्जंति¹ पिउच्छा जाइ पिअसंगमम्मि सोक्खाइं ।

²ताइं च्चिअ उण विरहे खट्ठुग्गलिआई कीरति ॥

पथय भवन्ति सखि यानि प्रियसङ्गमे सीढ्यानि ।

तान्येव पुनविरहे कण्ठोदगलितानि कुर्वन्ति ॥

1. *Piucchāe* — 2. *Tāi virahēṇa pi* — — *ghuggaliāi- SP p. 854*

(17) *Tatrādhikāraavidhyapekṣitāni samastānekārtha —*

śabdasādhārānādyartha — prakaraṇādīni śatprakārāni

Līngato yathā

Kalaholujjalagoraṃ — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 890)

कलहोउज्जल-गौरं कलहोअसिआसु सरअराईसु ।

चुंबंति अघ-अच्छं¹ विअट्ट- विअद्ध-जुअईमुहं धण्णा ॥

कलघोतोज्ज्वल-गौरं कलघोतसितासु शरद्रात्रिषु ।

चुम्बन्ति अघर्याक्षं विवृत्त-विदग्ध-युवती-मुखं धन्याः ॥

1. *Viattha* — *SP. p. 890*

(18) *(Nirdhāraṇam) deśato yathā —*

Paumappahaṃ diyaṃ kaṃ — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 890)

पउमप्पहं दिअं कं मअच्छि¹ फुल्लविअ-मुंडरीएण ।

करसंघिएण भग्गसि पुडंरिअ-समाउले रण्णे ॥

पदम-प्रभं द्विजं कं मृगाक्षि फुल्लित-पुण्डरीकेण ।

करसंहितेन मार्गयसि पुण्डरीक-समाकुलेऽरण्ये ॥

1. *Puḍarīa* — *SP. p. 890*

(19) *Saṅketā (? to) pacāro yathā — — vā —*

Halia—suā — muha — sasi-kaṃti — — — (Vol. IV p. 892)

हलिअ-सुआ-मुह-ससि-कंति-पहअ-तिमिरम्मि इह हअग्गामे ।

ओ मामि कहं वसिज्जइ संकेअअभंगदुमिआसाहि ॥

हालिक-सुता-मुख-शशि-कान्ति-प्रहृत-तिमिरे इह हतप्रामे ।

हे सखि कथमुण्यते सङ्केत-भङ्ग-द्विनिताशाभिः (= पीडिताशाभिः) ॥

(20) *Saṅketotkaṇṭhā yathā —*

Saṃkeā — ūsua-maṇo — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 893)

संकेअ-ऊसुअ-मणो गहवइ-घूआ कङ्कख-सच्चविओ ।

तबं गअं ण वेअइ गोवालो अंबरं दुहइ ॥

सङ्केतोत्सुकमना गृहपति-दुहिता-कटाक्ष-दृष्टः ।

ताभ्रां (गां) गतां न वेदयति गोपालोऽम्बरं दोग्धि ॥

The Sanskrit Chāyā, supplied by the editor of the *Śr. Pr.* is not only incomplete but also inaccurate and misleading.

This very gāthā is cited by Śobhākara in his *Alamkāraratnākara* (p. 190). There too the text is incomplete and inaccurate;

संकेओसुअमणओ गह्वइधूआकडक्ख—सच्चविओ ।
ता.....ण चेअइ गोउरअंबरं चोइ ॥

The author's gloss on this gāthā, however, help us to restore it. It runs as follows :

अत्र गोपालस्य धेनुगमनेऽप्यम्बरदोहनेनोषहसनीश्रत्वस्य
वाक्यार्थभूतत्वाद् वाच्यस्य प्रथमाधोपनिबद्धः शृङ्गारोऽयम् ।

(21) (Sāṅketotkaṅthā) yathā vā —

Saṅkea — kuḍumgullīna — — —

(Vol. IV p. 893)

¹संकेअ—कुडुगुंडीण सउणि—कोशहलं सुणंतीए ।

घर—कम्मवावडाए ²वहुए ³सोअंति अंगाइ ॥

सङ्केतकुंजोइडीन—शकुनि—कोलाहलं शृण्वत्याः ।

गृहकर्म—व्यापृताया वध्वाः सीदन्ति अङ्गानि ॥

This gāthā is first cited in *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 282) to illustrate how the expressed is more important than the suggested and that it is not a case of Dhvani (Suggestion)

1. Vāṅīra — *DHV* p. 282

2. Vahūe (*GS* (W) No. 874; *KLV* p. 154; vahūi — VL 496* 5

3. Khijjanti (*Sk* : khidyanti) — VL 496* 5

(22) Sāṅketāśayo yathā —

Diṭṭhammi ghara-parohaḍa — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 896)

विट्ठम्मि घर-परोहड¹ बालकरंजं पईम्मि सिचंते ।

अण्णोण्ण — पेसिअच्छं दिअरेण बहुल्लिआ हसइ ॥

दृष्टे गृह-पश्चाद्भाग—बाल—करञ्जं पत्यो सिञ्चति ।

अन्योन्य-प्रेषिताक्षं देवरेण घ्रातृजाया हसति ॥

1. Vākṛ — *SP* p. 896

(23) Sāṅketa-bahumāno yathā —

Cumbai vāsāṇimuhī — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 897)

This gāthā has been already quoted by Bhoja as an instance of prakīrṇa (a variety of “pracchannānurāga”) (vide Vol. III p. 871). Tentatively it may be restored as follows:

चुंबइ ¹वा सिण्ण-मुही दइअकवोलं व पंडुरच्छाअं ।

असई णिहुवणवडपाअवस्स वाआणिअं पत्तं ॥

चुम्बति वा स्विन्नमुखी दयित-कपोलमिव पाण्डुरच्छायम् ।

असती निघुवन-वट-पादपस्य वातानीतं पत्रम् ॥

1. Vāsāṇi — *SP* p. 897

(24) Sanketopāmbho yathā —

Esāe (? Eyāe) majjāā — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 899)

एसा ते मज्जाआ मुद्ध-सहावाएँ (अ) पअसिस्सिराए ।
 (जेण) मुरले वहसि (तं) पाणीअं ¹जत्थ हि कुडुंगो ॥
 एसा ते मर्यादा मुग्घ-स्वभावायाः च पयःशिशिरायाः ।
 (येन) मुरले वहसि त्वं पानीयं यत्र हि निकुंजः ॥

1. Datthai — SP. p. 899

(25) Sanketopāmbho yathā — — — — yathā vā —

Tam kattha gaam — — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 900)

तं कत्थ गअं तुह तरुण-तीर-वाणीर-भंजणसमत्थं ।
 णवऊरजलं कावेरि अज्ज कच्छे पल्लिप्पंते ॥
 तत् कुत्र गतं तरुण-तीर-वानीर-भंजन-समर्थम् ॥
 नवपूरजलं कावेरि, अद्य कच्छे प्रदीप्यमाने ॥

26) Sanketāsīr yathā —

Asatīi bandhava — — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 900)

असईएँ बंधव घण-विअड-¹साहा-पत्तल ²जल-आसण्ण ।
 दिअहे वि णिसामुहसम कुडंग जिवेहि ³मह जिएण ॥
 असत्या बान्धव धन-विकट (-विस्तृत) — शाखा-पत्रल-जलासन्न ।
 दिवसेऽपि निशा-मुख-सम निकुंज जीव मम जीवितेन ॥

1. Sāha — 2. Jalāsāna — 3. Majjha

(27) Sanketa-praśno yathā —

Paḍhamullivāsoho — — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 900)

¹पढमेल्लिअ- वासोल्लाइ-बहल-मअरंद- सुरभि-गंधाइ ।
 गोले कुडुंग [मअइ कि] णमिमो तुज्झ पुलिणाइ ॥
 प्राथमिक-वर्षाद्राणि बहल-मकरन्द-सुरभि-गन्धीनि ।
 गोदे निकुंज- [-मयानि कि] नमामस्तव पुलिनानि ॥

1. Paḍamullivāsohollāi — SP. p. 900

(28) Itivṛttākhyānam yathā — — — — yathā vā —

Datthum ciram na laddho — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 901)

दट्ठु चिरं ण लद्धो मामि पिओ दिट्ठि-गोअरगओ वि ।
 दंडाहअवल्लिअहुअंगवकरच्छे हअग्गामे ॥
 द्रष्टुं चिरं न लब्धः सखि प्रियो दृष्टिगोचरगतोऽपि ।
 दण्डाहत-वलित-भुजङ्ग-वक्र-मध्ये हतग्रामे ॥

This gāthā has been already cited by Bhoja to illustrate “grāmya” variety of “Pracchannānurāga” (Vol. III. p. 817).

The second half of this gāthā is almost identical with the second half of the GS (W) No. 809 :

सरहसविणिग्गआइ व इच्छाइ तुमं ण तीअ सच्चविओ ।
 सीसाहअवलअभुअंगवकरच्छे हअग्गामे ॥
 भरभसविनिर्गतयापि इच्छया त्वं न तया दृष्टः ।
 शीर्षाहतवलितभुजङ्गवकरथ्ये हतग्रामे ॥

(29) Sakhī — sikaṣā — — — — yathā vā —
 Pullanta (? Phullanta) — nirantara — — (Vol. IV p. 901)

फुल्लतं-णिरंतर-तरुण-वंजुला-वण-सिण्णिद्ध-कूलाए ।
 गोलाण ईएँ¹ वसिरी सइ त्ति मा पुत्ति पत्तिअसु ॥
 फुल्लद्-निरन्तर-तरुण-वंजुल-वन-स्निग्ध-कूलायाः ।
 गोदा-नदया वसित्री (वसनशीला) सतीति मा पुत्रि प्रतीहि ॥

1. Vasiri — SP. p. 901

(30) Candrikā — nirvedo yathā —
 Bahuaṃ Kalamka — hariam — — — — (Vol. IV p. 903)

बहुअं कलंकहरिअ¹ थोवं चिअ णिम्मलं हासस्स ।
 चंदस्स तह वि माए ण² अप्पणा सामला जोण्हा ॥
 बहुकं कलङ्कभूतं स्तोकमेव निर्मलं हताशस्य ।
 चन्द्रस्य तथापि मातः (? सखि) नात्मना श्यामला ज्योत्स्ना ॥

1. Andhocaṃ — 2. Appinā — SP. p. 903

(31) Candrodaya — nindā yathā—vā —
 Muhametteṇa varāo — — — — (Vol. IV p. 903)

मुहमेत्तेण वराओ¹ राहु विः कुणइ दद्ध-चंदस्स ।
 जो मीण-मअर²-कक्क (—उस—) विच्छु-सीहेहि³ विणिग्गओ ॥
 मुख-मात्रेण वराको राहुः विः करोति दग्धचन्द्रस्य ।
 यो मीन-मकर-कर्क- (वृष=वृषभ) — वृश्चिक-सिहेर्विनिर्गतः ॥

1. Bhu — 2. Kamka — — — vicchūa — 3. Vinakkhatto —
 SP p. 903

(32) Vañcita — vṛttānto — — — — yathā vā —
 Vedaṇikhātāṃ Kisalam — — — — Vol. IV. p. 905

वेडस-खुडिअं विसलं कण्णे काऊण हलअ- सोण्हाए ।
 जागाविओ सहासं दिअरो वंकाएँ दिट्ठीए ॥
 वेतस-खण्डितं किसलयं कर्णे कृत्वा हालिकस्तनुषया ।
 ज्ञापितः सहासं देवरो वक्रया दृष्टया ॥

1. Veda-nikhātāṃ — 2. Akkāe — SP p. 905

- (33) Cinha—nihnavo — — — yathā vā —
Dhakkamī ahram — — — — (Vol. IV. p. 906)

ढक्कंती अहर¹ पारएण हेमंत - पवगः-²फुडिअं पि ।

अइ उज्जुए किलिस्ससिं विअंपिउं दिअर - जाआए ॥

छादयन्त्यघरं प्रावारकेण हेमन्त-पवन-स्फुटितमपि ।

अयि ऋजुके विलस्यसिं विजल्पितुं देवरजायया ॥

1. Āāreṇa — 2. Puttiammi — SP. p. 906

- (34) Paraspara — spardhā saṅgharṣaḥ, yathā —
Aha bhaṇai aalasāmi — — — — (Vol. IV. p. 913)

अह भणइ अअलसामी¹ कइवअ-दिअसंतरतं-मज्झम्मि ।

²णाणेमि पाअमूले जइ³ गणिअं ता ण जीआमि ॥

अथ भणति अचलस्वामी कतिपय-दिवसान्तरान्त-मध्ये ।

नानयामि पादमूले यदि गणिकां तर्हि न जीवामि ॥

1. Katisu — 2. Nānesi — 3. Ganiattā — SP. p. 913

- (35) Kāni tarhi citta — janmanah daśa-sthānāni — — tatra
manasi cintā, anusmaraṇam ca । — — Tāsu anusmaraṇam yathā —
Jehim cia jivicca (? jja) i — — — — (Vol. IV p. 930)

जेहिं चिअ जीविज्जइ, तुह (सअ) संकप-संगम-सुहेहिं ।

खण-विषडिएहिं लाहं तेहिं ण अ णज्जइ (? जाणइ) वराई ॥

यैरेव जीव्यते तव (मत) सङ्कल्प-सङ्गम-सुखैः ।

क्षणविघटितैलाभं तैर्न च जानाति वराकी ॥

- (36) Sva-pakṣa-para-pakṣayoḥ anyonyagrahākhyānam
Parsparopakara — sandarśanam Yathā —
Navekkhio guru — ano — — — — (Vol. IV p. 934)

णावेविखओ गुरुअणो, इमीए ण तुमे वि पुच्छिओ बंधू ।

एककेकमेव-चरिए भणामि किं एककमेक्कस्स ॥

नापेक्षितो गुरुजनोजनया न त्वयापि पृष्टो बन्धुः ।

एकैकमेव-चरिते भणामि किं एकैकस्य ॥

— Abhijñānaśākuntalam V 16

- (37) Tatra vidveṣam grāhayet patyāviti vidveṣaṇam । Yathā —
Duddamsaṇena isāluṇa — — — — (Vol. IV. p. 935)

दुदंसजेण ईसालुएण येरेण दुक्खिअडुढेण ।

ऊवोढा पिअसहि¹ साहसु संपअं कह णु² जीअसि ॥

दुदंशनेनेर्ष्यालुना स्थविरेण दुविदग्घेन ।

उपोढा प्रियसखि कथय सांप्रत कथं नु जीवसि ॥

1. Sahi — 2. Jiesi — SP. p. 935

Note : In 'Ūvodhā 'u' is lengthened metri causa.

(38) Anyā — vyāvartanam yathā —

Kūrassa kāraṇaddhe — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 935)

कूरस्त कारणट्ठं दिज्जइ अप्पा पइस्त णिअस्त ।

सुरअ-सुहं पुण मुद्धे होहिइ अक्खंदिए सीले ॥

कूरस्त कारणार्थं दीयत आत्मा पत्युनिजवःस्त ।

सुरत - सुखं पुनर्मुग्धे भविष्यत्यखण्डिते शीले ॥

1. Kāraṇaddhe — SP. p. 935

(39) Mārgodīksanam yathā —

Suha-lālasāhim avaaa — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 951)

This gāthā is metrically defective and corrupt. This very gāthā is later (p. 1200) cited by Bhoja to illustrate 'dūtivisarjanam' :

¹सुरअ-सुह-लालसाहि ²पिअम - ³रत्यंतरेसु पुणरुत्तं ।

पेसिज्जंति ⁴सरहसं समअं दूईहि दिट्ठीओ ॥

सुरत-सुख-लालसाभिः प्रियतमरथ्यान्तरेषु पुनरुक्तम् ।

प्रेष्यन्ते सरभसं समकं (=समं) दुतीभिर्दृष्ट्यः ॥

1. Suha-lālasāhim — p. 951. Avaaa — p. 951 3. Patthāntaresu — p. 951, p. 1200 4. Samaam — p. 951

(40—41) Dūta — vākyākarmaṇam yathā —

(i) Dūi-muhaanda — — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 952)

This gāthā is a bit corrupt. It is the same gāthā as included by Weber in his edition of SS (No. 858)

दूई-मुहअंद-पुसोइरीए कि भणिहिइ त्ति अज्जाए ।

पिअ-संगम-ललित-मणोरहाएँ हिअअं थरथरेइ ॥

दूती-मुख-चन्द्र-प्रलोकनशीलायाः किं भणिष्यतीति आर्यायाः ।

प्रिय-सङ्गम-ललित-मनोरथाया हृदयं कम्पते ॥

काए विं महुरसद्दं सरस-परिप्फुड-विइण्ण-मुह-सोहं ।

¹मुइअं दूइअ-वअणं कोरइ कण्ण कुवअअं ²व ॥

कथापि मधुर-शब्दं (पक्षे, मधु-रसाईं) सरस-परिस्फुट-वित्तीर्ण-मुख-शोभम् ।

मुदितं दूती-वचनं क्रियते कर्णे कुवअयमिअं ॥

1. Suiaddhadūivaṇi 2. Ca — SP p. 952

(42) Gamana — vṛttānto yathā —

Bahiniggamahi — — — —

(Vol. IV p. 952)

This gāthā is extremely corrupt. I have not been able so far to trace it to its source either primary or secondary. By resorting to emendations tentatively I restore it as follows :

बहि¹निगमाहा हि वअणेण तुज्ज पत्ता अ पत्तल-णिज्जं ।

²उज्जाणं जस्य गमेइ सो जणो विरह-दुक्खाइं ॥

बहिर्निर्गता हि वचनेन तव प्राप्ता च पत्तल-निकुंजम् ।

उदयानं यत्र गमयति स जनो विरह-दुःखानि ॥

1. Niggaamahipaanena — 2. Uddāṇam jaddhamivei SP. p. 952

(43) Sambhrama-vikalpo yathā —

Turia — pahāja — ditṭhammi — — — (Vol. IV p. 958)

तुरिअ-पहाइअ-दिट्ठम्मि परिअणे आगओ त्ति सोऊण ।

अज्झा ¹सज्जस — विअआ ²अं पि दाउं ण पारेइ ॥

त्वरित-प्रघावित-दृष्टे परिजने आगत इति श्रुत्वा ।

आर्या साध्वस-विकला पदमपि दातुं न शक्नोति ॥

1. Sajjhavisa — 2. Vaamci — SP. p. 958

(44) Athāto dūta — puraskāra — Tatra dūtī — sakhi — nāyakādi —
bhedāddūta — puraskāra — prapañcaḥ — — — Evaṃ sāmānyato
'pi yathā —

Katto sandesa-suham — — — — (Vol. IV p. 960)

कत्तो संदेससुहं कत्तो सरसाइ मोहणसुहाइ ।

चित्तामणिं भव लोअस्मि सा हु दूइ जइ ण होइ ॥

कुतः संदेश-सुखं कुतः सरसानि मोहनसुखानि ॥

चिन्तामणिरिव लोके सा खलु दूती यदि न भवति ॥

Duijainavo — SP p. 960

(45) Svayamkṛta — dūta — kṛta — guru-kṛta-sahāya-kṛta-yogāt sam-
yoga — saṃvidhāna — prapañcaḥ — — — — Tatra dūta-kṛteṣu
— — — — nāyikāpekṣayā yathā —

Ia jā maṇammi ūsā — — — — (Vol. IV p. 969)

इअ जा मणम्मि ऊसा ¹फुरतं-वाम-त्थणी ²विआरेइ (अथवा, वलंदेइ) ।ता अणिरुद्धो सुद्धंत³माणिओ^३ चित्तलेहाए ॥

इति यावद् मनसि उषा स्फुरद्-वाम-स्तनी विचारयति (अथवा, अवलम्बते) ।

तावदनिरुद्धो शुद्धान्तमानीतश्चित्रलेखया ॥

1. Puranta — ddhañi — 2. Valanteim — 3. Mailio — SP. p. 969

(46) Madhyama-ṣayā (māno) yathā —

Pecchasi animasa-naano — — — — (Vol. IV p. 983)

पेच्छसि अणिमिस-णअणो जंपसि विगअं ण दंससे पट्ठि ।

को सुहअ तुज्ज दोसो हअहिअअं गिट्ठुरं मज्ज ॥

प्रेक्षसेऽनिमिषनानो जल्पसि विनयं न दर्शयसि पृष्ठम् ।

कः सुभग तवं दोषो हतहृदयं निष्ठुरं मम ॥

Only the first quarter of this gāthā is in agreement with the first quarter of the gāthā 'Pecchasi (pekkhasi)' etc., cited at SP p. 632.

This gāthā and GS (W) No. 943 deserve comparison. Weber gives the gāthā with the two halves of this gāthā inter-changed. The text, as presented here in SP, is metrically in perfect gāthā form (12.12., 12.15)

- (47) Tāmasa-*viṣayo* (māno) *yathā* —
 Īsā-macchāra — — — — (IV p. 984)

This verse is drawn from the *Setu* (XI 16) :

ईसा-मच्छर-गरुए साहिकखेव — परिवड्ढिओदालंभे ।
 कह कह वि गमेइ खणं वि उक्ख-इसिएहि कामिणि-समुल्लावे ॥
 ईर्ष्या-मत्सर-गुरुकान् साधिक्षेप-परिवधितोपालम्भान् ।
 कथं कथमपि गमयति क्षणं वि उक्ख-हसितैः कामिनी-समुल्लापान् ॥

- (48) *Upamitāparādhālambano yathā* —
 Gotta-kkhalāna — — — — (Vol. IV p. 988)

गोत-क्खलण-वि उक्खो रेहं आलिहसि कि महीपठ्ठे ।
 अह स च्चिअ णिव्वडिआ अणुराअ परव्वसे हिअए ।
 गोत-स्ख उन-विलक्षो रेखामालिखसि कि महीपठ्ठे ।
 अथ सेव निष्पन्नानुराग-परवशे हृदये ।

- (49) *Utprekṣitāparādhālambano yathā* —
 Jantaamettaṃ ti[ra] i — — — — (Vol. IV p. 989)

जतिअमेत्तं तीरइ णिव्वोदुं देवुं प्रतिअं पणअं ।
 ण जणो विणिअत्त-पसाअ-दुक्ख-सङ्गण-वज्जमो सङ्गो ॥
 यावन्मात्रं शक्यते निर्वोदुं देहि तावन् प्रणयम् ।
 न जनो विनिवृत्त-प्रसाद-दुःख-सहन-समः सर्वः ॥

GS I. 71

- (50) *Athāmiṣāmeva bhedāscaturviṃśatir mānabheda* — *Jātaya*
ucyante, Te ca bhāmaḥ kopah, krodhaḥ — — — *Teṣu*
Vallabhāḍau vai (parītya) — hetuḥ kopo yathā — yathā vā—
Paṭṭhanti maane — pasara — — — — (Vol. IV p. 990)

पट्टति मअण-पसर-प्पसाअ-समुहा विलासिणी-समुल्लावा ।
 तीएँ उण तस्स दीरइ रोस-पराहुत्त-जपिएहि वि हिअअं ॥
 पठयन्ते मदन-प्रसर-प्रसाद-संमुखा-विलासिनी-समुल्लापाः ।
 तथा पुनस्तस्य दीर्यते रोष-पराङ्मुख-जल्पितैरपि हृदयम् ॥

- (51) *Priyādiṣu vyājanindotprāso yathā vā* —
 Kīraiguṇo vi doso — — — — (Vol. IV. p. 990)

This verse is somewhat corrupt. It is cited, but only in its *pratīka*, further on (p. 1018) by Bhoja to illustrate 'priyāśrita-*viṣayah upālabhah*'. *Tentatively*, it may be restored as follows :

की रइ गुणो वि दोसो सेवन्तम्मि वि दिणे ण दिज्जइ विट्ठी ।
 अजसस्स ण बीहिज्जइ जह गहिअं तह पट्टणं रमणिज्जं ॥
 क्रियते गुणोऽपि दोषः सेवमानेऽपि दीने न दीयते दृष्टिः ।
 अग्रशतो न भीयते यथा गृहीतं तथा प्रभुत्वं रमणीयम् ॥

(52) Priyāparādhād manas — samrambho roṣo yathā—

Taha bairdhana — anurāe — — — — (Vol. IV p. 990)

This verse is wrongly presented in the printed text. It may be restored by rewriting it as follows :

तह बंधनअणुराए तह संमोह-विअलंत-विसमालावे ।
ते चिअ तीए मअ-गुणा रोसु त्ति ठिआ पसाअ-विमुहम्मि मुहे ॥
तथा बन्धनानुरागान् तथा संमोह-विगलद्-विषमालापान् ।
त एव तस्या मद-गुणा रोष इति स्थिताः प्रसाद-विमुखे मुखे ॥

(53—54) Para-guṇa-sambhāvanāsahiṣṇutā mātsaryam, yathā —

(i) Veso si jā paṁsulaa — — — — (Vol. IV p. 992)

वंसोसि जीअ पंसुल अहिअअरं सा हु वल्लहा तुज्झ ।
इअ जाणिऊण वि मए ण ईसिअं दड्ढ-वेम्मस्स ॥
द्वेष्योऽसि यस्याः पांसुल अधिकतरं सा खलु वल्लभा तव ।
इति ज्ञात्वापि मया न ईर्ष्यितं दग्ध-प्रेम्णः ॥

GS VI. 10

yathā vā —

(ii) Sa ccia rāmei (?u) tumam — — — — (Vol. IV p. 993)

स चिअ रामेउ तुमं पंडिअ णि अलं म्ह रमिण्ण ।
संभाव-बाहिराई जा जाणइ अट्टमट्टाई ॥
सैव रमयतु त्वां, पण्डित नित्यमलमस्माकं रमितेन रतेन ।
संभाव-ब्राह्मणि या जानाति अट्टमट्टानि (उपचार-विशेषाणि) ॥

GS (W) No. 759

In the course of his vṛtti on *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāna* (8.2.174)

Hemacandra observes; Bhāṣā-śabdāśca — āhittha — —

madapphara — — — — aṭṭamaṭṭa — — — — hallapphalaxityādayo
Mahārāṣṭra — vidarbhādi-deśa-prasiddhā lokato 'vagantavyāḥ

What precisely 'aṭṭamaṭṭa' means is not known. From the context it is clear that the word is used in the sense of "external show of love".

(55) Proṣita-viṣayo (māno) yathā —

Ṣaḥi ta (va) acca (? accha) u cciau — (Vol. IV p. 1001)

This gāthā is somewhat corrupt. It is further on (p. 1003) cited by Bhoja to illustrate 'Proṣita-patikāśrayah' (mānah). The gāthā may be restored as follows :

सहि ताव अच्छउ चिअ अलाहि कि वाहुएण लेहेण ।
एआरिसं लिहंताण एति पहिआ विएसओ ।
सखि तावदास्तामेव अलं कि व्याहतेन लेखेन ।
एतादृशं लिखतामायन्ति पथिका विदेशात् ॥

- (56) Māno dṛṣṭvā-vaktra-vāg-vāpuś-ceṣṭāsu māna — vaikṛtā —
nuyogo māna — paripraśnaḥ — — — Sa — — — dṛṣi yathā —
Kīsa imesu bahuso — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1011)

The verse, as printed in *SP*, is corrupt and unintelligible. Bhoja cites this verse again (p. 1207) to illustrate 'priyābhyupapattiḥ'. The verse may be corrected as follows :

कीम अ इमेसु बहुमो, विमम - प्तं - तलिणंजग-च्छवि-कलुमा ।
दीहावंगेसु तुज्ज, परिवंङ्कति णअणेसु बाहुप्पीडा ॥
कस्माच्च अनयोर्बहुशः विषम प्राप्त-तलिनांजन-च्छवि-कलुषाः ।
दीर्घापाङ्गयोस्तव परिवर्धन्ते नयनयोर्बाष्पोत्पीडाः ॥

- (57) Māna — paripraśnaḥ sa — — — vaktre yathā —
Kīsa maliavaamsam — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1011)

This verse is cited further on (p. 1027) to illustrate 'prasādhana — gṛahanaṁ' and (p. 1207) to illustrate 'Priyābhyupapattiḥ'. The verse may be corrected as follows :—

कीस मलिआवअंसं पअण्ण-णीसास-पउभिःआहर-राअं ।
वअणं वहसिं किओअरि कर-संकासिअ-कओल-पत्तालेखं ॥
कस्माद् मलिनावतंसं प्रदत्त निः श्वास- प्रगुणिताधर-रागम् ।
वदनं वहसिं कृशोदरि, कर-सङ्क्रामित- कपील-पत्तालेख्यम् ॥

- (58) Priyāyāḥ pravṛtti — dūṣaṇamupālabham — — — Teṣu Prakṛtiṣtho
yathā —
Akkhaṇḍie vi paṇae — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1013)

This verse is wrongly presented in the printed text. The last word of the first half belongs to the second half and forms its opening word. This verse is again (p. 1208) cited by Bhoja to illustrate 'Skhalita — gopanaṁ'. The second half is corrupt at both the places. The verse may be restored as follows :—

अखण्डिए वि पणए अकअम्मि वि विप्पिए अकज्जे वि महं ।
जाअं चिअ वअणिज्जं तुह रोसम्मि दइए णिमित्तं पिअं ॥
अखण्डितेऽपि प्रणः कृतेऽपि विप्रिये कार्येऽपि मम ।
जातमेव वचनीयं तव रोषे दयिते निमित्तमपि प्रियम् ॥

- (59) Priyāyāḥ pravṛtti-dūṣaṇamupālabhaḥ — — — teṣu grāmyo yathā
Avarāheṇa uṇa ciraṁ bhaṇasu — — — (Vol. IV p. 1013)

This verse is very corrupt. It is further on (p. 1208) cited by Bhoja to illustrate 'parisāntvanam'. There too it is presented in its corrupt form. With the help of these two corrupt passages the verse may be restored as follows :

¹अवहारेऽङ्ग विरं भणसु तुमं ²चिअ अमुक्कःरोसा वि ³कुडं ।
⁴कि अरणेऽङ्ग इमं ⁵होज्जा ⁶तुमम्मि मज्झ प्पमाअ-खलणं ॥

अवधाय चिरं भण त्वमेवामुक्तरौषापि स्फुटम् ।

किन्नगणयित्त्वेदं भवेत्त्वयि मम प्रमाद-स्खलनम् ॥

1. Avarāheṇa ūna. 2. Hiaaukkarosāvi 3. Puḍakaṁ 4. Agaeuna 5. Tuhojjai 6. Tuhammi pasāaṁkaliaṁ- p. 1013 3. Puḍhaki 4. Citeūna 5. Ohajjala 6. Mammi — p. 1208

(60) Mānavatyāḥ prigamuddiśya sva-para-pravṛtti— garhaṇaṁ upālambhaḥ Sa ṣoḍhā Ātma-viśayaḥ, Priyā-viśayaḥ— —Teṣu priyā-viśayo yathā —

Sahiaṁ māna — kkhalanaṁ — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1017)

This verse is further on (p. 1028) cited as an illustration of “Sapatnyu-pahāsaḥ ‘one of the twelve’ mānoddīpanas.

This very verse is again (p. 1212) quoted as an example of “Vyalīkodghaṭ-ṭanaṁ upālambhaḥ’.

The text of this verse is, however, corrupt at all these places. Tentatively, it may be restored if as follows :

सहिअं माणस्खलणं णाओ पडिवस्खविप्पित्थाण रसो ।

सहिओ अ तुह विओओ मा लज्जसु सुहअ लज्जअव्वम्मि मए ॥

सोढं मान-स्खलनं ज्ञातः प्रतिपक्ष-विप्रियार्थानां रसः ।

सोढश्च तव वियोगो मा लज्जस्व सुभग लज्जितव्यं मया ॥

(61) Mānavatyāḥ priyamuddiśya Sva-para-pravṛtti-garhaṇa-mupālam-bhaḥ Sa ṣoḍhā — — — — teṣu priyā — viśayo yathā vā — — — — Pattia jaha uppannā — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1017)

पत्तिअ जह उप्पण्णा तह अवरज्झंति कामिणीण पिआ ।

माणे उणं गलिओआरं पुरओ दीसंति पिअं करंता ॥

प्रतीहि यथा उत्पन्नास्तथापराध्यन्ति कामिनीनां प्रियाः ।

माने पुनर्गलितोपचारं पुरतो दृश्यन्ते प्रियं कुर्वन्तः ॥

(62) Priyāśtrita — prabhutva — viśayo (upālambho) yathā — — — — yathā vā —

Kiraṁ guṇo vi doso nijja (?) — (Vol. IV. p. 1018)

This verse is the same as No. 51 *supra*.

(63) (Sakhī — parihāso) yathā vā — — — — Dhakkesi calia — valana (? valae) — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1020)

ढक्केसि चलिअ-वलए, हत्थे मुंचसि अहोमुही बाहं ।

पडिहंमसि णीसासे, बहुअं ते माण-विण्णाणं ॥

छादयसि चलितवलयो हस्तो मुंचसि अघोमुखी बाष्पम् ।

प्रतिरुणत्सि निःश्वासान् बहु (कं) ते मान-विज्ञानम् ॥

1. Kaddhesi — GS (W) 2. Muncesi ahamuhī — GS (W).

- (64) Prasādhana — grahaṇam yathā —
 Kīsa miliāpaamsam — — — (Vol. IV p. 1027)
 This verse is the same as No. 57 *supra*.

- (65) (Atha mānoddīpanāni — — — teṣu) vipakṣa — sannidhir — yathā —
 Sarisa — padivekkha (?) — purao — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1028)
 सरिस-पडिवक्ख- पुरओ हियअम्मि अउव्व-माण-भंग-कलुसिए ।
 समसुहदुक्खम्मि जणे विरिक्क-सेसो वि से ण माइ अमरिसो ।
 सदंश-प्रतिपक्ष-पुरतो हृदयेऽपूर्वं-मान-भङ्ग - कलुषिते ।
 सम-सुख-दुःखे जने विभक्त-शेषोऽपि तस्या न मात्यमर्षः ॥
 1. Māla — SP. p. 1028

- (66) (Atha mānoddīpanāni — — — — Teṣu) Sakhī-vailakṣyam yathā
 Gotta-kkhaliammi pie — — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1028) -
 गोत्त-क्खलिअम्मि पिए मण्णे पाअडिअ-सहि-णिवेसिअ-णअणं ।
 आऊरमाणवाहं काए वि णिव्वोलिआहरं णीससिअं ॥
 गोत्र-स्खलिते प्रिये मन्ये प्रकटित-सखी-निवेशित-नयनम् ।
 आपुर्यमाण-बाष्पं कयापि मन्यु-मलनिताघरं निःश्वसितम् ॥
 1. Maṇṇa — 2. Pāulia — 3. Nibboliā-SP p. 1028

Note : Hemacandra's sūtra reads :

मन्युनोष्ठमालिन्ये णिव्वोलः :- प्राकृत - व्याकरण ८.४-६९

He explains the sūtra as follows :

मन्युना करणेन यदोष्ठमालिन्यं तद्विषयस्य कुगो णिव्वोल इत्यादेशो वा सचि भवति ।
 णिव्वोलइ । मन्युना ओष्ठं मलिनं करोति ।

- (67) Atha māna-moṭṭāyitāni Vilāsa eva kākvādinātivakro mānamoṭṭā-
 yitam — — — Teṣu vāk-pravṛttijam śuddham yathā —
 Saddhā me tujjha — — — (Vol. IV p. 1031)

The text of this verse is, somewhat corrupt and metrically defective. This verse is cited earlier (p. 783) by Bhoja to illustrate śraddhā (a variety of anurāga). This verse with a few variant readings, is to be found in *Gāhāra-yaṇa-kosa* (GRK) (No. 479). Weber has included it in his edition of *Saptaśa-takam* (No. 750). By comparing the texts of this gāthā as presented on different occasions and at different places the gāthā may be restored as follows:

१सद्धा मे तुज्झ पिअत्तणस्य २कह तं ति णेअ जानामि ।
 दे पसिअ तुमं चिअ सिक्खवेसु जह ते पिआ होमि ॥
 श्रद्धा मे तव प्रियत्वस्य कयं तदिति नैव जानामि ।
 प्रार्थये प्रसीद त्वमेव शिक्षय यथा ते प्रिया भवामि ॥

1. Saddahimo — GRK 2. Ahayam tu tam na yaṇāmi — GS (W)
 Taha tam pi neya jānāmo — GRK.

2. Kaha taṁ ti taṇānāmi — SP p. 1031; Kaha taṁ ti na ānāmo — SP. p. 783.
3. Paṇimo — SP p. 1031; De suhaya tumāṁ ti ya — GRK
4. Jaha esu piā haomi — SP. p. 1031; Jahae piā hami SP. p. 783
Jaṁ tuha piyā homi — GRK

(68) Atha mānopādhibhaṅgāḥ — — — tatra saṁjñopādhir yathā —
Māno māe do akkharāi — — — (Vol IV p. 1038)

This gāthā is included in GRK (No. 440) There the third quarter reads 'Thovam jippai bahuehim' instead of 'bahuam jappai (? jippai) dho (? tho) chim' as found here. It very well agrees with the present context.

माणो माए दो अक्खराइ पिअसंगमो त्ति बहुआइ ।

¹योवं जिप्पइ बहुएहिं एत्थ तुमं च्चिअ पमाणं ॥

मानः सखि इवे अक्षरे "प्रियमङ्गम" इति बहुकानि ।

स्तोकं जीयते बहुकेन, अत्र त्वमेव प्रमाणम् ॥

1. Bahuam jappai dhoehi addha tumamjhhia pamāṇam — SP
p. 1038

(69) Atha māna-bhaṅga-kāraṇāni Madastrāso, bhayaṁ — — Teṣu mado
yathā — —

Kheppanti appane ccia — — — (Vol. IV p. 1038)

This verse may be restored as follows :

धेष्यन्ति अप्पय च्चिअ कआवराहा वि कामिणीहि पिअअमा ।

कि इअ सिक्खावंतो अवरज्जई (वि) पिअं करेइ मधुमओ ॥

गृह्यन्ते आत्मनैव कृतापराधा अपि कामिनीभिः प्रियतमाः ।

किमिति शिक्षयन्पराध्यति (अपि) प्रियं करोति मधुमदः ॥

1. Kheppanti appane — — — via — SP. p. 1038

Note : The last two letters of the first half (of the printed verse) and the opening two letters really form one word and the word (via (pia) + amma (amma) = piaamā) stands at the end of the first half.

(70) Atha māna — bhaṅga — kāraṇāni — — — Teṣu trāso yathā-
Candāmaa — paḍijjīvia — — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1038)

चंशमअ-पडिजीविअ-कवाउ-मुक्खट्टहास-भीआए ।

गोरीए मान-विषटन-घट्टदेहो हरो जअइ ॥

चन्द्रामृत-प्रतिजीविअ-कपाल-मुक्खट्टहास-भीतया ।

गौर्या मान-विषटन-घट्टदेहो हरो जयति ॥

(71) Atha māna-bhaṅga-kāraṇāni — — — teṣu — — prabhātam yathā—
Ajja sahi rāises — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1039)

अज्ज सडि राइसेसे माण-महसव-सुहच्छिजा¹रडे ।

महयत्ति कुक्कुडरवो पिसानिया² वज्ज-पडहो धव ॥

अद्य सखि रात्रिगेषे मान-महात्सव-मुखासिकारम्भे ।
सहसा इति (= सहसा) कुक्कुट-रवो निशामितो (= श्रुतो) वध्य-पटह इव ॥
1. Āratte — 2. Paccha — SP p. 1039

Note : The latter part of the second half of this gāthā is identical with the corresponding part of GS I. 29.

अज्ज मए तेण विणा अणुहअ-मुहाइ संभरंतीए ।
अहिणव — मेहाणं रवो णिसामिओ वज्ज-पडहो व्व ॥

(72) Pradoṣa yathā —
Jaha jaha addhamai ravi — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1039)

जह जह¹ अत्यमद् रवी² विहडिअ — संज्ञाअवां पओसेण ।
तह तह माणो माणंसिणीण हिअएसु विज्जाइ
यथा यथाऽस्तमयते रविः विघटित-सन्ध्यातपः प्रदोषेण ।
तथा तथा मानो मनस्विनीनां हृदयेषु वीध्यते ॥

1. Addhamai—2. Vihathia 3. Sajjāavo Sajjāavo—SP p. 1039

Note : 1. The latter part of the first half of this gāthā reads *vadasamhi*—Which is extremely corrupt and defies all attempts at restoration.' As this gāthā is cited to illustrate 'Pradoṣa' one of the causes of *mānabhaṅga*, I have emended the reading as 'paoseṇa'.

(73) Atha mānabhaṅga—kāraṇāni — — — Teṣu pravāsālambo yathā —
Jā anunaam na geṇhai — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1039)

जा अणुणअं ण गेण्हइ माण-क्खलणम्मि सहिअणेण वि भणिआ ।
पाअपअणेहि णेतं स च्चिअ कआवि पिअं णिवारेइ पिआ ॥
यानुनयं न गृह्णाति मान-स्खलने सखीजनेनापि भणिता ।
पादपतनैनियन्ति (— गच्छन्तं) सैव कदापि (? कदाचित्) प्रियं निवारयति प्रिया ।

(74) Atha mānopaśāntayah — — — Teṣu virodhi-prādur-bhāvo—yathā—
Avalambiovaāram — — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1040)

अवलंबिओवआरं अभग्गमाण-पसरं पअत्त-पहरिसं ।
एक्कं च एक्कराअं (जाअं) से दइअ-दंसणे च्चिअ हिअअं ॥
अव अम्बितोपचारम् अभग्न-मान-प्रसरं प्रवृत्त-प्रहर्षम् ।
एकं चैकरागं (जातं) तस्या दयित-दर्शन एव हृदयम् ॥

(75) Atha mānopaśāntayah — — — Teṣu vipakṣābhibhavo yathā —
Dhoosaranta — rosam — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1040)

This corrupt verse is to be identified with the verse "Thoosaranta-rosam", etc., cited by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī Kaṅṭhābharana* (p. 727 v. 491). As pointed out by Dr. Ghatage it is drawn from Sarvasena's *Hari-vijaya* (now lost).

थोओसरंत- रोसं थोअत्थोअ- परिवड्ढमाण-पहरिसं
होइ अ दूरपसाअं (? दूरपआसं) उअ (ह) रसाअत्त-विभमं तीएँ मुहं ॥
स्तोकापसरद्वेषं स्तोक-स्तोक-परिषर्धमान-प्रहर्षम् ।
भवति अदूर-प्रसाधं (? च दूरप्रकाशं) उभयरसायत्त-विभ्रमं तस्या मुखम् ॥

(76) Skhalanam yathā —

Tie vialanta-dhīram — — — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1041)

तीर्णे विअलंत-धीरं अब्भुट्ठंतीर्णे खण-पहोलिर-बाहं ।

दूरोसरंत-सरणं दूरअर-वलग्ग-वेअणं णीससिअं ॥

तया विगलद्धैर्यमब्भ्युत्तिष्ठन्त्या क्षण-प्रघूर्णनशील-बाष्पम् ।

दूरापसरत्स्मरणं दूरतरारूढ-वेदनं निःश्वसितम् ॥

(77) Vighattanam yathā —

Tuṃdhiro visālo jo — — — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1041)

This gāthā, with a few variants, is found in *GS (W)* No. 935. It is found also in *VL (No. 361)*

तुंगो धिरो विसालो जो सहि मे माण-पव्वओ रइओ ।

सो दइअ-दिट्ठिअ-वज्जासणीएँ घाअं पि ण पहुत्तो ॥

तुङ्गः स्थिरो विशालो यः सखि मे मान-पर्वतो रचितः ।

स दयित-दृष्टि-वज्जाशनेघातमपि न प्राप्तः ॥

(78) Atha mānopaśāntayaḥ — — — — Teṣu unmūlanam yathā —

Lolaasuraaru — — — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1041)

This verse is earlier cited (on p. 1049) to illustrate 'praṇāma' and further on (p. 1209) to illustrate praṇipātataḥ. It may be restored as follows :

तो इअ सुर-अरू-कारण-मउलिअ-हिअआए सावसेस-लहुओ ।

सम्भाविअ संभाविअ च्चिअ हिओ हरिणा पाअ-पडणम्मि तीएँ अमरिसो ॥

तत इति सुरतरू-कारण-मुकुलितहृदयायाः सावशेष-लघुकः ।

साद्भाविक संभावित एव हतो हरिणा पादपतने तस्या अमर्षः ॥

This verse is drawn from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya (HV)*, now lost.

(79) Eta evopacarita-ṛṭṭayāḥ sannibhaḥ Teṣu — — — — pratināyako yathā —

Kaha viraha-padikkūlāo (?) — — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1174)

कह विरह-प्पडिकूला होहिइ समुह-ट्ठिआ पहुम्मि उवगए ।

णेच्छइ इहरा वि ससि कि पुण दिट्ठम्मि दिणअरम्मि कमलिणी ॥

कथं विरह-प्रतिकूला भविष्यति संमुख-स्थिता प्रभावुपगते ।

नेच्छति इतरथापि शशिनं कि पुनर्दृष्टे दिनकरे कमलिनी ॥

—Setu XI-26

(80) Upanāyako yathā —

Bahalammi vi tama-ṇivahe — — — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1174)

बहलम्मि वि तम-णिवहे णिव्वाडेऊण सच्चविअ-रूवाओ ।

अणुबंधंति ससि-अरा घेतुं ण चअंति पाअवच्छाआओ ॥

बहलेऽपि तमो-निवहे पृथक्कृत्वा दृष्टरूपाः ।

अनुबध्नन्ति शशिकरा ग्रहीतुं न शक्नुवन्ति पादप-च्छायाः ॥

Setu X. 41

- (81) *Eta evopacarita-vṛttayah sannibhāḥ Teṣu — — — Upanāyikā yathā-
Oratta-pāmrūhamuhim (?) — — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1175)*

This verse is cited by Bhoja in his *SK* (p. 679, V. No. 357) to illustrate 'tiryagābhāsaḥ'.

ओरत्त-पंकअ-मुहिं वम्मह-णडिअं व सलिल-सअण-णिसणं ।
अल्लिअइ तीर-णलिणि वाआए गमेइ सहअरि चक्काओ ॥
उपरत्त-पक्कज-मुखीं मन्मथ-नटितामिव सलिल-शयन-निषण्णाम् ।
आलीयते तीर-नलिनीं वाचा गमयति सहचरीं चक्रवाकः ॥

- (82) *Ṛtumatīnāmanurāgātīśaya — śamsināḥ ceṣṭā-viśeṣaveṣādayaḥ pari-
hāravilāsāḥ yathā — — — —*

Pasia saanakkavāse I?) — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1182)

पसिअ सअणेक्कपासे तुज्ज पअंते सुवामि अच्छवंती ।
पुप्फवईआण पत्तिअ रअणीसु ण होइ परिहारो ॥
प्रसीद शयनैक-पाश्वे तव पदान्ते स्वपिम्यस्पृशन्ती ।
पुष्पवतीनां प्रतीहिं रजनीषु न भवति परिहारः ॥

- (83) *Madhyāhnakarāṇīyam mādhyahnikam, yathā —
Daiassa gimma (? gimma)-vammaha — — — (Vol. IV. p. 1184)*

दइअस्स गिम्ह-वम्मह-संतावं दो वि झडत्ति अवणेइ ।
मज्जण-जलह-चंदण-सिसिरा आलिगणेण वहु ॥
दमित्तस्य श्रीष्म-मन्मथ-संतापं द्वावपि श्रीधरमपनयति ।
मज्जन-त्राट्टे-चन्दन-शिजिरा आलिङ्गनेन वधूः ॥

- (84) *Candratāpo jyotsnā yathā —*

Dipaava — piñjaria — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1186)

दीपाअव-पिंजरिआ कामिणी-हसिअब्बा परिग्गह-सुहा ।
होति गवक्खोवगआ कालाअरु-धूसरा ससि-किरणा ॥
दीपातप-पिञ्जरिता कामिनी-हसितव्याः परिग्रह-सुखाः ।
भवन्ति गवाक्षोपगताः कालागरु-धूसराःशशि-किरणाः ॥

- (85) *Niśa-prathama-yāma-karma-prādoṣikam yathā —
Sijjijjai uvaāro — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1186)*

This gāthā is pretty corrupt. Tentatively it may be restored as follows :

सज्जिज्जइ उवआरो अहो रइअपि पुणो रइज्जइ सअणं ।
संभरिअ वाणि-अत्था अप्पाहिअ-पत्थिआ वि रुब्भइ दूई ॥
सज्जीक्रियते उपवारः, अहो रचित्तमपि पुना रच्यते शयनम् ।
संस्मृत्य वाण्यर्थान्, संदिष्ट-प्रस्थितापि रुध्यते दूती ॥

- (86) *Niśā-prathama — yāma — karma prādoṣikam yathā — — — — — Pijjai piām pi muham — — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1186)*
 पिञ्जइ पीअं पि महुं दीसइ दिट्ठो वि दप्पणे अप्पाणो ।
 अणुआण राग-पसरा पुच्छिञ्जइ पुच्छिआ पुणो वि पिअकहा ॥
 पीयते पीतमपि मधु दृश्यते दृष्टोऽपि दर्पणेऽऽत्मा ।
 अनुजानां राग-प्रसरा पृच्छयते पृष्टा पुनरपि प्रियकथा ॥
- (87) *Niśā-prathama-yāma karma — prādoṣikam yathā — Ajeulloanāim (?) — — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1187)*
 अजेइ लोअणाइं बंधइ रसणं रएइ तिलआलेक्खं ।
 जाओ होतं-समागम-सुहेक्क-रसिओ वि वाजलो जुअइ-अणो ॥
 अनक्ति लोचने बध्नाति रशनां रचयति तिलकालेख्यम् ।
 जातो भविष्यत्समागम-सुखैक-रसिकोऽपि व्याकुलो युवतिजनः ॥
- (88) *Pratyūṣa-kāla-karma — prābhātikam yathā — Tāvaa (?) raṇi-vahūe — — — — — (Vol. IV p. 1187)*
 ताव अ रअणि-बहूए परिअट्ठंतीए मलिअ-तारा-कुसुमो ।
 जाओ परिमल-पिसुणो उअ णच्चंतो व्व पाअडो पच्चूसो ॥
 तावच्च रजणी-ब्रह्वां परिवर्तमानायां मृदित-तारा-कुसुमः ।
 जातः परिमल-पिशुनः पश्य नृत्यन्निव प्रकटः प्रत्यूषः ॥
- (89-92) *Pāñcāla-muni-pravartita-bhinna-bhāṣā-veṣa-ceṣṭitaiḥ prahāsa-kriḍā pāñcālānuyātam yasya bhūtamātre prasiddhiḥ (? Pāñcālānuyānam tasya bhūtamātrketi prasiddhiḥ-Bhoja's Śrīgāraprakāśa, ed. by Dr. Raghavan p. 654) Yathā—*
 Hatthe mahāmamsabalīdharāo.....(Vol. IV p. 1192)
 For the corrected text and the Sanskrit chāyā of these four verses (which are drawn from the *Karpūramāñjarī* of Rājāśekhara) vide my paper “Sāhitya-Mīmāṃsā: Prakrit Text Restored” No. 26-29) in the Sambodhi, Vol. V Nos. 2-3
- (93-94) *Varṣāsu kadamba-nīpa-haridrakādi-)kusumaiḥ prahara(ṇa) bhūtaiḥ dvidhā balaṃ vibhajya kāmīnāṃ kriḍāḥ kadamba-yuddhāni Yathā—*
 (i) Bha (? ha) mmai piāe.....(Vol. IV p. 1193)
 Vide (No. 31) in the paper referred to *supra*.
 (ii) Dhanno'si re.....(Vol. IV. p 1193)
 Vide (No. 32) in the paper referred to *supra*.
- (95) *Abhinava-bisāṅkurodbheda-samaye saras-samāśritya kāmī--mith-unānām kriḍā bisa-khādikā/*
 Yathā.....(Vol. IV p. 1194)
 दिअरो बहुणिआए पुणो पुणो मुह-मुणाल-संकाए ।
 दंतप्पहं विकुड्ढइ विहसिज्जंतो पिअअमाए ॥

देवरो भ्रातृजायायाः पुनः पुनः मुख-मृणाल-शङ्कया ।
दन्त-प्रभां विकर्षति विहस्यमानः प्रियतमया ॥

Note :—The gāthā becomes intelligible if the following context is understood.

The brother-in-law is in love with his sister-in-law, the wife of his elder brother. The teeth of his beloved are full of brilliance-dazzling lustre or splendour. The brother-in-law mistakes this splendour to be a lotus-stalk held in her mouth by his beloved and tries to take out this supposed lotus stalk. This action on the part of her lover provokes her to laughter.

(96) Śakra-maha indrotsavo yathā—

Indamaham datthumano.....(Vol. IV p. 1194)

इंदमहं ददुमणो संकोइअं-दइद-गाम-रच्छाए ।

मोसूण तं णिसंको अज्ज जणो कहं णु बोलीणो ॥

इन्द्रमहं द्रष्टुमनाः संकोचित-दग्ध-नाम-रथ्यया ।

मुक्त्वा तं निःशङ्कोऽद्य जनः कथं नु अतिक्रान्तः ॥

Note :—The form *nisaṅko* (for *nisaṅko* or *nissaṅko*) is used *metrj. causa*.

(97) Āśvina-paurṇamāsī-vilāsaḥ kaumudī-pracāraḥ / yathā

Diarena piā-thanae.....(Vol. IV p. 1194)

दिअरेण पिआ-थणए कोमुइ-वासेण कइमिज्जंते ।

हसइ परिओस-सुण्णं उव्वट-मुहं हलिउलत्तो ॥

देवरेण प्रियास्तने कौमुदी-वासेन कर्दमीकृते ।

हसति परितोष-शून्यं, उद्भूत-मुखं हालिकपुत्रः ॥

(98) Yasyām yavasrastaresvaba (lā) lolanti sā kunda-caturthī/yathā—

Jna (? Ja)hiṁ tumam.....(V. IV p. 1195)

जहिं तुमं सच्चविआ विणिअंसण-लोलिरी जुआणेहिं ।

ते तत्थ च्चिअ छेत्ते मअउल-उब्भेसआ जाआ ॥

यन्न त्वं दृष्टा विनिवसन-लोलनशीला युक्चिः ।

ते तत्रैव क्षेत्रे मृग-कुलोद्भेषका जाताः ॥

(99) Sahakāra-kusuma-pallavādi-bhañjanam sahakāra-bhañjikā/yathā
Raiampi tāṇṇa sohai.....(Vol. IV p. 1196)

Bhoja cites this very verse in his *SK* (p. 666 V. No. 306) to illustrate the same *Kriḍā* (*Cūta* (= *sahakāra*)-*bhañjikā*.) There the text is metrically defective. Here too it is metrically defective and, in addition, partly corrupt. It may be restored, with the help of these two corrupt passages, as follows :

रइअं पि ता ण सोहइ रइजोगं कामिणीण छण-जेवच्छं ।

कण्णे जा ण रइज्जइ कपोल-बोलं-पल्लवं सहकारं ॥

रचितमपि तावन्न शोभते रति-योग्यं कामिनीनां क्षणनेपप्यम् ।

कणं यावन्न रच्यते कपोल-घूर्णमान-पल्लवं सहकारम् ॥

- (100) *Āndolana-kriḍā dolā-vilāsaḥ/yathā—*
Uccapasahittanam(Vol. IV p. 1196)
 उच्च-वसहित्णं ते अवरज्जइ चंद मंद-पुण्यस्त ।
 पाएहिं जं ण छिव्वसि व्हूएँ अंदोलमाणीए ॥
 उच्च-वसतित्वं तवापराध्यति चन्द्र मन्द-पुण्यस्य ।
 पादाभ्यां यन्न स्पृश्यसे वध्वा दोलमानया ॥
- (101) *Kṛīdānte gṛahāgamanam gṛha-pratyāgamah/ yathā—*
Hamho Kannullinā.....(Vol. IV p. 1197)
 हंहो कण्णल्लीणा भणामि रे सुहअ कि पि मा तूर ।
 णिज्जण-पाणद्धीसु तु कहं पि पुण्णेहि लद्धो सि ॥
 हंहो कण्णल्लीना भणामि रे सुभग किमपि मा त्वरस्व ।
 निर्जन-रध्यासु तु कथमपि पुण्यैलंब्धोसि ॥
 This gāthā is cited by Bhoja in his *SK* (p. 635).
- (102) *Sambhogārtham śarīra-pratikarma prasāadhanam/yathā—*
Diṇṇa-taṇuañjanāi.....(Vol. IV p. 1198)
 दिण्ण-तणु-अंजणाइं जुअइ-अणस्स अलत्तअ-रत्त-ओट्ठाइ ।
 आसण्ण-रइ-मुहाइं अहिवासिज्जंति वम्महेण मुहाइं ॥
 दत्त-तनुकाळजनानि युवति-जनस्य अलक्तक-रक्तौष्ठानि ।
 आसन्न-रति-सुखानि अधिवास्यन्ते मन्मथेन मुखानि ॥
- (103) *Sambhogārtham śarīra-pratikarma prasāadhanam/yathā—*
Pariumbhaṇeṇa aharo.....(Vol IV p. 1198)
 परिउंबणेण अहरो अण्णइ हिअअ-हरिसेण णअण-च्छाआ ।
 सोहं कुणइ पिओ च्चिअ विरएइ मुहा पसारणं जुअइ-अणो ॥
 परिउम्बनेनाधरोऽर्षति हृदय-हर्षेण नयनच्छाया ।
 शोभां करोति प्रिय एव विरचयति मुधा प्रसाधनं युवतिजनः ॥
- (104) *Priya-janāhvānāya sakhyāpti-sampreṣanam dūtī-visarjanam/yatha-*
Suraa-suha-lālasāhim.....(Vol. IV p. 1200)
 This gāthā is cited earlier (p. 951) to illustrate (*Mārgodīkṣanam*).
 There it is metrically defective and also corrupt.
 सुरअ-सुह-लालसाहिं पिअअम-रत्थंतरेसु पुणरुत्तं ।
 पेसिज्जंति सरहसं समअं दूईहि दिट्ठीओ ॥
 सुरत-सुख-लालसाभिः प्रियतम-रथ्यान्तरेषु पुनरुक्तम् ।
 प्रेष्यन्ते सरभसं समकं (=समं) दूतीभिर्दृष्ट्यः । ॥
- (105) *Kūrpāsaka-vibhūṣanādi- tyāgaḥ kañcukādi-mokṣah/yathā--*
Uttāria neura-hāra.....(Vol IV p. 1202)
 उत्तारिअ-णेउर-हार-तिलअ-ताडक-वलअ-रसणम्मि ।
 अविहअ-पसरो मअणो धावइ अंगम्मि तरुणीणं ॥

उत्तारित-नूपुर-हार-तिलक-ताटङ्क-वलय-रशने ।
अविहत-प्रसरो मदनो धावत्यङ्गो तरुणीनाम् ॥

The word 'tilaa' (tilaka) is somewhat unusual. It means a kind of necklace.

(106)ratārambhah/yathā—

Gholai tahim.....(Vol. IV p. 1022)

घोलइ तर्हि तर्हि चिअ ण तरइ तरुणीएँ लंघिउं मज्झं ।
णाभि-महावत्त-भमाडिओ व्व हत्थो पिअमस्स ।
घूर्णंति तत्र तत्रैव न शक्नोति तरुण्या लङ्घितुं मध्यम् ।
नाभि-महावर्त-भ्रान्त इव हस्तः प्रियतमस्य ॥

(107) Teṣu deśa-kālotkaṅṭhādibhirmānāpacayo māna-śaithilyam/yathā-
Avvahala-daia-gaiāharo (?).....(Vol. IV p. 1206)

This gāthā, as printed in the text of *SP* is pretty corrupt. Originally it belongs to *Gaūdavaho* (No. 690). It is cited by Bhoja in his *SK* (p. 627 v 189) to illustrate 'Mānāntara' variety of sambhoga-śṅgāra. It is quoted also by Ratneśvara in his commentary on *SK* I. 84 (p. 81) to illustrate 'bhavyaḥ sūkṣamḥ arthaḥ'. There it is presented in a hopelessly corrupt form : The gāthā runs as follows :

उव्वहइ दइअ-गहिआहरोट्ठ-झिज्जंत-रोस-पडिरागं ।
पाणोसरंतमहरं व फलिअ-चसअं मुहं बाला ॥
उद्वहति दयित-गृहीताघरोष्ठ-क्षीयमाण-रोष-प्रतिरागम् ।
पानापसरन्मदिरमिव स्फटिक-चषकं मुखं बाला ॥

(108) Priyeṇa māna-vaimanasyādi-ṛcchā priyābhyupapattih/yathā—
Kīsa maliavaissam.....(Vol. IV p. 1207)

कीस मलिआवअंसं पअण्ण-णीसास-पउलिआहर-राअं ।
वअणं वहंसि कियोअरि कर-संकामिअ-कओल-पत्तालेखं ॥
कस्माद् मलिनावतंसं प्रदत्त-विपुल-निःश्वास-प्रज्वलिताधर-रागम् ।
वदनं वहंसि कुशोदरि कर-संक्रामित-कपोल-पत्रालेख्यम् ॥

(109) Priyeṇa-māna-vaimanasyādi ṛcchā priyābhyupapattih/yathā—
Kīsa ime subahuso.....(Vol. IV p. 1207)

कीस अ इमेसु बहुसो विसमप्पंत-तलिणंजण-च्छवि-कलुसा ।
दीहावंगेसु तुज्ज, परिवहंति णअणेसु बाहुप्पीडा ॥
कस्माच्चानयोबंधुशः विषम-प्रान्त-तलिनाञ्जन-च्छवि-कलुषाः ।
दीर्घापाङ्गयोस्तव परिवर्धन्ते नयनयोर्बाष्पोत्पीडाः ॥

- (110) *Sāma-vākyāni parisāntvanāni/yathā—*
Avahāre ṇa ciraṁ.....(Vol. IV p. 1028)
 अवहारेण चिरं भणमु तुमं चिअ अमुक्क-रोसा वि फुडं ।
 किं अगणेऊण इअं होजा तुमस्मि मह प्पमाअ-स्खळणं ॥
 अवधायं चिरं भण त्वमेवामुक्तरोपापि स्फुटम् ।
 किमगणयित्त्वेदं भवेत्त्वयि मम प्रमाद-स्खलनम् ॥

This verse is already cited earlier (p. 1013) to illustrate (grāmyaḥ) upālambhaḥ'. It is possibly drawn from *HV*.

- (111) *Vipriyeṣu kāraṇāntaraopanyāsaḥ skhalita-gopānāni/yathā—*
Akkhaṇḍie vi aṇaē (?)......(Vol IV p. 1208)
 अखण्डिए वि पणए अकअम्मि वि विप्पिए अकज्जे वि महं ।
 जाअं चिअ वअणिज्जं तुह रोसम्मि दइए णिमित्तं पि पिअं ॥
 अखण्डितेऽपि प्रणयेऽकृतैऽपि विप्रियेऽकार्येऽपि मम ।
 जातमेव वचनीयं तव रोषे दयिते निमित्तमपि प्रियम् ॥

This verse is already cited earlier (p. 1013) to illustrate '(prakṛti-sthaḥ) upālambhaḥ'. It is possibly drawn from *HV*.

- (112) *Pādapatanaṁ pranipātaḥ/yathā—*
Toiasuraarukāraṇa.....(Vol. IV p. 1209)

This verse is the same as No. 3 *supra*. It was already cited earlier (p. 1009) to illustrate 'praṇāma', one of the kinds of sāma and 'unmūlana', one of the 'mānabhaṅgopāyas' (p. 1041).

- (113-114) *Māna-hānau niśvasitāni māna-niśvasitāni /yathā—*
Tiē vialanta-dhīraṁ.....(Vol. IV p. 1210)

This passage, although printed as prose, is really made up of two separate and independent verses. The two verses may be restored as follows :

- (a) तीएँ विअलंत-धीरं अब्भुट्ठंतीएँ खण-पहोलिर-बाहं ।
 दूरोसरंत-सरणं दूरअर-बलग्ग-वेअणं णीससिअं ॥
 तथा विगळ्ळंयंमअभ्युत्तिष्ठन्त्या क्षण-प्रघूर्णनशील-वाप्पम् ।
 दूरापसरत्समरणं दूरतरारूढ-वेदनं निःश्वसितम् ॥

This verse is cited by Bhoja earlier (p. 1041) to illustrate 'skhalanam' Vide-*supra* (1) and later (p. 1213) to illustrate 'priyoparodhaḥ'.

- (b) मर्गसिगीए अहिणव-मदिरामोअ-पडिबद्ध-वम्मह-पसरं ।
 दइअ-जग-दिण्ण-णअणं विअलिअ-धीर-लहुअं चिरं णीससिअं ॥
 मनस्विन्त्या अभिनव-मदिरामोद-प्रतिबद्ध-मन्मथ-प्रसरम् ।
 दयित-जन-इत्त-नयनं विगलित-धैर्यं-लघुकं चिरं निःश्वसितम् ॥

(115-116) Mukhasya mānakālusyāpagamo mukha-prasādah/yathā—
Āloiaccia pie.....(Vol. IV p. 1211)

- (i) आलोहए च्चिअ पिए ठविओ तीए मअणेण मोहण-सुहओ ।
कुसुम-धणुम्मि वि बाणो वलइअ-विअम-गुणे मुहम्मि पहरिसो ॥
आलोकित एव प्रिये स्थापितः तस्या मदनेन मोहन-सुभगः (सुखदः)
कुसुम-धन्वन्यपि बाणो वलयित-विअम-गुणे मुखे प्रहर्षः ॥

This verse is already cited earlier (p. 1041) by Bhoja to illustrate 'mukha-prasāda', one of the mānopaśama-lakṣaṇas.

(ii) Thovosarantarosam.....(Vol. IV p. 1211)

- थोओसरंत-रोसं थोअ-त्थोअ-त्थोअ-परिवड्डमाण-पहरिसं ।
होइअ दूर-पसासं (दूर-पसासं) उहअ-रसाअत्त-विअमं तीएँ मुहं ॥
स्तोकापसरद्वेषं स्तोका-स्तोका-परिवर्धमान-प्रहर्षम् ।
भवति च दूर-प्रकाशं (दूरप्रसादं) उभय-रसायत्त-विअमं तस्यां मुखम् ॥

This verse is already cited earlier (p. 1040) by Bhoja to illustrate 'vipakṣābhībhavaḥ', one of the varieties of 'mānopaśāntiḥ'. It is cited by Bhoja in his SK also (p. 727). As pointed out by Dr. Ghatage this verse is drawn from HV.

(117) Vyalikodghaṭṭanamupāmbhaḥ/yathā—

Sa kusumehi guru.....(Vol. IV p. 1212)

- सा कुसुमेहि गरुइआ मह वि कओ सुहअ दंसणेण पसाओ ।
कहं अ ण पसाअ-सओ लगउ पिआ-हिअअस्स इमस्स तुज्जं ॥
सा कुसुमैर्लुक्कता (= गौरविता) ममापि कृतस्सुभग दर्शनेन प्रसादः ।
कथञ्च न प्रसाद-शब्दो लगतु प्रियाहृदयस्यास्य तव ॥

This verse is already cited earlier (p. 990) by Bhoja to illustrate 'priyādiṣu vyāja-nindotprāsaḥ'. It is most probably from HV.

(118-119) Māna-sālyoddharanamavajñā-bhramśah/yathā—

(i) Harisa-viasanta-vaṇam.....(Vol. IV p. 1212)

- हरिस-विअसंत-वअणं कओल-अल-संगलंत-पुलउअंभेअं ।
अपसाहिअं पि जाअं पसाहिअअभहिअ-मणहरं तीएँ मुहं ॥
हर्ष-विकसन्नदंनं कपोल-तल-संकलत्पुलकोद्भेदम् ।
अप्रसाधितमपि जातं प्रसाधिताभ्यधिक-मनोहरं तस्यां मुखम् ॥

(ii) Nimmari (?vi) a-sandhiammā.....(Vol. IV p. 1212)

- णिम्मविअ-संधिअम्मा तावअ दूर-पडिबद्ध-वम्मह-पसरा ।
गरुअं सुरउच्छाहं दाऊण सहि व्व जामिणी तीएँ गआ ॥
निर्मापित-संधि-कर्मा तावञ्च दूर-प्रतिबद्ध-मन्मथ-प्रसरा ।
गुरुकं सुरतोस्ताहं दत्त्वा सखीव यामिनी तस्या गता ॥

- (120) *Priyānugama-cihñāni prema-lingāni/yathā—*
Avalambīa-māna-parammuhīe..... (Vol. IV p. 1213)
 The second half of this *gāthā*, as presented in the printed text, is hopelessly corrupt. This *gāthā* is also cited in *SK* (p. 685 v. 381) to illustrate '*ayatnāpaneya-mānadhīrā*'. The *gāthā* belongs to *GS* (I. 87).
 अवलंबिअ-माण-परम्मुहीएँ एतस्स माणिणि पिअस्स ।
 पुट्ठ-मुलउगामो तुह कहेइ संमुह-ट्ठिअं हिअअं ॥
 अवलम्बित-मान-पराङ्मुब्ध्या आगच्छतो मानिनि प्रियस्य ।
 पुष्ठ-मुलकोद्गमस्तव कथयति संमुख-स्थितं हृदयम् ॥
- (121) *Priyoparodhaḥ yathā*
Evalānta-vīram..... (Vol. IV p. 1213).
 This verse is the same as No. 1 *supra*.
- (122) *Hastenābhighātaḥ pāṇi-tāḍanam/yathā—*
Mudheva veviraṅguli (?)..... (Vol. IV p. 1214)
 मुधेव वेविरं (? मुद्धे पवेविरं) गुलि-णह-मुह-मुख-सिष्पत-सेअ-सलिलेण ।
 हत्थुल्लएण हत्थअलेणं माणिणि मा हणसु पिअं तुलिज्जिहिसि ॥
 मुग्घं प्रवेपनशीला (प्रवेपमाना)ङ्गुलि-नख-सिच्यमान-स्वेद-सलिलेन ।
 हस्ताद्ग्रेण हस्ततलेन मानिनि मा जहि प्रियं तोलयिष्यसे ।
Note : This *gāthā* is somewhat corrupt. It is interesting to find that the first half of this *gāthā* is almost identical with the first half of *Lilāvai* No. 1256 :
 तो सा सवेविरंगुलि-णह-मुह-सिष्पत-सेय-सलिलेण ।
 अग्घं व देइ पियसंगमस्स हत्थुल्लएण पिरा ॥
 The commentator presumes the reading 'paveviraṅguli' for he renders the expression into Sanskrit as 'pravepamānāṅguli'. The letter 'va' in 'mudheva' is probably a misreading of this 'pa'. The near identity of the first two halves in *Lilāvai* and *SP* raises such questions as 'Does the author of *Lilāvai* draw upon, for the first half of his *gāthā*, an earlier source ? or, 'Does Bhoja directly borrow the whole *gāthā* from that earlier source ? Or, 'Does Bhoja borrow the first half from the author of *Lilāvai* (with necessary modification) and add the second half to make it an example of '*Pāṇi-tāḍanam*' ? It is not possible in the present state of our knowledge, to say definitely if any of these alternatives holds good.
- (123) *Hastenābhighātaḥ pāṇi-tāḍanam/yathā—*
Ekkam paharuvvāam..... (Vol. IV p. 1214)
 एकं पहरुव्वाअं हत्थं मुह-मारुएण वीअतो ।
 मो वि हसंतीएँ भए गहिओ वीएण कंठम्मि ॥
 एकं प्रहार-खिअं हस्तं मुख-मारुतेन वीजयन् ।
 सोऽपि हसन्त्या मया गृहीतो द्वितीयेन कण्ठे ॥ *GS*. I. 86 .

- (124) *Māna-dhāraṇa-sāmarthyam māna-śaktih-yathā—
Kelīe vi rause (?).....(Vol. IV p. 1216)*

केलीएँ वि रूसेउं ण तीरेए तम्मिचुक्कविणअम्मि ।
जाइअएहिं व माए इमेहिं अवसेहिं अंगेहिं ॥
केल्हापि रोषितुं न शक्यते तस्मिश्च्युतविनये ।
याचितकैरिव मातरेभिरवशैरङ्गैः ॥ GS. II. 95

- (125) *Māna-paścāttāpo mānānuśayah - yathā—
Agahia—daiñunao - - - - (Vol. IV p. 1216)*

अगहिअदइआणुणओ पच्छा अणुणेइ अणुसअ-विसंवलओ ।
कइअव-णिरूविअ-मओ वि कइअद-मअण-लहुइओ जुअइ-जणो ॥
अगृहीत-दयितानुनयः पश्चादनुनयति अनुशय-विसंवलितः ।
कैतव-निरूपित-मदोऽपि कैतव-मदन-लषूकृतो युवतिजनः ॥

This verse is cited earlier (p. 1043) by Bhoja to illustrate 'mado-pādhāna' one of the 'mānabhaṅgopādhi's.

- (126) *Teṣu priyāgamodghoṣaṇam priyāgamāna vārtā / yathā—
Kuḍḍammi ohi-vāsara - - - - (Vol. IV p. 1219)*

कुडुम्मि ओहिं-वासर-रेहा-संगणन-मेत्त-वावारो ।
विमणमुहिए णिअच्छसु को वद्धिअस्य जणो मुच्चइ ॥
कुडघेऽवधि-वासर-रेखा-संगणन-मात्त-व्यापारः ।
विमनस्कमुखि पश्य को वधितस्य मुच्यते ॥

Note : The latter part of the second half was metrically defective. I have therefore, emended it. The idea seems to be that in ordinary course of things the devoted wife, on hearing the good news of her husband's return from the journey, used to go out of the house to welcome and congratulate him. Here she was busy counting the lines on the wall indicating the days of the duration of the journey and was disconsolate. Her friend or maid announces the joyful news of her husband's return from journey and suggests her to go out and greet him.

- (127) *Sādarāṭīsayah sambhramo yathā—
Sahasā pattammi pie.....(Vol. IV p. 1220)*

सहसा पत्तम्मि पिए समुग्गआणंद-बाह-पिहिअच्छी ।
अज्झा सज्जस-बहुला पअं पि दाउं ण पारेइ ॥
सहसा प्राप्ते प्रिये समुद्गतानन्दबाष्प-पिहिताक्षी ।
आर्या साधवस-बहुला पदमपि दातुं न शक्नोति ॥

- (128) *Kamiturāgamanam priyābhyāgamah/yathā—
Ua jāva sā kilammai.....(Vol. IV p. 1220)*

उअ जाव सा किळम्मइ अप्पक्कअ-विरह-वित्थरंताणुसआ ।
ता पत्तो जइ इच्छा तइ णिव्वत्तिअ-मणोरहो महूमहणो ॥

पश्य यावत्सा कलाम्बति आत्मकृत-विरह-विस्तीर्यमाणानुभवा ।
तावत्प्राप्तो यथेच्छा तथा निर्बतित-मनोरथो मधुमथनः ॥
This verse is drawn from *HV*.

(129) Sakhyādi-sampadhḥ parijana-pramodaḥ/yathā—
Vāsaththiammi sohā.....(Vol. IV p. 1221)

वासद्विअम्मि सोहा-परिओस-पसाहिआणणाए मणहरो ।
अप्पुट्ठ-सोअ-विमलो सहि-सत्थो तीए दप्पणम्मि वि दिट्ठो ॥
वास-स्थिते शोभा-परितोष-प्रसाधिताननया मनोहरः ।
अस्पृष्ट-शोक-विमलः सखी-सार्थस्तथा दर्पणेऽपि दृष्टः ॥

(130) Citta-santoṣo manah-praharṣah/yathā—
Dūraviambhia-pasaro.....(Vol. IV p. 1221)

दूर-विअंभिअ-पसरो कअ-कज्ज-णिअ-दइअ-दंसण-जण्णिओ ।
हिअए ण माइ माउसिआ असोअ-विअडे वि से परिओसे ॥
दूर-विजृम्भित-प्रसरः कृत-कार्य-निज-दयित-दर्शन-जनितः ।
हृदये न माति सखि अशोक-विकटेऽपि तस्याः परितोषः ॥

(131) Snehātirekaḥ prema-puṣṭih/yathā—
Nimmahia-kusuma parimala.....(Vol. IV p. 1222)

णिम्महिअ-कुसुम-परिमल-हिअ-हिअआए वि महुअरालि-चट्टुला ।
पढमं पिअम्मि दिट्ठी पच्छा तीए सुरपाअवम्मि णिसण्णा ॥
निर्मथित-कुसुम-परिमल-हृत-हृदयाया अपि मधुकरावलि चट्टुला ।
प्रथमं प्रिये दृष्टिः पश्चात्तस्याः सुरपादपे निषण्णा ॥

It is very probable that this verse is drawn from *HV*.

(132) Snehātirekaḥ prema-puṣṭih/yathā—
Toseviammi rasiā.....(Vol. IV p. 1223)

तो से पिअम्मि रसिआ ता दुमरअणम्मि विअसिअ-उप्पल-सुह्वा ।
परिओस-रसुब्बेल-अणुराअ-अदोलिआ णिसम्मइ दिट्ठी ॥
ततस्तस्याः प्रिये रसिआ ततो दुमरत्ने विकसितोत्पल-सुभगा ।
परितोष-रसोच्छलितानुरागान्दोलिता निसीदति दृष्टिः ॥
This verse is drawn from *HV*.

(133-134) Ratiprakaṣodayah śṛṅgāravṛddhiḥ/yathā—
Ua ṇiapāavarāane.....(Vol. IV p. 1224)

उअ णिअ-पाअव-रअणे इअ अगुराअ-पिसुणं पिअम्मि भणन्ति ।
सविसेस-लद्ध-पसरो आढत्तो तीएँ पसरिउं परिओसो ।
पश्य निज-पादप-रत्ने इति अनुराग-पिशुनं प्रिये भणति ।
सविशेष-लब्ध-प्रसर आरब्धस्तस्याः प्रसर्तुं परितोषः ॥

The verse is most probably drawn from *HV*. For there is mention of 'pādapa-ratna (pārijāta tree from the celestial garden of Indra).
(ii) Tie savisesa-dūmia.....(Vol. IV p. 1224)

तीए सविसेस-दूमिअ-सवत्ति-हिअआए णिव्वंडत-सिणेहं ।
 पिअ-गरुइआएँ णिमिअं सोहग्ग-गुणाण अग्गभूमिीएँ पअं ॥
 तथा सविशेष-दून-सपत्नी-हृदयया स्पष्टीभूत-स्नेहम् ।
 प्रियगुरूकृतया (= गौरवितया) न्यस्तं सौभाग्यगुणानामप्रभूमौ पदम् ॥

This verse is already cited earlier (p. 1046) by Bhoja to illustrate 'vipakṣābhibhavah', one of the kinds of 'mānānubhava-saukhya'. He cites it also in his *SK* (p. 678 v. 350) to illustrate: 'Kathā-vyāpini nāyikā'. It is drawn from *HV*.

(135) Purastrī-sambhramo nāgarikā-kṣobhah/yathā—

Sambhariaṃ pi ṇa gaṇhai (?).....(Vo. IV p. 1229)
 संभविरिअं पि णं गेण्हइ गहिअंपि ण तं ठवेइ अंगम्मि ।
 ठविअं अंसुअं ण अ धरेइ रहसेण जुअइ-जणो ॥
 संस्मृतमपि न गृह्णाति गृहीतमपि न तत् स्थापयति अङ्गं ।
 स्थापितमपि अंशुकं न च धारयति रभसेन युवति-जनः ॥

(136) Anavarata-pākam kapittaa-pākam/yathā—

Sotum suham ṇa lambhai (?).....(Vol. IV p. 1241)
 सोत्तुं सुहं ण लब्भइ अब्बो पेम्मस्स वंक्विसमस्स ।
 दुग्घडिअ-मंचअस्स व खणे खणे पाअ-पडणेण ॥
 स्वप्त्तुं सुखं न लभ्यतेऽहो प्रेम्णो वक्खविषमस्य ।
 दुर्घटित्त-मच्चकस्येव क्षणे क्षणे पादपतनेन ॥

This gāthā is included by Weber in his edition of *ŚŚ* (No. 910)

SUPPLEMENT

(1) Uttamā dhīrā'nūḍha-mugdhā yathā—

Taha muddhāe puloio.....(Vol. III p. 618)
 तह मुद्धाए पुलोइओ वसु-मेलए कह वि ।
 जह से पढमं हिअए पच्छा हत्थम्मि वि वलगो ॥
 तथा मुग्घया प्रलोकितः प्रियवरो वसुमेलके कथमपि ।
 यथा तस्याः प्रथमं हृदये पश्चाद् हस्तेऽप्यारूढः ॥

(2) Kaniṣṭhā anūḍha-madhyā yathā—

Attā vaḍḍhakumārī.....(Vol. III p. 627)
 अत्ता वुड्ढ-कुमारी पेच्छह उप्पुल्लिआएँ खेलंती ।
 विवरीअ-सुरअ-ऊसव-विलासिआणं जोगं पि करेइ ॥
 पितृस्वसः(सखि) वृद्ध-कुमारी प्रेक्षध्वमुत्फुल्लिकया खेलन्ती
 विपरीत-सुरतोत्सव-विलासिनीनां योग्यमपि प्रकरोति ॥

- (3) **Dhīroḍha-pragalbhā yathā—**
Pekkhasi aṇimisaṇaṇo.....(Vol. III p. 632)
 पेक्खसि अणिमिस-णअणो जंपसि कर-कमल-छइअ-अहरोट्ठो ।
 पट्ठि ण देसि सअणे तहावि दे सुहअ कुप्पामो ।
 प्रेक्षसेऽनिमिष-नयनो जल्पसि कर-कमल-छादिताधरोष्ठः ।
 पृष्ठं न ददासि शयने तथापि ते सुभग कुप्पामः ॥
- (4) **Uttamā adhirā yathā—**
Suhaa tuha viraha-huavaha.....(Vol. III p. 633)
 सुहअ तुह विरह-हुअवह-पलित्त-हिअओत्थ-दूसह-सिहाए ।
 घूमं ति तीएँ पुरओ म्हु-परिमल-कट्ठिआ भसला ॥
 सुभग तव विरह-हुतवह-प्रदीप्त-हुदयोत्थ-दुःसह-शिखायाः ।
 घूममिति तस्याः पुरतो मुख-परिमल-कृष्टा भ्रमराः ॥
- (5) **Uttamā adhirā'nūḍhā yathā—**
Kanto majjhasamāsanna.....(Vol. III p. 634)
 कतो मज्झ समासण-दड्ढ-वार-ठिआए सहि जीअं ।
 गेहंगण-माणद्धीए तम्मि वि मणे अइक्कंते ॥
 कुतो मम समासन्न-दग्ध-द्वार-स्थितायाः सखि जीवितम् ।
 गेहाङ्गण-रथ्यया तस्मिन्नपि मन्येऽतिक्रान्ते ॥
- (6) **Uttamā dhīrodhamugdhā yathā—**
Niddāvasamaanummīla.....(Vol. III p. 634)
 णिहा-वस-मअणुम्मिल्ल-तारआवंग-घोलिरे णअणे ।
 गिम्हावरण्ह-सुत्तुठ्ठिआएँ दिअरो तुहं णिअइ ॥
 निद्रावश-मदनोन्मील-तारकापाङ्ग-घूर्णनशीले नयने ।
 ग्रीष्मापराह्ण-सुप्तोत्थिताया देवरस्तव पश्यति ॥
- (7) **Kaniṣṭhā adhirā yathā—**
Ruddhanti taṇṇim soum.....(Vol. III p. 642)
 रुज्झंतीएँ (? भंडतीएँ) तणाइं सोत्तुं दिण्णाइं जाइं पहिअस्स ।
 ताइं चेअ पहाए अज्झा आमड्ढ रुजंती ॥
 भण्डन्त्या (कलहं कुर्वाणया) तृणानि स्वप्तुं दत्तानि यानि पथिकस्य
 तान्येव प्रभाते आर्या आकर्षति रुदती ॥
 This gāthā occurs in GS (IV 79)
- (8) **Kaniṣṭhā adhirānūḍha-pragalbhā yathā—**
Navalaahattho gāmini.....(Vol. III p. 644)
 णवलअहत्थे गामणि-सुअम्मि कुमरीएँ गाम-रच्छासु ।
 पुणवस-मसिण-ममरीएँ चुलचुलाअंति अंगाइ ॥
 नवलताहस्ते ग्रामणी-सुते कुम्मया ग्राम-रथ्यासु ।
 पुनरुक्त-ममृण-भ्रमणशीलायाः स्पन्दन्ति अङ्गानि ॥

- (9) *Dhīrā'nūdha-madhya yathā—*
Phaṅgucchana-dohalinā.....(Vol. III p. 646)
 फग्गुच्छण-दोहलिआ (अडमाणा पुत्ति) गाम-रच्छासु ।
 गूढकखर-दिण्ण-पहेलिआ अ केणावि भंजिहिसि ॥
 फलगूत्सव (= वसन्तोत्सव) दोहदवती अटन्ती पुत्ति ग्राम-रप्थासु ।
 गूढाक्षर-दत्त-प्रहेलिका च केनापि भइइयसे ॥
- (10) *Śāstrābhīmāno yathā—*
Caṁ chaṁkhāhi Paronkhān.....(Vol. III p. 724)
 पच्चक्खा हि परोक्खं कहं व तुज्झ घडिआ हि आगम-सुद्धं ।
 संचालिआ णिकपं अणुहूआ हि वि महं सुअं चिअ गरुअं ॥
 प्रत्यक्षाद् हि परोक्षं कथं वा तव घटिताद् हि आगम-शुद्धम् ।
 संचालिताद् निष्कम्पम् अनुभूताद् हि अपि मम श्रुतमेव गुरुकम् ॥
- (11) *Caturatābhīmāno yathā—*
Bahumannasi haripanaam.....(Vol. III p. 725)
 बहुमण्णसि हरि-पणअं संदाणेसि तिअसेस पाअव-रअणं ।
 ओ जह मुद्ध सहावं संभावेसु सुरणाह जाअव-लोअं ॥
 बहुमन्यसे हरि-प्रणयं संदानयसि त्तिदशेश पादप-रत्नम् ।
 भो जहीहि मुग्घ-स्वभावं संभावव सुरनाथ यादव-लोकम् ॥
- This verse which mentions Hari, the lord of gods (Indra), the jewel among trees (Pārijāta tree in Indra's garden) is obviously drawn from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*, an epic poem, now lost. This verse is cited also in his *Sarasvatī kaṅṭhābharana* (p. 550.) by Bhoja. There we have a few variants: 'Mantesi mahumahapaṇaam' Manuṣe (?mantrayase) madhumatha-praṇayaam) and 'Ojasu muddha-suhavam' (Apajahi mugdha-svabhavam): The reading 'mantesi' offends the metre and the form 'ojasu' is rather ungrammatical. The Prakrit root 'jaha' (Sanskrit √ Jhā) leads us to expect the imperative form 'Jahasu' and not 'jasu'.
- (12) *Madhyamasya trāso yathā—*
Anjavikalajja kahakahavi.....(Vol. III p. 737)
 अज्ज वि हरी चमक्कइ कह कह वि ण मंदरेण दलिआइ ।
 चंदकला-कंदल-कोमलाएँ लच्छीएँ अंगाइ ॥
 अद्यापि हरिश्चमत्कृतो भवति कथं कथमपि न मन्दरेण दलितानि ।
 चन्द्रकला-कन्दल-कोमलाया लक्ष्म्या अङ्गानि ॥

This gāthā is further on (p. 758) cited by Bhoja to illustrate 'uttamasya trāsah'. It is cited by Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī* (Vol. I p. 279). There the text reads 'Sacchahāi' in place of 'Komalae'.

(13) Āśāmsā yathā—

Hojjavane so diarahā.....(Vol. III p. 784)

होज्ज वणे सो दिवहो जत्थ वि आमलिअ-कुसुम-धम्मिल्ला ।

पत्ते रवावसाने पुच्छिज्ज पवास-दुक्खाई ॥

भवेत्-संभाव्यते एतत्-स दिवसो यत्रापि आमूदित-कुसुमधम्मिल्ला ।

प्राप्ते रतावसाने पृच्छेत् प्रवास-दुःखानि ॥

(14) Anubandho yathā—

Gaṇhai kaṇthammi.....(Vol. III p. 784)

गण्हइ कंठम्मि बला चुंबइ णअणाइ हरइ मे सिअअं ।

पठम-सुरअम्मि रअणी वरस्स एमेअ बोलेइ ॥

गृह्णाति कण्ठे बलाच्चुम्बति नयने हरति मे सिचयम् ।

प्रथम-सुखे रजनी वरस्य एवमेव गच्छति ॥

(15) Ākutān yathā—

Tā chivai tā ṇiacchai.....(Vol. III p. 786)

ता छिवइ ता णिअच्छइ ता कुणइ रअं पि ताव चुंबेइ ।

अंगेहि कीरइ पई कामोच्छव-सीअलो तिस्सा ॥

तावत् स्पृशति तावत् पश्यति तावत् करोति रतमपि तावच्चुम्बति ।

अङ्गैः क्रियते पतिः कामोत्सव-शीतलः तस्याः ॥

(16) Vātsalyam yathā—

Jhatti samuṭṭhiamanahara.....(Vol. III p. 789)

झत्ति समुट्ठिअ-मणहर-सिरि-वअण-विलास-संभमाठलिअं ।

भुअ-जुअल-गहिअ-णिप्पंद-मंदरं णमहं महु-मअणं ॥

झटिति समुत्थित-मनोहर-श्री-वदन-विलास-संभ्रमाकुलितम् ।

भुज-युगल-गृहीत-निष्पन्द-मन्दरं नमत मधुमथनम् ॥

This gāthā as well as gāthā (No. 12) are probably drawn from

Vākpati's ' Mahumaha-viāa ' (Madhumatha(na) vijaya) a Prakrit epic now lost.

(17) Prema yathā—

Mae Kajja Kanco.....(Vol. III p. 790)

माए कज्जारंभा फलसंपत्तीए होंति विणिअत्ता ।

ण समप्पंति समत्ता वि दड्ढ-पेम्मस्य वावारा ॥

मातः (? सखि) कार्यारंभाः फल-संप्राप्त्या भवन्ति विनिवृत्ताः ।

न समाप्यन्ते समाप्ता अपि दग्ध-प्रेम्णो व्यापाराः ॥

(18) Ucca-jātau ya upajāyate sa uccaṇ yathā—

Keligabbhasaricche ūru.....(Vol. III p. 792)

केलि-गब्भ-सरिच्छे ऊरू दट्ठूण हलिअ-सोण्हाए ।

उल्लसई णहरणं चडुलस्स सेओल्लिअ करस्स ॥

कदली-गर्भ-सदृशौ ऊरू दृष्ट्वा हालिक-स्तुषायाः ।

उल्लसति नखरं चटुलस्य स्वेदाद्रित-करस्य ॥

- (19) Sama-jātau (ya upajāyate sa) samah-yathā—
Sankeāūsūamaṇo.....(Vol. III p. 792)

संकेअ-ऊसुअमणो गहवइधूआ-कडक्ख-मच्चविओ ।

तंबं गअं ण वेअइ गोवालो अंबरं दुहइ

सङ्कतोत्सुकमना गृहपति-दुहितृ-कटाक्ष-दृष्टः ।

ताम्रां (गां) गतां न वेदयते गोपालोऽम्बरं दोग्धि ।

This gāthā is cited further on two more occasions : Once (p.815) to illustrate 'pracchannānurāga' (of 'sulabha' type) and once again (p. 893) to illustrate 'saṅketotkanṭha'. It is to be noted that the text reads 'vidao' or 'pidao' in place of 'govāla' (the reading proposed here). This proposed reading is based on Śobhākaramitra's comment on this verse in *Alaṅkāratnākara* (p. 190). see p. 93 above.

- (20) Atiprakāśah prakāṭah (svarūpānurāgaḥ) yathā—
Iaro jano ṇa āṇai.....(Vol. III p. 795)

इअरो जणो ण आणइ धण्णाण संजमिआइ पेम्माइ ।

अम्हं मणोरहा दुक्खिआण रच्छासु गिज्जिंति ।

इतरो जनो न जानाति धन्यानां मंगोपितानि प्रेमाणि ।

अस्माकं मनोरथा दुःखिनानां रथ्यासु गीयन्ते ।

- (21) Prādoṣiko (naimittānurāgaḥ), yathā—
Pattapaoso padivaṇṇa.....(Vol. III p. 797)

पत्तपओसो पडिवण्ण-मंडणो घडिअ-दूइ-संचारो ।

थोवावसेस-घोलिर-मणोरहो होइ जुअइ-जणो ।

प्राप्त-प्रदोषः प्रतिपन्न-मण्डतो घटित-दूती-संचारः ।

स्तोकावशेष-घूर्णन-शील-मनोरथो भवति युवनिजनः ॥

- (22) Vilepaṇiyo (naimittikānurāgaḥ) yathā—
Bohe(ai) pāsuttam.....(Vol. III p. 798)

बोहेइ व पासुत्तं मअणं मिहुणाण परिअण-करेहि ।

वज्जंत-सिहिण-घोलिर-बाहुलआ-वलअ-णिग्घोसो ॥

बोधयतीव प्रसुप्तं मदनं मिथुनानां परिजन-करैः ।

वाद्यमान-स्तन-घूर्णन-शील-बाहुलना-बलय-निर्घोषः ॥

- (23) Prāsādiko (naimittikānurāgaḥ) yathā—
Ñimmariasandhiam ma.....(Vol. III p. 799)

णिमविअ-संधि-अम्मा ताव अ दूर-पडिबद्ध-वम्मह-पमरा ।

गरुअं सुरउच्छाहं दाऊण महि व्व जामिणी तीए गआ ॥

निमित्त-मन्धि-कर्मा तावच्च दूर-प्रतिवद्ध-मन्मथ-प्रमरा ।

गुस्करं सुरतोत्साहं दत्त्वा सखीव यामिनी तस्या गता ॥

It may be noted here that this very verse is cited further on (p. 1212) to illustrate 'avajñā-bhramśa'.

- (24) Gahana(-deśa-)m nimitto (naimittikānurāgaḥ), yathā—
 Jhijjāṃ tijjāṃ tehi (Vol. III p. 799)
 खुज्जति झइतेहि पल्लविआ होति पल्लवंतेहि ।
 गामासण्ण-पलासेहि पंसुली-हिअअ-सम्भावा ॥
 कुब्जन्ति शीघ्रमानेः पल्लविता भवन्ति पल्लवद्भिः ।
 ग्रामासन्न-पलाशैः पंसुला-हृदय-सद्भावाः ॥

This gāthā is cited further on (p. 899) to illustrate 'sānketa-tātparya'.

- (25) Sevyā(-deśa-)nimitto (naimittikānurāgaḥ), yathā—
 कल्लंत-णिरंतर-तरुण-वंजुला-वण-सिणिद्ध-कूलाए ।
 गोलाणईएँ वसिंरि सइत्ति मा पुत्ति पत्तिअमु ॥
 फुल्लद्-निरन्तार-तरुण-वज्जुल-वन-स्तिग्घ-कूलायाः ।
 गोदानद्या वसित्री (वसनशीला) सतीति मा पुत्ति प्रतीहि ॥

It may be noted that this gāthā is cited further on (p. 901) to illustrate 'sakhī-sikṣā'.

- (26) Kālahetuḥ (Sāmānyānurāgaḥ) yathā—
 Dinnatanuanjanāim (Vol. III p. 803)
 दिण्ण-तणु अंजणाइं जुअइ-जणस्स दर-रत्त-तंबोदुठाइं ।
 आसण्ण-रइ-मुहाइं अहिवासिज्जति वम्महेण मुहाइं ॥
 दत्त-तन्वज्जनानि युवतिजनस्य ईषद्रक्तताम्रौष्ठानि ।
 आसन्न-रति-सुखानि अधिवास्यन्ते मन्मथेन मुखानि ॥

It may be noted that this verse is further on (p. 1198) cited to illustrate 'prasāadhanam'.

- (27) Naisargikah (Viśeṣānurāgaḥ) yathā—
 Aṇavattīeṇa visameṇa (Vol. III p. 808)
 अणवट्टिणं विसमेणं हारिणा दुण्णिवार-पसरेण ।
 णव-जोव्वणेण अज्जा णइ व्व पूरेण उच्छलिआ ॥
 अनवस्थितेन विषमेण हारिणा दुनिवार-प्रसरेण ।
 नव-यौवनेन आर्या नदीव पूरेण उच्छलिता ॥
- (28) (Pracchannānurāgaḥ) Svāṅganā-viṣayo yathā—
 Panaam paḍamapiāc (Vol. III p. 814)
 पणअं पढम-पिआए रक्खिउकामो वि महुर-महुरेहि ।
 छेअवरो विणडिज्जइ अहिणव-वहुआ-विलासेहि ॥
 प्रणयं प्रथम-प्रियाया रक्षितुकामोऽपि मधुर-मधुरैः ।
 छेक-वरो व्याकुलीक्रियतेऽभिनव-वधुका-विलासैः ॥

This gāthā is cited further on (p. 1171) to illustrate 'pāścāduḍhā Kanisthā'. It is however, cited in *Sarasvatī-Kaṅṭhābharāṇa* to illustrate 'prathamodhā-jyesthā'. There 'vinadijjai' is rendered into Sanskrit as 'sukhāyate'. The *PSM* however records only two senses: 'vyākula karaṇā' and 'viḍambana karaṇā'.

(29) Pracchannānurāgaḥ. kumāriviṣayo yathā—

Ajja mae ucchāso.....(Vol. III p. 814)

This gāthā is already cited earlier (p.642) to illustrate 'Kanisthā-anūdhāmugdhā' nāyikā. Its text is corrupt at both the places. It may be restored as follows :

अज्ज मए माउच्छा सइज्ज । सोज्जअ-गेहे मणोरहुभरिअं । मणोरहुव्वरिअं ।

गह्वइ-उत्त-कडिल्लं दिट्ठं णिअरूव-आवणिअं ॥

अद्य मया मातृष्वसः (? सखि) प्रातिवेशिक । रजक-गृहे मनोरथभृतं । मनोरथाति-
क्रान्तम् ।

गृहपति-कटिवस्त्रं दृष्टं निजरूप-लावण्यकम् ॥

(30) Pracchannānurāgaḥ sambaddho yathā—

Rattim ñiddaramio.....(Vol. III p. 816)

रत्ति णिअ-रमिओ दिअरो वहुआए मळिअ-पोत्तीए ।

मा छिवसु त्ति पहाए भणिओ अंतोमुहं हसइ ॥

रात्रि निर्दयरमितो देवरो बधुकया मलिन-वसनया ।

मा स्पृशेति प्रभाते भणितोऽन्तर्मुखं हसति ॥

(31) Pracchannānurāgo nirapadeśo yathā—

Uggāhiekkahuman.....(Vol. III p. 816)

उग्गाहिएवक-भुमअं तणु-हास-फुरंत दमण-जोणहालं ।

कस्स ण हरेइ हिअअं चौरिअ-दिट्ठं मअच्छीए ॥

उद्ग्राहितैक-भ्रुवं तनु-हास्स-स्फुरद्-दशन-ज्योत्स्ना ।

कस्म न हरति हृदयं चौर्य-दृष्टं मृगाक्षयाः ॥

(32) (Akṛtrimo' nurāgo yauvanajaḥ-) so'pi dvidhā-śāriro mānasaśca Tatrādyo yathā—

Campahai bīakaṅṭham.....(Vol. p. 818)

जं वहइ बीअकंडं मज्ज सुओ एवक-पहर-विणिवाई ।

तं कुलदूषणि सुग्हे थणाण तुह मत्थए पडठ ॥

यद् वहति द्वितीय-काण्डं मम सुत एक-प्रहार-विनिपाती ।

तत् कुलदूषणे स्तुषे स्तनयोस्तव मस्तके पततु ॥

It may be noted that this gāthā is cited further on (p. 1173). At both the places the text of the gāthā is quite corrupt.

- (33) (Tātra sambhogo) madhyamā-visāyo yathā—
Suraāvasānavilio.....(Vol. p. 828)

सुरआवसाणविलिओणआओ सेओल्ल-वअण-कमलाओ ।
अद्धच्छि-पेच्छिरीओ पिआओ धण्णा पुलोअंति ॥
सुरतावसान-त्रीडितावनताः स्वेदाद्रं-वदन-कमलाः ।
अर्धाक्षि-प्रेक्षणशीलाः प्रियाः धन्याः पश्यन्ति ॥

This gāthā is also cited further on (p. 841) to illustrate 'madhyāya uttamatvam sambhoge.'

- (34) (Tatra sambhoge) madhyamā (? madhyā) viṣayo yathā—
Pariosaamhi sahitamhmi.....(Vol. p. 828)

परिओसिअ म्हि सहि तम्मि गाढ-परिरंभमामुअंतम्मि ।
अगुमग-समूससगाणुबंध-फंसेहि थणएहि ॥
परितोषितास्मि मखि तस्मिन् गाढ-परिरंभमामुअन्वति ।
अनुमार्ग-समुच्छ्वसनानुबन्ध-स्पर्शाभ्यां स्तनाभ्याम् ॥

- (35) Rāgavardhanatve sa eva yathā—
Aṇavaraakelipasaranta.....(Vol. III p. 837)

अणवरअ-केलि-पसरंत-सोक्ख-पठभार-ईसि-कुंठइअं ।
माणे णिसाणिअं व्विअ होइ पुणो अहिणवं पेम्मं ॥
अनवरत्त-केल-प्रसरत्तसौख्य-प्राग्भारेपत्-कुण्ठितम् ।
माने निशातमिव भवति पुनरभिनवं प्रेम ॥

**Plate I Interior Decoration,
Keshariya Temple, Jamoda.**



JAINA MURALS FROM VIDARBHA

M. S. MATE.

Jaina wall-paintings are much less known than either the miniature text illustrations or the cloth-scrolls preserved in Jaina Bhandars. Early Jaina murals have been noted from the Deccan and the Karnatak. These mostly belong to the Digambar sect. The earliest of these are dated to the eighth century while the latest were executed sometime in the fourteenth century. The former were from the cave temples at Sittanvasal and Ellora, the latter from a structural temple at Tiruparutikundram. Both these naturally bear strong resemblance to contemporary regional styles. There is little except the themes to distinguish between the paintings of the Jainas and those of the followers of others sects. And although they have much in common with the Jaina miniatures of Western India as far as the broad outlines of thematic contents go, there is no stylistic affinity between the two. They are an application of the Southern or South-Deccan styles to Jaina subjects.

A similar but much later expression of region-period conditioned content of Digambar Jaina Mythology at Jamoda in Vidarbha (Dist. Buldhana) has been recently uncovered. The word 'uncovered' has been most advisedly used. For, the murals were covered by dust, dirt and DDT and these three 'D's had practically obscured them. A few scholars were aware of their existence but their true charm was never revealed to anyone prior to their chemical cleaning by the author and one of his colleagues, Dr. Mujumdar of the Deccan College. The world of colour and line that became visible was enchanting in the extreme. Painted on the spacious walls of this Adinath shrine were scenes from the lives of various Tirthankars. Using deep crimson and green backgrounds, the artists have released a mass of figures — animals, birds, human beings, structures, hills, rivers, trees — in lighter shades of vermilion, yellow, green, gold and blue. All these are contained within firm outlines in black. Some of the panels reveal brushwork as dexterous as any.

Jamoda is a sleepy little hamlet today. The curious soul would be amazed to find the ruins of brick-structures, mainly residential buildings, spread over an extensive area all around the village. These are the mute witnesses of a bygone day when the place was populous and prosperous. As an important transit station on the Malwa-Deccan route, it was an administrative, military and commercial centre. A mint was located here by the later Mughal emperors. Of the large number of merchants that had flocked here, the Jainas formed an influential section. Their munificence brought up the Keshariyajji Mandir sometime around 1750 A.D.

The structure is least like a traditional Jaina temple. It is a two-storeyed building and on both of these there is a single spacious hall. These are covered by domical ceilings supported on four very thick masonry columns and arches with multiple deep cusps (Fig. 1). All plain surfaces, ceilings, arches, undersides of the arches, pillars and walls are covered over with painting. The whole would easily amount to three thousand square feet. Purely decorative motifs consist, almost entirely, of foliage and flowers, miniature cypress trees in ornate vases and bouquets of colourful flowers. No geometric patterns as in the Mughal, Rajput or Maratha works are anywhere in evidence. Kings, queens, princes, ministers, generals, holy men, lay disciples and attendants of all varieties abound. Purely iconographic subjects like schematic panels depicting the twenty-four Tirthankars also occur in good number. Of this vast and varied world in colour, three pieces are discussed below with a view to indicate the stylistic position of these murals.

The first is one of the many groups of attendants male as well as female, that occupy a sizeable area of almost all wall surfaces. This particular piece (Fig. 2) forms part of larger panel that depicts the life of Lord Mahavira. The figures are all arranged in a horizontal row, the heads are in profile. Except for the trees that alternate with every human figure, there is no suggestion of nature and space. These schematic trees introduce a sort of rhythm in the composition. The figures are taut, free from any emotional expression and are circumscribed by bold black lines. It is difficult not to perceive the similarity between these rows and the ones on the walls of the temple at Tiruparutikundram.

The story of the marriage, or rather, of the marriage that wasn't to be, is rendered in a manner slightly less traditional (Fig. 3). The Prince was persuaded and coaxed into accepting a bride. But the sorrowful moaning of the animals that were to be slaughtered for the nuptial feast provided the necessary excuse for Neminath to turn his chariot around and to speed away to a life of a recluse and a preacher. All the elements of the story are present : the bride, the groom, the altar, the priests, the musicians and so on. Unlike earlier paintings where all these elements were mixed up or at least mingled together and no compartmentalisation was attempted, in this case three distinct compartments are made. One, the stockade for the animals is the most logical and necessary. The marriage pavilion has been turned into a small rectangular panel that could be seen and appreciated even as an independent piece. The rest of the space in this large rectangular panel is filled in with horizontal rows of musicians, attendants, and onlookers. Even the usual device of drawing the figure of the hero slightly larger than the other figures has been forgotten here. The whole panel is something in between a miniature and a mural, deriving the rectangular insects from the former and the horizontal rows from the latter. A complete lack of any details of nature like trees, hills or rivers marks out the panel as a concept different from either.

Plate II Row of attendants, Keshariya Temple, Jamoda.

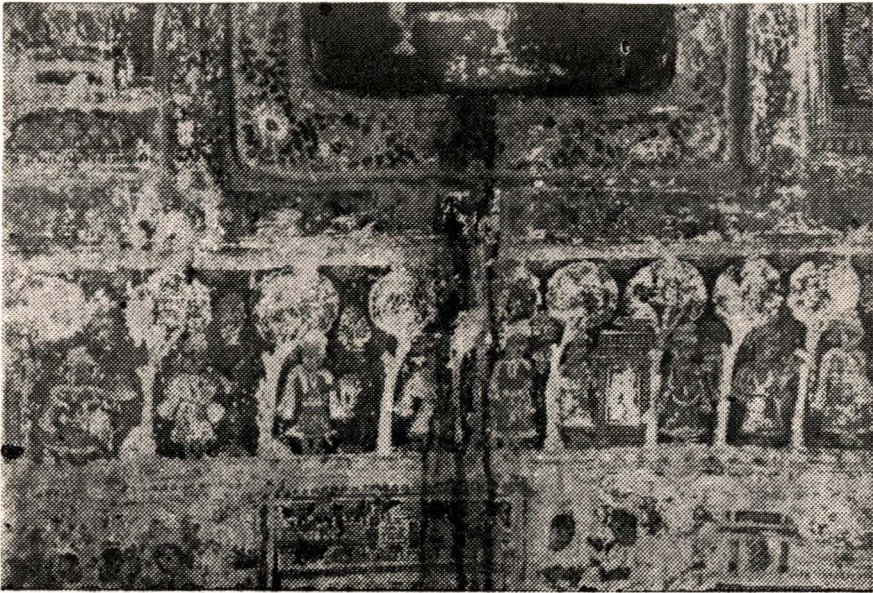
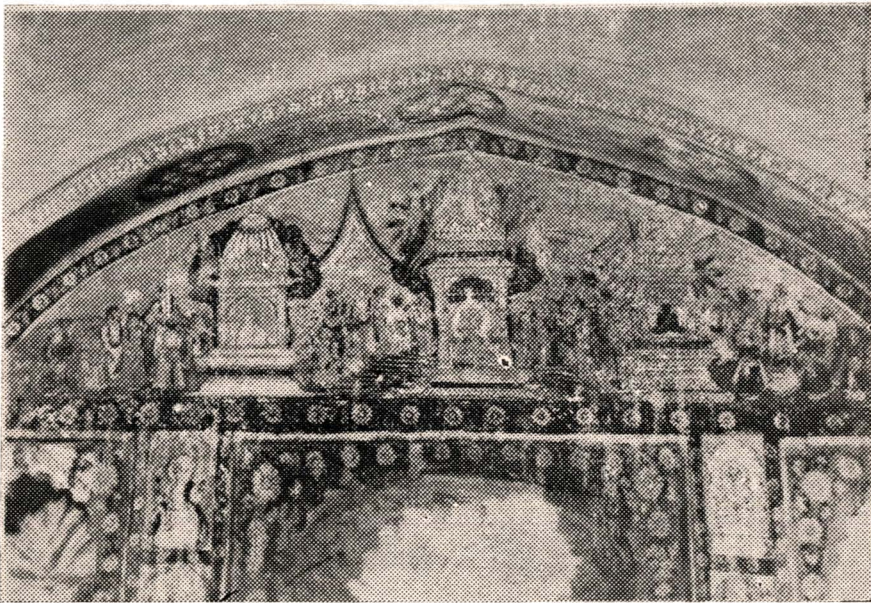


Plate III Marriage of Neminath Keshariya Temple, Jamoda.



Plate IV "Veneration of Ambaji" Keshariya Temple, Jamoda.



“Veneration of Ambaji” is the panel that heralds the dawn of a new era. (Fig. 4). It is a large, roughly triangular composition some nine feet in length and two feet in breadth (or height) at the apex. In the centre is the shrine of Amba, on its right is that of Parshvanath, while the deity enshrined in the left hand temple cannot be identified due to flaking of colour. Flags, festoons and arches impart a mood of festivity. Unlike earlier paintings trees do not stand above the temple structures but are behind them — this is a signal departure from medieval practices. Around the three structures are thronged a large number of people, most of whom, judging from their costumes, appear to be princes and their courtiers. Here again the figures overlap. They are not arranged in tiers of horizontal rows. The figures in the front that is nearest to the spectator partially conceal the ones behind them. As if to clinch the issue, the flights of steps on either side of the central shrine recede in the background, the size of the steps diminishes as farther and farther they go. The visual perspective is not only understood but is also adopted. Characteristically, however, all the figures are in profile.

These murals could hardly claim to be a great work of art. They are of interest mainly as representative of a phase in the art of mural painting in the Deccan. This phase was a phase of transition when newer concepts, perhaps of western origin, were creeping in and elbowing out the local (Deccani) and the still earlier Southern elements. They also make it abundantly clear that by this time the stylistic distinctions between the Jaina and the other styles, that were already few, had disappeared.

MOTIVATIONS OF PUNARVACANA (Repetition)

S. G. MOGHE

It is an admitted fact that the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā rules of interpretation have exercised tremendous influence on the various disciplines of Sanskrit learning. An attempt is, therefore, made in this paper, to discover the motivations at the back of the use of the term 'Punarvacana' in the light of the different disciplines of learning. It must be mentioned, in this context, that the list of authorities cited in this paper is merely illustrative and not exhaustive and is intended to support my findings.

The scholars in the diverse disciplines of learning have employed the two equivalent terms-Anuvāda and Punarvacana-to serve the purpose of repetition. Actually there is a vast difference particularly maintained by the writers on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and Dharma-Śāstra in respect of the use or employment of these two terms. The writers on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and Dharma-Śāstra are of opinion that in the case of Anuvāda, there is no specific purpose at the back of its use. The association¹ of one thing with another thing in a different context plays an important part in Anuvāda. In the Punarvacana, however, emphasis or stress on the thing that is repeated, is more important. Roughly speaking, some hidden motivation must be there at the back of Punarvacana. The fact that there must be some motivation at the back of the use of Punarvacana, is amply supported by the expression 'Punaḥ śrutiḥ' occurring in the body of the sūtras of Jaimini.

In the use of the Mīmāṃsā term Punarvacana, the views of the writers on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and Dharma Śāstra are diametrically opposed to the views propounded by the writers on Nyāya-Śāstra and the Alaiṅkāra-Śāstra. In Gautama's *Nyāya-Sūtra* V. 2.14, it is maintained that whenever there is a repetition of a word and a sense except in the case of Anuvāda, it is a case of Punarvacana. Besides, Vātsyāyana in his comments on the *Nyāya Sūtra* II.1.60 points out a sharp difference² between the two terms — Anuvāda and Punarvacana. In his opinion, therefore, the repetition in the case of Punarvacana is meaningless; while the repetition in the case of Anuvāda is significant or meaningful. Even Śrīviḍyā³-cakravartī on the *Alaiṅkāra-Sarvasva* treats that except in the case of Anuvāda, repetition is a fault or a shortcoming. From this, it is quite evident to the readers that among the writers on the Nyāya-Śāstra and Alaiṅkāra-Śāstra, there is a complete agreement on the

1. Also read : मिताक्षरा on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति II-1.

2. अनर्थकोऽभ्यासः पुनरुक्तम् । अर्थवानभ्यासोऽनुवादः ।

न्यायसूत्र. p-120 (Ganganath Jha's edition 1939.)

3. शब्दार्थस्य च पुनर्वचनमनुवादातिरिक्तविषये दोषः । सञ्जीवनी on अलंकारसर्वस्व. p-34.

point that the repetition in Anuvāda is meaningful; while the repetition in the Punarvacana is a case of meaningless — repetition. It may be casually mentioned here that the view point of the writers on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and Dharma-Śāstra is generally upheld by the writers on the diverse disciplines of Sanskrit learning.

The origin of the term 'Punarvacana' can be traced back to the Ṛgvedic literature. In the Ṛg-veda, at several places, we observe the similarity of words, expressions and prayers and even some concepts. Sāyaṇācārya (1316 to 1387 A. D.), the celebrated commentator of the Ṛgveda has utilised the principle of Punarvacana in interpreting the Ṛgvedic mantras at five places such as V·17·5, V·41·17, VI·1·3, VII·7·2 and VII·58·5. In this comments⁴ on the Ṛgveda VII·7·2; and VII·58·5, Sāyaṇa has used this term for showing 'respect.' In addition to this, when the meaning of the mantras is quite clear, the Vedic poets have used the expressions like k u v i d and ā to show repetition. In this very context, it would be proper on our part to refer to the monograph of Dr. T. G. Mainkar who in his book 'Some poetical aspects of the Ṛg-vedic Repetitions' has shown the various purposes such as inspiration and reflection (p. 51), psychological and poetical motives (p. 56), imagery (p. 63), magic, theology and aesthetics (p. 80), etymological considerations in alliteration and assonance (p. 105), Homophony (p. 103), structural classification of — repetitions (p. 48), syntactical arrangement (p. 49), universal urge (p. 19), social and historical background (p. 20), traditionalism and innate conservatism (p. 12), evolution of conventions (p. 95) developing and declining personality of gods (p. 76) etc.

It has been accepted on all hands that the time of the Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtra literature is regarded as 800 B. C. to 400 B. C. and the commentators of these sūtras have also made interesting observations particularly from the point of view of Punarvacana. In the Nārāyaṇa Vṛtti on the *Āśvalāyana Śr. Sūtra* I. 12, it is pointed out that the word 'd a k ṣ ṇ i ṇ a t a h' is repeated only to clarify 'the nature⁵ of the sacrificial act.' On the *Āśv. Śr. Sūtra* II·7 Nārāyaṇa further comments that the expression 'P r ā ś ṇ i y ā t' is repeated only 'to put an end the relation of this sātra with the preceding one.' It should be noted in this context, that in the Nārāyaṇa Vṛtti on the *Āśv. Śr. Sūtra*, the repetition of the word is meant 'to avoid the meaning or the act being compressed'.⁶ On the *Āśv Śr. Sūtra* I·11, Nārāyaṇa has shown the 'great disparity'⁷ as a purpose at the back of the repetition of a word. He further adds that the word 'e v a' in the sūtra is indicative of repetition.⁸ Karka

4. आकारस्य पुनर्वचनमादरार्थम् । सायणभाष्ये on ऋग्वेद. VII-7-2.

5. दक्षिणतो इति पुनर्वचनमाहवनीयस्य दक्षिणतो न क्रियमाणस्य कर्मणः इत्येवमर्थम् । नारायणवृत्ति on आश्व. श्रौतसूत्र. I. 12.

6. Also see : आश्व श्रौतसूत्रः p. 297.

7. वाङ्माधिकारे पुनराज्यग्रहणं तृतीयशब्दस्य वैलक्षण्यप्रदर्शनार्थम् । Ibid. p. 308

8. एवकारः पौनर्वाचनिकः । Ibid p. 324.

(Probably 437 A. D.) on the *Kātyāyana Śr. Sūtra* 22·8·24 remarks that the purpose of repetition is only to indicate 'gender'. Rudradatta on the *Āpastamba Śr. Sūtra* III·10·2 points out that the purpose of repetition here is to indicate the 'complete nature of the act to be performed. Here it may be added that on this count, there is some resemblance between Nārāyaṇa and Rudradatta. Haradatta (1150-1300 A. D.) presupposes the relation between the *Āpastamba Śr. Sūtra* and the *Āpastamba Grhya Sūtra* and observes that the purpose of repetition here is 'to follow a particular principle till the completion of the act.' On the *Āpastamba Gr. Sūtra* VIII·23·5, he remarks that the preceding four sūtras are repeated here and the main purpose at the back of this repetition is to display 'that whatever act is laid down in the preceding sūtras is quite different¹⁰ from the act that is laid down in the succeeding sūtra i. e. the sūtra under discussion. Sudarśana, the commentator of the *Āpastamba Gr. Sūtra* quotes the *Āp. Dharma Sūtra* II·5·11 on the *Āp. Gr. Sūtra* VII·17·13 and comments that the purpose of repetition is to show 'Guna¹¹-Vidhi' i. e. a subsidiary act. In the Nārāyaṇa Vṛtti on the *Āśv. Gr. Sūtra* I·13·2 it is observed that the word 'd a d h i' is repeated with the clear intention of showing that the d a d h i is 'to be used in the sacrificial act that is at hand.' The acquisition of 'special¹² fruit', however, is stressed as a purpose at the back of the repetition in the *Āśv. Gr. Sūtra* III·3·1. At times, however, it is noticed that the word is repeated in the *Āśv. Gr. Sūtra* IV·2·2 for 'not laying down any restrictions' as such. In another context, however, the word is repeated particularly 'to lay down restrictions' on the *Āpastamba Gr. Sūtra* I·1·12 as pointed out by Sudarśana. Rudraskanda on the *Dṛāhyāyana Gr. Sūtra* IV·3·16 and *Khādira Gr. Sūtra* IV·3·17 significantly remarks that the purpose of repetition is to put an the connection of this sūtra with the preceding one. It should be noted here that this view of Rudraskanda agrees completely with the view point of Nārāyaṇa. Ādityadarśana on the *Kāṭhaka Gr. Sūtra* I·3·2 emphasises that the purpose of punarvacana is 'to bear in mind a particular important thing'. Maskari on the '*Gautama Dharma Sūtra* III·17 cares to stress that the purpose of repetition is to make the 'inclusion of a particular thing'. He further brings to light that the purpose of repetition is to give 'excessive importance' to the thing that is intended to be repeated particularly in his comments on the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* XX·17.

The probable date of Jaimini, the author of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Sūtra, is fixed by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane as 200 B. C. to 200 A. D. The term 'Punar-

9. बुद्ध्वा कर्मणि यत् ... संभाषणान्तं स्नानकर्म यथास्मादिति । आप. गृह्यसूत्र. V. 2.14. (p. 171)
10. पुनः सिद्धयर्थवचनमस्य कर्मन्तिरत्वज्ञापनार्थम् । Ibid. p. 283.
11. शुचीन् मंत्रयतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् इति सिद्धस्य भोजनस्य पुनर्वचनमपूपादिगुण-विधयर्थम् । सुदर्शन on आप. गृह्य. p. 219.
12. ऋचत्वादेव सिद्धे पुनर्वचनं फलविशेषसिद्धयर्थम् । आश्व. गृह्य. p. 86

vacana' is used in Jaimini's *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* at three places only- 11·4·15, VI·8·10 and XI·1·18. It is also worthy of note that the commentators like Śābara, Kumārila and others have failed to bring out the significance of this term particularly on the above mentioned places. It must be mentioned, in this very context, that Jaimini himself has pointed out the purposes of Punarvacana in the body of the sūtras by using the expression 'Punaḥ Śrutih' in season and out of season in the body of the sūtras of *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*. Thus, the subsidiary act is intended to be stressed in Jaimini's *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* I·2·41, II·4·29 and III·6·20 and X·8·32, the purpose of laying down an act (vidhānārthā) is emphasised at Jaimini's *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* II·2·29 and VI·4·9, restriction (निषेध) is stressed in *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* IV·2·24, indication (lakṣanā) on the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* IX·4·44, exclusion (Parisankhya) at *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* VI·4·9 and I·2·42, indication of fruit at *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* II·3·26, difference in name, form etc. at II·4·8 and the glorification of an act at *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* II·3·29. Śābara on the Jaimini's *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* II·4·16 has made the interesting observation that a thing is not said to be repeated simply because one and the same thing or the subject matter is discussed by many people. He also adds on the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* III·6·2 that if the thing is unnecessarily repeated the only demerit that arises is in the form of 'impossibility.' Kumārila on the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* I·2·41 points out the 'less glorious fruit' for the act that is intended to be repeated. It will be proper on our part to refer to the view point of Jaimini who holds in the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* II·2·2 that when there is no purpose at the back of repetition, then the repetition becomes meaningless. The late Pundita Kevalananda Sarasvatī in his 'Mīmāṃsā Koṣa' maintains that the punarukti or punarvacana can not be treated as a demerit.

It will be proper here to refer to some cases from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* in respect of Punarvacana. The probable date of Patañjali is regarded as 150 B. C. In the *Mahābhāṣya* III·3·12, the purpose of repetition is pointed out as an exception¹³ to the exception. It may be noted that in *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*, the purpose of Punarvacana is served by the *Mīmāṃsā* technical term 'Pratiprasava' particularly in the sense of 'exception to the exception.' In the commentary Tatvabodhinī on the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* on Pāṇini I.i. 41 it is shown that the purpose of repetition is to give the 'knowledge¹⁶ of nitya things' to the readers.

13. वेदाध्यायीति पुनर्वचनमवधारणार्थम् । काठकगृह्यसूत्र. p. 16
14. न च एकः अर्थः ब्रह्मिभिः उच्यमानः पुनरुक्तो भवति । शब्द on जैमिनि. II. 4.16
15. अणः पुनर्वचनमपवादविषयेऽनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । महाभाष्य. Vol. III. Para 291 (अभ्यंकर edition)
16. अनित्यत्वज्ञापनार्थं पुनर्वचनम् । तत्त्वबोधिनी: P. 422 (Moril edition 1949)
17. रोहिणी योगे वायुश्चैवं दिक्षु घत्ते फलानि इत्युक्तत्वात् पुनःकरणं 'निष्पत्तिः अग्निःकोपः' इत्यादिकं शिष्यं आन्तिनिराणाय कृतमिति । बृहत्संहिता. P. 364

It will not be a matter of surprise if the principle of Punarvacana is found in the Upaniṣadic literature. In most of the Upaniṣads, the repetition generally conveys the end of the section or the chapter of the Upaniṣad. Śaṅkarācārya and Anantācārya in their comments on the *Isāvāsyopaniṣad* st 17. have shown 'respect' as the purpose at the back of the repetition.

In the works on Astrology also, the principle of Punarvacana is also found well appreciated. Utpala (850 A. D.) has shown in his comments¹⁷ on the *Brhat-Saṁhitā* that the purpose of repetition is 'to remove the confusion in the mind of the students.' In the commentary 'Mārtaṇḍavallabhā on the *Muhūrta-Mārtaṇḍa* I-5, it is pointed out that in this treatise whenever there is any repetition, one is expected 'to recollect¹⁸ or remember the thing' that is spread out in the different chapters in the course of discussion.

The importance of the repetition is also recognised by the commentators of the classical Sanskrit literature. Here a reference could be made to the commentary entitled 'Rajamañjarī' of Pūrṇasarasvatī on the *Mālatī-Mādhavam* VI-18. Here the commentator Purnasarasvatī points out on the celebrated stanza 'preyo miṭram bandhutā vā samastā' that the motivation at the back of repetition is to stress the firmness¹⁹ of knowledge.

The motivation of Punarvacana also has an important role to play even in the domain of Alaiṅkāra-Śāstra. The commentary 'Kāmadhenu' on Vāmana's *Kāvyaḷaiṅkāra-Sūtra* considers repetition as a serious fault²⁰ or a demerit. Even Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-Kaṅṭhābharaṇ* has made an interesting observation on the Mīmāṃsā technical term 'Punarvacana' from the point of view of the Alaiṅkāra-Śāstra. The view point of Śrīvidyācakravartī on the *Alaiṅkāra-Sarvasva* is already referred to on the point at issue.

The principle of Punarvacana is also recognised even in the field of dramaturgy. Abhinavagupta (1020-1050 A. D.) has made an important observation²¹ in his commentary 'Abhinavabhāratī' on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* XXVIII-133. On the *Nāṭyaśāstra* IX. 93, he, however, suggests that the purpose of repetition as to convey the import of the performance of an act. The similar use of — Punarvacana is also made in his comments on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* XII-40.

Even Yaśodhara, the commentator of the *Kāmasūtras* of Vātsyāyana has appreciated the importance of repetition in the sense of respect. He,

18. तथा इहामिन् ग्रंथे कुत्रचित् कुत्रचित् पुनरुक्तिर्वर्तते मा तस्य दुरांतरितस्य स्मृतिप्राप्तये स्मरणायैति न दोषः । मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड P-5 (edition of गोंधळेकर. शक-1816)

19. वत्सयोरिति विदिनवेदिनव्येऽपि बालत्वात् ज्ञानदाढ्याय पुनः पुनः प्रबोद्धव्यत्वं बोधयति । मालतीमाधव. P-374, (Kerala Uni. Publication No. 170).

20. शब्दार्थपौनरुक्त्यं प्ररूढं दोषः । कामधेनु on काव्यालंकारसूत्र. P-112. Benares SK. Series No. 134, 1907.

21. पुनर्वचनादल्पतरत्वमपीति मन्तव्यम् । अभिनवभारती. (Baroda edition)

in his comments on the *Kāmasūtra* I·2·5 emphasises the importance of the word 's e v e t a' in the sūtra by pointing out that here the motivation at the back of this repetition is to show the sense of 'respect'. It must be mentioned here that the purpose for which Yaśodhara has used repetition can not be treated as a novel one.

For the manifold uses of the technical term 'Punarvacana one will have to refer to the varied Dharma-Śāstra literature. Here in order to bring to light some salient points of repetition, I restrict myself to the works of Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa and Nīlakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa. (1) Kullūkabhaṭṭa (1150-1300 A. D.) in his commentary on the *Manu-Smṛti*, XI·172 significantly adds that here the purpose of repetition is to emphasise the firmness²² of prohibition. This point is already discussed at full length by the present author elsewhere.²³ (2) (i) Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa (1126-A. D.) in his *Smṛticandrikā* discusses the topic of the essential qualities of a minister and explains the significance of the word 'd v i j ā', when already there is the use of the word 'v i p r a' in the text of Vyāsa. Here he specifically adds that if the brahmin minister fulfilling the adequate qualifications is not available, one may appoint the other persons from the Kṣatriya or the Vaiśya communities as the minister. Under any circumstances, however, no minister is to be appointed from the Śūdra community. Here the main purpose of Punarvacana is the exclusion of a Śūdra and the inclusion of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya as the fit persons to be appointed as minister. Hence this can be treated as a mixed²⁴ case of inclusion and exclusion. (ii) While discussing the topic of the rite of discharging urine, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa quotes verses from the *Manu-Smṛti* IV·45-47, pointing out the places where one is not supposed to discharge one's urine. In the text of the *Manu-Smṛti*, we find the use of the expressions 'P a r v a t e and p a r v a t a m a s t a k e.' While explaining the significance of this repetition, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa refers to the opinion of the commentator of the *Manu-Smṛti* who holds that if a patient is unable to control his sense-organs, he is allowed to discharge urine even on the top of mountain. Normally one is not supposed to discharge one's urine on the mountain or on the top of the mountain. But in the present case under discussion a 'special concession' is given to a patient unable to exercise any control over one's own sense organs. Hence the main intention at the back of repetition is to give a special concession²⁵ to the suffering person. (iii) While discussing the topic of the

22. 'असुषिण्डा च या मातुः (३.५) इत्यनेन निषेधमिदं । दाक्षिणात्याचारदर्शना-निषेधदाह्यायं पुनर्वचनम् । मनुस्मृति
23. J. O. I. M. L. Kerala, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 2 and 3, 1971.
24. मत्प्रपि विप्रग्रहणे पुनर्द्विजग्रहणमुक्तलक्षणान्विताभावे तल्लक्षणं क्षत्रियं वैश्यं वा स्थापयेत् । न तु शूद्रमिति दर्शयितुम् । स्मृतिचंद्रिका व्यवहारकाण्ड Part I P·30. (Mysore edition)
25. पर्वतग्रहणैर्नैव तत्र निषेधे सिद्धे पुनः पर्वतमस्तकग्रहणमत्यन्तातंस्य पर्वते न दोषः इति वक्तुमित्युक्तं तद्भाष्ये । स्मृतिचंद्रिका आश्लिककाण्ड. P·238. (Mysore edition)

rules to be observed by a brahmin invited for the Śrāddha ceremony, there is the mention of the control over the speech and mind. In his comments on this portion, Devannabhaṭṭa quotes lines from the text to show that such a brahmin is not expected to make any signs or symbols by his hands. From this, it is evident that for resorting to Punarvacana, the textual authority is necessary. (iv) In his Aśaucakāṇḍa, Devannabhaṭṭa has also pointed out 'the laying²⁶ down of an act (Vidhāna) as the purpose of repetition. (3) on his *Ācāra Mayūkha*, Nīlakaṇṭha (1600-1660 A. D.) has employed the principle of Punarvacana to show the 'additional²⁷ fault.' He has also shown the same purpose of Punarvacana even in his discussion in the *Saṁskāra Mayūkha* P. 53 and the *Samaya Mayūkha* p. 178. (ii) Nīlakaṇṭha has also utilised the principle of Punarvacana to glorify the importance of good qualities particularly in his *Nīti-Mayūkha* p. 60. (iii) While discussing the topic when deputy can not be appointed or given, Nīlakaṇṭha quotes verses from the *Kātyāyana Smṛti* in his *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* p. 12. In one verse, the word 's t e y a m' occurs twice. The purpose of Punarvacana of the word 's t e y a m' is to show the absolute prohibition of an agent in all matters pertaining to theft. The present author has discussed this point in his article contributed elsewhere.

From the foregoing discussion, the following legitimate conclusions can be drawn.

(1) There is no unanimity of thought among the writers on the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* and *Dharma-Śāstra* on the one hand and the writers on *Nyāya-Śāstra* and the *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra* on the other hand on the point of punarvacana.

(2) The writers on the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* and *Dharma-Śāstra* hold that in the case of Punarvacana, the repetition should be purposeful; while the writers on the *Nyāya-Śāstra* and the *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra* are inclined to hold an altogether different view. They hold that the repetition in *Anuvāda* is purposeful and the repetition in punarvacana is meaningless.

(3) The position adopted by the *Mīmāṃsakas* and *Dharma-śāstra* authors finds support from the writers on the other branches of learning noted above.

(4) The principle of Punarvacana is employed for the following purposes. (1) respect, (2) emphasis (3) injunction, (4) restriction, (5) nature of an act, (6) putting an end to the relation of the former topic of discussion, (7) vast disparity, (8) indication of gender, (9) observance of a particular rule till the completion of the act, (10) different act, (11) to indicate subsidiary act, (12)

26. दाने तावदन्नदानादभ्यत्रापि... क्वचित्सद्यशीचविधानार्थं पुनर्वचनमिति न वैयर्थ्यम्
स्मृतिचंद्रिका-आशौचकाण्ड. P. 68 (Mysore edition)

27. अत्र नोदिने इत्यनेन... पुनर्वचनं दोषाधिक्यार्थम् आचारमभूत्. P. 26.
(Gujarati Printing Press edition, Bombay-1915.

acquisition of special fruit, (13) laying down restrictive conditions, (14) showing the absence of restrictive conditions, (15) bearing in mind a particular object or act or mantra, (16) inclusion of an object, (17) exclusion of a particular thing, (18) exception to exception, (19) showing anityatva, (20) removing confusion in the mind, (21) firmness of knowledge, (22) firmness of prohibition, (23) special concession, (24) textual authority for some rules, (25) additional fault, (26) glorification of good qualities, (27) absolute prohibition, (28) vast expanse of prohibition (29) end of a chapter or a section, (30) emphasis or stress on the words indicative of a n u p r ā s a.

(5) It is further clear to the readers that the purposes for which the principle of Punarvacana is employed by the writers on Dharma-Śāstra and others branches of learning are quite different from the purposes for which this technical term is utilised by the author of the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* and also by Śabara and Kumārila in their comments on the same.

(6) From the above discussion, it is further evident that the motivations of Punarvacana have undergone evolution in different centuries and also at the hands of the different writers of the different branches of learning.

EARLY ANTI-CASTE MOVEMENT IN WESTERN INDIA: THE PARAMAHANSA SABHA

J. V. NAIK

By far the most significant cumulative effect of the British rule in India was the rise of a new national consciousness as had never been known before. The progressive stages of its evolution followed different lines in different regions depending upon the historical background of each case.

Perhaps the earliest and the most determined resistance to the British rule came from a group of Maratha intellectuals in the city of Bombay. These intellectuals, as early as in the year 1841, made a devastating attack on the British rule, denouncing it as "the most bitter curse India has ever been visited with".¹ While attacking the British, these intellectuals also made earnest efforts to fight prevailing obscurantism in the country, which they rightly thought was the root cause of national decline and degeneration. These men had realised that for the achievement of national emancipation the various aspects of reform — political, economic, social, religious — were inseparable and had to be pursued simultaneously. Whereas on the political and economic front they could do no more than make the authorities aware of the discontent caused by the oppressive alien rule, in the socio-religious field they did initiate a movement which was quite revolutionary in its nature.

In the 1840's, some of these educated men belonging to different castes and creeds and led by Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar, elder brother of "A Hindoo".² formed a secret society called the Paramahansa Sabha with the object of demolishing caste and its attendant evils. Its members rejected idol-worship, abjured the narrow sanctions of caste, swore to regard each other with the feeling of real brotherhood and resolved to work for the emancipation of their country from the thralldom of old world ideas. The object of this Sabha was not so much religious as it was social and national. By the abolition of the distinctions of caste, creed and custom, it aimed at uniting all in one fraternity, and in the worship of One God.

1. For a detailed analysis of the early Maratha intellectual resistance to the British rule, see J. V. Naik "An Early Appraisal of the British Colonial Policy", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Arts No. Vols. XLIV & XLV Nos. 81-81, 1975-76, pp. 243-270.

2. *Ibid* : In the year 1841, Bhaskar Pandurang Tarkhandkar wrote a series of eight long letters in the *Bombay Gazette* under the pen name of "A Hindoo". In these letters he exposed every aspect of the oppressive British Colonial rule, and earned for himself the honour of being called India's Martin Luther born "to effect, instead of religious, a great political reformation in his (thy) natal land". For a brief life-sketch of "A Hindoo", and for the details of his letters as well as those of "A Second Hindoo", "A Third Hindoo," "Philanthropy", "A Fairheart" and others who all attacked the British rule, see J. V. Naik, "An Early Appraisal of the British Colonial policy", *op. cit.*

This first organised effort at social reform in Western India was however, short-lived. After 1860, the Sabha became moribund, though it did not completely die out as is generally believed.³ In 1867, it was resuscitated in the form of the Prarthana Samaj, with its emphasis shifted from the material to the spiritual; from man to God.⁴

So closely interconnected were the Paramahansa Sabha and the Prarthana Samaj that some have made no distinction at all between them; and have regarded them as synonymous.⁵ Others have ascribed the rise of the Prarthana Samaj, among other reasons, to the historical experience gained by the failure of the Paramahansa Sabha. They maintain that "out of the ashes of the Paramahansa Sabha the Prarthana Samaj was born".⁶ There are a few others, who, with good reason assert that not only the Prarthana Samaj, but even the Satya Shodhak Samaj of Jyotiba Phule owed its origin to the Sabha.⁷

A comprehensive review of the Paramahansa Sabha would therefore be highly illuminating for a proper understanding of the rise and development of social and religious movements in the Western India in the 19th Century. It will also help illustrate another important point; that, although the Prarthana Samaj was influenced by the Brahma Samaj of Bengal, the initial impulse for a renovating faith came from within and was racy of the soil itself.⁸

The movement for social reform in Maharashtra originated with the first generation of English-educated men. Although the island of Bombay had been under the East India Company's rule for long, it began to receive the impact of formal Western education only after the appointment of Mountstuart Elphinstone as the Governor of the newly constituted Bombay Presidency in 1819. Elphinstone laid the foundations of modern education which produced a renaissance in Western India. Especially the educational institution

3. G. N. Madgaonkar, *Mumbaiche Varnan*, 1863 (ed N. R. Phatak), Bombay : Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, 1961 p. 344.

4. *Report of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay for the First sixteen years 1867-1883*, dt. 26. 12. 1883, p. 2.

5. See "Dadoba Pandurang", *Manoranjan* (Diwali Special Issue), 1910, pp. 3-4; G. M. Thenge "Ram Balkrishna Ani Tyancha Kal.", *Masik Manoranjan*, Vol. 29 (July-December), 1923, p. 351.

6. N. R. Phatak, *Nayamurti Mahadeo Govind Ranade Yanche Charitra* 2nd ed, Pune : Niekant prakashan, 1966 p.82; James Kellock, *Mahadev G. Ranade : Patriot and Social Servant* Calcutta : Association press, 1926 p. 19

7. R. N. Chavan, "Samaj Sudharnechya Itihasantil Paramahansa Sabheche Sthan" *Navbharat* No. 10, July 1971, pp. 39-46; Influence of the Paramahansa on Jyotiba Phule is also referred to in D. Keer *Mahatma Jotirao Phoolay*, Bombay; Popular Prakashan, 1964, p.58; See also G. B. Sardar, *Ranadepranit Samajik Sudharanechi Tatvamimansa*, Pune : Poona University, 1973, p.23 and A. K. Priolkar, *Paramahansa Sabha Va Tiche Adhyaksha Ramchandra Balkrishna*, Bombay : Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, 1966 pp.59-60

8. V. R. Shinde, *Theistic Directory*, Bombay : Brahma Postal Mission, Prarthana Samaj 1912, pp. 129-130.

that perpetuates his name accomplished for Maharashtra, what the Hindu College did for the Bengal renaissance.⁹

The dissemination of Western knowledge as a result of the new education gave a new impetus to the minds of the newly educated youth. They had read Butler and Milton, Thomas Paine and Voltaire;¹⁰ and were exposed to Western ideas of rationalism and humanism. In addition, they had to contend with the Christian missionary, whose avowed aim was to convert,¹¹ and who indulged in an indiscriminate attack on Hindu customs and practices. Perforce the neo-intellectuals were obliged to turn their attention to an examination of the existing social and religious institutions of the Hindus. While the new spirit of inquiry made this new generation of scholars conscious of the general ignorance and the degrading influence of superstitions around them, it also made them highly resentful of the wholesale condemnation of their national life and culture by the Christian Missionaries and by the totally prejudiced British colonial administrator-historians like James Mill.¹²

In this situation, the old order could no longer have any hold on the minds of these middle-class intellectuals. Though conversion to Christianity did not appeal to them,¹³ Hinduism in its existing form was equally intolerable. They detested the spectacle of social tyranny working against the nobler impulses of humanity by making invidious distinctions between man and man and between man and woman. Besides western literature, some of them had also studied the ancient writings of the Hindus and were convinced

9. A brief but excellent account of the contribution of the Hindu College to Bengal renaissance is to be found in R. C. Majumdar, *Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century*, Calcutta : Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1960, pp.21-51. See also his "Henry Louis Vivian Derozio" *Indica* Vol. 13 Nos. 1 & 2 (March-September 1976) pp.113-119.

10. A Political Rishi (N. G. Chandavarkar), " The Days of the Parama Hansa " *Induprakash* (Vol. 24, No. 21) dt. 25 May 1885, pp.1-2; According to Kasam Muhammadji, a Muslim member of the Ahmadnagar Branch of the Paramahansa Sabha, selected passages Padmanji, *Arunodaya*, from Tom Paine and Voltaire were circulated among the members of the Sabha, see Baba 3rd ed Bombay: Tract and Book Society, 1955 p.201.

11. Referring to John Wilson, Bal Shastri Jambhekar wrote in his journal *Darpan*: "His avowed aim is to convert; but he wishes in the first instance to inform and to afford the means of judging", *Oriental Christian Spectator*, 1836, p.131.

12. Regarding James Mill's *The History of British India*, "A Third Hindoo" writes : " James Mill is an author biased and prejudiced in the highest degree, an author, who had never visited even from a distance, the shores of the country, whose history in general forms the subject of his work, and who is severely despised for his partiality even by his own countrymen ", Letter of a " A Third Hindoo " dt. 29.10.1841, *Bombay Gazette* (Vol. LIII No. 111) dt. 6.11.1841, p.432.

13. Letter dt. 16.3.1887 from Narayan Raghunath Navalkar to Baba Padmanji: " They thought if we ultimately embraced Christian faith - the religion of the rulers of the land—we would cease loving the country and all that was great and good in the land, and instead of taking any interest in the welfare of our motherland we would be completely denationalised and love everything that is English ". *Arunodaya. op. cit.* p.223.

that many of the customs and practices that prevailed in their day — such as idol worship, caste distinctions and priest-craft with its attendant evils — had no sanction in the ancient texts.¹⁴ But the orthodox party then led by one Dhakjee Dadajee would not listen to reason and mend its own house.¹⁵ What were these educated men to do in these circumstances? They were convinced that the prevalent obscurantism was responsible for social degeneration and the consequent national decline. The society had to be reformed if the country was to achieve national unity and progress.

To Bal Shastri Gangadhar Jambhekar (1812-1846), the first product of liberal education in Western India, belongs the credit of laying the foundations of three progressive movements in Maharashtra : Marathi Journalism, widow remarriage, and admission of converts to Hinduism. During his short life-span, he sincerely endeavoured to spread enlightenment among his fellow-countrymen.¹⁶ He could not however, completely break away from his orthodox Brahmanical moorings and therefore sought religious sanction for reform.¹⁷

Among the educated there were a few who were not satisfied with the kind of mild reform advocated by the Shastri School. They felt that India had suffered on account of the divisions of caste which prevailed among the people, and there could be no national unity and progress unless this baneful institution of caste with its numerous ramifications and fissiparous influences, was completely done away with.¹⁸ It was these rebels in the educated camp who founded the Paramahansa Sabha.

The moving spirit behind the Sabha was Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar, who may well be regarded as the first rationalist of modern Maharashtra. He was basically a philosopher and his social philosophy rested on the twin pillars of rationalism and humanism. He initiated the first secular reform

14. See Dadoba Pandurang, *Dharmavivechan* (Reprinted in A. K. Priolkar's *Paramahansa Sabha va Tiche Adhyaksha Ramchandra Balkrishna, op.cit.*) pp.91-118.

15. *Speeches & Writings of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar*, ed. L. V. Kaikini, Bombay: Manoranjan Granth Prasarak Mandali, 1911 p. 94.

16. *Memoirs and Writings of Acharya Bal Shastri Jambhekar*, Vols. I-III, ed. G. G. Jambhekar, Pune: 1950: Besides giving a good account of the life and achievements of Bal Shastri, this work also provides some excellent source material for the study of renesant Maharashtra; see also P. Padhey and S. R. Tikekar, "Bal Shastri Jambhekar". *Aajkalcha Maharashtra*, Bombay: Bharat-Gourava Granthamala, 1935, pp.77-80.

17. G. G. Jambhekar, *op. cit.* II p.xxxvii; V. G. Dighe, "The Renaissance in Maharashtra: First Phase (1818-1870)", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* (N. S.) Vols. 36-37, 1964, p.26; M. P. Kamerkar "Bal Shastri Jambhekar and Bombay" *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. xiv, No. 1 1974-75. p.37.

18. Dadoba Pandurang, *Dharmavivechan*, 6p. cit., pp.113-118; *Induprakash loc. cit.* (10); R. G. Bhandarkar, a member of the Paramahansa Sabha, had said "Caste is the greatest monster we have to kill" Quoted in *Speeches and Writings of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, op. cit.* p. 72; V. N. Naik, A Review of "The History of the Praithana Samaj", *Subodh Patrika* (Vol. LV, No. 24) at. 9.10.1927 pp. 2-3.

movement in Western India, even before Lokhitavadi i.e. Gopal Hari Deshmukh and others appeared on the scene. A peep into his life and work should help us to clear many a doubt and misunderstanding that surrounds the Paramahansa Sabha, and to view this early experiment at socio-religious reform in its proper historical perspective.¹⁹

Dadoba was born at Bombay on May 9, 1814 in a Vaishya family. He had his primary education in a traditional Marathi School run by one Damodar Pantoji at Jagannath Takalyachi Wadi in Girgaum, Bombay. In 1825, he was admitted to the Marathi Section of the Bombay Native School and Book Society, and was promoted to its English section three years later. In recognition of his merit he was awarded the coveted West Scholarship.²⁰ In 1830, while still a student of the higher classes, the authorities were pleased to appoint him as an assistant teacher in the same school. He served the Government in various capacities: first as a teacher, then as an educational inspector and before his premature retirement in 1861, he was a deputy collector. All through his life he was actively engaged in intellectual pursuits, at the same time working sincerely for the social and moral uplift of his fellow-countrymen.

A man of studious nature and philosophical bent of mind, Dadoba turned out to be an outstanding intellectual of nineteenth Century Maharashtra. When barely 24, he wrote the first standard Marathi Grammar which earned for him the honour of being called the "Panini of Marathi Grammar". An annotated list of 27 published and unpublished works of Dadoba is to be found in his biography by A. K. Priolkar.²¹ However, neither this learned biographer nor any other researcher of renascent Maharashtra has referred to the following English articles of Dadoba Published in the *Theosophist* :

1. Mystic syllable Onkar : Its Meaning, Antiquity, and Universal Application.²²

19. This life sketch is mainly based on A. K. Priolkar's *Rao Bahadur Dadoba Pandurang: Atmcharitra ani Charitra* (Dadoba's autobiography comes upto the year 1846, and the rest in biography), Bombay : Keshav Bhikaji Dhavale, 1947 (herein after referred to as *Dadoba Pandurang*), and B. B. Keskar's unpublished biography "Dadoba Pandurang", B. B. Keskar, Book IV, pp. 780-899 (MSS); Primarily based on A. K. Priolkar's *Dadoba Pandurang*, Dr. V. D. Rao has written an article "A Maker of Modern Maharashtra: Dadoba Pandurang (1814-1882)", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vols. 45-46/-1970-71, Bombay, 1974, pp. 170-192.

20. This scholarship was instituted in Memory of Sir Edward West (1782-1828), who was the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bombay, and a great personal enemy of M. Elphinstone. He died in Poona on 18-8-1828. On his death, 16 gentlemen together donated a sum of Rs. 11,400/- which was deposited with the Board of Education for the above purpose. This Scholarship was first awarded to Janardan Vasudeoji, Dadoba Pandurang, Naoroji Fardunji and Dorabji Gai, *7th Report of the Board of Education 1832*, p. 15; *Letter of Captain Jervis dt. 12-3-29 G. D. (General Department) 1828 Vol. 6, p. 53* cited in *Dadoba Pandurang op. cit.* pp. 74-75.

21. *Dadoba Pandurang, op. cit.* 288-338; 350-367;

22. *Theosophist* (February 1880) Vol. 5 pp. 131-132.

2. Kaliya Mardan, or the Crushing of Kaliya — The Great Serpent by Krishna.²³
3. The "Hindu or Arya" Question.²⁴
4. Philosophy in Sanskrit Names and Words.²⁵

These hitherto unknown articles which Dadoba wrote towards the close of his life reveal his deep knowledge of Sanskrit and Persian, and also show how serious a student of comparative religion he was. More particularly his work entitled "A Hindu Gentleman's Reflections respecting the Works of Emmanuel Swedenborg" is indicative of his deep study of Advaita, Yoga and the teachings of Hindu Saints. It also shows his acquaintance with Sufism and Christian Monasticism, and that he had read books on mesmerism, clairvoyance and spirituality.²⁶ So impressed M. G. Ranade was by Dadoba's writings and especially by his work on Swedenborg which was widely acclaimed even in the West—that he assigned Dadoba "a foremost place in the ranks of thoughtful inquirers after religious truth."²⁷ *Subodh Patrika* referred to him as "A Prince among Scholars".²⁸

Dadoba was closely associated with almost all the important educational, social and philanthropic institutions of his day. He was the President of the "Upayakta Jnan Prasarak Sabha",²⁹ a Marathi branch of the Students Literary and Scientific Society.³⁰ It is important to note that out of this society sprang up a number of other associations covering various aspects of national reform.³¹ He was among the first seventy-six founder

23. *Ibid* (April 1880) Vol. I No. 8 pp. 183-184.

24. *Ibid* (May 1880) Vol. I No. 8 p. 211.

25. *Ibid* (July 1880) Vol. I No. 10 pp. 248-249.

26. Dadoba Pandurang, *A Hindu Gentleman's Reflections Respecting the Works of Swidenborg*, Bombay; 1878, p. 6, see also Mathew Lederle, *Philosophical Trends in Modern Maharashtra*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1976, pp. 77-78.

27. Ranade's Review of "A Hindu Gentleman's..." *Quarterly Journal of Poona of the Sarvajanic Sabha*, Poona, Vol. 1. No. 3 (January, 1879) p. 42; This Review is reproduced in M. G. Ranade, *The Miscellaneous Writings of the Late Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade*, Bombay: Ramabai Ranade, 1915, pp. 57-60.

28. *Subodh Patrika*, October 22, 1882.

29. This Sabha was established on 1st September, 1848. Dadabhai Naoroji was the President of the Gujarati Branch of the Sabha. This was the first important institution, which served as a training ground for several great leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, R. G. Bhandarkar, M. G. Ranade, K. T. Telang, V. N. Mandalik and others.

30. Established on 13 June 1848.

31. S. Natarajan, *A Century of Social Reform in India*: 2nd ed. Bombay: Asia Publishing House 1967. p. 50; A list of the Schools for females run by the students Literary and Scientific Society is given in *Masik Manoranjan* (Diwali Special Issue) 1910, pp. 150-51; the Magazine also gives a fairly exhaustive list of the existing institutions—Educational, Social, Political, Religious, Philanthropic, Communal, and other Miscellaneous institutions like Libraries, Reading Rooms, Gymnasiums etc.—upto the year 1910 *Ibid* pp. 141-168 d.

members of the "Society for the Promotion of Widow Marriage", established on December 12, 1865. Gopalrao Deshmukh, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Vishnu Parshuram Shastri, Maroba Vinoba were the other prominent members of the Society. For some time Dadoba was in charge of the Sanskrit Section of Sir Jamshetji Jeejeebhoy Zartoshti Madrasa, founded in 1863. He was also among those who revived the Bombay Association in 1867.³² In recognition of his scholastic achievements Dadoba was admitted to the B. B. of Royal Asiatic Society, and he was appointed to the Senate of the University of Bombay in 1864--65; he continued to be a member of the University Faculties of Arts and Law until his death in 1882.

Right from his school days, the problem of caste was agitating Dadoba's mind, as he had noticed the reluctance of the Brahmin teachers to teach the non-Brahmins.³³ Shortly after he joined the Society's school an order was passed excluding low caste children from the School with the result that many children belonging to Koli, Kunabi and Bhandari castes were thrown out. The man behind this reactionary move was Dhakji Dadajee Prabhu, the leader of the orthodox party. Under threat of withdrawing all the children of the Prabhu Community from the School, Dhakji succeeded in coercing Jagannath Shankar Shet and other members of the Managing Committee, Parsees as well as Europeans, into submission. His main consideration in imposing the ban was that should the lower caste children receive education they would compete with the higher castes for Government jobs. Dhakji's action was widely acclaimed by the higher castes.³⁴ The Christian Missionaries, ever eager to make converts, never missed any opportunity to deride the Hindus and they seized upon such incidents to denounce Brahmanical Orthodoxy. The Rev. John Wilson was to write later: "The youth of certain caste, however well-washed and clothed, dare not enter the Elphinstone Institution. The vernacular pantojis drive the Children of certain tribes altogether from their schools. None but Brahmans, 'Gods upon Earth', are admissible to the Sanskrit College at Pune."³⁵

To demolish caste, became an article of faith with Dadoba. He frequently exchanged his thoughts on the subject with his friend and confident, Nana Narayan (Shimpi). The two held repeated discussions and formed various plans. But while their social programme was still in the embryo, Dadoba was appointed in 1836 as a tutor to the Nawab of Jawra and his friend Nana Narayan took up a similar assignment with the Nawab of Jhabua. That interrupted further progress.³⁶

32. G. R. Havaldar, *Raosahab Mandalik Yanche Charitra*, Part, I, Bombay 1927, p 241.

33. *Dadoba Pandurang, op. cit.* p. 36.

34. *Ibid*, pp. 45-46.

35. John Wilson, *The Evangelization of India*, Edinburgh: William Whyte & Co MDCCLXIX (1849), p. 338.

36. *Induprakash* dt. 25.5.1885 *loc. cit.* (10); *Dadoba Pandurang op. cit.* p. 41.

Dadoba left the service of the Jawra Nawab and returned to Bombay at the end of 1839, joining the Elphinstone Institution as an assistant teacher. A few months later he was appointed Assistant Master in the newly started English School at Surat, which he joined in 1841. During his brief stay in Bombay in 1840, he must have tried to propagate his anti-caste views among his students, and that is probably the reason why some give 1840 as the year of the founding of the Paramahansa Sabha.³⁷

The fact of the matter is, the actual organisational basis of the Paramahansa movement were first laid at Surat with the founding of the Manav Dharma Sabha in 1844. Indeed Dadoba's six years' stay in Surat proved decisive both for the evolution and crystallisation of his socio-religious ideas. Mr. Green, Head Master of the English School at Surat, under whom Dadoba worked, was an agnostic and had no faith in the Christian religion. He seems to have finally dispelled from Dadoba's mind any illusions he might have entertained about Christianity under the influence of his teacher, Prof. Handerson, and the Rev. John Wilson.³⁸

Secondly, at Surat Dadoba found an opportunity to improve his knowledge of Sanskrit. The great Sanskrit Shastris-Narmadrai, Dinmanishankar and Yajneswar-initiated him into Sanskrit classics. Under their guidance he studied *Laghu Kaumudi*, read the whole of Bhagwat, and actually translated the first chapter of Shakuntala into Marathi.³⁹ The deep knowledge of Hindu scriptures which he thus acquired enabled him to write his *Dharmavivechan* in 1843, and it provided the ideological basis for the movement he initiated.

From a practical point of view also his coming into contact with the Gujarati reformers of the day led by Durgaram Manchharam (1809-1876) proved a great boon. Durgaram and Dadoba were fellow-teachers in the same school. The two held identical views on the question of socio-religious reform. Since 1838 Durgaram had been actively advocating widow-marriage and the admission of converts to Hinduism.⁴⁰ He had no knowledge of English, but was known and greatly admired for his liberality of thought and outlook. About Durgaram, Mr. Green, his Head Master, wrote:⁴¹

37. Baba Padmanji, *Arunodaya op. cit.* p. 78.

38. Dadoba was very friendly with Mr. Henderson and John Wilson, and under their influence he had begun to take great interest in Christian scriptures, Dadoba's letter dt. 20 March 1837, written from Jawra to Prof. Henderson, who was a fanatical missionary is very revealing. Dadoba writes: 'I beg also you will make my best compliments to the Rev. Dr. Wilson, and mention him, that I extremely regret not having had the pleasure of seeing him at the time of leaving Bombay; more because I have lost the best opportunity of obtaining from him some best works on divine subjects. If either you or Dr. Wilson favour me with the loan of some of these essays, it will be a great obligation conferred on me.' *Oriental Christian Sepactator*, October 1838 p. 463.

39. *Dadoba Pandurang op. cit.* p. 160.

40. Neera A. Desai, *The Impact of the British Rule on the Position of Indian Women*, M. A. thesis, University of Bombay 1951, pp. 125-126.

41. *Report of the Board of Education for 1846*, p. 53 quoted in *Dadoba Pandurang op. cit.* p. 243.

I do not for a moment hesitate to place (him) above all the natives of India, whom I have yet had any opportunity of observing. Without knowing a syllable of English or of any other European languages, his manner of thinking and feeling, the energy and fearlessness of his character, his high notions of duty and his perfect freedom from all the native prejudices make him much more European than any of even the most thoroughly English taught natives.

In Durgaram, Dadoba found a resourceful collaborator to translate his social and religious thought into practice. Happily, other like-minded friends, Dalpatram Bhagubai and Dinmanishankar, joined them in their regular discussions on the subject of reform. After due deliberations a decision was taken to establish an association with a view to promoting religious and social reform. Thus came into existence the Manav Dharma Sabha at Surat on June 22, 1844.

A year before the foundation of the Manav Dharma Sabha, Dadoba had written his book entitled " Dharmavivechan " under the pen-name " Eka Jagadwasi Arya." ⁴² It is a philosophical work giving an excellent account of Dadoba's religious and social thought. The ideology of the Manav Dharma Sabha was clearly derived from the teaching expounded in this book. The seven principles discussed in *Dharmavivechan* closely correspond to the seven tenets of the Sabha:

Principles stated in Dharmavivechan. ⁴³	Tenets of the Manav Dharma Sabha ⁴⁴
1. God is one, and He alone should be worshipped.	1. There is only one God.
2. The real religion is devotion to God based on love and good moral conduct.	2. The whole human race is one caste.
3. The spiritual religion of mankind is one.	3. The religion of mankind is one. It is only a false sense of pride which makes people think that they belong to different religions.
4. Every individual must have freedom of thought.	4. Merit and not birth should determine man's status.
5. All our daily work should be consistent with reason and discrimination.	5. One should always act in a rational manner.
6. The whole of mankind is one caste.	6. One should devote himself to God for his favour.
7. The right kind of knowledge should be imparted to all	7. All should be educated to follow the right path.

42. This book was written by Dadoba in Surat in 1843. It was published in 1868, a year after the establishment of the Prarthana Samaj, its publisher Vasudeo Babaji Nowrange was a prominent leader of the Prarthana Samaj.

(Please see notes 43 and 44 on the next page)

Rationalism and Universalism were thus the keynotes of the religious and social symphony aimed at by the leaders of the early reform movement in Western India. This compares well with the uncompromising rationality of Rammohan Roy as expressed in his first extant work *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin* published in 1803.⁴⁵

A fair idea of the aims, objectives and working of this association can be had from the following account which appeared in the *Prabhakar* of January 5, 1845:⁴⁶

It is now six months since some learned men here established a new Sabha called the Manav Dharma Sabha (or association for the promotion of the religion of man). This association meets every Sunday, and the people of all classes, except passionate and quarrelsome persons, are allowed to attend. Among the leading members of the association is one Doorgaram Muncharam, a Nagur, who is in the habit of giving lectures, in which he explains and defends the principles of truth, the others listening to his instructions. The object of this association is to select what is true out of all the different religions now prevailing on earth, such as the Christian, the Mussulman, the Hindoo etc., to expose the hypocritical arts which the Bhutts, or religious teachers of the Hindoos, the syeds or devotees of the Mussulman faith, and the Padrees of the Christian religion, have put in practice, and the falsehoods which they have inserted into their respective Shasters (Shastras) for the sake of securing themselves a superiority over their fellowmen; and lastly to dispel ignorance under the influence of which men have been led to regard the stories told them by these deceivers as the declarations of God Himself.

43. The Seven Principles form the Seven Chapters of *Dharmavivechan*.

44. Mahipatram Rupram, *Durgaram Charitra*, Surat 1878, p. 18 (This is a rare Gujarati work. The Passages from this work, *Mehtaji Durgaram Manchharam Charitra* are quoted in A. K. Priolkar's *Dadoba Pandurang*, *op cit.*, and also in a Gujarati work by Bhogilal Gandhi, *Adhya Sudharka Mehtaji Durgaram*, Baroda: Vishvamanav Sanskar Shikshan Trust, 1970. For our purpose we have relied on these two works). The tenets are reproduced above in the order in which they appear in the original source, though the tenet (2) tallies with principle (6) in *Dharmavivechan* and tenet (6) corresponds to principle (2).

45. Rammohun Roy, *Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin*, tr. into English by Moulavi Obaidullah El Obaide, for Adi Brahma Samaj in 1883 and published in 1889, Reprinted by the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, Calcutta, 1949. On Rammohan's rationalism and religious thought see K. N. Panikkar "Rationalism in the Religious Thought of Rammohan Roy" Indian History Congress, *Proceedings of the Thirty-fourth Session*, Vol. II, Chandigarh, 1973 pp. 182-190. See also his Presidential Address: Section III, Indian History Congress, Aligarh Session, 1975; and Sumit Sarkar, "Rammohan Roy and the Break with the Past" in *Rammohan Roy and the Process of Modernisation in India*. ed. V. C. Joshi, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House 1975, pp. 46-68.

46. Reproduced from *Prabhakar* in *Jnanodaya* (Vol. 4 No. 4) February 15, 1845,

Steps were also taken to disabuse the public mind of iniquitous practices. The association threw a challenge to magicians and incantators to come forward and prove their power of spells and magic. A prize of Rupees twenty-seven and a certificate was promised to the successful demonstrators. Only one man named Bujaram Buwa came forward but failed.^{46a} This was done with a view to eradicating peoples' belief in magic and witchcraft which had assumed dangerous proportions. Many believed that epidemics like Cholera were the results of witchcraft, so much so that a number of individuals who were supposed to have magical powers were murdered in Northern Konkan following an outbreak of Cholera in that region during the Governorship of Elphinstone.⁴⁷

One subject that seemed to have been constantly discussed in the inner circles of the Manav Dharma Sabha was that of Caste. All seemed to have been agreed on the baneful effect of that institution on Hindu Society, and in order to demonstrate the sincerity of their faith in the brotherhood of men they are together slices of bread brought from outside.⁴⁸ But no concerted effort seems to have been made to demolish caste as was attempted later by the Paramahansa Sabha.

Not only social and religious, but at times even political issues dominated the meetings of the Sabha. The imposition of the salt tax provoked a serious riot in Surat on Thursday, August 20, 1844. The issue came up for discussion at one of the meetings. Dadoba, justifying the action of the rioters, said that when persecuted by the rulers, the people had every right to rise in rebellion.⁴⁹ Little wonder, he greatly admired his brother Bhaskar for his devastating attacks on our foreign rulers.⁵⁰

How long this association lasted is not known. However, with Dadoba's leaving Surat in 1846 and Durgaram's going to Rajkot on a new posting in 1852, the Sabha was robbed of its guiding spirits. Nor is it possible to estimate the influence of the association on the contemporary society in Gujarat, except that it was the first concrete expression of the emerging social awareness in Western India after the advent of the British rule.

Mahipatram Rupram, who became a founder of the Ahmedabad Prarthana Samaj, paid a rich tribute to Dadoba for his pioneering work in the field of social reform. He dedicated his biography of Durgaram Manchharam to Dadoba with the following words : " Dedicated to Rao Bahadour Dadoba Pandurang-leader of the band of reformers who so boldly and so nobly

46. a *Ibid.*

47. K. A. Ballhatchet, *Social Policy and Social change in Western India, 1817-1830*, London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957, p. 251.

48. Mahipatram Rupram, *Durgaram Charitra op. cit.* p. 59.

49. *Ibid* pp. 101-105.

50. J. V. Naik, "An Early Appraisal of the British Colonial Policy" *Journal of the University of Bombay* (Vols. XLV & XLVI Nos. 80-81) 1975-76 pp. 243-270; *Dadoba Pandurang, op. cit.* pp. 98-200.

attempted, thirty-five years ago to dispel ignorance and superstition from their fellow-citizens at Surat.”⁵¹

On the death of Bal Shastri Jambhekar in 1846, the Board of Education selected Dadoba Pandurang to take charge of the Normal School in Bombay. This was his opportunity. Among the Scholars studying at the Normal School he found excellent material for organising a society to carry forward the movement he had initiated at Surat. The Normal Scholars formed the nucleus of the Paramahansa movement in Maharashtra.

There is a dispute regarding the exact date of the founding of the Paramahansa Sabha. The earliest date assigned to it is 1840⁵² and the latest 1852⁵³. Between these two limits various authorities have assigned different dates.⁵⁴ The correct position however appears to be that Dadoba first conceived the idea in 1840 and made a beginning to implement it in 1846, the year in which he took charge of the Normal School, but with Ram Balakrishna Jaykar becoming its president in 1849, the Sabha received its formal constitution.⁵⁵

In adopting the name “Paramahansa”, it seems that Dadoba was prompted by the simile of the Swan, which it is said knows so well how to separate milk from water. This conforms to Durgaram’s explanation of the word “Parama Hansa”,⁵⁶ although the term really meant “a truly dispassionate ascetic.” The Society professed to accept what is good in the existing systems, rejecting what is bad. In English it can at best be called an Eclectic society.

The declared objectives of the Paramahansa Sabha were: the abolition of caste system; renunciation of idolatory; introduction of widow remarriage;

51. Mahipatram Rupram, *op. cit. Dadoba Pandurang op. cit.* p. 194.

52. Those who accept the year 1840 seem to rely mainly on the testimony of Baba Padmanji. In his autobiography Baba Padmanji writes : “Since 1840 a number of educated youth were thinking in terms of abolishing caste and rejecting idol-worship, and they formed the Paramahansa Mandali,” *Arunodaya. op. cit.* p. 78; N. R. Phatak, *op. cit.* 81; D. G. Vaidya, *Prarthana Samajacha Itihas* p. 9.

53. *Mumbaiche Varnan, op. cit.* p. 344. This is obviously wrong, for October 1, 1851 issue of *Jnanodaya* speaks of the existence of the Sabha.

54. The year given by “A Native Friend” is 1847, *The Bombay Guardian*, 1851, p. 533; 1846 is the date given by J. Murray Mitchel, *In Western India*, p. 463.

55. Those who give the date 1849 are: Sivanath Sastri; *History of the Brahma Samaj* 2nd ed. Calcutta : Sadharan Brahma Samaj, 1974, p. 450; J. N. Fraquhar, *Modern Religious movements in India.* p. 75 : A. K. Priolkar, *Dadoba Pandurang, op. cit.* p. 251; also in his *Paramhansa Sabha va Tiche Adhyaksha Ramchanda Balkrishna op. cit.* p. 57; however from the account of an active member of the Sabha, it appears that the Sabha was in existence before 1849, *Raosaheb Keshav Shivram Bhavalkar. yanche Atmavritta.* ed. B. S. Pandit, Nagpur : Vidharba Sanshodhan Mandal, 1961, pp. 91-94.

56. *Durgaram Charitra op. cit.* pp. 78-80; see *Dadoba Pandurang, op. cit.* p. 246.

promotion of female education and spread of education among the depressed classes like the Mahars and the Mangs⁵⁷.

Each new recruit to the Sabha had to undergo an initiation ceremony. He had to take a pledge that he would not observe any caste distinction. As proof of his sincerity, he was required to eat a slice of bread baked by a Christian and drink milk tasted by the President and others and sign his name in the Sabha's register. According to one source, during the first few years, drinking of water at the hands of a Muslim also formed a part of the initiation ceremony,⁵⁸ but this does not find corroboration in the testimony of Baba Padmanji, R. G. Bhandarkar or any other member.⁵⁹ These much misunderstood rituals were a mere rallying point of the Society—nothing more than a formal test of one's denial of faith in caste. However there was no conviviality of any kind. The Society used to hold annual dinners which brought together Paramahansas from different parts of the Presidency without caste distinctions. These dinners used to be very solemn occasions strengthening the bonds of fraternity.⁶⁰

The meetings of the Sabha were conducted in strictest secrecy for fear of facing the wrath of the orthodoxy. Utmost care was taken to see that the public did not come to know about it. Though the Sabha thus began its career somewhat on masonic principles, it was decided that when it gathered sufficient numerical strength and clarified its principles by common discussion it should make its aim public and work openly for bringing about the desired social change.⁶¹

The Sabha had no fixed meeting place. To begin with, it appears its meetings were held at Dumeta's Chawl in Fanaswadi, Girgaum, where the Normal Scholars used to reside. It was at this place that R. G. Bhandarkar was initiated into the Sabha in 1853. Its meetings were held mostly at the residence of Ram Balkrishna, the President of the Sabha,⁶² and at times at Dr. Atmaram Pandurang's, who later became the Founder-President of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay.⁶³

57. *Arunodaya op. cit.* pp. 95, 201, 224.

58. *Induprakash* dt. 25.5.1885. *loc. cit.* (10).

59. R. G. Bhandarkar's address to the Second Aryan Brotherhood Conference, Quoted in D. G. Vaidya, *Prathana Samajacha Itihas*, Bombay : Prarthana Samaj, 1927, pp. 18-19; *Arunodaya, op. cit.* pp. 94-96.

60. A political Rishi (Sir Narayan Chandavarkar) "The Days of Parma Hansa", (Second Part) *Induprakash* (Vol. 24, No. 22) June, 1, 1885 pp. 2-3.

61. *Arunodaya op. cit.* p. 97. *Mumbaiche Varnan op. cit.* p. 344.

62. G. M. Thenge, "Ram Balkrishna Ani Tyancha Kal", (This was a paper read by him at the Pathare Prabhu Social Samaj on 18 November 1923) *Manoranjan*, Vol. 29, (July-December 1923) p. 351.

63. *Arunodaya, op. cit.* p. 96.

The Proceedings of the Sabha opened and closed with the recitation of hymns from *Ratnamala*,⁶⁴ or prayers composed by Dadoba. Papers were read and discussed. Discussions on the question of religious and social reform were free and frank. The suggestion that the Sabha should have a definite system of religion as its basis did not find favour with most members. However, they had no objection to each member following his own religious convictions. They were totally against any religion being accepted at "the infallible record of God's revelation to man." A few sought to maintain that the Bible was the authoritative revelation of the Will of God. They were ridiculed.⁶⁵

Dadoba Pandurang, the brain behind the Sabha, and his friend Bhau Mahajan did not attend the meetings, When they came, they preferred to sit in the ante-room and met the President and certain other selected members after the meetings were over.⁶⁶ A profound thinker, but never an organiser, Dadoba wanted someone in Bombay like Durgaram Manchharam at Surat, to lead the movement he had initiated. In Ram Balkrishna Jaykar, he found just such a man.

Ram Balkrishna Jaykar, who is said to be the first formal President of the Sabha, was a highly talented man, passionately devoted to the cause of social reform. Born in 1826 in the Prabhu community, he had his Marathi and English education in the Bombay Native Education Society's School. During his three years (1840-1842) at the Normal School he was the recipient of three scholarships-Clair Scholarship, West Scholarship and Normal Scholarship.⁶⁷ In recognition of his merit the Board of Education specially selected him in 1845 to take charge of the newly established school at Ratnagiri.⁶⁸ He did not stay at Ratnagiri for long. Partly on grounds of health, but mainly because the Thana School would afford him a "more extensive sphere..for his talent and energy," he was transferred to Thana.⁶⁹ Notwithstanding his best efforts which were highly appreciated by the authorities, the school at Thana had to be closed down in 1848. That brought him back to Bombay where he joined the Customs Department rising to the rank of Duftardar by 1856. In 1861, his official designation as given in the Civil List was "un-covenanted Assistant to the Commissioner, Customs, Salt and Opium"⁷⁰.

64. This book of poems was written by Bhaskar Damodar Palande (1832-1874). For a long time the Prarthana Samajists also used to sing songs from this book. The Life sketch of this man is to be found in *Manoranjan*. (Diwali Special Issue) 1910. p. 12.

65. *Letter of Narayan Raghunath Navalkar dt. 16-3-1887, Arumodaya op. cit. p. 224-25.*

66. *Ibid* p. 96.

67. A. K. Priolkar, *Paramahansa Sabha* *op. cit.* p. 24.

68. The appointment order said : "The Board rely on your zeal to advancing the great cause of education in a manner, which shall be attended with benefit to young natives of Ratnagiri and with credit to yourself." Quoted in M. G. Thenge, "Ram Balkrishna.." *Manoranjan op. cit.* p. 346.

69. *Ibid* p. 345.

70. A. K. Priolkar, *Paramahansa Sabha va Tiche Adhyaksha Ramchandra Balkrishna op. cit.* p. 31.

A man of firm convictions, Ram Balkrishna was one of the few reformers who practised what they preached. In 1851 he became a member of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, and was taken up on its Executive Committee along with Dadabhai Naoroji and Narayan Vishwanath Mandlik in 1854.⁷¹ He believed that social reform ought to begin at home. Therefore he admitted his daughters to the Mission Schools- The Free Church Female School and the Alexandra Girls School.⁷² Defying the superstitious ban on foreign travel he went to England in 1863. In 1865, he took the lead to form a society "for the purpose of getting native gentlemen to visit the circus with their families."⁷³ The idea was to remove the popular prejudice against husband and wife going out together in the public. He left such an impression on the public life of Bombay that on his untimely death in 1866, the Bombay press was unanimous in extolling him both as a man and as a social reformer.⁷⁴

Led by such men and working on the broad principles of equality and fraternity, the Society did not fail to attract a sizable number of educated youth to its creed. Of the active workers who went about collecting members in Bombay, the names of six are recorded⁷⁵.

1. Bhikoba Laxman Chavan, a Bhandari by caste and a teacher in the Robert Money School.
2. Sakharam Laxman Chavan (brother of Bhikoba Laxman) a teacher in the Church Missionary Society's Marathi School.
3. Laxman Shastri Halbay, a Brahmin.
4. Sakharam Shastri, a Brahmin, working in the Marathi Department of the Bombay Customs House.

71. *Ibid* p. 60.

72. G. M. Thenge, "Ram Balkrishna Ani Tyancha Kal," *Manoranjan op. cit.* p. 353.

73. *Speeches & Writings of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, op. cit.* p. 154.

74. The Times of India, Monday, August 6, 1866: *We regret to record the death of Rao Bahadur Ramchandrar Balkrishnjee.. He was one of the warmest friends of reform among the Hindoos and both in public and private, had the rare moral courage of practising what he preaches.; "V. N. Mandlik, who was no friend of the reform party, but who had high regard for Ram Balkrishna as his teacher, wrote in his paper *Native Opinion* : "With the deepest regret we have to announce that the educated native society of Bombay has lost one of its brightest ornaments and accomplished members....Notwithstanding his own disregard of time-honoured superstition and prejudice, Ram — for that was the familiar and fond name of the deceased — was liked by all alike; such was the magical effect of his comely person, his persuasive address, his agreeable manner and generous disposition and singular tact, in reconciling the most discordant elements." Quoted in G. M. Thenge, *op. cit.* pp. 355-56; *The Bombay Saturday Review* : He was one of the most consistent and practical of the Reforming party in Bombay" *Ibid* p. 356. (The files of the last mentioned two papers are not available, hence quoted from the given secondary source).

75. *Letter from Narayan Raghunath, Arunodaya, op. cit.* p. 223.

5. Bal Bhaskar Sintray, a Saraswat, employed in the Translation Department of the Appellate Side of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay.
6. Madan Srikrishna, a Khatree, Judge of the Small Causes Court, Bombay.

The other prominent members in Bombay were : Dr. Atmaram Pandurang (Brother of Dadoba Pandurang) — later Founder-President of the Prarthana Samaj; Maroba Vinoba Sanjagiri, a Saraswat, and Tukaram Tatyia Padval, a Bhandari, who later joined the Theosophical Society.

Among those who were persuaded to join the Sabha were Baba Padmanji and Narain Raghunath Navalkar, both of whom ultimately embraced Christianity. Narain Raghunath has given an interesting reason why the organisers wanted them to join the Sabha. He writes :

They thought, if we ultimately embraced the Christian faith, the religion of the rulers of the land, we would cease loving the country and all that was great and good in the land, and instead of taking any interest in the welfare of our motherland, we would be completely denationalised and love everything that is English.⁷⁶

This statement throws considerable light on the thought process of the educated of those days and also belies the hope fervently entertained by the Christian Missionaries and even by men like Macaulay and Elphinstone that the English educated Indians will finally renounce Hinduism.⁷⁷ It also goes to prove that the leaders of the Sabha placed love for their country above every other consideration.

Efforts were made to extend the Sabha's influence outside Bombay. It may be recalled that in 1848, the following Normal Scholars with whom the Sabha began its career, were posted as teachers in different schools in different parts of the Bombay Presidency.

- | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Laxman Narsinha Joshi. 2. Naro Balkrishna Patwardhan 3. Balkrishna Babaji Bhagvat | } | Elphinstone School, Bombay. |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Keshav Shivram Bhavalkar — Government Marathi Schools Nos. 1 & 2, Pune. 5. Vasudeo Bhikaji Karmarkar — Government School Sholapur. 6. Balaji Mahadeo Akartkar, Government School, Nagpur. 7. Naro Ramchandra Datar — Government School, Belgaum. 8. Mahadeo Laxman Gadgil — Government School, Jamkhindi. | | |

76. *Ibid.*

77. G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, p. 329, K. A. Ballhatchet, *Social Policy and Social changes in Western India 1817-1830. op. cit.* pp. 248-249.

9. Purushottam Janardhan Kane Dixit — Government School, Ratnagiri.
10. Vishnupant Jambhekar — Government School, Dhule.
11. Ramchandra Gavande — Government School, Thana.
12. Achyut Hari — Government School, Jamkhindi.

Before the scholars left Bombay in 1848 to take up their postings, Dadoba exhorted them to propagate the ideals of the Sabha. It was mutually agreed that they should not only strictly adhere to the principles of the Sabha, but also sincerely endeavour to spread its ideas by enrolling fresh members.⁷⁸

A number of branches of the Sabha came up in different parts of the Presidency like Poona, Ahmedabad, Khandesh, Belgaum, Ratnagiri. It was also believed that the prime movers of the Sabha were in secret communication with social reformers outside Maharashtra resulting in the establishment of the branches of the Society in such far-off places as Calcutta, Madras and Kasi.⁷⁹

Some information is available about the Ratnagiri, Ahmadnagar and Poona branches. R. G. Bhandarkar informs us that his teacher in the School at Ratnagiri had enrolled a number of students to the Paramahansa Sabha that he himself was instructed into the ideals of the Sabha which he actually joined in 1853, while yet a student at the Elphinstone Institution, Bombay.⁸⁰

The Sabha was not confined to Hindus only. A Muslim member of the Sabha has given the following account of the Ahmadnagar Branch :

About thirty five years ago, a branch of the Paramahansa Sabha was established at Ahmadnagar. Rao Bahadoor Dadoba Pandurang and Mr. Vasudev Bhikaji Karmarkar were its leaders. I was one of them. Most of us were students of the English School who had lost faith in our own religion as a result of Western education. There was no book or any other literature containing the rules to be followed by the members of the Mandali. However, non-observance of caste, rejection of idol-worship, advocating widow remarriage, promotion of female education and imparting education to the depressed classes like the Mahars and the Mangs came to be accepted as the duty of all members . . . The reformers from Bombay and Poona

78. Bhavanishankar Shridhar Pandit, ed. ; *Raosahab Keshav Shivram Bhavalkar Yanche Atmavritta* op. cit. pp. 93-94; A political Rishi Writes : ... In the Normal School which had then only 12 students mostly Brahmins brought from different parts of the Presidency, he (Dadoba) discovered excellent material for work in the direction, he had long in view .." *Induprakash* dt. 25-5-85, loc. cit. (10).

79. Madgaonkar, *Mumbaiche Varnan*. op. cit. p. 344, This has not been corroborated by any other contemporary source.

80. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Address to the Aryan Brotherhood Conference* Quoted in D. G. Vaidya, *Prarthana Samajacha Itihas* op. cit. pp. 94-96.

had sent us select passages from the works of well-known European atheists, Tom Paine, and Voltaire.⁸¹

From the account of Keshav Shivram Bhavalkar, it appears that the Poona branch of the Sabha was particularly active.⁸² Its members played a leading role in presenting to the Government a memorial suggesting certain changes in the mode of the distribution of Dakshina to Brahmins. The memorial condemned the existing Dakshina system as a colossal waste of public money serving no useful purpose except breeding idleness among the Brahmin recipients. In presenting a more rational plan for the utilisation of the accumulated Dakshina Fund, the memorial stated : "The present system of the Dakshina Fund has no tendency to promote learning among, nor to extend its benefits to the great mass of the population. It is founded on the old illiberal and barbarous prejudice of confining learning to the Brahmin caste and locking up its stores from the people generally. On the contrary, the present plan is calculated to civilise the nation in general, and to lay open for its benefit those stores of learning and wisdom which . . have been wholly inaccessible to the nation at large."⁸³

This move on the part of the memorialists was naturally opposed by the orthodox Brahmins. They decided to excommunicate all those who were associated with the memorial. Jyotiba Phule came in support of the memorialists.⁸⁴ The threat of the orthodox did not materialise. In 1851, the Government established the Dakshina Prize Fund Committee. Lokhitavadi Gopal Hari Deshmukh, a prime mover in the matter, worked as its secretary for sometime.

Having worked in close collaboration with some of the leaders of the Sabha, it cannot be that Gopal Hari Deshmukh was unaware of the existence of the Sabha, though he never was its member. Bhau Mahajan, the Editor of *Prabhakar*, in which paper Gopal Hari published his celebrated *Shata patre* (1848-1850) under the pen name Lokahitavadi, was a protagonist of the Paramahansa Sabha. Dadoba and Bhau Mahajan were personal friends. These gentlemen, actuated as they were by the Paramahansa Spirit must have felt happy to see Lokahitwadi on his tirade against Brahmin obscurantism. How could one otherwise explain the publication of such hard-hitting, merciless criticism of Brahmins over a period of two years in Marathi paper like *Prabhakar*? The Period of *Shatapatre* coincides with the starting years of the Paramahansa Sabha. The two must have acted and reacted upon each other in a manner congenial to both. If Lokahitavadi in his practical wisdom did not demand abolition of caste, he denounced it in no uncertain terms.⁸⁵ For

81. *Account of the Ahmadnagar branch of the Sabha by Kasam Muhammadaji, Arunodaya, op. cit. p. 201.*

82. *Bhavalkar Yanche Atmavritta, op. cit. pp. 100-108.*

83. *Jnanodaya*, November 1949 -- pp. 401-403.

84. *Bhavalkar Yanche Atmavritta op. cit. p. 107.*

85. *Lokahitavadichi Shatapatre*, (ed.) P. G. Sahasrabudhe, Pune : Continental Prakashan 1972, pp. 233-244.

the rest, the views of both Lokahitavadi and the Paramahansa Sabha were identical. Referring to the effects of the new learning, Baba Padmanji made the following observation in 1852. : "The letters signed 'A Well Wisher of his Countrymen' and the Society called the Paramahansa Mandali are known to all. These two instrumentalities have been more than any other (?) in uprooting the confidence of the Hindus in their own religion."⁸⁶

There is more positive evidence to indicate Jyotiba Phule's connections with the Paramahansa Sabha. Jyotiba was a close friend of Bhavalkar whom Dadoba had specially commissioned to spread the message of the Sabha in Poona. Phule helped Bhavalkar and other memorialists in their bid to persuade the Government to rationalise the distribution of the Dkshina Scholarship. Dadoba had occasions to meet Jyotiba on his usual school-inspection rounds. Jyotiba's social and educational activities conformed to the ideals of the Paramahansa Sabha, to whose President he dedicated his ballad on Shivaji with the inscription : "To the memory of Rao Bahadur Ramchandra Balkrishnaji, President of Paramahansa Sabha, late Assistant Commissioner of Customs and Justice of the Peace. This small book is inscribed, As a mark of Profound Respect and a Testimony of sincere Affection by The Author."⁸⁷

Both in terms of social philosophy and procedure at its meetings, the Satya Shodhak Samaj was no different from the Paramahansa Sabha. It should be noted here that in the 1850's some of the dissidents from the Paramahansa Sabha like Baba Padmanji who were very friendly with Jyotiba had started a new society called the Satya Shodhak Society.⁸⁸ Baba Padmanji and certain other members of this society subsequently became Christians. Therefore, it is not unlikely that after the transformation of the Paramahansa Sabha into the Prarthana Samaj, with whose ideology Jyotiba did not at all agree,⁸⁹ he decided to start a new society and named it as the Satya Shodhak Samaj. Whether Jyotiba was a member of the Paramahansa Sabha, as asserted by one writer,⁹⁰ or not, his religious and social philosophy, save his anti-Brahmin stance, shows an unmistakable influence of the Paramahansa Sabha.

86. Baba Padmanji "Western Learning", *Jnanodaya*. (Vol. 13 No. 18) dt. 15-9-1854. pp, 280-281.

87. S. G. Malse & D. Keer, *Mahatma Phule : Samagra Vangmaya*, Bombay : Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya Va Sanskriti Mandal. 1969. p. 5; D. Keer *Mahatma Jyotirao Phoolley*, *op. cit.* p. 58; G. B. Sardar *Ranadepranit Samajik Sudharnechi Tatvamimansa*, *op. cit.* p. 23.

88. *Arunodaya*, *op. cit.* pp. 106-107; 225.

89. Malse & Keer, *Mahatma Phule : Samagra Vangmaya op. cit.* p. 405; D. Keer *op. cit.*: 150.

90. R. N. Chavan, "Samajsudharnechya Itihasatil Paramhansa Sabheche Sthan.", *Navbharat*, No 1, July 1971, p. 41.

91. Dr. Atmaram Pandurang made this confession in his conversation with D. G. Vaidya, *Prarthana Samajacha Itihas*. (Biographical section) *op. cit.* pp. 13-14.

From all available accounts, the Sabha ceased to exist as an organised unit after 1860, although some of its more dedicated members continued to promote its ideals in their individual capacity.

A number of factors contributed to the decline and eventual demise of the Sabha. In a public venture of this nature aiming at revolutionary social change secrecy is neither feasible nor advisable. In fact, some of its prominent members later confessed that it was secrecy which proved fatal to the Sabha.⁹¹ Had the Sabha come out into the open with its programme right from the start, there would indeed have been stiff opposition from the orthodox party, but it would not have been the victim of malicious and perverse propaganda born out of ignorance of its aims and ideals.

The Sabha figured in the press for the first time in 1851. In its issue of October 1, 1851 the missionary paper *Jnanodaya* reported that it had received a number of letters regarding the Paramahansa Mandali, but preferred to defer their publication to a later date for want of adequate information on the subject.⁹² However, within the next six months there was a public discussion on it in the press occasioned by the publication of an abusive 14 page Marathi poetical tract entitled "Paramahansa Mata Prashamsa".

The author of the tract was one Ramkrishna Anant Joshi nicknamed "Gajaba". A man of vile character, Gajaba was well-known in Bombay as a teacher of prostitute and dancing girls.⁹³ His tract condemning the Paramahansa Mandali was liberally spiced with vulgarity and abuse. He denounced the Paramahansas as a "set of bastards". Of the new education and the Elphinstone Institution, this poet had the following to say:⁴

The Lords of the land, by their kingly authority,
Have brought to Bombay a far-famed "Society (the Marathi speaking
people generally referred to the Elphinstone Institution as "Society")
And with purpose the same, with some little variety
The Missionaries seek to corrupt us.

In that same Society where they teach foreign learning,
The Mlenchas are with you from morning till evening,
And somehow or other boys' brains get a whirling
And if they'd been tutored by Bacchus.

The rites of religion they lose altogether,
Some take Ganja and Bhang or even brandy and water
Of this brood (breed) of sole evils who can be father?
Ask their mother, their dear Alma Mater.

92. *Jnanodaya* (Vol. X No. 10) October 1, 1851 pp. 305-306.

93. *Jnanodaya* (Vol. 11 No. 6) 15 March 1852, p. 84-86.

94. *Ibid* (Originally appeared in Prabhakar in Marathi tr. into English and Published in *Jnanodaya*).

Just as might be expected this wondrous display
of a College got up in the midst of Bombay
And "Boys come and study, or you will get but small pay"
Has brought hundreds of learners together.
Yet men of nobility with wisdom for dower
Though stripped of their wealth, without prospect of power
Will not see their sons in such danger an hour,
But at home teach their own country's learning.

But the cook leaves his child, and the trader his shop,
The Boy born to bring water, wont bring you a drop.
They think it far better to go to this College,
To learn to talk English and all sorts of knowledge.

Such a perverse account of the new learning and especially of the Paramahansa Sabha caused great uneasiness among the Hindus. Indeed, the reports circulated and generally believed regarding the Sabha's character and object excited general alarm among the Hindu community of Bombay. Many withdrew their children from mission schools and sent them out of Bombay.

Here was an opportunity for the leaders of the Sabha to come out in the open and explain to the misinformed public the objects of the Society. Unfortunately they lacked the courage of their convictions. Only Bhau Mahajan the Editor of *Prabhakar*, who was closely associated with the Sabha, but not a regular member, took up his pen in its defence. His being the only recorded contemporary defence of the Society, it is worthwhile to quote him in extenso:⁹⁵ It is known to our readers that according to general report, a society named Paramahansa Mandali has recently been formed, the members of which disregard Hinduism in practice and seek to propagate new opinions. The object of the work (Paramahansa Mata Prashansa) is to expose the practices and refute the doctrines of this Society. The account given of these doctrines and practices however does not appear at all credible. Were the things here stated to be true, the members of the Society would deserve to be expelled from caste as much as Shripat Sheshadri did. And expelled they would be. With several of them however we are personally acquainted, and know them to be persons whose respectability and correct conduct forbid the belief that they indulge in such indecent and licentious practices as are here charged upon them. And were the author of the tract to consider for a moment, he could not fail to see that these charges might be brought against himself than against those whom he so violently assails.

Of the commitment of the members to the Sabha the Editor said :

It cannot be denied that some members of the Society are opposed to the continuance of the Hindu caste; and some of them have published their views on the subject. Compared with those who

95. *Ibid.*

a reputation for wisdom and prudence, they have been guilty of indiscretion and undue haste; but those who have become acquainted with Western Science, not one, in his heart condemns the objects for which these persons are striving.

In a true spirit of objectivity, the Editor continued :

Let no one suppose that we are apologists of the Paramahansa Mandali; on the contrary we shall be delighted to see their opinions skilfully and properly refuted by supporters of Hinduism. But in this tract (Paramahansa Mata Prashansa), those who reject Hindu caste are simply denounced as a set of bastards, and this is the only argument advanced in support of Hinduism. It is well-known that Shankaracharya, with great labour, wrote powerful works in refutation of the religion of the Jains, but had some poet like Ramkrishna Anant Joshi arisen and loaded the Jains with opprobrious epithets, how much more easily might the victory over them have been gained.

Stoutly denying all the maliciously fabricated charges against the Sabha, the Editor of *Prabhakar* concluded :

But enough. The character of this poet is known to all, and his abuse will be estimated at its real worth. We have written so much only, because, as there is among people so little love for learning, they are easily influenced by those who seek to corrupt them. We are only surprised that, according to a general belief, those among us most distinguished for influence and station have liberally encouraged and rewarded the author of this vulgar, filthy production. Such a course on their part is truly shameful.

Despite the early adverse criticism, the Sabha, as has already been noted, continued to function well in 1860, when an enemy in the camp stole its records — those closely guarded repositories of its secrets containing the names of the members and their declaration that they had tasted forbidden food in avowal of their disbelief in caste — and made them public. This disclosure of their activities unnerved most of the Sabha members.⁹⁶ But this could not have been the sole or even primary reason for the collapse of the Sabha as is generally believed. The Sabha which could withstand the earlier abusive attacks of "Gajaba" could not have so easily wilted under the threats of disclosing the names of its members by a man, whose name is still unknown.

A more plausible explanation for its decline and eventual collapse is to be found in "Share Mania" of the 1860's in Bombay, in which most of the reformers, including Daboba Pandurang, suffered terrible economic losses, and were too stunned to pursue philanthropic work in the hour of their financial

96. *Arinodaya*, *op. cit.* pp. 97; 225 : "Bhandarkar's Address to the Second Aryan Brotherhood Conference," D. G. Vaidya, *Prarthana Samajacha Itihas*, *op. cit.* p. 19. *Indu-prakash* 1 June, 1885, *loc. cit.* (60).

tragedy. Besides, about the same time Ram Balkrishna Jaykar, dynamic President of the Sabha, left Bombay for Calcutta and thence to England, which must have made the secret Sabha virtually an orphan body.

At this time, the estimated strength of the Sabha was around 500⁹⁷. The Sabha was expected to disclose its identity and work openly to realise its ideals when the target of 1000 was reached. About the time the Sabha collapsed, Bhau Daji Lad and Bhau Rassol's Dadaji were said to be thinking of joining it.⁹⁸ The sudden demise of the Sabha prevented them from doing so. The ignominious end, the Sabha met with, probably made Bhau Daji remark in his Presidential Address at Keshab Chandra Sen's lecture at the Bombay Town Hall in 1864 that religious and social reform should be undertaken after due thought and deliberation.⁹⁹

It appears that the Sabha met with its end during the absence of its President, Ram Balkrishna. In 1860, he had accompanied Mr. Spooner, the Commissioner of Bombay Customs to Calcutta. In Calcutta, Ram Balkrishna came into contact with Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar. A deep and abiding friendship developed between the two. As a token of his friendship, Ishwarchandra presented Ram Balkrishna with a copy of Macaulay's History of England with the following inscriptions :

To Ramchandra Balkrishna as a token
of regard and esteem of his friend
and admirer.

Ishwarchandra, Sharma, the 6th December, 1861.

Ram Balkrishna in his turn named his second son after Ishwarchandra.¹⁰⁰

D. G. Vaidya's assertion that Ram Balkrishna founded the Paramahansa Sabha in 1840 under the inspiration of Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar is absolutely unfounded, for in that year Vidyasagar never visited Bombay, and Ram Balkrishna was a mere lad of 14 years.¹⁰¹

It is necessary to note that though the name of Raja Rammohan Roy was familiar to the educated public in Western India,¹⁰² there is no direct

97. The data regarding the strength of the Sabha varies in the different authorities: Political Rishi puts its round 500; According to Baba Padmanji, it was between 800 and 1000, *Jnanodaya* 27 October 1882, Madgaonkar, estimates it to be between 50 and 75, which appears to be too small a number.

98. *Arunodaya op. cit.*, p. 225.

99. D. G. Vaidya, *Prarthana Samajacha Itihas, op. cit.* p. 33.

100. M. G. Thenge "Ram Balkrishna Ani Tyancha Kal" *Manoranjan, op. cit.*, p. 349.

101. None of the Biographies of Vidyasagar mention of his visiting Bombay in 1840. Ram Balkrishna Jaykar was born on 7th January 1826.

102. As early as 1832, Bal Shastri Jambhekar in his Journal *Darpan* had written at length on Rammohan Roy in which he seemed to contest Rammohan's claim to be called "The most knowledgeable and learned living Indian", *Darpan* 13 April, 20 July, 3 August 1832. (Excerpts are given in V. K. Joshi and S. M. Shasrabudhe (ed) *Darpan Sangraha* Bombay : Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, May 1946, pp. 108-113); *Memoirs and Writings of Bal Shastri Jambhekar, II op. cit.* pp. 12, 14, 44 & 46.

evidence to indicate that either the Atmiya Sabha or its modified version the Brahma Samaj, or for that matter even the Derozian movement had anything to do with the emergence of the Manav Dharma Sabha of Surat or with its counterpart, the Paramahansa Sabha of Bombay.

However, the social reform movement as represented by the Paramahansa Sabha finds some parallel with the Derozian movement in Bengal. But as Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has rightly pointed out, "The two movements were not alike in all points." By way of comparison between the "Paramahansa and Young Bengal" movements he wrote :¹⁰³

Social reform in Bombay commenced fifteen years later than in Calcutta under almost similar circumstances and shared in the end nearly the same fate. The two movements were not alike in all points. For instance, the practical Mahratta was less impulsive than the imaginative Babu and, unlike the latter, worked secretly to put down the caste; nor did he go in, like the latter, for steaks of beef to herald the change he wished to bring on. Yet in the case of both the principle of action was the same — viz., the demolition of caste distinctions. As in Bengal they had Mr. K. M. Banerjee for their leader, so in Bombay the Movement was led by Mr. Dadoba Pandurang — two men who might be said to have been cast almost in the same mould. Both were Sanskrit Scholars of repute in their days, and were widely acquainted with Christian teachings and philosophy. The spiritual element was active in both, with this difference, though, that while Mr. Banerjee became a convert to Christianity Mr. Dadoba passed through life with strong Christian leanings at times, often wavering and doubting, as his mind had a speculative turn, which the more it thought, and felt on religious questions, loved the more to roam, rather than rest, in quest of religious truth. But it was in the capacity to lead that they resembled each other the most and the strong points of the one — his ardour, his burning sense of indignation against every form of social wrong, and his infusive spirit — enabled him in Bombay, as it had enabled the other in Calcutta, to become the centre of a group of ready followers.

Besides questioning Sir Narayan's sources of information, A. K. Priolkar has taken exception to his comparing Dadoba with K. M. Banerji, a disciple of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, and a leading member of "Youth Bengal". Priolkar thinks if there is to be any comparison of Dadoba at all, it should be with Raja Rammohan Roy and not with K. M. Banerji.¹⁰⁴ This may be true in a limited sense, for like the Raja, Dadoba too was moving towards a Universal Religion to be based on the best traditions of Hindu theism. Both

103. *Induprakash*, 25 May 1885, *loc. cit.* (10).

104. *Dadoba Pandurang*, *op. cit.* pp. 263-274; *Paramhansa Sabha Va Tiche Adhyakaha. op. cit.* pp. 45-54.

the *Humble Suggestion* (1823) of Rammohan and the *Dharmavivechan* (1843) of Dadoba declare that believers in one God are all brothers. Both advocated the rationality and perfect feasibility of theism, and exposed the absurdities of idol worship which "destroy the texture of Society". Above all, both were deeply conscious of the stagnant, degraded and corrupt state of the Indian society and made many sided efforts for the elevation of their fellow-countrymen. But in sheer quantity and quality of the achievements or the range of activity, Dadoba or any other nineteenth Century figure cannot stand comparison with Rammohan Roy.

However, Priolkar's scathing attack on Derozio and K. M. Banerji is uncalled for. These men were no less patriotic and no lesser intellectuals. It is true Banerjee became a Christian and Dadoba did not. But it cannot be denied that Dadoba too initially passed "through strong Christian leanings". Priolkar himself admits this when he says : "If Dadoba did not embrace Christianity it was because like Hamlet he was a procrastinating type. He lacked sufficient courage to accept an alien faith. Besides his stay in Bombay was not uninterrupted. Had that been the case he might have perhaps swallowed the missionary bait."¹⁰⁵ In all fairness it must be admitted that even after his becoming a Christian Missionary in 1837, K. M. Banerji continued to study Hindu philosophy and Sastric literature, and his literary output equals, if not surpasses, that of Dadoba. And what is more Krishna Mohan stuck to his radicalism to the end of his life. ¹⁰⁶

Priolkar's contemptuous attitude towards Derozio betrays a lack of understanding. He makes too much of the three questions which H. H. Wilson put to Derozio in his capacity as a member of the Inquiry Committee of the Hindu College : Do you believe in God? Do you think respect and obedience to parents form no part of moral duty? Do you think intermarriage of brother and sister innocent and allowable? Had Priolkar cared to study Derozio's replies to these questions, ¹⁰⁷ he could not have seen Derozion in such a lurid light as he does. It was not entirely Derozio's fault if some

105. A. K. Priolkar, *Paramahansa Sabha va Tiche Adhyaksha Ramchandra Balakrishna*, *op. cit.* 18.

106. For life-sketch and list of books of K. M. Banerjee (1813-1885) see Sivanath Sastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri : Brahman and Reformer : A History of the Renaissance in Bengal*, ed. Sir Roper Lethbridge, London : George Allen 1913, Appendix II, pp. 182-185; S. P. Sen (ed) *Dictionary of National Biography*, I, p. 202; *Indian Christians*, pp. 2-6; Susobhan Sarkar, *Bengal Renaissance & other Essays* New Delhi : Peoples Publishing House, 1970, pp. 23-34.

107. The full text of Derozio's reply to H. H. Wilson is to be found in the introduction to *Poems of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio : A Forgotten Anglo-Indian Poet*, by F. B. Bradley-Birt (Humphrey Millford: Oxford University Press) 1923, pp. xlv-iii; See also Elliot Walter Madge, *Henry Derozio : The Eurasian Poet and Reformer*, (ed) Subir Ray Choudhari, foreword by Susobhan Sarkar, Calcutta : Metropolitan Book Agency, 1967, pp. 8-10.

of his young followers in their youthful zest to overthrow the traditional social conventions transgressed the very limits of decency. But it should not be overlooked that the spirit of inquiry which he kindled among young Bengal intellectuals, the passionate yearning for liberty that he generated and the ardent sense of patriotism, as expressed through his poems, that he instilled into the minds of his pupils went a long way into the making of renaissance thought in Bengal. Historians have now come to accept that Derozio's "contribution to the Renaissance or Regeneration of Bengal in the nineteenth century is by no means of less value or importance than that of any other individual, not excluding Raja Ram Mohan Roy."¹⁰

What legacy did the Paramahansa Sabha leave behind? Not an easy question to answer. Admittedly the Paramahansa Sabha was the first positive expression, however, feeble, of an emerging new social consciousness in Maharashtra. But as a movement the Sabha made little impact on contemporary society. The Paramahansa failed to develop any movement outside their charmed circle; within the circle they encouraged freedom of thought and expression. The society whose avowed object was to unify a divided people, should never have been a secret organisation. It was an utter folly to attempt to remove blind faiths and time-honoured customs through a secret agency. Secrecy rendered the society to be misjudged and misunderstood by the very people it sought to reform. Secrecy also made each member of the society a coward at heart, always fearing and suspecting; fickleness and fear from within and abuse and calumny from without was its natural consequence.

The Paramahansa Sabha undertook the hazardous task of demolishing caste. It was no doubt a philanthropic mission. But the well-meaning leaders of the Sabha overlooked the fact that caste sanctified by time and usage had struck deep roots in the Hindu society and that it was impractical to try to take it by a coup-de-main. A more appropriate course to adopt would have been to concentrate on such reforms as would bring more enlightenment and less resistance, and then proceed to tackle the problem of caste through knowledge and persuasion.

In matters social, revolutionary approach seldom works. That was the lesson of the Paramahansa Sabha. The disruption of the Paramahansa Sabha acted differently on different members. Many of its members relapsed into orthodoxy, some became apathetic to reform, and yet others became Christians. But there were a few who remained firm to their ideals; in the collapse of the Sabha they read a lesson. And these idealists founded the Prarthana Samaj in 1867.

(This paper was presented to the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies held at Madurai University, Madurai, in November 1977).

108. R. C. Majumdar, "Henry Louis Vivian Derozio". *Indica* (Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture) Vol. 13 Nos. 1 & 2, March -- September 1976, p. 113.

PLATO AND POPPER*

S. OOKERJEE

The Open Society and its Enemies by K. R. Popper is an attack on Totalitarianism, and Volume I. (*The Spell of Plato*) is a minutely reasoned and sustained criticism of Plato's political theory. It is a challenge to all Platonists. It is impossible to deal with it comprehensively in this paper, and so I shall consider two central chapters which deal with the pivot of Platonic politics — the idea of Justice. The chapters are : (5) 'Nature and Convention' and (6) 'Totalitarian Justice'.

According to Popper, three of the essential characteristics of the *ordinary* meaning of Justice are :

- I. Equalitarianism
- II. Individualism
- III. Protectionism.

But for Plato, says Popper, Justice means 'that which is in the interest of the best state'¹, from which follow three characteristics corresponding to but opposed to the above three. They are :

- Ia. 'The principle of class rule and class privilege'²
- Ila. The preservation of the state's stability
- IIla. Absence of individual liberty and protection.

For this perversion of the ordinary meaning of Justice (a meaning which Plato was aware of**) Popper imputes the most sinister motives of personal political ambition. He also charges Plato of intellectual dishonesty in 'impressing upon his readers.. that all important theories have been examined', whereas really Equalitarianism is 'nowhere seriously discussed in the *Republic*' but 'treated only with scorn' and 'sneers'' (Popper, *The Spell of Plato*, pp. 93 & 94). However, the chapters I am discussing do not deal with Plato's motives. I shall therefore examine Popper's case against the three characteristics of Platonic Justice.

I. Equalitarianism

The ordinary or equalitarian idea of Justice includes, says Popper, the idea of 'an equal distribution of the burden of citizenship' 'equal treatment of the citizens before the law', and 'equal share in the advantages' (Op. Cit. p. 89), and the elimination of privileges (p. 94). In contrast, says Popper, 'Plato identifies justice with the principle of.....class privilege'³.

* A paper read before the Bombay Philosophical Society.

** Popper, Op. Cit. pp. 91 & 93.

1. K. R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), Vol. I, 'The Spell of Plato'. p. 89. 2. Ibid., p. 90
3. Ibid.

Plato subscribes to what Popper calls psychological or spiritual naturalism (ibid. pp. 72-3), which holds that the norms of human behaviour are derived from man's natural aims, and are an expression of his spiritual nature.

Plato believed that men were naturally very different, and he could thus 'justify', according to Popper, 'the natural prerogatives of the "noble" or "elect" or "wise" or of the "natural leader"!

In Plato's *Gorgias*, Callicles uses Naturalism to show that the 'stronger does with the weaker whatever he likes' and has the right to do so, while morality is an artificial device invented by the weak to defend themselves. This view of morality is attacked in the *Gorgias*, but this, Popper suggests, is because Plato is there still under the benevolent influence of Socrates. In the *Republic* it is attacked, but is also identified with 'individualism', which, for Popper, is a characteristic of Justice. In the *Laws* (Plato's last dialogue), 'Plato is less antagonistic', says Popper, 'to the rule of the strong', though he still prefers 'the rule of the wise' as a 'better principle'.

My complete answer to this will be given in my discussion of Protectionism lower down. I shall show that Plato never wavered in attacking the doctrine that 'might is right'. For the present, I shall quote the words of the Athenian (i. e. Plato himself) in the *Laws* :

Justice is said by them to be the interest of the stronger, . . . and do you suppose that tyranny or democracy, or any other conquering power, does not make the continuance of the power . . . the first or principal object of their laws? . . . This is one of those false principles of government to which we were referring . . . According to our view, such governments are not politics at all, nor are laws right which are passed for the good of particular classes and not for the good of the whole state.⁴

Popper has a quick way of dealing with such passages (Op. Cit. pp. 87 & 109). He admits that humanitarian ideas are found from time to time in Plato, but he has an explanation : Plato was 'moved to the depths of his soul' by the 'great humanitarian movement'⁵ in his time against slavery, hence these sentiments, but the rest of his writings are 'a tragic attempt to persuade his own better conscience' against it. Thus, though it is 'possible for philosophers to represent Plato as a humanitarian', this is 'based upon an ancient and deep-rooted prejudice in favour of idealizing Plato.'

Popper proceeds to cite the *Republic* to show that Plato's anti-equalitarianism is founded on Psychological Naturalism :

By nature, no two of us are exactly alike. Each has his peculiar nature, some being fit for one kind of work, and some for another. . . Surely, more will be produced and better and more easily if each

4. *Laws*, 714-5 (Tr. B. Jowett).

5. Popper, Op. Cit., p. 70

man works in one occupation. . . according to his natural gifts. The city originates because we are not self-sufficient. . . And when they share their goods with one another. . . does not every one in this way expect to further his own interest.⁶

Do you think it would do much harm to the city if a carpenter started making shoes and a shoemaker carpentering? But should one who is by nature a worker . . . manage to get into the warrior class; or should a warrior get into the guardians' class without being worthy of it; then this kind of change and underhand plotting would mean the downfall of the city. . . Changing from one class to another is a great crime against the city, and may rightly be denounced as the utmost wickedness. . . But utmost wickedness towards one's city is injustice?⁷ When each class. . . minds its own business, . . . then this will be justice.^{8*}

Popper comments (Op. Cit. p. 78) : 'In this way, the economic principle of the division of labour is introduced. . . But the principle is based here upon. . . the natural inequality of men.' 'It is introduced 'inconspicuously' and 'innocently', but is really much more sinister 'for the only really important division of labour turns out to be that between rulers and ruled, claimed to be based upon the natural inequality of masters and slaves, of wise and ignorant.' 'Briefly and bluntly,' adds Popper, '*the state is just if the ruler rules, if the worker works, and if the slave slaves.*'⁹

I would make the following points.

(1) Is it really untrue or offensive to hold that (in Popper's words) 'the natural inequality of men is one of the reasons for their living together, for their mutual gifts are complementary'¹⁰? I find it no worse than the view that men live in states only to protect themselves from each other — a view based on a much lower and more cynical conception of human nature. Nor is there anything unplausible or illogical about holding that if men *are* different in intellectual and moral endowments, the citizens *could* be divided into two large classes — those fit to rule and those quite unfit to do so. This does not mean that the latter could never qualify for it. The principle of democracy surely does not imply that all men are equally capable of being good rulers. If it does, so much the worse for democracy.' It is the manner of setting them up as rulers that is distinctive of democracy. The slogan 'Good government is no substitute for self-government' shows that the latter does not entail the former. It is a *presumption* on which democracy works that universal adult suffrage will, as things stand, result in good rulers, that the common sense of mankind will elect, on the whole, the best people.

(2) The identification of rulers and ruled with masters and slaves respectively is incorrect. Popper himself says that the opposition between

* I give Popper's translation wherever possible.

6. Ibid., p. 77

7. Ibid., p. 106

8. Ibid., p. 90

9. Ibid., p. 90

10. Ibid. p. 70

natural masters and natural slaves correspond to that between Greeks and barbarians (Op. Cit. p. 70), whereas the third or worker class of the *Republic* is made up of Greeks.

If Plato says that the state is just if 'the slave slaves', the proper answer to make would be that no man is *by nature* a slave, and therefore no such class should *exist*.

(3) It must be admitted that the attitude of both Plato and Aristotle towards slaves and barbarians is indefensible*, but the fact that they were so shockingly wrong about this particular mode of supposed inequality does not by itself show that all class divisions, and particularly those which Plato makes, are wrong. Popper seeks, by rousing the reader's indignation at Plato's views about slavery, to confuse his judgment about class rule as advocated in the *Republic*.

(4) Popper points out (Op. Cit. p. 105) that the idea of Justice which emerges from the quotations from the *Republic* is 'incompatible with' and 'hostile towards' the ordinary and humanitarian view of Justice expressed (in the *Gorgias* and even in the *Republic* itself) by means of the idea that it is better for one to suffer than to commit injustice. Injustice in the latter sense can be done by one individual to another, whereas this is impossible if injustice is understood as the 'changing of one class to another'. Popper also accuses Plato (Op. Cit. p. 97) of a 'crude juggle' with the expression "our own" in order to gain support for his own meaning of Justice by means of the ordinary meaning. Popper quotes Plato to say: "To keep and to practice what belongs to us and is our own will be generally agreed upon to be justice**", and Popper says that this, along with the premise 'My place (or my business) is my own', appears to Plato to entail the conclusion 'Thus it is just for me to keep to my place (or to practise my business)' — that is, in the context, to keep to the job for which I am most suited and to the class to which I naturally belong. It is, thus, just to preserve the class distinctions. Popper argues: 'This is about as sound as the argument: "It is just to keep and to practise what is one's own. This plan of stealing your money is my own. Thus it is just for me . . . to steal your money."'

It must be admitted that Plato uses Justice in two senses, whether with conscious design or due to muddled-headedness, I cannot say. What he has discovered as the true nature of Justice in the *Republic* (i. e. each of the three classes minding its own business) would better be described as the virtue of being well-ordered. A state in which everybody does a job to which he is suited and does it efficiently would be a well-ordered state.

* See Popper's note 13 to Ch. 5. (Op. Cit. p. 236)

** H. D. P. Lee translates the passage as, 'We have often heard . . . that justice consists in minding your own business not interfering with other people'. (Plato, *The Republic*, Penguin, 1955, Reprint, 1963, p. 181).

That state would, in addition, be a just state if it protected these persons against interference from others, *provided that* the jobs were not in themselves immoral or imposed unfairly on these persons. This function of the state would be Protectionism and is a characteristic of Justice in its ordinary sense.

Corresponding to Plato's just or well-ordered state would be the well-balanced or equanimous man, in whom, as Plato says, 'each part... is performing its proper function,' and 'where reason and its subordinates (spirit and appetite) are all agreed that reason should rule' 'That is exactly what we mean by self-control in a city or in an individual'¹¹, says Plato himself. Of course he is free to *call* it justice too, but it is sophistry or confusion to suggest that in the sentence 'The just man will not allow the three elements which make up his inward self to trespass on each other's functions', but will be 'at peace with himself'¹², 'just' is used in the same sense as it is in the sentence 'Justice is keeping to what belongs to one and doing one's own job.'¹³.

I would sum up the matter thus. Plato's special meaning of 'just' is not our ordinary meaning, and even the idea of 'keeping to what belongs to one and doing one's own job' would not ordinarily be equated with or be given as a definition of Justice. But it would constitute *one* of the features of Justice. And if a class system such as Plato visualizes were, on other grounds, accepted as politically necessary and morally unobjectionable, then the preservation of such a system would be, so far as lies in his power, a part of the citizen's duty towards the state, and so would be a part of justice.

Even if Plato were to distinguish the two senses of 'just', I believe he would still maintain there was such a vital connection between the two that the distinction would become a minor subtlety. In the just man (in Plato's sense) reason is paramount and 'issues the orders, knowing... what is best for each of the three elements and for the whole'¹⁴. Knowledge, for Plato, issues in in virtue. Therefore, such a man — the just man — would not and could not act unjustly (in the ordinary sense). 'He would be the last person,' says Plato 'to do such a thing', as, for instance, 'embezzle money' or 'commit sacrilege or theft or betray his friend or his country.' 'He will be ready for action of any kind, whether personal, financial, political or commercial.' (*Republic*, 442-3) The same view is found in the *Gorgias* :

The man who is disciplined will behave with propriety towards God and man; if he behaved improperly he would not deserve the name of disciplined¹⁵.

So Plato's full theory of Justice is not very different in the two dialogues, as Popper would have us believe. Moral action proceeding from a just man in Plato's sense, may, in a derivative and slightly different sense, be called just (i. e. in the ordinary sense).

11. *Republic* (Penguin Books, 1963, Tr. H. D. P. Lee) 441-2

12. *Ibid.*, 443

13. *Ibid.*, 433-4

14. *Ibid.*, 442

15. *Gorgias* (Penguin Books, 1960, Tr. W. Hamilton) 507

Having shown that Plato advocates class distinction and class rule, Popper quietly adds 'class privilege'¹⁶. If class privilege were coupled by Plato with class rule, his theory would be totalitarian, but class rule does not entail class privilege, and Popper's showing that Plato advocated class rule does not, by itself, prove that he advocated class privilege. Plato explicitly denies it: 'Our purpose in founding our state was not to promote the happiness of a single class, but, so far as possible, of the whole community.'¹⁷ And the rulers are not to be 'idlers enjoying themselves in something more like a fun-fair than a city'¹⁸. Popper himself refers to such ideas, and writes.

Even writers who criticize Plato believe that his political doctrine, in spite of certain similarities, is clearly distinguished from modern totalitarianism by these aims of his, the happiness of the citizens, and the rule of justice.¹⁹

But, 'in spite of such arguments', writes Popper, 'I believe that Plato's political programme... is fundamentally identical with it (totalitarianism).'¹⁹ Thus Popper has decided to discount all evidence to the contrary, extensive as it is in the *Republic*.

What, then, are the privileges and prerogatives of Plato's rulers? Before enumerating them, Popper says that 'the watch-dogs must be strictly separated from the human cattle'.²⁰ These words, at once help to create an attitude unfavourable to Plato. In fact, however, the context in which the term 'watch-dog' appears shows, in the rulers, qualities quite other than those which Popper is concerned to exhibit. Plato writes,

There is a certain similarity between the qualities needed in a good watch-dog and those needed in our guardinas. I mean keen perceptions and speed in pursuit, and also strength to fight if he catches his quarry....

But if they have these qualities... won't they be aggressive... to each other and to the rest of the community? We have failed to press our analogy far enough... For have you not observed that it is characteristic of a well-bred dog to behave with the utmost gentleness to those it... knows, but to be savage to strangers?²¹

Popper gives no reference for the term 'human cattle' and I have been unable to find it. But if used in the same context, it would mean the civilians who need to be protected by the warriors from external aggression. Thus by expecting to arouse certain unfavourable associations in the reader's mind by using 'watch-dog' out of its context and 'cattle' (which has no context) Popper gives a twist to Plato's meaning from the start.

The so-called privileges of the rulers are given by Popper as follows:

(i) Plato's 'exclusive interest in this class'.

16. Popper, *Op. Cit.*, p. 90

17. *Republic*, 420

18. *Ibid.*, 421

19. *Op. Cit.*, p. 87

20. *Ibid.*, p. 86

21. *Republic*, 375

- (ii) the 'rigid rules for breeding and educating this class'.
- (iii) the 'strict supervision of the interests of its members',
- (iv) their 'monopoly of military virtues and training',
- (v) 'the right to receive education of any kind'.
- (vi) their exclusion from activities like 'earning money,'
- (vii) a censorship of all their 'intellectual activities', and a 'continual propaganda aiming at moulding their minds'. (Op. Cit. 86-7).

Plato's exclusive interest in the rulers can be easily explained. On them he believes, depends the welfare of the whole state, so that, as a political theorist he holds it very necessary to make provisions which would ensure the proper working of this class. As a political theorist he does not feel called upon to lay down a way of life and an educational programme for the ordinary citizens. This does not mean that 'education of any kind' is denied to them. I cannot find any reference in the *Republic* for such an idea.

'Strict supervision' of the rulers' 'interests' (i. e. desires and pursuits), 'rigid rules' for their breeding and education, and a censorship of their intellectual activities, military training and exclusion from earning money—these would not normally be regarded as privileges. Plato may be a puritanical and somewhat priggish taskmaster, but it is the rulers, the special class, who bear the brunt, and not, as in totalitarianism, the ordinary citizens. For the rulers, life is no picnic.

Regarding education, I quote from Plato :

By maintaining a sound system of education you produce citizens of good character, and citizens of sound character, with the advantage of a good education, produce in turn children better than themselves.²²

And continuing about education :

Our children's amusements must be more strictly controlled; because once they lose their discipline, it becomes impossible to produce good, orderly citizens....²²

The educational measures seem to be aimed (whether they hit the mark or not) at producing virtues no less required in the young ones of the human cattle than in those of the watch-dogs. Till the end of this part (IV of Bk. V) there appears no distinction made between rulers and ruled as regards education.

Some further 'privileges' of the rulers may be listed (*Republic*, 416--20):

- (viii) 'they shall have no private property beyond the barest essentials',
- (ix) 'none of them shall possess...property to which all have not the right of entry',
- (x) 'their food shall be provided by the citizens' and 'shall be suitable for men living under the rigours of military training.'

22. Ibid., 424

- (xi) 'they shall live together like soldiers in a camp'
- (xii) 'they alone..of all the citizens are forbidden to..handle silver or gold', even to 'wear them as ornaments',
- (xiii) 'they can't go for a holiday abroad',
- (xiv) there is to be a community of wives and children in the ruler class: parents are not to know their children or children their parents (Ibid. 457--62).

Under these conditions very few would offer to be rulers, and Plato holds that by laying them down he has provided against unworthy rulers, with their 'struggles for political power, which they treat as some great prize' (*Republic*, 520). He writes (Ibid., 520--21) :

The state whose rulers come to their duties with least enthusiasm is bound to have the best and most tranquil government. The only men to get power should be men who do not love it. Who else then, are we to compel to undertake the responsibilities of ruling, if it is not to be those who know most about good government and who yet value other things more highly than politics and its rewards ?

II. Individualism.

The next essential feature of the ordinary meaning of Justice is Individualism—that is, that the individual human being is a self-sufficient unit and has certain unalienable rights. As against this, says Popper, 'the ideal state appears to Plato the perfect individual' 'because of its self-sufficiency'. It is, adds Popper, 'a kind of super-organism or Leviathan', and the individual, is lower than the state, and a kind of imperfect copy of it.' This is anti-individualism. Popper admits that 'Plato does not defend the theory, and indeed hardly formulates it explicitly', but Popper can see it 'clearly enough implied' in what Plato does say. (Popper, *Op. Cit.* p. 79). Popper gives a number of arguments in support of his contention.

(1) 'The fundamental analogy between the state and the human individual is one of the standard topics of the *Republic*.²³'

This, however, does not bear out Popper's contention. Socrates had been trying to discover the nature of Justice, and has had to reject a number of incorrect views. A new method strikes him as being possibly more fruitful. 'A community is larger than an individual', he says: 'we may therefore find that the amount of justice in the larger entity is greater, and so easier to recognize. I accordingly propose that we start our enquiry with the community, and then proceed to the individual and see if we can find in the smaller entity anything corresponding to..the larger'.²⁴ This procedural move is compatible with *any* theory of Justice he might have reached (e. g. that a just state respects the rights of other states, and so a just man respects the rights of other

23. *Op. Cit.*, p. 79

24. *Republic*, 368-9.

men). From the hypothesis that an individual is a smaller copy of the state, it need not follow that he is also an inferior copy or merely a tool in the service of the state. Plato does say in the *Republic* that 'the good man's life is the most complete in itself'²⁵, but Popper dismisses this as 'one of the few... passages reminiscent of Socratic teaching' and 'in direct contradiction to the main doctrine of the *Republic*'²⁶. I believe that the passage could be shown to be quite consistent with that doctrine. (It would, however, take me too far.)

(2) 'Plato teaches that the human individual cannot be self-sufficient, owing to the limitations inherent in human nature... They can reach perfection only through the state and in the state'²⁷. This refers to the theory of the division of labour discussed above. The passage from the *Republic* referred to by Popper reads thus :

Society originates... because the individual is not self-sufficient, but has many needs, which he can't supply himself... And when we have got hold of enough people to satisfy our many varied needs... a large number of partners and helpers together;... we give the resultant settlement the name of a community or state... And in the community all mutual exchanges are made with the benefit of the partners in view...²⁸.

Plato goes on to point out that it would be better if a person skilled in a certain job should supply the whole community with that particular commodity, than that each person should devote a bit of his time to producing food for himself, another bit to building himself a house, another to making his own shoes, and so on. (*Republic*, 369-70).

From these words and ideas of Plato's, Popper concludes that the 'state is higher than the individual since only the state can be self-sufficient'²⁹. This is true, but only in the sense that a whole made up of parts is greater than any of its parts taken singly. Popper adds that Plato's state is able 'to make good the... imperfection of the individual'²⁹. True again, but it is only the other individuals and their diverse activities which supplements every individual's activity and supplies his needs.

Popper calls Plato's political theory Holism — that is that the state is 'no mere assembly of individuals but a "natural" unit of a higher order.'³⁰ In support of this he quotes and refers to further passages in Plato.

(3) Popper quotes from the *Republic* :

The law... is designed to bring about the welfare of the state as a whole, fitting the citizens into one unit, by means of both persuasion and force. It makes them all share in whatever benefit each of them can contribute to the community. And it is actually the law which creates for the state

25. *Ibid.*, 387

26. *Op. Cit.*, N. 2, to Ch. V.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 76

28. *Republic*, 369.

29. *Op. Cit.*, p. 76

30. *Ibid.*, p. 80

men of the right frame of mind; not for the purpose of letting them loose, so that everybody can go his own way, but...to utilize all for welding the city together.³¹

This passage does contain an extreme of state-control on individual lives, but it does not prove Holism. Popper connects the passage with another from the *Laws*: Every artist...executes the part for the sake of the whole and not the whole for the sake of the part³².

Elsewhere Popper gives the simile of cogs in a clockwork -- each citizen must be fit for some specific job, and then must be fitted...into its right place and must retain that place' (Op. Cit. pp. 107-8). These similes fairly accurately illustrate, I think, the meaning of Plato's passage above. It is true that Plato does not explicitly mention that the citizens may perform activities other than those which contribute to the community, and so he does give the impression that their life consists solely in being good cogs for the smooth working of the machine. Besides, a citizen might rightly resent being made 'by force' to contribute, and only contribute, to the welfare of the community. But if the similes are to be taken seriously, they point away from Holism, because the work of art or the clockwork is *not* a separate unit of a higher order over and above its parts.

Further, although the above passage refers to all citizens, its context indicates that while writing it Plato had in mind the Guardians, who are assumed to have had a vision of the Good' and might therefore be reluctant to take on the responsibilities of mundane government (*Republic*, 519). Immediately after the quoted passage, Socrates continue,

We shan't be unfair to our philosophers (the Guardians), but shall be quite justified in compelling them to have some care...for others.... You must therefore each (he addresses them) descend in turn and live with your fellows....³³

Thus it is not the ordinary citizens but the would-be rulers who are really being persuaded or forced to be cogs in the clockwork!

Regarding the passage about the artist quoted above, Popper himself admits that the "whole" referred to...is not the *state* but the *world*, and, I may mention, it was done in the context of a religious discussion. But Popper says there is not doubt that the underlying tendency of this cosmological holism is a political holism.³⁴ Popper also tells us that the passage about the artist is 'a shorter version' of a passage from the *Republic* (Op. Cit. p. 242). If we turn to this reference, we find that it is, once again, all about the Guardians, and contains sentiments like the following (*Republic*, 420-21):

We are...trying to construct what we think is a happy community by securing the happiness not of a select minority, but of the whole;

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81

33. *Republic*, 520.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 80

34. Op. Cit., N. 35 to Ch. V.

and, comparing the state with a statue, Plato writes, 'You should look rather to see whether we have made the whole beautiful by giving each part its due.'

(4) While, on the one hand, Popper holds that Plato believed in Holism—that is that the state is a higher unit than its parts—he also finds in Plato 'the identification of the fate of the state with that of the ruling class'³⁵; that means that the state *is* one of its parts.

If this is to serve as further support for the view that Plato's theory was anti-individualistic, it must be shown that the ordinary citizens are to be tools in the service of the rulers and of the rulers only, and that the happy state would simply be one in which the rulers are prosperous and happy.

The many passages already quoted explicitly reject this idea. Popper himself writes that Plato's 'ideal was not the maximum exploitation of the working classes by the upper class'. But Popper goes on,

The reason, however, which he (Plato) gives for the need to keep the exploitation within limits, is again purely utilitarian. It is the interest of stabilizing the class rule. Should the guardians try to get too much, he (Plato) argues, then they will in the end have nothing at all³⁶.

Popper quotes the relevant passage from the *Republic* (466) :

If they are not satisfied with a life of stability and security...and are tempted, by their power, to appropriate for themselves, all the wealth of the city, then surely they are bound to find out how wise Hesiod was when he said, 'the half is more than the whole'*.

According to a Platonic translator, H. D. Lee, this saying means 'making the best of what you have'.³⁷ By itself it may be interpreted as recommending restraint as a policy or evil necessity, or it may be interpreted as a moral truth. Taken along with the following words of Plato, the former interpretation appears far-fetched:

It would be the most dreadful disgrace...to keep sheep dogs (such)... that...hunger or some bad trait or other led them to worry the sheep and behave more like wolves than dogs...We must therefore take every possible precaution to prevent our auxiliaries...behaving more like savage tyrants than partners and friends.³⁸ If you get, in public affairs, men who are so morally impoverished that they...hope to snatch some compensation for their own inadequacy from a political career, there can never be good government. They start fighting for power, and the consequent...domestic conflicts ruin both them and society.³⁹

* H. D. P. Lee's translation of this passage runs thus: 'If he (a guardian) tires of the restraint and security of the ideal life we have drawn for him, and is misled by *some extravagant idea of happiness* into using his power's etc. (Itals. mine). This seems unlike the view of a man for whom restraint is a matter of policy.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 86

36. *Ibid.*, p. 108

37. *Republic*, 223

38. *Ibid.*, 416

39. *Ibid.*, 521

40. *Op. Cit.*, p. 108

Popper, however, believes that 'even this tendency to restrict the exploitation of class privileges is a fairly common ingredient of totalitarianism.'⁴⁰

(5) In further support of the view that Plato is an anti-individualist, Popper quotes or refers to (N. 35 to Ch. 5, Op. Cit. p. 242) a number of other passages from the *Republic* and the *Laws*. I shall consider four of the most important.

i) From the *Laws* (942);

The greatest principle of all is that nobody...should ever be without a leader. Nor should the mind of anybody be habituated to letting him to anything at all on his own initiative...But in war and in the midst of peace—to his leader he shall direct his eye, and follow him faithfully. And even in the smallest matters he should stand under leadership. For example, he should get up, or move, or wash, or take his meals...only if he has been told to do so...He should teach his soul, by long habit, never to dream of acting independently, and to become utterly incapable of it. In this way the life of all will be spent in total community. There is no law...which is superior to this, or better and more effective in ensuring salvation and victory in war. *And in times of peace, and from the earliest childhood on* should it be fostered — this habit of ruling others, and of being ruled by others. And every trace of anarchy should be utterly eradicated from *all the life of all the men*, and even of the wild beasts which are subject to men.⁴¹

The passage opens with the sentence 'Now for expeditions of war much consideration and many laws are required', and Popper admits that it 'deals primarily with military expeditions and with military discipline'^{41A}. But he says that 'Plato leaves no doubt that these same militarist principles should be adhered to not only in war, but also "in peace, and from the earliest childhood on" Even if Plato is only talking about the soldiers' life, his words are strong, but if he really means them to refer to 'all the life of all the men' — civilians included—they are terribly reactionary and totally indefensible. The crucial question is, Do the words 'in times of peace, and from the earliest childhood' refer to the warrior class alone or do they refer to all the citizens? In the sentence 'In this way the life of all will be spent in total community' instead of 'the life of all', Jowett writes 'of all soldiers', but this may well be one of those instances of idealizing Plato, when, according to Popper, 'drastic remarks of Plato's which do not fit the translator's views of what a humanitarian should say are...toned down'⁴². I am not competent to decide this question. However, the quoted passage is soon followed by: 'Let the young man imagine that he hears in what has preceded the praises of the military life.'⁴³.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 103

42. *Ibid.*, p. 88

43. *Laws*, 943

- ii) Popper refers to *Laws*, 875. I give Jowett's translation. Mankind must have laws...or their life would be as bad as that of the most savage beast...No man's nature is able to know what is best for human society; or knowing, always able and willing to do what is best...Both the public and private good...is greater when the state and not the individual is first considered...Although a person knows in the abstract that this is true, yet if he be possessed of absolute...power, he will never remain firm in his principles... Human nature will be always drawing him into avarice and selfishness,...and so...will at last fill with evils both him and the whole city. For if a man were born so divinely gifted that he could naturally apprehend the truth, he would have no need of laws... , for there is no law...above knowledge...But then there is no such...anywhere...; and therefore we must choose law and order, which are second best.

I see in this passage a plea for the Rule of law, and it could well form the preamble to a penal code or other legal enactment. Besides, it is not meant only for the ordinary citizens, but the rulers also come within its scope. Earlier in the *Laws* it is said that the government must be entrusted to him 'who is most obedient to the laws of the state', 'for that state in which the law is subject and has no authority, I perceive to be on the highway to ruin; but...the state in which the law is above the rulers...has salvation.' (715).

iii) Popper refers to *Laws*, 923, where, discussing testation, Plato suggests that 'a man should not be allowed to dispose of his property in all respects as he liked'. The legislator must regard a man's property as belonging to his whole family, and regard 'both family and possessions as belonging to the state'. Hence he must 'legislate with a view to the whole, considering what is best both for the state and for the family, esteeming...the feelings of an individual at a lower rate'.

This might appear to us to be a case of extreme interference in a man's personal affairs, and in the hands of unscrupulous rulers the principle spells danger for the individual. Some of the words of the passage seem particularly repugnant to us who take it for granted that one's right to the property one has amassed is absolute and unalienable. Plato holds that possessors are 'a common source of wickedness'⁴⁴. He writes about the Guardians :

If they acquire private property in land, houses or money, they will become men of business instead of guardians, and harsh tyrants instead of partners in their dealing with their fellow citizens, with whom they will live on terms of mutual hatred and suspicion.^{44A}

The idea is not very different from that which prompted Christ to ask the rich man to give away all his money and follow Him. Plato is less hard on the

44. *Republic*, 417

ordinary citizen than on the Guardians, for on the latter depends the safety of the state. But the avarice of the citizen must also, he believes, be checked. Popper constantly disregards Plato's motives. Plato fears that, if testation were not state-regulated, individuals, 'tossed on the sea of disease and old age', might be persuaded by crafty relatives to dispose of their property 'in a way that is not for the best' (*Laws*, 922-3).

We must also remember that in making his suggestions, Plato has in mind the philosopher rulers who have been cured of the desire for acquiring personal wealth, and, if not quite cured, are in any case forbidden by the laws to acquire it.

iv) It is one of Popper's contentions (*Op. Cit.* pp. 100-101) that Plato identified egoism with individualism and altruism with collectivism. Popper writes, 'Plato suggests that if you cannot sacrifice your interests for the sake of the whole, then you are selfish.' I agree with Popper that one can be an individualist having what are called self-regarding virtues, and yet be an altruist. He quotes from the *Laws* to show that Plato ruled out this possibility :

There is common property (in Plato's ideal state) of wives, of children, and of all chattels. And everything possible has been done to eradicate from our life...all that is private and individual. So far as it can be done, even those things which nature herself has made private and individual have somehow become the common property of all. Our very eyes and ears and hands seem to see, to hear, and to act, as if they belonged... to the community. All men are moulded to be unanimous in the utmost degree in bestowing praise and blame, and they even rejoice and grieve about the same things, and at the same time.⁴⁵

There is a similar passage in the *Republic* (462) which is referred to by Popper, and from which I quote some parts :

Is there anything worse for a state than to be split and disunited? or anything better than cohesion and unity?...So the best run state is one in which as many people as possible use the words 'mine' and 'not mine' in the same sense of the same things....

Such a community will regard the individual who experiences gain or loss as a part of itself, and be glad or sorry as a whole accordingly....

These two passages may be interpreted as a strong plea for complete communism where all private property and all individuality are eliminated. Even here, however, it must be noted that both passages refer to the entire body of citizens, including the Guardians. The non-guardians are not told to be unanimous in simply following the Guardians and extolling their every act.

The passages, however, may also be interpreted as holding up an ideal of human nature and society. Except in the case of the Guardians, Plato

45. Popper, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 102-3 *Laws*, 739.

nowhere suggests the abolishing of private property. Even in the *Laws* he harps on its equitable distribution, to the consideration of which he devotes two or three sections (736-8). The passages could therefore plausibly be taken to stress the moral and emotional unanimity of the citizens of the almost-perfect state, who have reached such a level of moral consciousness that they praise and blame the same things, and have developed such sentiments of mutual sympathy, that the gain or loss that befall any individual affects these whole community as it affects himself. We do sympathise in the misfortune of our close friends and share in their joys, and at times of great national or world calamities it is not unknown for a people to feel 'sorry as a whole' At such times, to be 'unanimous in the utmost degree in bestowing praise and blame,' and being 'glad or sorry' does not appear an immoral thing. From this point of view, the words about 'mine' and 'not mine' may be innocuous. It is only the sheep-like and uncritical unanimity of a people under the spell of a despot that is despicable. The kind of society Plato might have visualised did, we are told, actually exist on a much smaller scale in the garden of Epicurus.

(6) According to Popper, Plato's anti-individualism is connected with his belief that moral laws are 'natural'; and this again, is linked up with his 'nostalgia' for a tribal collectivist society, in which individual freedom did not exist (p. 79).

Popper argues as follows : (i) Normative laws are distinct from natural laws and express individual freedom, (ii) no such distinction exists in tribal society, (iii) Plato advocates such a society; therefore Plato denies normative laws and individual freedom.

i) 'A normative law, whether it is... a legal enactment or a moral commandment, can be enforced by men', and is 'alterable', whereas 'a law of nature is unalterable; there are no exceptions to it', and is 'beyond human control' (p. 58).

ii) A 'primitive tribal or "closed" society... lives in a charmed circle of unchanging taboos, of laws and customs which are felt to be as inevitable 'as the rising of the sun' (p. 57).

Now, (ii) may be admitted, but as regards (i) Popper is still labouring under the archaic conception of normative laws, whereby they are 'prohibitions and commandments', 'rules as forbid or demand certain modes of conduct', and his examples are the Ten Commandments or the rules regulating Parliamentary elections (p. 57). As such, they are 'based on decisions or conventions', and are 'imposed and enforced by man' (p. 60). In opposing the conventional morality of the Sophists, Plato may be said to uphold the view that moral laws are 'natural', but one must be careful to see what this exactly means, and not rush into concluding that he identifies moral laws with the natural 'unalterable' uniformities of positive science.

A discussion of normative laws in any recent book on Logic will show that they are in no sense *imposed* upon anybody, but are discovered as somehow *obtaining* in the subject-matter. As an example, I quote from *An introduction to Logic** by D. Mitchell.

The axioms which serve as premises are necessary laws of logic, and the theorems derived from them follow in accordance with other necessary logical laws or principles. The axioms are not arbitrarily selected or prescribed; that is to say, they do not hold good because a logical innovator has laid them down. They are not *rules* in the sense of the word 'rules' in which we speak of 'rules of a game'. It makes no sense to speak of such rules as necessary or true: they hold because the inventor of the game has decided that they *shall* hold.**

To Popper's contention that normative laws can be 'good or bad, right or wrong', but that 'only in a metaphorical sense can (they) be called "true" or "false"' (p. 58), the answer may again be put in Mitchell's words :

They are rules in so far as they prescribe the ways within the system in which demonstrations are to be carried out. But they are only prescribable because they are, independently of any logician's prescription, valid forms of inference....The rule that permits uniform substitution on variables can only be a rule because it expresses a *true* principle of logic.***

If these words of Mitchell hold in the case of Symbolic Logic, they would apply much more so in the case of traditional logic, which investigates actual common-sense or scientific thinking. And they could be shown to hold in the case of moral laws also. In fact, Popper himself appears to agree with this view, for he says that Critical Dualism (the recognition of the distinction between natural and normative laws), which he favours, has nothing 'to do with the assertion that norms, since they are conventional...are therefore "merely arbitrary"' (p. 61). Nevertheless, he still persists that while 'we can compare the existing normative laws (or social institutions) with some standard norms,' these standards are still 'of our making in the sense that our decision in favour of them is our own decision', that *we* have 'decided (they) are worthy of being realized', and that 'we alone carry the responsibility for adopting them.' He adds, 'The standards are not to be found in nature.' (p. 61).

Popper's mistake arises from two sources. (a) By moral laws he only seems to mean conventional rules (such as, say 'One should not be rude at a party' or 'One should not lecture in a bathing suit') and 'social, institutions (like that of private property or monogamous marriage). He completely ignores decisions which are the result of moral judgments in matters of conscience or solutions, according to our lights, of moral perplexities — decisions

* London : Hutchinson University Library, 1962.

** Op. Cit., p. 57.

*** Ibid., p. 58

such as 'I must tell the truth even though he may throw me out' or 'I must not be mean and hypocritical'. These, and others such as these, are decisions, but it would be difficult to explain them as 'conventions' on a par with the ones given above. One makes and carries out such decisions because one believes they are right and not because they are 'enforced by men.' Even if they could be 'broken without unpleasant repercussions if one (could) only escape the sanctions imposed by one's fellow-men' (p. 60), a good man would not break them. That he may well break them, was the 'morality' of the Sophists, against which immoral view of morality — the view that morality requires external sanctions, that it is expediency — Plato reacted and considered moral laws to be 'natural'. A good man will obey moral laws because he sees them to be in keeping with his nature, to express that nature at its highest. Popper himself is very unsure of his own position :

It must, of course, be admitted that the view that norms are conventional or artificial indicates that there will be a certain element of arbitrariness involved, i. e. that there may be different systems of norms between which there is not much to choose (a fact that has been duly emphasized by Protagoras). But artificiality by no means implies full arbitrariness. Mathematical calculi, for instance, or symphonies, or plays, are highly artificial, yet it does not follow that one calculus or symphony or play is just as good as any other.⁴⁶

Does it even imply that to write good symphonies or plays is to practice a convention laid down and 'enforced by men'? Just as a good symphony issues from the aesthetic nature of the composer, so a good action is the expression of a man's moral *nature*—it is natural to him.

Popper is aware that Plato means something special when he regards moral laws to be 'natural'. He writes that Plato.

attacks the materialists who say "that...all normative laws are altogether unnatural and artificial and based upon superstitions which are not true." Against this view, he shows first, that it is...the soul which truly "exists by nature",...and from this he concludes that order, and law, must also be by nature, since they spring from the soul....

"laws and purposeful institutions exist by nature...since they are born of reason and true thought."⁴⁷

In spite of this 'spiritual version of naturalism' (as Popper calls it), he wants to foist upon Plato the identification of normative laws and the natural uniformities of physical science.

b) This springs from Popper's second mistake, namely, that conventions and natural physical laws are exhaustive alternatives. When he writes that 'standards are not to be found in nature' (p. 61), he is conceiving 'nature'

46. Popper, *Op. Cit.*, p. 65

47. *Ibid.*, p. 78, The Quotations from Plato are from the *Laws*.

exclusively in terms of physical nature. Of course norms are not to be found in nature, but those who, like Plato, hold that moral laws – and logical laws too— are *not* prescriptions, ‘prohibitions or commandments’, speak of them as ‘natural’ in quite a different sense. That there cannot be any *such* ‘natural’ laws requires a separate proof, which Popper has nowhere furnished.

iii) According to Popper, ‘Plato was longing for the lost unity of tribal life.’ His holism, he writes, is ‘closely related to the tribal collectivism’ in which ‘it is “natural” for the individual to subserve the whole’ (p. 80). Popper seeks to support this thesis by trying to show that Plato justifies tribal collectivism by his theory of Forms. Popper writes.

Since it seems to be the task of science in general to examine the true nature of its objects, it is the task of a social or political science to examine the nature of human society, and of the state. But the nature of a thing, according to Plato, is its origin; or at least it is determined by its origin. Thus the method of any science will be the investigation of the origin of things (of their ‘causes’). This principle, when applied to the science of society and of politics, leads to the demand that the origin of society and of the state must be examined. ⁴⁸.

Thus, according to Popper, when Plato investigates the ‘essence’ or ‘Form’ or ‘Idea’ of the state — i. e. the perfect state — he arrives at the tribal collectivist society, for, says Popper, the Form or Idea of anything ‘is its forefather, its primogenitor’ (p. 74).

For this view Popper gives no references, and there is nothing in Plato to validate such an interpretation. and interpretation which is not borne out even if we concentrate only on the early Dialogues and ignore the later, maturer ones, of which the *Parmenides* explicitly repudiates any tendency to interpret the Forms as entities of any kind. In the early Dialogues (including the *Republic*, the Forms are regarded as entities, as perfect models, of which individual objects are copies. But these models are ‘laid up in heaven’ and are not earthly primogenitors at all. The Form of the Bed is not the first rude sleeping contraption that some carpenter may have made, the Form of the Bicycle is not the boneshaker. The Form of the Bicycle is the *ideal* bicycle which does not actually exist and never did, but to which our modern bicycles approximate much more closely than did the boneshaker.

If we look in the *Republic* for evidence that might have been given by Popper for his thesis that the Idea of the state is the primogenitor of all existing states, we might pause at Book II, 369-74 and at Books V, 445-9, and VIII, 543ff.

In Book II, 369-74, Socrates describes a ‘community coming into existence’ to ‘see how justice and injustice originate in it’. He begins with a very simple primitive society, which gets formed because ‘the individual is not self-sufficient’.

48. Ibid. p. 75

It is generally agreed that 'his account, though historical in form, is not seriously so meant', for 'he is concerned to find out what are the underlying principles of any society, even the simplest' (H. D. P. Lee, *Op. Cit.*, p. 100). The apparently historical account is really a philosophical investigation into the ingredients which go to make up a state. This simple primitive community which Plato describes is, in fact, very different from the ideal state 'laid up in heaven' which he visualizes. Of course, there are certain points common to both, such as a certain measure of austerity and a merging of the individual into the whole. But the organization, the class-divisions, the nature of the Guardians, their education, et cetera, are absent from the primitive society. H. D. P. Lee even writes, 'Though he (Socrates) professes to regard this primitive society as the ideal, the description is commonly regarded as an ironic parody of the "simple life" theories of Plato's day' (*Tbid.*, p. 100).

A similar interpretation can be put upon the passages of Books V and VIII and is, in fact, the most natural one. I shall quote the relevant bits :

There are as many types of character as there are kinds of political constitution.

There is only one kind of goodness, but many kinds of wickedness, though there are four in particular. The first kind of political constitution is the one we have been describing. . . . This, then, is my standard of a good state. . . . and of a good man. And by that standard all other forms of social organization and of individual character are bad or defective, and we can classify their faults under four headings.⁴⁹

Again,

Anyhow, you were saying that if this was the right kind of state, the others must be wrong. And ... you said that the others were four in number, and that it was worth discussing how they and the characters corresponding to them had gone wrong, so that, having examined the various types of character and ranged them in order of goodness and badness. . . .⁵⁰

Now, these statements do not, even apparently, suggest that Plato is proposing to describe a temporal process of degeneration from the ideal state — the tribal society — which is the primogenitor of the imperfect states that follow. When he comes to describe individually these imperfect states, he does indeed write in the following vein :

Then let us try. . . . to describe how our ideal state turns into a timocracy (*Republic*, 545).

We must first describe how oligarchy originates from timocracy (*Ibid.*, 550).

But, in spite of this, it is still possible to hold that 'Plato is concerned with a moral degeneration, and the historical framework should not be taken too

49. *Republic*, 445 & 449.

50. *Ibid.*, 544

literally' (H. D. P. Lee., *Op. Cit.*, p. 302). In any case, even if it is so taken, the primogenitor here is the visualized ideal state (or an actual approximation to that) and not the primitive tribal society.

III. Protectionism

According to the ordinary meaning of Justice, 'what I demand from the state', writes Popper, 'is protection...for my own freedom and for other people's, and 'I do not wish to live at the mercy of anybody who has the larger fists or the bigger guns.'⁵¹ In the Platonic notion of Justice it is implied, writes Popper,

That the state itself can never be wrong in any of its actions, as long as it is strong; that the state has the right, not only to do violence to its citizens, should that lead to an increase of strength, but also attack other states. . . .⁵²

Popper himself is 'quite ready to see his own freedom of action somewhat curtailed by the state', and all that he demands is that 'the state must limit the freedom of the citizens as equally as possible'. He even grants 'a certain amount of state control in education'⁵³ He asserts that his theory has nothing to do with the *policy of strict non-intervention*, and that 'liberalism and state-interference are not opposed to each other'. All this being granted in principle, the extent of state-control becomes a matter of expediency and 'cannot', as Popper says, 'be solved by a cut and dried formula'. (*Op. Cit.* pp. 110-111). Looked at in this light, it was not necessary for Popper to have contrasted (*Ibid.* p. 102) the statement of Pericles ('We do not feel called upon to nag at our neighbour if he chooses to go his own way'.) which he favours, with that of Plato that the law is 'not for the purpose of letting them loose, so that everybody can go his own way'. Plato believes that the state is perfectly within its right to limit the freedom of a citizen to carry on a trade for which he is not fit. 'Merely to pick up the tools of any . . . trade does not turn a man into a craftsman'⁵⁴, says Plato, and, believing that governing is also an art—the most important of the arts—he is afraid that

if someone who belongs by nature to the class of artisans and businessmen is puffed by wealth or popular support . . . and tries to do an auxiliary's job; or if an Auxiliary who is not up to it tries to take on the functions . . . of a Ruler; . . . or if a single individual tries to do all these jobs . . . —this sort of mutual . . . interference spells destruction to our state.⁵⁵

Plato might be blamed for going too far in imposing limitations, but he does not suggest that the state will limit the citizens' freedom unequally or grant privileges to its favourites. There is provision even for the demotion of unfit Guardians.

51. Popper, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 109-10.

52. *Ibid.*, 107

53. *Ibid.*, p. 111

54. *Republic*, 374

55. *Ibid.*, 434

One of Popper's strongest arguments is to show that for Plato Protectionism as well as Individualism are 'identical with the ruthless...Selfishness of Thrasymachus', and he says that 'the elaboration of its allegedly selfish basis is the whole of Plato's argument against protectionism', that he had no better argument, and that he tried to dismiss it 'by an appeal to our moral sentiments', our 'idea of justice' and our 'feelings of decency'. Popper finds Plato's method 'clever' but 'dishonest' (Op. Cit. pp. 118-9). I find Popper's account to be the result either of confusion or dishonesty.

According to Popper, Plato 'expounded' Protectionism in the *Gorgias* and the *Republic*, but he finds a 'tremendous difference' in Plato's stand in the two dialogues (Op. Cit. p. 116). In the *Gorgias*, says, Popper, Protectionism is 'defended' by Plato, because he was still under the humanitarian influence of Socrates. In the *Republic* it is attacked and destroyed.

I shall show that there is absolutely no difference in Plato's earlier and later stands. What he does destroy in both dialogues is a false view of Justice. Protectionism, as such, is never attacked.

Popper argues (Op. Cit. p. 116),

In the *Gorgias*, the theory is presented by Callicles as one which he opposes; and since he also opposes Socrates, the protectionist theory is, by implication...defended by Plato.

This is a poor argument. Because A opposes a theory x and also opposes another theory, y, of B's, it does not follow that B defends x. This *would* follow if and only if x were entailed by y.

Popper proceeds (Ibid.)

But in the *Republic*, the same theory is presented...as an elaboration and development of the views of Thrasymachus, i. e. of the nihilist who takes here the place of Callicles...and Socrates as the here...destroys this devilish doctrine of selfishness.

I shall show that the 'protectionism' which Callicles opposes is not at all entailed or held by Socrates in the *Gorgias*, and that, as an account of Justice, it is the same travesty or caricature which Thrasymachus gives and Socrates destroys in the *Republic*. Popper, it seems to me, makes clever play with the word 'opposes'.

The protectionist doctrine that is being talked about by Popper is stated by Callicles in the *Gorgias* as follows :

The laws are made by the great mass of people which consists mainly of the weak men. And they make the laws to protect themselves and their interests. Thus they deter the stronger men...who might get the better of them, from doing so. ⁵⁶

56. Popper, Op. Cit., pp. 116-7.

This view is stated by Callicles (with 'open scorn and hostility') as a true picture of the nature of moral laws, because Socrates has been arguing that moral laws must be obeyed by all. In the sense of being universally obligatory, Socrates holds they are *natural*, and Callicles opposes this by saying they are only conventional, invented by the weaklings to defend themselves against the naturally strong, who have a natural right to do what they like (*Gorgias*, 483-4). Callicles thus subscribes to 'might is right', and considers morality or what we call justice to be a mere policy, a matter of expediency. Surely Socrates does not, and does not have to, subscribe to this definition of morality simply because he opposes Callicles' view that moral laws are not obligatory on the strong man. This protectionist theory which is 'expounded' in the *Gorgias* is a travesty of morality and justice; it is the view on which Callicles' 'doctrine of selfishness' is *based*, and is therefore the view of morality which, not Socrates, but Callicles holds. In one sense Callicles opposes it, for he does not think the strong man should respect moral laws; in another sense he does not oppose it — he does not oppose it as a true account of morality he propounds it as such. Popper distorts the facts when he writes that it is 'no longer defended'⁵⁷ in the *Republic*: it never was defended.

It is exactly in the same sense that the theory is an 'elaboration and development of the views of Thrasymachus'. This is admitted by Popper :

This theory, whose humanitarian character has been indicated in the *Gorgias*, is now (in the *Republic*) made . . . to appear . . . as the outcome of the repulsive . . . doctrine that injustice is a very good thing — for those who can get away with it.⁵⁸

This theory (the protectionist theory), which is alleged in the *Republic* to be 'based on cynical egoism', is identical with the protectionism advanced by Callicles in the *Gorgias*.

It is the 'development' of Thrasymachus' nihilism, and if Thrasymachus 'takes the place of Callicles', it follows that it is also the development of the views of Callicles. We have Popper's own word for it that it is the same theory :

Both (the passage from the *Gorgias* and the one from the *Republic*) present it as if its logical premises were necessarily selfish . . . i. e. as if the protectionist view . . . was upheld only by those who would *like* to inflict injustice, but are too weak to do so.⁵⁹

Popper says this presentation is 'certainly not fair'⁵⁹. This is contradicted only a page later, when, referring to the same theory in the *Gorgias*, Popper says that in it 'we find all the elements of Lycophron's theory: equalitarianism, individualism, and protection against injustice', and he adds that 'even the

57. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.* p. 116

reference to the "weak" who are aware of their inferiority fits the protectionist view very well indeed"*60.

If then the protectionism based on selfishness is a correct representation of the Protectionism Popper upholds, he upholds an immoral view of morality. If it is not a correct representation, then he is wrong to speak of its 'humanitarian character' in the *Gorgias*. Socrates was right in destroying it in the *Republic*, and, since the doctrine is identical in both dialogues, it is unworthy of being defended even in the *Gorgias*, where, in fact, Socrates does not do anything of the kind.

The truth of the matter is this. Both Callicles and Thrasymachus believe in 'Might is right', which they regard as *natural* justice; they both contrast it with justice as ordinarily understood, which they regard as conventional and which, *according to them*, is a device invented by the weak, and hence despicable. Socrates does not believe in 'might is right', but it does not follow that he must heel to the idea of morality as a policy or device. He finds it despicable for quite a different reason.

Popper, on the other hand, seems to favour the kind of protectionism that is 'expounded' in the two dialogues and which is shown by Plato to be a parody of Justice. Popper describes a theory of Antiphon's thus:

He believes that most norms are...directly contrary to nature...It is disadvantageous and even dangerous to break man-imposed norms if the breach is observed by those who impose them; but there is no inner necessity attached to them, and nobody needs to be ashamed of breaking them; shame and punishment are only sanctions arbitrarily imposed from outside.⁶¹

This is a concise statement of Thrasymachus' view of natural justice with its development into the protectionism we have recently condemned. But Popper calls it 'a humanitarian or equalitarian version of Biological naturalism'! Again, he quotes a 'similar equalitarianism' of Hippias (Op. Cit. p. 70) : 'Conventional law, the tyrant of mankind, compels us to do much that is against nature', and he approvingly comments on it that 'this spirit was bound up with the Athenian movement against slavery'.

I think Popper has betrayed terrible confusion in dealing with Callicles and Thrasymachus. What could be the cause? Perhaps this that while any true notion of Justice *includes* protectionism (i. e. the protection of the weak against the strong), it does not follow (as Popper thinks) that Justice *is* protectionism—a device invented by the weak who would like to be as bad as the strong but whose grapes are sour.

* Popper says, 'provided the element of caricature is allowed for', but I cannot understand what this could mean.

60. Ibid., p. 117

61. Ibid., p. 69.

There is another source of confusion. Because Plato refers to moral laws as 'natural' (i. e. not arbitrary), Popper thinks that for Plato they must then be indistinguishable from the positive unalterable laws of natural science. Popper's further step seems to be that since they are not positive but are normative, they must be conventional laws.

Before I end I would like to make my position clear. I do not hold a brief for Plato right or wrong. His political theory might be quite incorrect and even immoral. It may be totalitarian. All I have wanted to do was, to show that Popper's particular attack on Plato's idea of Justice appears to me to be unconvincing because his arguments are often fallacious and the evidence he produces in support of them is largely inconclusive. That of course, does not mean that no better arguments or evidence can be found.

HANUMAN IN INDIAN ART

B. N. SHARMA

Hanumān is one of the most popular deities of Hinduism. Almost every village and town in India has one or more temples dedicated to this god, where a small fair is held in his honour on every Tuesday. The epics, *Purāṇas*, secular literature and the epigraphs mention stories from his early life, particularly of unselfish service and utmost devotion to his Divine Master Rāma. He is also found represented in sculptures, coins, and miniature paintings executed in different parts of India.

The earliest depiction of Hanumān in art can be noticed in the sculptures of the Gupta period. A fragmentary image discovered along with several sculptures depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* shows Hanumān lifting the mountain Dronāchala above his head¹. In another relief, he is shown meeting Rāma. Both the sculptures datable to 5th century A. D., can be seen at Deogarh in the Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh. A few *Rāmāyaṇa* panels are also *in situ* at Nachana in Madhya Pradesh. In one of these, Hanumān is shown standing with Sugrīva and paying his obeisance to Rāma. An ivory figure of Hanumān also of the Gupta period and probably hailing from Central India, is exhibited in Seattle Museum of Art, Seattle.

A relief slab discovered at Shringwerpur in Allahabad district and now exhibited in the Museum Allahabad shows the figures of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa holding long bows and carrying quivers full of arrows on their shoulders. Hanumān and Sugrīva are standing before them. The scene probably represents the meeting of the two brothers with the monkey chief in the Rshymūka forest. This fine sculpture also belong to the Gupta period, 5th century A. D.³

A contemporary sculpture found at Ramban is on display in the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi. It shows Rāma and Lakshmaṇa seated on a hill with Hanumān and other monkeys standing before them in reverential attitude. It appears that the two brothers are eagerly looking the construction of the "Setu-Bandha" bridge, before Rāma's fight with Rāvaṇa.

A few terracottas of the Gupta period also depict Hanumān. The brick-built temple at Bhitargaon in Kanpur district has several *Rāmāyaṇa* panels studded on its outer walls. In one of these, Hanumān is shown lifting the

1. M. S. Vats, *Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, *MASI*, 70, pl. VII, fig. c.
2. R. C. Agrawala, *Unpublished Sculptures and Terracottas in the National Museum, New Delhi, and Some Allied problems*, *East And West*, Rome, 17, 3-4, p. 280, fig. 16.
3. P. Chandra, *Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, Bombay, 1971, p. 97, pl. LXXIX.

mountain with his raised right hand. In another terracotta piece from eastern Uttar Pradesh and now deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow, Hanumān is seated in *bhadrasana* with his hands placed on the knees.

In a beautiful terracotta from Chauśa in Bihar and now displayed in the Patna Museum, headless Rāma is seated and Lakshmaṇa is standing behind him with Hanumān and other monkeys. This fragmentary piece also belongs to the Gupta period, 5th century A. D.⁴

A number of terracotta panels depicting various scenes from the *Rāmāyana* were carved during the early Pāla period 8th-9th century A. D. at Antichak in Bihar and Paharpur in Bengal. In one of the panels from Antichak, Hanumān is shown proceeding to the left side and carrying a mountain on his right hand.⁵

The Maṅikeśvara temple built in 7th century A. D. at Sukleśvara in Cuttack district of Orissa, Hanumān is shown with folded hands before Rāma and Lakshmaṇa.⁶ The Ananta Vasudeva temple built at Bhubaneswar in late 13th century A. D. has on the northern side of the *Jagamohana* five balustrades which show the standing but slightly damaged figures of Rama, Lakshmaṇa, Sītā, Hanumān and Vibhishana.⁷

During the Pratihāra period, a number of statues of Hanumān were installed in the temples all over their vast empire. A fine image of the god executed in 8th century A. D. at Chittorgrah has been recently given to National Museum, New Delhi by Archaeological Survey of India. The right hand of the deity is, raised high in the attitude of carrying a mountain, while the left is placed on the thigh.

Two sculptures of Hanumān belonging to the Pratihāra period, 9th-10th century A. D., were discovered from Mathura. One of these wrongly assigned to the Gupta period by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy⁸ is now displayed in the Government Museum, Mathura⁹, while the other is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.¹⁰ He is standing on a prostrate female figure, which may be identified as Lankā-Devi, and not as Chāmunda as regarded by Dr. V. S. Agrawala.¹¹ His right hand is held in the attitude of lifting a mountain.

4. P. L. Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, Patna, 1965, pl. XLVIII (Arch. 6528).

5. B. Şahai, Terracotta Plaques from Antichak, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna, LVII, I-IV, fig. 11.

6. K. N. Mahapatra, Purānic Stories in the early records and sculptures of Orissa, *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Bhubaneswar, X, 4, p. 72.

7. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, p. 86, fig. 137.

8. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1965, p. 86, note 14.

9. Vögel, J. Ph., *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, Allahabad, 1910 p. 100.

10. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1923-24, p. 101, pl. XXXV, fig. K.

11. V. S. Agrawala, Hanumān, *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, XXII, p. 148.

Hanumān was worshipped as "Bhumbakadeva" in the Chandella territory. At Khajuraho, there are temples enshrining the images of the god. In one of the temples, there is a life size statue of the deity which bears a dated inscription of the year 316 of Harsha era (922 A. D.)¹²

The Pārśvanātha temple at Khajuraho shows Rāma and Sītā standing and blessing Hanumān standing on their right.¹³ In another panel carved on this temple, Sītā is seated under an Aśoka tree (in Lānkā), while Hanumān is standing before her surrounded by the Rākshasas carrying various weapons in their hands.

A headless statue of Hanumān is *in situ* at a place locally known as "Baniyā Kū Barāt", near Dudhai in Madhya Pradesh. Another mediaeval but colossal sculpture of the god exists near the Hanumān-Kuṇḍa, which is very close to the famous Kalanjar fort in the same State. A 10th century image of Hanumān belonging to a nearby dilapidated temple is now installed in the open about half a mile from Suhania.

The famous Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa temple at Bilhari, about 12 miles from Kanti railway station, also has an image of the deity, which must have once been worshipped by the local people. An almost a life size image of the god is kept in cell No. 35 of the famous Chausatha Yoginī temple at Bheraghat. Another statue of Hanumān is under worship at village Badgaon in the Jabalpur district. In all these sculptures date to the Chedi period. 10th-11th century A. D., his right hand is raised above his head as if he is lifting a mountain. A colossal image of Hanumān assignable to the Chedi school, 12th century A. D., is displayed in the Birla Museum at Bhopal. A five feet high statue of the god discovered at Gandhawal and datable to 16th century A. D. is exhibited in the Central Archaeological Museum at Gwalior. All these images prove the wide popularity of Hanumān worship in Madhya Pradesh during ancient and mediaeval periods.

During the region of the Gāhaḍavāla kings of Uttar Pradesh several images of the god were fashioned by the artists in the 12th century A. D. A headless statue of Hanumān found at Phaphamau is displayed in the Allahabad Museum.

In the same Museum can also be seen a torso of a colossal statue of the god found in the Allahabad district. His hands are broken. He wears a *kaṭhānī* and a dagger is tucked at his waist.¹⁴ An almost a life size image of the deity from eastern Uttar Pradesh is exhibited in the State Museum, Lucknow.

Worship of Hanumān was widely popular in Rajasthan. According to Dr. G. H. Ojha, he is still worshipped in all the villages of the state¹⁵. Among

12. R. Awasthi, *Khajurāho kī Deva Pratimāyen*, I, Agra, 1967, fig. 38.

13. K. S. Desai, *Iconography of Vishnu*, New Delhi, 1973, fig. 84.

14. P. Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 101, pl. LXXXV.

15. G. H. Ojha, *Sirohī Rājya Kā Itihāsa*, 1911, p. 54.

the ancient remains at Junā-Kheḍā in Jodhpur division, the temple of Hanumān is regarded as the earliest. Another famous temple of the god is located at Nadol. An ancient temple known as Hanumāngadhī is at Arthuna, about thirty miles from Banswara. In another temple at this site, an image of Hanumān bearing a dated inscription of V. S. 1165 of the reign of the Paramāra king Vijayarāja is enshrined. A huge image of Hanumān was installed for worship at Asava in Sirohi district as is evident from the inscription of V. S. 1355 engraved on its pedestal. The Nīlakaṇṭha-Mahādeva temple at Kekinda and various other mediaeval temples at Kiradu and several other places have numerous Rāmāyaṇa panels also showing Hanumān in one context or the other.

A scene from the Rāmāyaṇa, where Hanumān had succeeded in securing the friendship of his master, Rāma for the protection of Sugrīva has been remarkably illustrated on a beautiful frieze from the Śiva temple built in c. 10th century A. D. in Assam. It depicts Rāma seated in front and Lakshmaṇa shown behind him. Sugrīva is kneeling before Rāma in obeisance. Hanumān and other monkeys are witnessing the scene in great reverence.¹⁷

A rare image of five-faced Hanumān exists at Talaja in Kathiawad.¹⁸ He has four visible faces of a lion, garuḍa, monkey, and a horse, while the fifth head, which should have been of a boar is not shown. He is four armed and carries a mountain and a club in his upper hands, while the lower hands hold a bow and an arrow. He is trampling a demon lying under his foot. Another almost similar five-headed but about 18' high statue of Hanumān is carved in the living rock on one side of the famous fort at Jodhpur in Rajasthan.

A finely executed sculpture studded on the temple of Māṇḍvyanārāyaṇa at Bhimavaram in the east Godavari district shows Rāma and Lakshmaṇ seated under a tree with Hanumān on it. It probably represents Hanumān approaching the two brothers at the instance of Sugrīva.¹⁹

The famous monolithic Kailāsa temple at Ellora, executed during the Rāshtrakūṭa period, 8th century A. D. also shows Hanumān in several Rāmāyaṇa panels.

The Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal built in the 8th century A. D., shows in one of its panels Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, and Hanumān witnessing the 'Setu-Bandha' bridge being built by the monkeys. In another panel, Hanumān is happily seeing the reunion of Rāma and Sītā after the conquest of Laṅkā.

16. R. C. Agrawala, Rāmāyaṇa scenes in Rajasthani sculptures, *Indian Historical Quarterly* Calcutta, XXX, 1-4, pp. 156-8.

17. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1936-37, p. 59, pl. XVIII, fig. a.

18. A. S. Gadre, A rare image of Hanumān, *New Indian Antiquary*, 1939-40, pp. 113-14, plate facing p. 113.

19. C. Sivaramamurti, *Early Eastern Chālukya Sculpture*, Madras, 1962, p. 38, pl. IX, fig. a.

Among the numerous bronze images of Hanumān from South India, the one from Vadakkupanayur, Tanjavur district is, probably the finest and best of all. The lovely group consisting of the images of Rāma, Sītā, Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān belongs to the early Chola period, 1000 A. D. and is now exhibited in the Madras Museum.²⁰

Another bronze image of Hanumān with his hands held in front as if offering something (to Rāma) is deposited in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The fine image fashioned in Ceylon belongs to c. 13th century A. D.²¹

Two fine bronze images from Kerala showing Rāma, Sītā, Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān are preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. In these Rāma is shown expounding philosophy and Hanumān is holding a palm-leaf manuscript in his hands. These are datable to 16th-17th century A. D.²²

Hanumān was also worshipped in the Hindu kingdom of Nepal, as is evident by the find of several sculptures of the god. A sculpture of four-armed moustached god shows him standing on the palms of a demon. He holds a club and a hammer in his upper hands, while the lower hands carry a branch of a tree and a trident. The image bearing a dated inscription of Newari Saṃvat 818 (1698 A. D.) is installed in the Darbar Square at Bhaktapur.

A few Rāmāyana sculptures at Prambanan ((Java) datable to c. 9th century A. D., also depict Hanumān. Mention can be made of the panels showing Hanumān seated before Sītā in Aśokavana; demons putting fire in the tail of Hanumān; Hanumān jumping on Rāvaṇa's palace with fire in his tail etc.

20. C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Images*, Bombay, 1963, figs. 40a-41b.

21. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, New York, 1964, fig. 49.

22. B. N. Sharma, *Further unpublished Kerala Bronzes in the National Museum, New Delhi*, *Lalit Kala*, New Delhi, 17, p. 40 pl. XV, fig. 5.

WOMEN OF NORTH KOREA — YESTERDAY AND TODAY

SOON MAN RHIM

Introduction

The Communist regime has had a profound effect on the lives of women in North-Korea. The status of women of traditional Korea is to be compared with that of the present day in North Korea. By "traditional" Korea, is meant, in general that segment of population between the two extreme groups known as "nobility class"¹ at the top and the "despised people"² at the bottom, during the period of Yi Dynasty (1392-1910).

North Korea's western contacts have been limited. As a result, we have little information about what is happening in that part of the world. The few Americans who have visited North Korea were kept from contacting ordinary citizens there. This paper has been prepared with limited available materials and therefore this discussion on the status of women is not conclusive. It is hoped that research will be continued in order to achieve fuller understanding of the conditions.

For our purpose in this study, it may be helpful to sketch in briefly some historical background to better understand the scene in which present-day changes are taking place. Korea has been a battle-ground for world power struggles. World War II ended 35 years of Japanese control and brought in Soviet forces north of the 38th parallel and United States forces in the south. In 1948 the northern area became the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the southern area became the Republic of Korea. The Korean war of 1950-53 appears to have permanently divided the country. China and the U. S. S. R. had aided the North and the United Nations had aided the South. Today, North Korea sides with neither of its now quarrelling benefactors, preferring an independent course. North Korea has a population of 15,000,000 and an area of 46,540 square miles, which is about the size of the State of Mississippi.

1. According to Man Gab Lee, six classes, plus an outcaste group, existed in the traditional Korean social system : the royalty, the nobility (yangban), the country gentry (hyangban), the middle folk (chungin), the illegitimate sons of nobility (soja), the commoners (sangmin), and the "humble folk" (ch' onmin). *Han' guk Nongch' on-ui sahoekujjo*, (The Social Structure of Korean villages), Vol. V (Seoul : Korean Research Center, 1960), pp. 4-5.
2. This class included Buddhist monks, nuns, shamans, buffoons, travelling dancers, singers, and the Paekchong; and also included private and public slaves. For a detailed account of the "despised people" see Gregory Henderson, *Korea, the Politics of the Vortex* (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 53-55.

The Status of Women in Traditional Korean Society ...

Historically, especially during the Yi Period (1392-1910), the feudalistic Confucian influence had made a tremendous mark on Korean culture. Confucianism played a leading role which had the effect of degrading the women's status in traditional Korean society. Confucius had little enough to say about women. But what he did say was decisive and far-reaching in its effect. David and Vera Mace noted in their book :

He based his whole teaching about human society upon the patriarchal family, ancestor worship, and the duty of filial piety. The function of the woman within this system was simple and clear. It could be summed up in one four-letter word 'obey'. Women is a creature born to obedience.³

Throughout her life her duty was to follow the three obediences :

1. Before marriage to obey the father,
2. After marriage to obey the husband,
3. In the event of the husband's death,
to obey her son.⁴

The quality of her obedience was to be unquestioning and absolute.

These conservative Confucian ideas came into being towards the end of the Koryo Period (918-1392). Numerous writers and commentators of the Yi Period elaborated upon the theme, and drew up detailed rules for women's behaviour. Women were required to accept and maintain all these rules which were based on inferior status. The patriarchal view of women's inferiority was manifested in many ways. Let us consider the traditional marriage system.

The traditional marriage system in Korea was very severe, in that young people did not dare to choose their marriage partners. The special feature of the system was that only the parents could arrange a marriage for a boy or girl. Any romance between a boy and girl was regarded as disgraceful and sinful, and was supposed to be unfilial to parents—even up until modern times (c. 1910) :

The Code of the Yi Dynasty, which continued in Korea until 1910, declared a love marriage to be illegitimate and subject to punishment.⁵

Girls were usually betrothed in their early childhood by arrangements between parents. Since the 15th Century, the minimum age for a bride was set at 14 years. This, however, in reality was 13 years, since Koreans reckon

3. David and Vera Mace, *Marriage: East and West* (Garden City, New York : Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959), p. 67.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

age from conception rather than from birth, as is done in China. In special cases, if the parents were over fifty years of age, or seriously ill, a daughter could be legally married at 12 years (which meant actually 11 years).⁶ Public opinion however, was opposed to these early unions, and the legal age was then changed to 16 years by the Kabo Reform of 1894.⁷ This reform measure also stipulated that a boy may marry when he reached the age of 20 years.

In practice these laws had not been observed. It was not unusual for the girl to marry at 12 or 13 and for the boy to marry at about 10 years.⁸ As late as the 1920, it was found that 6.2% of girls under 15 were already married.⁹ In the countryside it was common practice for a girl to marry the boy who was two to three years or four to five years, younger than herself.¹⁰ In certain cases, the young bride had to babysit her child bridegroom. She became simply one more added hand to the help with the backbreaking chores of the family.

The idea of bride price was disliked in Korea. However, among the poorer peasant families, a cash payment was usually made to the bride's family. In P'yongan-nam Province, for example, at the turn of the century, it took an average of 1,000 to 1,300 nyang for a peasant's son to get married.¹¹ (A 'nyang was a 1,325 oz copper coin.)

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7. The coming of the Kabo Reform went through the following historical background. In August of 1894, the Sino-Japanese War broke out in Korea, and Japan quickly defeated the Chinese armies. As a result of this victory, Japan established a pro-Japanese government in Korea. The king was pressed to make a number of reforms which were designed to modernize the country. These reforms, supported also by Korean reformist factions who were under Japanese influence, were established and became known as the Kabo Reform of 1894. It extended to every field of economic activity, politics, society, and culture. But in the main the reform was not successful because of the lack of the groundwork of education, enlightenment, and propaganda by the government. Furthermore, this reform was unable to convince the citizens of its validity, since it came out of a pro-Japanese government which had emerged suddenly under Japanese military influence. Takashi Hatada, *A History of Korea*, trans. and ed. Warren W. Smith, Jr. and Benjamin H. Hazard (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, Inc., 1969), p. 102. See also, Son Kun Lee, *Han' guksa* (A History of Korea) ed. Chindan Hakhoe, Vol. VI (Seoul : Ulyusa, 1971), pp. 242-245.
 8. Byong Su Lee, *Ch' osenno kongingho* (The Marriage and Divorce Laws of Korea) (Tokyo : Syopungkwon, 1966), p. 56. Regarding child marriage Mr. Nam Hun Paik one of the prominent leaders of recent Korean politics, described his own experience in his autobiography. In 1894, at the age of less than 10 years, he was married to a girl five years his senior. "In those days", he wrote, "child marriage was one of the bad customs of our society. It seemed more prevalent in P'yongan and Hwanghae Provinces, the northwestern section of Korea. Early marriage was more encouraged in well-to-do families with many children. Nam Hun Paik, *Nani ilsaeng* (My Lifetime) (Seoul : Sinhyonsilsa, 1973) p. 51.
 9. Mace, *op. cit.* p. 201.
 10. Byong Su Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
 11. Sin Suk Kim, "Urinara Hyoptongchohap Nongminui Kachokp, ungsup" (Family Life, Co-op. Farm) *Minsokhak Yongu Ch'ongso* (Compendium of Studies on Folklore), Vol. II (Pyongyang : Academy of Science, 1959), p. 45.

Sometimes the purchase price of bride increased with the age of the bride. Estimating that one year of age would equal 100 nyang, a bridegroom had to pay 900 nyang for a 9-year-old bride, of 1,500 nyang for a 15-year-old bride. This price was paid at the time of betrothal and was called "sonkup-ton" (advance money). A bride's price was often too burdensome for a poor peasant; in which case, he might sell his daughter in marriage in order to buy a daughter-in-law for his son with the money received for the daughter.¹² The practice of the husband's family paying a price for the bride was an influential factor in keeping her in subordinate status. If a family was too poor to raise their daughter, it was preferred to let her be brought up by her future husband's parents. The girls' family would rather do this than sell her into slavery or prostitution.¹³

Traditionally, polygamy was practised by some well-to-do and upper-classes for the reason of perpetuating the family lineage if the wife had not borne sons. Yet, concubinage was prevalent among those who did have many sons. Here one could observe the deeply rooted human factors: the desire for variegated sex experience and romance that were suppressed in 'arranged' marriages. The practice of concubinage made a woman simply a sex object, besides making of her a constant threat to the wife. Many Korean wives must have been quite unhappy. They were required to follow their husbands no matter what their lot is. And, even though there was no legal prohibition on remarriage, in the case of husband's death, yet it was customary under the patriarchal system of Korea to require a widow to remain faithful to one husband and not to remarry.¹⁴ She remained in the family.

Regarding faithfulness of a wife to one husband, the social custom was so strong that the mere touching of hands could cause a woman to believe herself unfaithful. This illustration is a true story :

In 1592, during the Japanese invasion of Korea, an escaping refugee woman was attempting to get into a boat. A rower in the boat helped to pull her in by her hand. The woman cried that she had lost her chastity, and threw herself into the river and committed suicide.¹⁵

If a widow should remarry, she would be considered guilty of an unfilial act against her husband's family. One way in which this sentiment was expressed was to declare sons of such marriages legally unfit to occupy any official position.¹⁶ Even with such restriction, it is interesting to note "widow abduction" occurred despite these facts.¹⁷

12. *Ibid.*

13. Mace, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

14. Byong Su Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

15. Helen Kim, *The Role of Women in the Next Half Century*. (Seoul : Ewha Woman's University, 1968), p. 11.

16. Mace, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

17. The *Dong-A-Ilbo*, May 12, 1975, p. 4.

Speaking of the traditional treatment of widows in Korea, the so-called "technical widow" should be mentioned. This was due to the custom of early betrothal. As David and Vera Mace state in their book:

A widow's troubles could begin early in life. Incredible as it may seem, it was even possible to be born a widow! In Korea, as in China pregnant mothers sometimes formally betrothed their unborn children. If the boy died before the girl was born, this made her technically a widow. If married later in life, her status would be that of a remarried widow and not a maiden.¹⁸

It was only in 1894, by the Kabo Reform, that full freedom of remarriage, without censure, was accorded to widows.¹⁹

The traditional idea of superiority of men over women stripped women completely of freedom of divorce in Korea. The right of divorce granted only to men, however, was usually left to the man's parents for taking action. Divorce, therefore, was called *ki-cho*, meaning "abandoned wife."²⁰ Parents were able to make or break their children's marriage even when their sons and daughters were adults of 30 or 40 years of age.

If a son loved his wife, but his parents did not like her, he was compelled to divorce her. In Korea, as in China, it was believed that one of the first duties is toward parents. Consequently, it was much more important for a son to please his parents than to please his wife. Only since 1923, has it been possible for divorce to be granted based on the agreement of the two parties concerned.²¹

There were seven legitimate grounds for divorcing a wife, in traditional Korean society : (1) Rebellious toward her parents-in-law; (2) Failure to produce a son; (3) Unfaithful to her husband; (4) Showed jealousy; (5) Had an incurable disease; (6) Given to talebearing and pernicious talk; (7) Was found to be a thief.²² However, there were three conditions under which a wife could not be sent away, even though grounds existed for divorce: (1) If she shared with her husband a 3-year mourning period for one of his parents; (2) If the husband had become rich or attained a high position since marriage; (3) If she had no home to return to.²³ These three restraints, however, could not serve in a case where the wife committed adultery, or had an incurable disease.²⁴

If a wife left her husband even with just cause, she could be given punishment of 100 lashes. If she ran away and remarried, the legal penalty was

18. Mace, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

19. Son Kun Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

20. Byong Su Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

21. The *Dong-A-Ilbo*, May 12, 1975, p. 4.

22. Byong Su Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

24. *Ibid.*

death by hanging.²⁵ For an adulteress, Korean society appeared to be a little more lenient than traditional Chinese society. The woman was expected to take her own life. And, a wife who committed adultery in Korea, was not put to death, but lost her status as wife and become a slave.²⁶ She was never allowed to remarry.²⁷

In addition to the conditions discussed thus far, there were other in humane treatments which relate to the low status of women in Korea.

In the past, a Korean woman was denied her name for a lifetime. Until marriage she was called simply by her childhood name, such as, 'sopunne' (regrettable or disappointing), 'koptani' (pretty), 'poksili' (happy), 'kunnyon' (big one) or 'chakunnyon' (little one). After marriage, however, even this childhood name was discarded and she was known to the community only for the surname of her husband's family, for example, 'Kim-si' (Mrs. Kim), 'Lee-si' (Mrs. Lee) or 'Choi-si' (Mrs. Choi). In the home she was addressed by a kinship term denoting her position in the family organization or by her children's name plus the word for mother, for example, 'Happy's mother'²⁸.

When already in the feudalistic Yi Dynasty commoners were granted the privilege of having a name, yet it was not given to women. Even a high government official's wife did not enjoy her own name.²⁹ As recently as 70 years ago, when women had to appear in court for legal purposes, they were given certain convenient names in order to facilitate court procedures.³⁰ Only in 1909, were women's names given for the first time in accordance with the census registration law of that year.³¹

Separation of the sexes was another form of mistreatment of women. When boys and girls reached the age of seven, they were not allowed to sit together. In the home, they were not permitted to use the same towels, hangers, or other commodities. They had to use separate items. For example, no girl could use a towel designated for her brother. Even within the household, Korean women were strictly segregated from the men in the family. The arrangement of the household was that the husband lived in the front room while the wife was closed off in the rear room. On the street, or in public, it was the rule for the wife to walk several steps behind the husband.³² Men could walk freely on the streets during the daytime; Korean women, however, were not permitted to do so. Certain times were set aside, enforced by curfew, when women could pass through the streets — late evening until dawn. Regarding this women's hour, however, it is interesting to note that :

25. Mace, *op. cit.*, 248.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

27. Byong Su Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

28. Sin Suk Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

29. *The Dong-A-Ilbo*, May 12, 1975, p. 4.

30. Helen Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

31. *The Dong-A-Ilbo*, May 12, 1975, p. 4.

32. *Ibid.*

During this time no men were permitted on the streets except those who were blind, or public officials. Any male who dared to trespass on the streets during what might be called the women's hour, ran the risk of being caught and having his head chopped off by the public executioner!³³ In case a woman had to go out during the daytime, she was obliged to wear a special jacket, which she drew up to cover her face.³⁴

This practice of secluding women varied of necessity, however, according to the social status of the family. It is reported that :

Wives of farmers and workmen were obliged to work in the fields and the shops, and of necessity were permitted much greater freedom than their higher-born sisters.³⁵

Nevertheless, even in their case, extreme modesty was regarded as a primary virtue.

This rule of separation between the sexes persisted until about the beginning of the 20th century. With the extreme forms of segregation, women in Korea were neither seen nor heard. Thus, they were inevitably cut off from opportunities for independence in social activities. Women were not only generally denied the benefits of formal education, but also were discouraged from developing any natural ability or talent which might be useful for a career outside the home. "A woman's lack of talent is in itself a virtue," and "If a hen crows, the household crumbles," were frequently used proverbs to check any worldly ambitions of a woman. The result was general lack of professional skills among women and an incomparably higher percentage of illiteracy among women,³⁶ than among men.

For a woman, her most trying period began with her marriage. She was a stranger in the new family, under relentless surveillance and discipline from the parents-in-law, unprotected by the supposedly intimate husband. A woman's first duties were to her husband's parents; only secondarily was she responsible to her husband. "A wife or concubine who made insulting remarks to her parents-in-law could be hanged without delay."³⁷ She was expected to submit to her husband as she submitted to her parents-in-law. Especially the harshness of the mother-in-law was notorious. The only

33. Hyontay Kim, *Folklore and Customs of Korea* (Seoul : Korean Information Service Inc., 1957), p. 90.

34. *The Dong-A-Ilbo*, May 12, 1975, p. 4.

35. Hyontay Kim, *loc. cit.*

36. It is recorded that all women were totally unlettered until the middle of the Yi Period (1392-1910). Even after that, only some privileged women were permitted to read a few books exclusively. The reason given was that women did not need to cultivate the intellect. Sun Dok Yun, "Han'guk Yosong Undong Ui Inyongwa Banghyang" (The Idea and Direction of the Korean Women's Movement), *Taehwa* (Dialogue), (March 1975), p. 8.

37. Mace, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

consolation for the daughter-in-law was that one day she could hope to be a mother-in-law herself.

Until she gave birth to a son, a wife felt as if she "sat on a cushion of needles". With the birth of a son, her duty was fulfilled in perpetuating the ancestral lineage and she found protection and security in the future of her son. In case a woman was childless or failed to bear sons, this was attributed to her own unforgivable "sin".³³ Dr. Gale, who landed in Korea as an American Presbyterian missionary during the winter of 1886, spoke of the mother having no son :

If she has no son, alas for her! Better had she never been born. Not only is she condemned by her husband and every member of the clan, but she condemns herself, and no ray of sunshine ever gladdens her broken soul. She is Rachel, and Hannah, and Elizabeth, as they were before joy visited them.³⁹

Even treatment during the childbearing period accented the difference of the sexes. Giving birth to a son, the young mother was encouraged to lie quiet in bed two or three weeks. However, if the mother bore a girl and lay in bed more than one week, she was put to shame or had to suffer an insult. In the Hamyang district in Kyongsang-nam Province, noted for the stronghold of Confuciansim, it was customary for the mother-in-law to prepare a feast when the daughter-in-law gave birth to a boy, as an offering to the three gods governing childbirth. If, however, a girl child was born, the mother-in-law immediately left the house and would not return for almost a week, as an expression of regret and disappointment for a newly arrived baby girl. This disappointment was transmitted even to the girl child by the way she was named—such despicable names as "soun" (disappointment), "sopsop" (pity), "punt'ong" (anger) or "yukam" (regret).⁴⁰ Even a baby crib was a method to show discrimination. A boy had a fancy crib, whereas the girl's was plain.⁴¹

In this connection, Dr. Gale said again :

The woman's place, first as daughter, one of contempt. A missionary's little six-year-old once came to his with tears in her eyes and said : 'Papa, I have a question.' 'Yes, what is it?' 'Are you sorry that I wasn't a boy?' 'Well I should say not, I wouldn't trade you for a dozen boys. But why do you ask?' She said, 'The Koreans were talking just now, and they pointed at me and said, 'What a pity that she wasn't a boy!'⁴²

Then Dr. Gale stated, regarding the stark picture of women's status in Korea : "She has been the slave, the dog, the toy, the chattel, the convenience of men,

38. Sin Suk Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

39. James S. Gale, *Korea in Transition* (New York : Educational Department, The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1909), p. 104.

40. *The Dong-A-Ilbo*, May 12, 1975, p. 4.

41. Sun Dok Yun, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

42. Gale, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

for all past ages.⁴³ Despite this situation, he did not despair of the future for Korean women. He observed : "Thus was, yes, and still is, the world of woman, but mighty changes are taking place, and underneath the framework of her prison-house, earthquakes are shaking."⁴⁴ Had he heard new voices crying out that the Korean women should be emancipated? Let us consider those voices in the wilderness.

Attempts to Improve the Status of Women

During the closing years of the 19th century, new voices were heard advocating the improvement of the women's status. A frontal criticism of the traditional idea of women did begin with the Tonghak (Eastern Learning) Movement. This movement was begun in the 1860s by Ch'oe Cheu, a Korean scholar who attempted to combine certain features of Roman Catholicism with the native Korean religions. The movement spread widely in the southern provinces until 1865, when persecution by authority broke out against Roman Catholicism and Ch'oe was executed on the charge that he was an adherent of that faith.

The Tonghak sect, after 30 years of endurance, reappeared under the leading banner of General Chon Pongjun in 1894. It gathered considerable strength as a political reform movement against the corruption of the ruling officials, who were ruthlessly oppressing the common people.⁴⁵

What is most significant in the Tonghak movement in connection with our present study is to be found in its petition of human rights which may be classified as the claims of (1) human integrity, (2) elevation of the farmers' status in the society, (3) demolition of class society, and (4) equality of sexes.⁴⁶ Thus, as in the fourth claim, the Tonghak Movement began to raise social consciousness of the status of women. This is remembered as a very important turning point in the history of Korean women.

As successor to Ch'oe Cheu, Ch'oe Sihyong became the second Tonghak leader. In November 1889, Ch'oe Sihyong announced the six articles of discipline to guide the followers' daily life. According to Article I :

Revere your wife as a god. Love your daughter-in-law. Love slaves as your own children....If not, Heaven will get angry.⁴⁷

His unswerving devotion to establishing human rights and particularly his efforts for women's enlightenment is amazing, especially in light of the social milieu of those days. He went as far as to free his own two slave girls—one

43. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

45. For a detailed discussion, see Son Kun Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-123.

46. Bon Ryong Sin, *Tonghaktang Yon'gu* (Some Studies of Tonghak Society) (Seoul : T'amgutang, 1973), pp. 63-67.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

became his daughter-in-law, and the other he adopted as his daughter.⁴⁸ In addition, according to one of the 12 points, proposed by General Chon Pongjun to the government, at the time of the Tonghak Rebellion of 1894, it was demanded that young widows be permitted to remarry.⁴⁹

Furthermore, leaders of the Tonghak movement continued their efforts to awaken the awareness of Korean women through educational activities. For example, by taking charge of the Tonghak Girl's School in 1909, they made an important contribution to the development of women's education.⁵⁰

Another influence in the elevation of women's status in Korea was the Independence Club,⁵¹ organized in 1896 by a group of progressive leaders. The head of the club was Dr. Philips Jaisohn, a Korean statesman educated in the United States, and converted to Christianity. In this political reform organization, the problem of the status of women was also actively debated. For example, *the Independent*, the first vernacular newspaper started by Dr. Philip Jaisohn, editorialized on the 21st of April :

Korean women live a pitiful life. We appeal to the Korean people in behalf of these depressed women. Despite the fact that the woman's life is never inferior to man's life, women have been mistreated by men. It is due to the fact that men are still unenlightened. Instead of becoming reasonable and human, men try to use only their brawn to oppress women. How barbarous they are! But as the Korean women become educated and well informed, they will come to realize the equality of the sexes and will know how to handle unreasonable men. In view of these facts we call on the Korean women to be educated so as to become superior to men intellectually and morally, and to claim the right of women.⁵²

Here one can see a strong message calling on the Korean women to be awakened. What a firm stance on feminism it is !

In September of the same year, the *Independent* again urged the government to give women equal opportunity with men in receiving education. It stated : "If the government would establish a school for boys, it is only fair to do the same for girls."⁵³

48. Chong Chang Mun, *Kunseilbon-tu Choson Ch'imi' alsa* (A History of the Modern Japanese Invasion and Assault on Korea) (Seoul : Paekmundang, 1964), p. 340.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 361-362.

50. Bon Ryong Sin, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

51. For a detailed discussion on the Independence Club Movement, see, Son Kun Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 830-866.

52. Quoted in Son Dok Su, "Yosongui Haewa Yosonui In' ganhwa" (The International Women's Year and the Humanization of Women), Kwangiang (Forum), March 15, 1975, p. 4. (*Forum* is a periodical published in West Germany, by Association of Reconstruction of Democratic Society.

53. Quoted in *Ewha Hakpo* (Ewha Review), June 6, 1975, p. 3, a publication of Ewha Woman's University in Seoul.

A further influence in the elevation of Korean women was that of Protestant Christianity. Only toward the end of the 19th century, the opportunity for education was given to women and girls through the first Protestant Christian missions in Korea. Up to that time, as we have discussed, the Confucian traditions had kept women within the bounds of the walls of their homes.

In 1886, the very beginning of women's education was started by Mrs. Mary Scranton, a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church North. It was established at Ewha (pear flower) with one student.⁵⁴ With this small beginning, in less than 20 years, ten other Christian schools for girls were founded by 1904.⁵⁵

It should be mentioned that Korean women were enlightened not only through these schools, but also through the Church Educational Programs of these first Christian missions. Regarding the far-reaching effects of the Church Educational Programs, Dr. Helen Kim, a prominent Christian educator, observed :

They helped to wipe out illiteracy by teaching women to read the Bible and to sing the hymns. Ideas such as democracy and world brotherhood were introduced to the rank and file of the people through Christian churches. Wiping out superstition, bringing about social class consciousness, and contributing to the women's own discovery of themselves as well as to the raising of their status are contributions brought about by these pioneer Christian missions.⁵⁶

An early Presbyterian missionary in Korea, having seen some changes taking place in the status of women in the church, went so far as to say:

The Gospel has been a large factor in liberating women in Korea. . . . the Korean woman had everything to gain and nothing to lose by becoming a Christian. Her circle of social contacts were immediately widened and enriched. Christianity taught a higher status for women than what she had known.⁵⁷

Although Protestant Christianity had been particularly important in liberating women in Korea generally, its influence was not countrywide but was geographically limited. Membership increases before 1945 were much greater in North Korea than in South Korea. They were concentrated in Hwanghae and the two adjacent P'yongan Provinces.⁵⁸ As Roy E. Shearer said : "The hidden, exciting fact is that Christianity in northwest Korea was

54. Helen Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

55. Ewha Hakpo, June 20, 1975, p. 3.

56. Helen Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

57. Charles Allen Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods* (New York : Fleming H. Revell Co., 1930), p. 234.

58. Roy E. Shearer, *Wildfire : Church Growth in Korea* (Grand Rapids, Michigan : William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966), p. 103.

a growing and vital force in the society.⁵⁹ Consequently, it seems to be reasonable to believe that women in the north as compared to those in the south had much better opportunities to be free from traditional Confucian patriarchalism.

We have discussed thus far a new consciousness of the rights of women that surfaced toward the end of the 19th century. Aside from the somewhat better legal protection of women regarding education, name, and divorce, the position of women in Korea, however, still was a subordinate one. Nor did women fare any better under the Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945). All these years, according to Dr. Helen Kim, women had been just servants of men, she observed :

...according to Japanese laws, women were treated like people of no importance or value along with children and crazy people.⁶⁰

Under the Japanese rule, the Korean women had to suffer doubly in serving men as well as the Japanese oppressors.

The Japanese surrender in Korea, August 15, 1945, however, brought to an end the long night of oppression, exploitation and enslavement. The populace awoke, as in a daze, from a terrible nightmare. There were high hopes that a new day of peace, prosperity and freedom was dawning. Unfortunately, however, this dream has never come to realization. Korea has been a country divided since World War II into implacably hostile sides, one Communist and the other Capitalist. As *Newsweek* recently described, "There is an enormous gulf between the Capitalist south and the Communist north, but they remain to this day two halves of a single nation, the matter and antimatter of a divided people."⁶¹

The writer now turns to the women of North Korea to assess how their status has changed under Communism.

Changes in the Status of Women in North Korea

In 1971, the Chinese Journalists' Delegation paid a visit to North Korea. Describing their impression of the women of that country, they wrote :

At the centre of Korea's heroic capital, Pyongyang, stands the bronze statue of chollima, a winged horse with head high, speeding into the future. Like the man rider, the brave woman on the pillion is off with the same lofty aim. Symbolic of the Korean people's revolutionary spirit, it depicts the heroism of the Korean women along with the men.⁶²

This valiant image of women is a drastic change, considering it in the context of the inequalities and underdevelopment inherited from the past.

59. *Ibid.*

60. Helen Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

61. *Newsweek*, June 30, 1975, p. 32.

62. *The Heroic Korean People* (Peking : Foreign Language Press, 1972), p. 36.

Today North Korea, or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (the DPRK), proudly claims that women are "enjoying the equal rights as men in the social life of the political, economic, cultural and other fields and a worthy life as the true masters of the country and society and as the happy mother."⁶³

North Korea's commitment to equality for women is spelled out most clearly in the Articles of the Law on the Equality of the Sexes, promulgated on July 20, 1946.⁶⁴ In general, they are :

- Article 1** Women are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life.
- Article 2** Women, like men, have the right to elect and to be elected in the local and the highest state organs.
- Article 3** Women have the equal right with men in labour, equal payment, social insurance and education.
- Article 4** Women have the equal right with men in the free choice for marriage. The arbitrary and compulsory marriage which disregards the consent of the parties is prohibited.
- Article 5** Women, like men, have the right in freedom of divorce in case the relationship between husband and wife becomes difficult with no hope of continuing relationship.
- Article 6** A marriage can be contracted only after the woman has reached 17 years of age and the man 18 years of age.
- Article 7** Polygamy and the selling of girls as concubines or wives, which are medieval and feudalistic vestiges, are prohibited as infringement upon human rights of women.
Public prostitution, private prostitution and the institution of "kisaeng" (courtesan) are prohibited.
- Article 8** Women have the equal right with men in the ownership of property and the inheritance of land.

By this law the Communists in North Korea desired to liberate the women who were traditionally subjected to all sorts of humiliation and subordinate positions. North Korea's women have been encouraged to play a full role in the task of the country's reconstruction. The government has, therefore, provided conditions and programs which enable women to be free of the work that tied them to their homes, and to take a more active part in the general labour force.

For example, Day-care Centres are provided everywhere in the country where children may be enrolled at the age of three months. They are conti-

63. *The Times* (London) April 12, 1973, Advertisement.

64. For detailed information, see Byong Su Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-192.

nued to be cared for until they go to kindergarten⁶⁵ at age five, and then receive ten years of compulsory schooling. According to an article in *People's Korea* :

Compulsory 11-year education will be introduced on a full-scale basis throughout the country from September 1, this year (1975).⁶⁶

Mothers are able to leave their children at these centres provided by the state, and enter the labour force. But it appears that the Child-care Center Program has other goals as well. It is used as a program for "an early socialist indoctrination⁶⁷ for the younger generation. Officially it is claimed that :

The public upbringing of children is the most effective and excellent method whereby our youngsters are brought up to become the true men of the communist type.⁶⁸

In addition to this child care program, women in North-Korea are given free hospital delivery aid and are granted 77-days paid maternity leave. Mothers who have more than three children are allowed to work six hours a day and get paid as for 8-hours labour.⁶⁹

Furthermore, there are catering facilities such as rice-cooking factories, and laundries, established in residential quarters to lighten the household burdens of the women.⁷⁰

At the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea, held in November 1970, the emancipation of women from the heavy burdens of kitchen and household work was set as one of the three major tasks of the technical revolution to be carried out in the Six-Year Plan period.⁷¹ In view of these facts, it appears that the society is geared to give support to the working mother and to spare her the double burden which other women have in so many other parts of the world.

Today, North Korea claims that women account for nearly half of the labour composition of the national economy. According to Edward Kim, who visited North Korea in 1973, as the first American photojournalist :

Women make up a third of the industrial workers, and more than half of all farm workers. Military service falls equally on both sexes.⁷²

65. It was reported that in 1971, 2,500,000 children were growing up at the nurseries and kindergartens at the state and public expense. *The Pyongyang Times*, October 9, 1971, p. 2.

66. *The People's Korea*, April 16, 1975, p. 3.

67. Edward Kim, "Rare Look at North Korea," *National Geographic*, Vol. 146 (August, 1974), p. 272.

68. *The Pyongyang Times*, October 9, 1971, p. 2.

69. This was made possible in October 1966 by the workday regulation for women.

70. *The Pyongyang Times*, March 8, 1975, p. 3.

71. *The Pyongyang Times*, October 9, 1971, p. 2.

72. Edward Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

While the Supreme People's Assembly, the highest power organ, had 73 women deputies (16% of the total) in 1967,⁷³ it has 113 at present.⁷⁴ Even with the increased membership, the percentage of women in positions of political leadership appears to be relatively low. It is reported this year :

More than 900 women work as chairmen of the management boards of co-op. farms and many of the directors of modern factories and chairmen of country co-operative farm management committees are women. The women engineers, assistant engineers and specialists number 162,567⁷⁵.

Women in the field of education play a very great role. The statistics of 1959 show : 80% in the primary schools, 50% in the middle schools, 30% in the technical schools, and 15% in the university.⁷⁶ More women than men teach in the low level of schools — women predominate in the nurseries and kindergartens. Addressing the National Congress of Nursery School and Kindergarten Teachers in 1966, President Kim Il Sung emphasized :

Of course, all work in education is important, but above all, that of nursery school and kindergarten teachers who rear the small children is more important.

He continued to say :

By nature, it is up to the women to bring up children. To make light of such an important and honourable job as the upbringing of our little ones, the successors to our revolution and the reserves of communist builders, cannot be regarded as an attitude worthy of the women of our time who are advancing to Communism.⁷⁷

In addition, we are told that "the textile work force is largely female."⁷⁸

In the light of these facts, it appears that in the distribution of jobs in North Korea, there is some tendency to cling to traditional patterns. Sex role differences still seem apparent and are freely admitted even by the country's president as expressed in his address.

As the North Korean women begin to make their participation in economic production, they appear to have attained a better position in the family as well. For Communists this is a predictable result which is taken for granted.

73. In Dok Kang, ed., *Pukhanjouso* (Compendium of Works on North Korea), Vol. II (Seoul : Research Center for Far Eastern Affairs, 1974), p. 220.

74. *The Pyongyang Times*, March 8, 1975, p. 3.

75. *Ibid.*

76. In Dok Kang, *loc. cit.*

77. Kim Il Sung, "The Communist Education and Upbringing of Children is an Honourable Revolutionary Duty of Nursery School and Kindergarten Teachers," in *Kim Il Sung Selected Works*, Vol. IV (Pyongyang : Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1971), p. 461.

78. Harrison E. Salisbury, *To Peking — An Beyond; A Report on the New Asia* (New York : The New York Times Book Co., 1973, p. 203.

As Engels already declared in the 19th century : "The emancipation of women will only be possible when women can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time."⁷⁹

Today we are told that the North Koreans have established new family relationships based on democratic harmony, putting an end to the traditional patriarchal family relationship under which the man oppressed the woman, and the woman relied on the man for her means of life. Both husband and wife are now economically independent. And the relationship between them is said to be shared as comrades. Also, it is said that a daughter-in-law may no longer be a subordinate to her parents-in-law as was the case in the olden days. That is because she, like her parents-in-law, became a member of the socialist workers, contributing to building up a new socialist society. In short, the North Koreans assert that this sort of socialistic family is based on love and respect among the members, and each member of the family is fully ensured equality.⁸⁰

Until the recent past, the women's situation in North Korean cities, appears, however, to have differed from that in the countryside. In the cities there were more cultural, educational, medical, and other advantages. Work was more technologically advanced and socialized. And so many women seem to have made more progress in the cities. As late as 1966, *Korean Women*, a publication of the Woman's Union of North Korea, had an article on a city woman crane-operator who married a country farm worker in spite of many unfavourable conditions. This was incomprehensible to ordinary people who usually saw the country girl seeking marriage with the city boy.⁸¹ Women's status in the countryside, however, is said to have changed drastically for the better with the coming of the co-operative farms since 1954.⁸² Today, in North Korea there are some "3,800 collective farms" bristling "with tractors and other machinery."⁸³

Harrison Salisbury of *The New York Times*, after his visit to the Chongsan-ri collective farm, in 1972, one of the finest collective farms in North Korea, wrote :

79. Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (New York : International Publishers, 1942), p. 148.

80. See Il Ch'un Kim, "Nongch' on Kunrochatului Saeroun Munhwa wa Saenghwaŭ P'ungsupe Kwanhayo" (On the New Culture and Pattern of Life in Farming Villages), *Compendium of Studies on Folklore*, Vol. II (Pyongyang : Academy of Science, 1959), pp. 22-24.

81. "Risang'gwa Haenboke Taehan Saenggak." (Thoughts on The Ideal and Happiness) *Chosomyosong* (Korean Women), May 1966, p. 58.

82. Sin Suk Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

83. Edward Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

This is a far higher degree of mechanization than I found on even the finest Chinese communes, and the level would exceed that of most Soviet farms.⁸⁴

Then he added : "To be sure, Chongsan-ri is a model, nonetheless, the other collective farms of North Korea follow its pattern."⁸⁵

We are told that family incomes at the Chongsan-ri co-operative farm ranged in 1973, "from 3 500 won (\$ 1,750) to 8,000 won (\$ 4,000), plus 7 to 10 tons of grain, depending on how many family members work.⁸⁶ Living conditions in this kind of model village is expected to be better than the co-ops where family income averages 2,500 won (\$ 1,250) and 5 tons of rice a year.⁸⁷

What is important regarding our discussion of women's status in the countryside, however, is that in the co-op. farm each member receives equal pay according to the individual work points, regardless of sex. In North Korea this has been considered a very important factor which put women on an equal footing with men. Because of this, it is believed that even an unmarried daughter no longer depends on her father for a living, and a daughter-in-law need not be under the restraints of parents-in-law.⁸⁸

Now North Korea's socialist state takes pride in saying that the gap between the countryside and the city is eliminated. It appears to be true according to a recent *Newsweek* report :

Recent visitors who have seen the countryside as well as the capital say that there is every evidence the North Koreans live well, if simply, and that blatant poverty is non-existent. Most farms have been mechanized and irrigated, and the country recently became self-sufficient in food for the first time in its 30-year history.⁸⁹

A *New York Times* correspondent earlier wrote in a similar vein, in 1972:

Although living standards are still low, the sharp disparities between the countryside and the cities that prevail in so many developing countries are being leveled out. Indeed, the cash income of the peasants on the big co-operative farms appears to exceed that of the industrial workers.⁹⁰

In view of these facts, it is assumed that a great change in the women's status of North Korea has taken place both in the cities and in the countryside.

Let us now consider marriage and love in connection with the emancipation of women from the traditional patriarchy. Even though the women

84. Salisbury, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

85. *Ibid.*

86. Edward Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

87. *Ibid.*

88. Sin Suk Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

89. *Newsweek*, June 30, 1975, p. 33.

90. *The New York Times*, June 4, 1972, p. 15.

of North Korea have been ensured by law their free choice of partners, an amalgamation of old tradition (arranged marriage) and modern custom (love marriage) seems to have become a common form of marriage for a number of years. In this respect, a writer in 1964 made the following statement in the *Korean Women* :

There is no doubt in my mind that the wishes of the two partners should be taken into primary consideration. But at the same time, the opinions of the parents and the family members are absolutely not to be neglected.⁹¹

In 1966, a local leader of the Women's Union also advised the young people not to neglect parents' wishes regarding marriage. She said in this connection : "It is not right to ignore parents' opinion completely on the ground that the young people are in a new era."⁹²

This may be interpreted that the old custom of marriage can hardly be dislodged without resistance, even under the sweeping reforms of Communism. Especially does it seem to be true in rural areas where the custom had been deeply rooted. It is believed that 'love marriage', western style, may take a considerable time to become a way of life in North Korea.

It seems evident that after marriage, husband and wife are encouraged to engage in economic production and to build up a new society. In other words, personal sentiments of love and mutual attachment must be subordinated to loyalty to the Communist party and its leader and, therefore, through that to the state. Apparently, the North Korean Communists believe that love is not a personal but a social affair. This theme was repeatedly elaborated on in the column "Love, Marriage and the Home" of the magazine *Korean Women*. A couple of samples of this theme are sufficient to serve our purpose :

Love cannot be an end in itself, but should lead to a true goal of life and to make it come to realization. Is not that kind of love the most desirable for this revolutionary age?⁹³

A correspondent of *Korean Women* describes 'communist mother' as one who finds true happiness through serving others, and gives undivided loyalty to the Party and its leader.⁹⁴

While recognizing the many kinds of affection and loyalties that people have — love between husband and wife; parental love; love between brothers — and their importance, yet what is stressed is a 'higher form of love' which

91. Kap Ki Lee, "Yakhonkwa Kyolhon" (Engagement and Marriage), *Chosonnyosong*, (Korean Women), November 1964, p. 47.

92. Kye Son Kim, et. al., "Nongch' on Ch' onyotului Kyolhonmunje" (On the Problem of Marriage for the Girls in Rural Areas), *ibid*, May, 1966, p. 57.

93. Ung Ho Park, "Chinjonghan Sarangiran?" (What is True Love?), *ibid.*, March 1966, p. 24.

94. "Kongsanjui Omoni" (A Communist Mother), *ibid.*, June 1966, p. 60.

is expressed through the love of the collective and comrades. This concept was succinctly described by one of the women students of Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang :

Those who sacrifice their lives for the sake of the collective and comrades without the slightest hesitation are more beautiful and sublime.⁹⁵

In short, we are told that in the North Korean communal, sacrificial love is nobler than personal love. Self-realization appears to matter little. In serving people, one is said to find a higher happiness.

As has been observed in many other Communist countries, out of that kind of ideal seems to follow a puritanical atmosphere pervading the general scene. For example, while the emancipation has freed women in almost every field of activity, no actual sexual freedom seems to have developed. Edward Kim, a *National Geographic* journalist, tells that while strolling along a beautiful beach near the city of Wonsan at the East Sea, he came to a sign: "MEN" — right on the beach. Then, farther on, another sign: "WOMEN" — also, on the beach. His guide explained, on questioning, that the beach was divided into two sections so that men and women could have separate bathing areas because they preferred it that way. The guide asked curiously then, if it was true about the so-called nudist camps in America where men and women do not wear any clothes. It is unimaginable that there could be such a thing in the world — he could not really believe it.

Having seen this still prevalent restriction of sexual freedom, Kim commented in his article that : " The 'new morality' of the West has made little impression on North Korea's younger generation. I seldom see expressions of affection in public. "⁹⁶

It is a very interesting contrast to see the attitude of sexual restraint that characterized the North Koreans under Communism, and today's sexual revolution under way in the Soviet Union. According to a recent *New York Times* article :

In the Soviet Union, 28 out of 100 marriages now end in divorce, one out of ten births is illegitimate and among younger people premarital and extra-marital sex is becoming the norm rather than the exception.⁹⁷

For the North Korean young people, it appears to be a long way to go for such increasing sexual permissiveness as exists in some of the Communist countries today.

North Korean Communism appears to have liberated women as well as the young people from the traditional patriarchalism. But they have not

95. Myong Suk Kim, "Urisitaeci Charang Suroun Yongungch' nyo" (Our Proud Heroine in Our Times), *Ch' ourima* (Winged Horse), July 1973, p. 82.

96. Edward Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

97. *The New York Times*, June 17, 1975, p. 2.

been permitted to use their freedom for self-indulgence. We are informed that in North Korea social activities for the young are mostly in organised groups, and young adults find mates through work, social and study programs.⁹⁸ The idea of privacy seems unimportant.

In North Korea, "marriage before the age of 25" is said to be "discouraged"⁹⁹ now. Despite their late marriage, however, birth control methods have not been encouraged. This is interpreted to mean that with only a 15-million population, North Korea could easily absorb a larger growth in population to strengthen the labour force. As a matter of fact, mothers who have large families enjoy high regard. To the Western observer it may be a mystery what the many unmarried young men and women do to satisfy emotional needs. But they seem too busy to waste their time thinking about what we call romance or immoral sexuality. North Korea today appears to be a cloister filled with the spirit of monastic discipline. As Salisbury puts it, North Koreans are dedicating themselves intensely "to the work ethic."¹⁰⁰ In North Korea today, work seems to be a virtue in the same way it was in 19th century America.

Today's North Korean women are pictured in newspapers or magazines as tractor drivers, lathe operators, crane operators, university students, railway station operators, textile workers, scientists, professors, members of the Supreme People's Assembly, members of the militia, and members of the army. Women in North Korea are clearly pictured "as proud masters of country and society and dependable builders of socialism."¹⁰¹

Conclusion

North Korea claims to be "a paradise on earth in which people are free from any slightest worry."¹⁰² But it may be a debatable question: can this kind of socialist state be called a country without anxieties? While we may not agree on the term 'paradise', there is no doubt whatever that they brought about a great change in the status of women. We are puzzled by this claim. Possibly it is due to the difference of opinion regarding the concept of paradise. When Mark Gayn, columnist for *The Toronto Star* interviewed one of North Korea's best known actresses in 1972, she told him that she "receives 68 a month."¹⁰³ If she wished to buy a jacket and skirt (chogori and chima), she had to spend \$ 32. She added that, however, all essential like food, shelter, education, are provided at low cost, almost free, by the state.

98. Edward Kim, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

99. *Ibid.*

100. Salisbury, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

101. *The Pyongyang Times*, March 8, 1975, p. 3.

102. *The People's Korea*, April 16, 1975, p. 1.

103. Mark Gayn. "The Cult of Kim," *The New York Times Magazine*, October 1, 1972, p.24.

In a material sense, the living standard appears to be far lower than Western standards, generally. But, being given a chance to participate in building a new society, on an equal status with men, women may have a greater gain for self realization than just by being able to acquire more material gains. It may provide a more 'positive motivation for greater growth of the country.'

Possibly, North Korean Communists desired to liberate women from the traditional shackle. But, on the other hand, they may have wanted to pull together a labour force of women for building a new socialist state. In any case, these two goals seem to have been met.

One may question whether they are happy or not under these circumstances; whether or not this may be another type of exploitation by government.¹⁰⁴ This we cannot know, as we get only 'official' statements. There is a gap in information. Western observers may not contact ordinary citizens for comment. We cannot conclude from such limited informational sources what the actual feeling is of the people. This cannot be a conclusive discussion of equality of the sexes. Hopefully continuing further studies will be made in the future.

104. A typical criticism made repeatedly by the South Korean government. Yet, South Korea itself has had a reputation for "low pay for workers and sweatshop conditions." (*Newsweek*, June 30, 1975, p. 33) This is particularly true among women workers. For example, in the Masan Free Trade Zone, established by agreement between the South Korean government and Japan in 1970, about 80% of the workers were young girls (in May 1975, about 75%). Their average wage in 1974 was 21,646 won — less than \$ 40 per month working 10 to 12 hours a day, six days a week. This is tantamount to one-sixth the average wage of Japanese women workers. Of course, trainees receive far less than that average wage. And, from this wage they must pay for their room and board which is part of the factory operation. Furthermore, it is heart-rending to learn about how Japanese factory representatives in the Masan Free Trade Zone enticed young girls into pleasing their human feeling. (For detailed information about Masan Free Trade Zone, see "Masan Syuch' uch'u Ch'iyu Ch'iiki no Ch'ittiaich' osa (Investigative Report on Masan Free Trade Zone), of K'angkok Seiki Heiwa Kiing'k'ai (Committee on Social Justice and Peace in Korea, established by Korean Catholic Church). The report appeared in *Sekai* (The World), May 1975, pp. 23-55) South Korea is also ill reputed for its 'kisaeng (courtesan) parties, the Korean equivalent of a Japanese 'geisha' soiree. Hundreds of thousands of Japanese men come to Korea to have a good time with 'kisaeng'. Each of Seoul's 1,500 registered 'kisaeng' took in \$ 120 a night from Japanese customers in 1973. The present South Korean government expected \$ 120 million in 1973 from tourism, mostly from Japanese men 'looking for action' in Korea. According to *Time* magazine: "Some South Koreans ... are disturbed by the fact that their country seems to be turning into Japan's bordello" (*Time*, June 4, 1973, p. 45). Here one can see a case of the degradation of human rights of women in South Korea.

BRHASPATI ON STATE PATRONAGE TO FREEBOOTERS*

RAGHAVENDRA VAJPEYI

The jurist Bṛhaspati had flourished during the fourth century¹. Though his Smṛti is a lost text, its views on various aspects of law have been preserved in the form of quotations and citations by early and late medieval writers. Their frequency suggests that during ancient and medieval periods of Indian history the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* was considered as an authority on law and legal procedure.

Two unique verses of the lost *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* have been preserved by early medieval writers Aparārka², Lakṣmīdhara³ and Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa.⁴ They suggest that Bṛhaspati had accepted that freebooters had a definite role to play in the contemporary interstate politics. They further indicate that Bṛhaspati had recommended that state could not only grant them protection and patronage but could also claim its one-sixth share of the booty carried away by freebooters from another state.

According to the aforesaid early medieval writers Bṛhaspati had accepted the state and the freebooters as partners in the project which aimed at ruining the economy of neighbouring states and had made the following recommendations:⁵

* This article is the revised version of the present writer's paper which he had presented in the Ancient India section of the Indian History Congress, Jadavpur Session, Calcutta, 1974.

1. Though Jolly does not fix the date of the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, he is convinced that it cannot be placed later than sixth or seventh century (*Sacred books of the East*, xxxiii, 276). Kane places Bṛhaspati between A. D. 200 and 400 (*History of Dharmasāstra*, i, Poona, 1930, 210). K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar is inclined to believe that the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* cannot be placed later than the fourth century (*Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, Gaekwad Oriental Series lxxxv, 1941, Introduction, p. 185). Ghoshal places it between A. D. 300 and 500 (U. N. Ghoshal, *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, Madras, 1966, p. xxi).

2. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (Aparārka Ṭīkā), Poona, 1904, p. 839.

3. *Kṛtya Kalpataru*, xxi, (ed.) K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Baroda, 1953, p. 74.

4. *Smṛti Caudrikā*, iii, part ii, (ed.) L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1916, p. 440.

5. Jolly, *Op. Cit.*, p. 341.

According to the *Dharmakośa* (ed.) Laxmanshastri Joshi, i, pt II, Wai, 1938, p. 788, the following works dating from 1314 to 1833 had with minor variation reproduce the Bārhaspatya verses: *Vivādaratnākara* (125), *Parāśavaniūdhava* (311), *Vivāda-Cintāmani* (53-4), *Smṛti cintāmani* (18), *Nṛsiṅha prasāda* (26) *Vivādacandra* (39). *Sarasvatīvilāsa* (276), *Vyavahāra Prakāśa* (305), *Vivādātāṇḍava* (596), *Vivādūrṇavasetu* (145-6), *Vyavahārthasamuccaya* (93) and *Vivādavyavahāra* (35).

Svām̐yājñāyā tu yaccauraiḥ paradeśāt samāhṛtam;
 Rājñe datvā tu ṣaḍbhāgam bhajeyus te yathāmsataḥ. (1)
 Caturo' mśāns tato mukhyaḥ sūrastryamśam samāpnuyāt;
 Samarthas tu hared dvyamśam śeṣāḥ sarve samāmsinaḥ. (2)

(Jolly has translated it thus: When anything has been brought from a hostile country by freebooters with the permission of their lord, they shall give a sixth part to the king and shares (the remainder) in due proportion. The four shares shall be awarded to their chief; he who is (specially) valiant shall receive three shares : one (particularly) able shall take two; and the remaining associates shall share alike.)

The recommendations give rise to the following questions:

(1) Did Bṛhaspati use the term *paradeśa* in the context of another country ? Did the fourth century India leave any occasion for international relations ?

(2) Was Bṛhaspati asking the state to introduce the practice of granting patronage to freebooters ? Or that practice was already in vogue ?

(3) Even if we agree to believe that granting of patronage to freebooters was a prevalent practice, the question remains valid as to why he made such recommendations ? Was he not aware that such policy of interstate relations could ultimately ruin the initiator of the policy itself ?

(4) How could he as a jurist recommend such an unethical policy of interstate relations and recommend two different standards for dealing with the *cauras i. e.*, one policy for those thieves who were operating within the state and another for interstate robbers—the freebooters ?

(5) Why he had covered the state-freebooters relations in the laws relating to partnership ? Did he want to protect the interests of freebooters or he was interested in evolving some mechanism through which state could control the activities of freebooters ? And finally,

(6) If the practice of granting state patronage to freebooter was a prevalent practice, what were the constraints which made him legalise it and thereby reduce the state to the level of freebooters and make it a partner in their anti-neighbouring state activities ?

Let us take up these questions one by one.

As we have seen earlier, Jolly has translated the term *paradeśa* as *a hostile country*.⁶ He seems to be under the influence of Devaṅṇabhaṭṭa who has explained it as *a powerful hostile country (prabalatara vairideśa)*.⁷ Since

6. *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*

7. Devaṅṇabhaṭṭa has tried to explain why Bṛhaspati had fixed the state demand from freebooters as one-sixth share while Kātyāyana had, in his almost identical verses, recommended one-tenth as the state share. According to him in the case of Bṛhaspati the *paradeśa* was a *Prabalatara Vairideśa* and in that of Kātyāyana (who, had used the term *paravāṣṭra*) it was a *durbalatara vairideśa* (*Smṛti Candrikā*, iii, pt. ii. p. 440)

Devannabhaṭṭa dwells on the nature of the enemy power and not on the meaning of the word, we cannot accept his explanation as absolutely correct. The evidence of the fifth century Gupta inscriptions suggests that during the period terms *pr̥thivī*⁸ and *deśa*⁹ were used in the context of empire and not in that of country. Political conditions of Bṛhaspati's India does not permit us to accept that that was the period of international relations, much less to speak of international gangs of freebooters and robberies. We may not be wrong in suggesting that Bṛhaspati had used the term *paradeśa* either in the context of a hostile state or in that of another state.

Bṛhaspati's opinion on the nature of state demand in freebooters booty and also on the basis of the distribution of the remainder among the freebooters makes it clear that he had found his contemporary states already granting patronage to them. And that he was not the discoverer of the economic potential of freebooters. Only this much can be said that though that practice was in existence it was lacking moral and legal support. By bringing the state-freebooters relations within the perview of laws relating to partnership, he had removed that legal lacuna.

Regarding the next question, that is, was he not aware that such a policy of interstate relations was ultimately going to ruin that state also, we can say that neither Bṛhaspati nor his contemporary states were viewing things in long term perspective. It was a cut-throat competition. All states had one goal. All wanted to become most powerful so that they could remain centres of interstate politics. They were interested in securing their immediate future. Such psychology prompted them to patronise freebooters, who were not only ruining the economy of their neighbours but were also giving them a handsome share of their booty. They found nothing wrong in providing protection and patronage to such anti-social elements.

A survey of Bṛhaspati's Vyavahāra verses would convince us that he had adopted two standards for dealing with the *cauras*. Though he had used that word for both the freebooters and the ordinary thieves who operated within the state, in the case of the former, he recommended state patronage, that is, immunity from penal action, but in the case of the latter he had asserted that protection of the people from their activities was one of the main duties of the king, and king's claim of one-sixth shares of their wealth was based on his performance of those duties.¹⁰ It appears that Bṛhaspati's seemingly pro-freebooters policy was dictated by contemporary political compulsions. Organised gangs of freebooters were posing serious threat to the very existence of contemporary states. In order to divert their thrust towards their neighbouring kingdoms, and to keep themselves relatively free from the fear of their activities

8. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 304. No. 24 Mandasor Stone Inscription mentioning Kumāragupta and Bandhu Varman, L. 18, V. 23.

9. *Ibid*, p. 308.No. 25. Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, L. 3, V. 3.

10. K. V. Rangaswami's reconstruction of the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, Vyavahāra Kāṇḍa, I, 39-40

within the state, states had started patronising them. The condition was that they would have the sphere of their activities outside the state and would, in lieu of the protection and patronage granted to them give a sixth part of their booty to the patron king. Thus as a realist, instead of recommending effective steps against them, Bṛhaspati had agreed to regularise the state freebooters agreement. This policy was going to help his state obtain an additional source of income which did not involve any financial or administrative burden on it.

Here we may point out that Bṛhaspati wanted to empower the state to control and direct freebooters against its target states. For this purpose he had brought the state freebooters relations within the perview of laws relating to partnership. That is, like all other partnership projects, the activities of the freebooters were to be regulated by that law. Patron state was the first party. It was providing to the freebooters an operational base and also protection. And in that capacity it had a right to claim one-sixth of their booty as its shares. The freebooters were the second party which was actively engaged in the operation. By telling who shall get how much, Bṛhaspati had placed the state in the position of an arbitrator. That is, in the event of any dispute on distribution, members of their organisation could approach the king and could request him to mediate. By this clever mechanism Bṛhaspati had placed the state in an advantageous position. It could now direct the freebooters against its future targets. After ruining them economically, it could wait for the opportunity; and after ascertaining chances of own victory it could launch a frontal attack on them and defeat them in the battlefield.

The sixth and the last question is no doubt quite valid. Before the period of Bṛhaspati we do not come across a single evidence which, directly or by implication, might suggest that any jurist had ever tried to justify such unethical and illegal activity. And in the entire Dharmaśāstra literature Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana were the only *Smṛti* writers who had advocated the cause of granting state patronage to freebooters. Obviously, we have to locate the constraints which had compelled Bṛhaspati to make that departure from the *smṛti* tradition (which had till then been providing code of conduct for the society, individual and the state and had been claiming the position of guardian of morality and custodian of law).

A glimpse of Bṛhaspati's Vyavahāra, verses on taxation and land revenue demands make it clear that he had made his recommendations in the verses under discussion because of certain political pressures. On one hand sources of state income were showing a downward trend and on the other brāhmaṇas were enjoying special rights and privileges. Bṛhaspati had himself made fresh pro-brāhmaṇa recommendations. He had in his three Āpad dharma verses equated the brāhmaṇas with the king and, had on that basis, asserted that even landlord brāhmaṇas had a right to remain exempted from the payment of state dues.¹¹ In an era of declining state income and ever increasing

11. *Ibid*, Apaddharma Kāṇḍa, Vv. 18-20.

expenditure, without conceding king's right to tap unconventional sources' Bṛhaspati could not see his pro-brāhmaṇa recommendations translated into actual practice. And by honouring the brāhmaṇical claim for special rights and privileges, rulers could create a pro-ruler brāhmaṇa lobby. With its moral and juristic support, kings could unhesitatingly pursue their interstate policies which no more needed to be based on some well-defined principles etc.

Bṛhaspati's evidence on the sources of income and their relationship with the items of expenditure confirms our above hypothesis.

Among the sources of income he had only listed war booty, taxes and fines. Though land revenue has always remained a major source of state income, Bṛhaspati has, surprisingly, excluded it from his list.

Elsewhere he has made his recommendations about the should be nature of land revenue demand, assessment and its collection. According to him, state's land revenue demand was to be based on actual production. No uniform land revenue was to be demanded. State had the right to demand one-sixth of the produce of the spring crop; one-eighth of the produce of the rain crop; and, one-tenth of the produce of fallow land.

This seemingly pro-cultivator policy was quite misleading. On one hand state failed to make irrigation facilities available to cultivators and made them depend on nature and on their own efforts and on the other by creating three categories of land and by basing the state demand on actual produce, it further brought down the land revenue collections.

In this setting, claims for brāhmaṇical privileges further aggravated the imbalances of economy. Incapacity to evolve sound economic policy and, inability to gear up administrative system capable enough to deal with organised anti-social elements like freebooters, made the contemporary states pursue the practice of granting patronage to freebooters. And the money they received from them became a major source of additional income.

As has been said earlier, Bṛhaspati did not assume the position of a real jurist. In order to protect his class interests, that is, the demand of special rights and privileges for the brāhmaṇa community, he joined the king-brāhmaṇa combine, and legalised the practice of granting state patronage to freebooters.

12. *Ibid*, Vyavahāra Kāṇḍa, VII, V. 11.

13. *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, Vyavahāra Kāṇḍa, I, 43.

14. According to Bṛhaspati's formula the mean land revenue should have been one-eighth (*i. e.*, $1/6 + 1/8 + 1/10 = 3/24 = 24 \div 3 = 3 + 1/8$). But this formula will not work because the produce of fallow land has been accepted as a regular source of land revenue. In fact fallow land was periodically left uncultivated. Thus actual land revenue receipts should have averaged between one-eighth and one-tenth.

This analysis of Bṛhaspati's recommendations on state patronage to freebooters, projects a disheartening picture of the peace time interstate relations of the pre-Gupta states of north-eastern India. Multiplicity of states, coupled with their peculiar peace time interstate relations, seems to have offered favourable opportunity to the more energetic Guptas to carve out their kingdom and also to pursue imperialistic policy. Samudragupta had succeeded in providing political unity to the Gangetic doab and north-eastern India. And by the closing years of his reign, Bṛhaspati's maṇḍala theory had lost its relevance in the contemporary politics.

15. The evidence of the fourth and fifth century Gupta-Vākātaka inscriptions, suggests that the nine kingdoms of the Aryāvārta were a well-knit society and their unifying factor was their common religion, *i. e.*, Śaivism. Though brāhṃaṇas, the Vākātakas of Maharashtra and eastern Madhya Pradesh, were also Śaivites; Likewise, the Śakas of Gujarat and western Madhya Pradesh, too, were devotees of Śiva. Their common religion did not permit them to follow Bṛhaspati's policy of interstate relations and spoil their peace time relations with their neighbours. So also, the nine republican oligarchies of Hariyana, eastern Madhya Pradesh, north-eastern Rajasthan and Punjab (of India and Pakistan) were having a common political ideology. No intimate knowledge of the people of north-eastern or north-western frontier was available to the people of the Ganga valley. Obviously, Bṛhaspati's policy of interstate relations could have found fertile ground in the states due east of Varanasi, most probably, in south Bihar.
16. Though Samudragupta had, according to the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription conquered the kingdoms of Aryāvarta, the Ātavikas and the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇapatha he had not included the last two among the areas under his direct control. Only Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (up to Mathura in the west) were integral parts of his empire.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE 1 : A PROPOS "ARYABHATA AND LOKĀYATAS"

G. V. TAGARE

This refers to Dr. G. M. Bongard-Levin's article "*Āryabhaṭa and Lokāyatas* (Soviet Review No. 52-53, November 18, 76 pp. 58-64). Dr. G. B. L. (as the Soviet Scholar abbreviates his name) has made out a good case to claim Āryabhaṭa to the Lokāyata school of Philosophy. He rightly compliments Āryabhaṭa for "giving and exposition of his bold new ideas and brilliant conjectures, which ran so far ahead of his epoch as to anticipate some of the scientific discoveries of modern times" (p. 59), in his treatise *Āryabhaṭīya* in 499 A. D. when he was just twentythree.

Dr. G. B. L.'s main grounds for regarding Āryabhaṭa as a Lokāyata (follower of Materialism) are the following :

- (1) Postulation of four elements (water, earth, fire, and air) as the constituents of the world.
- (2) Emphasis on direct perception as a valid tool of knowledge. He quotes Al-Biruni who attributes to Āryabhaṭa the following statement : *That which is not reached by perception is NOT knowable.* (Italics for emphasis by Dr. G. B. L. p. 61).

The real trouble about Lokāyatas is that original source-books of ancient Indian Materialists are not available. As Prof. D. B. Chattopadhyaya states it in his "*Lokāyata : A study in Ancient Indian Materialism*" (P. P. H. New Delhi), "ALL (D. B. C.'s emphasis) the original works of the Lokāyatas are lost beyond the prospect of any possible recovery. What we are actually left with are merely a few fragmentary survivals of the Lokāyata, but *all these are preserved in the writings of the opponents* (D. B. C.'s emphasis) i. e. of those who wanted only to refute and ridicule it. (*Lokāyata* : Intro. p. XV)

Dr. G. B. L. attempts to reconstruct ancient Indian Materialism which is pre-Buddhistic) from late works such as that of a Jain writer Haribhadra (8th Cent. A. D.) and a Brahmin author, Mādhava of the 16th Cent. A. D. Moreover historicity of some pre-Buddhist teachers is controversial. Gautma, the Buddha, is now accepted as a historical person. Hence if a view which is common to Buddhism and Lokāyatas, it can safely be claimed as the view of a historical Buddha rather than that of a controversial mythical teacher like Bṛhaspati.

It is now well-known that the Buddha postulated a doctrine of Five Aggregates (*Pañca skāṇdhas*) in the place of *Ātman* (Soul). In the First Aggregate

known as *rūpa skandha*, the Buddha included only Four Elements instead of five (*Samyutta Nikāya* III. 10). In the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, the most important work of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* of the Buddhist Pali canon, which is called "A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics" by its eminent editor Mrs. Rhys Davids (London 1900), defines "*Rūpa*" as "the four elements and that proceeding from grasping that" (pp. 124 ff.). This is enough to show that the Four-element concept existed at the time of the Buddha and the Buddha was the first historical person to promulgate it. Āryabhata lived in the hey-day of Buddhist intellectual activities when a galaxy of great Buddhist teachers like Maitreya Nātha, Ārya Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and others were fighting with Brahmanism and were spreading the gospel of the Buddha. The Lokāyata was not the dominant force at the time of Āryabhata. Āryabhata as his name shows, was not a Brāhmaṇa. He was a youth of twentythree, when he wrote his *Āryabhaṭīya*. No wonder that this youth was influenced by the Buddhist theory of four elements. As against Dr. G. B. L., I would like to attribute the influence Four-element theory on Āryabhata to the influence of the Buddhists rather than to Lokāyatas.

The acceptance of "direct perception" as an authoritative tool of knowledge is accepted by all schools and is not the *differentia* or monopoly of the Lokāyatas. The statement attributed by Al-Biruni to show that Āryabhata accepted only direct perception as the valid proof, could not be traced by me. Dr. G. B. L. also regretfully admits his inability to do so (ibid p. 61). Āryabhata is credited to have "anticipated" earth's rotation round its axis, the scientific theory of eclipses, ascertained accurately the value of π . Can we say that all these depended on his "direct perception"? Āryabhata was a brilliant mathematician. Is that rigorous form of logic dependent on direct perception only without accepting the validity of reasoning and inference?

In fact Dr. G. B. L. himself is not sure whether Āryabhata can be claimed as Lokāyata. He frankly confesses : "*However, it would be a gross vulgarisation to declare Āryabhata a materialist and assume that he was a Lokāyata follower* (ibid p. 63; emphasis mine).

What puzzles me still is that though Āryabhata was an inhabitant of Aśmaka (the Nanded district and the adjoining part of Vidarbha and Nizambad district), his astronomical system—"The *Ārya Siddhānta*"—is prevalent in Dravidian region only and not even in his native land Maharashtra. More research about his works is necessary.

NOTE 2 : THE DATE OF KUNDAKUNDA : A REAPPRAISAL

Padmanandi Koṇḍakunda who is better known by the smooth Sanskritised form "Kundakunda", is one of the earliest and the most respectable author-

saints among the Digam̄bar Jains. Owing to the extreme notion of selflessness and self-abnegation current among ancient Indian authors, the date of Kundakunda is uncertain. Unfortunately in spite of the great contribution of Kundakunda, "studies about Kundakunda are still in their infancy and there is scope for further investigation". (A. N. Upadhye : Introduction to *Pravacana Sāra*, p. 122). Hence this note.

Jain tradition gives two different dates about Kundakunda:

- (1) Kundakunda became an *Ācārya* in B. C. 8 at the age of 33. After 52 years in office, he passed away in 44 A. D.
- (2) Kundakunda was born 770 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Lord Mahāvīra : i. e. in 243 A. D. or 302 A. D. depending on the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*. *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's Hist. & Culture of the Indian People Vol. II, p. 699) accepts the latter date.

Digam̄bar Jain scholars are inclined to believe in the first tradition not because they have proved the 2nd tradition to be incorrect, but in their desire to assign antiquity to their revered author they have been lured by the illusive Prince Śivakumāra whom Kundakunda never mentions anywhere and who is not known to Kundakunda's earliest commentator, the scholar-poet Amṛtacandra. He is first mentioned by Jayasena (13th Cent. A. D.) the commentator of the *Textus ornatior of Pravacana Sāra*.

Granting that there was such a prince called Śivakumāra contemporary to Kundakunda, does he support the 1st date ? K. B. Pathak was misled in identifying him with the Kadamaba Prince Śiva-mṛgeśa Varmā (A. D. 528), as followers of Kundakunda — "*Kundakundānvayas*" are mentioned in Merkara Plates dated Śaka 388 i. e. 466 A. D. (*Epigraphica Carnatica Coorg Inscr.* No. 1) But are Chakravarti and Upadhye correct in identifying Śivakumāra Mahārāja with Prince Śivaskandha of the Pallava dynasty ? Dr. Upadhye himself doubts. As he plainly states it : " The only difficulty, in the way of this identification (of Śivakumāra with Śivaskandha) is *the uncertainty of Pallava genealogy and Chronology* in those (Pallava) records, mention is made of reign years and not of any standard era. The beginning of Pallava genealogy is chronologically uncertain "

(Intro. to *Pravacana Sāra* P. 19)

It is wellknown that Prākṛit Inscriptions of the Pallava dynasty are earlier than those in Sanskrit. If Śivakumāra and Śivaskandha Varmā be identical, *the first Śivaskandha Varmā of the Pallava dynasty ruled in the Fourth cent. A. D.* and NOT in the first cent. A. D. (vide *The Classical Age*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's History Vol. III, p. 282). And this date does not come into conflict with the date of the Merkara plates (even if it is assumed that the date of the plates is correct).

The Plates under reference mention six Kundakundānvaya teachers. This is not the physical heredity of the teachers of the Kundakunda-line. It

will be "an innocent hypothesis" as Dr. Upadhye calls it. This was a spiritual lineage or *Vidyā Vamśa* and not a *Māmsa Vaṃśa*. In the *Samartha Pratāpa*, a work written by a junior contemporary of Rāmadās (A Maratha saint of the 17th cent. A. D.) we are told that in the last congregation of his disciples and disciples' disciples etc., 11 generations of his disciples were present. If that is possible in the case of Rāmadās who lived less than 80 years, to have 6 generations of disciples is not impossible in the case of Kundakunda who lived 85 years. Apart from this hypothetical argument where all these Kundakundānvaya teachers become contemporaneous, one must allow some time to pass between a saint and the establishment of his spiritual genealogy. If spiritual genealogies in Mahārāshtra are considered, even fifty years are more than enough (vide *Vārakarī Saṃpradāyācā Itihās* by B. P. Bhairat) Even if period of 100 years is conceded for this, it brings us to 366 A. D. (if the date viz. 466 A. D. of the Merkara plates is correct). This places Kundakunda in the fourth Cent. A. D. and this supports the second Jain tradition which regards him as being born in 302 A. D. as correct.

The second tradition explains why he attacks the doctrinal positions of the Śvetāmbaras such as the denial of the necessity of nudity, women's natural incompetence to attain Mokṣa etc. As Prof. Upadhye puts it "As to the posterity of Kundakunda to the division of the Jain church into Digāmbaras and Śvetāmbaras there cannot be two opinions" (Intro to *Pravacana Sāra* p. 14). This schism as is well-known, became finally crystallized in 136 or 139 years after Vikramas (i. e. the Vikrama era). To trace it upto the 1st Bhadrabāhu of the Mauryan period is convenient history for positing Kundakunda in the beginning of the Christian era. In fact we should be more thorough going and trace this schism to the followers of Lord Pārśva Nātha and Lord Mahāvīra and trace the seeds of this schism in the 6th cent. B. C. if we are not prepared to accept the popularly accepted date of the schism in the 2nd cent. of the Vikrama era. It explains why Śvetāmbar commentators did not write commentary whereas they wrote a number of excellent and voluminous annotations on Uma Svāti's *Tattvārthu Sūtra*. This fact creates some doubt about the teacher-pupil relation between Kundakunda and Uma-svami (—ti). Kundakunda being a paramparā—śiṣya of Bhadrabāhu, need not be his contemporary.

As stated above, I wrote this note with a view to present the other side of the medal. I hope scholars will reinvestigate the problem and arrive at some definite date of this scholar-saint.

REVIEWS

1975 Annual Review of English Books on Asia (AREA) --- Brigham University Press, Provo, Utah 84602, U. S. A., 1976. pp. XII, 173.

As the preface explains, *The Annual Review of English Books on Asia* (AREA) is the annual cumulation of English books featured in *Hsin Shu*, a monthly bibliographical newsletter produced at Brigham Young University. This 1975 volume covers books acquired by the Harold Lee Library at BYU during 1974 and generally contains books published during 1972, 1973, and 1974. A few entries published prior to 1972, but published outside of the United States or Canada, have also been included. AREA is divided into "subjects" (geographic), "forms" and "authors sections". All books receive author (or title if no author) and subject (multiple) entries. Costs of books are suggested as retail prices.

Going through this books of 173 closely printed pages Quarto size, the reader is amazed at the patient and painstaking labour that scholars in every branch of knowledge must have put in to produce this gigantic and comprehensive work. The reader is delighted to find that all the countries of Asia are included, such as : Afganistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Burma, Combodia, China, Hongkong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malayasia, Mongolia, Nepal New Guinea, Pakistan, Phillipines, Singapore, Taiwan, Tibet, Vietnam. Numerous books referring to these countries find a place in this reference work. The subjects of the books cover an enormous variety. There are books on Political, Economic and Social developments, International Relations, Education, History, Geography, Description and Travel, Population studies, Philcosophy, and Religion, Trade and Economic Relations, Family and Marriage, Politics and Government, Anthorpology and Archacology, Art and Architecture, Literature, Language, Linguistics, Nationalism, Military science, Agriculture, Biography, Republican History and Culture, Cities and Towns, Communism, Communist History and Politics, Labour and Industry, Law, Mass Movements, Missionaries, Music, Poetry, Drama, Women, Children, Socialism, Colonial History and Culture, Economics and Finances, Social life and Customs, Buddhism, Folklore, Psychology Books having a distinctive format such as biography, bibliography, dictionaries, thesauri, reference works, textbooks, handbooks, photographs, eye-witness accounts, translations receive a form entry.

The book gives very detailed information about the authors so that the reader need not have to go to other reference works and biographical dictionaries. The biographical notes are not brief. They give a complete picture of the author's life, career and difficulties. e. g. Albert O. Mascotti (p. 154); author of *British Policy and the Nationalist Movement in Burma, 1917 -- 1937*

who published his books at the University Press of Hawaii in 1974. We are told that the volume was originally completed as the author's doctoral dissertation at Yale University in 1950. Since Moscotti, in the following twenty years was in the foreign service, he lacked the time to see it through publication. Upon retirement, he joined the Faculty at Hawaii and has been able to publish it in 1974. One is struck at the number of Indian scholars bringing out books on Asian Studies and notices that they are mostly teaching in universities in the U. S. A. A. Japanese Professor of English, Masad Miyoshi (p. 71), teaching in the University of California, Berkeley, writes a book on modern Japanese novel. The secret of the survival and success of Japan after the second world war comes to light in a book named *Japan's Trade Liberalization in the 1960's* by Prof. Alfred K. Ho, Professor of Economics at Western Michigan University. (p. 70.) Prof. Ho, points out how Japan's liberalization promoted economic development rather than hindering its progress due to adverse foreign competition. Prof. Yoon Won Z. teaching History at Siena College, Loudonville, New York, writes a book *Japan's Scheme for the Liberation of Burma*, relying heavily on Japanese sources. Francis Hutchins, a lecturer on Government at Harvard University, focuses on the 'Quit India Movement' of 1942, and publishes his book *Gandhi and the Quit India Movement* at Harvard University Press (p. 137). The notes on authors are thus very illuminating and a sociologist could write a book on the sources of inspiration that scholars find in various countries of the world.

A detailed summary of the contents of each of the books is given so that the reader can immediately spot the book he wishes to consult for his own study. The various details given make it easy for him to lay his finger on the exact piece of knowledge that he needs, thus saving the time that he would have wasted in browsing among books on a shelf and picking out relevant matter. Thus the volume under review helps scholars and students collecting data and bibliographies in various subjects. The note on each book gives its summary, the author's thesis, his arguments, and his conclusion. Often details of various sections of the book are carefully selected and highlighted.

A reader glancing through the number of learned books resulting from deliberations at conferences and workshops is impressed with the academic work that is being done at these places. Thus, there is a volume entitled *The Problem of Two Truths in Buddhism and Vedanta* (p. 3) edited by Mervyn Sprung, presenting nine papers read at a workshop sponsored by Brock University and Canada Council in 1969. Unesco has published a statistical compilation which contained data upto 1967 under the name *Progress of Education in the Asian Region*. *Religious Ferment in Asia* (p. 6) is a collection of thirteen papers originally presented at the 1968 Midwestern Conference on Asian Studies. It is printed at the University Press of Kansas. Indeed, the American universities are doing admirable work since most of these learned books and collections of papers are printed at the various University presses.

AREA also throws light on the academic work in progress about various countries on the subject of Asian studies. In fact, the book is an indication as to which countries attract scholarly work. Afganistan has only one book published about it and that too at the University of Cornell Press. Tibet has only one book written on Buddhism and that too by a foreigner. A Bibliography of Nepal is the only book about that country and it grew out of a relationship between the Government of Nepal and Southern Illinois University in 1966. On the other hand, there are more than 200 entries of books on China and the subjects of the books are numerous, some of them being Chinese History and Culture, Commerce, Buddhism, Biography, Literature, Chinese Arts and Crafts, Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture, Literature. Next to China is Japan which has inspired scholars to work on different subjects. India stands third on the list. There are quite a few books about Vietnam. The interest in Chinese studies is mirrored in the publication *Chinese Collection in the Library of Congress* in 3 volumes wherein are included excerpts from the annual reports of the Library of Congress for the years 1898-1971, pertaining directly to the Chinese section. This work was completed by the Center for Chinese Research. Materials of the Association of Research Libraries under P. K. Yu's direction.

Brigham University Press deserves gratitude of scholars, librarians, readers and students for the great service they are rendering to academic pursuits. The librarian will specially thank the sponsors of this volume for books which may be called 'A Librarian's Book Selection Tool' to determine which books of primary importance, which are of secondary importance, and which are not essential to basic collection. Our Indian universities can emulate the example of Brigham Young University and make the work of eager scholars pursuing different avenues of knowledge easy and enjoyable. This is a publication which every library in Asia must possess.

D. P.

Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, *The mystic experience* tr. by Dolly Diddee and Edited by Ma Anand Prem, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1977, Pp. xv, 543, Price Rs. 90/-.

To the intelligentsia all the world over today, yoga has become a subject of keen interest. Even the so-called rationalists of today talk about yoga and its mystic powers. Hundreds of books on yoga are published every year in India and abroad. Most of these books however, touch only the fringe of the subject of yoga. They deal with yogic postures (Āsanas) and varieties of Prāṇāyāmas, and their main object is preservation of health by means of yogic practices.

We heartily welcome, therefore, the book under review — 'The mystic experience' by 'Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh (=B. R.). It consists of a series

of talks in the form of questions and answers. All these talks mainly deal with the mystic power of Kundalini — Life power (Pranasakti) its nature, the process by which it is awakened, and occult depths of Kundalini and spirituality. The questions here are asked by Yoga-Sadhakas as well as persons interested in occult science. Some of these questions are frankly personal and critical; the answers are equally frank giving B. R.'s experiences of the awakening of his Kundalini. The answers are given by the method of relating anecdotes and stories -- a method adopted by Jesus Christ, Buddha and the Upanisadic seers. This has rendered the talks illuminating and interesting. The first five chapters of the book deal with the actual process of the awakening of Kundalini. Instructions regarding meditation to be performed in consecutive stages, are given by B. R. personally to the assembled Sadhakas. The result of the deep breathing done by the Sadhakas is shocking and bewildering. All the hitherto repressed feelings emotions burst out violently and consequently some of the Sadhakas shriek, some laugh uncontrollably, some wallow on the ground and some embrace their neighbours! The high tension of the mind caused by deep breathing is responsible for this pandemonium.

Shaktipat (i. e. transferring of the super human power of the Master to the disciple) also brings about such violent results. But ultimately all this disturbance is quelled and the sadhaka goes into the final stage of Samadhi in which his awakened Kundalini rests peacefully with the inner soul (Antaratma) residing in the smallest cavity in brain called Brahmarandhra.

In the context of the awakening of Kundalini, a questioner asked B. R. whether there is any relationship between deep breathing and the process of the awakening of Kundalini. The answer given by B. R. is as follows :— “There is a very deep-rooted relationship between deep breathing and the awakening of Kundalini (energy). This energy has two forms. If the Kundalini energy flows toward the body, it becomes sex-energy. If it flows toward the soul it becomes Kundalini, while flowing toward the body it descends, and when flowing toward the soul it ascends; but the place where it is can only be stimulated by breath. Deep breathing has a profound effect on the Kundalini. In ordinary people Kundalini is in deep slumber since many births; (so) very hard blows are required for it to be awakened. The basic centre of the Kundalini is hit by deep and intense breathing. It happens many a time, that with the hammer strokes of breathing the sex centre is stimulated. When the breathing pace accelerates and strikes at the Kunda (The reservoir of dormant energy) the experience of sex is felt.

The great yogi Gurdjieff had his Kundalini fully awakened. In his presence many women felt that their sex centres were stimulated. This was very natural; but was badly criticised for this, though it was not his fault at all. The vibrations around a person whose Kundalini is awakened begin to work on the Kundalini of those who approach him; their Kundalini lies asleep near the sex centre; therefore, that centre is affected first.

Deep breathing has a tremendous effect on the Kundalini. The first effect will be on the centre which is most active within the person. If a man is sexual his sexuality will become increasingly active.

This is B. R.'s method of awakening the Kundalini of Sadhakas, there is an immediate effect on the sex centres of the sadhakas especially women sadhakas; and sometimes they give vent to their repressed emotions in a manner which is shocking to those who keep before them the standard of conventional morality. It is exactly at this point that B. R. has been severely criticised by many educated people in India especially in Maharashtra and Gujarat for his strange method of awakening Kundalini in the Sadhakas. But the fact is that this frenzy of sex stimulation completely vanishes when the Sadhaka enters into the next stage of Meditation in which the Sadhaka asks the question 'who am I' in an incessantly loud voice. These are two clear ways before the Sadhaka. The first way of deep breathing has its impact on the body, the second way of asking 'who am I' has its impact on the mind; and this impact on the mind is more forceful than the impact of deep breathing.

Now if all this is happening without your will, your identity with the body will begin to loosen; with the impact coming from these two planes (the physical and the mental) the Kundalini will awaken and with its awakening unique experiences will begin to happen. On entering the path of Kundalini's journey man's story is no longer of an individual but the story of the Universal Consciousness Sri Aurobindo used to speak in this language, but he was not clearly understood. Then the subject matter is not of one person alone, but of the whole Cosmic Consciousness; and this is the final goal of the awakening of Kundalini.

This method adopted by B. R. for the awakening of the Kundalini is identical with the method adopted by Shakta-philosophers whose motto is "Deliverance from bondage is through enjoyment" — The word enjoyment here used is grossly misunderstood. Enjoyment in the present context, means purging of all the intensely repressed emotions from our mind by giving free vent to them. In other words it is method of Catharsis. This Catharsis — is according to the view of Aristotle brought about by witnessing tragedies on the stage, in which scenes full of pity and terror and predominant.

Thus the mysteries of Kundalini yoga have been unravelled by B. R. to his disciples (and the readers) through these illuminating and very interesting talks.

We, therefore, recommend this volume to those deeply interested in yoga, in its practical and theoretical aspect.

R. B. A.

The *Bṛhadhyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti*—2nd rev. ed., by Swami Kuvalayanand, Raghunathshastri Kokaje, Ed. The Kaivalyadhama, S. M. Y. M. Samiti, Lonavala, 1976, pp. 28 + 262, Price Rs. 20/-.

The *Bṛhadhyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti* is an important work on Yoga which dilates on prescribed daily duties such as bath, sandhyā, sūryopāsana etc. This work consisting of 12 Adhyāyas is evidently different from the well-known *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* which consists of only 3 Adhyāyas laying stress on the Vyavaharādhyāya. The present work associated with the term *yogi* preceding Yājñavalkya has its own distinctive features. Firstly the author of this work has taken care to include Yogic practices such as *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra* etc. in the daily duties mentioned in the Vedic Karmakāṇḍa thereby following a method different from that of the Pātañjala yoga as well as Haṭhayoga. Secondly, the author of this work unlike other works in *Yogaśāstra* upholds the view of *jñānakarmasamucchaya*. In fact, he has boldly said that Jñāna without karma as well as Karma without Jñāna remains incomplete and a judicious combination of both can only lead to welfare. Thereby qualifying the householder also to secure Mokṣa. Thirdly, although the author of this Smṛti has accepted the 8 different accessions of Yoga given by Patañjali, he has thought it proper to change the order of Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi giving preference to Dhyāna over Dhāraṇā.

This work was first edited in 1951 by the learned editors, with due care and caution. The present volume is the revised edition wherein parallel ideas from additional works such as *Brahmāṇasarasvasya*, *Amṛtanādoṇiṣad*, *Brahmabindūṇiṣad* etc. have also been given with a view to either corroborate or elucidate the author's point of view. Greater care has been taken in giving parallel ideas on the same topic by different Smṛtis or works such as *Aṭismṛti*, *Smṛticandrikā*, *Baudhayānadharma-sūtra* etc. so as to help the reader to compare them and arrive at a conclusion regarding the contribution of the author of the present work. Appendices have added to the value of this edition by way of a reference work. Appendix 1 brings together all verses attributed to the author of the by other writers but not found in the extant version. Appendix 2 brings together some verses in the work commented and explained by the original editors. Appendix 3 gives the which is helpful in locating references; the eighth alphabetical list of the technical terms in *Yogaśāstra* from the *Bṛhadhyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti* is indeed very useful. The same can be said about the list of special words in the work. The fact that the editors have given an alphabetical list of the quarters of verses in the work speaks of the carefulness in making this edition useful by way of a ready reference to the researches. The Kaivalyadhama S. M. Y. M. Samiti, therefore, deserves compliments for bringing out this revised edition although one has to admit with sorrow that it could not be brought out before the demise of the original editors. Discerning readers as well as researchers in the field outside India will eagerly await the English version promised in the introduction.

M. D. P.

A Cultural Study of the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, by Madhu Sen, Sohanlal Jain Dharma Pracharak Samiti, Amritsar, available at P. V. Research Institute, Varanasi-5 (India), 1975, Pp. xiii, 409, Price Rs. 30-00.

The *Niśītha Sūtra* is one of the six *Cheda-sūtras* which form a part of the sacred canon of the Jains. These *Cheda-sūtras* deal with rules of conduct for monks and prescribe atonements and expiations in the form of punishments (reduction or cuts in Seniority—*dikṣāparyāya*—) on their violating any of these rules. Further, they lay down exceptions to the general rules of conduct keeping in view exceptional and extra-ordinary circumstances a monk might find himself in. On account of the peculiar nature of the content the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* (NC) was regarded as a treatise 'not meant for all' but only for 'students of mature judgment,' and hence 'a secret work' (*Ṇiśīham aprakāśam*). With a view to elucidating the text two commentaries in verse, *Niryukti* and *Bhāṣya*, were composed in Prakṛit. For a more comprehensive, thorough and lucid exposition of the NC and the two commentaries on it Jinadāsa Mahattara Gaṇi (*Circa*, the latter half of the 7th century A. D.) wrote a vast prose commentary in Prakṛit, interspersed with Sanskṛit words and verses, called (*Vīṣeṣa*) *Cūrṇi*. In the course of his elaborate exposition Jinadāsa, consciously or unconsciously, describes social, religious and political conditions prevalent in his times. Dr. Sen chose to study critically this text from the cultural point of view for his Ph. D. thesis. The work, under review, is only a revised version of his thesis.

Pt. Dalsukh Malvania in his excellent paper "*Niśītha : Eka Adhyayana*", which is added to the present edition of the text — briefly deals with the cultural information as found in the NC. Dr. Sen makes full use of this study in his present treatise. His treatise, however, presents a *comprehensive* study of the various aspects of the cultural life as reflected in the NC.

In the Introductory Chapter he briefly dwells on the NC, its author Jinadāsa, his date, his place and gives an analysis and evaluation of the Contents of the NC. In the succeeding chapters Dr. Sen studies the text in its different aspects throwing light on polity and administration, social life, material culture, economic conditions, education (learning and literature), fine arts and religion as depicted in it. He completes his study by adding two useful indexes about (i) Diseases mentioned in the NC and (ii) Geographical names mentioned in the NC (along with their identification with the modern place-names).

The author takes pains to supplement and corroborate the cultural information gathered with other available sources. The treatise reveals the author's industry, unbiased attitude and ability to judge properly the evidence before him and arrive at the right conclusions.

When going through the treatise one comes across a number of misprints and cases of incorrect use of English. A few of them may be listed here :

p v Soure (source), p vi In contrary (In contrast)
p 4 the detail (detailed) exposition

- p 28 tyrant (tyrannical) and viscious kings.
- p 33 — but the difference between these terms have (has) not been explained.
- p 36 The royal palace was provided with every (all) convincible (conceivable) amenities for comforts.
- p 40 jestors (jesters) p 43 during the hostile period (during the period of hostility hostilities)
- p 75 dwelled (dwelt) p 82 though the ideals regarding a true Brāhmaṇa was (were) the same.
- p 83 both the person and the property of the Brāhmaṇas being absolutely inviolate (inviolable)
- p 88 pea-cock teamers (tamers) p 91 indentified (identified)
- p 103 —the Hindu law-givers of this age enjoy (enjoin) prepuberty marriages—
- p 125 coquetish (coquettish) p. 125 backed (baked) flour
- p 239 —justify (attest) to the same fact. p 239 confirm to (confirm) the fact.
- p 242 with a view to grasp (ing) the inlets (tenets) of his teachings
- p 285 to affect (effect) the salvation; Jiya (Jīna) paḍimā
- p 290 holding its grounds (ground),
- p 316 underlied (underlay) p 317 mant (meant)
- There are errors also in printing Devanāgarī words, for instance;
- p 75 f. n.-1 anṇataram̐ for anantaram̐
- p 108 f. n.-1 pāvattḥaṇi for pavitṭhāṇi
- p 233 f. n.-3 svaparāsiddham̐ taparūvago. It should be read as one compound word.
- p 253 f-n-2 Ṇaravāhaṇadantakadhā (-- dattakadhā).

These and such other misprints and inaccuracies, however regrettable, do not detract from the merit of this work. Comparatively speaking, the Prakrit languages and literature have received very little attention of the scholars in the field of Indology. Vast and varied cultural material lies unexplored in the mass of unpublished and recently published Jain works. Dr. Sen's cultural study of the *NC*, an encyclopaedic work of the early medieval period, is certainly welcome. It contributes to the advancement of knowledge. The author, therefore, well deserves our congratulations on this treatise of his.

V. M. K.

Anandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*, K. Krishnamoorthy, critical edition with introduction, English translation and notes with a forward by Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Karnataka University, Dharwar, 1974, Pp. XLI + 406, Price Rs. 25/- \$ 8 or Sh. 60.

The *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana with or without the commentary by Abhinavagupta, (Locana), has been published a number of times. The

editor of this new critical edition had brought out the bare English translation in 1955. In the preface to his new edition he claims : "The text has been now critically edited for the first time by collating some fresh manuscripts which have not been used by previous editors of the *Dhvanyāloka*. The English translation itself has been rewritten in the light of valuable suggestions made by scholars of repute, Indian and Foreign, while reviewing it in learned journals."

In the Introduction (pp. xi - xli) Dr. Krishnamoorthy deals with the following topics : (1) The Text of The Dhvanyāloka (2) Improved Readings In This Edition (3) Title Of The Text (4) The Importance of the Dhvanyāloka (5) Dhvani Theory After Ānandavārdhana (6) Ānandavardhana's Semantics (7) Rasa in The Dhvani Theory. After the Introduction we have the text and its English translation (pp. 2—299). To facilitate reference the text and its translation are printed side by side. At the end of the text and its translation we have Notes (pp. 303-85) followed by Glossary of Technical terms and English Equivalents (pp. 386-394). Four useful Indexes (of Kārikās, Parikara-Ślokas, Quotations, Authors and Works) have been added at the end. Finally we have a one-page Errata.

The edition seems to be mainly intended for University students. There is hardly any doubt that it will receive a ready welcome from the University students of Sanskrit, especially of Alamkāra literature. The Introduction ably deals with some of the problems such as authorship, literary theory, which are of vital importance to them. They would derive considerable benefit by reading his other works and papers mentioned in the footnotes the Introduction. The translation, is, generally speaking, faithful to the original and readable. It would enable the students to understand and appreciate the Sanskrit original well. The Notes would prove quite useful to them in understanding some of the knotty points in the text and certainly arouse their interest in comparative aesthetics.

Incidentally, a few lapses may be pointed out here :

Occasionally, we come across cases where the translation is not in accordance with the reading adopted but the reading recorded in the footnotes (e. g., the reading '*Sahridayasuprasiddham*' (p. 8).

On occasions we find that some expressions or lines are left out in the translation, for instance, '*Virahavidhurāṅ*' (in "Kah sannaddhe" etc., p. 106) and '*Kenāsi dūrīkṛtaḥ*' (in the verse opening with "Kim hāsyena", etc., p. 42) are left out in the translation.

Sometimes we come across lapses in presenting the text. On p. 116 the text gives only the pratika "Kṛtaka-kupitaiḥ" of a stanza from a play *Rāmābhyudaya*. In the translation the whole stanza is translated. The Editor should have done well in presenting the text of the whole stanza in a foot-note as he has done in the case of the pratika "Smaranavanadī — pūre-

ṇoḍhan" on the very next page. Here is another instance : P 82 f. n. 8 reads : prastarah 'pāṣāṇah' — 'tayornopameyabhāvaḥ'. The correct readings are 'pāṣāṇah' and 'nopamānopameyabhāvaḥ'.

The text of a number of Prakrit verses is presented rather indifferently. The text, Sanskrit chāyā and translation of some of these Prakrit verses need to be considerably revised.

A truly critical edition of *Dhanyāloka* with Locana is a desideratum. The present edition of Dr. Krishnamoorthy and his promised edition of *Locana* when published will, we hope, entuse others to improve upon the first attempts and provide the world of scholars with a perfect critical edition of the text and its commentary.

V. M. K.

An introduction to Panini-I, by P. B. Junnarkar, S. S. Dighe, Baroda, 1977. Pp. 1·8 + 158. Price Rs. 30/-.

The book under review is an effort to present the aphorisms of Pāṇini in an easily understandable way. The author states in his 'Introduction' that the method of teaching Sanskrit in the old schools of Sanskrit was to make the students commit to memory, when the student was young, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, "without the slightest to understand it; that later he read the obstruce Bhāṣya of Patañjali, the glosses of the *Kāśikā* and the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*: but that he acquired little knowledge of the living language, which should be the real aim. With this aim in view Prof. Junnarkar has arranged his chapters. He has tried to clarify the various technical terms, and has given suitable examples. A happy and the remarkable characteristic of these examples is that they are not stereotyped, as we find in the *Vṛtti*. They breathe of freshness.

The chapters are short and apt, and the information on a particular topic is almost complete. The various topics dealt with are Pratyāhāra, Guṇa-Vṛddhi, Tense-terminations and Case-terminations. The tense that is studied is the Present in this part, with the roots from the four easy conjugations, viz. I, IV, VI, and X. The Case-terminations of the Masculine and the Neuter *prātipadikas* are dealt with. In the opening chapter the whole phonetic system is analysed, giving the technical terms of the classes of various sounds, such as *ku, cu, fu, tu, pu* etc., in keeping with the plan of the book. The use of the Devanāgarī script throughout the book for examples and technical terms helps easy understanding. At the end of the book a Glossary of roots, where also the form of a root according to the tradition is first given, then its actual value in the formation is noted and, lastly, its English rendering is given. Thus, for example, *gāhū vilodane* = *gāh* (both in Devanāgarī) = 'to dive into'. This serves a very useful purpose, especially in the matter of the indicators (*it*) of the roots, which have a special purpose. For example,

the student could immediately know, on a bit of observation that the *it-it* (the root having the short *i* as the indicatory) in the tradition takes the *n* sound in formation, which fact is explained in actual formation with the proper aphorism cited. Also is provided a short vocabulary, both from English into Sanskrit and from Sanskrit into English. An index of the aphorisms of Pāṇini used in the book, with the exact reference to the pages, serves a very useful purpose. This covers important aphorisms relating to the topics covered, and can help easy memorization.

Another interesting and a useful feature is the exercise that occurs at the end of every chapter.

Certain terms, however, do not get their share of proper explanation. Thus, the at the verbal and the case-formations mention is made of the term *aṅga* (PP. 10; 18; 21; 75 etc.); but one misses the explanation and the definition the term (*yasmāt pratyaya-vidhiḥ*... etc.). Though a particular termination is said to be *sārvadhātuka* or the *ārdhadhātuka*, and the aphorism is also quoted (*tin-sit-sārvadhātukam*), a clear principle of differentiating them could have been further explained to the benefit of the students. Similarly, the exact concept of the difference between the *sarvanāma-sthāna* and the *a-sarvanāma-sthāna* could have further explained. Anyway, it can be said without any reservation, that the book is well planned, finely documented and systematically presented. It is bound to be of great use to all those who desire to have a closer view of the system of Pāṇini and a good grasp of the Sansrit language. I could also serve as the primer of the Sanskrit language, and could be prescribed as a text-book. Other parts to follow will, no doubt, be equally good and useful.

S. A. D.

An introduction to Ravindranath Tagore, by V. S. Naravane The Macmillan Company of India Ltd., Madras, 1977, Pp. 165 + 15, Price Rs. 12/-.

It has been rightly said that Ravindranath Tagore's life 'is a long dream of colour and music, of beauty and heavenly genius.' Diversity of his creative achievement is the most striking feature of his genius. In recent years his importance as a thinker is being gradually recognised and now it is accepted that he had a profound insight into the fundamental issues of Philosophy. V. S. Naravane the author of the present book introducing primarily non-Bengali readers to his personality and achievement, is eminently suited for the job as he had been a keen student of philosophy having had an opportunity to teach several courses in Indian Philosophy and Literature at the University of Redlands in California. He is already known for his 'Essays in Philosophy and Culture' as well as his good book on Modern Indian Thought. "A Philosophical Survey".

The present volume tries to introduce readers to Ravindranath Tagore in eight chapters fortunately in a manner far from being conventional. He

starts by saying that India's innate vitality has been ably demonstrated by throwing up two men of incredible stature, Gandhi and Tagore in one single generation; but takes care to point out that the influence of the former, a man of action is naturally more obvious and direct. It has been pointed out that Tagore's modernity and freshness of outlook need not be taken to be inconsistent with his love and ancient tradition based on sound knowledge and understanding of its perennially worthy aspect. In the second chapter, the author speaks of Tagore, the Man his formative years along with those of struggle and sorrow leading him to world fame. The third chapter speaking of his philosophy rightly apprehends the sources of Tagore's thought, his principle of harmony helping him to steer clear of extremes and fashioning the 'middle path' on fundamental issues. The author's statement that 'the revival of interest in Buddhism in Modern India can be traced to some of Tagore's essays and poems' is a compliment that is significantly paid. In fact this chapter has been brought to a befitting close by quoting from Tagore's beautiful poem 'Dui Nari' emphasizing Tagore's reconciliation of Lakshmi and Urvashi asking readers to visit the 'sacred confluence of life and death'. The next chapter 'the Poet' appropriately hints at the 'conflict between the two 'I's of Tagore one swayed by desire and anger, the other aloof and constant. The author of his book has rightly evaluated the dramatist in Tagore and his originality consists in introducing the readers to the artist in Tagore thereby doing justice to his contribution to music as well as painting. Two of Tagore's paintings are also presented to the readers. The concluding chapter brings out Tagore, the teacher throwing light upon his thoughts on education which should lead to a harmonious relationship between man and his social as well as natural environment. Select Bibliography of Tagore's writing has added to the usefulness of this interesting introduction. The author has not failed to point out to the fact that Ravindranath's sensitivity to criticism at times led to serious errors of judgement on his part thereby not making the present volume a mere eulogy. The author, therefore, deserves compliments for presenting this introduction to the entire range of Tagore's work in facile English by drawing upon original Bengali sources.

M. D. P.

Kerala Sanskrit Literature: by S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, a bibliography, Department of Sanskrit, University of Kerala, Trivendrum. 1976, Pp. 512, Price Rs. 22/-.

The contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature has been a very significant one. It is not only 'vast in bulk and varied in content' but is certainly praiseworthy from the qualitative point of view. Pūrṇasarasvatī's commentary on the *Anargharāghava*, the works of Rāmapāṇivāda etc. can be considered to be telling illustrations of this. It is true that Dr. K. Kunjuni Raja has finely surveyed the Kerala Sanskrit Literature in his '*Contribution of Kerala to*

Sanskrit Literature'. The *Keralasāhityacaritram* in 5 volumes as well as the History of Kerala Sanskrit Literature have also been important works but being in Malyalam they are not easily accessible to readers at large. Interested readers come to know of the Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Śāstra Literature from the 10th volume of Vishveshwaranda Indological Journal but it is too brief to give an adequate idea of the subject. Shri. K. V. Sharma's '*History of the Kerala School of Hindu Astronomy*' certainly gives a comprehensive account of the literature on astronomy; nevertheless contribution of Kerala to different Darśanas such as Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta, other branches of knowledge like Gaṇita and Saṅgīta, deserves more attention.

The present volume fulfils this need very admirably. The work is divided into two parts: the first lists the authors and the second the works. The first part not only gives the essential details available about the author and his works in alphabetical order but also collects references to the available accounts about the author. The second part speaking about the works in addition to giving a brief account of the work concerned, indicates the editions of the work and also gives a list of books, articles as well as reviews connected with them. In the case of unpublished works Dr. S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer has also taken care to indicate the places where manuscripts of the works are available, thereby adequately catering to the needs of scholars as well researchers. The information that one gathers about well-known works such as *Īśāvāsyaopaniṣadhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya (Page 167) in point of published edition of the work with Malyalam translation by K. Kunnikannam is also well-worth mentioning. It is from this work that readers come to know of rulers like Rāma Varma Parīkṣit Tampurān (p. 90) or Rāma Varma Mahārāja of Cochin (p. 91) enriching Sanskrit Literature with commentaries on Śāstric works in Sanskrit.

It is only proper for the careful scholar to mention in his Preface that for the work 'Kerala has been taken as the Geographical Kerala including the present day district of Kanyakumari and not the Kerala State of to-day'. The vigilance in marking the names of authors who hailed from Tamilnad but settled in Kerala for some reason or the other with asterisks as well as in putting the interrogation mark against names of authors whose nativity of Kerala is doubtful, will also be appreciated by deserving readers and researchers. It is only natural that a bibliographical work of this type cannot claim a finality but it has to be mentioned that the errata running over $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages having 500 entries, disfigures this volume. Nevertheless Dr. S. Venkitasubramoniya Iyer and his colleagues deserve compliments for presenting this bibliography to Sanskrit Researchers as well as scholars with such a meticulous care thereby paving the way for future studies. The example of the Department of Sanskrit of the University of Kerala deserves to be emulated by the Universities of other States.

Malayamāruta : Ed. by V. Raghavan, a collection of minor works in Sanskrit poems, plays, hymns, anthologies, etc. Part I Central Sanskrit Institute, Tirupati, 1966 Pp. xi + 127. Price Rs. 5/-.

The *Malayamāruta* is planned on the lines of the *Kāvya-mālā Gucchakas*. This inaugural number presents nine short unpublished works in Sanskrit. The volume opens with *Śrī-ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati-mantra-mātrkā-stava*—a hymn of praise, to Gaṇapati in thirty-five verses. This is followed by *Srimahā-rāiṇī-stotra*, also a hymn, composed by Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇaka. It contains fifty-nine verses in honour of Mahārājñī (the Supreme Mother Goddess, who is also the presiding deity of art and letters) who is worshipped in Kashmir. The third is a poem in ten stanzas, called *Daśaślokī*. It describes the state of Śivādvaita-realisation; it is, composed by Vidyācakravartin, the well-known Śaiva teacher, poet and critic of the 14th Century A. D. Next, we have the *Upadeśasikhāmaṇi* of Tyāgarāja. It consists of eighteen verses and is, modelled on the famous “Bhaja Govindam” stotra of Śaṅkarācārya. The fifth is the *Sadṛtuvarṇana*. It describes, in thirty-five verses, the six-seasons. The name of its author is not known. The work gives an impression of its being a compilation. The *Kavitāmṛtakūpa* of Gauramohana is included next. It is a compilation of ‘Subhāṣitas’ drawn from the works of earlier poets. The Seventh is the anonymous anthology of the ‘Subhāṣitas’ called *Narābharana*. It consists of three hundred verses. Many of them are very popular. Then we have the *Somanātha-Śataka* by Maudgali Somanātha, (the latter half of the 16th century). This poem is full of Śleṣa most of which the editor has kindly explained in the footnotes. The concluding work is the *Vibudha-mohana* a farce (‘prahasana’) by Harijīvana Miśra, a court-poet (at the court of Rāmasimha, king of Jayapur) of the 17th century A. D. It is interesting to find that the playwright cleverly employs a number of stanzas of earlier poets in writing this ‘prahasana’ which depicts the ‘vidavad-goṣṭhis’ held in royal courts.

There is a mass of minor works *laghu Kāvya*s lying in manuscripts in Sanskrit Manuscript Libraries of the various Oriental Institutes and Universities. It is absolutely essential to publish these minor works for a complete history of Sanskrit literature and for acquainting the world of scholars of the continuous output in Sanskrit through all these centuries. The *Malayamāruta* inaugural number presenting nine such short works, ably edited by Dr. V. Raghavan, and reviving the tradition of the *Kāvya-mālā Gucchakas* deserves to be warmly welcomed by all lovers of Sanskrit.

V. M. K.

The *Pādatāditaka* of Śyāmilaka, Part 2 : A translation by G. H. Schokker and P. J. Worseley, with a complete word—index of the four ancient Sanskrit Bhāṣas by G. H. Schokker, Reidel Publishing Company, P. O. Box 17, Dordrecht, Holland, 1977, Pp. vii + 261, Price not stated.

the delights of love in the company of courtezans coming from foreign countries” seems to be intended by the playwright.

(ii) For this *unfortunate girl* has given up love-making *because she is menstruating*—————(78—4)

In the original Sanskrit sentence we have the words ‘tapasvini’ and ‘rajoparodhāt’. ‘Unfortunate or poor woman’ and ‘because of the stoppage of menstrual flow’ would be the correct rendering of the Sanskrit expressions respectively.

(iii) Nevertheless *he is accessible to her*. Dattaka’s followers teach that *love which consists only in words is unmanly*. (78·5—6)

This translation misses the whole point. The two Sanskrit sentences really mean; Her making love verbally is (perfectly) intelligible. Dattaka’s followers teach that a man who has lost virility (procreative power) indulges in making love verbally.

(iv) —————in view of the fact that a fist blow is descending, which betrays beating with the bangle—————(87·6)

In fact, the clinking of the bangles betrays the fact that a fist-blow is descending.

(v) Stop holding two Bilva trees with one hand at the same time (96·cd) Instead of ‘trees’ we should have here ‘fruit’.

(vi) An ass has sung here, accompanied on the viṇā, here an ape has sung songs of praise, here the juice of the mango has been poured into boiled buffalo milk. (131)

This translation is off the mark. From the context we know that the courtesan Madanasenikā during a love-quarrel kicked Taunḍikoki Viṣṇunāga on his head. This fool took it as an insult. This act of ‘Kicking’ on the courtesan’s part was just similar to playing on a lute before an ass or singing verses of praise before an ape or pouring the juice of the mango into impure (?) buffalo milk.

(vii) A few minor lapses such as translating akṣa (axle) as wheel (paragraph 87·2) or in spelling words as in ‘causes her lovers’ heart to *falter* (paragraph 51) or ‘he has *began* to laugh’ (paragraph 65) are most probably due to inadvertance.

The theory speaks of the ten types of dramas. It is however common knowledge that we have few specimens of many of these types. The *Pādatāḍitaka* is a very early specimen of the *bhāṇa*. It gives us glimpses of the cultural life of a section of citizens in an ancient Indian city. It preserves many rare words and expressions which are important for a lexicographical study. The translation in English is very lucid. It will go a long way in helping the students of Sanskrit to understand and appreciate this dramatic monologue much better. G. H. Schokker and P. J. Worsley deserve warm congratulations for bringing out this second part of the *Pādatāḍitaka*.

Philosophical Perspectives, by Dharendra Mohan Datta, a selection of essays, Bharati Bhavan, Patna 1972. Pp viii, 184, Price Rs. 20/-.

Philosophical Perspectives by Dr. Dharendra Mohan Datta is a collection of some seventeen essays selected by the author from amongst his published articles written over a long span of his academic carrer. The essays are grouped under the four titles of: (i) Logic and Metaphysics, (ii) Religion and Morality, (iii) Society and Culture and (iv) India's Debt to other lands. The essays are written in a general spirit of catholicity engendred perhaps by the influence of absolute Idealism in the West and a syncretic attitude to Indian Philosophy. It appears to be a reflection of the author's philosophical temperament too. The result is that his method of giving " a broad definition" of the topic under discussion allows the author to present observations of a general character in place of reasoned argument. Defining philosophy " as a pattern of belief and attitude towards the problem of life (p. 115) he expresses his opinion on the various topic treated in the essays in a purely speculative spirit. For example, his essay on the Philosophy of the Body, a New Approach to the Body problem is avowedly offered as ideas gathered from the vistas of speculation that the thought about the body in its diverse aspects opens to us ". This kind of a non-critical attitude to a problem bordering on the physical, the mental and the philosophical is regrettable, particularly because some very sound views on the subject are advocated in Indian thought, not to mention their application in yogic philosophy. The author's definition of religion as " sincere living in the truth, however formulated " has the virtue of applying to any kind of a commitment, including the devotion of a scientist to his research. The essays on the 'Inward and the Outward in Vedanta' and 'From Interpersonal to International Morality' read almost like essays in wishful thinking. Yet the author does show acumen when he asks, " where is a Asia then as a unit except on the map, or except perhaps as a common and ready of greed, exploitation and domination and as a consequent common source of demoralisation of the foreigners" ? One cannot help wishing that an equally sagcious approach was taken to the patently philosophical problems. It is difficult to accept the author's view " that nature subserves the moral needs of spirits by bringing about the events according to deserts " as a doctrine in academic philosophy. The general impression left on the readers' mind is that the essays display a lack of disciplined thinking and hence cannot stimulate a student to a study of the subject.

V. G.

The prehistory and protohistory of India and Pakistan, By H. D. Sankalia, Deccan College, Postgraduate & Research Institute, Pune, 1974, Pp. xxiii, 592, Rs. 120/-.

With an experience of more than 30 years in the field of archacology and having carried out a large number of excavations under his personal

supervision, Dr. H. D. Sankalia has given, in the book under review, an up-to-date and critical account of the pre-history and proto-history of India and Pakistan covering a period of nearly half a million years. This super-magnum-opus, in fact, is a revised and enlarged second edition of an earlier volume on the same subject published in 1962-63.

Moving chronologically, each chapter is devoted to a main phase of archaeological evolution, going from Ch. I Lower Palaeolithic Cultures (pp. 17-142) to Ch. II Middle Palaeolithic Cultures (pp. 143-206), Ch. III Upper Palaeolithic Cultures (pp. 207-230), Ch. IV Mesolithic Cultures (pp. 231-276) and finally Ch. V Neolithic and Chaleolithic Cultures (pp. 279-545) followed by Ch. VI General Conclusions (pp. 546-558). There is no doubt that fresh evidence of excavated material and explored sites during the last decade has necessitated a fresh reconstruction of the above cultural phases. With the new discoveries and on-the-spot studies in Kashmir, Konkan, Kutch, Saurashtra, South Gujarat, South Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, the Chapters on Lower and Middle Palaeolithic cultures have become much fuller and more exhaustive than before. Whereas the information of the Upper Palaeolithic Cultures is entirely based on fresh discoveries, the account of the Southern Neolithic has gained in depth due to horizontal excavation at Sangankallu and Tekkalakota and intensive explorations by the staff of the Deccan College of Poona. A first-hand study of the new discoveries in Kashmir, Bihar and West Bengal has also brought up to date the Northern and Eastern Neolithic Cultures; and excavations at Inamgaon have given a new dimension to the Chaleolithic Cultures of Maharashtra. It should, however, be borne in mind that the knowledge of the Neolithic and Chaleolithic Cultures of Western India has been mostly the result of Dr. Sankalia's own field work. Excavations at Bagor, Tilwara (Rajasthan), Sangankallu (Karnataka), Patne (Maharashtra) and Sarai Nahar Rai (Uttar Pradesh) have thrown new light on the Mesolithic Cultures, while those at Kalibangan and Surkotada (India) and Kot Diji and Gumla (Pakistan) have enriched the Harappa Culture. The latest discoveries at Shahr-i-Sokhta have enabled the author to give new information about Sistan and Afghanistan.

The present work thus gives a very comprehensive account of the major archaeological finds relating to the pre-history and proto-history of the sub-continent and makes a very useful reference work. Even putting together all the known vast and varied material is in itself a feat that reflects the immense labour put in by the author.

The account of the first four chapters, discussing the state-wise distribution of pre-historic cultures, however, tend to be disturbed in their proper association or connexion. A more methodical environmental juxtaposition of the different areas would have been a better arrangement. The chapter discussing the Neolithic and Chaleolithic Cultures consisting of 266 pages constitutes almost half the book. This hampers somewhat the otherwise smooth treat-

ment of the subject. A further division of this very extensive chapter done on the basis of the typology of the cultures, would have been more suitable.

The concluding chapter makes a very interesting reading because it is not a mere summary of the previous discussions. The author, on the other hand, examines in brief the scope and application of "New Archaeology" in India, with special reference to 'colonization' in India. But while reading the account it is experienced that the concepts of 'contacts' and 'colonization' are confused. "Even traditional archaeologists", writes the author on page 551, "might not accept the view that these cultures were 'colonizations'". "But immediately a little later it is stated that "nowhere in India do we find all the developmental stages which traditional archaeologists have normally postulated". The author writes further on page 553: "With regard to our hypothesis of 'colonizations', it should be pointed out that the ancient Indian tradition itself is *not* against the idea of 'colonization'. Nay, this tradition itself describes in broad outline how India was populated by Vedic and Puranic tribes and families, the former entering (?) or spreading from north-west India, and the latter from mid-eastern India."

The most interesting and outspoken conclusion of Prof. Sankalia are stated on page 550: "When...we view the chief features of the various Stone Ages and the subsequent Metal Ages, we cannot but be struck by two things. First, that in India we behold the same industrial and technological development that was brought to light earlier in Western Europe and then in Eastern Europe, Western Asia and Africa. . . . The second remarkable thing is that all the industrial and technological development is, in our present knowledge, later than the European, African and the Western Asiatic." He repeats the same observation later that "there is little doubt, at present, that the earliest influences came from the West and North-West-Iran and countries further afield." "No amount," the author continues, "of rethinking and devising of ingenious paradigms could alter this fact." (p. 550). I hope that the Indian Sanskritists and Extreme Nationalists will know the implications of these observations of an internationally reputed Indian archaeologist and cease to write and talk irrelevant and unscientific views about India's civilised horry past. In spite, however, of the author's above observations, it is very puzzling to read his assessment of the Indus Civilization. He observes that "the exact, full or true origin of the Indus Civilization still remains obscure nay unknown. "While there is no doubt", he continues, "(in my mind at least) that a part of its origin does lie outside, viz. the influences, even people from Iran etc., still it also appears equally true that there were indigenous factors which were responsible for its growth and the final shape it took in about 2500 B. C. These we have not understood and are not able to disentangle". (p. 550).

One fails to gauge the probable reasons of the author's almost total inability to understand and disentangle the problems of "the exact, full or true origin of the Indus Civilization". Is the Indus Civilization a civilization of

the people who cooked in coarse pottery, used the primitive terracotta objects and worshipped trees, phallus and the mother-goddess or a civilization of the people who knew a script, copper and bronze objects, townplanning, brick houses, seals and amulets, weights and measures and ornaments of precious stones and metals? Could it not be that the latter is that part of its origin lying outside India and that the earlier could be that part of the origin within this country or indigenous to it?

Some of the other observations of the author which are not quite convincing are the association of silk thread to second millennium B. C. Nevasa (pp. 486-87), the high percentage of infant mortality in the Jorwe-Nevasa culture sites (p. 487), the identifications of certain archaeological cultures with the Aryans, and of the Chalcolithic cultures of the Banas and Narmada valleys with the Yadava clans of the Purānas (p. 554). They need a more careful study and fuller examination.

When Dr. Sankalia deals with literary traditions like the Vedic and the Puranic, he seems to tread on more slippery, if not dangerous, grounds. "My study," states the author, "indicates that all the Puranas and the epics which we have today, belong to the Iron Age, that is, they reflect the conditions in India after the 7th Century B. C. and most probably before the 5th Century A. D." (p. 556). One wonders as to how "all the Puranas" belong to the above-mentioned period only.

There is no doubt that parts of the Purānas are as old as the Vedic age, but they were put together fairly late; and works of the seventh and eighth centuries after Christ are still called by this name. "Of the eighteen principal Purānas", according to Barth, "not one is dated, they almost all quote each other, and the time of their composition may perhaps cover a dozen centuries" (cf. Mason-Oursel et al., *Ancient India and Indian Civilization*, pp. 226, 261). With rather more probability, according to R. G. Bhandarkar, one might set the beginning of the collections in the third century of our era. But Pargitar, the *Bhagavata Purāna* is not earlier than the eighth century, and it contains much later portions in which Colebrooke, Burnouf and Wilson have seen the work of the thirteenth century (cf. Mason-Oursel et al., *op. cit.* pp. 261-62).

Depending on the work of P. L. Bhargava, *India in the Vedic Age*, Dr. Sankalia poses a question: "How far can we support or interpret this account based on Vedic and Purānic data archaeologically?" and answers the same as follows:—

1. Perhaps the earliest Baluchi culture like the Kili Gul Mohammad was Aryan and so also the well-established pre-Harappan cultures at Kot Diji, Kalibangan and Harappa were Aryan, it being assumed that the Indus Civilization was non-Aryan or pre-Aryan.

Or

2. It might be held that the early Baluchi cultures and the pre-Harappan cultures were non-Aryan and the Indus Civilization Aryan and further
3. Taking into consideration the spread of the Indus Civilization and the proposed extent of the Vedic Kingdoms in C. 2250 B. C., one might equate the Indus Civilization with the Vedic.

“ We have also no archaeological evidence ” continues the author, “ to substantiate the further eastward advance of the Aryans into the Ganga-Yamuna doab. For instance, that of Bharata, son of Dushyanta in C. 2500 B. C., though Bhargava mentions that he did not find any kingdom there. ”

He even states later that “ though there is no evidence to vouchsafe about the veracity of the calculations given by Pradhan (*Chronology of Ancient India*), those of us who are inclined to regard the Chalcolithic settlements as those of the Aryans, may find some comfort and relying on Pradhan's identification, might even name the various settlements after the Vedic/Purānic dynasties!” (pp. 556-57).

To a careful reader, the above observations of the author sound saturated more by emotion than by reason, particularly in the light of the estimate of Gordon that the considerable body of legend contained in the Mahābhārata and in the Purānas “ provides little except fuel for the blaze of controversy ” and that “ any attempt to link a literal acceptance of the Purānic genealogies with the findings of archaeology can only lead to much speculative and tendentious nonsense.” (D. H. Gordon, *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*, p. 153.).

While discussing the future of archaeology in our country, the learned author gives a very dim picture by his most disheartening observation. He writes : “ With regional consciousness becoming more and more acute, no planned excavations and explorations are possible Even with planned and increased tempo of work in India, we shall soon reach the dead end.” (p. 553). I hope that this prophetic note will arouse the consciousness of the concerned officials and awaken them from their deep slumber of apathy and indifference.

The text under review is copiously illustrated with over 200 line drawings, 47 maps and 100 half-tone plates. The appendices at the end entitled ‘ Antiquity of Grains ’ and ‘ Carbon - 14 dates ’ give an up-to-date statement of the cereals in West Asia, India, Pakistan and Southern Aisa and the C-14 dates in India and Pakistan. A comprehensive bibliography and exhaustive index at the end are additional commendable qualities of the work.

The book is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the pre-historic and proto-historic periods of India and Pakistan and is, therefore, very useful to students and scholars interested in the subject.

L. B. K.

Rgvedasamhitākāra āṇi Father Esteller : by Dr. M. A. Mehendale (In Marathi) Shikshan Prasarak Mandali, S. P. College, Poona-30, Kaushika Vyakhyanamala series No. 18, pages 100 + 14, price Rs. 8/-.

Shikshan Prasarak Mandali of Poona has been doing signal service to scholars of Vedas and Jñāneśvar by arranging series of lectures of reputed scholars on these subjects in Marathi and publishing them in a book form right from 1947. The present volume is the 18th publication. The first volume throwing a new light on Vedic deities by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, was published thirty years ago. Reputed Vedic scholars like the late H. D. Velankar, the late Pandit S. D. Satavalekar had been invited to deliver lectures on Vedic topics and their lectures have been published. The present volume brings together the lectures delivered by Dr. M. A. Mehendale of Deccan College in this illustrious series in the month of April 1975.

Dr. M. A. Mehendale has now established himself as a Vedic scholar, having a penetrating insight into the science of comparative philology and ancient Indian history. His proficiency in German and French coupled with his close association with western scholars like Thieme, Waldschmit, Kuryalovix etc. place him in an enviable position as far as recent Vedic researches are concerned. His articles analysing Vedic words like 'Viśpala,' 'Lokya' etc. have been universally acclaimed.

It was all along believed that the text of the Vedas is handed down to us without a single mistake mainly due to the glorious oral tradition which was considered to be a marvel of memory. That explained the peculiarity of the fact that there had been no variant readings in the Vedas. The text, therefore, of *Rgveda Samhitā* was never questioned. Recently some scholars have thought it necessary to revise, nay to reconstruct the text of the *Rgveda* in keeping with the modern principles. Father Esteller, formerly the head of the Department of Sanskrit of St. Xavier College, has been the foremost in trying to reconstruct the text of the *Rgveda*. Right from 1953 he has consistently put forward the theory of 'palimpsest' attributing the changes in the original text of the Rgvedic Ṛṣis by the Samhitākāras.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar has already pointed out the unconvincing character of Esteller's theory in his article 'A decade of Vedic Studies in India and Abroad' A. B. O. R. I. Vol. 56, 1975, pages 3 to 4.

Dr. M. A. Mehendale in the present volume, as the very name suggests has subjected this theory to close scrutiny. Dr. Mehendale had already examined Father Esteller's view in his presidential address of the Vedic section of the 27th session of the All India Oriental conference held at Kurukshetra in 1974 (Vide Proceedings of the Kurukshetra conference published in 1976, p. 39 to 60).

This book consists of 4 chapters. In the first, Dr. Mehendale has ably introduced the subject of the text of reconstruction and has given an adequate

idea about the researches made by European scholars with their opinion now veering towards accepting the Samhitā-pāṭha as valid. Then the author proceeds to explain the discordant note struck by Father Esteller who had been arguing that Samhitākāras have not only introduced changes in phonetics, sandhi, and grammatical formations but have gone to the length of changing the order of words as well as words themselves with palimpsesting 'reaching beyond that to the very words, contents and tenor of the text.' On this basis, Father Esteller has tried to attract the necessity of reconstructing the original text of the Ṛṣis of the *R̥gveda*. Dr. Mehendale true to genuine scholarship, has put forward the views as well as the aim of Father Esteller in his own words, as far as possible, in this chapter.

In the second chapter Dr. Mehendale takes six examples of *R̥gvedic* Ṛks and shows with cogent argument that the attempt of Father Esteller to be unsuccessful. The case of the famous Ṛc known as Gāyatrī namely तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो is significant. Here, the argument of Father Esteller that the original reading was यत् नः प्रचोदयात् and was changed to यो नः प्रचोदयात् through the process of changing into यन्नः by haplology; then by assimilation of यो in द्वियो, 'य' changed into 'यो' is, to say the least, only ingenious. The unconvincing character becomes all the more obvious when Father cites तत्सवितुर्वृणोमहे श्रेष्ठं सर्वधातमम् 5.82.1 and वळित्था तद् वपुषे सहस्रो यतो जनि 1.141.1 in support of the construction As is clear, यत् in both is really absent and there was no earthly reason for Samhitākāra to omit it, if it were so. Father Esteller's idea that the original reading was यत् अजनि and that अ in अजनि was प्लुत but heard as ओ by Samhitākāra giving rise to ओ जनि and then यत् + ओजनि gave the reading यतो जनि. All this certainly appears to be premeditated by the interpreter and not by the Samhitākāra. Is it not proper to say that यः was intended by the Ṛṣi to refer to God Savitṛ and not Bhargah at all? The use of the root चुद् with reference to gods like Agni, Indra, Aśvin and Uṣas in the *R̥gveda* also confirms this.

In the the third chapter Dr. Mehendale convincingly proves that ऐ does not appear to be the termination of dative singular of nouns ending in अ in *R̥gveda* as Father Esteller wants his readers to believe. Thus it has been ably pointed out that the reasons show by Father Esteller to show that विप्रः स्तुवते बरूथम् in Rg. 7.88.6 was really विप्रैः स्तुवते बरूथम् are unconvincing. His remark viz. Sanskrit locatives are original datives is also not borne out by Vedic texts quoted by him in support. Father Esteller's argument about the uniformity sought to be brought in by Samhitākāra on the basis of the *R̥gvedic* Mantra प्र मित्राय प्रायंणे 8.101.5 on P.66 appears to be far from cogent as it presupposed too much of tampering with the text by the Samhitākāra. All the examples taken by the learned author of this book in this chapter evidently go to prove that the attempt of Father Esteller in finding out ऐ as the dative termination of vedic nouns and in अ is abortive.

The concluding chapter discusses five questions connected with the subject under discussion. Firstly the irregularities of metre need not be emphasised too much they appear to have been ignored by the R̥ṣis with a definite purpose. Dr. Mehendale rightly quotes Dr. Paul Thieme who has tried to delve deep into the intention of the Vedic poet or R̥ṣi by pointing out that the यति in प्र प्रेङ्ख ईङ्ख-वावहे शुभम् was purposely kept with a view to give the idea of sitting on a swing; certainly more important than the metrical irregularity.

Secondly it has also been shown that the tendency of Father Esteller of ignoring the 'Svara' in understanding R̥gvedic verses is very unconvincing; moreover it does injustice to the Vedic poet.

Thirdly the author of the book has tried to appreciate the nature of Vedic variants by comparing मितञ्जवो वरिमन्ना पृथिव्याः of R̥gveda with मितञ्जवो वरिमन्ना पृथिव्याः of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* or प्र वाचम् इन्दुरिष्यति of R̥gveda IX.12.6 with प्र वाचम् इन्दुरिष्यति of the 35th hymn of the same Maṇḍala. In other words, the author does not take the extreme view that there are no variants in the Vedic texts; but is not prepared to consider Samhitākāra as a redactor out to change the text as he likes.

Lastly Dr. Mehendale has not failed to discuss the impropriety of using the term 'Palimpsest' with reference to the extent Samhitā-pāṭha as the term only grossly exaggerates the supposed attempt of the Samhitākāra to change the text and finally to the language employed by Father Esteller with reference to the Samhitākāra being highly objectionable. To say that Samhitākāra 'lamed and maimed the verses and with them figuratively their innocent authors' evidently is the 'unkindest cut.' from a researcher and may only behave a propagandist.

Thus Dr. Mehendale has analysed and assessed the view of Father Esteller and has, in my opinion, convincingly proved that his theory of 'palimpsest' of the Samhitākāra is untenable. All this has been done with due deference to Father Esteller's scholarship, especially with deference that is due to a teacher from a student. Such a scholarly attempt scrutinising Father Esteller's view, has as been remarked by Dr. R. N. Dandekar in his introduction to the book, was a desideratum in the field of Vedic text-criticism and Dr. Mehendale deserves compliments of discerning readers for having fulfilled it in a modest yet unambiguous manner.

The indices bringing together the R̥gvedic verses along with their accents referred to in the book and the alphabetical list of important topics as well as quarters of R̥ks discussed in the book indicate the carefulness of the author and enhance the value of the book. The Shikshana Prasarak Mandali must be complimented for bringing out the book in a good form and that too in good time. The book deserves to be translated in Hindi as well English for providing it a wider readership on a national as well as international scale.

Saundarya Lahari ed., & tr. by V. K. Subramanian Motilal Banarasidass, : Delhi 7, 1977, Pp. X-112, Rs. 30/- C. B. Rs. 20/- P. B.

A doubt still lurks in the minds of scholars, whether the author of the famous mystic poem *Saundarya Lahari*, Waves of Bliss in *Adi Śankaracharya*, the great commentator and exponent of *Adwait Vedant* or his equally adept successor in office. Whatever that may be, the poem *Saundarya Lahari* is by itself bewitching, rapturous and elevating. It has a beautiful form and musical sound. It thrills and throbs you. It wraps you with embracing and kissing waves of bliss, ethereal and earthly. You forget yourself and experience the inward joy of being one and all with that great playful power called cosmic energy which is undifferentiated from GOD, the great Truth and Reality that IS.

The poem is now more than a thousand year old. It is in classical Sanskrit. Its metre is *Śikharini* which in its upward climb takes you to the sublime top where mind and body breath free and high. *Śikhara* means summit or peak.

On such poem of exquisite grace and beauty, there have been as many as 35 commentaries in Sanskrit which reveals and unfold slowly, word by word, syllable by syllable, the secrecies of mystic joy and peace.

It was Justice Woodroffe, pen-named Arthur Avalon who by his equally beautiful translation in English and profuse writings opened up the doors of this mystic treasure of heavenly bliss to the Westerners. That was in 1916 or so.

Since then, West oriented scholars of India and abroad also are drawn to this heavenly poem like humming bees.

We have a number of English translations of this poem. *Saundarya Lahari* as observed above is a mystic poem. Indian mystic literature is characterised by its three special features, Mantra, Tantra and Yantra. Mantra is a sacred prayer, repeated utterance of which awakens your inner hidden cosmic energy under divine grace. Tantra is a secret technique of practical rites and rituals to secure the boons or favours from the deity and Yantra is a mystic diagram or pictorial symbol which after prescribed worship with repetition of Mantra endows the devotee with magic powers to secure the desired object. Now all these qualities are fully contained in Sankar's *Saundarya Lahari*.

And it is no wonder that the author V. K. Subramanian who hails from Kerala, the land of *Adi Śankaracharya* finds himself bathing and basking in the soothing showers of heavenly bliss of Divine mother, the cosmic Energy flowing with grace ever and everywhere. The author is a science graduate, an artist and a finance officer with Government.

And the English rendering of the original Sanskrit verses by the author is a natural out flow of exquisite joy which he could not contain after a deep drive in the supreme bliss of divine grace and beauty.

The book is handy. It contains the original text both in Nāgari and Roman scripts, with rendering in English and short explanatory notes and has an appendix of symbols of Yantras corresponding to the hundred verses and a useful index and has a beautiful yantric depiction of Sri Cakra the mystic formation of circles with inset triangles and a fine photograph of the sculptural image of Divine Mother. As an instance, let me reproduce one stanza :

क्षितौ षट्पञ्चाशद् द्विसमधिकपञ्चाशदुदके
 हुताशे द्वाषष्टिश्चतुरधिकपञ्चाशदनिले ।
 दिवि द्विः षट्त्रिंशन्मनसि च चतुःषष्टिरिति ये
 मयूखास्तेषामप्यपरि तव पादाम्बुजयुगम् ॥

Oh supreme power, the pair of your lotus feet is above the fiftysix rays that exist in the earth centre, fiftytwo in water, sixtytwo in fire, fiftyfour in air and seventytwo in ether and sixtyfour in mind.

Now the addition of these elemental rays works out to 360 the number of days in the year. These rays correspond to cosmic electro-magnetic vibrations both in the individual six centres of the human body as well as in the vast cosmos. These vibrations when concentrated awaken the hidden Kundalini Shakti in the human being and frees him from all kind of ills both mental and physical.

Both the author and the publisher deserve congratulations.

L. V. D.

Śrauta dharmāci svarūpa cikitsā, by C. G. Kashikar, University of Poona, Pune, 1977, pp. 1-22 + 1-328, Rs. 30/-

The book under review comprises the author's lectures delivered at the University of Poona, under the auspices of the *Bhau Vishnu Ashtekar Vedic Research Lecture-Series*, in 1972-3. The author has since re-arranged the lectures; and now they appear as a book of twelve chapters. There are two appendices and also an Index of words. The first appendix comprises technical words with their meanings, while the second one comprises diagrams of various altars and the sacrificial chamber. In the first chapter a general survey of the Vedic literature is taken. The second chapter expounds the sacrificial technique, in the *mantras* of the *R̥gveda*. The next chapter deals with the established sacrificial technique. Chapters IV to VII deal with the sacrificial technique of the other three Vedas. In chapter VIII the mutual relationship among the different branches of the Veda is explained. The subject of chapter IX is the relationship between the sacrificial concept and practice on the one hand, and the popular usage on the other. In chapter X the concept of the Ultimate principle and its glimpses in the sacrificial literature are examined. The next chapter (i. e. XI) deals with sacrifice and magic. And, the last (XI) chapter tries to

expound the philosophy of the sacrificial rituals. All the chapters are extremely informative.

Many interesting details are touched and explained. Thus, for example, we have mention of the special ritual of the *śānti-udaka* from the Atharvaveda. Likewise, the *purastāddho* and the *samsthita-homa* are the peculiarities of the Atharvaveda. The methods of reciting the Sāmāns, such as the *ākramaka* etc. are explained. In the chapter on the sacrificial science and the popular usage, the author has shown how the ritual changes gradually. Indications of the gradual change in the status of the Śūdra varṇa is noted. It is convincingly stressed that the Śūdras were not outcasts from all rituals, and that some texts allow them association with certain of the rituals. This also reflects the social change, and the author has deftly shown this trend. Among other indications of change may be mentioned the practice of a woman lying by the side of the dead body of her husband. In the context of the examination of the theories regarding the identification of the Soma-plant the author has taken note of almost all existing opinions, and has also given useful information regarding the various substitutes of the Soma being used in different parts of India. The social aspect of the sacrifice is further made interesting by the fact of the various occupations being involved therein, such as the carpenter, the basket-maker, the weaver and so on. Information regarding the various measures in use in that remote period is also gathered. To give an example : the *āngula* was the lowest measure; and it indicated the space covered by fourteen grains of *aṇu* (*panicum miliacum*), or thirty grains of sesame. The author has rightly shown that the *karmakāṇḍa* had in it the inner layer of philosophical concepts that are met in the later philosophy. Of unique importance in the chapter on magic and taboo. Information regarding the various restrictions for the person consecrated for the sacrifice is interesting. To mention just one : he is not to touch water during the whole period of the consecration (*dikṣā*), nor is he allowed to take bath, the only bath being the last one that ends the sacrifice; it is the *avabhṛtha*. The whole book is very well planned, and is apt to give a general idea of the Vedic sacrificial setup with the various types of sacrifice. As the author says, a particular ritual was never the same in the course of time. It changed, in many cases, due to change of locality and time; and it is not possible to say that the same ritual is being followed in subsequent years. This also shows that the Vedic sacrificial religion was not static; it adjusted itself with changes and also got influenced. This is an important statement; and it is based on a close study of the Vedic ritual-literature. What the author says is true also of the Rgvedic rituals, reflected in the so-called riddle-hymns, which show borrowings of non-Vedic rituals also in times of necessity. What is true is that a religion can never, and does never, grow in isolation.

Dr. Kashikar's present book is a welcome addition to the literature on the Vedic sacrifice; and it is a definite and a solid contribution to the Marathi

literature. As a matter of fact, there is another book on a similar subject by the same author, and it also comprises the lectures delivered by the author at the University of Bombay, under the M. M. Dr. Kane Prize Endowment Lectures, published in 1968 by the University of Bombay. The topic was : *A survey of the Śrauta-sūtras*. The present is published in Marathi; that was in English. But, the material is different except for the First chapter. Actually, the present book can be said to be supplementary to the previous one.

A few observations are necessary in respect of the book under review. There is rarely anywhere any effort of giving a studied interpretation of a ritual or a ritual-detail. Probably, that is not in the scope of the study presented by the learned author. However, there are spots of interpretation, as for example when the author gives the detail of the wife lying by the side of the body of her dead husband. He merely remarks that this is "suggestive", but never explains the suggestion. The very next sentence is that, according to certain other Sūtras, she has to remain alive practising the *agnihotra*. Now, this suggestion is already there in the Ṛgveda (X. 18.7, 8), where the wife is asked to lie near the husband's body and the brother of her dead husband takes her by the hand; thus, she comes to the world of the living. The point is whether this does not "suggest" an earlier custom of the wife following her dead husband ! There are a number of rituals that demand satisfactory understanding. For example, another such ritual is when the dead *āhitāgni* is covered with the portions of flesh of the cow (called *anustaranī*). Why ? We may compare a similar custom among the wild (?) African tribe named Akamba, where in rituals the consecrated is covered with the hide and other parts of the ritually killed goat. The rites of this sort are obviously relics of the ancient beliefs of the close affinity between man and the zoomorph of the deity, or the sacred beast. The information of the collection of the bones (after cremation) by the women in the family, the eldest one leading is unique. This practice is not much in vogue now-a-days. Now the Sūtras say that the woman who leads the rest of the women is said to hold in her left hand the *brhatī*-fruit, tied with red and blue (or black ?) threads. The *nīla-lohita* is famous in rituals; and so is the *brhatī*-fruit. The implication of this is expected to be given in such magico-religious rituals. There is a ritual of moving round and slapping of one's own thigh. Dr. Kashikar notes the two occasions; one the funeral, and the other the *Sākamedha parvan* of the *Cāturmāsya*. One would expect a gloss on the motive behind the similarity. Both these rituals are accomplished outside the locality; in one (*Sākamedha*) the association of Rudra is clear; in the other it is implied. An explanation is warranted.

The book is extremely useful to a scholar who wants to have complete information about the Śrauta ritual as such. But, if it is to be useful to a common man, who is not conversant with the terminology of Vedic ritual but is inquisitive, a good many terms and expressions need a further wash.

There is a glossary of technical words at the end (Index); but, yet there remain many such cases where the common inquisitive reader would be in difficulty. Thus for example, he would read that the ritual of *Patnī-samyāja* should be performed; but what *is patnī-samyāja* is not explained. Again, the *camasas* (cups) are said to be subjected to *āpyāyana* (p. 42); but what exactly is this process remains to be explained. Likewise, the “*anvārambha*” of the beast and the “*udvasana*” of the spear (p. 32), probably, would be difficult for a lay reader to comprehend. The *āhitāgni* is advised to take the fires in himself or in the churning-slab (*aranis*) (p. 23). But, how is it done? This has to be explained for the readers for whom this book is meant, and more so if it is meant to make the general reader acquainted with the difficult and intricate Vedic ritual.

There are a few other points. Dr. Kashikar mentions the *Pinḍapitr̥-yajña* but not the *go-pitryajña* (p. 67), while the latter is mentioned by certain Sūtras; this fact is noted by Kashikar himself (see *Śrautakośa*, Eng. Tr. I-i, p. 28 f; also *A Survey of the Śrautasūtras*, p. 45). Speaking about the state of sacrifice at the time of the Ṛgveda Dr. Kashikar states that the fire known as *Gārhapatya* was known also at that time (p. 14). Incidentally, this is also the opinion of Oldenberg; but, the point has to be examined. In the Ṛgveda the word *gārhapatya* (once in the plural at VI. 15-19) comes four times. At three places (VI. 15.19, X. 85.27, 36) it means “household duties”. The one place that refers to *gārhapatya* (I. 15.12), however, indicates the fire in the house. But it should be noted that in the same place we have another epithet *santya* (vocative), which comes in the Ṛgveda only for the fire-god. This epithet indicates the perpetual fire in the household; and this fire is invoked to drink Soma in his form of the *gārhapatya*. This will show that this is the same *ghapati* fire, that is the perpetual one in the house. Probably, this fire has to be differentiated from the *Gārhapatya* fire in the later ritual, though there can be hardly any doubt about the latter being developed from this *ghapati* fire. The word *drupada* indicates the sacrificial post; but whether this is the case also at IV. 32-23 (p. 18) is doubtful. At this place we have reference to two small wooden dolls placed on the *drupada* (*Sāyana* renders the word as “wooden stand”, *drumākhyā-sthāna*). Whether this refers to the sacrificial pole is doubtful, especially in the absence of clear mention of a custom of such dolls being associated with the sacrificial pole!

These are minor points. But the main purpose of the book is to collect all possible information regarding the Śrauta-sūtras. This has been successful. In addition, we have here information about recently published and even unpublished Śrauta-sūtras and parts thereof. Though this topic also appears in the other book mentioned above (a *Survey* . . .), we have more details here; and they are bound to be of great use to scholars who desire to take up further studies.

S. A. D.

Sri Cāṅgadeva-pañcaśaṭīḥ : by L. V. Deshpande, translation in Sanskrit with a Sanskrit Commentary, Manohar Granthamala Prakashan, Pune, 1972, Pp. 48, Price Rs. 4/-

The great Jñāneśvara is believed to have sent a reply in 65 verses to the Yogin Cāṅgadeva. Shri Cāṅgadeva was a great Yogin, who had attained Yogic powers but had a terribly inflated ego. Jñāneśvara humbled his pride first, as the legend goes, by making a wall of bricks move and later by favouring him with right knowledge in these 65 verses. Cāṅgadeva had written a blank letter to Jñāneśvara—a fact of double significance, for it reveals, on the one hand his great ego and at the same time reveals the fact that his mind was absolutely blank, ready to receive the highest knowledge. The original Marathi verses have all the charm associated with this great poet and bear the stamp of singular authority. It is a happy choice therefore made by Shri L. V. Deshpande, for rendering this work into Sanskrit verses. The Sanskrit verses of Shri Deshpande also have unique charm all their own. He has been absolutely faithful to original and at the same time has not sacrificed the simplicity and grace of the Sanskrit language. His rendering is, one is tempted to say, almost inspired and he constantly reminds one of Sanskrit philosophical classics like the Upaniṣads, the Bhagavadgītā and authors like Nāgārjuna and Gauḍapāda. For instance one can quote verse 23 :

यदा न वर्तते दृश्यं दृष्ट्या किं क्रियते तदा ।
विना दृश्येन किञ्चिच्च द्रष्टृत्वं हि कथं भवेत् ॥

which one might well take as a verse from either Nāgārjuna or Gauḍapāda. The entire topic of the 'dṛśya' and 'draṣṭā' has been rendered with rare ability. Shri Deshpande has been eminently successful in retaining simplicity and poetry of the original. I refer to verse 7 :

कलाभिः प्रावृतश्चन्द्रः चन्द्रत्वान्न च हीयते ।
निगच्छन् दीपतां वह्निभिन्नतां न प्रपद्यते ॥

The problem of transformation of one Reality into the universe, without sacrificing the original oneness, has also been admirably dealt with, with an Upaniṣadic touch e. g. verses 4 & 64 :

न्यूनत्वं न सुवर्णत्वे सुवर्णं भूषणं गते ।
एवं स न व्ययं गत्वा जगद्भासः स्वभावतः ॥
असत् तत् किं नु नो वेद दृश्यते वेद नो कथम् ।
सत् तत् किमपि नो वेद स्वयं तद् ह्यनुभूयताम् ॥

One is reminded of the Bhagavadgītā while reading verse 65 :

अतीतनिद्रो निद्राति जागति गीर्णजागरः ।
कृतं च ग्रथितं तादृग् ज्ञानदेवो हि भाषते ॥

Shri Deshpande has retained the original alaṅkāra as well. But, to my mind, the most important point in Shri Deshpande's rendering is that he has been successful in retaining the original tone of familiarity, sincerity, friendship and compassion. I refer to verses 42 & 43 :

मिलने तव जीवो मे सोल्लासोऽस्ति परं सखे ।
 सिद्धसंमेलनं नौ तु विघटेदिति मे भयम् ॥
 यदा त्वां भावये द्रष्टुं रूपत्वं याति मे मनः ।
 दर्शने प्रतिबन्धस्ते भवेदेवं हि गम्यते ॥

A word about the commentary :— The commentary is very simple and explains the points of the verses. On the whole, it has been a very fine composition, on the part of Shri Deshpande who deserves sincere congratulation for having enriched modern Sanskrit philosophic literature.

T. G. M.

Stone observatories in India erected by Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur (1686–1743 A. D.), by Prahlad Singh, Bharat Manisha Research Series No. 11, Bharat Manisha, Varanasi, 1978, pp. xiii, 216, plates 53, Price Rs. 100/-

Who does not know or has not heard of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh the intrepid ruler, diplomat and Scholar-ruler of Jaipur, who nearly 300 years ago (1686-1743 A. D.) not only checkmated Aurangzeb in his mad policy but when time permitted turned astronomer, and built as many as five observatories at most suitable places in the country – Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Varanasi and Mathura. The author who belongs to the family of Jaipur rulers tells us briefly how he happened to write this book.

“Having spent years together under the lengthening shadows of the gigantic instruments of these magnificent observatories, I was overpowered by the scientific nature of their principles and imposing constructions. Another factor responsible for the outcome of this book was the great sense of admiration and the childlike curiosity I so very often witnessed in the eyes of many visitors who heard my commentaries in the sprawling premises of these royal observatories. Their constant queries about the principle of construction, purpose and the method of observation of the various instruments inspired me to probe deeply into the origin, conception and development of various ‘ Jyotisa Yantras ’ of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh of Amber and Jaipur (1686-1743 A. D.) Who is accredited with being the only astronomer in the world to have created as many as five astronomical observatories. It is interesting to know that to execute this scientific grand plan he chose five most suitable sites in the country from political, academic and religious points of view—Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Varanasi and Mathura.

The book does not claim to be a treatise on astronomy, but it certainly deals with the unique subject of the ‘ megalithic ’ observatories in India.

It briefly discusses the history of Hindu astronomy, describes the contribution of the astro-scholars of the antiquity, viz., Āryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhāskarācārya and a host of others who preceded Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh, to the science of astronomy in the country. It also traces the origin and development of various astronomical devices through the ages till they attained perfection and found their eternal place in various observatories set up by the astronomer-prince of Jaipur. The book describes in detail how a particular instrument is constructed, how it is to be used and what calculations can be derived out of it during day and night as people in general intend to know. I have tried to simplify the technical aspects of the instruments for the benefit of the readers.

These magnificent stone observatories are the prestigious monuments of the rich classical heritage of the nation and are regarded as unique in the world. The kaleidoscopic shapes of these massive stone and masonry instruments have been described "the most surrealistic and logical landscape in stone in the world."

Though meant for the naked-eye observations two and a half centuries ago, these observatories are much more frequented by people than any modern observatory in the world. They have become the national monument, of tremendous historical, scientific and educational significance and thus, deserve to be protected by all means. There cannot be a better way of paying homage to the genius of the great astronomer—Maharaja for this monumental contribution to the nation than by maintaining and preserving out-of-this-world" observatories in their original shape.

It is heartening to know that M/s. Bharata Manisha of Varanasi have decided to publish the scientific achievements of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh to coincide with the 250th Anniversary of his another great creation, the marvellous City of Jaipur.

Prahlad Singh with the help of Pandit Kalyan Dutt Sharma, Jyotisha-charya, and former supervisor of Jaipur observatory has been able to give a connected account of Indian Astronomy from the Vedic period, then during the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* period, then in early Jaina and Buddhist works, and this is brought right up to the Muslim period with a section on Astronomy in Europe.

In Chapter II the author tells us about Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh and his times, and explains the salient features of his open-air observations. Chapters II-IV are quite technical, but very necessary for understanding the nature and function of these observatories. In the last chapter we have a description of the five above-mentioned observatories.

Thus it is a most welcome contribution on this important, but very much neglected subject. It is hoped that scholars and all interested in this subject will read this book. While doing so, one fact might be remembered that

all that is mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* does not belong to the period to which the author and his friend Pandit Sharma seem to date (p. 8) but to a much later period. All the details about Rama's birth have been omitted from the Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyana* !! Thus what is needed in a work of this nature is a more critical outlook.

H. D. S.

Theory of Karman in Indian Thought, by Koshelya Walli, Bharata Manisha, Varanasi, 1977, pp. xii + 363, Price Rs. 55/-

The book opens with a Foreword, which is just a blessing to Dr. Koshelya Walli, by M. M. Pt. Gopinath Kaviraj under whose guidance she wrote her thesis "Theory of Karman in Indian Thought" that was approved for the degree of D. Litt. by the University of Allahabad. Then we have a brief Preface by Dr. Walli followed by a table of Contents (pp xi-xii). In an eleven page Introduction Dr. Walli informs us that a scientific study of the Law of Karma and a general survey of the Hindu, the Buddhist and the Jaina points of view of the doctrine of Karma was a great desideratum and, therefore, she undertook the present study. The book proper is divided into ten chapters. Chapter I (pp. 13-48) briefly surveys the Vedas or rather the Upanisads and the Smṛti Literature with a view to collecting significant passages shedding light on the doctrine of Karma and its associate doctrine of rebirth or transmiration. Chapter II (pp 49-97) treats of ' Karman in Āgama and Tantra. Chapter III (pp 99-126) deals with 'Concepts of Karman in the Epics'. Chapter IV (pp 127-164) concerns itself with 'Concept of Karman in the Purānas'. Chapter V (pp 165-204) deals with " Concept of Karman in Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vedānta and other Systems of Indian Philosophy ". Chapter VI (pp. 205-226) occupies itself with 'Concept of Karman in the Post-Vedic Literature (Āyurveda, Sāhitya, etc.)'. Chapter VII (pp 227-250) and Chapter VIII (pp 251-276) treat of the ' Buddhist Theory of Karman ' and ' the Jaina Concept of Karma ' respectively. Chapter IX (pp 276-318) is entitled ' Critical Review ' and Chapter X (pp 319-328) embodies the 'Conclusion' pp 329-342 cover five Appendices. pp 343-353 contain ' Bibliography ' and pp 355-363 Index.

The titles of the different chapters clearly indicate their contents. Dr. Walli has taken great pains to collect data for her thesis and she systematically presents the twin doctrines of Karman and transmiration.

The subject of the Thesis is very fascinating, no doubt. The value of the thesis would have been greatly enhanced if the other related doctrines of Niyati, Svabhāva, Kāla, Yađcchā, had been discussed at length and the correctness or otherwise of the criticism of the doctrine of Karman from the point of view of Marxism had been discussed.

In a D. Litt. thesis approved by a University also we expect a very high standard of accuracy. The book, as printed, however, is disfigured by countless misprints, numerous instances of incorrect English and of Sanskrit names and quotations carelessly presented. A couple of titles (Nos. 157 and 163) are wrongly given a circumstance which leads the reader to doubt whether these books had been really consulted in writing the present thesis.

V. M. K.

Yoga and Indian Philosophy, by Karel Werner, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi—7, 1977. Pp. ixx 192. Rs. 40/.

Yoga is one of the main well-known six systems of Indian philosophy but its correlation is seldom understood or appreciated. Philosophy, the author observes, is a constant endeavour of the human mind to describe and rationally explain experienced reality and create an overall and systematic as well as intuitively penetrative picture of the world including man which satisfies man's intellectual curiosity or urge for fundamental knowledge. Yoga, on the other hand, is always a practical activity of the part of the whole individual, a pattern of behaviour aiming at enlarging or deepening man's direct experience of reality.

The Indian philosophy is predominantly existential and its special character is "its closeness to man's life and its concern for his destiny". With this basic and correct approach, the author, himself an eminent scholar of Western philosophy, naturally seeks to common impression that the real philosophical thinking originated in ancient Greece to find out the substance underlying the world. And he rightly observes that "The whole of our (Western) civilization is the result of the extroverted attitude of the Western mind with its eagerness to conquer nature and her resources. Man from Western point of view is a mere accidental produce and his mental life with its emotions and rational thought is only a by-product of chemical and electrical reaction in his nervous system".

With these remarks, the author in Chapter one of the book examines the various views of stalwarts of Western philosophy such as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, rebel philosopher Descartes, Hegel and material philosopher Marx, the founder of communism, as well as existentialists Heidegger, Sartre and Garpers. About Marxism, the author says it cannot be but classified as an arrogant dogmatism aiming at abolishing the freedom of the individual.

Unlike in Europe, the author says, philosophy in India has always been concerned with the individual, his existential situation, his destiny and salvation i. e. with the final solution of the riddle of man's existence. The Indian philosophy has never become subservient to religious dogma. Highly formulated philosophical concepts have expressed in religious symbolism, mythical tales, and ceremonial rites and vice versa. In this philosophical

development in Indian, there was no sharp division between the man and the world. In fact, the philosophical thoughts and ideas developed by Indian mind are more fundamental and basic and supply a unified field for the individual to mould and train himself to live a whole and full life as an integral part of the universe. There are no dead ends any where. It has at the same time a relieving feature of humanism.

After thus comparing the Western and Indian attitudes, and stating that in the final analysis, philosophy though always trying to be objective and universal is nevertheless a reflection of reality as experienced by a philosophising individual in a given situation, the author proceeds to take a survey of cosmology as envisaged by the Indian mind. Indian cosmology is based mainly on the fundamental concepts of infinity (Aditi) and morality (Rta). The Vedic sages arrived at these concepts by observation, intuition and precise thinking. In the Vedic sages spontaneous expressions we find visible traces of a way of discipline and a method of cultivating the mind that later on blossomed into Yoga system. Nasadiya sukta, (Creation Hymn) (RV 10,129) is really the summarised view of the highest inquisitive mind as to the real truth behind all That Is and That Is Not, behind all appearances and disappearances.

Then the author directly comes to the question of man, his essence and destiny. "Man is indeed something of a mystery to himself". The question whether man is a mere matter or a personality—an entity in its own right—often termed as "soul" still defies satisfactory solution. But stranger enough both these attitudes are deeply contained in the human individual. Vedic view is, man consists of a Tanu (bodily self), manas (mind), Asu (animating vitality), prana (Vital cosmic force), Atman (individual life process) combined with all various faculties. All these constituents are regarded as Devatas and have their abodes in the various layer of cosmic universe, the seven regions, upper as well as lower. These conceptions lead to the theory of rebirth and the inescapable doctrine of Karma, the law of action and reaction. In Vedas, Atman connotes the inner most essence of everything animate or otherwise in its transcendental cosmic form. It becomes Brahman. Māṇḍūkya Upanishad really develops this evolving theory into various finer stages of consciousness and lays as it were the foundation of a clear Yoga system which leads to "Self Realization".

Then the author goes into the details of various well-known divisions of classical Vedant, Dwait, Adwait etc. and expounds the Indian conception of Salvation the final goal of Vedant. It is an emancipation from miseries of life and an experience of pure bliss of the liberated soul within or without the body cage. In this respect, Sri. Aurobindo's contribution is highly concrete and original. His emphasis is on Poorna Yoga. It not only opens up a vista for spiritual evolution of an individual soul but also for the realizable prospect of a high achievement in becoming a

Superman with a feeling responsibility to strive ceaselessly for the final liberation of the whole cosmos—Sri. Aurobindo is really the father of Vedantic terms particularly of Yoga expressed in penetrating English.

Having thus given the outlines of various philosophical systems of India, the author comes to the main theme of his book, the distinguishing features of Yoga in the Indian philosophy. "Yoga", the author defines "is the conscious and directed activity of an individual aspiring to a suprasensory and supra intellectual experience which is to him of spiritual value and which fully or to some extent transforms or deepens his life and knowledge or understanding of reality and of himself". In India this concept of Yoga is unique and has helped the evolutionary progress of Indian philosophy as a whole. Parallel example of this type of development in Western philosophy is of Plotinus. Some of the mystic saints and scientists of the West also come nearer. The author observes that it is evident how closely philosophy, religion, mysticism and Yoga are related. India produced a continuous tradition of independent Yoga, of an uncommitted search for truth, to prepare the individual for the break through into the transcendental realism of freedom. Yoga practice (the technique of Dhyana-Meditation) brought about the overwhelming experience of unity of feeling at one with the whole universe and its creative essence. Yoga should be approached and studied without premature commitment to any particular religious creed or philosophical view.

Then after considering the various schools of Yoga, as evolved by Patanjali, Buddhists, and Jains, the author in his concluding chapter on Yoga in modern World emphasizes the practical utility of following Yoga in the context of modern living which has brought about too much comfort and too little movement, yet with increased stress and strain of mind and body both. Yoga tends to give real relief and relaxation, the dire need of tensed modern life.

The author is a Czech and is a self made man who has worked in coal mines, gas works and as a train driver and has suffered much. He is at present a Spalding lecturer in Indian philosophy and Religion in Durham University in England. It is really very creditable for him to have studied Indian philosophy very minutely and independently without any prejudices and his book under review is a specimen of shining production of a free and powerful mind trained and tuned to a Yogic way of life.

The author has very wisely avoided the error of treating the Indian philosophy with Western traditional academic approaches which invariably fails to reveal its true essence and for such independent approach, the author highly deserves rich compliments and congratulations. In this regard, the author finds fault not only with the early Western scholars of Indian philosophy but also with their counterparts, Indian scholars of repute such as S. Radha Krishnan and Das Gupta. They worked under

glamour of Western way of thinking. Irreparable damage is done. Indian philosophy is misread and misunderstood. Apart from Indian writers in English, even present day writers of repute in regional languages of the people of India do not escape this blame. They blindly echo, follow and reflect undigested views of Western scholars and have lost all original and refreshing touch of ancient Sages, Saints and Pandits of India. The result is we know not ourselves.

L. V. D.

Yoga Unveiled Part I, by V. A. Asrani, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi-7, 1977, pp. xxiv + 220. Rs.40·00 (CB.) Rs. 25 (PB).

It appears that the author equates Yoga with Mysticism and observes "It is vital for man, for his mental and physical health, his happiness, his efficiency, his creativity and the self-actualisation of his genius" and describes Yoga as "easy or natural". Yoga implies "Sahaj Sthiti a natural or at ease condition". It is a state of paradise not to be attained but to be regained. We are captives of collected bonds of our complexes. We must shed them away and have an abiding feeling of oneness with all. That is the secret of Yoga.

With the advance of science and modern technology with its alarming stress and strain, the problems have ceased to be individual, national or international. They have, instead, become global problems and the individual has to recover and realize his "natural" state in the new set up. Miracles are a by-product of Yoga and they have to be scrupulously avoided. Yogi or realized souls are world citizens and their unselfish and universal love assumes a new biological meaning and value for restoring harmony and peace in the minds of men all over the world.

Unveiling of Yoga requires a synthesis of Reason and Revelation of Science and Mysticism. The approach must needs be a holistic i. e. concerning the whole over and above the functions of the part added together. What is real? Whether the whole or the parts?

With such introductory remarks the book under review compiles the various essays and papers written or read by the author, who is a retired Assistant Professor of Physics of the Banaras Hindu University.

The author is well read both in oriental as well as Western literature on the subject religious, technical and scientific also. He appears to have himself experienced the glimpses of bliss in Yogic trances.

In the first chapter of his book, the author attempts to give a clue to the missing link between science and mysticism. Quoting Eric Fromm who says mankind has lost all purpose beyond immediate personal pleasure and prestige, the author observes that neither science alone nor mysticism or

religion alone, can solve human problems. From his brief highly mystical experience for 48 hours, the author says collaboration between science and mysticism is possible. In support of his thesis, he refers to various mystic personalities, Tagore, R. C. Johnson, Maslow, Aldous Huxley and G. Krishnamurti. The "sthita prajna" condition is both easy and natural.

Metaphysics or new science of psychology at the most may describe the problem. But it would not solve it. In fact problems of life are insoluble. They have to be dissolved. And that is possible only when you transcend them. In transcendence, a loftier and wider interest comes into view and the problems "pale before a new and stronger directive" according to Jung the great modern Swiss psychologist. For this, you must learn and practise the stable mind⁴ state described in Bhagwadgita and other Hindu texts. Mysticism satisfies some vital human need. In the following three chapters of the book, the author dilates upon the easy natural method of practising Yoga particularly of Sahaj Avastha. It is an acme of ideal mental health. The author widely quotes Western authors who have invented various technical terms to describe the numerous reflexes of mental illhealth.

In *Yoga Made Easy*, the author emphasizes upon the integration of Yoga with modern psychology. Technical exercises such as Asanas, Pranayama, Awakening of Kundalini have to be learnt and practised from an adept Guru and it may take time. But for a common man in the street, a simple Nama Japa with desireless devotion would yield all the merit of Yoga. The author cites the instances of Kabir and Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Raman Maharshi. He quotes Mr. Osborne who describes the Sahaj Samadhi of Raman Maharshi as a state in which full spiritual or transcendental consciousness is maintained, along with full outer awareness and realistic activity but free from the ego sense. This is the liberated condition of a free soul, jivan mukta avastha and is the real goal of life on earth. This goal is accepted by three main Darshanas Sankhya, Yoga and Vedant and shared by Buddhists and Jains. The mysticism has taken different shapes and expressions even in Christianity and Islam, according to the soil and clime where they flourished. St. Paul and St. Theresa are typical examples of Christian mystics. Kabir and Al Gazali are mystics of Sufi sect.

In the V Chapter, *The Purpose of Human Life*, the author decries the modern debasing materialistic hedonism encouraged by technology and science. Unless the purpose of human life is clearly envisaged, all the scientific approaches would actually de-humanise the man. Moral sense, Dr. Alex Carrel says, is more important than intelligence. When it disappears, the whole structure slowly crumbles away. Our present culture and outlook based on Technology are lopsided and have made life without purpose. But study of biology and psychology gives an indication of purpose of life. The study lags far behind our advance in technology. But if approached properly, biology definitely teaches us that it is the species as a whole,

with its evolutionary drive, the creative vitality in the Nature, is the real entity. Blood cells in our body have their own individual lives but their lives are subservient to the life of the entire organism—the human body. We individual men, our groups, our nations are like blood corpuscles in the Human Race-Organism. The evolutionary drive has helped the man to develop in a spirit of conscious co-operation. As a conscious co-operator, man can, not only consciously regulate his sexual appetites, but can further direct his conduct, so as to avoid the risk of virtual suicide of the whole human species and ensure the chances of its further evolutionary advance. The purpose of life is then the all round development of human species as a whole world community knit together into one co-operative unit. It is not just like stuffed mummies in Egyptian pyramids.

If that is the purpose of life as it should be then surely we must find out a way to achieve the goal. While I was reading the book under review, I came across a fine passage from a little book entitled *How To Understand Human Nature* by Herbert Casson. He observes:

“From this time onwards what can be more important than the Making of Better People ? Of what avail is all else unless we can develop a nobler, kindlier Human Race? Of what use is chemistry if we use it to murder each other ? Of what use is wealth if the tax gatherer must have it ? Of what use is Government if it gives us no protection ? Of what use is Education if it creates an artificial caste of culture and separates people who are basically the same ? ”

This excerpt really clinches the issue. From this view point, if the purpose and meaning of life is the survival and evolution of the human race as an organism, the surest way, according to the author Mr. Asrani, is the Yoga. And in dealing with its potentialities the author in the concluding chapter of his book lays emphasis on the practice of Jñāna Yoga and quotes Sri. Aurobindo's definition of Yoga as a process of conscious evolution. Jñāna Yoga, according to the author, is a Relaxing Cosmic Meditation. It helps to regard humanity as one organism. It decreases the tendency of conflicts and tends to lower the level of the stress and strain of life in modern age of Technology.

Jñāna Yoga resolves the complexes called as unconscious motives or emotional habits formed by conditioning, since childhood. Complexes may take the form of emotional disorders or mental or physical diseases or defects. After quoting numerous Western authors on advanced psychology, Mr. Asrani the author of the book under review outlines the methods of Jñāna Yoga. It aims at mental and emotional relaxation and development of deep inward silence. It achieves conceptless mental poise, enlarges and expands the individual consciousness and merges it with the cosmic consciousness with the result the Jñāna Yogi faces all challenges of life in a realistic and responsible manner.

Practice of Jñana Yoga dissolves all complexes and cleanses all impurities of mind and body and restores in the practiser a healthy and dispassionate outlook on life and all that happens from moment to moment. It is a momentous life merged in eternity. The author in his detailed discussion of various types of Yoga pinpoints the merits of Jñana Yoga and expounds it as a Therapy or curative science for all the ills. The mankind has been helplessly suffering so far. The book contains numerous references to various authors, both western and Eastern, and then number as many as 83 standard works on the subject of the book and connected matters. It has a useful index. It has seven appendices giving case histories of persons including the author himself showing how they are relieved of pains by following the Jñana Yoga Therapy. The book also contains nice photographs of modern Jñana Yogis Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Raman Maharshi, by way of illustrations of realized souls from actual life.

The title of the book, 'Yoga unveiled' appears rather misleading. A patient reader feels sometimes lost in the wilderness of numerous authorities and references copiously quoted and relied upon by the Author for his thesis. The unveiled Yoga becomes shrouded.

However as rightly observed by the eminent scholar Dr. B. L. Atreya in his enlightening foreword, the book is bound to be counted as a great contribution to the literature on Psychology and Mysticism. I may add it is a nice concourse of modern trends on Yoga and its possibilities to relieve the suffering Humanity.

L. V. D.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The Late Shri K. T. Desai.

(Birth Date 23rd May 1903

— Death 30th January 1977)

The following Resolution was passed at a Special Meeting of the Managing Committee held on 9th February 1977 :—

“The Asiatic Society of Bombay places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad demise of Shri K. T. Desai, President of the Society, on the morning of 30th January 1977.

Shri Desai was an outstanding lawyer. As a Judge of the Bombay High Court and Chief Justice of the Gujarat High Court, he was respected and admired for his learning and wisdom by the bar, his colleagues on the bench and by the public. He was Chairman of Bennett Coleman & Co., Ltd., for a long time and he was also associated with several other organizations.

The Society was fortunate in having Shri Desai as its President since 1973. He took great interest in the welfare of the Society and the Library. By his pleasing manners and unruffled temperament, he conducted the meeting of the Committee smoothly and guided the affairs of the Society with skill and tact. His help and guidance were always available to the Society and his passing away is an irreparable loss to the Society. In his death, the Society has lost a wise guide and an esteemed friend.

This meeting places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable services and guidance rendered by Shri K. T. Desai to the Society and requests the Hon. Secretary to convey its heartfelt sympathies and sincere condolences to the members of his bereaved family.”

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