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MM. DR. P. V. KANE
BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

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V. M. KULKARNI

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MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. PANDURANG VAMAN KANE
7-5-1880 — 18-4-1972

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA Dr. PANDURANG VAMAN KANE—LIFE AND WORK

M. D. PARADKAR

DR. PANDURANG VAMAN KANE, first National Professor of Indology, breathed his last on the night of Tuesday 18th April, 1972, just a few days before the completion of his ninety second year and it must be said that a life truly dedicated to the pursuit of Indological learning and research, nay a real *jñānayaज्ञāna* had come to an end. It is true that Dr. Kane's death cannot be considered to be premature or untimely; nevertheless it has certainly created a void in the Oriental scholarship as well as research which can hardly be filled. It is also pertinent to note that neither luck nor heredity had a great part to play in the long life of this great savant full of achievement of no mean order. Dr. Kane himself rightly wrote in his Epilogue,¹ 'a brief account of some aspects of my long life may, I hope be of some interest and help to those who have to face problems similar to those that I had to face.' A brief sketch of this savant's life is not only bound to indicate the veracity of these words but will also throw light upon sheer dint of his hard work as well as remarkable will power.

The Land of Konkaṇ on the western coast of India, though known for poverty of physical resources has been illustrious for producing many a son of the soil who have richly contributed to diverse fields of learning, politics and social reform. Dr. Kane's father belonged to the priestly family known for Vedic tradition but did not like the profession of a priest and proceeded to Poona for studying English along with his boyhood friend the late Shankar Balkrishna Diksīt, a name that now conjures with in the field of Indian Astronomy. After having passed his Matriculation examination, Mr. Vamanrao became a pleader and started practising in Dapoli in Ratnagiri district from 1878. Pandurang his eldest son, now known as Dr. Kane, was born in a village called Padhem or Paraśurāma near Ciplūṇa in Ratnagiri district at his maternal Uncle's house on 7th May, 1880. He began by learning at the feet of his father and had committed to memory 400 verses of *Amarakośa* by the age of 12. In 1891, he joined the S. P. G. Mission's English School at Dapoli

1. Read: 'Epilogue' *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 1.

and passed his Matriculation Examination of Bombay University in 1897 with a high percentage of marks. He started suffering from hyper-acidity in those early days which later developed into duodenal ulcer and haunted him throughout his life. In fact, due to this illness, he was required to leave the school for a year in 1895. Partly due to his indifferent health and partly due to the spreading of the epidemic of Bubonic Plague in Bombay and Poona in 1897, Dr. Kane's father was unwilling to allow him to go out of Dapoli. But his son possessed of strong will, managed to get admission in Wilson College by sending the term fee of Rs. 36/- as a result of making a written appeal to Dr. Machichan, the then Principal. Thus Kane joined the college in the second term and was successful in passing the then previous examination in 1898 with flying colours thereby getting a scholarship of Rs. 175/- as well as a prize of Rs. 100/-. No wonder, that Dr. Kane retained this glory throughout his college career and passed his B.A. with Sanskrit as his subject, was awarded Bhau Daji Prize for proficiency in Sanskrit. This helped him in being a Dakṣiṇā fellow at the Wilson College for 2 years getting an opportunity to give lectures for the first two years' classes in the College. In 1902, he passed First LL.B. Examination in First Class and got his M.A. in 1903 with Sanskrit and English as his subjects securing the coveted Zala Vedanta prize of Rs. 400/- for the paper set and answered in Sanskrit.

Financial condition of the family forced this brilliant young M.A. student to accept the job of an Assistant teacher in the Govt. High School at Ratnagiri in August 1904 on a monthly salary of Rs. 60/-. Here he was required to teach seven different subjects. In spite of the onerous duties of a teacher, he passed the S.T.C. Examination in 1905 and stood first in the whole of Bombay Presidency. In 1906 he also passed the departmental examination for Honours in Teaching, securing first class in 'logic in relation to teaching.' It is significant to note that during this period he found time to work on Āryan manners and morals as depicted in the Epics. (i.e. the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*), submitted an essay on the theme to Bombay University, got the Mandalik Gold Medal of the University in 1905 and was awarded a prize worth of Rs. 150/-. By this time he had read the monumental *Mahābhārata* thrice and prepared his notes along with extensive extracts! Not content with this, he wrote another essay on 'History of Alankāra—literature' for the University of Bombay in 1906 and secured V. N. Mandalik Gold Medal again!

Kane was transferred to Bombay at his own request and started teaching in Elphinstone High School in 1907. Towards the end of this year the post of Assistant to the Professor of Sanskrit at the

Deccan College Poona, fell vacant and Kane with his qualification was an obvious choice for it. But his legitimate claim was set aside and a person less qualified as well as junior to him in the Elphinstone High School was appointed. Unable to tolerate injustice, he decided to quit government service and take to an independent profession. Dr. R. N. Dandekar rightly wrote 'This jealous guarding of self-respect, indeed, marks his whole public career.'² With this intention, he passed his 2nd LL.B. Examination in November 1908. Later in 1909, he, partly to assuage his injured feelings, was appointed to act as Professor of Sanskrit in the Elphinstone College, Bombay in place of Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar; but now that was of no avail. Ultimately he resigned his government job and took the bold decision of practising on the Appellate side of the High Court of Bombay. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, then leading Vakil at the Bar, having his estates at Dapoli, advised him to have two thousand rupees before translating his thought into action and sticking to the profession in Bombay. Kane's financial condition could not warrant such a step nor could he count on his father's help but he was undaunted in his resolve. In a short span of two years from June 1909 he 'brought out two school books entitled '*Gadyāvāk* and one annotated book in Sanskrit — (*Sāhitya Darpaṇa*) for college students and was also appointed an examiner in Sanskrit at the previous and Intermediate Arts Examination.³ As a result of this hard work, he collected the required sum, resigned from Govt. service, applied for a Sanad after paying Rs. 500/- as fee for enrolment as a vakil, and got the same in 1911. Thus, his career as a Vakil of the High Court began in July 1911, i.e. in his 32nd year.

During the first two years that were naturally bleak, the industrious student and researcher in Kane was ever active. He passed his LL.M. Examination in Hindu and Mahomedan law in 1911. By this time, Prof. Kane's erudition attracted the attention of the University authorities who invited him to deliver 'Wilson Philological lectures' in 1913 which was a great honour to a young scholar of 33. In this series, he delivered 6 lectures on Sanskrit, Prakrit and allied languages. In this very year his fruitful associations with the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society started as one of its ordinary members, two years later he became its life-member. At the beginning of 1915 Bombay University appointed him as a Springer Research Scholar. For two years he worked on 'Ancient Geography of Mahārāṣṭra' (Part published in JBBRAS., Vol. XXIV for 1917, pp. 613-617). In 1916, he worked as Honorary Professor of San-

2. Cf. Professor P. V. Kane — A tribute — Dr. R. N. Dandekar — *MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Commemoration Monograph*, University of Bombay, 1947, p. 1.

3. Cf. Epilogue — *History of Dharma-Sāstra*, Vol. V, Part II, p. v.

skrit at the Wilson College, his own alma mater in the vacancy caused by the illness of Prof. H. M. Bhadkamkar. During these years, i.e. from 1913-1916, he conducted private law classes for coaching students for the High Court Vakil's Examination which made him proficient in all complicated legal topics. Later he had the opportunity to work as Professor of law at the Government Law College from 1917 to 1928. This appointment was made purely on merit.

Prof. Kane's career at the Bar proved to be a great success. In a short time he came to be recognised as an authority on Hindu law both by the Bar as well as the Bench. Industry was the sheet anchor of his life on the basis of which he was always prepared for his case and he used to take the judge by surprise, by referring to the latest judgments of the judicial committee of the privy council.⁴ His presentation of the case was always confident and pointed; style or flourish of language was never his concern. Here also he maintained self-respect and refused to be cowed down by the remarks of even an eminent judge. Of course he was keen on maintaining the dignity of the Court. 'We respect the Bench and the Bench must also respect the Bar' was his motto. His interpretations of the original legal texts in Sanskrit came to be respected by the judiciary. No wonder that he got substantial legal work for 30 years, i.e. from 1919 to 1949 and the goddess of wealth never frowned upon him. In his Epilogue in the Vth volume of his *Dharma-Sāstra*, he has given an interesting account of some of the historical cases which he argued free of charge and paid his debt towards the society.

Law though known to be a jealous mistress was unable to prevent Kane from pursuing Indological studies. While working as a lawyer, he was invariably seen in the Library during his free time in the Court. This explained why he was not required to carry his cases. Saturday and Sunday were his busiest days and the research room of the Asiatic Society of Bombay even now remains a witness to the patient and sustained work that he put in. He never took a nap during day time from 1904 to 1958, i.e. for 54 years and continued to work for nine hours a day from 1911 to 1948 truly an example in industry, perseverance and single-minded devotion to studies worth emulating by all aspiring scholars!

It can be safely said that the University of Bombay was responsible for inducing Kane to proceed on the path of Indological research. Already a reference has been made to his essay on History of Alaṅkāra literature in 1906 for V. N. Mandalik Gold Medal. His introduction to *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha (Pariccheda I, II and

4. Cf. 'A modern Sage' — T. K. Tope, p. 6.

X) published in 1910, so highly impressed the French savant Sylvan Levi who himself was an authority on Indian Theatre, that he urged Kane to write a full-fledged history of Sāhityasāstra. In 1923, Kane published his second edition of *Sāhityadarpaṇa* with an introduction dealing with the history of Alaṅkārasāstra in 177 pages. This can be considered to be the pioneering effort in the field. In the 1951 edition of this work, Kane's History was enlarged to 423 pages and when it was published as a separate volume in 1961, it contained 446 pages. It is true that Sushil Kumar De, the author of the *History of Sanskrit Poetics* had appeared in the field in 1923 and 1925 and the works of both these scholars served as the starting point of further research in the field.

Dr. Kane's researches in Dharma-Śāstra started in 1911 by undertaking an edition of *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha on the advice of Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, one of the General editors of the Bombay Government Sanskrit Series. This Series was transferred by the Government to Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute started in Poona in 1917. Kane's critical edition of the above work based on three printed editions and eight manuscripts was published in 1926 establishing him as a seasoned scholar in the matter of textual criticism. In the brief preface of this edition, Kane had announced the undertaking of the History of Dharma-Śāstra which proved to be his *Magnum Opus*. The first volume discussing the chronology and the relative importance of the famous and less known writers on Dharma-Śāstra was published by the BORI in 1930. Originally he wanted to complete this history in two volumes; and the second volume of this history covering the topics of Varṇa, Āśrama, Saṁskāras, Āhnikā Ācāra, etc. in 1368 pages was published in 1941 when Dr. Kane was 61 years old. In spite of implacable ailment, he completed the third volume dealing with Rājadharmā, Vyavahāra, and Sadācāra and advanced three thousand Rupees to the BORI due to paper shortage and published the same in his 67th year. The fourth volume of this monumental history ransacking all works as well as manuscripts of Dharma-Śāstra was published in October 1953 and finally the fifth volume part I and II were published in 1958 and 1962 respectively. Part I throws light on Vratas, Utsavas and philosophical concept of Kāla, Indian Astronomy and Astrology, and Part II speaks of Śāntis, Purāṇas, Tantra works, Sāṁkhyā, Yoga, Tarka in relation to Dharma-Śāstra as well as cosmology and Punarjanma. This gives in brief an idea of the encyclopaedic treatment of Dharma-Śāstra. The number of original works, books, manuscripts and commentaries in Sanskrit, published papers on different subjects as well as books in modern Indian Languages consulted by Dr. Kane for this work is pheno-

menal. All this was done by him without the paraphernalia associated with research in modern days, viz. research assistants, stenographers, documentation officers etc.! Is this not amazing?

No wonder that honours were showered on this dedicated scholar without any solicitation on his part. He became a member of the Board of Studies in Law from 1913 to 1928, was a fellow of the University of Bombay from 1919 to 1928. In the year 1947, he was persuaded to accept the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Bombay by the then chief minister of Bombay State. Dr. Kane decorated the post for 2 years, did his job well but modestly declined to continue as he wanted to devote all his time for working on the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. Among other honours conferred on him, mention can be made of the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya (1942) conferred on him by the British Government, Honorary Doctorates of the Universities of Allahabad, Poona and Bombay, presidentship of the All India Oriental Conference held in Nagpur (1946), Indian History Congress at Waltair (1953). He was a member of the delegation sent by the Government of India to the International Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in 1948. He led the delegation of this congress held in Istanbul in 1951 as well as the session held at Cambridge in 1954. In 1951, Prof. Law instituted the Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane Gold Medal to be awarded every third year to a research scholar in specified subjects by the Bombay Branch of the *Royal Asiatic Society*.

The London School of Oriental and African Studies offered him its Honorary Fellowship in 1952 in recognition of services to Indology. The President of India nominated Dr. Kane as a member of Parliament, i.e. of the Rājyasabhā first in 1953 and again in 1958. This gave him an opportunity to work on several committees considering Hindu Adoption Act, the Hindu Marriage Act, The Hindu Succession Act. He also became a member of the Central Sanskrit Board. In recognition of his contribution to Indology, the President of India granted him a certificate of merit and an annuity of 1500/- a year on 15th August, 1958 and followed this by appointing him National Professor of Indology in 1959. The crowning glory of all was the award of the title of Bhārata Ratna on Dr. Kane, a fitting tribute to his scholarship. Sāhitya Academy awarded the prize of Rs. 5000/- for the fourth Volume of his *History of Dharma-śāstra* in the year 1956.

Dr. Kane remained simple in his dress and demeanour. Though a profound scholar engrossed in his researches and writings, he was not oblivious of his duties towards the society. Dr. Dandekar rightly wrote, 'For an antiquarian whose literary output extended over 15,000 printed pages, Kane's life had been remarkably full and

varied.⁵ Besides his scholastic pursuits, he took active interest in many public activities of the society. Asiatic Society of Bombay had been his second home. He took part in the activities of this society as a member of its managing committee as well as its Vice-President for a number of years. He had been one of the editors of the Journal which occupies a prominent place among research journals of India. Brāhmaṇa Sabhā, Bombay, owes much to Dr. Kane. He was responsible in giving a permanent habitation to the Sabhā. At his suggestion, the Sanskrit Samiti of the Brāhmaṇa Sabhā not only staged *Sākuntalam* of Kālidāsa under the direction of Shri K. C. M. alias Daji Bhatawadekar on the occasion of the session of the All India Oriental conference in Bombay in 1949; but also proceeded to stage ten Sanskrit dramas making them quite popular. Dr. Kane also worked as the Vice-President of the Niyāmak Maṇḍal of Marāthi Grantha Saṅgrahālaya, Bombay as well as the chairman of the Marāthi Samshodhan Maṇḍal in the city. He has been one of the founders of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and remained a member of its regulating council as well as that of the editorial Board of the *Mahābhārata*. He had close association with the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, as well as Mahārāshtra Sāhitya Parishad. Having received his early education in Dapoli, he readily became the president of Dapoli Education Society.

It is significant to note that his involvement in Dharma-Śāstra was not exclusively academic. He was a strong protagonist of the codification of Hindu law. He firmly believed that Veda was not Nitya and wanted Tarka to govern the interpretation of Dharma. As a member of the Dharma Nirṇaya Maṇḍal, Loṇāvalā and the Prājña Pāṭhashālā, Wai, he contributed to the movement in Maharashtra for bringing out a rational approach to the problems of various Saṁskāras. As the chairman of the Managing Committee of Brāhmaṇa Sabhā in 1927, he allowed the untouchables to attend the Gaṇapati festival of the Brāhmaṇa Sabhā and incurred the wrath of the orthodox element of the Brahmin community. He always maintained that Hindu law had changed and must go on changing with the times. No wonder that he never made a fetish of the ritual in religion. He was a man who considered work as worship and duty as deity. Hence he could not suffer from the central neurosis of the modern times. Dr. Kane was blessed with long life; but he lived it in full inspite of the illness of a long standing, with the purpose of adding life to his years. While paying my respectful homage to this doyen of Sanskritists of the whole world on this occasion, I express hope that his life would serve as a perennial source of in-

5. Cf. Professor P. V. Kane — A Tribute — Dr. R. N. Dandekar, MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Commemoration Monograph, p. 12.

spiration to all the workers of Indology and learning. This brings me to the tribute to be paid to Dr. Kane as an Indologist.

It is certainly a matter of proud privilege to have been called upon to write on this subject. At the outset it will be proper for me to confess my limitations as Dr. Kane's writings on Indological subjects are marked by extensive sweep of his research interest and activity and hence any tribute paid to him is bound to remain inadequate. I propose to begin by referring to some noteworthy features of research of this great scholar.

The basic principle of Dr. Kane's researches is the well known dictum '*nā'mūlarṇ likhyate kiñcit.*' Not only is this evident from his *Magnum Opus*, i.e. the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, but it is abundantly clear from the key-address that he delivered on the subject of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā on the occasion of the opening of the Mīmāṃsā Vidyālaya in Poona as early as the year 1924. There he started with a survey of the Semantic history of the word Mīmāṃsā as it occurred in the literature of different ages and then spoke of the date of Jaimini, the founder of the system. Not only did he speak of the contents of different important works on the subject and the important doctrines of Mīmāṃsā along with the ideas of different schools, but also took care to conclude with discussing firstly Mīmāṃsā rules of interpretation, secondly Mīmāṃsā and Dharma-Śāstra and finally Hindu law in British Courts and need for its codification. In fact, this address deserves to be the model for those who want to sketch any system of Indian philosophy. The scholarly habit of ransacking all the relevant sources and then marshalling all the material in a systematic manner with profuse and apt quotations is the salient feature not only of his *History of Dharma-Śāstra* but of all his writings. Another noteworthy feature is his readiness to revise or modify or supplement his earlier writing in the light of new material that became available to him. Thus in 1924, he mentioned a Vṛttikāra of the Jaiminīya Sūtra in his inaugural address for the Mīmāṃsā Vidyālaya and four years later did not hesitate to identify the Vṛttikāra with Bhavadāsa on the basis of his mention being made by Kumārila and the commentators Pārthasārathimīśra and Sucaritamīśra. In his earlier introduction to *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, Kane did not notice the similarity between the Alankāra section of the *Agnipurāṇa* and Bhoja's work and had assigned the section to a period later than Ānandavardhana. In the third revised edition of the *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, he duly noted this as a result of Dr. Raghavan's effort and was frank in conceding the similarity between the Alankāra-section of the *Agnipurāṇa* and the work of Bhoja. This readiness to supplement or modify one's views in the light of fresh evidence truly behoves a research scholar. It must be remembered

that this is possible only if one is to keep himself abreast with the latest writings on one's subject of interest. Dr. Kane was known for this habit. This can be illustrated from his interesting article 'Gleanings from Abhinavabhāratī' contributed to K. B. Pathak Commemoration volume (1934) after the publication of the first volume of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* with Abhinavabhāratī in the Gaikawad Oriental Series (1934). In this article, Kane has drawn attention to several mistakes of commission and omission in the lists of works and authors referred to in the Abhinavabhāratī by Ramkrishna Kavi, the editor of the above volume. Dr. R. N. Dandekar in his 'tribute to him in MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Commemoration Monograph (published by the University of Bombay in 1974) has narrated the incident throwing light upon Dr. Kane's keenness to refer to two books on Astronomy one in German and the other in French, which were available only in Cambridge University Library. Dr. Dandekar tells us how he along with his friend were persuaded by Dr. Kane to translate the portions required by him for discussing the question of Rāsīs which he was studying at that time. The same is true about Dr. Kane's keenness in securing the Devanāgarī transcript of the manuscript of *Yavana-jātaka* by Sphujidvaja from Darbar library, Khatmandu through the good offices of Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India. No wonder that later Kane made a detailed study of this *Yavana-jātaka* and brought to light useful evidence for the history of the Sanskrit astrological literature.⁶ It will be proper here to quote his own words from the preface to the third revised edition of the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* comprising 446 pages in 1961 when he was 81 years' old. 'During the last 9 years a good deal has been written on the subject of this work. I tried to read as much as I could and have made substantial additions and changes in this edition.' This eagerness on his part to keep himself abreast of all researches and writings on the subject is a remarkable feature worth emulating by all aspiring scholars. No wonder, therefore, that he had the great satisfaction of seeing the 4th edition of this book, of course a reprint of the 3rd edition in 1971 making it physically impossible for him to revise the same in the light of important works such Dr. Krishnamoorthy's '*Dhvanyāloka and its critics*', published in 1968. The enviable popularity of this history is also indicated by the fact that it has been translated into Marathi by Shri K. L. Ogale, into Hindi by Prof. Indrachandra Shastri and in Kannada by Shri Kawalgi.

Dr. Kane's deep interest in ancient Indian astronomy and astrology, his thought-provoking discussions on some *Rāmāyaṇa* problems, his fruitful excursion in the field of cultural history and Geo-

6. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 7-8.

graphy, his writings on Vedic topics and above all his salient but interesting notes on miscellaneous topics have been succinctly dealt with by Dr. R. N. Dandekar in his tribute referred to above. One instance of the latter can be seen in his short note on 'Decimal notation' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Bombay (1953). In this Dr. Kane briefly discusses the time when this notation arose, controverts the opinion of Dr. Mirashi placing it in the 8th century A.D. on the basis of quotations from *Yogasūtra Bhāṣya* III.13 as well as Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* II.2.17 and prefers to agree with Dr. Gai who placed it earlier. In this short note he has referred to Wood's introduction to the translation of the *Yogasūtra-Bhāṣya*, published in Harvard Oriental Series placing the work between 650 to 850 A.D. and fails not to point out that the date 800 A.D. is rather too late as the Sūtra was commented in '*Nyāyasūcinibandha*' (841 A.D.) and that the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* must be placed before 700 A.D. on the evidence of *Śisupālavadhā*. This shows how his note can help further research in the subject.

Dr. Kane's contributions to the domains of Sanskrit poetics have been discussed by Dr. Miss G. V. Davane and his significant services to Dharma-Śāstra as well as Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā have been ably dealt with by Dr. S. G. Moghe in MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Commemoration Monograph published by the University of Bombay in 1974. Dr. Moghe has also drawn the attention of scholars to salient points raised by Dr. Kane in some of his learned papers such 'The Dvaita Nirṇaya', 'The Pahlavas and Pārasikas', 'The Vaṭakaṇikā of Varāhamihira', etc. It is true that the credit of giving a systematic exposition of such topics as Kalivarjya, astronomical date in the *Mahābhārata*, Karmavipāka, Tīrthayātrā goes to this erudite scholar. Detailed description of Gaṅgā, Prayāga, Kāśī, Kurukṣetra and other Tīrthas covering the pages of the fourth volume of his *History of Dharma-Śāstra* is bound to prove valuable to all students of sociology as well as culture. Dr. Kane's discussion on the order of succession, the right of the widow to be the heir can be said to be his original contribution. The same can be spoken of his discussion on Dāyabhāga in Vol. III, Chapter XXVII. After having analysed the entire literature on adoption as well as Śrāddha, in the 3rd and 4th volume of His History, he has laid down the future course of legislation in 1946. In the case of 'Strīdhana', he wrote 'It may be urged that all distinction on the ground of sex should be altogether done away with and whenever a woman succeeds to any property whether of a male or female, she should take an absolute estate — then as regards inheritance to Strīdhana, one simple and straightforward rule should be laid down that the women's sons and daughters should succeed together taking equal shares. A third suggestion would be that

when there are no descendants of the woman herself, the husband should be next heir. It must not be forgotten that practically all these suggestions stand accepted by the parliament. He was the first to point out that the Hindu law of pleading and evidence compares favourably with similar laws of other countries and has received meeds of praise from eminent jurists such as Sir Willaim Jones, Sir Thomos Stranger and the like.

On the basis of deep study based on facts Dr. Kane was not afraid to frankly criticize the views of western scholars such as Dr. Winternitz for his view that Niyoga was a result of poverty and paucity of women (See *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 607), Max Müller for his statement that art of writing was unknown to India (Refer: *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 347-348). Mackay and Marshall were found fault⁷ with by him for their views on the excavations of Mohenjodaro and Harappā in his presidential address of the 13th Historical Congress held at Waltair in 1953. Although he admired the industry and devotion to the subject on the part of western scholars and paid due compliments to them, he rightly criticized them for looking upon Indian culture as the inferior one and their unwillingness to admit its greatness. Being qualified to compare Indian Jurisprudence and western Jurisprudence, he was able to authoritatively speak of the humane treatment given to criminals in India as compared with the horrible and revolting punishments imposed on criminals in England and other countries and place his finger on the fact that the modern principle of giving benefit of doubt to the offender indicated in the provisions of the Section 3 of the Evidence Act was already hinted at in the *Āpastamba Dharma-Sūtra*, II.5.11.2.

Fidelity to facts being his 'veritable forte' he never hesitated in finding fault with the contemporary scholars of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā of the eminence of the late MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha, Dr. A. B. Keith, Dr. V. N. Maṇḍalik in a language that was sober in keeping with a research scholar of his type. In his chapter on Purāṇas in the fifth volume, he compliments Prof. Hazra for his elaborate treatment of Purāṇas and particularly Upapurāṇas as well as his immense labour bestowed on the subject but refuses to agree with his methods and reasonings for deciding dates and sounds a note of warning that 'his unfounded surmises are likely to be taken as established conclusions.'⁸ Dr. S. K. De had found fault with him for laying undue emphasis on the use of poetic figures in Vedic literature.⁹ Dr. Kane confidently wrote 'He is wrong' and the truth of Dr. Kane's remark

7. Cf. XIIIth Historical Congress, pp. 1-18.

8. Cf. *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 852.

9. *History of Sanskrit Poetics*: Dr. S. K. De, 1st edition, Vol. I, p. 341.

is now borne out by Dr. Mainkar in 1966.¹⁰ After having explained the names *Alaṅkāraśāstra* and *Sāhityaśāstra*, Dr. Kane discusses Dr. Raghavan's suggestion¹¹ that the oldest name of this discipline must have been क्रियाकल्प and rejects it on the ground of the doubtfulness of the reading क्रियाकल्पे and points out that the passage under consideration must have the reading 'Śrāddhakalpa.' Dr. Kane chooses to be a relentless critic of the fanciful theorising. His severe attack on Prof. K. Venkatachalam who contributed a paper on 'Indian Eras' to the JAHRS. is a telling illustration of this. Prof. Venkatachalam's suggestion that the *Śakakāla* mentioned by Varāhamihira (505 A.D. on the basis of सप्ताश्विन्दसंख्यं शतकालस्य) should be understood as denoting *Śakasāmrajyakāla* i.e. 550 B.C. has been thoroughly disproved by Kane who — marshalled all possible evidence against it adding the caustic remark 'the learned writer's knowledge of Sanskrit metrics is lamentably incomplete.' It must also be pointed out that Dr. Kane is not afraid of finding fault with ancient *Mīmāṃsakas* like Śabara, and Khaṇḍadeva thereby proving that he is not a servile imitator of any work.

In this context of scathing criticisms by Dr. Kane, it will be proper to give an idea of his reviews published in reputed journals of research. These are about 40 in number. — Here prominence has to be given to his reviews published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* of which he was one of the editors for a long time. For want of space, I restrict myself to a few reviews not necessarily in their chronological order, my selection being influenced by the eminence of the authors of the books reviewed. Dr. Kane's reviews indicate his scholarship in showing due regard for the industry and study of the author coupled with frankness in showing the defects of treatment if any, unmindful of the eminence of the author concerned. Thus while reviewing Dr. P. M. Modi's book '*Akṣara* — A forgotten chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy' in 1932, Dr. Kane started by stating that the work was thought-provoking, paid compliments to the author for his industry and acuteness in tracing the theory of *Akṣara* from the earliest *Upaniṣads* down to the time of *Vedānta Sūtras* and expressed admiration for the author's fearless criticism of learned savants like Prof. Hopkins and Prof. Deussen. He, however, fails not to speak of the author's scrappy treatment of the *Brahmasūtras*, want of lucidity and logical sequence of which Dr. Kane was a master and rightly pointed out the necessity of collecting all principal original Sanskrit texts in an appendix. His review on P. H. Valavalkar's '*Hindu Social Institutions*' is indeed remarkable for its candour. He started by speaking of

10. Read 'Some Poetical Aspects of Rgvedic Repetitions', Dr. T. G. Mainkar, 1966.

11. *Some Concepts of Alaṅkāra Śāstra*: Dr. V. Raghavan, pp. 264-267.

the merit of the work in bringing together characteristic features and institutions of Hindu Social systems and in presenting their inter-relation but controverts the claim of the author in making the work useful to modern times due to vagueness in stating how the ancient method of going to a Guru can be curtailed into modern system of education. Dr. Kane expresses dissatisfaction about the author's treatment of a Varṇa not being able to show the means of minimising the bitterness among several castes in the present society and finds fault with the author's method of taking translation of Vedic passages undertaken by Muir or Datta on trust. More significant is his criticism of the formidable bibliography given by the author not showing the proper use of more than half the works on sex and sociology by western writers included in it. No wonder that he mentions the important works of Winternitz on '*The woman in the Brahmanism*' missing in it. In reviewing the '*Mauryan Polity*' by V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar in 1935, Dr. Kane clearly indicated that in determining the dates, the learned author was carried away by his reverence for great names, speaks of the use of the form Kauṭaliya along with discussion on it as neither thorough nor convincing but marshalling the evidence for Kauṭilya in works like *Pravaramaṅjarī* as well as the third lost plate of the Nidhanapur plates of Bhāskaravarman and the non-mention of Kuṭāla Gotra in the Pravara sections of the Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana and other Śrauta Sūtras. In 1954, he reviewed Dr. Umesh Mishra's '*Critical Study of the Bhagawadgītā*', admitted that the work attracted his attention due to the eminent position of the author but proceeded to remark that the title should have been 'A critical study of the teachings of the BG.' as unfortunately few pages (2-10) devoted to the relation of *Gītā* and *Mahābhārata*, genuineness of the text, the date of the *Mahābhārata* war contain only perfunctory treatment of these 3 topics and omit all other matter like the date of the composition of the *Gītā*, the position of the *Gītā* in Sanskrit literature.' His reviews on Paul Thieme's 'Pāṇini and the Veda' in 1937, on K. V. R. Aiyangar's *Rājadharmā* in 1942, on S. Kuppaswami Shastri's 'Compromises in the History of Advaita' in 1947, prominently bring out the appreciative critic in Dr. Kane. While reviewing H. G. Narahari's thesis 'Ātman in pre-Upaniṣadic literature', prepared under the guidance of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, the great Indologist, Dr. Kane mincing his words states that fundamental hypothesis of Dr. Raja viz. that 'We find in Upaniṣads an attempt to understand the philosophy of Ṛgvedic period and not an attempt to working out a new philosophy' cannot be accepted. Rightly Dr. Kane poses the question 'How can one assert that Śaṅkarācārya's, Rāmānujācārya's and Madhva's philosophy are attempts to understand the faint glimmerings of the philosophy of Ṛgveda? Some of Dr. Kane's reviews in Marathi deserve

a special mention as they evince his originality. Thus, in his review of Ramjoshi's *Chandomañjari*, he pays handsome compliments to the learned introduction to the book by Rangacharya Raddi and fails not to point out that the evidence of a scattered work like Pañcārātra will not suffice to prove Piṅgala's work to be Pre-Pāṇinian. Above all his novel explanation of the names given to Vṛttas such as Drutavilambita, Śikhariṇī (Peaks of mountain in a row), Mandākrāntā certainly deserve more publicity and speak of the thinker in him. In fact his writings in Marathi, though sporadic one feels are 'more sinned against than sinning.'

All this is not to indicate that Dr. Kane has been 'faultily faultless.' It has been already pointed out by Dr. Dandekar that some of his 'views may appear hasty or farfetched and not quite acceptable.'¹² Granting that his *History of Sanskrit poetics* is a pioneering work in the field, his treatment is 'essentially descriptive — historical rather than theoretic — interpretative.'¹³ One gets sufficient information about the texts, their authors and their dates; but one fails to get an adequate idea of the content and expression of poetry. It cannot be gainsaid that Dr. Kane never thought of discussing principles of Sanskrit poetics in the light of modern aesthetics and its relation to psychology. No wonder therefore, that his history is silent about the soaring of poetry into philosophy. Dr. Kane has been a protagonist of Bhavabhūti — Umbeka identity and had tried to answer some objections rightly raised by MM. Dr. V. V. Mirashi in his fourth edition of the *Uttararāmacarita*. These objections have been answered by Dr. Mirashi in a convincing manner;¹⁴ his impression that 'Dr. Kane disliked criticism of his view's is not ill-founded and goes to indicate a chink in the armour of Dr. Kane as a research scholar. The fact that Dr. Kane's treatment of Pūrvamīmāṃsā firstly ignores the evolution in the use of the technical terms on the part of the commentators of the Smṛtis and digest works and writers on diverse disciplines of Sanskrit learning; secondly does not indicate the change or modification in the meaning of these technical terms and thirdly creates no perspective regarding the use of these terms by celebrated grammarians like Kātyāyana and Patañjali. This has been already pointed out by Dr. Moghe¹⁵ and

12. For details see Prof. Dr. P. V. Kane — A Tribute — Dr. R. N. Dandekar, MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Commemoration Monograph, p. 5.

13. *Ibid*, p. 6.

14. 'Bhavabhūti': Dr. V. V. Mirashi, pp. 99-100.

15. Cf. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane's contribution to the domain of Pūrvamīmāṃsā — Dr. S. G. Moghe — MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Commemoration Monograph. Also see 'Dr. S. G. Moghe — The Evolution of the Mimamsa Technical Term Atideśa', Diamond jubilee volume of BORI and 'Motivations of Punarvacana' in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 49, 50, 51 of 1974-75.

the late MM. Prof. K. V. Abhyankar.¹⁶ Dr. Kane's view that 'Arthasāstra is a branch nay, an integral part of Dharma-Śāstra on the authority of Vijñāneśvara's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* II.21, (*History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. I pp. 86-87 and Vol. III pp. 4-8-10) now stands rejected by Prof. R. C. Hazra in his article 'Yājñavalkya's Attitude to Arthasāstra — An authority in Judicial Administration.'¹⁷ Dr. P. V. Kane's translation of the Vedic line ' दासं वर्णमवरं गुहा कः । (*History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. II part I p. 25) has been proved to be unsatisfactory by Dr. Ram Gopal in his article¹⁸ 'Dāsa Varṇa in the *R̥gveda*. J. Duncan M. Derrett in his article¹⁹ 'Hemācārya's Arhanniti — An original Jaina Judicial work of the Middle Ages' has shown that this work of the Jain author on law with a commentary in Gujarati has been completely ignored by Dr. Kane. This very author in his article²⁰ 'An aspect of the Arranged marriage in Dharma-Śāstra' has placed his finger on a lacuna in Kane's *History of Dharma-Śāstra*. Dr. Kane has placed Kullūka the celebrated commentator of the *Manu-Smṛti* between 1150 to 1300 A.D. (Vol. I Part II pp. 758-759). Dr. Moghe who is bringing out a critical edition of Kullūka's *Śrāddhasāgara* has brought to my notice that Kullūka's probable date falls between 1520 to 1620 A.D. on the basis of references by Kullūka to Kama-lākarabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nirṇayasindhu* (1612) as well as to Nīlakaṇṭha the author of the *Śrāddha-Mayūkha* (1600-1660 A.D.). Evidently the exact significance of the remark 'Gauḍhamaithilamayūkhabhaṭṭāḥ' was not properly understood by Dr. Kane. Some erroneous statements of Dr. Kane have also been brought to light by Dr. Moghe. Thus in *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. I Part II, Kane stated that there is a copy of the manuscript of the *Vyāghra Smṛti* in the Bhadkamkar collection of the Bombay University; this is not true. The same can be said about the non-mention by Dr. Kane of the manuscript of the *Budha Smṛti* in the Adyar Library, Madras. Dr. Kane's erroneous statement about *Budha Smṛti* not containing any special view is more serious. It has been brought to my notice that *Budha Smṛti* (being edited shortly by Dr. Moghe for ABORI.) has a special view about Sāpiṇḍya in Dharmaśāstra as according to him Sāpiṇḍya in relation to marriage consists in 5 degrees on mother's side and 10 degrees on the father's side, against the general view सपिण्डता तु सप्तमे विनिवर्तते । Dr. S. G. Moghe in his article,²¹

16. Cf. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* with English Trans. and notes by K. V. Abhyankar, p. 20.

17. Cf. R̥ṣikalpanyāsa — Bhāratī Paṛiṣad Prayāg, pp. 238-240.

18. *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha*, Vol. XXXIV, Part I and II, January and June, 1978.

19. ABORI, 1976, Vol. LVII, Parts 1 to 4.

20. Diamond Jubilee Volume of ABORI, 1977-1978, pp. 111-120.

21. *Bhāratīya Vidya*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, pp. 59-63.

'A fresh interpretation of 'नक्षत्रैर्यश्च जीवति ।' has convincingly shown that Dr. Kane has missed the point of Manu who was condemning a sham astrologer for the Śrāddha ceremony.

But enough of 'उपजीव्यानां कटाक्षेण'. The fact remains that Dr. Kane's sweep of research interests and activities was surprisingly extensive. He has hardly left any branch of Indology untouched and whatever he has touched he has adorned and enriched. His *History of Sanskrit poetics* continues to be an invaluable aid to all discerning students of the subject. His contributions to the domain of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā remind one of Kumārilabhaṭṭa of ancient times. His *History of Dharma-Sāstra* is unique both in conception and execution. History of Indian culture and religion will remain incomplete without a reverential reference to this monumental work. It will be in the fitness of things to close this brief survey of his life and works with the words of the learned contributors to 'A volume of Indology' offered to him on the occasion of his 61st birthday in 1941, namely 'We admire your great achievement, your colossal industry and boundless patience, your critical scholarship and unfaltering devotion to Sanskrit learning and those who draw inspiration from your fine example and encouragement from the privilege of your esteemed friendship.'

PRAYOGA-VIJÑĀNA OF KĀLIDĀSA

R. B. ATHAVALE

THE Sanskrit word Prayoga-Vijñāna means proficiency or mastery in the art of presenting a drama on the stage. A drama is visualized poetry (Dṛśya Kāvya). It is enjoyed through the medium of eyes and ears, especially of eyes. Hence while enjoying a dramatic performance, the audience observes every action of every actor, as well as the background of every scene. Other senses of course, do cooperate with the eyes, but the role of eyes is more important than that of others, and hence a drama is called a Dṛśya kāvya (and not a Śravya Kāvya—auditory poetry).

It is because of this that a clever dramatist writes a drama with such an artistic skill that its presentation on the stage would first captivate the eyes of the audience. Other senses, as it were, forget, for a while, their usual function and completely merge in the eyes.¹

It is because of this rare quality of a drama that all the Sanskrit poeticians and connoisseurs (Rasikas) with one voice declare that a drama (Dṛśya Kāvya), is superior to other kinds of poetry (Śravya Kāvya). For instance, Vāmana the author of *Kāvya-lankāra-Sūtra-Vṛtti* remarks:—

“Of all the kinds of poetry the drama is the best.”²

Another critic says (taking Kālidāsa’s *Śākuntala* as the illustration):—

“Of all the varieties of poetry, a drama is the most charming one; and of all the dramas the *Śākuntala* is the most charming one; and even in *Śākuntala* the fourth Act is the most beautiful and even in the fourth Act, four verses possess outstanding poetic beauty.”³

Kālidāsa, a poet and a critic in one (Kavi-saḥṛdaya) knew and extolled this peculiar characteristic of a drama.

1. Cf. तथा हि शेषेन्द्रियवृत्तिरासां सर्वात्मना चक्षुरिव प्रविष्टा ॥ (Raghu. 7-12).

“Other senses (of the women-spectators) plunged into the eyes”.

2. Vide K. S. V. 1-30: संदर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः ।

3. काव्येषु नाटकं रम्यं तत्र रम्या शकुन्तला ।
तत्रापि च चतुर्थोऽङ्कस्तत्र श्लोकचतुष्टयम् ॥

Says he:—

“Sages look upon this Nāṭya (drama) as a lovely sacrifice, delightful to the eyes, offered to Gods; Rudra his body united with that of Umā, had divided this Nāṭya in two halves; Here, human life consisting of three fundamental properties in all its sentiments is seen reflected; verily a drama is the only entertainment for people of manifold tastes.”⁴

A drama, moreover is rendered more attractive to the audience when it is presented artistically. The first essential requisite, therefore, of a dramatist is this art of creating scenes and situations that would delightfully attract the eyes and ears of their enlightened audience.

Distinguished dramatists like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Bhavabhūti, and Viśākhadatta were eminent masters of this art of stage performance no doubt, but Kālidāsa surpassed all others in his almost perfect mastery of this art (Prayoga-Vijñāna).

And he, it seems, was quite conscious of his superiority in this Prayoga-Vijñāna, but he wanted a testimonial from his elite audience in this respect. He, therefore says “I do not regard my mastery of the stage, as excellent until the learned are fully satisfied with my performance. For the mind of even highly trained persons lacks in self-confidence.”⁵

The following few illustrations, I hope will testify to Kālidāsa’s mastery over the stage.

(1) The scene — Three maidens belonging to the hermitage (Āśrama) of Kaṇva (the president of the Āśrama — Kulapati) are watering the trees in the garden. They are in charge of the guest-house and have to personally attend the arriving guests. Today’s guest is the king Duṣyanta who disguising himself as a royal officer takes a round in the garden. He looks at the three maidens Śakuntalā, Priyamvadā and Anasūyā and screening himself behind a tree overhears their mirthful talk.

All of a sudden, a bee springing up in confusion from a sprinkled creeper attacks Śakuntalā and hovers round her face. The bee touches the tremulous eyes of the affrighted Śakuntalā, hums sweetly

4. देवनामिदमामनन्ति मृतयः कान्तं क्रतुं चाक्षुषं
रुद्रेणेदमुमाकृतव्यतिकरे स्वाङ्गे विभक्तं द्विधा ।
त्रैगुण्योद्भवमज्ञ लोकचरितं नानारसं दृश्यते
नाटयं भिन्नरचेर्जनस्य बहुघाप्यकं समाराधनम् ॥
5. आपरितोषाद्विदुषां न साधु मन्ये प्रयोगविज्ञानम् ।
बलवदपि शिक्षितानाम्नात्मन्यप्रत्ययं चेतः ॥

Mālavikāgnimitra (1-4):

—Śakuntala I. 2

in her ears and touches her nether lip. The king already charmed with the lovely face of Śakuntalā falls in love with her; and imagines the bee as his rival in his amorous dalliances with Śakuntalā and addresses him thus:—

“Oh bee, you are repeatedly touching her quivering eyes the corners of which are tremulous; hovering near her ears you hum sweetly as if whispering a love secret in her ears and in spite of her resisting hands sip her nether lip — the essence of love; you are blessed indeed but alas we are undone because of our searching for the facts (of her life).

Śakuntalā: He does not stop — this impudent one. (walks away and watches the bee) Now here also he pursues; friends, save me from the molestation of this mischievous bee.

Both the friends (smilingly): who are we to save you? Call Duṣyanta for help. The king ought to protect the penance grove.

King: This is a fitting opportunity to disclose myself (aloud) do not get alarmed, don't get panicky; (abruptly stopping) perhaps my royal character would be disclosed. All right, I shall put it this way.

Śakuntalā: (walks away and watches) How, he pursues me even here.

King: (hurriedly approaching):—

“Who is this behaving rudely with these child-like maidens of the hermits; when the descendant of Puru — the chastiser of ill-behaved, rules the earth. (All get somewhat confused at the sight of the king).

This then is the wonderfully charming scene presented to the audience. The unique beauty of this scene lies in bringing the hero and heroine face to face, the hero in his magnificent dress of a hunter. The heroine in her bewildered state of mind. In everyday life also, a woman looks more beautiful when she gets highly agitated by some annoying thing. Māgha in his *Śisupālavadha* presents a word-picture of such a woman.⁶ And Śakuntalā really has a serious cause of agitation.

6. नस्यन्ती चलशफरीविषट्टितोस्वामोरुरतिशयमाप विभ्रमस्य ।

क्षुभ्यन्ति प्रसभमहो विनापि हेतोर्लौलाभिः किम् सति कारणे रम्यः ॥ —*Māgha*, 8-24.

(While swimming in a pleasure-pond a young woman got frightened at the jostling of a fish against her thighs, looked extremely lovely. Even otherwise, women get agitated without any disturbing cause. Then how much more would they get agitated when there is a real cause of agitation).

Now contrast with this scene a similar scene (of bee-molestation — Bhramara-Sambādha) from *Svapnavāsavadattā* of Bhāsa. The situation there is this:—

Udayana the lovelorn king had made an appointment with his consort queen Padmāvati in a bower of creepers; but Padmāvati delayed; the king tired of waiting and tormented by the heat of the midday sun began to walk away with his jester companion (the Vidūṣaka). Just then Padmāvati with her maid-servant arrives at the place. She sees the king going out of the bower and wishes to stop him. The clever maid-servant knowing the mind of the queen plays a trick to stop the king. She shakes violently a branch of a creeper on which a swarm of bees had perched. The bees, disturbed by the shaking, suddenly sprang up and attacked the face of the jester who was walking ahead of the king. The jester affrighted cried out: Oh God, I am attacked by these bloody bees.

King (to Vidūṣaka): Don't disturb them. They are sitting with their beloved mates. If you drive them away they will be separated from their mates.⁷

This scene contains disturbance by bees. Perhaps Kālidāsa might have borrowed the incident of bee disturbance from *Svapna-Vāsavadattā*. Even great poets like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti from Bhārata and Shakespeare, Goethe and others from the West do not hesitate to pilfer pieces of beauty from their predecessors or senior contemporaries. In this matter as a witty Sanskrit poet puts it "A poet becomes a distinguished one by becoming an expert thief"⁸ — Be that as it may, it is, in the present case, a doubtless fact that this bee incident of Bhāsa is in clear contrast with that of Kālidāsa in point of scenic effect. Kālidāsa by this scene creates in the mind of spectators, men of refined taste, the sentiment of love (Śṛṅgāra Rasa) while Bhāsa creates the emotion of laughter (Hāsyā Rasa) in their minds.

We now give another illustration of Kālidāsa's mastery in the art of stage effect. The context of the scene is dancing of the heroine

7. *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* (Act IV after v.2):

चेटी:—भर्तृदारिके एतां मधुकरपरिनीनामवलम्बलतामवधूय भर्तारं वारयिष्यामि ।

पद्मावती:—एवं कुरु । (चेटी तथा करोति) ।

विदूषक:—अविधा अविधा, तिष्ठतु तिष्ठतु तावद् भवान् ।

राजा:—किमर्थम् ।

विदूषक:—दास्याः पुत्रैर्मधुकरैः पीडितोऽस्मि ।

राजा:—मा मा भवान् एवम् मधुकरसंज्ञासः परिहार्यः । पश्य-

मधुमदकला मधुकरा मदनार्ताभिः प्रियाभिरूपगूढाः ।

पादन्यासविषण्णा वयमिव कान्तावियुक्ताः स्युः ॥ 3 ॥

8. कविश्चोरो विभाष्यते ।

Mālavikā before an elite audience, chief of whom was the hero, Agni-mitra, the King. Mālavikā was originally a princess, but by a freak of fortune became a maid-servant in the harem of the king. Both of them by mere accident see each other and fall in mutual love; but it was almost impossible for Mālavikā to marry the king who on his part could not accept her openly as his consort. But by a clever device of the Vidūṣaka (the king's jester companion) a dancing programme of Mālavikā was arranged in which the king was appointed a judge of Mālavikā's performance. Mālavikā now, in her rich dancing apparel stands before the king in her dancing pose, and after practising preliminary melodies starts singing a song which was so skilfully and artfully arranged in such a way that it would suggest Mālavikā's love towards the king. The text of the song was as follows:—

“The darling of my heart is not easy to get. Oh my heart, be despaired of him; but the corner of my left eye throbs palpably and mysteriously; lo! he is seen after a long time; My lord, dependent that I am, think of me as full of passionate love for you.”⁹ Here we get one of the most delightful scenes from the dramas of Kālidāsa. As in the scene of bee-disturbance, the hero and the heroine are brought together looking at each other with loving eyes. For the spectators, this is one of the most delightful scenes never to be forgotten.

Such scenes are a perennial source of delight to the audience and the poet is really unfortunate who does not avail himself of such a splendid opportunity of creating and presenting such scenes of surpassing beauty.

But two eminent poets in Sanskrit literature, Śūdraka and Bhavabhūti have failed in taking advantage of such an opportunity. In the first Act of *Mṛcchakaṭīka* the poet Śūdraka had a golden opportunity of bringing the hero Cārudatta and the heroine Vasantasenā together in a musical concert arranged in the temple of the God of love (Kāmadevāyatana). The poet could have created a scene in which Vasantasenā, the most eminent dancing girl of the town, Cārudatta, the famous lute-player accompanying her dance, and Rebhila, the great musician singing to the accompaniment of Vasantasenā's dance participate. Here then Vasantasenā would have fallen in love with Cārudatta displaying his musical talent to the audience consisting of men of refined taste (Rasikas), Vasantasena being one of

9. दुर्लभः प्रियो मे तस्मिन् भव हृदय निराशं
अहो अपाङ्गको मे प्रस्फुरति किमपि वामकः ।

एष स चिरदृष्टः कथमुपनेतव्यो

नाथ मां पराधीनां त्वयि गणय सतृष्णाम् ॥

(इति यथारसमभिनयति)

them. And indeed Vasantasenā did fall in love with Cārudatta and admired his proficiency in lute-playing. The whole town including Śakāra came to know of this affair between Vasantasenā and Cārudatta.

Śakāra wanted the love of Vasantasenā but as she did not reciprocate his love he tried to win her love by force and doggedly pursued her in a dark lane and threateningly demanded her love. She rejects him, scoffs at him and says: "Love is won by merits, not by force."¹⁰

The poet, however, simply reports in the following speech of Śakāra the fact of Vasantasenā's falling in love with Cārudatta:

Śakāra (To Viṭa): "My dear friend, this harlot fell in love with that poor Cārudatta from the day when she saw him in the garden of Cupid's temple and hence does not love me."

Now Śūdraka here had a very favourable background to create a scene of the musical concert, in the very beginning of the first act of *Mṛcchakaṭika* and could have given to the audience a very charming scene enjoyable for ever to men of refined taste but he missed the opportunity and simply referred to the concert in passing. I am constrained to say that Śūdraka was not as adept as Kālidāsa in the art of scenic effect (*Prayoga-vijñāna*).

Bhavabhūti also could not evince his mastery of the stage-craft as Kālidāsa did. True, Bhavabhūti in his *Uttararāmacarita* (Act I) created a scene of supreme beauty portraying pathetic sentiment, which the refined audience declare with admiration as one of the most pathetic scenes in world literature but he failed miserably in his *Mālatī-Mādhava*. It is a love drama so the audience naturally expects scenes in which the hero Mādhava and the heroine Mālatī are brought together in an atmosphere that would excite the feeling of love and in which both of them would get an opportunity of casting amorous glances at each other; such an opportunity, it seems, was given to them by the poet. He brought them together in the garden surrounding the temple of the God of Love (*Kāmadevāyatana*). Mādhava had gone there and was sitting under a Bakula tree and was weaving a garland of Bakula flowers. Just then Mālatī arrived there along with her friends and began taking a round in

10. शिटः—स्त्वं वापीव लतेव नीरिव जनं वेष्यासि सर्वं भज ॥

—I.32(d)

वसन्तसेनाः—गुणः खल्वनुरागस्य कारणं न पुनर्बलात्कारः ।

शकृारः—भाव भाव एषा गर्भदासी कामदेवायतनीद्यानात्प्रभृति तस्य दरिद्रचारुदत्तस्यानुत्कता न मां कामयते ।

Incidentally, we may refer to the various elements which help evoking of the erotic sentiment:

ऋतुमाल्यालङ्कारैः प्रियजनगन्धर्वकाव्यसेवाभिः ।

उपवनगमनविहारैः शृङ्गाररसः समुद्भवति ॥ *Rasatarāṅginī*

the garden. All of a sudden she saw Mādhava whom she recognised as a handsome young man whom she had frequently seen, from the terrace, passing by her mansion. Mādhava also used to look at her, with loving eyes; both smiled and wanted to talk with each other but decorum came in their way. A young man and a young woman, both unmarried, must not talk with each other — that was the convention in those days. But love is ingenious and artfully overcomes obstacles. Mālatī deputed her smart young companion, Lavaṅgikā, to Mādhava to whom she conveys Mālatī's eager desire to have to herself the garland of Bakula flowers woven by Mādhava. Lavaṅgikā's appeal succeeded and Mādhava promptly handed over the garland to Lavaṅgikā who returning gave the garland to Mālatī; she wore it round her neck, tenderly; Mādhava saw it dangling on Mālatī's breast and was delighted.

Here ends the lovely episode.

This short story of youthful lovers would have captivated the hearts of any refined audience if it would have been artistically exhibited on the stage. But Bhavabhūti turned it into a beautiful poem! Mādhava sang it on the stage and Makaranda, his bosom friend listened to it patiently, very probably impatiently! There are nearly twenty verses recited or sung in this scene by Mādhava. Bhavabhūti entirely forgot that this episode was to be presented on the stage before the spectators. It was part of a drama and not a poem — it was not a Śravya-kāvya but a Dṛśya-kāvya.

If all the characters of the scene — Mālatī, Mādhava, Lavaṅgikā against the back-ground of the garden, the Bakula tree and the temple of Cupid were presented on the stage, the effect would have been magical.

Bharata Muni (the learned sage) warned the dramatists and the directors of the stage against too much of music and too much of narration in a drama. Short dialogues full of wit and humour and scenes with plenty of sensational action — this is the secret (Upaniṣad) of success of a dramatist.

Kālidāsa had almost mastered this secret, this art of presentation, this 'Prayoga-vijñāna.'

But he too is sometimes dull in his dramas. Homer sometimes nods! For instance, in the second and the sixth Acts of *Śakuntala* there is neither action nor any brilliant wit nor any pleasant humour. Duṣyanta in Act VI remembers Śakuntalā, her repudiation by him and gives expression to his repentant heart in a tedious talk.

In this respect of Prayoga-vijñāna I have found one poet or rather dramatist — Viśākhadatta of *Mudrārāksasa* fame, who, in my opi-

nion, is equal to Kālidāsa or rather excels him in the art of stage-effect. He deserves eulogy from any audience of critical judges — the more so, for he has taken for his drama a plot of intrigues of the most astute politician, Ārya Cāṇakya, the minister and Guru of the Emperor Candragupta. In *Mudrārākṣasa* there is not an iota of Śṛṅgāra (sentiment of love). Consequently there is no Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra (love in separation) and story of love is always very popular. Here there are spies, murders and battles. The whole atmosphere is full of mystery. Yet Viśākhadatta holds his audience spell-bound by presenting scenes which create awe, wonder and sublimity. For instance, in Act III of the *Mudrārākṣasa* the dialogue between Cāṇakya and Candragupta is a masterpiece of dramatic skill. The dialogue between Cāṇakya and Candanadāsa in this play is highly interesting.

But Kālidāsa is greatly admired by his audience for his Prayogavijñāna because he has in all his three dramas scenes full of love-affairs that hightlight Śṛṅgāra-rasa in all its phases.

PRAVARGYA MAHĀVĪRA AND IDOLS

V. S. BHANDARI

PRAVARGYA Mantras are to be found in the *Vājasaneyī-Samhitā* (XXXVI to XXXIX) *Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā* and the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (IV and V). It is a Supplementary rite for the Soma sacrifice as it forms the part of the performance of the Upasad days of the Soma sacrifice. In origin it stood as an independent sacrifice, as is suggested by its unimportant place in Soma sacrifice. The Pravargya is derived from Pra√Vrj. It is also a technical term used for putting on the Gharma or *Cauldron*, (which is also called Mahāvīra) on the fire. This derivation is suggested by *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, when it says¹ "Puts it on in the same way as if he were putting the (Pravargya) *Cauldron* on". (1.2.2.7).

This rite consists of an offering of heated milk and ghee in a pot called the Mahāvīra, from which libations are made among others to Aśvins and of which the sacrificer partakes. The whole rite is treated with a considerable amount of mystic solemnity calculated to impart to it an air of unusual significance. A special importance is attached to the rough clay pot, used for boiling the milk, and manufactured and baked in the course of performance itself. It is called Mahāvīra, i.e. the great man or here a Samrāj or Supreme king and is made the object of adoration as though it were a veritable deity of well-nigh paramount power.

The object of Pravargya, is the bodily regeneration of the sacrificer, the provision of heavenly body with which alone he is permitted to enter the premises of Gods. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (1.22.14) explains the whole rite as a mystic union of the Gods, which produces a new body for the sacrificer. Dr. Geldner² accepts this view in so far as he regards it as an allegory of 'Devamithuna' or 'mithuna' in general. There is a theory underlying the exposition of the Pravargya as given in the *ŚB*. It makes the Mahāvīra pot a symbol of the Sun, whilst the hot milk represents the divine flood of the life and light with which the performer of the ceremony becomes imbued.

1 यथा घर्मं प्रवृज्यात् एवं प्रवृणक्ति-श. ब्रा. 1. 2. 2. 7

2. *Vedische Studien* II, p. 135.

According to³ Dr. Egging "These symbolic interpretations certainly adopt themselves admirably to the general sacrificial imagery. As the Sun is the head of the universe — or in figurative language — the head of Prajāpati — so its earthly and earthen counter-part, the Mahāvīra pot, is the head of Viṣṇu and the sacrificial man and the sacrificer." This ceremony is thus performed in order to complete the universe and the sacrifice, as well as the divine body of the sacrificer by supplying them with their head, and to imbue them with the divine essence of life and light. This symbolism in some points is connected with the Pravargya ceremony. It accounts for the deep reverence shown to Gharma Vessel, which is the giver of life and light.

⁴Oldenberg and Hillebrandt think that the nature of the rite in its original sense was a Sun spell, in which the Mahāvīra represents the Sun, and the heating of the milk over which a golden plate is put, is a symbolic refreshing of the heat of the Sun and consequently of the powers of the sacrificer.

The Adhyāya XXXIV of VS. contain preliminary Mantras of Pravargya, chiefly prayers for long life, unimpaired faculties, health, strength, prosperity, security, tranquillity and contentment. The first mantra 'Ṛcam Vacam' (36.1) is the Śāntikaraṇa Mantra.

The famous Gāyatrī Mantra is also included in the Pravargya ceremony in order that the sacrificer may get the excellent lustre. In the famous mantra Śam no devī (36.12) celestial waters are requested to be helpers, to be sweet for drinking and to flow with health and strength to the sacrificer.

In the mantra 'Dṛte' (36.16) the sacrificer addresses the Gharma or Mahāvīra in which the offering of heated milk is prepared. As we have noticed earlier the Mahāvīra represents the Sun. The Adhvaryu recites another famous mantra 'Taccakṣur' (36.24) in which the Sun now represented by Mahāvīra is praised. "Through hundred autumns we may see that Bright Eye (of the universe)". This mantra forms a part of marriage ceremony. According to *Pāraskara grhya sūtra*⁵, "He (the bridegroom) makes her (bride), look at the Sun with the mantra 'Taccakṣur'."

When the necessary animals, vessels and implements have been brought to the sacrificial ground, the sacrificer first equips the Mahāvīra with its equipments. With a wooden spade he digs out the clay. The spade is made of Udumbara and is symbolic of the

3. Dr. Egging, *SBE*, Vol. X, p. VIII

4. *Religion des Veda*, p. 448.

5. अथैनां सूर्यमदीक्षयति तच्चक्षुरिति-पास्कुरगृह्यसूत्र. 1. 8. 7

vigour of thunder-bolt. He thus supplies the Pravargya with vigour. Adhvaryu then takes the lump of clay and the sacrificer takes the 'Valmika-vapā' an omentum like inner lump of an ant-hill. He puts it on the black antilope-skin to be mixed with the clay. The divine 'Vamryaḥ' or white ants are known in *Ṛg-Veda* as Upajivhikā. Earth thrown by them, is taken up and placed on a black antilope-skin. They are addressed as the 'Divyo Varmyo' or divine ants on account of the wonderful power of producing water wherever they dig bestowed on them by Gods.

According to Bloomfield "A lump from white-ants nests is used in *Atharva-Veda* ritual in connection with a charm for Diarrhoea, and as an antidote against poison". Even now the clay from ant-hill is used as a cure for poison. These white ants are addressed as Bhūtasya Prathamajā or the earliest of the creation. Mahādhara explains the antiquity of their origin by their close connection with the first born earth. Next the sacrificer takes the earth dug up by a boar and places it by the side of the earth known as Valmika vapā, he addresses the earth with Mantra Iyatyagra (37.5). "Only this large was she in the beginning". This may refer to the 'Varāha' incarnation of Viṣṇu when he raised up the Earth from the water in the beginning of the creation. *SB.* says "Only so large was this earth in the beginning. A boar called Emūṣa raised her up he was her lord, Prajāpati (14.1.2.11).⁸

Actual manufacturing of the Mahāvīra begins with the recitation of the 'Makhāya' (37.7) the clay placed by the side of Pūtikās, a kind of plant used to expedite the curdling of the sacrificial milk. Adhvaryu taking the black antilope-skin, utters the mantra 'Praitu' (37.7)⁹ and goes to the 'Parivṛta', an enclosed space, the ground being raised so as to form a mound covered with sand. The object of this enclosed space is to prevent any unauthorised person from seeing the manufacturing of Mahāvīra. For this very reason people are not allowed to see an incomplete image of a deity. Adhvaryu then deposits the 'Sambhāras' on the mound. He then mixes gavedhuka grass and the milk of Ajā in the Valmikavapā and other Sambhāras.

Next he takes a lump of clay and makes a Mahāvīra pot, a span high, contracted in the middle and at the top he draws a spout, of three thumbs-breadth. It is a sort of nose to Mahāvīra Pravargya. With the mantra 'Aśvasya' (37.9) Mahāvīra pots are fumigated

6. American Journal of Philosophy, Vol. VII, p. 482.

7. भूतस्य प्राणिजातस्य प्रथमजाः प्रथमोत्पन्नाः । पृथिवी जन्तूनां प्रथमजा तत्सम्बन्धात् वन्नयोऽपि प्रथमजा उच्यन्ते । वा. सं. 37. 4 महीधर भाष्य

8. इयती ह वा इयमग्ने पृथिव्यास प्रादेशमात्री वराह उज्ज्वान । श. ब्रा. 14. 1. 2. 12

9. इयत्यग्र आसीन्मखस्य तेऽद्य क्षिरी राध्यासं देवयजने पृथिव्याः वा. सं. 37. 5

with the horse dung. Even now the horse dung is used for the manufacture of images of gods. The pots are baked with bricks the baked vessels are lifted up one by one. They are identical with atmospheric Vāyu. Then the three Mahāvīra pots are sprinkled with goat's milk. The person who participates in the Pravargya enters the life of light. The observance of this rule is same as that at the creation of the universe. As there Prajāpati reconstructs his body, so the sacrificer in keeping up of the observance of the Pravargya constructs himself a new body for the future life.

For tying the cow, that is to furnish the milk for gharma, a post is fixed in the ground. Near it a peg is driven into the ground to tie the goat, whose milk is to be used afterwards. Then he anoints the Mahāvīra pot which is filled with consecrated ghee and prays "May the God Savitr anoint you with honey". A silver plate is put under the Mahāvīra to protect it from evil spirits that infest the earth. Adhvaryu surrounds the Mahāvīra with ashes and coals of Gārhapatya, and above them lays thirteen pieces of split Vaikaṅkata wood representing thirteen months, the Pravargya being the year. He then places a gold plate weighing 100 Raktis, on the top of the pot.

The sacrificer and the priests fan the fire, walk reverentially round the Mahāvīra with 'Madhu, madhu, madhu' (VS. 37.13) and do obeisance to it as the representative of the Sun. Being similar to 'Madhu-rasa', Prāṇa (vital breath) is called 'madhu'. According to ŚB, 'With madhu, madhu, madhu, true vital breaths, e.g. prāṇa, udāna and vyāna are put in the Mahāvīra (14.1 : 3.30).¹⁰

This is just nothing but a sort of Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā rite or establishment of vital breaths in the Idol and enhancing the image. Even now, while performing the prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā rite for the earthen idols of Gaṇeśa and other deities, Mantra, ¹¹'Prāṇadā apānada' from V.S. 17.15, is recited, where vital breaths as well as divine lustre are solicited for the Idol. The sacrificer and other priests step up and revere the Mahāvīra with the Avakāśa, which represents vital airs. It is addressed¹² as 'Garbha of the Gods,' because the shining Sun represented by Mahāvīra holds (garbha) everything. It is also described as Agni, represented by the Mahāvīra, he shines on earth, upholder of the sky and heat (tapas), God immortal.¹³ He is the guardian, and never resting. This expression reminds us of the idea expressed by Kālidāsa while describing the Sun and the king.¹⁴

10. मधु मध्विति त्रिः प्राणो वै मधु प्राणमेवास्मिन्नेतद्घाति

11. प्राणदा अपानदा व्यानदा वचोदा. वा. सं. 17. 15

12. गर्भो देवानाम् वा. सं. 37. 14

13. अपश्यं गोपामनिपद्यमानम् वा. सं. 37. 17

14. भानुः सकृद्युक्ततुरङ्ग एव षष्ठांशवृत्तेरपि घर्म एषः । अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम् 5. 4

The Sun has his horses yoked but once. Such is the duty, of him whose sustenance is on the sixth part". (*Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* V.4).

This Sun represented by Gharma, is described as the 'Lord of worlds, Lord of thoughts and Lord of all speech.' Finally the Adhvaryu uncovers the head of the sacrificer's wife, who is looking at the Mahāvīra, recites the mantra "Tvastṛmantastvā (37.20). "Together with Tvastṛ we will serve you," Tvastṛ is the God, who presides over procreation and bestowing of children. Thus even ladies could actually participate in the worship of Mahāvīra, by reciting the mantras.

With three sentences "Iḍā echi' etc. (38.2) the Gharmadughā cow is called. She is given three names, namely, Iḍā, Aditi and Sarasvatī.

The milking of the cow is done in a bowl for Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra, as they helped the restoration of the head of the sacrifice.

He then takes two 'Parīśāsas' two lifting sticks or pair of tongs with which Mahāvīra is lifted. Then he puts it on the Upayamanī or supporting tray with 'By the air I support you,' this Upayamanī tray is symbolic of belly, because all the food and drink is held here. He then pours the split milk and ghee from the Upayamanī tray in the Mahāvīra pot. After the offerings are given he thrice shakes the Mahāvīra upwards, with 'Dividhā' (38.11). 'O Mahāvīra you place this sacrifice in heaven.'

The Mahāvīra is placed on the Āsandī. There is Utsādana (setting out) of the Pravargya when the apparatus used for the Pravargya are laid out in the form of a man. The Mahāvīra represents the head, the Prastara, the hair, two milk vessels are his ears, plates of gold and silver his eyes, the Rauhiṇa cakes heels, the contents of *Cauldron* blood and so on.

It is symbolic of the bodily regeneration of the sacrificer and provides him with heavenly body, with which alone he is permitted to enter the premises of Gods. The Adhvaryu then steps out with the mantra 'Kṣatrasya tvā' (38.19). "We follow you for the sure protection of the Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas we follow in the interest of the people for the renewal of our peace and comfort." Thus the peace and comfort of the people is also the purpose of the Pravargya. Moreover the Mahāvīra by which they are now supposed to be led is symbolic of Sun, who shines and is the divine ruler, is supposed to help the protection of human ruler.

The sacrificer and the officiating priests accompanied with their wives cleanse the Cātvala pit. At the continued pressing of Soma they also perform 'Dadhi gharma' and take the gharma of curd with the Agnihotra ladle.

The sacrificer and priests drink the portion of Dadhigharma. The sacrificer while drinking it expects that he would gain the great energy in his own self.

He then offers a 'Pūrṇāhuti' or full spoon oblation with the mantra¹⁵ Manasah' (39.4) the sacrificer desires to obtain the wish and purpose of the mind. This mantra is still recited to invoke the blessing of goddess, Lakṣmī as a part of Śrīsūkta. There is the Prāyaścitta, if the Mahāvira is broken while in the process of manufacturing. The Mahāvira represents various deities at different stages of the ceremony, and expiatory oblations are to be offered accordingly. For instance, it is Prajāpati while in preparation, Samrāj when prepared, Vaiśvadeva when seated, Gharma when heated on fire, Splendour when lifted up, the Aśvins while milk is poured in and so on.

At the conclusion of the Pravargya the sacrificial materials are so arranged as to form the semblance of human figure, as described earlier. The formulas contained in the mantra 'Lomabhyah' (39.10) provide the Pravargya man with the bodily parts like hair, skin, blood, fat, fleshy parts, sinews, bones, marrows, seed and anus. With these the regeneration of the sacrificer is completed. 'Āyāsā Svāhā' (39.11) the faculties and feelings are imparted. They are Āyāsa (effort), Tapas (grief), Gharma (Heat), Prāyaścitta (atonement), Bhiṣaja (remedy) and so on.

The main purpose of manufacturing and the worship of the Pravargya Mahāvira is the regeneration of the sacrificer and the provision of heavenly body with which he is permitted to enter the residence of the Gods.

This type of symbolic meaning of the Pravargya-Mahāvira rite is in consonance with general conception of Sacrificial rites. As the Sun is the head of the world or in the figurative language, it is the head of Prajāpati, in the same manner, Earth or Pṛthivī is its earthly part, and the earthen Mahāvira, manufactured from the clay of Pṛthivī is the head of Viṣṇu in the form sacrifice. From the above mentioned detailed description of the manufacture and worship of the Mahāvira, we can say, that during the Yajurvedic period the idol

15. मनसः काममाकृति वाचः सत्यमशीय । पशूनां रूपमन्नस्य रसो यशः श्रीः श्रयतां मयि स्वाहा ॥

worship was not only well established, but the art of manufacturing the idols, also was known to the people.

As the Mahāvīra pot represented the idol of the Sun it might have been the basis for the form of Śivaliṅga idol.

Just as we find the remnants of the sacrificial rites in the later religious rites, in the same way we find the remnants of Pravargya — Mahāvīra rites in the manufacture, Prāṇapraṭiṣṭhā and Ṣoḍaśopacāra worship of the idols of favourite deities.

VĀK IN ŚĀTAPATHA BRĀHMĀNA

G. K. BHAT

(1)

I HAVE been studying the concept of Vāk in the Vedic literature. The general tendency in the investigation has been towards the discovery of some symbolical, esoteric interpretation lying behind the statements and allusions in regard to the concept.¹ What I am attempting is a study on the simple linguistic basis and deductions that can flow from it especially on the psychological level, explaining the beliefs that surround the concept. Obviously the *Brāhmaṇas* use the concept of Vāk and the stories and legends, they fabricate, construct or narrate from older tradition, to establish some ritual point. Such ritual connection is not difficult to be seen. But what does the use of the concept signify, and what ideas or beliefs the stories suggest purely in the sphere of language and its employment by people, may not also be ignored. Some significant data from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*Śat. Br.*) is examined here from this angle.

(2)

In the *Ṛgveda* the word *vāk* is often used to denote sound, voice or speech; so that any kind of sound from inanimate or animate things, birds and animals, and the articulate sounds produced by human speakers, are all regarded as their *vāk*. This meaning is present in the prescription of *haviṣkṛt* in the *Darsapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice in the *Śat. Br.* and in the story narrated in this connection. *Haviṣkṛt*, meaning 'preparer of sacrificial food', denotes the *person* who prepares the oblation, rice-cake in this context, and also the *formula* by which that person is called, different formulas being used for different *Varnas*. When Adhvaryu calls the *Haviṣkṛt* the *Āgnīdhra* priest beats the two grind-stones (*dṛṣad-upale*). He beats the lower stone twice and the upper one once with a wedge called *śamyā*, which is a stick of Khādira wood about 6 or 8 inches long. This

1. Cf. For instance, "Vāk Legends in the Brāhmaṇas", Vidya Niwas Misra, *Gopinath Kaviraj Felicitation Volume*, Akhil Bharatiya Sanskrit Parisad, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 20-28.

procedure of producing a discordant noise is accounted for by a story.²

Manu had a bull, into whom an asura-killing (*asuraghñī*) and foe-killing (*sapatnaghñī*) voice (*vāk*) had entered. The bull's snorting (*śvasatha*) and roaring (*ravatha*) continually crushed the asuras and rakṣasas. Kilāta and Ākuli, the two priests of asuras, came to Manu and offered to perform a sacrifice for him with the bull. Manu worshipped divine faith, and so he accepted. On the killing of the bull for the sacrifice, the voice left its body and entered Manu's wife Manāvī. This caused greater trouble, because every time she spoke the asuras were being crushed. The priests said, 'Hereby even greater evil is inflicted on us, for the human voice speaks more' (*bhūyo hi mānuṣī vāg vadati*). So they again went to Manu and offered to perform a sacrifice for him with his wife. Manu regarded faith as divine (*śraddhādevaḥ*) and so he accepted. After this the voice entered the sacrifice itself and the sacrificial utensils. It could not be expelled from them. The beating of the grind-stones symbolises this power of the sacrifice from which *vāk* cannot be expelled. The same asura-killing, foe-killing voice sounds forth from the grind-stones; and when the priest produces this discordant noise the enemies of the Yajamāna are rendered very miserable.

The *mantra* used at the time of producing the sound is, *Kukkuṭo-si madhu-jihvaḥ*. For the bull was honey-tongued for the gods and poison-tongued for the asuras. The word *kukkuṭa* itself is derived as follows: (i) 'Kva kva...', meaning, 'where are the asuras?' (ii) From *kuk* — hideous noise, and *kuṭ* — to spread. (iii) One who utters a sound resembling the bird *kukkuṭa* or cock in order to frighten the asuras. The effect of the *mantra* is supposed to be that it is an invocation for strength and vigour and a prayer for victory in every battle.

The ritual significance of the sounding of the grind-stones, the invented story to account for the ritual procedure, and the sacrificial fruit the Yajamāna is supposed to get, are all in keeping with the trend and aim of Brahmanical writing; and they are obvious too. The other significant deductions may be stated as follows:

(i) Vāk here denotes the bull's snorting and roaring; the discordant noise made by striking stones with a wooden wedge; and human voice and speech, as well as the *mantra*-recitation.

(ii) Voice or sound as a means of frightening the opponents or some evil power is quite natural so far as the psychological effect

is concerned. It was natural with primitive people and it formed a necessary part of their ritual for exorcising evil. Even in advanced civilization the frightening effect of sudden, loud noise is not lost. The war-cry, sounding of drums, singing of military march etc. are perhaps a modern version of the use of sound or noise, which suggests a show of strength and confidence on the one hand, and is expected to frighten or dishearten the opponents.

(iii) Perhaps, the human voice has a greater potentiality for effectiveness than the sound produced by animals or things, as Manāvī's speaking is said to have worked a greater havoc among the asuras.

(iv) From this idea the belief in the potency of *mantra*-words and their solemn utterance is a natural psychological advance. And this seems to be indicated in this *Brāhmaṇa* passage.

(3)

In one passage Vāk is identified with Agni.³ This is probably an attempt to bestow divine character on Vāk. This is corroborated by another reference where Vāk is said to be all the gods.⁴ The origin of speech was rather a mystery to the ancient thinkers; and considering the effectiveness and power of speech it has been natural for them to ascribe a divine origin to speech and consider Sanskrit or the 'polished speech' as the voice or language of gods. We find this idea in the *Rgveda* and Vāk being regarded as *devatā*. Yet, as in the *Rgveda*, the earthly or human character of speech is not lost sight of. In this same passage, where several identifications are proposed, Vāk is said to be this earth, Vāk is identified with *Rgveda*; every kind of sound is asserted to be Vāk or speech only; the expression of everything that is known is said to assume the form of speech; and the extent of Vāk is said to be as wide as the earth and fire.⁵ The living creatures use some kind of articulate sounds to denote things on the earth, to express their ideas and to communicate with one another. That is why, every sound is a kind of speech; this is so even in the case of animals and birds; and *Rgveda* which is the voice and utterance of poets is said to be nothing but *vāk*. Whatever we know we try to fix in spoken words, and so all our knowledge takes the form of spoken word or *vāk*. As this is

3. 3.2.2.13: वागेव अग्निः... ।

4. 14.4.3.10: वागेव देवाः... ।

5. *Ibid.*, Read: यः कश्च शब्दो वागेव सैषा ह्यन्तमायत्ता... एतन्मयो वा अयमात्मा वाङ्मयो मनोमयः प्राणमयः ॥ 10 ॥ त्रयो लोको एत एव । वागेव अयं लोकः... ॥ 11 ॥ त्रयो वेदा एत एव । वागेव ऋग्वेदो... ॥ 12 ॥ देवाः पितरा मनुष्या एत एव । वागेव देवाः... ॥ 13 ॥ पिता माता प्रजा एत एव । मन एव पिता वाङ् माता प्राणः प्रजाः ॥ 14 ॥ विज्ञातं विजिज्ञास्यं अविज्ञातं एत एव । यत् किञ्च विज्ञातं वाचस्तद्वपं वाग हि विज्ञाता, वागेनं तद् भूत्वावति ॥ 15 ॥... तस्यै वाचः पृथिवी शरीरम् । ज्योती रूपमयं अग्निः । तद् यावती एव वाक् तावती पृथिवी, तावान् अयं अग्निः ॥ 18 ॥

what happens all over the earth, the extent of *vāk* is said to be co-terminous with the earth. In a way, sound or speech is a sign of life. Hence, the *Brāhmaṇa* author says that *Vāk* lasts till the end of life; and the animating spirit or soul may be considered in terms of the living breaths, the thinking mind and the spoken speech. These speculations, rising to a philosophical level, are still on the language base; and look upon *vāk* as an articulate speech which clothes our thoughts, designates objects for us, and serves as a means of self-expression and mutual or inter-communication.

The identification of *Vāk* with *Agni* seems to imply ritually that both function as carriers of oblations to the gods. *Vāk* is *Agni*; the incoming and outgoing breaths represent *Mitrā* and *Varuṇa*; the eye the *Sun*; the ear *All-gods*. The oblations offered with the living mind and functioning eyes and ears that see the oblations poured and hear the accompanying *mantras* are really offered to these gods.⁶ So, just as *Agni* is the mouth of the gods, the speech or *mantra* too is a messenger to gods carrying the oblations to them.

This importance of *Vāk* as a link to the gods is suggested in the context of *Pravara* or choosing of the Divine Officiating Priest (*Hotṛ*) and the offering of the *prayājas* and *anuyājas*.⁷ *Agni*, of course, is the Divine Priest and he is requested to bring to the sacrifice the 'butter-drinking gods' whom the offerings represent. The priestly command is to bring *Agni* to the offering and along with *Agni*, *Agni's* greatness (*mahimā*). The *Brāhmaṇa* then states that *Agni's* greatness is, in truth, his voice (*vāk*);⁸ and this, therefore; is an invocation for the *mantra*-voice.

The importance of *Vāk* or *mantra*-voice is emphasised by another anecdote in a negative way. The story is of the rivalry between *Mind* and *Speech*,⁹ both contending for their own superiority and the right to carry oblations to the gods. The claim of the *Mind* was that *Vāk* cannot speak anything the *Mind* has not thought of or understood. The role of *Vāk*, therefore, was of an imitator of what is done by the *Mind* (*kṛtānukarā*) and of a follower in the wake of *Mind* (*anuvartmā*). On the contrary *Vāk* or *Speech* claimed that she was better than *Mind* because what *Mind* knows the *Speech* makes well known, *Speech* communicates (*vijñāpayāmi*, *sañjñāpa-*

6. 3.2.2.13: इमे वै प्राणाः मनोज्ञाता मनोमूर्जो दक्षकृतवो वागेव अग्निः प्राणोदानो मित्रावरुणौ चक्षुरादित्यः श्रोत्रं विश्वे देवा, एतासु ह एव अस्य एतद्देवतासु द्रुतं भवति ।

7. 1.4.2.17.

8. *Ibid.*, read: . . . तद् अग्नि होत्राय आवोद्वा आह स्वं महिमानम् आवह इति । . . वाग् वा अस्य स्वो महिमा तद् वाचम् आवोद्वा आह । Egging (SBE, English translation of *Sat. Br.*) notes that in *Taittirīya Samhitā* 2.5.9, the greatness or power is what is peculiar to each *haviṣ*-eating god and not expressly of *Agni*, as stated here.

9. 1.4.5.8-13.

yāmi). The dispute was taken to Prajāpati. He decided in favour of mind because an imitator and follower is, according to him, inferior. Vāk was dismayed. She miscarried and her foetus fell away. The gods collected the fallen germ in a skin or vessel. The *Brāhmaṇa* states that it is from the woman, from the goddess Speech, that these germs originate.¹⁰ Vāk, of course, refused co-operation in any offerings made to Prajāpati. Hence, whatever in sacrifice is performed for Prajāpati that is performed in low voice or in silence (*upāmsu*). Apart from the ritual implication, the significance of the story is plain. Vāk is mentioned here as a goddess (*devatā*) which shows her importance and divine character. The thinking power of mind can never be denied. But no thought can get known or expressed unless it is couched in words. Speech makes well known what has been thought out by mind; speech is the only means of communication of thoughts and ideas. The collection of the fallen germs from Vāk by the gods may suggest that they realised the practical importance of Speech. From Speech germs of thoughts and ideas originate. Speech is the 'mother' of ideas, because the speech gives a concrete and understandable shape to what mind may muse.

(4)

Divinity of speech, we find, is an accepted faith with the Vedic Aryans. It trickles down to the classical Sanskrit poets as well. The affinity of Speech with the gods is implied, I think, by another story the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* narrates.¹¹ There were two kinds of beings, Ādityas and Āngirasas, meaning gods and asuras, as the following context shows. The Āngirasas, prepared a sacrifice and asked Agni to announce to the Ādityas 'this our tomorrow's feast'. The Ādityas wanted Āngirasas to act as officiating priests for their own sacrifice. So they prepared another sacrifice, 'Soma feast even for today' (*Sadyahkrī*, a one-day Soma sacrifice). The Ādityas persuaded Agni who had come as messenger from Āngirasas to officiate for them. Agni did so. The Āngirasas were angry and questioned Agni. Agni replied that he was chosen by the blameless Ādityas and he could not refuse. The Āngirasas then agreed to officiate for the Ādityas in the *Sadyahkrī* sacrifice. Vāk was offered to them as the sacrificial fee. But Āngirasas did not accept Vāk, saying they will be losers. So Sūrya was offered and accepted. Hence, a white horse, symbolising the Sun, is the prescribed fee for *Sadyahkrī* sacrifice. Vāk was naturally angry, and questioned the superiority

10 *Ibid.* एतस्य हि योषाये वाचो देवताया एते सम्भूताः । Sāyana explains: स्त्रीरूपधारिण्या एतस्या बसु वादेवतायाः सौकिकाः सर्वे गर्भाः सम्भूताः । गर्भाण्यलसणे चर्मणि घृतं रेवो हि गर्भाल्मना परिणमति तन्न वाक्सम्बन्धि एव . . . ।

11. 3.5.1.13-23.

of Sūrya over her. She went away from them and became a lioness, and went on seizing upon everything between the two contending parties. The gods invited her, through Agni, to come to them, and the asuras through one Saharākṣas. Vāk was willing to go over to the gods; but she demanded a payment. The gods promised that the offering shall reach her even before it reaches Agni. Vāk then said to the gods 'Whatever blessing you will invoke through me, all that shall be accomplished unto you'. And Vāk went over to the gods.

(i) Vāk's affinity with the gods and her rejection by the asuras is symbolically significant for the idea which *Brāhmaṇas* continuously give, namely that in the contention between the gods and the asuras the ultimate victory was on the side of the gods and that they proved superior to the asuras. And for human beings also Vāk or Speech, meaning the sacred speech or *mantras*, is a link to the gods and a means to win all kinds of blessings. In spite of the ritual-magical touch, the simple faith in the power of divine invocation and of prayer is plainly reflected here.

(ii) The offering reaches Vāk first before it reaches Agni is an idea that can be understood even realistically. In any sacrificial performance the ritual *mantra* has to be recited first before an offering is poured in the sacrificial fire. The offering is voiced in the formula and then given to a particular deity with the word 'svāhā'. The offering thus touches speech first. The *Brāhmaṇa* explains the idea, however, in the usual ritual manner. The oblation is poured on the high altar where the sacrificial fire is placed; it reaches the altar first, and the high altar is, in reality, Vāk. In raising the high altar the object is to secure the completeness of sacrifice; and sacrifice is Vāk, and the high altar is Vāk. The identification of Vāk with altar and sacrifice serves obviously a ritual purpose. But the underlying belief is, without doubt, the sacred character of *mantra*-speech, the power of speech to reach gods and win from them the desired blessings. In spite of the religious angle the function and importance of speech in human life are transparent.

(5)

The story of Suparṇī and Kadru, as narrated in this *Brāhmaṇa*,¹² similarly speaks of the role of Vāk in divine undertakings. Soma was in heaven; the gods were on the earth; they wanted Soma. They produced the two illusions (*māye*) Suparṇī and Kadru. Suparṇī was Vāk or Speech; and Kadru was this Earth. The gods created discord between them. The two contended for supremacy,

stipulating that one who between them shall spy farthest will be the winner. Suparṇī spotted a white horse on the yonder shore of the ocean. Kadru also saw it and in addition its tail which was hanging down and was tossed in the wind. Suparṇī then spotted on the yonder shore of the ocean an altar, and near it a white horse at a post. Kadru saw it and added a further explanation that the white horse was Agni and the post the sacrificial stake (*raśanā*); the horse's tail was hanging down and the wind tossed it. Suparṇī was then sent to verify the correctness of the observations. She flew there, returned, and reported that Kadru was quite right. So, Kadru was the victor. She then stated that Soma was in heaven, and asked Suparṇī to go and fetch it. Suparṇī went to heaven and brought first the metres; Gāyatrī then fetched Soma from the heaven.

Ritually this is an imaginative account of the bringing of the divine Soma to the earth for sacrificial purposes. How does it reflect on the role of Vāk?

(i) The victory of Kadru suggests that Speech has undoubted powers; but there is also a limit to them. This is natural; because the earth is vast and there are many things on the earth which would be beyond the ken of men, and consequently beyond their ordinary knowledge; speech can clothe only things which are seen or known. This is the natural and inevitable limitation of human speech.

(ii) And yet Speech can play an important role, especially *truthful speech*. Let us not forget that Suparṇī, deputed to verify the details of her and Kadru's observations, came back and reported truthfully, admitting the absolute correctness of Kadru's spying. Truthful Speech has a power of its own; it can take man into the vicinity of gods and bring him divine things. This is another aspect of Vedic faith, which is continuously upheld in literature.

And so, the *Brāhmaṇa* writers connect speech with ritual or religious performances consecrated to gods. In another context,¹³ the chalice filled with Soma-juice and consecrated to Indra and Vāyu is related to sacrifice; and it is said that the *Aindra-Vāyava-graha* is related to the body of the sacrifice as speech is related to a living body.

(iii) In the story Suparṇī-Speech is supposed to have brought the metres, and the Gāyatrī metre fetched Soma. On a realistic level this could only mean that *metrical speech* was employed to invoke Soma and beseech him to come to the sacrifice of men. This is natural, because Ṛgvedic invocations and prayers are metrical addresses in fact.

13. 4.1.3.1-5. वाग् ह वा अस्य (यन्नस्य मन्त्रदेहेत्या) ऐन्द्रवायवः ।

AVYAYĀRTHA—SANGRAHA OF MĀDHAVA SARASVATĪ

M. S. BHAT

THE present text of the *Avyayārtha-Saṅgraha* is based on a palm-leaf ms. in Malayālam-Grantha characters of about sixteenth century A.D. Mādhava Sarasvatī has included AAS in his larger work, *Prakriyā-Sudhā*,¹ a com. on the *Prakriyā-Kaumudī* of Rāmacandra. The ms. has 143 leaves with 9 lines to a page, size being 18.8" × 1.9". It is very likely that the present ms. is either the autograph of the author or its immediate copy. The importance of PS lies exactly in the fact that it was neither noticed in any catalogue of mss. published so far nor in any work dealing with the history of Sanskrit grammatical treatises and further PS supplements to the list of comm. on PK so far known.²

The AAS gives the meanings of Indeclinables (Avyayas) in eighty stanzas. It must be remembered that the Indeclinables (Avyayas: *Pān.* 1.1.37-41 and 1.4.56-98) together with the Nouns (Subantas) and the Verbs (Tiñantas: *Pān.* 1.4.14) form three word-classes according to Pāṇini. The *Nirukta* (1.1) and the *Bṛhad-devatā* (1.39) on the other hand, distinguish four word-classes, viz., Nouns (Nāmam), Verbs (Ākhyāta), Prepositions (Upasarga) and Particles (Nipāta). The last two are not yet subordinated to a higher genus as in Pāṇini.

The other works³ belonging to this genre are *Avyayakośa* of Dvārakānātha Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, *Avyayavṛtti* by Kṣīrasvāmin, the same by Brahmādatta, *Avyayaśabdavṛtti* by Trilocana, *Avyayasāṅgrahanighaṇṭu* by Śākalya Mallabhaṭṭa, *Avyayārṇava* by Jaya-bhaṭṭa, the same by Bhaṭṭakavi, *Avyayārtha-Kārikā* by an anonymous author, *Avyayārtha-Kośa* with the com. *Avyayārtha-mañjarī* by Rāmarṣi, *Avyayārtha-nirūpaṇa* by Viṭṭhala, *Avyayārtha-prakāśa* ascribed to Patañjali, *Avyayārtha-pradīpikā* of Yatiśa and *Avyayārtha-mīmāṃsā* by Kālu Rāma Śāstrin. The dates of most of these unpublished works are uncertain. Another work, viz., the *Nipātāvyayopasarga-*

1. *JIH*, XXXVII, pp. 153-156.

2. PK, ed. by K. P. Trivedi, Bombay, 1925, intro. p. xlv.

3. NCC, I, Rev. Ed., Madras, 1968, pp. 430-31.

*vṛtti*⁴ of Tilaka who states that his work is based on Kṣīrasvāmin's *Avyavārthavṛtti* referred to above.

Regarding the personal history of Mādhava Sarasvatī, the known facts as gathered mainly from the *Sarvadarśana-Kaumudī*⁵ can be summarised as follows. He hailed originally from Gokarna⁶ but settled in a monastery at a place called by various names like Sodāśya(?), Sodā, Somadā.⁷ He refers to his revered preceptor Vidyendravana⁸ in most respectful terms in the exordium and in the colophon of *SDK*. He belonged to the Sarasvatī-class of ascetics and was Ekadaṇḍin.⁹ He styles himself as Padavākya-pramāṇajñā,¹⁰ i.e. conversant with Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsā, and Nyāya, which befits him in as much as we know his many-sided scholarship from the two published works of his, viz. *SDK* and *MB*, a com. on the *Saptapadārthī*¹¹ of Sivāditya. In *SDK*, Mādhava Sarasvatī gives a brief account of the three-fold Vedic system of philosophy viz., Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya-yoga, Pūrva-and Uttara-Mīmāṃsā which strive towards the ultimate goal, and discards the systems of philosophy of Cārvākas, Jains and Buddhists. A list of six works of Mādhava Sarasvatī are found appended in the colophon of *SDK*.¹² They are (1) *Mayūkha-mālā*, a com. on *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya; (2) *Mitabhāṣiṇī*, a com. on *Saptapadārthī* of Sivāditya; (3) *Mandānukampinī*, a com. on *Kiraṇāvalī* of Udayana; (4) *Vāsiṣṭha-pāñcikā*, a com. on *Yogavāsiṣṭha* of Vālmīki; (5) *Abhinavasaptapadārthī*; and (6) *Sarvadarśana-kaumudī*. Besides the above, he has written *Vedāntasāra-sarvasvam*,¹³ *Avyavārtha-saṅgraha* and a com. entitled *Prakriyāsudhā* on *PK*. Mādhava Sarasvatī refers to his place as having been ruled by a chief styled variously as Arasendrabhūpa and Arasendra-mahipāla,¹⁴ under whose patronage possibly he wrote on the different systems of Indian philosophy. More of this in sequel.

4. *NAV*, ed. by A. S. Sarma, Tirupati, 1951.

5. *SDK*, ed. by K. Sambasiva Sastri, Trivandrum, 1938.

6. *Ibid.* यत्नास्ति गोकर्णमहाबलेषाः तद्देशजन्मा p. 112.

7. *Ibid.* सोदाश्यापुर्यामकरोत्कृति सः p. 112; सोदानगरी समस्ति सत्पुरुषाः p. 144; सोमदापुरे स्थितो माधवकर्मन्दी 145.

8. *Ibid.* विद्येन्द्रवननामानं श्रीगुरुं प्रणमाम्यहं । विनेयभृङ्गसलीढपादपङ्केरुहासवम् ॥ p. 1.
इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यं श्री विद्येन्द्रवनशिष्यं परमहंसपरिव्राजकमाधवसरस्वती । p. 145.

9. *Ibid.* यतिरेकदण्डो सरस्वतीमस्तकमाधवाख्यः p. 112.

10. *Ibid.* पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञो माधवाख्यसरस्वती । p. 1, 89, 104, 112.

11. *SP* (I) with *MB* ed. by Ramasastri Tallanga, Benares, 1893. *SP* (II) with *MB* and other comm. ed. by A. M. Bhattacharya and N. C. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1934.

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

13. *TCMGOML* 1919-20 to 1921-22, Vol. IV, Pt. 1, Sanskrit A-C, Madras, 1928, pp. 4575, 5383.

14. *Op. cit.*, pp. 144-145. See also *JUB*, xxix, Nos. 1 and 4, pp. 1-3.

Regarding the date of Mādhava Sarasvatī, Pt. Sambasiva Sastri, the editor of *SDK*¹⁵ states "Mahāmahopādhyāya Abhyankar Vasudeva Sastri has fixed the date of Mādhava Sarasvatīyati to whom the commentary of *Saptapadārthī* is ascribed, as 1350 A.D." There is every reason to believe that Pt. Vasudeva Sastri Abhyankar was misled by Peterson's¹⁶ Report on a ms. of *MB* dated Samvat 1405. But there is a good deal of evidence, both external and internal, which confirms that Mādhava Sarasvatī can within narrow limits be assigned a date viz. 1480-1560 A.D.

I. External Evidence:

- (1) Rāmacandra, the author of *PK*,¹⁷ has been assigned to the latter half of the 14th century A.D. Mādhava Sarasvatī must have flourished after Rāmacandra since he has written a com on the latter's work.
- (2) Viṭṭhala seems to have been the earliest commentator¹⁸ of *PK*, to whom a date 1450 A.D. has been assigned.¹⁹
- (3) Prof. Peterson²⁰ refers in his Fifth Report on Operations in search of Sanskrit Mss. to a ms. of *MB* dated Samvat 1405. There is every reason to believe that some error has crept in Prof. Peterson's reading of the date. An early date as suggested by Prof. Peterson for Mādhava Sarasvatī is untenable in view of facts given below.
- (4) Prof. Ghate²¹ refers to a ms. of *MB* copied in Śaka 1445 corresponding to 1523 A.D. The ms. gives the earliest known date for Mādhava Sarasvatī and was possibly an autograph.
- (5) Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa in his *Gādhivamśānuvarṇanam*²² states that Mādhava Sarasvatī was an ascetic disciple of his grandfather, Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa who settled in Benaras in about 1522 A.D. Mādhava Sarasvatī's reticence may possibly be due to the age-old custom among ascetics to mention only the preceptor who initiated them into Sannyāsa and not to others.
- (6) Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (1540-1647 A.D.) refers often to Mādhava Sarasvatī in most of his works and expressly

15. *Op. cit.*, intro. p. iv.

16. *Fifth Report on Operations in Search of Sanskrit Mss.*, 1896, p. 241.

17. *Op. cit.*, intro. p. xlv.

18. *Ibid.*, p. xlvi.

19. *SILH*, II, p. 18.

20. *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

21. *JBRAS*, xxiii, 1914, p. 33, cp. *SP* (I), intro. p. 2.

22. Canto VI, st. 3 (Quoted by D. C. Bhattacharya in his *HNM*, 1958, p. 174).

states in the colophon of the *Advaita-Siddhi*²³ that his thorough accomplishment in *Śāstrārtha* was due to his grace.

II. Internal Evidence:

- (7) In *SDK*, Mādhava Sarasvatī refers to Varadarāja who wrote a com. on the *Nayaviveka* of Bhavanāthabhaṭṭa. Mādhava Sarasvatī may possibly have flourished contemporaneously with Varadarāja who has been assigned a date viz. 1500-70 A.D.²⁵
- (8) Gokaṛṇa mentioned by Mādhava Sarasvatī as situated in Gorāṣṭradeśa²⁶ (erroneously read as Saurāṣṭra²⁷) can be identified with the present Gokaṛṇa in Kumpta Taluk in Karnataka State.
- (9) Likewise we can identify the place referred to variously as Sodāśya (*sic*), Sodā and Somadā with Sonda in Sirsi Taluk adjoining to Kumpta Taluk in Karnataka State. Sonda lies about 35 miles NE of Gokaṛṇa. Sonda was a flourishing town during the time of Mādhava Sarasvatī and it became gradually the capital of Sonda Chiefs.
- (10) Sonda chiefs seem to belong to a branch of Vijayanagar Rulers and the first chief of this line was Immadi Arasappa Nāyaka (1555-98 A.D.²⁸). Mādhava Sarasvatī refers to him as Arasendrabhūpa (also — mahīpāla) as stated already above.

Owing to a happy circumstance we are in possession of the exact day on which Mādhava Sarasvatī left his mortal coil. At the end of *VSS* ms.,²⁹ we are told that Mādhava Sarasvatī's preceptor

23. श्रीमाधवाख्यसरस्वत्यो जयन्ति यमिनां वराः । वयं येषां प्रसादेन शास्त्रार्थे परनिष्ठिताः ॥
AS ed. by N. S. Anantakrishna Sastri, 1st ed., Bombay, 1917, p. 900. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī has been assigned a date viz. 1540-1647 A.D. *vide* VKL ed. and tr. by R. D. Karmarkar, Poona, 1962, intro. p. xii.
24. *Op. cit.*, pp. 48, 90.
25. *TB*, ed. by V. A. R. Sastri, Annamalai, 1936, intro. p. 92.
26. गोरक्षदेशेऽखिलराष्ट्रवर्यः सदाकरो दक्षिणदेशनिष्ठः । विराजते सद्गुणैरोन्द्रसानो यत्नास्ति शोकं महाबलेनः । *SDK*, p. 113. †
27. *SP* (I), p. 81; *SP* (II), p. 95.
28. *JUB*, XXIX, Nos. 1 and 4, pp. 1-3.
29. चण्डिकाख्यनदीतीरे विष्णोन्मदननामकः । यतिवर्यस्तपोमूर्ति विद्वदग्रेसरस्थितः ॥
तच्छिष्यः करुणारसाद्ब्रह्मदयो विद्यानिधिस्तन्तं
व्याकर्ता निखिलस्य शास्त्रनिवहस्यैको गुरुत्वाभवत् ।
नाम्ना माधवभारदेति विदितो वादीन्द्रपञ्चाननो
भक्तानामवलोकनेन दुरितं येनैव संश्लियते ॥
सोऽयं शास्त्रनिबन्धकृत्तिवरो ब्रह्मानुसन्धानतो

Vidyendravana lived on the river Caṇḍikā and that Mādhava Sarasvatī, contemplating on Brahman lived quite a long time at the Kapilāśrama but realising his end to be near repaired to the Pampakṣetra in the vicinity of Sodā. Mādhava Sarasvatī contemplating on the Lord of Pampā left his mortal coil on Sunday, Caitra Bahula 4, the cyclic year being Raudrī at the Vasiṣṭhāśrama on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā river. The details of the passing of Mādhava Sarasvatī correspond to April 14, 1560 A.D. The text of AAS, as stated earlier, is based on a good palm-leaf ms. The entire matter is covered in about three leaves of the size of 18.8" × 1.9" with 9 lines to a page. The AAS of Mādhava Sarasvatī is published for the first time.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	<i>Avyayārtha-Saṅgraha</i> of Mādhava Sarasvatī.
AS	<i>Advaita-Siddhi</i> of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.
HNM	<i>History of Navya-nyāya in Mithila.</i>
JBRAS	<i>Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
JIH	<i>Journal of Indian History.</i>
JUB	<i>Journal of the University of Bombay.</i>
MB	<i>Mitabhāṣinī</i> of Mādhava Sarasvatī.
NAV	<i>Nipātāvvyayopasargavṛtti</i> of Tilaka.
NCC	<i>New Catalogus Catalogorum.</i>
Pān	<i>Pāṇinīś Aṣṭādhyāyī.</i>
PK	<i>Prakriyā Kaumudī</i> of Rāmachandra.
PS	<i>Prakriyā Sudhā</i> of Mādhava Sarasvatī.
SDK	<i>Sarvadarśana-kaumudī</i> of Mādhava Sarasvatī.
SILH	<i>Studies in Indian Literary History</i> , Vol. I-III by P. K. Gode.
SP	<i>Saptapadārthī</i> of Sivāditya.
TB	<i>Tattvabindu</i> of Vācaspatī.
TCMGOML	<i>Triennial Catalogue of Mss. Govt. Oriental Mss. Literary, Madras.</i>
VKL	<i>Vedāntakalpalatikā</i> of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.
VSS	<i>Vedāntasārasarvasvam</i> of Mādhava Sarasvatī.

नीत्वा हायनमाश्रमे चिरमुमानाश्रमिणे कापिले ।
 सोवायां पुरि सन्निष्ठममलं निश्चित्य देहावधि
 पम्पाक्षेत्रमगात्तदेव स गुरुः पुण्यं सुमुक्तिप्रदम् ॥
 रौद्रचन्धः प्रयतोत्तरयणयुते मासे च चैन्नोदिते
 पक्षे बाहुलके तिथौ दिनकरे मध्ये चतुष्यामसौ ।
 सत्यज्ञानसुखात्मको यतिवरो मुक्तो वसिष्ठाश्रमे
 तं पम्पाधिपति स्मरन् हृदि शुची श्रीतुङ्गभद्रातटे ॥

अव्ययार्थसङ्ग्रहः ।

श्रीमाधवसरस्वतीकृतः ।

स्वस्वर्गं च परे लोके अन्तरन्तद्विकर्मणि ।
प्रत्यूषे प्रातरित्युक्तं पुनरप्रथमे तथा ॥ १ ॥

विशेषे च तथान्तर्द्धौ सन्तर् वृत्ततेऽव्ययम् ।
उच्चैरुच्चैस्तथा नीचैर् नीचैर्मान्ये (न्धे) शनैरपि ॥ २ ॥

ऋधक् सत्ये वियोगे च शीघ्रसामीप्यलाघवे ।
वर्जने तु ऋते काले चैकस्मिन्युपत्तया ॥ ३ ॥

आराहूरसमीपे च पृथग्दर्जनकर्मणि ।
ह्यो गतेऽङ्गि तथा भाविदिवसे श्वः प्रवर्तते ॥ ४ ॥

दिवाङ्गि निशि रात्रौ स्यात्सायं स्याच्च निशामुखे ।
चिरं काले बहुतिथे ईषदर्थे मनागपि ॥ ५ ॥

ईषदल्पे तथा जोषं सुखमौने च वर्तते ।
तूष्णीं मौने बहिर्बाह्ये बहिरर्थे तथा अवस् ॥ ६ ॥

समयाप्यन्तिके मध्ये निकषा स्यात्तथान्तिके ।
स्वयं स्यादात्मनेत्यर्थे वृथा व्यर्थे, निशासु तु ॥ ७ ॥

नक्तं नम् स्यान्ननिषेधे च तथाक्षेपेषदर्थयोः ।
तदन्यस्मिन् तद्विरुद्धे तदभावे च वर्तते ॥ ८ ॥

हेताविति निमित्ते स्याद्विद्धा प्राकाश्यकर्मणि ।
स्फुटेऽवधारणे चाद्धा तत्त्वातिशययोरपि ॥ ९ ॥

अद्धं जुगुप्सिते सामि वत्यन्ताश्च स्वरादिषु ।
तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेति वतिप्रत्ययशासनम् ॥ १० ॥

नित्ये सना सनाच्चापि भिदायामुपघा मता ।
अन्तर्द्धौ तिर्यगर्थे च तिरसित्यव्ययं मतम् ॥ ११ ॥

मद्धधन्तरा विनार्थे च अन्तरेणेति वर्जने ।
ज्योक्चेति कालभूयस्त्वे वारिमूर्द्धसुखेषु खम् ॥ १२ ॥

शं दुःखशामनेऽपि स्यात् सहसाऽऽकस्मिके तथा ।
अविमर्शेऽपि च विना पृथगर्थे च वर्तते ॥ १३ ॥

नानाऽनेके विनार्थे च स्वस्ति प्रत्यभिवादाने ।
मङ्गलक्षेत्रपुण्याशीर्वाचनेषु च वर्तते ॥ १४ ॥

स्वघेति पितृदाने स्यादलं भूषणधारणे ।
निषेधशक्तिपर्याप्तित्त्वर्थे परिवर्तते ॥ १५ ॥

हृदिर्दाने बध् तु स्यादव्यवस्थात्थेऽपि च ।
तथाऽस्तीति च सत्तायां रहस्ये च प्रकाशने ॥ १६ ॥

उपांशु वर्ततेऽथापि क्षमेति क्षान्तिकर्मणि ।
विहायसेति चाकाशे बोधेति निशि वर्तते ॥ १७ ॥

मूषा मिथ्येति वितथे सुधा व्यर्थे च वर्तते ।
पुरेत्यविरतातीते भविष्यत्यचिरार्थके ॥ १८ ॥

असत्तौ तु मिथाऽतीतसहाये रहसिष्यते ।
अन्यस्यात्थे च विरहे मिथो वर्तते कुत्रचित् ॥ १९ ॥

मिथसित्यव्ययं चापि रहोऽन्योन्यात्थयोर्भवेत् ।
बहुलार्थे प्रायसिति पुनरर्थे बहुभवेत् ॥ २० ॥

प्रबाहुकं समे काले मतभेदे प्रबाहिकं ।
बलात्कारे चार्यहलं केचिदाहुः पृथग्द्वयम् ॥ २१ ॥

आर्यं प्रीतिविधे चात्थे हलं खेदनिषेधयोः ।
अभीक्ष्णं पुनरर्थे च नैरन्तर्ये च वर्तते ॥ २२ ॥

साकं साद्धं सहात्थे स्यान्नमसित्यव्ययं नतौ ।
वर्जने हिरुगित्येतस्मिन्वाद्यां धिगितीरितम् ॥ २३ ॥

भर्त्सने चापि धिगिति तथा च तसिलावयः ।
स्वरादिषु विज्ञेयाः स्वार्थवन्तरश्च तद्धिताः ॥ २४ ॥

तसिलादेः प्रत्ययत्वात्तदन्ता अव्यये मताः ।
मङ्गलानन्तरारम्भप्रश्नकात्स्नार्थिकारके ॥ २५ ॥

समुच्चये प्रतिज्ञायामथेति परिवर्तते ।
अङ्गीकारे चमितीष्टं तथा ग्लानौ प्रतामिति ॥ २६ ॥

प्रशानिति समानार्थे विस्तारे च प्रतानिति ।
निषेधे मा इति प्रोक्तं भाङ्गाराङ्कानिषेधयोः ॥ २७ ॥ इति स्वरादिः ॥

निपाताः सम्प्रतीर्यन्ते तत्रावौ चाविरीयते ।
चोऽन्वाचये समाहारे समुच्चयनियोगयीः ॥ २८ ॥

इतरेतरयोगे च तुल्ययोगे ऽ वधारणे ।
पावस्य पूरणे हेतौ वा विकल्पोपमानयोः ॥ २९ ॥

द्वन्द्वे चानवकल्पती च वर्तते च समुच्चये ।
अहेति विनियोगेऽपि पूजायां सत्वबोधिस्तौ ॥ ३० ॥

एवन्निवार्थे प्रकृतपरामर्शोपदेशयोः ।
प्रकारे निश्चये चाङ्गीकारनिर्देशयोस्तथा ॥ ३१ ॥

नूनं तर्कं निश्चये च शश्वदित्यव्ययं पुनः ।
पौनःपुन्ये सार्वकाल्ये तच्चानित्यसहाययोः ॥ ३२ ॥

कृपदित्यव्ययं प्रश्ने प्रशंसातर्कयोरपि ।
 भूयर्थे कुबिदित्येतत्प्रशंसादौ च वसंते ॥३३॥
 नेदित्येतत्प्रशंसायां केचिवर्त्यान्तरं जगुः ।
 प्रतिषेधे विचारे च नेदित्येतत्समुच्चये ॥३४॥
 यद्यत्थं चेदिति प्रोक्तं यद्यत्थं चणित्प्यते ।
 इष्टप्रश्ने कच्चिविति यत्रेत्यनवकल्पने ॥३५॥
 तथा गर्हार्थयोरथ प्रत्यारम्भे नहेति च ।
 हन्त हर्षे ऽनुकम्पायां वाक्यारम्भविषादयोः ॥३६॥
 दाननिश्चयोरथापि मार्कं वर्जनिषेधयोः ।
 औपम्येन किमित्येतत्स्वरादौ मास्त्रुनभौ पुनः ॥ ३७ ॥
 व्याख्यातौ तत् एवार्थस्तयोरनिश्चय आदरात् ।
 यावत्तावच्च साकल्यादधिमानावधारणे ॥ ३८ ॥
 स्वं वितर्कं विशेषे च द्वं वितर्कं तु वसंते ।
 रं आदानेऽनादरे च घने च परिवसंते ॥ ३९ ॥
 औषड्बौषद् तथा स्वाहा हविर्दाने समीरिताः ।
 हुंकारे हुमिति प्रोक्तं तथा हीति निर्दाने ॥ ४० ॥
 छल्विति प्रतिषेधे च हेतुनिश्चययोरपि ।
 नि(वि)षाधेऽनुन्ये चापि वाक्याङ्कारकर्मणि ॥ ४१ ॥
 किलेति वार्तारुच्योः स्यात्सम्भाव्ये हेत्वलीकयोः ।
 न्यत्कारे च तथेत्येतत्सादृश्ये वसंतेऽव्ययम् ॥ ४२ ॥
 समुच्चयाभ्युच्चययोरप्येतद् वसंतेऽव्ययं ।
 अस्मीति चाहमर्थे स्यात्स्वराः पञ्च यथायथम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 संबोधने त्वकार स्यादिकारो भ्रत्संने तथा ।
 उकारस्त्वनुकम्पायामीकारः पावपूरणे ॥ ४४ ॥
 एकारः प्रतिषेधे स्यादोकारश्चामिसुख्यके ।
 औकारश्च ऋलृ एतौ मन्त्रस्तोत्रे समीरिताः ॥ ४५ ॥
 आङ्गीषवर्त्याभिबिद्ध्योर्भयावा धातुयोगयोः ।
 प्रतिषेधे अमा नोनारचादयः परिकीर्त्तिताः ॥ ४६ ॥
 अप्यर्थे उविति प्रोक्तमुमित्येतत्पठन्ति च ।
 सु तु तर्कं च सम्बुद्धौ पुराणे चापि वसंते ॥ ४७ ॥
 ओकसित्याभये तु स्यादावहेति तु कुत्सने ।
 हिसोपक्रमयोरथापि आतङ्केति च कुत्सने ॥ ४८ ॥
 प्रतिग्रहे विनाशे च वेलायामित्यथाव्ययं ।
 कालस्य परिमाणे स्यान्मात्रायामत्यक्ते तर्का ॥ ४९ ॥

यथेति योग्यता कीप्सा पदात्थनितिवृत्तिषु ।
 सादृश्ये च किमित्येतत्पृच्छानिन्वात्थयोर्भवेत् ॥ ५० ॥
 ईषदर्थ्यातिशययोरपि किं वक्तंते तथा ।
 हेतौ यदि च प्रोक्तं हेतावेव यमि (दि)त्यपि ॥ ५१ ॥
 हा विस्मये विषादे च जुगुप्सा शोकयोस्तथा ।
 आर्त्ता च ह इति प्रोक्तं विनियोगे च लक्षणे ॥ ५२ ॥
 पादस्य पूरणेऽपि स्याद्धेतौ पाद् प्याद् तथैव च ।
 चत्वार एते सम्बुद्धौ अहो इति तथाव्ययम् ॥ ५३ ॥
 चेदर्थे च विकल्पे च मङ्गलावावयो इति ।
 अन्यादेशेऽपि चाथो स्यान्ननुप्रश्नेऽवधारणे ॥ ५४ ॥
 अनुज्ञेच्छामन्त्रणेषु वाक्यारम्भनयेऽपि च ।
 प्रत्युक्तिक्षेपयोश्चापि मन्ये इति वितर्किते ॥ ५५ ॥
 नह्यभावे उताहो च विकल्पेऽथासिरीरितः ।
 मत्वर्थे वाक्यभूषायां ब्रूहिः प्रेषासु वक्तंते ॥ ५६ ॥
 तथाब्रजावसरयोर्निषेधे न तु इत्यपि ।
 इतिहेतौ प्रकारे च एवमर्थप्रकर्षयोः ॥ ५७ ॥
 व्यवस्थायां समाप्तौ च स्वरूपे नियमेऽपि च ।
 प्रकृतित्वे विवक्षायां परामर्शं मतेऽपि च ॥ ५८ ॥
 विवक्षमाणे तथा इतिरित्यव्ययं भवेत् ।
 इवेत्येतच्चेषदर्थे उत्प्रेक्षोपमयोरपि ॥ ५९ ॥
 वाक्यालङ्करणे चापि इवेति परिवर्तंते ।
 अभ्यादाने ह्युपगमे समाप्तावोमितीरितम् ॥ ६० ॥
 मङ्गले चाप्योमिति च फट्कारो विघ्नधारणे ।
 हविर्दाने वषडिति यदीति मतान्तरे ॥ ६१ ॥
 सम्बोधनेऽहो इति गच्छत्यर्थे इहीपि च ।
 एहीति च क्वचित्पाठस्तत्रेहेत्यर्थकं भवेत् ॥ ६२ ॥
 हेतौ तदिति च प्रोक्तमाहोस्त्विति चाव्ययं ।
 चेदर्थे च विकल्पे च उपरिष्ठाद्बुपर्यपि ॥ ६३ ॥
 सर्वतो भवने सामि किमित्येतदन्वर्थकं ।
 पादस्य पूरणे चापि किमित्येतद्विबुर्बुधाः ॥ ६४ ॥
 प्रत्युक्तावामिति प्रोक्तमवधारणवाच्यपि ।
 हिमिति स्तोमवाचि स्याद्युधामर्थे तु वां भवेत् ॥ ६५ ॥
 शुकन्धतिशये प्रोक्तं शुकं शंघरे च वक्तंते ।
 विकल्पेऽनुकिमित्येतत्केचिन्नुकिमिबं विदुः ॥ ६६ ॥
 निषेधे नहि कं प्राहुः सत्यं प्रश्ननिषेधयोः ।
 सत्ये च ऋतमित्येतन्नचेन्नोचेन्निषेधके ॥ ६७ ॥

कवाचिवर्त्ये जातु स्यात्प्रकारप्ररनयोः कथं ।
 कृतः प्ररने निहनवे च वरुंते च तथाव्ययम् ॥ ६८ ॥
 कुत्रेति देशे प्ररने स्यादवाङ्मी उपसर्गकौ ।
 उपसर्गसमत्वाच्च तदस्थविष तौ मतौ ॥ ६९ ॥
 हा ही है हा तथा ईहौ त्रयोऽपि स्तोमवाचकाः ।
 स्वान्ताभिमुख्ययोः शम्बद् छः पावंस्य प्रपूरणे ॥ ७० ॥
 हिंसायां प्रातिलोम्ये च विष्टधाऽऽनन्दे समाजने ।
 दर्शने प्रातिलोम्ये च शुःसम्यक्त्ववाचकः ॥ ७१ ॥
 सहेति सार्द्धमित्यर्थे आनुपूर्वं तथानुषक् ।
 भाजक् शंठरे तथाऽङ्गोति सम्बोधन उदीरितम् ॥ ७२ ॥
 ऋणित्येतज्जटित्यर्थे नीचसम्बोधने अरे ।
 चटुचाटु प्रिये वाक्ये हुं कोपे मत्सर्नेऽपि च ॥ ७३ ॥
 अनिच्छायां मये चाथ कुं लुं खुं चेति तु त्रयं ।
 मन्त्रस्तोमपरं वै तु पादपूर्तिविशेषयोः ॥ ७४ ॥
 उपसर्गस्थ सवृशा विभक्तिसवृशा अपि ।
 स्वराणां सवृशाः केचिन्निपाताः सुसमीरिताः ॥ ७५ ॥
 ते प्रयोगवशाज्ज्ञेयाः केचित्पूर्वं प्रदर्शिताः ।
 पुनरर्थं भूयसिति पर्याप्तावावलं भवेत् ॥ ७६ ॥
 सुष्ठु प्रशंसाकरणे वृत्तं च तथाव्ययं ।
 इच्छानुसरणे कामं पुर इत्यप्रवाचकम् ॥ ७७ ॥
 अतीतदेशे काले च पुरा इत्येतदव्ययं ।
 आशु क्षिप्रं तथा तर्हि विशेषगोपने रहः ॥ ७८ ॥
 सपदि क्षिप्रवचने ऊर्याविश्च तथा परः ।
 सूत्रोक्तः प्रादिरप्येवं विज्ञेयः सर्वतो बृधेः ॥ ७९ ॥
 इति माघवसरस्वत्याः कृतिः सङ्ग्रहकृपिणी ।
 अव्ययानां सामाम्ये विबुधां भूषणं महत् ॥ ८० ॥
 इति श्रीमाघवसरस्वतीविरचितायां प्रक्रियासुधायां अव्ययार्थसङ्ग्रहश्लोकाः
 समाप्ताः ॥

Restoration of the text of Some Corrupt Apabhramśa
and Prakrit citations in Dhanika's **Avaloka** on the
Daśarūpaka and in Kuntaka's **Vakroktijivita**

H. C. BHAYANI

[1]

THE verse illustrations cited in the *Avaloka* on *Daśarūpaka* IV 6 and IV 34 (the first verse) have a very badly preserved text and consequently they have presented serious difficulties of interpretation. T. Venkatacharya has tried to settle the text and solve¹ the difficulties of interpretation of these verses with the help of Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṃha's Commentary on the *Avaloka* and he thinks that the problems have been at last satisfactorily solved. I for one, however, find his restored text of these verses as also his interpretation unacceptable on several counts. Below I have, while discussing a few of his points, offered a different solution to the textual and exegetical problems.

The text of the illustrative verse under *Daśarūpaka* IV 6 as given in the Nirnayasaḡar edition (NS) is reproduced below:

वेवइ सेअववदनी रोमंचिअ गत्तिएँ ववइ ।
विललुल्लु तु बलअ लहु वाहोल्लीए रणेत्ति ॥
मुहऊ सामलि होई खणे विमुच्छइ विअघेण ।
मुद्धा मुहल्ली तुअ पेम्मेण साविण धिज्जइ ॥

The text according to Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṃha (AL) is considerably different. It is as follows:

वेवइ सेअववद्विअरोमंचिअगत्ति ।
सद्दाइ अ बीसरवअणा बाहुल्लिअणेत्ति होइ ॥
मुहं पेमेण वि ण दिज्जइ सामळीहोइ ।
खणे खणे मुच्छइ उठ्ठेहि देहि से वंसणअं ॥

(Variants: बाहुळ्ळिअ° for बाहुल्लिअ° in line 2; मुज्जंजइ for मुच्छइ in line 4).

1. See his edition of the *Daśarūpaka* (the Adyar Library Series, 97, 1969), Introduction, pp. 38-49.

Now the first important point to be considered is the metre of this verse passage. You cannot handle a Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa verse text without precisely ascertaining its metre. Closely interwoven with this consideration is the question of characterizing the language. Is it Prakrit proper or is it Apabhraṃśa? This is essential because the types and structures of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa metres are characteristically different. One most obvious distinction, for example, is that Apabhraṃśa metres have always rhyming lines.

Regarding the verse under consideration, I suggest the following things: (1) Its language is Apabhraṃśa. (2) It is *one* four-lined verse and *not two* separate verses. (3) The line division as given in both the printed editions is faulty, because the lines do not rhyme. (4) The general rhythm and some other indications point to the strong probability of the metre being Rāsāvalaya. Rāsāvalaya is a Sarvasamā catuspadi type of metre with 21 Mātrās per line, divided as 6 + 4 + 6 + 5.² The line-endings can be demarcated with the help of the rhymes. The first line can be taken as ending with °gatti (AL) and the second line with °netti (cf. the NS text here). The third line can be taken as ending with vimucchai (in the NS line 3), which is corrupt for vimujjhajai (cf. the AL variant mujjhamjai) and the fourth line with sāvi ṇa dhijjai (which is corrupt for sā viṇadijjai). The text of the verse may be tentatively reconstructed as follows:

वेवइ सेअ-दवद्दिअ-रोमच्चिअ-गत्ति
 चवइ विसंतुल-वयणइ बाहोल्लिअ-गेत्ति ।
 मुहु तहे सामलिहूअउ खणे खणे विमुज्जइ
 मुद्ध सुहअ(?) तुह पेम्मेण सा विणडिज्जइ ॥

The Sanskrit *chāyā*:

वेपते स्वेव-द्रवाव्रित-रोमाञ्चित-गात्रा
 ववति विशृङ्खल-वचनानि बाष्पाव्रित-नेत्रा ।
 मुखं तस्याः श्यामलीमूतं क्षणे क्षणे विमुह्यति
 मुग्धा मुग्धा तव प्रेम्णा सा व्याकुलीक्रियते ॥

This reconstruction is based on the following additional assumptions: *vavai* (NS 1-1) is corrupt for *cavai*. *vilalullutuvalaahu* (NS 1.2) is confused writing for *visamṭhula-vaṇai* (or should it be *visamṭhula vaṇa hu?*). The AL reading *saddāi a vīsara-vaṇā*, i.e. *śabdāyate ca visvara-vacanā* seems to be a paraphrase of the original reading. *hoi* (end of line 2 in AL), *viaggheṇa* (end of line 3 in NS) and *dehi se daṃsaṇaam* (end of line 4 in AL) are intru-

2. See *Chandonuśāsana*, V. 26, *Kavidarpaṇa*, II, 25, etc., also *Samdeśarūsaka* (ed. Jinavijaya Muni), Introduction, pp. 53-54.

sions from some other verse or context and were not originally a part of the present verse. AL has mixed up the third and the fourth line of the original. *muhuū* and *sāmali hoī* are possibly corruptions respectively for *muhu tahe* and *sāmali hūau*. *muhallī* does not make any sense. It seems to be corrupt for *suhaa*, *llī* getting in due to some scribal confusion. Metrically too it is unwanted.

Because of scribal confusions and extraneous accretions, the original text has been abundantly jumbled up, and its metrical and line structures have been seriously impaired. In the reconstructed text also a few doubtful spots remain, and the rule of ending every Rāsāvalaya line with three light syllables stands violated especially with regard to the last two lines which end in —uu. But any further improvement (as also corroboration of this reconstruction) can come only from fresh MSS. with better preserved text.

Some indirect support for the reconstruction offered here can be got from the fact that Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* contains several illustrative Apabhramśa citations which metrically, thematically and stylistically bear a close affinity to this verse.³

In the case of the Apabhramśa citation under *Daśarūpaka* IV 34 also, it appears to me that the NS text preserves the original readings to a greater extent than the AL text. The text of the verse according to NS and AL respectively is reproduced below:

अण्णह्णणाहुमहेलिअहुजुहुपरिमलसुसुअंधु ।
महुकंतह अगत्यहअंग ण फिट्ठइ गंधु ॥ (NS)

अण्णाउ ताउ महिला जह परिमलसुअंधु ।
मह कंतह अल्लीणउ वणवीसअगंधु ॥ (AL)

The metre is clearly Dohā, an Antarasamā Catuspadi with the structure 13 Mātrās (= 6 + 4 + uuu) + 11 Mātrās (= 6 + 4 + u) a heavy syllable should precede the final light one.⁴

The restored text according to me should read as follows:

अण्णह्ण णाहु महेलिअहु, बहुपरिमल-सुसुअंधु ।
महु कंतह अल्ल-व्वणह, अंगि ण फिट्ठइ गंधु ॥

The Sanskrit *Chāyā*:

अन्यासां नाथो महिलानां बहुपरिमल-सुसुगन्धिः ।
मम कान्तस्य आर्द्र-व्रणस्य अङ्गो न भ्रमयति गन्धः ॥

3. See No. 7, 11, 37, 38, 41, 60-64, 68, 69 in H. C. Bhayani 'The Apabhramśa passages from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*' (*Journal of Or. Inst.*, 15, 1976; *Vidyā* (Language), 18, 1976, *Bulletin of the C. G. Vidyabhavan*, No. 20, 1976. One suspects that many of these citations were possibly taken from some Apabhramśa Rāsaka poem (similar to the *Samdeśarāsaka*) composed perhaps by the Paramāra King Muñja or one of his court poets.

4. See *Kavidarpaṇa*, II 15 etc.; *Samdeśarāsaka*, Introduction, p. 62.

As the second half refers to the Nāyikā's own husband, for a proper contrast the first half also must contain a reference to the husbands of other ladies. Hence the reading *ṇāhu* is superior. If we arrange the text of the second line in AL as अल्लीणउव ण बीसगंधु it can be well explained as a scribal corruption of the original अल्ल-ञ्चणह ण फिट्ट[इ] गंधु (with अणि after the first word dropped in copying). Alternatively, this divergence can be also explained as due to a paraphrase of the original.

[2]

There are several Apabhraṃśa and Prakrit citations in Kuntaka's *Vakroktijivita* which are partly or wholly obscure or incorrect. Here the illustrations I 61, III 168, III 710 and III 109 (according to K. Krishnamoorthy's edition, 1977) are considered. The text of the illustration I 61 (as in K's edition) is as follows:

कण्णुप्पलदलमिलिअलोअणोहि
हेलालोलणमाणिअणअणोहि ।
लीलइ लीलावईहि णिरुद्धाओ
सिद्धिलिअचाओ जअइ मअरद्धओ ॥

From this text the language of the verse has to be identified as Prakrit. Further, the identification of the metre would be highly problematic as the number of *mātrās* in the third line is nineteen while in the rest of the lines it is eighteen.

As indicated by the rhyming lines and the particular metrical rhythm, this is doubtlessly an Apabhraṃśa verse. With a few small corrections the text is to be restored as follows:

कण्णुप्पल-दल-मिलित-सोअणहि
हेला-सोलणमाविअ-अणअणहि ।
लीलइ लीलावईहि णिरुद्धउ
सिद्धिलिअ-चाउ जअइ मअरद्धउ ॥

The Sanskrit *Chāyā*:

कर्णोत्पल-दल-मिलित-सोचनाभिः
हेला-सोल-नामित-नयनाभिः ।
लीलया लीलावतीभिः निरुद्धः
शिथिलित-चापः जयति मकरध्वजः ॥

The metre is to be identified as Vadanaka, a Sarvasamā Catuspadi with sixteen *mātrās* per line divided as 6 + 4 + 4 + uu.⁵ There is an irregularity in the first line, because unusually its second

5. See *Chandonuśāsana*, V 28, *Kavidarpaṇa*, II 21, *Paūmacariya* (ed. H. C. Bhayani), Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 96-97.

caturmātra is a *ja-gāna*. Vadanaka as one of the standard metres of the Apabhramśa epic is very widely used.

The text of the illustration III 168 given in K's edition as running prose is as follows:

पवणं चल विज्जुं च बुलिअं राइआसु खनअन्ति मे अवासो उवाण उरुलिसब्बयमि हिळि-
आसुक जिल्लइ विरहए ।

Without recognizable word-structure (excepting some three or four words), line-structure and metrical structure, the highly corrupt passage as it stands fails to make any sense. With the help of the clues provided by Kuntaka's comments on this passage, the following reconstruction is suggested:

पवणेण चलं विज्जु-चबुलिअं⁶
राइआसु पुलअंति मेहअं ।
सोऊण अ ओरल्लिसइअं
महिलिआसु कलिज्जइ विरहओ (?) ॥

The Sanskrit *Chāyā*:

पवनेन चलं विद्युत्-प्रज्वलित-पूलकं
रात्रिषु पश्यन्ति मेघम् ।
श्रुत्वा च वीर्य-गम्भीर-गजित-शब्दं
महिलासु कल्पते विरहः ॥

The metre can be identified as *Bhūṣaṇā Galitaka*, with the structure 5 + 5 + 3 + 3 (*Chandonuśāsana* IV, 38). There remains some doubt about the last line of the restored passage as it fails to rhyme with the third.

The text of the illustration III.110 as given in K's edition is as follows:

तिक्खारुणं तयारुणं अणजअं राप्ति प्रलाई ।
अन्तिरे उदे अअसे अवन्दिलगग रिउरुठिरले सव्व महुरेउणा ॥

With the help of the partial paraphrase and explanations given regarding this illustration in the *Kalpalatāviveka* (happily, reproduced by Krishnamoorthy in the text), we may restore the text as follows:

तिक्खारुणं तमारं णअणजअं र(. . .)अ लाइअं तीए ।
उगअ(?) -भेअ-बिलगग-रिउ-रुधिर-लेसं व महुरिउणो ॥

The Sanskrit *Chāyā*:

तीक्ष्णारुणं तमारत् नयनयुगं . . . लागितं (i. e. आरोपितं) तथा ।
उद्गत(?) -भेद-बिलगन-रिपु-रुधिर-लेशमिव मधुरिपोः ॥

6. चबुलिया = अन्त भाग में जला हुआ घास का पूला (PSM)

At two places the restored text remains defective or doubtful. The metre is Gāthā.

For the illustration III.109 we have no outside help. So we have to depend solely upon the guesswork. The text as given in K's edition is as follows:

आकर्णकिसलयकर अलमलं न चलं तारआदि ।
हिन्दु अलीलं वस स चाल भवाविहि आसति ॥

Possibly the meaning is : the girl (बाला) displays (पआसइ) charming resemblance to a lotus (अंबुअ-लीलं) by her eyes (दिट्ठिह) that extend up to the shoot-like ears (आकर्ण-किसलय), have beautiful eye-lashes (वर-महल) and moving pupils (चलतारआ). Such a meaning is in keeping with the fact that the verse is cited as an instance of Utpreksā based on resemblance to a real thing (वास्तवसादृश्य) ⁷.

7. In III.141 some words and phrases like दर-रह-मत्त, पुणोपुणो देह दिट्ठि पसण्णो विलासिणि अणो, दुसहे (?) दप्पणे च दिणवरे can be suggested for the corresponding corrupt portions of the text. The metre seems to be Skandhaka.

SOME UNKNOWN WORKS OF KĀSĪNĀTHA UPĀDHYĀYA

USHA R. BHISE

KĀSĪNĀTHA is the well-known author of *Dharmasindhu* (1791 A.D.), the leading work on the religious observances in the Deccan and often referred to in judicial decisions. He was a great devotee of Sri Viṭṭhala, whose temple at Pandharpur has been a source of inspiration to many a well-known saints of Maharashtra. Kāśīnātha has expressed his devotional inclinations through (1) The *Bhāvārthadīpikā-prakāśa*, a commentary on the *Bhāvārthadīpikā* of Sṛidharasvāmin, which itself is a commentary on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, (2) *Sadbhakta-toṣaṇīsārasaṅgraha*, a commentary on Skandha X of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, (3) An exposition of the Vedastuti in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (X.87) and (4) *Viṭṭhalaṛimantrasārabhāṣya*, where several Ṛgvedic verses have been explained as applying to God Viṭṭhala. The following is an attempt at presenting three unknown devotional poems of the author.

The Bombay University Library received the mss. collection of Moropant, the well-known Marathi poet of the 18th century, as a gift from his descendents at Pandharpur. Kāśīnātha was closely related to Moropant. While preparing the descriptive catalogue of the mss. of Moropant (now in Press) I came across these three works which remained unnoticed so far. Out of these, two mss. are undated and the third one is dated Śaka 1727 which happens to be the year of the death of Kāśīnātha. All the three mss. with the exception of a few verses, are written by one and the same person. There is scope to venture a guess that they were the autographs of the author. The *Bodhadviradapadyālī* as well as the *Viṭṭhaladhyānamānasapūjā* give explanatory notes and corrections in the margins. Besides the marginalia, the glosses on the latter have been collected and noted down in a separate ms. under the title of *Pūjāṭippaṇīkā*. These notes have been included here under each verse. The third one viz. *Sayanotsavakrama* does not contain any such notes.

I am very much grateful to Shri A. C. Tikekar, I/c. Librarian, University of Bombay for making these mss. available to me. My sincere thanks are also due to the University authorities for granting me the permission to publish them.

1. *Bodhadviradapadyāli*

The title *Bodhadviradapadyāli* may be explained as follows: *rada* means tooth. Here it stands for 32, the normal number of teeth that a human being is supposed to have. *dvirada*, therefore, means $32 \times 2 = 64$. The composition consists of a group (*āli*, lit. 'a row') of 64 verses meant to be sung at the time of *bodha*, i.e. waking up the god in the morning. In this poem we come across a number of ideas borrowed from the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. To quote some instances — vv.6 and 33b are the echoes of the Prabhātāhnikā of the 10th Skandha; similarly vv.31, 61 to 64 refer to the 3rd Skandha. v.6ff. are imitations of the *Raghuvamśa*.

The poet has introduced Yamaka-s all over the poem. The craze for Yamaka-s has compelled the poet to use obscure and out-of-the-way words, e.g. (1) v.1 जयजय भगवन् जागृहि गृहिनः सुप्ते त्वयि प्रसुप्ताः स्युः The word *gr̥ha* is taken in the sense of the human body and *gr̥hin*, consequently, means a human being. (2) v.15 लोकः कोऽकः खिन्नः *ka* means 'happiness'; *aka*, then, is a Bahuvr̥hi compound meaning 'unhappy'. 'Who is that unhappy child?'

The ritual of waking up the gods, as described in this poem, includes certain customs which are typical to Maharashtra. Since no Sanskrit words were available for some of the things used therein, the poet had to coin new words and expressions, e.g. *pr̥thuvarti* (v.40) for *Kākādā* in Marathi and *maṇiguccha* (v.53) for *gondā*, etc. Fortunately such obscure reference are explained in the footnotes.

2. *Viṭṭhaladhyānamānasapūjā*

This is a poem in 117 verses with an appendage of 2 Anuṣṭubh verses giving details about the author. The ms. is dated Śaka 1727, the year of his death. The work was composed after being initiated as a *saṁnyāsin*. The footnotes to the verses were found in another ms. which gives the *pratīka* and then the explanation. The glosses '*tippanikā*' came from the pen of the poet himself. This enhances their value. This ms. is also valuable for correcting the scribal errors that exist in the main ms. There is a discrepancy in the numbering of the verses. Besides, some additional verses are found among the glosses (see after v.25, v.73). They are given in square brackets and have been left unnumbered. The Marathi equivalents for some of the words have been so indicated by putting the word Marathi into parenthesis.

The poem could be divided into two parts. One dealing with *dhyāna*-‘meditation’ ending with v.19. The next part *mānasapūjā*-‘mental worship’ ends with v.89 and is followed by prayers for one’s own uplift. The poem is a deliberate attempt at

composing poetry and lacks the qualities of spontaneous, inspired composition. VV.26-46, v.50 are composed in diverse metres with the name of the respective metre woven into the verse itself. There are attempts at Yamaka (see vv.13, 15, 17, etc.). The influence of the Marathi Yamaka (Rhyming couplets) which was popularised by Vāmanapaṇḍita is felt in verses like 94-109. The influence of Moropant, who was closely related to the present poet is also seen in the preponderance of the Āryā verses found towards the end of the composition. The influence of Marathi idiom is felt in verses like 112 *āgraha*, *parantu*, etc.

3. *Sayanotsavakrama*

The *Sayanotsavakrama* is a poem in 36 verses, with the *artha-vāda* added in the 36th verse. The subject-matter is the bed-time service done to the Lord. The ritual is described in vv.1-15, after which there are prayers to remove sorrow and grant the *puruṣārthas*. There is emphasis on liberation and the highest knowledge. As compared to the remaining two poems, this one ranks much higher in the scale since the expression is vigorous and natural. The latter portion in particular expresses the deeper feelings of the heart. The poet refrains from giving any footnotes. The natural grace of the composition does not need any. This is the shortest of this group of poems, yet being free from artifices, it makes a pleasant reading.

॥ बोधद्विरदपद्याली ॥

श्रीपांडुरंगाय मंगलमूर्तये भगवते नमः ॥

जय जय भगवन् जागृहि गृहिणः¹ सुप्ते त्वयि प्रसुप्ताः स्युः ॥
त्वयि जागृते तु सकलं² सकलं सकलं कुमस्ति प्रोद्धयाद्यत् ॥ १ ॥

1. ग्रहं शरीरं मानुष्यमित्युक्त्या मनुष्य इत्यर्थः
2. वैकल्परहितं

उत्तिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ³ हरे हरेन्द्र चन्द्राग्निसूर्ययमवरुणाः ।
नतयं चतुर्मुखमुखाः प्राप्ता विबुधा बुधाश्च बहुकरुणाः ॥ २ ॥

3. प्रबोधोत्सवस्मृत्यर्थः

आपच्छरणं⁴ चरणं वशयं शयनं विमुञ्च मृतमञ्चा⁵ ।
पञ्च करणानि सेवितुमुक्तानि त्वां प्रभुं प्रियतमं त्र ॥ ३ ॥

4. पद्यद्वयेन प्रबोधोत्सवप्रकरणोक्तचरणं पवित्रमिति श्रुत्यर्थः
5. मृतः मंचो येन तत्संबुद्धिः हे मंचकस्येत्यर्थः

तव चरणं हि पुराणं पूतं विततं प्रतननवस्तव्यं⁶ ।
तेन तरेमात्तिमहापापं तापेन यन्न वस्तव्यं ॥ ४ ॥

6. जीर्णनवैश्च स्तुत्यं

श्रीमद्विठ्ठल सुरवर बुध्यस्व विभो जनं भजनरहितं
कृपया सुमङ्गलं⁷ कुर्वन्नो ज्यं त्वं स्वयं भजन रहितं ॥ ५ ॥

7. वैलोक्यं मंगलं कुर्विति स्मृत्यर्थः

प्राप्तो^७ ब्राह्ममुहूर्तो धूर्ताः कूजन्ति कुक्कुटा हि शठाः ।
एवं कान्ता^९ कान्तान् वदन्ति दान्तिव्रजाश्च गर्जन्ति ॥ ६ ॥

8. इतः परं रघुवंशोक्तजराजप्रबोधच्छाया
9. कुक्कुटान् कूजतोऽपभिति दशमे प्रभातान्हिके

फुल्लारविन्चनिवह वहन्ति संधृष्य शीतगन्धवहाः ।
मन्वा गन्धमरात् किं गन्धहृदलिप्पीतितो नु वा पश्य ॥ ७ ॥

निद्रामुकुलितनयने हसन्ति विमलानि फुल्लकमलानि ।
निद्रान्तविकसिताभ्यां ताभ्यां जय तानि पूर्वविजितानि ॥ ८ ॥

उत्फुल्लोत्पलमुक्ता भक्ता गायन्ति मोचकं मधुपाः¹⁰ ।
अरुणं¹¹ करुणं स्वरदैः¹² क्षिपन्ति तव नेत्रे पञ्चवृत्तारं ॥ ९ ॥

10. मधुप अपि वयं मुक्ता इति गाने क्षपेच हेतुः
11. सूर्यं
12. खेषु गानत्वक्षेपरूपत्वयोरुत्प्रेक्षा

उल्लसितपृथुलतारा निशीथिनी पतिरुचेर्वशात्¹³ सुचिरं ।
विजहार संप्रति रुचेर्विरहान्मूर्च्छावितो नु गततारा ॥ १० ॥

13. रुचिः कांतिरभिलाषश्च

प्राग् रघुव्याद्वरणोदयेन नष्टं तमस्तथा सुरसात् ।
हासात् प्राक् शुङ्गलष्टास्त्वरुणापाङ्गद्वियाह्यालोस्ते ॥ ११ ॥

प्रम्लानता सुमनसां¹⁴ तव चिरशयनात् समाधि¹⁵ परिभवनात् ।
भवनान्तरङ्गधृतबहुधानामपि¹⁶ तत् त्यजाशु शयनं त्वं ॥ १२ ॥

14. पुष्पाणां देवादीनां च
15. सम्यगाग्निना खेदेन पक्षे सम्यगंगाघानेन । यद्वा योगनिद्रात्वात् समाधितोऽधिर्कं शयन समाधेर्विषया-
दाम्सातेति दिक्
16. भवनांतः अंगे च धृतानामपि पुष्पाणां त्वदभवने अंतरंगे मनसि च नित्यं स्थितानामपि साधूनां

वीपस्य पश्य तेजो न पुरे वपुरेऽनले¹⁷ मलेपि विधौ ।
तत्तेजस्विगणोज्यं निजतेजः पालनाय बोधयति ॥ १३ ॥

17. सर्वत्र नगरेऽनी ते नभो तेजसो विधाविति दिव्यतेजसश्च हरणम्

ऐन्द्री आशां रक्तां दृष्ट्वाोदयते प्रतापनिधिभानुः ।
तापहरस्त्वं किं नोदयसे ज्ञात्वानुरक्तभक्ताशाम् ॥ १४ ॥

तोकः कोऽकः¹⁸ खिन्नः कमलं श्रीभिः समर्द्धये सुहृदम् ।
इति चिन्तावान् रविरिव भवानुदयतां प्रकाश्य बहुदयताम् ॥ १५ ॥

18. कः तोकः अकः सुखरहितः कश्च खिन्नः कं सुहृदं मुदामानमिव अलश्रीभिः समर्द्धये इति देवपक्षे

अनिशं¹⁹ भावयतां नो निशाविरहफलमिहाद्य दशयं भो ।
तवितरथां स्वध्यानानुसारिफलमिति नयो न योग्यः स्यात् ॥ १६ ॥

19. संतताविरतानिशमित्यमरः । अथ च निशाया अभावं निद्रानाशमिति यावत् । फलं जागरेण
रूपावलोकदिकं ।

रघ्युदये बोषान्तां²⁰ घोरयामा²¹ न रात्रिचरतेजः ।

तमसा न सत्पथच्युतिरस्तु तथा तव निजासनोदयतः ॥ १७ ॥

20. दोषा रात्रिः दोषाः पापानि च

21. प्रहराः यमसंबोधिनो दूताद्याश्च

श्रुतयो निश्वासीत्या बन्धिसमास्ते प्रभो प्रबोधाय ।

संघायाञ्जलिमीशं विज्ञा विज्ञापयन्ति शयितं त्वां ॥ १८ ॥

²²जय जय भो भववजया नरसिंहा अपि जिता अतो जहिताम् ।

चिदमृतकामदुघागा दधतो गोपाल किमजया कृत्यम् ॥ १९ ॥

22. इतः परं वेदस्तुतिपद्यानां कतिपयानामर्थसंग्रहः

जीवोऽयं भववंशोऽप्यमवं भववंद्रिमाश्रयन्नेव ।

त्वद्गुणः स्यात् कवयो निश्चित्यंभं श्रयन्ति सततं त्वाम् ॥ २० ॥

नानाकुतर्ककर्मशमतयो मतयो²³ जना जनाधाराः²⁴ ।

त्वयि शास्त्रं कृतोऽपि बहु भ्रमयन्ति जना न नाप्तसद्बुजानान् ॥ २१ ॥

23. स्वस्वमतानि योजयति ते

24. जनानामाश्रयभूताः

श्रवणं मननं ध्यानं कुर्वन्तु समाधिधारणे अपि च ।

भृगुपातयागयोगान् तव परिचरणं विना न मृत्तितरणं ॥ २२ ॥

भक्त्यर्थमीक्षया तव जीवा जाताश्चराः स्थिराः सर्वे ।

त्वां न भजन्ति विवंत्वपि तान् दीनान् पाहि पाण्डुरङ्ग गुरो ॥ २३ ॥

भजनमहृत्त्वं²⁵ ते तव न विदुर्न मनो नियन्तुमपि शक्ताः ।

गुरुणा करुणावरुणालयेन ये न भवताऽविता मनुजाः ॥ २४ ॥

25. माहात्म्यं

पूतावनयो²⁶ मूनयो विमवास्तीर्यास्पवास्त्वदीयपदाः ।

सन्तो न वसन्तो गृहबिले ऽश्रयंस्त्वत्कथाः सुतीर्थेषु ॥ २५ ॥

26. पवित्रीकृता पृथ्वी यैस्ते

आद्यन्तयोरसत्त्वाञ्जगवन्तं भवति²⁷ भवति²⁸ सति चिति च ।

वागारम्भणमात्रे माऽत्र²⁹ ऋतमिति मतिरन्नजन्तोर्भूत् ॥ २६ ॥

27. मिथ्याऽस्ति

28. त्वयि

29. अत्र जगति ऋतं सत्यमिति मतिर्माऽभूदित्यन्वयः

³⁰भायामोहितनोहितनिजरूपान् सुरनरान् कुवेहरतान् ।

त्वममेयाष्टगुणभगो हृतमाय तमालनील उद्धर तान् ॥ २७ ॥

30. मोहिता अत एव न तर्कितं स्वस्वरूपं यैस्तान्

यतिनां कामपराणां योगकराणां कुभोगसाराणां ।

असुखमुभयतो भयतो³¹ मरणाच्छरणार्हं भवदुपेक्षातः ॥ २८ ॥

31. मरणात् यद्भयं या च भवत्कृता उपेक्षा तदुभयस्मादसुखं

³²अनुसंहिते हिते ³³गुणगीतेऽनुरतस्य विधिमतौतस्य ।

सुखदुःखे अनुभवतो³⁴ भवतो भवतो न निन्दनस्तवने ॥ २९ ॥

32. अभ्यस्ते

33. गुणगाने

34. भवतः भवतं अनुभवतः पुंस सुखदुःखे निंदास्तवौ च न भवतः यद्वा भवदनुभवाद्धेतोर्न भवतः

स्वः पतयोर्नततयो गुरुणस्यांतं ध्युर्नतवनभवान् ।

मुनिगमशिरो गिरोप्यतदपवादस्त्वयि फलन्त्यतोतिजय ॥ ३० ॥

भौतो³⁵ मायालय भवनदीपतित उन्मना मनाङ्क नृतिक्कृत् ।

विधिवत् सुरनरसंधो नत्वा त्वां स्वजनकं प्रबोधयते ॥ ३१ ॥

35. तृतीयस्कंदोक्त-ब्रह्मकृतप्रबोधः

निद्रावसानविकसितनेत्राय नमो नताब्जमित्राय ।

सूत्राय जगति वाससि जगत्पवित्राय सच्चरित्राय ॥ ३२ ॥

तेजोधाम्ना नाम्ना विभक्तिदाय प्रणाम³⁶भादाय ।

मा दाय दायभाग्भ्यो जनकायेवास्तु ते नमोऽजाय ॥ ३३ ॥

36. नभस्कारमात्रं नामपूर्वकं भक्तकृतमादाय गृहीत्वा लक्ष्मीप्रदाय मुक्तिदाय चेत्यर्थः पुत्रेभ्यो भुक्तिमुक्तिदाय जनकराजायैव ॥ यद्वा पुत्रेभ्यो लक्ष्मीदाय पित्रे इव नतिमात्रेण भोक्षदाय मुक्तिपदे सदायभागिति दशमे ब्रह्मोक्तिः ।

³⁷त्वमयमदभ्रदयावान् यावांस्तावद्दयाभरेण हरे ।

सप्रेममितस्मितयुतविकसितनयनांबुजेन संपश्यन् ॥ ३४ ॥

37. सोऽसावदध्रेति ब्रह्मोक्ति

उत्थाय नो विषादं विषादधिकदुःसहं स हन्ताऽशु³⁸ ।

हन्ता³⁹ शुभमधुरगिरा भव भुवनोद्भ्रुवल्यस्थितिनिदान ॥ ३५ ॥

॥ युग्मकं ॥

38. स त्वं मधुरगिरा विषादं आशु हन्ता नाशयिता भव । खल्यर्थात्नामिति षष्ठीनिषेधः ।

39. हन्तेति हर्षादी । हन्त हर्षनुकंपायां वाक्यारभविषादयोः

इति योगनिद्रितोऽयं गुणगीतेर्बाह्यमन्दमधुररवैः ।

भक्तैः प्रबोध्यमानो जयति हसन् संप्रफुल्लनयनाब्जः ॥ ३६ ॥

सिंहासने महार्हे स्थितं भवंतं नमाम तव भक्ताः ।

त्यक्ताः समपदयुगले गले ब्रह्मोप⁴⁰भुक्तमालास्ते ॥ ३७ ॥

40. लोट् प्रार्थनादौ

प्रागुत्थिता प्रियास्ते राजन्ते याः स्वमन्दिरे रुचिरे ।

ता अपि दासा हि वयं नमाम तासां चरेम परिचरणम् ॥ ३८ ॥

अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गानां संदोहं दीनकामसंदोहं ।

भक्तैकजीवनं तव शय्यापुष्पोत्थवृन्तभृङ्गाद्यैः ॥ ३९ ॥

मृदुलं जातव्रणमिति शंकाकुलमानसा महामहसा ।

सहसा पृथुवर्त्युज्ज्वल⁴¹ करदीपोत्थेन संप्रपश्यामः ॥ ४० ॥

॥ युग्मकं ॥ ⁴²

41. काकडेति भाषायां ।

42. अनेन युग्मकेन काकडाख्यवर्त्या नीराजने हेतूपपादनम् ।

केचन भक्ता भवतो त्रिभावयन्तोऽतिबालतां रुच्याम्⁴³ ।
रुच्यान्तरया⁴⁴ हृद्यंगवीनसितखण्डशर्करा⁴⁵ ददते ॥ ४१ ॥

43. रम्यां 44. आंतरया प्रीत्या ।

45. बालभोगाख्यशर्कराखण्डनवनीतनिवेदने हेतूपपादनम् ।

अन्ये⁴⁶ तु तावतैव क्षुधोपशान्तिं न मन्यमानास्ते ।
अल्पाहारं दातुं कुर्वन्त्युपचारपञ्चकं भक्त्या ॥ ४२ ॥

46. पादपूजायां हेतुः ।

नीलं तव पदकमलं कमलैरभलैः सकुंकुमैर्गन्धैः ।
तुलसीधुमनोरत्नैरहं तु संपूजयामि यामि सुखम् ॥ ४३ ॥

तविदं गृहाण सकलं प्रक्षालितपावपद्ममुखपद्मः ।
वन्दनतिलकं पुष्पं धूपं दीपं तथाल्पनैवेद्यम् ॥ ४४ ॥

जयजयाघोशशौरे⁴⁷ । मयि स्यातां दृशौ रे ।
पांडुरङ्गसंसारे । पाहि पाहि कंसारे ॥ धृ. ॥

स्वीकुरु मङ्गलदीपं । मुखारविन्दसमीपं । घनध्वातप्रवीपं । नोमि भवाब्धिद्वीपम् ॥१॥
ब्रूहि नो मे नकारं । हर मोहान्धकारं । किं वदाम उपकारं । यत्पश्यामः साकारम् ॥२॥
प्रातर्भङ्गलकृत्याः । आस्थदर्शनावृत्याः । पूर्णकामाः प्रनृत्याः । काशिनाथादिभृत्याः ॥३॥

47. पंचोपचारोत्तरभारतकथपद्यं । अस्य आरती अनंतभूजा इति भाषापद्यवच्छेदः ।

अथ कांश्चनोपचारानवशिष्टान् कल्पयामि मनसैव ।
सैवाचार्थैष्ठतो देव्यै तामूचिरे महाचार्याः⁴⁸ ॥ ४५ ॥

48. शंकराचार्याः ।

सप्रेमहेमकुसुमान्यनेकरत्नान्यविद्ववरमुक्ताः ।
मुक्ताशा विकिरामो मूर्द्धनि भक्ता मुमुक्षुनरमुक्ताः ॥ ४६ ॥

अतिमुरभिचन्दनादिजतैलं⁴⁹ चैलानुगं च पटवासम् ।
वासन्तिकपुष्पजितं मृगमदपंकं गृहाण हितवासिम्⁵⁰ ॥ ४७ ॥

49. अत्तर इति भाषाप्रसिद्धं

50. हितः वासः स्थितिर्यस्य

कनककलशैर्ध्वर्जैर्युक् मणिमयशिखरं खरांशुरुचिरचिरम्⁵¹ ।
हेमरचितं चितं पृथुरत्नस्तंभैस्तवापितं सबनम् ॥ ४८ ॥

51. रविकांतिसुंदरं

मणिमयपीठोल्लसतः सतस्तवोपरि परीतमणिजालम् ।
विलसितमौक्तिकलंबं समणिस्तं संवितानमातनुमः ॥ ४९ ॥

चित्रं सितातपत्रं मौक्तिकशोभं सहेममणिकुभं ।
मणिदण्डमण्डनं तेऽमृतवर्षं हर्षतर्षपूरं⁵² स्यात् ॥ ५० ॥

52. हर्षविषये कामपूरं

हिमकरकरनिकरसितैलंसितैः कांचनमुरत्नमयदण्डैः ।
चमरैरमरैकन्तैर्गण्डैस्तैर्वा वीजयामि विजयाद्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥

शालास्थमपि विशालं रत्नाढ्यं चाप्यर⁵³त्तिपरमानम् ।

काचं मणिरूपं वा दर्पणमेतं⁵⁴ त्वदर्पणं कुर्मः ॥ ५२ ॥

53. अरत्तिपरमरत्नवत्त्वविषयं मानं प्रमाणं यस्येति रत्नाढ्यस्य रत्नाभावविषयकमानवत्वं विरुद्धमिति विरोधाभासः । अरत्तितो द्वाविंशत्यंगुलतः परमधिकं मानं विस्तार्यादि यस्येति परिहारः ।

54. दर्पणं तु अदर्पणं कुर्म इति विरोधः । त्वदर्पणं त्वदर्पणमिति विरोधपरिहारः ।

कनकमयी नवनवविधरत्ना शिबिकाम्बिकापतिसखस्य⁵⁵ ।

मृदुतुलिकोत्तरच्छदमणिगुच्छयुतापिता⁵⁶ त आनीय ॥ ५३ ॥

55. कुबरेस्य 56 गौडे इति भाषा

ज्योतिर्मयं रविरथं विरथमकृत्वंब⁵⁷ तं समानीय ।

वत्तं गृहाण दशशततुरङ्गं कनकध्वजाविभूषाढ्यम् ॥ ५४ ॥

57. तं सूर्यं विरथमकृत्वा तस्मै अन्यं रथं हत्वेत्यर्थः ।

मानसोपचारे सर्वं सुशकम् ।

चमरंभ्रमरंर्वरभा⁵⁸ हिमाचलाभा इभा बृहत्कुम्भाः ॥

द्वारेषु चतुर्षु चतुर्वतादत्ताः सुवर्णमणिभूषाः ॥ ५५ ॥

58. श्रेष्ठशोभायुक्ताः ।

तुङ्गः समीरवेगस्तुरगः कामग उदात्तमृदुहेषः⁵⁹ ।

वत्तो मणिपल्याणः कल्याण⁶⁰तनुस्तनोतु मुदमतनुम् ॥ ५६ ॥

59. उच्चो मृदुश्च निस्वनो यस्य ।

60. दुर्लक्षणशून्यः ।

पद्यादिकाभ्रवनिधीनछानीतान् कुबेरवरभवनात्⁶¹ ।

भव नाथ ग्रह्यालुः पुष्पौयान् स्वस्तरूपशोभवनात्⁶² ॥ ५७ ॥

61. श्रेष्ठगृहात् ।

62. कल्पवृक्षरूपशोभा यत्र तद्वनात् ।

अथोपचारान् सकलान् सर्वथा दातुमक्षमाः ।

त्वां केवलं नमस्यामः श्यामसुन्दर ते⁶³ वयम् ॥ ५८ ॥

63. तच्छब्दाज्जत्

समाकलय्य सकलं रुक्मिण्या प्रार्थितः प्रभुः ।

दीनानुकम्पासवनो हसद्वदन आह सः ॥ ५९ ॥

भो भक्ताः शृणुत वचो मनुक्तमेतद्वायत्कैः परिचरणंमतिर्मदीया ।

उन्निरा⁶⁴ रविकिरणैः प्रहर्षणीव पपाली तद्विदमवेत⁶⁵ मञ्चिकीर्षाम् ॥ ६० ॥

64. रविकरैः पद्मवनीवोन्निरा प्रहर्षणी चेत्यर्थः ।

65. तद्विदं प्रबोधनादौ प्रवृत्त्यादिकं सर्वं मदिच्छाविलसितं ।

तृतीयस्कन्धे । यच्चकर्थागमत् स्तोत्रमित्यादि ब्रह्माणं प्रतीशोक्तसंग्रह एवमग्रेऽप्युक्तम् ।

प्रतीतोऽहं ननु भवतां प्रबोधवाग्भिर्मर्यल्लोकाद्यनुगतसंविदाभिराभिः ।

युष्माभिः शुचिहृदयैः प्रबोधितोऽद्य स्मृत्युक्तैर्वरयजनैः प्रतोषितश्च ॥ ६१ ॥

यज्ञादौ तपसि समाधियोगदाने मत्प्रीतिः परमफलं बुधानुभूतम् ।

अन्यत्तत् सकलफलैः समं समस्तं धिग् व्यर्थश्चमत्तुषकग्दनावितुल्यम् ॥ ६२ ॥

सर्वस्मात् प्रियतम आत्मबिम्ब रूपे साकारे निरतिशयां रतिं मयीशे ।

तद्ययं प्रकुर्वत तत्फलार्थमादौ सर्वार्थां नवविधभक्तिमात्मयोग्यां⁶⁶ ॥ ६३ ॥

66. -मित्युक्त्वा विरतो विभुः ।

- भद्रं बोऽस्तु समस्तानां श्रेयसां साधनेषु तु ।
 सबोधमोऽस्तु नालस्यमिति वक्ति हृरिः ^{१७}स्वकान् ॥ ६४ ॥
67. इति तृतीयस्कंधोक्तभगवदुक्तिसंग्रहः ।
 अत्रियं द्विरदपर्यंतां यः पुमान् कामयेत सः ।
 बोधद्विरव^{१८}पद्याली पठेत् प्रयतमानसः ॥ ६५ ॥
68. चतुःषष्टि ।
 इति श्रीमन्नंतोपाध्यायसूनुकाशीनाथोपाध्यायविरचिता
 बोधद्विरवपद्याली समाप्ता ॥

॥ श्रीविठ्ठलध्यानमानसपूजा ॥

॥ श्रीभगवत्पांडुरंगाय सर्वविघ्नहरमूर्तये सकलमंगलप्रदाय नमः ॥

- श्रीपाण्डुरङ्गन्मानस्य देवं वीनवयानिधिम् ॥
 यथामति क्रमं वक्ष्ये ध्यानमानसपूजयोः ॥ १ ॥
- श्रीमद्विठ्ठलदेवस्य ध्यायेत् पादयुगं समम् ॥
 हैमरत्नाढ्यपीठस्थेष्टकाधिष्ठितमिष्टदम् ॥ २ ॥
- ^१अञ्जवज्राङ्कशायवध्वजछत्रादिलक्षणम् ॥
 उत्तुङ्गरत्नखरेन्दुज्योत्स्नामण्डलोज्ज्वलम् ॥ ३ ॥
1. अञ्जेति ॥ स्वस्तिकयववज्राङ्कशगजास्त्रपद्यध्वजोर्ध्वरेखाश्च ॥
 अम्बरमत्स्येन्द्रद्वित्रिकोणगोष्पदघटेन्द्रचापानि ॥ १ ॥
 क्रमतो दक्षेतरयोः पदयोजाम्बुफलेन षोडश वै ॥
 चक्रातपत्रशङ्खरेकोना विंशतिश्च कुत्रापि ॥ २ ॥
- नैकेन्दुयुग्मं नीलपद्मद्वयं चेत्तत् समं मतम् ।
 जयवं तीर्थजनकं जनकम्पहरं भये ॥ ४ ॥
- बन्धितं प्राप्तविभवभवकञ्जभवादिभिः ।
 संसारतारकं चार्तिहारकं सुखकारकम् ॥ ५ ॥
 चरणद्वयमध्यस्थां गोपर्याष्टिं विचिन्तयेत् ।
 जङ्घोरुयुगलं रम्यं गुल्फजानुसमन्वितम् ॥ ६ ॥
- महेन्द्रनीलसंभूतकवलीस्तम्भसन्निभम् ।
 बामोत्सूलके पेशीं^१ क्षुल्लकानां^२ मनोहराम् ॥ ७ ॥
1. पिशवी (Marathi) 2. गजगे (Marathi)
- त्रिवल्लीवेष्टितकर्कटि कटिस्थितकरद्वयम् ।
 मोक्षाय कटिबन्धं स्वं यद्वा^१ संज्ञापयञ्जनान् ॥ ८ ॥
1. नु यद्वा ॥ यद्वयं बंधसंज्ञापयत् ॥ नु इष्यते नु वितर्कं ॥
- विभोर्भगवतो वासो विष्वय एधोचितादिशः ।
 इतीव दिग्बसनतां धृतां^१ श्रीशेन सन्मताम् ॥ ९ ॥
1. धृतां चिन्तयेत् ॥

वामे करे धृतं शङ्खं दक्षिणे कमलं वरम् ।
चक्रं च रेखारूपेण याष्टिकैतवतो गदाम् ॥ १० ॥

ऊर्ध्वोर्मध्ये स्थितां ध्यायेल्लम्बितां चरणावधि ।
गम्भीरनाभिमत् दलाकृतिशुभोदरम् ॥ ११ ॥

श्रीवत्सलक्षणयुता श्रीनिवासामुरःस्थलीम् ।
षडक्षरं कृष्णमन्त्रं वक्षःस्थलगतं स्मरेत् ॥ १२ ॥

ज्योतिर्मयं मणिदरं कौस्तुभं कण्ठलम्बितम् ।
सुखदौ साङ्गदौ बाहू तुङ्गांसी पीवरौ वरौ ॥ १३ ॥

कटिधारणतो रम्यदक्षिणोत्तरकूपरौ ।
मणिबन्धं मणीबद्धस्वर्णकङ्कणभूषितम् ॥ १४ ॥

कम्बुकण्ठं रत्नमये मकराकृतिकुण्डले ।
सुखैकसदनं चारुददनं वदनं स्मरेत् ॥ १५ ॥

मन्दहासं मञ्जुनासं रोचनं पद्मलोचनम् ।
कान्तकर्णं हृद्यवर्णं सुभ्रु सुभ्रूविभोहनम् ॥ १६ ॥

पृथुभालं ^१वक्रवालं चक्रवालमिवालिनाम् ।
पृष्ठतो लम्बितं शिक्यं नानामोक्ष्यान्नपूरितम् ॥ १७ ॥

1. वक्रवालं ॥ भालं वक्रवालं च स्मरेन् ॥

अतुनाशयत्तुं जीवान् राजतोऽनशनतो विभोः ।
लिङ्गाकृति मौलिभूषां शर्मपोषां वृशा ^१जुषाम् ॥ १८ ॥

1. जुषां ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तम् ॥

एवं पादादिमूर्धान्तं भगवन्तं विचिन्तयेत् ।
मन्दहासमुधुपापूर्णकृपापाङ्गावलोकनात् ॥ १९ ॥

अज्ञानपि जनान् दीनान् मज्जयन्तं सुखार्णवे ।
दर्शान्मुक्त्यनुभवं कारयन्तमिव* प्रभुम् ॥२० ॥

*मेवं

मोक्षदानायोत्थितोऽहं यूयमुत्तिष्ठताखिलाः ।
तदर्थमिति! बोधार्थमुत्थितं तं दयानिधिम् ॥ २१ ॥

1. तदर्थमिति ॥ मोक्षार्थमुत्तिष्ठेति अन्वयः ॥

इन्दीवरदलश्यामभावे भावयतां नृणाम् ।
हृत्तरिमिव मालिन्यं भर्तारं जगतो गुरुम् ॥ २२ ॥

श्रीमद्विद्रुलदेवस्य संमुखो यो भवेन्नरः ।
प्रत्यङ्मुखस्तत्क्षणं स स्पष्टमेवानुभूयताम् ॥ २३ ॥

ततो ध्यात्वा बहिःपूजां मानसी वेत्यमाचर ।
ॐ नमस्ते भगवते दद्यां पुण्याञ्जलिं शुभाम् ॥ २४ ॥

भगवस्त्वं शुभदिवसे वसेह मम मानसे न सेहस्य^१ ।
सविधे विधेहि मामुत कुर्यामार्या सपर्यान्ते ॥ २५ ॥

1. न सेहस्य ॥ निरीहस्य ॥ ममेह मानसे वस ॥ उत ॥ अथवा मां सविधे विधेहि ॥

(हेममणीवञ्जीयन्त्रैर्ललनाकृत पादघावनं तेऽस्तु ।
उष्णजलैरथ रवनालीघावनाद्योपचारोऽपि ॥)
श्रीभगवंस्ते रुक्मवतीयं रत्नवती च स्वासनयोग्या ।
कान्तियुता वत्ता बहुवित्ता पीठपदीकताऽनन्तकलैव¹ ॥ २६ ॥

1. अनन्तकलव ॥ वृत्तनाम ॥

¹स्वागतं भगवता मम पाद्यं वाद्यमङ्गलयुतं स्वनवद्य ।
हृद्यवारिपरिपूरितपात्रं पादयोः परिगृहाण पवित्रम् ॥ २७ ॥

1. स्वागतोत्तरमिदम् ॥ स्वागतं भगवता ॥ स्वागतेति छन्दः ॥

स्वभक्तवंशस्थजनेन¹ साधितं गृहाण भो अर्घ्यमिदं सुगन्धितम् ।
सर्मापतं तेऽद्य करे हरेऽमरे² नरेऽवरे देव दयस्व पामरे ॥ २८ ॥

1. वंशस्थ ॥ वृत्तनाम ॥

2. मरेनरेवरे ॥ अमरे नरे अवरे इति नरं विशेषणं वरे वरदानविषये दयस्वेति वा ॥

न चार्घ्यं महार्घ्यं न भूषा न योधा न पत्रं न चित्रं धवित्रं तथापि ।
दयालो मयाऽऽलोचितं साधुवृत्तं भुजङ्गप्रयातं¹ तथा ते न यक्त्रम् ॥ २९ ॥

1. भुजङ्गप्रयातम् ॥ वृत्तम् ॥

काञ्चने भाजने गव्यमाज्यं दधि क्षीर्द्रमिन्द्रस्तुतं वस्तुयात् ।
तेन ते युज्यतां ऋग्विणीयं¹ तनुर्माधुपकणं तद् गृह्यतामर्हणम् ॥ ३० ॥

1. ऋग्विणीयं ॥ छन्दः ।

¹कुमुदविचित्रातिश्चिरपात्रावधृतपवित्रामृतमयमाद्यम्² ।
ससुरभिचूर्णं निभुमति तूणं सुखयतु पूर्णाचमनमिदं त्वाम् ॥ ३१ ॥

1. कुमुदविचिः ॥ छन्दः ॥

2. आद्यं ॥ स्नानपूर्वं ॥

नत्वाहं त्वा स्नानगृहस्थोज्ज्वलपीठे नीत्वाभ्यङ्गस्नानविधाभिः ¹सुविधाभिः ।
अर्चन् केशान् मञ्जुमृजन् ²कङ्कृतिकाभिः प्रेम्णा नृत्यां साधु यथामत्तमयूरः³ ॥ ३२ ॥

1. सुविधाभिः ॥ सुखेन विधातुं कर्तुं योग्याः ॥

2. कङ्कृतिकाभिः ॥ केशप्रसाधनसाधनं फण्यादि इति लोकप्रसिद्धम् ॥

3. मत्तमयूरः ॥ छन्दः ॥

आनीता कनकजरत्नपद्भुकाभ्यां सुस्नाता प्रचुरपयोरसेन वपन्ता ॥
प्राज्याज्यैः सुमधुसुशर्कराभिरामिरिद्विश्चास्तु तनुरियं ¹प्रहर्षणी ते ॥ ३३ ॥

1. प्रहर्षणी ॥ छन्दः ॥

धात्रीफलादियवपिष्टयुताष्टगन्धैरुद्वर्त्य ¹पूत²नलदागरुकुङ्कुमाढयैः ।
कर्पूरचन्दनसुगन्धिक्वोष्णवाभिर्युक्तैः ³वसन्तऋतुसम्भवपुष्परत्नैः ॥ ३४ ॥

1. पूत- ॥ वस्त्रपूत- ॥ 2. नलद- ॥ वाला (Marathi)

3. वसन्तऋतुसम्भव ॥ तिलकोद्भव ॥ वसन्ततिलका छन्दः ॥

हेम्ना च शङ्खनिहितैरभिषेचयामि त्रय्युक्तसूक्तनिकरैः सुकरैर्गभीरैः ॥
घण्टादिबाद्यजनितैः स्वनितैः सुराणामुद्धर्षणी ¹भवति येन सभा नराणाम् ॥ ३५ ॥

1. उद्धर्षणी ॥ छन्दः ॥

इति युगमकम् ॥

स्नपनपरिकरान्ते शृङ्गधार्याचमस्ते सवसननिजहस्तेनाम्बुमृज्यां नमस्ते ॥
बिलकनकपीते वाससी ते प्रणीते ¹अपघनघनकांत्या ²मालिनी त्रिद्युवाभे ॥ ३६ ॥

1. अपघन- ॥ अङ्ग- ॥ 2. मालिनी ॥ शोभमाने ॥ छन्दः ॥

त्रिगुणगुणमयसुकनकविरचितं बिलसतु कंटिकर सुरवर भवतः ॥
तद्विविध सुविधुल सलिलदपटले मणिगणनिकरविततिरुचिरिव¹ वा ॥ ३७ ॥

1. गणनिकर- ॥ छन्दः ॥

अथापि षट्सूत्रजं कुरुष्व यज्ञसूत्रकं तथाचमं¹ च मन्दवन्दमानमानसातिहृत् ॥
अदभ्रशुभ्रचन्दनाढ्यभालदोर्द्वयादिको नभोनिभो विभाहि भो करीव पञ्चचामरः² ॥ ३८ ॥

1. आचमम् ॥ आचमनं कुरु ॥ 2. पञ्चचामरः ॥ छन्दः ॥

अथाष्टगन्धचर्चितां तनुं तवाद्य निर्मलां सुकोमलां विधोः कलाकुलाम्बुदावलीमिव ॥
समूषणां सकङ्कुणां सनूपुरां पुरातनीं प्रशातनीं महैनसां न ¹सान्तभीक्ष ईक्षणैः ॥ ३९ ॥

1. न सान्तभीक्ष ॥ अलंबुद्धिरहितं ईक्ष ॥

कटौ कनकसन्मणीरुचिरकिङ्किणीसंयुता चला सरवमेखला लसतु देव पृथ्वी तव ॥
करो कटककरो² पुरटजुष्टरत्नोमिकाः कराङ्गुलिषु साङ्गवौ वरभुजौ
निजौजोयुजौ ॥ ४० ॥

1. पृथ्वी तव ॥ छन्दः ॥ 2. रक्करो ॥ कान्तिकरी ॥

ग्रीवाभूषां कनकरुचिरां कौस्तुभं लम्बनं वं
वक्षोलम्बानुदरजघनान्ताश्च हेमादिहारान् ॥
¹मन्दाक्रान्तां ²तरलभुरुचोरस्थलीमन्दिरालि³ ॥
मुक्ताहारान् प्रवह विविधान् गुच्छगुच्छार्धमुख्यान् ॥ ४१ ॥

1. मन्दाक्रान्तां ॥ छन्दः ॥
2. तरल ॥ लक्ष्मीसखीम् ॥
3. इन्दिरा ॥ हारमध्यमणिः ॥ तत्सरुचा मन्दं आक्रान्तां ॥ प्रवहेति क्रियापदम् ॥

रमानायः स्वर्णप्रचुरमणियुक् कुण्डलयुगं
श्रुतिद्वन्द्वे भास्वदरुचिरमकराकारमनुगम् ॥
शिराभूषा पुष्पाभिमतिहरणी तोषकरणी
किरीटाख्या छन्दो लसतु समभिख्या शिखरिणी¹ ॥ ४२ ॥

1. शिखरिणी ॥ वृत्तम् ॥

पाण्डुरङ्गरुचाधिकौ बहुमौक्तिकावतंसकौ
बभ्रिणोऽपि च वामतो बहुयष्टिकौरितिदायकौ ॥ ४३ ॥
भास्वरं शिरसोः परं पुरतो महामणिभूषणं
तनुंते¹ हृदि भावितैर्विषसामरं हरिनर्तनम्² ॥ ४४ ॥

1. ते हृदि ॥ तद्दृदि ॥ पाठान्तरम् ॥
2. हरिनर्तनम् ॥ हरिरिन्द्रः ॥ हरिनर्तनं छन्दोनाम ॥

यद्वा रत्नमयश्च भालतिलको मुक्ताचतुष्कान्वितं
कि वा हीरसमन्वितं श्रुतियुगे ते कुण्डलद्वन्द्वकम् ॥
मूर्ध्नि आजितहाटकाम्बरमयोष्णीषं ससंख्यानकं
त्वामेवं स्मरतोऽतिपाप शशके ¹शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् ॥ ४५ ॥

1. शार्दूल ॥ छन्दः ॥

सौवर्णनिर्घ्नवासोघटितंविजितकः¹ कञ्चुकः पादलम्बी
यद्वोष्णीषादिवेषोऽरुणरुचिरयवा काञ्चनी पीतवर्णः ॥
तामेतामत्र सर्वा करचरणगलाद्यङ्गभूषां सजोषां
दत्त्वा भो चिन्तयामि प्रचुरकुसुमजलधरां² कन्धरां ते ॥ ४६ ॥

1. विजितकः ॥ कः सूर्यः ॥ 2. स्रग्धरां ॥ छन्दः ॥

पादाग्रव्यापिमालां मृदुलतुलसिकामञ्जरीपत्रचित्रां
सूत्रस्थितां पवित्रां वह विबुधनुतां ते मतां वेदगीताम् ॥
अन्यां¹ पञ्चाग्न्यवर्णां लसितकुसुमजां वंजयन्तीं जयन्तीं
²भूषात्रातं महान्तं बहुबुरघमपि प्रोन्नयन्तीं सुखाह्वयम् ॥ ४७ ॥

1. पञ्चाग्न्यं ॥ पञ्चाह्वयेति वा ॥
2. भूषात्रातं ॥ भूषात्रातं ॥ जयन्तीम् ॥ दुष्टं अघमपि जयन्तीम् ॥
मालान्तराण्यत्र भवन्तु कण्ठे पिष्टात्जुष्टान्वधिवासितानि ॥
पुष्पाचितापीड्युगं शिख्र्यां करे द्वये कौसुमकङ्कणे च¹ ॥ ४८ ॥

1. आख्यायकी छन्दः ॥

कमलं धवलं पृथु नीलकं परमरक्तमथो शतपत्रकम् ॥
अतसौ च कुरष्टकपाटलीबकुलचम्पकपुष्पचयं ददे¹ ॥ ४९ ॥

1. हरिणप्लुता छन्दः ॥

ऋतुभवनवकुन्दमालतीभिः कुसुमवरैः करवीरमल्लिकाद्यैः ॥
विजितकनककेतलीकलताह्वैः सुभुजलताद्य तवाऽस्तु पुष्पिताग्न्या¹ ॥ ५० ॥

1. पुष्पिताग्रा ॥ वृत्तम् ॥

अथवा मृदुलदंलैः शमीतुलसीवामनकैः सबिल्वदूर्वैः ॥
मृगनाभिसुकुङ्कुमाद्यलङ्कृतभालं विभुविठुलं यजेऽहम्¹ ॥ ५१ ॥

1. वसन्तमालिका ॥ वृत्तम् ॥

यद्वा बाडिबमातुलिङ्गकदलीच्युतैः सखजूरकै-
नारीकेलकपित्थजम्बुवरैर्जम्बीरघात्रीफलैः ॥
किंवा तण्डुलगोरसर्षपयवैर्गोधूमधान्यैस्तिलैः
श्यामाकैः सह शालिमुद्गबहुलैर्मर्षिश्च संपूजये ॥ ५२ ॥

¹लसति धामतो रुक्मिणी प्रिया सुतनु राधिका वक्षिणे च या ॥
विधूतधामरैः सावरैः करैर्भञ्जति सत्पति संमदाकरैः ॥ ५३ ॥

1. लसति ॥ विलासिनी छन्दः ॥

सत्यभामया छत्रहस्तया पृष्ठतो यया नम्रमस्तया ॥
सेव्यतेऽच्युतो रम्यरामया मातरः स्मृतास्ताः परा मया ॥ ५४ ॥

काञ्चनासना सबधिवासना रत्नभूषणा बुरितदूषणाः ॥
हेममण्डिता न पतिखण्डिता भर्तृनन्दितास्त्रिदशार्धन्दिताः ॥ ५५ ॥

जिततडित्प्रभा जनितविप्रभाः सहवयेक्षणैः सुरभिलक्षणैः ॥
सकलसम्पदां विनिहितापदां वितरणे मुदाभिममुखाः सदा ॥ ५६ ॥

हृद्यचन्दनैः कुसुमकुङ्कुमैः पूजिता नृता नरसुरोत्तमैः ॥
स्वप्रियेक्षणा¹दधिनिधिक्षणान्मग्नमानसाः सुखमुधानिधौ² ॥ ५७ ॥

1. अधिनिधिक्षणत् ॥ निध्यधिकः क्षणम् उन्सवो यत्र ॥ 2. विलासिनी छन्दः ॥

आग्नेयादिचतुष्के चक्राद्यायुधसुमूर्तयः पूज्याः ।
ध्वजगरुडगणपदुर्गा विष्वक्सेनादयोऽष्टपूर्वादौ ॥ ५८ ॥

इन्द्राद्या दश पूर्वतोऽशानिमुखोऽस्त्रौघस्तदीयस्तथा
श्रीशाङ्गक्षिणतो वसिष्ठहनुमद्व्यासाम्बरीषध्रुवाः ॥
प्रल्हादाङ्गदभीष्मदान्भ्यशुनकापत्यं बलिर्नारदो
मार्कण्डेयबिभीषणार्जुनभृगुश्रीपुण्डरीकादयः ॥ ५९ ॥

श्रीमद्भूगवताः पराशरशुकाऽकूरोद्धवाद्याः परे
वामे योगिवराश्चतुः सनमुखाः श्रीपाण्डुरङ्गप्रियाः ॥
तानावाह्य सुपूजयामि सततं श्रीरुक्मिणीमादितः
कृत्वा चावरणाख्यदैवतगणान् गन्धाक्षताद्यैः फलैः ॥ ६० ॥

अगरुगुगुलचन्दनकोष्टजः सघनसार उशीरघृतादियुक् ।
कनकपात्रघृतानलयोजितः ससहवाद्य सुधूप उपाङ्गिते ॥ ६१ ॥

1. द्रुतविलम्बितम् ॥

बहुगव्यघृताक्तसुवर्तिभूतं वदनप्रमुखाङ्गसमुज्ज्वलनम् ॥
¹वरदीपमहो वरदेश महोदय दिव्यमहोऽद्य गृहाण विभो² ॥ ६२ ॥

1. वरदेश, महोदय, दिव्यमहो ॥ सम्बोधनानि ॥ 2. तोटकन्तः ॥ छन्दः ॥

अथ हेममयैर्विराजिते लघुभिः पात्रचयैर्मनोहरैः ॥
कनकोत्थविशालभाजने परिविष्टं परमाश्रभोजनम् ॥ ६३ ॥

सतितोदनमत्रचित्रितं दधिपीतोदनमप्यभीप्सितम् ॥
विविधं सुसितं च पायसं घृतगोधूमजभूत्र¹ जादिकम् ॥ ६४ ॥

1. सूत्रजा ॥ फण्या शेषया (Marathi)

घृतबुग्धवधीनि गोमवान्यधिकं शर्करया युतं मधु ॥
वरमोदकशुभ्रमण्डकौ तिलमुग्दादियवादिपिष्टजान् ॥ ६५ ॥

1. गोभवानि ॥ गव्यानि ॥

अथ चाणकपिष्टजान् सिताघृतवाकात्कितवृत्तलङ्कुलान् ॥
विधुमण्डलशुक्लवर्तुलानतुलान् भक्ष्यगणास्तथाऽरुणान् ॥ ६६ ॥

वटकाढकसूपशङ्कुलीसितसवार¹ सुदुग्धजामृतम् ॥
रुचिदं शुचिवेसवारकं² सरसालार्द्रकमस्तु संघितम्³ ॥ ६७ ॥

1. सवार-॥ मोहनभोग ॥ (Marathi)
2. शिरखण्ड (Marathi) इति प्रसिद्धम् ॥
3. संघितम् ॥ लोणचे (Marathi) इति प्रसिद्धम् ॥

अथ शाकचयान् फलैर्दलैः कुसुमादुपैर्दशघोदितान् बहून् ॥
 कदलीफनसाभ्रफर्कटीफलकन्दादिपटोलजादिकान् ॥ ६८ ॥
 परिपक्वसरालगोस्तनीकदलीजम्बुफलेक्षुजान् रसान् ॥
 इवभीहफलानि चेक्षुजान् मृदुखण्डान् बदरीसुदाडिमान् ॥ ६९ ॥
 तमिमं सलिलोक्षितं तथा तुलसीपूजितमन्त्रमन्त्रितम् ॥
 कुसुमाञ्जलिपञ्चकोत्तरं बहुनैवेद्यमुपाहराणि ते^१ ॥ ७० ॥

1. वैतालीयम् ॥ छन्दः ॥

अमृतोपस्तरणान्ते जुषाणेदं हविर्हरे ॥
 सह प्रियाभिस्तिस्मृभो रुक्मिण्यादिभिरादरात् ॥ ७१ ॥
 जुषन्तां च स्वस्वपात्रेषुक्तावरणदेवता ॥
 कृत्वा प्राणादिमुद्राश्च नेत्रमौलनपूर्वकम् ॥ ७२ ॥

1. कृत्वा प्राणादिमुद्राः ॥ कथम् ॥ तर्जनीमध्यमाङ्गुष्ठैः 1 मध्यमानामिकाङ्गुष्ठैः 2.
 कनिष्ठिकानामिकाङ्गुष्ठैः 3 कनिष्ठिकातर्जन्यङ्गुष्ठैः 4 सर्वाभिः 5.
 क्रमेणैव स्मृता प्राणादिमुद्राः ॥

गायत्रीमष्टधा जप्त्वा सुगन्धितजलं ददे ॥
 अमृतापिधानमसीत्युत्तरापोशनं तथा ॥ ७३ ॥

(मध्याह्नातपापवारकजलप्रक्लिश्रवस्त्रावृते
 पात्रे काञ्चनरत्नजे विनिहितं पूतं सुशीतं सितम् ॥
 स्वादु स्वाद्वमलं विभो जलमलं गन्धाढ्यमेलाविधू-
 शीराद्यैः पिब देव दिव्यचषकैर्वत्तं मया विठ्ठल ॥)
 गण्डूषहस्तादिकशुद्धपूर्वमाचम्यतां विठ्ठल भो दयाग्ये ॥
 अष्टौ च पूगस्य फलानि शुभ्रताम्बूलिका षोडशपत्रमेला^१ ॥ ७४ ॥

1. इन्द्रवज्रा ॥

लघुङ्गकङ्कोलसुधां सुचूर्णयुतं सुवर्णादिजपात्रसंस्थम् ।
 सुगन्धजातोफलपत्रयुक्तं वरेष्यताम्बूलमिदं गृहाण^१ ॥ ७५ ॥

1. उपेन्द्रवज्रा ॥

काञ्चनभाजनर्वातिर्बहुवर्तिज्वलितः कर्पूरीघञ्वालाभिरपि समं ललितः ।
 आरातिकवीपोज्यं मुकुटादौ कुरुतां भासं शोभावासं भो स्वामिन्मरुताम् ॥ ७६ ॥
 जय जय भगवन् दीने कुरु करुणालोकं हर भवशोकं तोकं मामवनतलोकम् ॥
 रुक्मिण्या वामाङ्गस्थितरा राधिकया ॥
 दक्षिणतोऽपीतरया युत^१ चरुराधिकया ॥ ७७ ॥

1. युत ॥ युतेति सम्बुद्धिः ॥

श्रीरङ्गं विमालारङ्गं सुखसिन्धुतरङ्गं । नतजनसुखदापारङ्गं शिवमानसरङ्गम् ॥
 श्री पाण्डुरङ्गमखिलादृतभक्तकुरङ्गं । श्रीवासाङ्गं वन्दे शुभगरुडनुरङ्गम् ॥ ७८ ॥

त्वं खलु जगतः कर्ता भर्ता संहर्ता । धाता माता भ्राता संसारोद्धर्ता ॥
 दीना हीना हि जना दवनिभक्तभवार्ता । स्तानव नवकरुणार्णव तवास्तु शुभवार्ता ॥ ७९ ॥

1. दवनिभक्तभवार्ताः ॥ दवनिभो यः कुत्सितः भवः तेन आर्ताः ॥

त्वत्तो न परः प्रभुरिति देव रमाजाने ।
 ज्ञप्तिक्षान्तिदयाद्यास्त्वयि परमा जाने ॥
 मत्तं पतितं भीतं जनिभृतितानाथ-
 मानन्दय पदसलिलैरिव काशीनाथम्¹ ॥ ८० ॥

1. आरतं छन्दः ॥

महाफलं ददाम्यलं सुदक्षिणाः प्रदक्षिणाः ॥
 कृतक्षणाः सुलक्षणाः वितक्षणात्तशिक्षणा ॥ ८१ ॥
 करोमि सप्रमाणिकाः सदाणिकाः सपाणिकाः ॥
 सहोरसा रसावहा बहानता¹ न ता मिताः ॥ ८२ ॥

1. बहानता न ता मिताः ॥ बहो स्कन्धो आनतो यासु ताः ॥

शिरोयुताः सुजानुनाऽमुनाऽधुना हृदा पदा ।
 सबा मुदा वृशे वृशोधिथा नमस्क्रिया हरेः ॥ ८३ ॥

॥ त्रिकम् ॥

ऋगथर्वयजुःसाम्नां मन्त्रैःपुष्पावलिः शिरसि चरमा ॥
 चरणेषुपि राजतां ते यथाब्जभाहारिपद¹ उरसि च रमा ॥ ८४ ॥

1. भाहारिपदे ॥ कमलशोभाहारिणि पदे ॥

श्रीकेशवादिनामभिरथवा विश्वाधिभिः सहस्रमितैः ॥
 तुलसीभिः पुष्पैर्वाऽर्चामि सुरं सुरमितामजलमितैः ॥ ८५ ॥

छत्रं चामरयुगलं सुवर्णवर्णयुतं शुभव्यजनम् ॥
 जलपात्रपादुकाद्यं गृहाण कुरु मामुताशु भव्यजनम् ॥ ८६ ॥

वीणादिस्वरभेदान् वेदान् समाभिधान् समुखनिकराः¹ ॥
²श्रुतयो यैस्तान् शृणु भो भक्तशिरसि ते यशोवसुखनिकराः³ ॥ ८७ ॥

1. समुखनिकराः ॥ सुखनिकरसहिताः ॥ 2. श्रुतयो ॥ श्रुतयः कर्णाः ॥
 3. यशोवसुखनिकराः ॥ यशोरूपस्य वसुनः खनिरूपाः कराः भक्तशिरसि सन्तु ॥

नानाविद्यमुषिराद्यं वाद्यं मुरजं¹ मुरादिवरदरद ॥
 नवभेर्यादि सतालं त्वमलंकुरु कुन्द²कान्तिवरदरद ॥ ८८ ॥

1. मुरादिवरदरद ॥ भयद ॥ 2. कुन्दकान्तिवरदरद ॥ कुन्दकान्तयो वरदा रदा यस्या ॥

वरवारयुवतिनृत्यं कृत्यं¹ देवादिभिः सुगानादि ॥
 स्वीकुरु कुरुवरद विभो देहि पदं कविजनासुगानादि ॥ ८९ ॥

1. देवादिभिः कृत्यं कार्यं सुगानं तदादि ॥ कविजना सुरानादि ॥ अस्मिन् दुर्लभं अनादि पदं देहि ॥

वेदपुराणादिमितैर्गन्तगुणैश्वर्यचिद्विभवदेव ॥
 किमहं स्तुयां करोमि तु नति सतां यदखिलं ह्यभवदेव ॥ ९० ॥

1. यदखिलम् ॥ यस्मात् ॥ भव ॥ लङ् ॥

अनयाः कृता अगणिता अहर्निशं नाथ चलितचित्तेन ॥
 हृत्तेन नास्ति यत्तं गृह्येत कथं हि नित्यचित्तेन ॥ ९१ ॥

इतः अष्टौ निरधराः ॥

आन्तर्यजनं जाने न च तत इतरद्वन्द्विकाहीनः¹ ॥

दीनैरलसैश्च कथं क्रियेत यज्ञैस्तताङ्गकाहीनः² ॥ ९२ ॥

1. घनद्विककाहीनः ॥ घनद्विकया हीनः ॥ रहितः ॥
2. तताङ्गकाहीनः ॥ विस्तताङ्गः अहीनः ॥

निजवाससंततितया वयनीये किङ्करे घनंकरते ॥

अस्तां वयाकटाक्षः¹संसृत्यज्ञानं हृदयाकर ते ॥ ९३ ॥

1. संसृत्यज्ञानहृदयाकर ते ॥ संसाराज्ञानहर्ता कटाक्षः ॥

¹संसृति सागरतरणं तरसा त्रिदशेश ते सदा चरणे ॥

दृष्टरागणैकेन स्याद् दृष्टिस्ते न नः²कदाचरणे ॥ ९४ ॥

1. संसृतिसागरतरणम् ॥ तव चरणे रागणैव तरणं स्यात् ॥
2. अस्माकं कुस्तिता चरणदृष्टिस्तया न कार्यत्यर्थः ॥

खरतरषडरिजवेदं नाशय शयधृतगदासिचक्रेण ॥

नान्यच्छरणं चरणादसतां हि जितः कदासिचक्रेण ॥ ९५ ॥

1. कदासिचक्रेण ॥ असतां चक्रेण कदापि त्वं न जितः ॥

¹अन्नाच्छादनसदनं न याचितं यः सतां हि तेनेऽतः ॥

नान्यं याचे किल ते याचे चरणे हता हि तेनेतः ॥ ९६ ॥

1. अन्नाच्छादन ॥ सतामन्नादिकं अयाचितमेव यः तेने विस्तारितवान् अन्योन्यं न याचे किंतु हे नेतः ते चरणे प्रति एव याचे ॥

¹कालरशनाच्छिदा ते जयाकर दयानदेश चक्रेण ॥

सनयैस्तनयैर्न न च स्त्रियया करदया न देशचक्रेण ॥ ९७ ॥

1. छिदेति प्रथमान्तं भवतीति शेषः ॥ तव चक्रेणैव कालरज्जुच्छेदो भवतीत्यर्थः न पुत्रादिभिः ॥ करदयति तृतीयान्तं स्त्रीविशेषणम् ॥

रसनाजठरतलादेर्यत्नजयैषा गिरार्थनासनया ॥

¹न च रदनछदजनिता नाथास्तां ते यथार्थरतिरनया² ॥ ९८ ॥

1. नच रदनछदजनिता ॥ रसनादेर्योऽयं लयस्तऽज्जन्यया गिरा एषा प्रार्थना न तु उपरि ओष्ठाध्यामेव ॥ न च रदनछदजनितेत्यनेन निरोष्ठयत्वमपि अष्टार्याणां ह्वनितम् ॥
2. रतिरनया ॥ हे नाथ अनया रतिरस्तु ॥ ॥

इति निरधरार्या ॥

त्वं मम परमं वैवतमार्याचार्यः पिता मता जननी ॥

जननी च तापतज्ञा नैवास्तु मतिः सदा हिता जननी ॥ ९९ ॥

संश्रावयामि समहामहापुराणान्यथेति हासार्यान् ॥

सार्यान् सतां भवन्तं कविकृतश्रीरकरणातिहासार्यान् ॥ १०० ॥

त्वच्चरितान्यनुकुरुतां कुरुतामेकः कथा यथारुचिरम् ॥

श्रावयतु वा शृणोतु च दासोऽयं ते विचारुचारुचिरम् ॥ १०१ ॥

उच्चवाचैः स्तवंर्वा प्राकृतभाषादिभिः सुकविगीतैः ॥

स्तवनमनार्थमाद्यं त्रिदधे न सुमुनिसुधीशुकविगीतैः ॥ १०२ ॥

पदसंवाहनसेवां देवादिशसपवजङ्गजानूनाम् ॥

ऊरुकराणां मर्दनसेवामपि¹लोकमातृजानूनाम् ॥ १०३ ॥

1. लक्ष्मीकर्तृकसेवापेक्षया अनूनाम् ॥

भगवन् प्रसीद दीने शरणागत पतति षण्डवत् सुनते ।
 अपि सागः सूपेक्षादशि वृथा पुष्टपिण्डवत्सु नते ॥ १०४ ॥
 सान्योन्यबद्धहस्तं बर्ष्मरतना समस्तकं पदयोः ।
 सदयो भयलोकदयोर्दुष्टेषु भयजसमस्तकं पदयोः ॥ १०५ ॥
 त्वां सर्वथा प्रपन्नं विपन्नमव मां हरे भवनदीपात् ।
 साज्ञानमृत्युनक्रान्नेशोऽन्यस्त्वज्जगद्भवनदीपात् ॥ १०६ ॥

1. नेशोन्यस्त्वज्जगद्भवन ॥ त्वत् पञ्चमी ॥

सशरीरेन्द्रियवर्गः स्वात्मैवेषोऽपितो मयाधिपते ।
 पालय नय¹ वासनय वा भोगो गोपाल दवद²याधिपते ॥ १०७ ॥

1. नयवानय वा ॥ आनय ॥
 2. दवमयाधिपते ॥ इदं सम्बोधनसमासपूर्वपदं वा षष्ठयन्तम् ॥ दवमयाऽधेः सकाशात् पाति इति पातिः ॥

भक्त्याद्यर्थं भोजनपात्रोच्छिष्टं प्रयाचितं सहसा ।
 अन्नं तव तत् प्राप्याशितं मया येन तत्सभासहसा ॥ १०८ ॥
 त्वद्भक्तगन्धमाल्याद्यचितदेहाः ¹सदेहमन्देहाः ।
 देहाबलाघनाद्यां जयेम मायां विमुक्तसन्देहाः ॥ १०९ ॥

1. सदेहमन्देहाः ॥ इह लोके मन्दस्पृहाः ॥

मत्प्रारब्धे वसनाभ्रादिकमुत्तममनुत्तमं विपुलम् ।
 तनु वास्ति तथा मे देह्यधिकं बौदार्यतो दयालुपते ॥ ११० ॥
 तद्वत् सुखदुःखाद्यं मानामानौ जयाजयौ लोके ।
 लाभालाभौ खेदोद्धर्षाद्यं देहि मे यथेच्छा ते ॥ १११ ॥

1. खेदोद्धर्षाद्यम् ॥ खेदोद्धर्षौ त्वमिति वा पाठः ॥

नात्राग्रहं मदीयं त्वमनुसरं परन्तु मेऽर्थना महती ।
 संसृतिदुःखीघहरा त्वत्पदसामीप्यमुक्तिरस्तु परा ॥ ११२ ॥
 तत्र विलम्बे तावद् दुःसहपीडां प्रकामकामकृताम् ।
 नाशय तरसा रजसाक्रान्ततनोरपि कपिप्रतिप्रवृत्तेः ॥ ११३ ॥
 एवं श्रोत्रं लोभं मोहं मदमत्सराह्वदम्भादीन् ।
 सुभृशं पीडयतस्तान् विनाश्य मां पाहि दीनतममार्तम् ॥ ११४ ॥
 सुखलिप्तया मनो मे धावति विषयान् सदैव हित्वा त्वम् ।
 आकृष्य तत् स्वकीये नवविधभजने स्थिरं कुरुष्व हरे ॥ ११५ ॥
 अथवा तत्तद्विषयस्वरूपमुपमृष्ट चित्सुखंकरसम् ।
 निजरूपं कटिघृतकरमथवा वंशीकरं प्रकाशय भोः ॥ ११६ ॥
 एवमपि प्रार्थयितुं लघीयसानधिकतेन दासेन ।
 नो युक्तं तदपि विभो क्षमस्व मे नाथ दीनदीनस्य ॥ ११७ ॥
 काशीनाथ उपाध्यायो भूत्वा काश्यां विमुक्तिदः ।
 तथेहाप्येष पद्यौवः सतामस्तु निजेष्टदः ॥ ११८ ॥
 उक्तो ध्यानक्रमः प्रायः क्षेत्रमहात्म्यमूलतः ।
 पूजाक्रमोऽपि बहुशः पारिव्राजाहिनकोदितः ॥ ११९ ॥

इति श्रीमदनन्तोपाध्यायसुनुकाशीनाथोपाध्यायविरचितो ध्यानमानसपूजाक्रमः सपूजाटिपरिणिकः समाप्तः ॥ शके 1727 क्रोधन माघवद्यष्टम्याम्

॥ शयनोत्सवक्रमः ॥

॥ श्रीगणेशाय भगवते श्रीपांडुरंगाय नमः ॥

श्रीमद्विठ्ठल भगवन् प्रदोषमारभ्य समुपचारोऽयम् ।
 विज्ञाप्यते मया तं स्वीकुरु करुणाम्बुधे बुधेशनुत ॥ १ ॥
 हेममणिवज्रियन्त्रैर्मन्त्रैः पादावनेजनं मुजलैः ।
 करवाणि पाणिना वा नावा ह्यनया तराणि भवसिन्धुम् ॥ २ ॥
 दिनघृतसुमनोमाला वासस्तिलकादिकं गताभिष्यम् ।
 सख्यं गतेषु दासेष्वर्पय पयसा मुखादि परिभाज्यं ॥ ३ ॥
 कलघौत-घौतवसनाद्यशेषेषं विधाय नवरुचिरं ।
 सुचिरंतनमुनिगूजित जितमद मदनुग्रहं कुरुष्व विभो ॥ ४ ॥
 गन्धादिकोपचारान् साहारान् पूष्परत्नमयहारान् ।
 क्षीरजलाद्यं हृद्यं भवते विनिवेदये दयेक्षार्थी ॥ ५ ॥
 मुखवासं दासात्तं गृह्णान्नविगीतगीतनृत्यानि ।
 स्तुत्यानि सकलवाद्यान्याद्यान्यभिनन्द नन्दनन्दन भोः ॥ ६ ॥
 अधिशेष्वविष्वगञ्चितरत्नस्तम्भादि बहुचमत्कारम् ।
 छत्रवितानजवनिकामुक्तादामादि लसदलंकारम् ॥ ७ ॥
 प्रच्छादनपटकशिपूपबर्हगण्डोपधानसत्कारम् ।
 आस्तृतकुसुमविशेषं शेषं सौवर्णमञ्चकाकारम् ॥ ८ ॥
 मणिदीपधूपदपंगचमरव्यजनजलपात्रसुरभिवरैः ।
 सहितं हितं दधानैः सेवाधानैः प्रसादसंधानैः ॥ ९ ॥

॥ त्रिकं ॥

वासगृहाच्छयनगृहं गच्छन्मध्ये प्रसारिते मृबुले ।
 वाससि पदे निर्धोहि निर्धोहि भजता सखे सखेदानीम् ॥ १० ॥
 श्रीराधिकंकतःस्था भजतां ताम्बूलचामरान्दोलैः ।
 भामा भामादात्री वीजयतामन्यतः स्थिता कान्ता ॥ ११ ॥
 श्रीरुक्मिणी वरेण्या पदसंवाहनपरा परा विद्या ।
 आद्या जननी जगतां गतां गतान्ते विराजतामङ्गके ॥ १२ ॥
 पद्माकर पद्मविहित पदपद्मक्षालनोदकं पात्रे ।
 सौवर्णं रत्नमये मयेह निहिते हितेच्छुना पततु ॥ १३ ॥
 ताम्बूलचर्वणादौ हेयं तु रसं पतद्ग्रहे हैमे ।
 दासापिते त्यजान्ते गण्डूषजलं च तद्वसानुगतम् ॥ १४ ॥
 निद्रास्तांतेऽस्मिकं दुश्चरस्यैव दर्शनश्रवणे ।
 न तु वीनानां नानान्तर्गतदुःखस्य पीडयाहृतेः ॥ १५ ॥
 यावदिह योगनिद्रा सान्द्रा न व्याप्नुते नु ते न्यने ।
 नय नेतर् मम तावद् विज्ञप्ति मनसि तां स्थिरां कुरु भोः ॥ १६ ॥
 आसागरं द्विजेभ्यो गोभ्यश्चास्तां शिवं निराबाधं ।
 बहुसुखवर्षा वर्षा जीवाश्च निरामया मया मुदिताः ॥ १७ ॥
 स्वस्त्यस्तु सर्वजगतः खलाः खलत्वं त्यजन्तु जन्तुगणाः ।
 अन्योन्यसुखोत्कर्षं ध्यायन्तु नरा न रामरतिरहिताः ॥ १८ ॥

भद्रं भजतु मनो नो भवति भवति सन्मतेर्यथावेशः ।
 अनुगृह्णीष्व तथा यत् कृताः प्रसादस्य दस्यवः पात्रम् ॥ १९ ॥
 भगवंस्त्वच्छ्रवणाद्यं नवविधभजनं सदास्तु सर्वेषाम् ।
 वेषान्तरमात्रेण श्रमिणां श्रमिणां सुखार्थं बहुयत्नैः ॥ २० ॥
 धर्मार्थकाममोक्षान् भक्त्यैवासादयन्तु भक्तास्तान् ।
 विघ्नव्रजो व्रजतु नो जतुनो व्रज इव गतोऽनले स स्यात् ॥ २१ ॥
 भगवन् भवतो भक्तिः सकला भद्राणि भर्जयतु गाढम् ।
 सत्सन्निधिसन्निधिदा कामक्रोधादिमूलकषणां स्यात् ॥ २२ ॥
 शांतिक्षांतिदयादिसंततिजननी भवत्वथो भक्तिः ।
 उपरतिविरती करणे बहुविधविषये च जनयतां श्रद्धाम् ॥ २३ ॥
 अतिसुन्दरतररूपं सर्वालंकारमण्डितं तव तत् ।
 दर्शयतु च नयनाभ्यां नाभ्यां दृश्यं ततोऽस्ति वस्तुपरम् ॥ २४ ॥
 त्रिभुवनविस्मयकरतनु सौन्दर्यापारवारिधिं सुरसम् ।
 सुरसभृत सद्यं हंसालोकं दृष्ट्वा सुखैकमग्नं स्यात् ॥ २५ ॥
 ब्रह्मात्मैक्यज्ञानं भक्तिवशादेव देव जायेत ।
 अपरोक्षं च परोक्षं न चान्यसाधनघनभ्रमं विषयः ॥ २६ ॥
 आद्याविद्याध्वान्तध्वंसोऽस्तु स्वात्मसंविदाभासा ।
 भासा भक्तेस्तनया नयार्ककोटघा समा समाप्तास्ताम् ॥ २७ ॥
 द्वैतभ्रमसन्देहावसंभवज्ञानमपि विनाशयताम् ।
 शयतां ज्ञप्तेः कृत्वा भक्तिः शोकार्णवं च शोषयताम् ॥ २८ ॥
 सच्चिन्मुखस्वरूपस्वात्मानुभवप्रमोदमात्रात्मा ।
 स्यां तव भक्तिमहिमतो मतो हि महतां तयैव सन्महिमा ॥ २९ ॥
 अद्वेषत्वादिगुणैर्बतं ब्रताहुविभूषितं मुक्तम् ।
 अहमपि तथा बुभूषुर्नरमा न रमा बिभ्रति बन्धकरी ॥ ३० ॥
 जीवन्मुक्तिदशासुखमनुभ्यासं तव प्रसादेन ।
 सादेन नेन्द्रियादेः पादेन तवैव शुकमुखामुक्ताः ॥ ३१ ॥
 सगुणब्रह्मानन्दं निर्गुणसच्चित्स्वरूपमानन्दम् ।
 द्वयमप्येकरसेनास्वादयतु मनो मनोज्ञचरितविभोः ॥ ३२ ॥
 जीवन्मुक्तिदशां स्मरतामो यस्यां त्वदीयभजनसुखं ।
 नवविधभजनविरहिता हिता न सा नतनसाच्छनारीव ॥ ३३ ॥
 किं बहुनाखिलपुरुषार्थः श्रेणिशिरः सुनृत्यमानासौ ।
 भक्तिर्भवेन्नवेऽपि प्रयाच्यते मुहुरहो रहो नन्वा ॥ ३४ ॥
 त्वन्निद्राभङ्गभयादतोऽधिकं नो समुत्सहे वक्तुम् ।
 अथ रुह वरप्रियाभिर्मुकुलितनय(न)स्य तेऽस्तु सुखशयनम् ॥ ३५ ॥
 नारदो नारदो वाथ अन्यो वाऽपि विशारदः ।
 श्रीशारदार्यां त्र्यधिकं रदपद्यस्तवं पठेत् ॥ ३६ ॥
 इति श्रीकाशीनाथोपाध्यायविरचितशयनोत्सवक्रमः समाप्तः ॥

THE MENDICANT OF THE MRCCHAKATIKA ONCE AGAIN

SADASHIV A. DANGE

ALMOST all editions of the *Mrcchakatika* have, as they should necessarily do, dwelt on the problem of the identification of the *parivrājaka* that comes in the second Act of the drama mentioned above. He is mentioned in the Act at its end, in the episode of the servant of Vasantasenā, named Karṇapūraka, who suddenly enters (*apaṭikṣeṇa*) and reports that he has saved a *parivrājaka* from being crushed to death by the elephant of Vasantasenā. The incident immediately preceding is as follows: A masseur (*samvāhaka*) is chased by the superintendent of the state gambling-house (Māthura) and the winner, for having run away without paying the lost money. The *samvāhaka* is ultimately caught and thrashed by the two. In the mean while there comes on the scene another person, Dardura, who helps the *samvāhaka* run away; and the *samvāhaka* accidentally sees the gate of a house open, and enters. The house belongs to Vasantasenā, and he is safe. Vasantasenā knows from the *samvāhaka* that he was serving for some time with the hero of the drama, Cārudatta; she gives away the money to the two that had approached and stationed themselves at the gate of the stately house of Vasantasenā. The *samvāhaka* is overwhelmed by this act on the part of Vasantasenā and wants to teach his art of massage to some of her servants. Vasantasenā, however, declines this return for her favour and asks him to serve his former master, Cārudatta from whom he had gone away due to the former's poverty and inability to support his servants. The *samvāhaka* says that he is now disgusted with his life, as he had been humiliated by the vice of gambling and that he would take *pravrajyā* (the life of a recluse). The exact words used are, "I shall be a *śākya-śramaṇaka*" (I shall become a Buddhist recluse). Prior to saying this he thinks to himself, 'How shall I return the favour' (*katham praty upakariṣye*)? Having declared his determination to become a *śākya-śramaṇaka* he says to Vasantasenā, "To be remembered are the words that the gambler *samvāhaka* turned a *śākyaśramaṇaka*", on which Vasantasenā says, "Refrain from rashness". But the *samvāhaka* replies, "Madam, my resolve is made"; and he turns to go saying that now he could go about the main road with his head aloft,

i.e. with honour (*prakāṣa-śīrṣah*, II.17). As he goes away, enters Karṇapūraka all in haste, and states with some elaboration and detail how he saved a *parivrājaka* (the word used is not *śākyaśramaṇaka* from the clutches of the mad elephant of Vasantasenā.

Unlike the *Mṛcchakaṭīka*, which opens the Act with the dialogue between Vasantasenā and her female servant and connects it with the brawl on the street involving the winner-gambler, the officer of the gambling house and the *samvāhaka*, the *Cārudatta* suddenly ushers in the *samvāhaka* (without the street-scene), who relates the events of his life including his stay with *Cārudatta*, and then adds that he is being followed by the winner, whom he had defeated in gambling before many days (*bahūni dināni mayā parājītena puruṣeṇa*). This means that there was only one man following him. The *samvāhaka* says that he had entered the road of the courtesans (*veśamārge*) from the main road. When Vasantasenā pays the man, standing outside, on behalf of the *samvāhaka*, the latter desires to teach his art of massage to her attendants; but being asked to serve *Cārudatta* himself, he simply goes away without saying anything. At the exit of the *samvāhaka*, enters Karṇapūra (*Mṛcc.* has him as Karṇapūraka) and relates his exploit. He narrates how an elephant (not of Vasantasenā, as in *Mṛcc.*) in rut ran amuck in the main roads (*rājamārgeṣu*) and caught, in his trunk, a *parivrāj*. The latter is described as "striking due to his upper garment being coloured" (*uttarīya-pāṭa-virāgatayā*; the original Prakrit is *uttarā-paḍa-virāadāe*).

The comparison of the two dramas¹ in this particular scene indicates clearly that *Śūdraka* has changed the status of the original *samvāhaka* from a simple *parivrāj* to *śākya-śramaṇaka*. But whether the subsequent *parivrāj* is the same as the *samvāhaka* has been a point of discussion. That the *samvāhaka* desires to renounce the world is clear enough in both the dramas. In the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* he says that he would become the *śākya-śramaṇaka*; but, immediately later in the episode of the elephant, the word is *parivrājaka*. Such is not the case with the *Cārudatta*. Almost all Sanskrit scholars believe that the two are the same! But the difficulty is, how could the *samvāhaka* so suddenly change his appearance to that of a *śākya-śramaṇaka* — tonsure and all? The point had been dark, till the time Van Buitenen stirred it by an ingenious interpretation of the whole scene; and it has to be said that it appears to be acceptable on the face of it. His main thesis is as follows.

1. Kale M. R., *Mṛcchakaṭīka*, ed. Bombay, 1924, pp. xxi ff; Pusalkar A. D., *Bhāsa — A Study*, 2nd ed. Delhi, 1968, pp. 160 ff; George Morgrnstierne, *Über das verhältniss zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛcchakaṭīka*, Thesis, Berlin 1918, Halle 1920.

1. Śūdraka changed the status of the *parivrājaka* with a purpose; he wanted to use the incident of the elephant with a colour of Buddhism. In this connection Buitenen refers to the well-known episode in the life of the Buddha, where he is said to have subdued the furious elephant Nalagiri by his fixed look, and gives various references to support the episode. He sees a special meaning in the sentence of the *samvāhaka*, "Oh! I shall go and 'see' the ruddy elephant of Vasantasenā" (Prakrit — *aho ajjāe gandhagaam pekkhissam gadua*), indicating that after becoming a *sākya-śramaṇaka* the *samvāhaka* readily thinks he would be able to 'eye' the elephant and would be able to subdue it like the Buddha. And, in doing so he is caught by the elephant and rescued by Kaṇṇapūraka. According to Buitenen this was done by the *samvāhaka* to do a return favour to Vasantasenā, who did not accept his desire to get one of her attendants taught the art of massage by him. He argues that this was only natural for the masseur; and further says that the words of Vasantasenā, "Refrain from rashness" (*alam sāhasena*) are to be understood in the context of the impending 'eyeing' of the elephant on the part of the *samvāhaka*.

2. The speech of the *samvāhaka* is as follows:

"I shall go and see the ruddy elephant of the lady (Vasantasenā). Or, what I have to with it? I shall do as I have decided" (i.e. straight become a *sākya-śramaṇaka*).

Buitenen's remark on this speech is that the words "Or, what have I to do with it (*aha vā kim mama eḍiṇā*)" are inserted by the scribe. He suggests that the original speech should have been, "I shall go and see the ruddy elephant of the lady. I shall do as I have decided". This would mean that he would go straight and become a *sākya-śramaṇaka*, and immediately be infused with the capacity that once marked the Buddha; he would use this new power to return the favour of the generous lady. Buitenen seeks to support this interpretation of his by pointing to a variant reading for *gadua* (*gatvā*, "after going"), which is *galuadāe*, "due to greatness", pointing to the Sanskrit rendering by the commentator, *mahāvaiḥhavaśālitvāt*, indicating the greatness to refer to his new power.

3. The difficulty about the *samvāhaka* being turned immediately into a *sākya-śramaṇaka* is rightly explained by Buitenen as a "telescopic action"; and it is quite common with Sanskrit dramatists. Many times the dramatists do not quite keep the unity of time; and the sudden entry of the valiant servant of Vasantasenā may be understood as after quite some time. But Buitenen goes a step further and says that actually there was not an elaborate change in the *samvāhaka* (i.e. no shaving of the head and donning of the required reddish garment). For this he refers to the version

in the earlier drama *Cārudattam* (of Bhāsa), which has been referred to earlier, above, in the description of the *samvāhaka* turned *parivrājaka*, "*uttarīa-paḍa-virādāe*". Buitenen renders this expression as, "Because of his relinquishing the upper garment". He discards the common rendering, "red colour of his robe", and suggests that the putting off of the upper garment was enough for indicating that the *samvāhaka* had taken to the life of a recluse of the Buddhist order, and that because of there being no upper garment he was conspicuous (*ahia-lakkhaṇo*; Sanskrit, *adhika-lakṣaṇīyaḥ*).

The points suggested by Buitenen require examination.

1. That Śūdraka wanted to use the elephant-episode already invented by Bhāsa on purpose, may be accepted. But, in that case why should he have indicated the *samvāhaka* by two different words, *śākya-śramaṇaka* in his own speech (i.e. the speech of the *samvāhaka*) and *parivrājaka* in that of Karṇapūraka? Or, is it that Karṇapūraka uses the term *parivrājaka* in a loose sense, indicating that in Śūdraka's time this was a common term for all types of a recluse? The absence of the *śākya-śramaṇaka* in the *Cārudatta* and his specific mention in the *Mṛccakaṭikā*, which is the later of the two by all means, shows the Buddhist influence; and it is quite probable that the myths that began to centre round the personality of the Buddha from the second century B.C., which is also the period of Śūdraka, might find their way in the *Mṛccakaṭika*. One of the most prominent was the episode of Nalagiri. But to connect it with the *samvāhaka*, though he desires to be a *śākya-śramaṇaka*, is difficult. Firstly, one has to believe that the *samvāhaka*, who has seen so much of the world (he is born in Pāṭaliputra and migrated to Ujjainī), should be naive enough to believe that by just throwing off the upper garment (as Buitenen understands the expression *virādāe*) he could achieve the powers of the Buddha! Or, did he mean that he should return the favour of Vasantasenā even at the prospect of sudden and sure death, by falling under the foot of her elephant or being pressed to his death in his trunk? Becoming a *śākya-śramaṇaka*, in utter disappointment and due to humiliation at being insulted by the gambler and the officer, is understandable; but testing his doubtful power and embracing sure death by challenging the elephant wilfully, in return for ten coins, is hard to understand. Thus, even believing that it is the same person (*samvāhaka*) that is attacked by the elephant, one cannot accept that he offered himself, willingly unless, of course, he is of an unsound mind! Buitenen's suggestion of the Nalagiri episode is, hence, short of the mark.

The words "*alam sāhasena*" (Refrain from rashness) cannot be taken with the episode of the elephant; for, they come immediately

after his speech that he would become a *sākya-śramaṇaka* and before his own reply that his resolve was final. The *sāhasa* need not be in the context of the challenging of the elephant which is yet to be ushered in; the life of the recluse is equally full of *sāhasa*; and there can be no doubt that the dramatist means it. Had the case been as Buitenen thinks, the expression of Vasantasenā mentioned above (*alam sāhasena*) would have come after the speech of the *samvāhaka*, "I shall see the ratty elephant of the lady." It should be noted that this speech is not 'to himself'; but *ākāśe* ("in the void"), and is meant to be heard by all, including Vasantasenā. To suppose the expression to come after the speech of the *samvāhaka* in which he desires to see the elephant, to suit Buitenen's reasoning will be to suppose that the scribe dabbled here also, as in the case of the words, "Or, what have I to do with it?", as Buitenen suggests. There is hardly any proof for such dabbling, if seen objectively.

2. What has been said above would indicate that the suggestion of Buitenen about the sentence, "Or, what have to do with it", is based on his conjecture that the *samvāhaka* wanted to imitate the Buddha. As will be shown below, there is every possibility that the *parivrājaka* caught by the elephant is not the same as the *samvāhaka*. His suggestion about the variant reading, *galuadāe*, is also not clear from doubt; for the actual reading is "*pekkhism galuadā(m)*", and not *galuadāe* which Buitenen gives to suit his suggestion. With the earlier reading the sense would be, "I shall see the greatness" (*gurutvam* as the commentary says), which is the greatness of the ratty elephant (*gandhagaja*) of his esteemed lady Vasantasenā, and not his own "with his great power"! The curiosity to see the special type of elephant on the part of the *samvāhaka* is only expected. And when it is said to belong to Vasantasenā, who has obliged him! His sentence, "Or, what have I to do with it" is only too natural and suits his determination to become a recluse, who should not have any interest in any worldly object, even if it belongs to Vasantasenā. The sentence is, hence, perfectly suitable in the situation; and the suggestion of its being inserted by the scribe, who did not comprehend the importance of the elephant-motif, is unwarranted. The sentence would, then, as it is, mean, "Oh! I shall see the *gandhagaja* of the lady — (his) splendour. But what have I to do with it?"

3. The suggestion that the *samvāhaka* was conspicuous (*adhikalakṣṇīyah*) simply because he took off his upper garment is absolutely unhappy. The relinquishment of the upper garment only, as a mark of initiation into Buddhistic monkhood, is rarely attested; and Buitenen does not support it at all. Moreover, most of the common people (men, of course) actually went without the upper garment in ancient India, as is well attested from many sources, the

best being archaeological.² If, then, the *samvāhaka* relinquished his upper garment, he would readily be assimilated into the crowd on the main road (*rājamārga*); and the elephant would be in no position to locate him, unless, of course, the beast had a special 'eye' for the poor human. The word *virāga*, as applied to a garment, cannot, by any stretch of imagination, indicate "relinquishment." Buitenen seems to confuse it with the word *vairāgya*, the state of mind that is suited to the relinquishment of the world and its joys. A piece of cloth can hardly have *virāgatā* in that sense. His counter suggestion that, in the event of the upper garment indicating colour, we expect *virattadāe* (*viraktatayā*) or *virāṇa* (*virāgeṇa*), is not quite true, for, there is hardly any difference between *viraktatā* and *virāgatā*. It is to be remembered that *rāga* means "colour" (and primarily the red one);³ and *virāga* would mean, at the worst, "absence of colour", or "change of colour", both associated with the upper garment on the body. There is, hence, no question at all of relinquishing the garment. And, if the recluse is to be more conspicuous (*adhika-lakṣaṇīyaḥ*) due to his upper garment, it has to be sparkling red. The *samvāhaka*, who meets Vasantasenā and rescues her later, as per his telescopic utterance ("Lady, to be remembered are the words that the *samvāhaka* has turned a *śākya-śramaṇaka*"; Act VIII bears it out, as he rejuvenates her), has his garment of *kaṣāya* colour, which is slightly brown and not exactly red. Moreover, when he spreads the washed bark-garment on the heap of leaves for drying, it must be only the upper one (Act VIII). This would indicate that the relinquishment of the upper garment is not special to become a Buddhist recluse.

Buitenen has missed a very important reference in his eagerness to adjust the elephant-motif in the situation of the drama. The *parivrājaka* is described as *paribhraṣṭa-daṇḍa-kuṇḍikā-bhājana* ("whose staff, pitcher and the vessel has dropped") due to fear when the elephant attacked him. If the *parivrājaka* is the same as the *samvāhaka* who turned a *śākya-śramaṇaka*, and in whose case this change is indicated only by discarding the upper garment, how could he have time to acquire the staff and other things? Hence, it is clear that the *samvāhaka-śramaṇaka* is different from the *parivrājaka*; and the dramatist maintains the difference. Again, a very pertinent point is that Vasantasenā never has any doubt that the *parivrājaka* attacked by her elephant and saved by her servant is not the *samvāhaka*. In both the dramas (the *Mṛcc.* and the *Cārudatta*) she never shows any anxiety about the *samvāhaka*, though it is she only who knows that the *samvāhaka* has decided to become a *śākya-*

2. See for example, the figures at the Karla caves; at the Ellora caves; at Khajuraho and other places.

3. Cf. Pāṇini, IV.2.1 *tena raktam rāgāt*, where the word *rāga* indicates colour.

śramaṇaka, or a recluse, and has just gone away. This also indicates that to her (and to the dramatist) the *parivrājaka* is different from the *sākya-śramaṇaka* (in the *Mṛcc.*) and the *samvāhaka*, though the latter says that he would most probably take to the life of a recluse on that day itself (*Cārudatta*). The question of the *samvāhaka* to himself, as to how could he return the favour, is directly connected with his sentence, "Lady, to be remembered are the words that the *samvāhaka* has become a *sākya-śramaṇaka*"; and yet, she does not bother about he being involved with the elephant! Obviously, because she knows it is some other *parivrājaka*, and not the *sākya-śramaṇaka*. The sentence of the *samvāhaka* has, hence, a limited but a definite purpose; and this is seen in Act VIII, when he, now as the Buddhist *bhikṣu*, asks her if she does not recognize him (*kim mām na smarati buddhopāsikā dasasuvārṇa-niṣkrītam*) after he saves her life.

Having seen that the *parivrājaka* is a person different from the *samvāhaka*, now the question is: Who is he? And why has he been brought in the drama? To reply the second question first. The only object is to bring the mantle (*prāvāraka*) of *Cārudatta* to *Vasantasenā*, through *Karṇapūraka* who says that it was given to him for his valour by some one when all others were only looking on. For this even the *samvāhaka*, turned *parivrājaka* (not the latter one having the staff and the pitcher etc.) would have served. But, this is not the case as is clear from the evidence noted uptil now. The dramatist mentions the other *parivrājaka* just as a routine, as he brings in the elephant for producing an effect of general commotion, and to balance the valour of *Karṇapūraka* which matched the gift from *Cārudatta*. A *parivrājaka* is particularly chosen as he is without any instrument or a weapon to check the elephant, which can hardly be the case with a citizen at that period; the latter could always be armed in public.

It should be remembered that *Bharata* differentiates between a *parivrājaka* and a *sākya*, and mentions the *cokṣa* also in this connection, along with the *muni*.⁴ According to him, for all these Sanskrit was to be used in the drama. The *Pādatāditaka*, which is a *bhāṇa* (a one-character one-act play), mentions a *cokṣa* with a cane-staff, a pitcher and a vessel (*vetra-daṇḍa-kuṇḍikā-bhāṇḍa*), which are described as his distinguishing marks. This *cokṣa* very much resembles the *parivrājaka* in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (*paribhraṣṭa-daṇḍa-kuṇḍikā-bhāṇḍa*). The *cokṣa* has been identified with a *Vaiṣṇava*

4. *Nāṭyaśāstra* 17.36 *parivrāṇ-muni-sākyaṣu caukṣeṣu kṣatriyeṣu ca / śiṣṭā ye caiva liṅgasthāḥ saṅskṛtam teṣu yojayet / /*
A variant reading for *caukṣeṣu* is *cokṣeṣu*.

(Bhāgavata) devotee, by some scholars.⁵ But, probably, the term *cokṣa* applies to all venerated sects of recluses;⁶ and their common belongings were the staff, pitcher etc., as noted above. The term *cokṣa* indicated veneration (cf. Marathi *cokh*, *cokhat*, *cokhā*; Hindi *cokhā* and the name of a sect called *caukhālīā*). The *parivrājaka* was included in this category; but the *śākya-śramaṇaka* was not so much, as is clear from the disrespect shown to him by Śākāra. Even when Cārudatta favours him at the happy ending of the drama, he says that the *bhikṣu* (*śākya*) be the chancellor (*kulapati*) of all the Buddhistic monasteries (*vihārāṇām*) in the world, but not the chief of all the *parivrājakas*.

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5. Motichandra and Agrawal V. S., *Caturbhāṇī*, ed., Bombay 1960, p. 21, 163-165; Abhinavagupta says that the *cokṣas* are a sect of the Bhāgavatas; on *Nāṭya-śāstra* above; Chandrabali Pandey, "Mṛcchakaṭīka Kā Parivrājaka", *Nai Dhārā*, Oct. 1952, pp. 3-4.
6. Later, however, the *cokṣa* was despised; see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanimata of Damodara Gupta*, Delhi, 1975, p. 72, n. 4.

SYMBOLISM IN THE RITE OF SĪMANTONNAYANA

SINDHU S. DANGE

SĪMANTONNAYANA is one of the most important of rites to be performed in the case of a pregnant woman. It is treated in most of the Gr̥hyasūtras.¹ Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, and Pāraskara expressly say that this rite is to be performed only once, i.e. at the first conception. Likewise, other later works like the Mītākṣarā (on Yājñ. Sm. I. 11), the Smṛticandrikā and the Samskāratattva say that Garbhādhāna, Pumsavana and Sīmantonnayana are to be performed only once. They quote Hārīta in their support.² Viṣṇu was of the opinion that Sīmantonnayana is a *samskāra* to be performed only once; but he also mentions that according to some it is the *samskāra* of the foetus and hence it is to be performed at every pregnancy.³ There is, however, no uniformity regarding the month in which it is to be performed.⁴

The rite, in short, is as follows:⁵ Having prepared a *sthālpāka* (cooked rice) containing sesame and *mudga* beans (green gram), or containing rice and *mudga*, the husband offers the oblations in the house-hold fire uttering the *mahāvyaḥrtis* (Bhūh, Bhuvah, Svaḥ) and the relevant *mantras*. The wife, who has already taken her bath and donned new clothes sits to the west of the fire and touches (the hand of) her husband. The husband, then, parts her hair with the upward movement. The parting of the hair in the way mentioned above is done with a porcupine quill that has three white spots, with three bunches of blades of the *darbha*-grass or three blades tied together with another one, with a bunch of even number of unripe fruits (*yugmena śalāṭu-glapsena*) of the udumbara tree (*Ficus Glomerata*). While parting the hair also the husband

1. Āśv. Gr. S. I. 14.1-19; Śāṅkh. Gr. S. I. 22; Āp. Gr. S. 14.1-8; Hir. Gr. S. II.1; Baudh. Gr. S. I. 10; Bhā. Gr. S. I. 21; Gob. Gr. S. II. 7.1-12; Khā. Gr. S. II. 2.24-28; Pār. Gr. S. I. 15; Kāth. Gr. S. 31.1-5; Vaikh. Gr. S. III. 12.
2. P. V. Kane, *Hist. of Dharmashastra*, Vol. II-i, p. 206, n. 479.
3. *Ibid*, p. 226, n. 521.
4. The rite to be performed in the fourth month — Āśv. Gr. S. I. 14.1-2; Hir. Gr. S. II. 1.1-2; Bhār. Gr. S. I. 21; Āp. Gr. S. VI. 14.1 and Baudh. Gr. S. I. 10.1, etc.; for more details see Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 260-261; also p. 286, n. 24.
5. Śāṅkh. Gr. S. I. 23.2-3 and 7; Bhār. Gr. S. I. 21: 21.7; Āp. Gr. S. VI. 14.2; Hir. Gr. S. II. 1.2-3; Pār. Gr. S. I. 15.4; Āśv. Gr. S. I. 14.3.

utters the Mahāvyaḥṛtis.⁶ In addition to the things mentioned above for the parting of hair, the Pāraskara Gr̥ S. (I.15.4-6), Āpastamba Gr̥ S. (VI.14.3) and the Gobhila Gr̥ S. (II.7.3-8) mention the *vīratara* and a full spindle (*tarku*), with which hair is to be parted. The Mānava Gr̥ S. (I.15.1) mentions that the husband should part the hair of the wife with a branch of the Śamī tree having leaves on it, with the *mantra* "Agni has given back the wife" etc. (RV X.85.39). The Kāṭhaka Gr̥ S. (31.2-5) also mentions the branch of the Śamī having leaves on it. The Baudhāyana Gr̥ S. (I.10.1-12) mentions barley beans, in addition to the porcupine quill with three white spots, the darbha-bunch and the udumbara-shoots.

Thus, the things used for the parting of the wife's hair are as follows:

- (a) A porcupine-quill having three white spots;
- (b) Three bunches of sacred grass;
- (c) A bunch of even number of udumbara-fruits;
- (d) A *vīratara*;
- (e) A Śamī-branch having leaves on;
- (f) A full spindle;
- (g) Young shoots of barley.

It will be seen that all these things have symbolic value, as attested by tradition. The porcupine-quill is prescribed also for the combing of the hair of a child at the rite of *cūḍakarāṇa*; it is also prescribed to be presented by the bride-groom to the bride at the time of marriage.⁷ It has to be noted, however, that the porcupine-quill was not used as a regular comb, as suggested by Apte.⁸ It was used only symbolically at certain rituals to ward off evils;⁹ and it was also used to apply collirium with (Kāṭhaka Sam. 23.1; Taittirīya Br. I.5.6.6; Śatpatha Br. II.6.4.5). The Taittirīya Br. compares the three white spots with three auspicious things, three gods, three pressings of Soma etc.¹⁰ We may mention here the three words, the three cords that are enjoined to be tied round the sacrificial posts etc., and also with the three dishes of boiled rice mentioned below.

The udumbara-fruits of even number has a unique significance. According to the Śāṅkhāyana Gr̥ S. (I.22.9-10), in this rite, the husband ties three twisted strands, to which the fruits are tucked,

6. Śāṅkh. Gr̥ S. I.22.8; Āsv. Gr̥ S. I.14.4; Hir. Gr̥ S. II.1.3; Bhār. Gr̥ S. I.21: 21.11.

7. Ram Gopal, *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

8. *Social and Religious Life in the Gṛhyasūtras*, Reset Ed., Bombay, 1954, p. 76; Ram Gopal's objection, *Op. cit.*, p. 174, n. 70.

9. Ram Gopal, *Op. cit.*, p. 163, under 'Comb'.

10. Taitt. Br. I.5.6 त्रेण्या शलल्या निवर्तयेत् । त्रीणि वै देवानाम्ब्रानि त्रीणि छन्दांसि त्रीणि सवनानि त्रय इमे लोकाः ।

to the neck of the wife, with the words, "Rich in sap is this tree; be fruitful like the sappy branch of this sapful tree" (Cf. also the Pāraskara Gr.S.I.15.6 for this *mantra*).¹¹ It may be of interest to compare the belief among the Aztecs in this respect. According to them, the fruits of such trees as stick on to the trunk are believed to be the Mother-trees; the fruits represent the teats of the breasts of the "Mother."¹² The *udumbara* is of a similar species. The even number is indicative of the male-child. This is clear from the rule that the husband should approach the wife, in the days after her period, on even nights.¹³ Many Grhya texts lay down that the name of a child should have even number of letters.¹⁴ The *viratara* is the arrow or a particular tree;¹⁵ in any case it has the same symbolic value as that of the blade of grass or the quill; it represents the male. The spindle is used for taking the thread from the cotton, and is pointed; it also has the same symbolic value as the long quill or the upward moving blade of grass. But we may compare a ritual current among the Hindus of Baluchistan, according to which, to gain progeny, the woman is made to sit on a spinning wheel. This is because the thread indicates the line of progeny.¹⁶ The *Śamī*-branch is already indicative of the fire;¹⁷ and Agni, the fire-god is the last from whom the bride-groom is said to have obtained the bride; before him, she is said to have been with Soma and the Gandharva (cf. RV X.85.40-41). The young shoots of barley with which the hair of the bride are said to be parted indicate fertility. It is for the same reason, without doubt, that the young shoots of barley are enjoined to be placed round the bride's neck (Baudhāyana Gr. S. I.10.1-12), or round the head (Āpastamba Gr.S.VI.14.7).

Some details after the parting of the wife's hair are of interest. According to the Gobhila Gr. S. (II.7.9-12; cf. Khādira Gr. S. II.2.

11. For the *mantra* see Mantra-Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda I.5.1; RV II.32.5; AV VII.48.2.
12. Donald Mackenzie, *Myths of Pre-Columbian America*, London, 1915, p. 177; the tree-goddess was called Mayauel, which was believed to be a woman having four hundred teats.
13. Yājñ. Sm. I. 79-80; Manu Sm. III.48.
युग्मासु पुत्रा जायन्ते स्त्रियोऽयुग्मासु रत्निष् ।
तस्माद् युग्मासु पुत्रार्थी संविशेदात्तं स्त्रियम् ॥ Manu III. 48.
14. Pār. Gr. S. I. 17. 2; Mān. Gr. S. I. 18. 1; Gobh. Gr. S. II. 8. 14; Baudh. Gr. S. II. 1. 25-29; Bhār. Gr. S. I. 26; 27. 11; Hir. Gr. S. II. 4. 10; Jaim. Gr. S. I. 9: 8. 7; Vaikh. Gr. S. 3. 19: 49. 10; Āśv. Gr. S. I. 15. 5-7 says that the name of the son should have either two syllables or four syllables; *Ibid.* — 8 for even number of syllables.
15. Com. by Chandrakanta Tarkalankara on Gobh. Gr. S. II. 7. 8, Calcutta ed., 1908.
16. Masani R. P., *Folk-lore of Wells*, Bombay, 1918, p. 66.
17. According to the Skanda P. (I.1.4.92-96), at the time of the *yuga-kṣaya* (the destruction of the world in a particular age) Brahmā produced fire with two of his hands; from these hands were produced Bhr̥gu and Aṅgiras, who were the aspects of fire. The fires created by these seers came to be used in Vedic sacrifices. These fires are represented by the trees *Āsvattha* and *Śamī*, the staff and slab made from which are used for the production of fire by the kindling method.

26-28), after the parting of the hair, the wife is made to look at the *sthālīpāka* of boiled rice and sesame sprinkled over with clarified butter. The husband, then, asks her, "What do you see?"; she replies, "Offspring". The brahmin women sitting by her side, then, say to her, "Be a mother of valiant sons; a wife of a living husband." According to the Bhāradvāja Gr. S. (I.21), at this time, the wife is made to look at three dishes of boiled rice sprinkled over with clarified butter and the fourth one filled with water placed in front of the fire. The husband, then, asks her, "What do you see?"; and she replies, "Sons and cattle." It is to be remembered in this context that here we have a very clear symbolism of the *mīthuna* (coupling). In the Vedic ritual tradition, rice and clarified butter form a couple indicative of producing progeny; and water and fire is another couple, the latter being the male. Even in the rite of the kindling of the fire for any Vedic sacrifice, the water called *Prāṇītā* and the fire was believed to be a procreative couple.¹⁸ There is, hence, no doubt that these things required to be seen by the wife are suggestive of getting progeny on her part through sympathetic magic. It will be, hence, seen that the details of the ritual of *Sīmantonayana* indicate the gain of the power of fertility. In fact, the act of parting the hair of the wife is symbolic ploughing; and the rite of symbolic ploughing obtains among certain tribes in the context of marriage.¹⁹ It has to be noted that the things used at this rite for parting the hair are long. We may note a further point here. The word *puṇa-cātra*, which is rendered as "spindle", is glossed as *tarku* in the commentary. Now, the word *tarku* has the meaning of the knife also (*tarku* being actually *kartu*, fr. $\sqrt{\text{kr}}$, "to cut"), and is actually used at the time of fixing a marriage; though this is not clearly corroborated in the Grhya tradition, the custom is found among the tribes habitating the northern fringe of India.²⁰

A variant of the rite of looking at the boiled rice and ghee is to be noted. According to the Jaiminīya Gr. S. (I.7), after parting the hair in the fashion mentioned above, the husband fills a vessel made of bell-metal with water, and places gold in it. The wife looks at the water; and the husband asks her, "What do you see?"; she replies, "Children, cattle, good fortune for me and long life for my husband." If we remember that gold is the symbol of the sun

18. For, and for other pairs, see Dange S. A., *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual*, Delhi, 1979, pp. 51-70.

19. The parting of the wife's hair with a pointed object is, probably, an imitation of the ploughing rite; see *Encl. of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, p. 289b. Actual miniature ploughing obtains as an important ritual at tribal marriages, for which see Dange S. A., *Vedic Concept of 'Field' and the Divine Fructification*, Bombay Uni. Pub., 1971, p. 94, also Thurston E., *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909, Vol. I, p. 144, III, p. 103, etc.

20. See Dh. Leitner, "Dardistan", in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, pp. 11-12.

and of longevity,²¹ here we have a double suggestion, that of fertility and the sun-fluid. As fertility is mainly associated with the gain of male issues, the rite of the parting of the hair has to be understood as for the gain of male children. So it is said that this rite is to be performed on a day when a constellation having a masculine name is present.²² As has been already noted, the even number of the bunch of the *udumbara*-fruits also indicates the gain of male children.

At the end of the rite lute-players are said to tune the *ṛc*-s. This, rite, according to Kane,²³ is of a social and festive nature. This suggestion is hardly acceptable; for, no ritual-detail can be simply for entertainment or for a festivity. Festivity is only an added motive. Actually, even the tunes seem to serve as a charm as effective as the actual *mantras*. They are only an instrumental phase of the vocal charm; and it is accepted, and even prescribed, that the *mantras* are an active aid to ritual (Aitareya Br. III.5).²⁴

21. For which see Smt. Dange S. S., "Gold in Domestic Ritual", *Prabuddha Bharata*, Mayavati, Oct. 1978.

22. Śāṅkhāyana Gr.S.I.22.6. According to this text, even the implements to be used in this rite should be of masculine gender.

23. P. V. Kane, *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

24. Aitareya Br. III.5.

Also Yāska, Nirukta I.16 एतद्बै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमृगभिददति

ON THE SANSKRIT RESTORATION OF PŪRNACANDRA'S DHĀTU-PĀṬHA FROM TIBETAN VERSION

BISWANATH BHATTACHARYA

Pūrṇacandra's¹ *Dhātu-pāṭha*² professes to belong to the Candragomin system of Sanskrit grammar³. The Sanskrit text of this *Dhātu-pāṭha* has not been discovered as yet and as such this work is not much known to the scholars and historians of Sanskrit grammar. Fortunately for the ardent researchers in the domain of Indo-philology, this hitherto neglected work has survived in its Tibetan translation published several times in the different editions of the *Bstan-Hgyur*. But no critical edition of this translation along with the Sanskrit restoration has been published as yet⁴.

Now, the purport of the present research paper is to give an idea of this less known *Dhātu-pāṭha*.

1. Gañ·ba· (=Pūrṇa-) zla·ba· (=candra) [< Pūrṇacandra].
2. Byiñs· (=Dhātu-) mdo· (= -sūtra) [> Dhātu-sūtra > Dhātu-pāṭha].
3. Tsandra·pa· (Candra).

In transcription and loanwords from Sanskrit in Tibetan the << c >>, << o h >>, << j >> and << jh >> sounds of the original are changed respectively into the affricatives << ts >>, << ths >>, << dz >> and << dhz >>.

4. A maiden attempt is being made by the present writer to salvage the lost Sanskrit text from the extant Tibetan version. The celebrated grammarian Pandita Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsakajī, has requested this humble writer to take up this task. In this context it might be mentioned en passant that the present writer is also engaged in preparing critical editions of the Tibetan versions of Pāṇini's Rules of Grammar and Bhīmasena's *Dhātu-pāṭha* with Sanskrit restoration and explanatory notes. The kind attention of the scholars of Sanskrit grammar is enlisted hereby to the original research papers as follows :—

(i) << Brda· -sprod·pa· Pā·ṇi·ni·hi· mdo (Pāṇini-vyākaraṇa-sūtrāṇi) : A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation with Restoration in Sanskrit and Explanatory Notes >> in *The Tibet Journal*, Bod., Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, Dist Kangra, Himachal Pradesh, Volume 2, No. 2, Summer, 1977, pp. 94-96;

(ii) << A Proposed Emendation in the Tibetan Translation of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhayāyī 1/1/7 >> in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, Diamond Jubilee Volume (=Volumes LVIII and LIX) 1978, pp. 511-512;

(iii) << Bhoṭa·bhāṣānuvādād Bhīmasenīya-Dhātu-pāṭhasya mūla-samuddhāraḥ >> in the *VIDYA*, Humanities Section, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad-9, Vol. 22, No. 1, January 1979, pp. 12-18; and

(iv) << The Tibetan Translation of Bhīmasena's *Dhātu-pāṭha* and its Sanskrit Restoration >> (awaiting early release in the *Mātr-Vidya*, Matruśrī Vidya Parishad, Jillemamudi 522 118, Guntur Dist., Andhra Pradesh).

To begin with, the existing Tibetan translation of Pūrṇachandra's *Dhātu-pāṭha* is a revised and abbreviated version of its elaborate original. The translators have chosen only the essential roots and prepared a useful register of Sanskrit roots along with their meanings. This register starts with << √ bhū-sattāyām / >> of the bhāv-ādika group and ends in << √ miś samparke / >> of the caur-ādika class. Many roots have been omitted from the list. New meanings have also been attached to some roots¹. But the kaṇḍv-adi group has been left out entirely.

When restored to Sanskrit, the full text will record many hitherto unknown data of Sanskrit roots and their meanings, and open newer avenues of comparative and historical research in the Sanskrit Dhātu-pāṭhas of the varied systems of Sanskrit grammar.

We might now be permitted to give below two extracts from the Tibetan rendering of Pūrṇachandra's *Dhātu-pāṭha* along with the Sanskrit restoration and explanatory notes for the kind perusal of the experts :—

i) (Otani reprint of the Peking edn., Vol. 148, p. 265, fol 312^a, l. 4 :—) / hdi' (=idam) Tsandra'-paḥi.² (=Cāndrasya > Cāndra-prasthānasya) Byiñs' — (=Dhātu-) mdo'-las' (=sūtrāt) [> Dhātu-sūtrāt] űer'— (=upa-) mkho' (= -yogi' [> upayogi (mātram)] btus'-so³ (=saṁgṛhitam) /

/ Byiñs'- kyi' (=Dhātoḥ) mdo' (=sūtram) [> Dhātu-sūtram] zes'-bya'-ba' (=nāma) bzugs'-so (=vartate)⁴ /

/ om' (=om) sva'-sti (=svasti) / [/] si'-ddhir' (=siddhir) a'-stu⁵ (=astu) /

[/] Rgya'-gar' (= Saṁskṛta-) skad'-du (=bhāṣāyām) [> Saṁskṛtabhāṣāyām] / [Fol. 312^a, l, 5 :—] [/] Dhā'-tu-sū'-tra⁶ (= Dhātu-sūtram) / [/] Bod' (=Bhoṭa-) skad'-du (=bhāṣāyām) [> Bhoṭa-bhāṣāyām] / [/] Byiñs'-kyi' (=Dhātoḥ) mdo' (=sūtram) [> Dhātu-sūtram] /

[/] gñis'-su'-med'-par'⁷ [= advayam (yathā tathā)] gsuñ'-ba' (=vadate) [> advayavādine] Sañs'-rgyas'-la' (=Buddhāya) phyag'-ḥṭhsal'-lo (=namaḥ) /

1. The restituted Sanskrit text of Bhīmasena's *Dhātu-pāṭha* also records similar features. Some such features have already been brought to light in our paper contributed to the *Māṭṛ-Vidyā*. See p. 88 fn. 4 supra.
2. See p. 88, fn. 3 supra.
3. btus'-paḥo— sic.
4. asmin grantha-khaṇḍe iti śeṣaḥ /
5. This last syllable reads like << sthu >> .
6. sū'-tra'-dhā'-tu (= sūtra-dhātu) / — sic.
7. °-bar. — sic.

/ bhū. (= √ bhū-) yod¹·pa¹-laho (=sattāyām) [> √ bhū-sattāyām] / tsi²·tī (=√ cit (i)-] ścs³·pa³-laho (=jñāne) [> √ cit (i)-jñāne] / a⁴·ta⁴ [= √ at (a)-] mgyogs⁴·pa⁴ (= tvarā-) dah⁵·ldan⁵-par⁵ (= sahitam) [> tvarā sahitam > satvaram] hgro⁶·ba⁶-laho (= gamane) [> √ at (a)-satvaram gamane]⁶ /

ii) [Otani reprint of the Peking edn., op. cit., p. 269, fol. 322^b, l. 4 :—] / ku⁷·ha⁷ [= √ kuh (a) ya⁷-mthsan⁷-pa⁷-laho (= vismāpane) [> kuh (a)-vismāpane] // ku⁷·ṭa⁷ [= √ kuṭ (a)—] hañ⁸·no (= ca) [> √ kuṭ (a) ca⁷] // sthū⁹·la⁹ [= √ sthūl (a)-] yoñs⁹·su⁹ (= pari-) hjug⁹·pa⁹-laho (= -kramaṇe) [> parikramaṇe] [> √ sthūl (a) - parikramaṇe⁹ // a⁹·rtha⁹ [= √ arth (a)-] sloñ⁹·ba⁹-laho (= yācñāyām) (> √ arth (a)-yācñāyām] // ga⁹·rva⁹ [= √ garv (a)-] kheñs⁹·pa⁹-laho¹⁰ (= māne) [> √ garv (a) - māne] // mi⁹·śra⁹ [= √ miśr (a)-] sre⁹·ba⁹-laho (= sam-parke) [> √ miśr (a) - sumparke] /

/sup¹¹ [Fol. 322^b, l. 5 :—] las¹¹ (=sūpaḥ) byiñs¹¹· (= dhātva-) don¹¹ (= -arthah) [> sub-dhātva-arthah] mañ¹¹·por¹¹ (= bahulam) ḥdod¹¹·pa¹¹- (= - iṣṭam) bzin¹¹ (=yathā-) [> yatheṣṭam] hañ¹¹·no (= ca) /

/byiñs¹¹·rnams¹¹· (= dhātavaḥ) du¹¹·mahi¹¹ (=bahoh) don¹¹·can¹¹·no (= artha - vantaḥ) (> bahv-arthāḥ] // rab¹¹·tu¹¹· (= pra-) sbyor¹¹·ba¹¹·las¹¹ (= -yogāt) [> prayogāt] rtoḡs¹¹·bya [·ho] (= bodhyāḥ) // bya¹¹·ba¹¹· (= kriyā -) brjod¹¹· (= -nirdeśaḥ) [> kriyā-nirdeśaḥ] ŋid¹¹ (= eva) bśad¹¹·byed¹¹·du (= vyākhyānam) // re¹¹·reḥi¹¹ (=pṛthak-pṛthak) do¹¹·can¹¹·dag¹¹·tu¹¹ (= arthavastu) [> bhinnārtheṣu]. bstan [·no] (= nirdeśaḥ) /

/rtag¹²·tu¹² (=nityam) niḥi¹² (=neḥ) [Fol. 322^b, l. 6 :—] mthaḥ¹²·can¹²· (= anta - viśiṣṭa - > antā -'vasthāna - viśiṣṭa -) [> nitya-¹¹ (svārthika-) ny¹²·anta -] tsu¹²·ra¹² ¹² (= -cur (a) -] mgo¹²·ma¹²·pa¹²·rnams¹² (= -ādi - viśiṣṭāḥ) (> °- curādayaḥ (dhātavaḥ)] rdzogs¹²·so (= samāptāḥ) //

1. This syllabic unit reads like << yo·ña. >>
2. See p. 88, fn. 3 Supra.
3. °ba·°— sic.
4. hgyogs·°— sic.
5. °bar—sic.
6. But Bhaṭṭoji-Dikṣita reads : << √ at (a)—sātatya-gamane >>
7. But Bhaṭṭoji-Dikṣita reads : << √ kuṭ (a) -chedane >>
8. But Bhaṭṭoji-Dikṣita reads : << √ sthūl (a) -paribrmhane >>
9. °rba— sic.
10. khyens·°—sic.
11. But Bhaṭṭoji-Dikṣita explains cur-ādi roots as anitya ny-anta (= vibhāṣita-ṛicka).
12. tsut·la—sic (?). cf. also p. 88, fn. 3 supra.
13. mog·ma·pa·°—sic (?). The second syllable, °ma·°, is not distinct.

//brda· - ¹ sprod· - pa· - (= - vyākaraṇasya) Tsandra· - paḥi· ²
 (= Cāndra -) [> Cāndra - vyākaraṇasya] mdohi· (= sūtrasya) byiṅs·
 -kyi· (= dhātoḥ) thsogs· -kyi· (= saṁgrahasya) gleg [s]· - bam· - gyi·
 (= pustakasya) mdo (= sūtram) (> Cāndra-vyākaraṇa-sūtrasya - dhātu
 - saṁgraha-pustakasya sūtram] /

[/] slob· - dpon· - (= ācārya -) Gañ· -baḥi· (= - Pūrṇasya) zla·
 baḥi· (= candrasya) zabs· - kyis· (= pādena) [> ācārya-Pūrṇacandra-
 pādena] mdzad· - pa· (= kṛtam) rdzogs· - so (= samāptam) //

[Fol. 322^b. 1.7 : —] / ḥdi· (= idam) ni· (= hi) bdag· - cag· - gis·
 (= asmābhiḥ.) snār· - du. (= ādau) bsgyur· - te· ³ (= saṁśodhya) zin·
 - gyur· ⁴ (= saṁkṣiptam) [—] ñe· - bar· - ⁵ (= upa-) mkho· baḥi· - ⁶
 (= -yoginaḥ) [> upa-yoginaḥ] Bod· - (= Bhoṭa-) dpe· - (= -grantha -)
 ma· - byuñ· - baḥi· ⁷ (= - anupalabdhasya) (< Bhoṭa-granthā- 'nupa-
 labdhasya] rgya· - mthsan· - las (= lakṣaṇāt) /

[/] slar· (= puṇaḥ yañ· (= ca) phul· - tu· - ⁸ byuñ· - baḥi· (= śreṣṭhasya)
 yon· - tan· - (= guṇena) dpag· - tu· - med· - pas· ⁹ (= ameya-) [
 > ameya-guṇena] - spras· - pa (= maṇḍitam) /

This much would suffice for the present. We might contribute further
 research papers to the subject along with the progress of our restoration
 work.

Śrī-Guru-carāṇa-samarpaṇam astu //

1. brdaḥ — sic.

2. The printed text appears to read like << °-baḥi. >>. See also p. 88. fn. 3 Supra.

3. bsgyur.-ru. [= saṁśodhite (sati)] — sic.

4. °-gyar. — sic. The letter << r >> in << °-gyar >> is not distinct.

5. The lower portion of the letter << r' >> in << °-bar >> is broken.

6. bkho.-° — sic (?).

7. °-paḥi. — sic.

8. Should we read << °-du.->> ?

9. °-bas. — sic.

THE NYĀYADĪPIKĀ AND THE TEXT OF THE ŚĀBDANIRNAYA

NALINEE CHAPEKAR

The *Nyāyadīpikā* (ND)* is an unpublished commentary of Ānanda-bodhācārya on the *Śābdanirṇaya* (ŚN) of Prakāśātman. The ŚN is published by T. Gaṇapatiśāstrī in 1917 A. D. in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. LIII. This critical edition is based on three palm leaf manuscripts in Malayalam characters. The ND is very helpful to understand the ŚN in many ways as it explains the subtle and implied meanings of the text and many times on its own discusses at length to clarify the point under consideration.

But, I am now restricting my discussion on one, perhaps the most important point viz. the different readings of the ŚN available in the ND. The ND while commenting gives the text of the ŚN line by line and in the process many times notes various readings. I have noted in all 360 cases of such readings and have classified them under 6 different categories as (A) No change in meaning, (B) Changes, (C) Additions, (D) Droppings, (E) Mistakes and (F) Emendations.. Here I intend to discuss a few cases of each category.

(a) *No change in the meaning* — There are more than 150 cases of this category where the reading in the ND is different than the one accepted by the editor but there is no change in the meaning. Sometimes the synonym is used.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. ŚN 59·11, 63·5 — प्रत्यवाय | ND 133, 139 — पाप |
| 2. ŚN 47·21 — अभिलषितसाधनं | ND 104 — हितसाधनं |
| 3. ŚN 36·20 — सङ्गतिग्रह | ND 79 — सम्बन्धग्रह |
| 4. ŚN 17·4 — संसर्गप्रत्यय इत्यन्ये
प्रतिपादयन्ति | ND 42 — संसर्गप्रतीतिरिति केचित्
प्रतिजानते |

Sometimes the compounds are dissolved like

- | | |
|--|--|
| 5. ŚN 5·5 — सम्बन्धाच्छब्दादर्थप्रतिपत्तिः | ND 13 — सम्बन्धाच्छब्दादर्थप्रतिपत्तिः |
| 6. ŚN 8·9 — विज्ञानदर्थबुद्धिः शाब्दी | ND 25 — विज्ञानादर्थे बुद्धिः शाब्दी |
| 7. ŚN 59·12 — साध्यस्वर्गे सन्निहिते | ND 133 — साध्ये स्वर्गे सन्निहिते |

*My observations are based on the transcribe of the Mss of the ND secured from the Govt. Mss. Lib. Madras. No. R. 3238.

Sometimes different cases of the same word or different genders are used.

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|---|---|
| 8. ŚN 46.9 — पश्चात् प्रवृत्तेः | ND 99 — पश्चात् प्रवृत्तिः |
| 9. ŚN 47.12 — अनुमानेन सिद्धेः | ND 103 — अनुमानेन सिद्धः |
| 10. ŚN 68.18 — सामान्यान्तराभावात्
ब्रह्मणः सिद्धा | ND 158 — सामान्यान्तराभेदे ब्रह्मणि
सिद्धा |
| 11. ŚN 46.10 — प्रवृत्तिप्रतिबन्धकम् | ND 99 — प्रवृत्तिप्रतिबन्धः |
| 12. ŚN 59.9 — विहितं सम्बन्ध्यते | ND 133 — विहितः सम्बन्ध्यते |

Sometimes negative meaning is expressed in positive terms or vice-versa

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| 13. ŚN 4.15 — एकदेशानुपलब्धेः | ND 12 — देशभेदोपलब्धेः |
| 14. ŚN 46.7 — प्रवृत्त्यदर्शनात् | ND 99 — प्रवृत्त्यभावदर्शनात् |

Sometimes different forms of the same word are seen like :

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| 15. ŚN 4.2 — बोधकत्वसम्बन्धः | ND 13 — बोधकृत्वसम्बन्धः |
| 16. ŚN 41.16 — प्राधान्यं शेषिता | ND 90 — प्राधान्यशेषित्वम् |
| 17. ŚN 68.1 — प्रवर्तनालक्षणः | ND 111 — प्रवर्तकत्वलक्षणः |

Certain words, the sense of which could be understood without them are seen added, certain words are seen dropped without making any difference in the meaning.

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| 18. ŚN 65.20 — तत्राह | ND 146 — तत्रोत्तरमाह |
| 19. ŚN 65.6 — यदि तावत् स्वार्थप्रवृत्तः | ND 145 — इदं तावत् भवान् प्रष्टव्यः किं
वेदान्तवाक्यानां स्वार्थं... |
| 20. ŚN 50.6 — न विशेषं पश्यामः | ND 108 — न विशेषः |
| 21. ŚN 45.6 — किं न भवेत् | ND 97 — किमिति न भवेत् |

(B) *Changes* — Significant changes in reading are available in some cases where the lines in the printed text are confusing and on the other hand readings in the ND are more clear.

1. ŚN 8.15 — यथा वाचकशब्दः तदुभयं नापेक्षते. The reading in the printed text means यथा — as, वाचकशब्दः — any denotative word. This meaning is contradictory to the following line which refers to this illustration as — तत्र यौगिकत्वाच्छब्दस्य..... That means the word illustrated should be यौगिक an etymological one. The reading वाचकशब्दः is not like this. Here ND reads — यथा पाचकशब्दः । as the word पाचक, and also explains it in the following lines that the word पाचक is etymological as— पचति, पाकं कृते..., तस्मान्न तत्र पाचकशब्दस्य प्रकृतिसमुदायरूपस्य.....

This meaning suits the context and hence the ND reading is a better one.

2. ŚN. 9.17-20—ननु सामान्यं प्रत्यभिज्ञानाधीनात्मलाभं तदभावे नावकाशमर्हति । न तावत् सोऽयमित्यवमर्शप्रत्यभिज्ञा प्रसिद्धसामान्येऽप्यस्ति । यदि बुद्धावाकारमात्रानुसन्धान-मस्त्येव, तर्हि शब्दं दृष्टवतः शब्दान्तरे . . .

ND 28 —ननु सामान्यमप्रत्यभिज्ञाधीनात्मलाभं तदभावे नावकाशमर्हति । न तावत् सोऽयमित्यवमर्शः प्रत्यभिज्ञा प्रसिद्धसामान्ये प्रतीतिः । यदि बुद्धं वाकारमात्रं वानुसन्धानमिष्टम्, अस्त्येवं तर्हि शब्दं दृष्टवतः . . .

A considerable change is found in two readings. In the first line the ND reads अप्रत्यभिज्ञा, which obviously is a scribal error for in the following discussion the ND takes the word प्रत्यभिज्ञा and not अप्रत्यभिज्ञा. Then in place of the compound नावमर्शप्रत्यभिज्ञा in the printed text, the ND reads नावमर्शः प्रत्यभिज्ञा which means अवमर्श is not प्रत्यभिज्ञा. This meaning suits the context as the discussion here going on is about the nature of प्रत्यभिज्ञा and the compound अवमर्शप्रत्यभिज्ञा does not render the expected meaning. Then प्रसिद्धसामान्ये प्रतीतिः in the ND is also better than प्रसिद्धसामान्येऽप्यस्ति in the ŚN text, for there is no significance of the word अपि here. The last line यदि बुद्धावाकारमात्रा . . . is very confusing. The ND reads it differently as यदि बुद्धं वाकारमात्रं वाsupplying a useful अवतरणिका as अथोत्तरकल्पमाशङ्कते which means in the following line second alternative about nature of प्रत्यभिज्ञा is given. This sense is available in the reading of the ND only and not of the ŚN text. Therefore the ND reading is a better one.

3. ŚN 7.8 — तत्र कथं लोकसिद्धशक्तिसव्यपेक्षे वक्तृज्ञानविकले वेदे ।
विशिष्टस्तु वाक्यार्थ इति पदेभ्य एव संसर्गसिद्धिः ।

ND 21 — तत्र कथं लोकसिद्धशक्तिसव्यपेक्षे वक्तृज्ञानविकले वेदे
अविशिष्टवस्तुवाक्यार्थ इति पदेभ्य एव संसर्गसिद्धिः ।

T. Gaṇapatiśāstri takes one sentence upto वेदे and second sentence as विशिष्टस्तु वाक्यार्थः means 'as the sentence-meaning is collective one (*viśiṣṭa*) the संसर्ग is known by *padas* only'. But here the reference to the *vāk्यārtha* is not necessary as the point under discussion is the knowledge of संसर्ग. So the ND reading appears better as it takes अविशिष्टवस्तुवाक्यार्थ — perhaps locative case as the adjective of वेदे meaning 'in the Veda the sentence meaning does not refer to any particular object,' they being लोकसिद्धशक्तिसव्यपेक्ष —not depending on the power of word known in the world, and thus the point becomes clear.

4. ŚN. 20-2 — संसर्गबुद्धिव्युत्पत्त्राव्यवधानानुमीयते ।

ND 46 — संसर्गबुद्धिव्युत्पत्त्याव्यवधानानुमीयते ।

The ND reads व्युत्पत्त्या for व्युत्पत्त्रा, which is better, for the passive construction does not have any expectancy about the agent but about the करण -instrument- which is supplied by the word व्युत्पत्त्या. This reading also is corroborated by the similar verse No. 43 in ŚN where the first line is same as is here and the second line goes as —

कार्यसंसर्गधीरेव व्युत्पत्त्याध्यवसीयते ।

5. ŚN 26·17 — न तावत् सम्बन्धिदर्शनात् सम्बन्ध्यन्तरबुद्धिः नियतानुवर्शनाद् ।
ND 62— न तावत् सम्बन्धिदर्शनात् सम्बन्ध्यन्तरबुद्धिः नियता, अवर्शनाद् ।

In place of अनुदर्शनाद् in the printed text, the ND reads अदर्शनाद् and also explains it as कथमदर्शनमर्थो हि दृष्टो नियमेन विदितसंगति च पदं स्मारयतीति सत्यमभ्युच्चमात्रमेतत् । . . . अनुदर्शनात् would mean: 'being known everywhere' which would be contradictory to the preceeding line न तावत् सम्बन्धिदर्शनात्..... which means 'there is no knowledge of other relation, having known one relation' and the reason is अदर्शनात् 'because it is not seen'. Here the ND reading is a correct one.

In some places the reading in the printed text is very defective and does not make any sense. Here the ND helps the reader. e.g.

6. ŚN 42·2 — भूतार्थबुद्धिर्नामानन्याध्याहारो न चानुमा ।
ND 90 — भूतार्थबुद्धिर्नामानं नाध्याहारो न चानुमा ।

नामानन्याध्याहारो in the printed text is defective. It is really न अमानं as the वृत्ति explains न तावत् . . . न प्रमाणम् । न अध्याहारः . . .

7. ŚN 38·20-21—नानुमेयस्य कृत्स्नतः । प्रतिपत्त्यन्तरे मा भूदुपायत्वं समं तयोः ।
ND 84 — नानुमेयस्य कृत्स्नत्वप्रतिपत्त्यन्तमेवाभूदुपायत्वं समं तयोः ।

8. ŚN 10·3 — किञ्च श्रोत्राद्युपाधौ चैकत्वकल्पनाद्वारमभिधेयैकत्वकल्पनम् ।
ND 29 — किञ्च । श्रोत्राद्युपाधौ चैकत्वकल्पनाद्वारमभिधेयैकत्वकल्पनम् ।

In these places the printed reading is confusing and the ND removes the doubt by giving correct reading.

A change in the full line, in the oases of words, in words- is seen as in-

9. ŚN 49·3-4—व्यभिचारादानुमानेन कार्यतायाः प्रतिपत्तुमशक्यत्वात्
प्रवृत्तिद्वारेण तस्य कार्यस्योपरागज्ञानायोगात्
ND 106 — व्यभिचारादानुमानेन कार्यतायां प्रतिकर्तुमशक्यत्वात्
तद्द्वारेण तस्य कार्यस्योपरागज्ञानायोगात् ।

10. ŚN 42·17-19 — किञ्च सम्बन्धज्ञाने कार्यमित्यधिकं प्रयोजकं कल्पयित्वा लोकेऽपि
प्रतिवाक्यमप्रतीतस्य पदस्याध्याहारकल्पनाद् वरमन्विते सामर्थ्यकल्पनम् ।
ND 92 — किञ्च सम्बन्धज्ञाने कार्यमप्यधिकं प्रयोजनं कल्पयित्वा लोकेऽपि प्रतिवाक्य-
प्रतीतस्य पदस्याध्याहारे कल्पनागौरवाद्वरमन्विते सामर्थ्यकल्पनम् ।

The changes seen in the ND are sometimes not very significant.

11. ŚN 23·15 — प्रतिप्रयोगं संसर्गभेदाद् ।
ND 51 — प्रतिप्रयोगं संसर्गभेदाद् ।

12. ŚN 20-17 — योग्येतरान्वितस्वार्थस्याव्यभिचारात् ।

ND 47 — योग्येतरान्वितस्वार्थस्याव्यभिचारात् ।

(C) *Additions* — Sometimes a single word or two are seen added but that also helps the elucidation of the meaning as e.g.

1. ŚN 8.13 — व्युत्पन्नः स्वयं शब्दं . . .

ND 7 — starts the sentence with ननु and makes it clear that the view stated is of the pūrvapakṣin.

2. ŚN 14.21 — उपलब्धिक्रमपक्षस्यानङ्गीकरणात् ।

ND 39 — adds न दोषः at the end, thus making the sentence complete.

Many times the implied words are seen added in the ND making the sense absolutely clear beyond the shadow of doubt.

3. ŚN 41.16 — शब्दतश्चेद् बध्न एव प्राधान्यात् ।

ND 90 — शब्दतश्च बध्ना जुहोतीत्यत्र दध्न एव प्राधान्यात् ।

4. ŚN 45.1 — अभिलषितसाधनविषयस्य

ND 97 — अभिलषितसाधनभूतकदलीफलादिविषयस्य

5. ŚN 45.20 — निवृत्तेऽपि तस्मिन् घटानुत्पत्तेः

ND 98 — निवृत्तेऽपि तस्मिन् निमित्तान्तरतो घटानुत्पत्तेः ।

Sometimes the confusing lines in the printed text become clear by the additions in ND.

6. ŚN 29.15 — ननु शब्दा एव संसर्गं बोधयन्ति किन्तु

ND 67 reads — ननु न शब्दा एव संसर्गं बोधयन्ति किन्तु . . .

It is clear that without this न in the beginning, the word किन्तु later has no purpose to serve.

(D) *Dropings (Omissions)* — About the portions not available in the ND it could be said that some of these omissions are justifiable.

1. ŚN 13.10-13 नन्वदृष्टा संस्कारेभ्योऽपूर्वार्थाधिगतिः । सत्यम् । इहान्त्यवर्णप्रत्यय-
सहकारिभ्यस्तेभ्य एव प्रत्यभिज्ञैव पूर्वोपलभसंस्कारात् . . . अवगम्यते ।

ND 86 — drops the portion in bold type and simply reads ननु पूर्वोपलभ-
संस्कारात् . . . अवगम्यते thus giving the view of the pūrvapakṣin in the line
which is answered in the following verse as the word उच्यते in the
beginning of that verse suggests. But the reading accepted by T.
Gaṇapatiśāstri contains the view of the पूर्वपक्षिन् in one line as नन्वदृष्टा
संस्कारेभ्योऽपूर्वार्थाधिगतिः and the reply to it immediately in the next line as
सत्यम् । इहान्त्यवर्णप्रत्यय . . . etc. If this be the reply the word उच्यते in the
beginning of the following verse and the verse itself becomes redundant.
Therefore ND reading is a better one.

Sometimes one or two full lines from the printed leaf are missing in the ND. Such omissions make the text defective.

2. ŚN 17.20—18.5— अथ नात्यन्तमन्यानि पदानि वाक्यात्, किन्तु तदेव परोपाधिविभागेन पदानीति कथ्यते । नैतत् सारम् । गौरित्यखण्डस्यापि पदस्य शक्तिभेदे पृथक्सम्बन्धज्ञानमपेक्षते किमु शक्तिमद्भेदेपि । अथ तत्राभिधेयभेदात् तदपेक्षा, इह तु पदार्था एव संसृष्टा वाक्यार्थ इति न वाक्यस्य पृथक् शक्तिग्रहणापेक्षा ।

ND 43 omits the two lines in bold type. Thus the first sentence goes as अथ नात्यन्तमन्यानि पदानि वाक्यात् सम्बन्धज्ञानमपेक्षते, किमु शक्तिमद्भेदेपि । and then पदार्थ एव संसृष्टावस्थाः ।

This line, dropped in the ND, is very confusing. The sentence in the ND would mean, 'The other words also do not expect any knowledge of relation from a sentence, what then about the difference in शक्तिमत् words.' This meaning is clear and sufficient. ND also explains पदार्था एव संसृष्टावस्थाः in the following line.

3. ŚN 24.11-16- न च सावगतिरनुवादः । एवं योग्येतरत्वोपलक्षित कृत्स्नसंसर्गसामर्थ्यप्रतिपत्तावपि न विशिष्टसमभिव्याहाराद् विशिष्टसंसर्गप्रतिपत्तिरनुपपन्ना । नापि सा प्रतिपत्तिरनुवादः बाह्यसामान्यमात्रवदनुमाने पदार्थस्वरूपमात्रं शाब्दे संसर्गोऽनूद्यत एव । उपलक्षणेऽपि अतः संसर्गो नानुवादः ।

ND 53—न चैतावता सावगतिरनुवादो भवत्येवं योग्येतरत्वोपलक्षित कृत्स्नसंसर्गेषु शब्दसामर्थ्यप्रतिपत्तावपि न विशिष्टसामान्यमात्रवदनुमाने पदार्थस्वरूपमात्रम् । शाब्देपि संसर्ग आद्यत एव उपलक्षणेऽपि अतः संसर्गो नानुवाद इति ।

The omission even of a single word also makes a considerable change in the meaning.

4. ŚN 7.6 — तत एव निश्चये सिद्धे कारणकारणतयान्यथासिद्धत्वात्

ND 21 — drops the word कारण and simply reads तन्निश्चयसिद्धेः कारणतयान्यथासिद्धत्वात्. This is in fact a mistake for कारण can never become अन्यथासिद्ध but कारण of कारण is अन्यथासिद्ध.

These omissions, sometimes, can be said as scribal errors.

5. ŚN 46.13—सा च हिते तत्साधने ND — सा च ते तत्साधने

6. ŚN 71.11 नापि धीमात्रमेव जीवोपाधिः ND 161 — नामात्रमेव जीवोपाधिः

(E) *Mistakes* —About the mistakes found in the ND it could be said that many times they are scribal errors—

1. ŚN 54.20 अथ कृति प्रति प्रधानं कार्यम् ND 150 —अथ प्रकृति प्रति प्रधानं कार्यम्

The Mimāmsaka view about the कृतिप्रधानता is under disoussion and there is no occasion of a reference to प्रकृति and प्रधान of Sāṅkhyas, the latter being कार्य of the former, the कृति which means 'action'.

2. ŚN 68.15 — आनन्दादिरूपता ब्रह्मणो, ND — आनन्दादिरूपता ब्राह्मणो. Where the nature of the highest principle the ब्रह्मन् is being disoussed the reference to ब्राह्मण is out of place.

These cases are obviously the mistakes. But some cases appear as of different readings but which on little consideration appear to be mistakes.

3. ŚN 29.20 — ज्वालानामिव पाकस्य पदार्थानां संसर्गस्थानिमित्तत्वात् ।

ND 67 — ज्वालानामिव पावकस्य पदार्थानां संसर्गस्थानिमित्तत्वात् ।

The point of discussion is that पदार्थऽ are not related to संसर्ग and for this the illustration of ज्वाला flames, is given, which are not related to पाक the cooked thing. Here the reading पावक, fire, for पाक is wrong.

4. ŚN 10.12— हेतुभिरित्यन्ये ND 30 हेतुभिरित्यलम्

Different views about पदार्थप्रत्यय are given. The preceeding sentence ends with इत्येके सङ्गिरन्ते and the succeeding one with इत्यपरे so the middle sentence should read इत्यन्ये rather than इत्यलम्.

5. ŚN 8.6 — व्याप्तिज्ञानजन्येऽपि ND 24 — व्याप्तिज्ञानजन्मन्यपि. The word is clearly the adjective of अनुमान. Hence व्याप्तिज्ञानजन्य 'arisen from व्याप्तिज्ञान' is a correct reading. जन्मनि would mean 'at the time of व्याप्तिज्ञान'. This meaninig does not suit the context.

(E) *Emendations* — In twelve cases the learned editor T. Gaṇapatiśāstrī has suggested the emendations in the printed text not being satisfied with the manuscript evidence before him. In such cases the words emended are put into bracket. Here in five places the ND supports T. Gaṇapatiśāstrī.

1. ŚN 4.19— तद्विवक्षाजन्यत्वात् The sentence ends here. The editor puts इति चेन्न into bracket with question-mark.

ND 13 — confirms this addition.

2. ŚN 14.3 — The sentence begins with च वाक्यान्त्यवर्णप्रत्यय. The word न which obviously is there, is put into bracket by T. Gaṇapatiśāstrī.

ND 38 — reads it clearly as न च वाक्यान्त्यवर्णप्रत्यय..... ..

But in some cases the emendation suggested by the editor is not supported by ND.

3. ŚN 20.16 — यद्यपि प्रति (प्र) योगं..... T. Gaṇapatiśāstrī suggests प्रतिप्रयोग for प्रतियोग putting प्र into bracket. But,

ND 47 — reads यद्यपि प्रतियोगं only.

4. ŚN 28.13 — पश्यतः श्वेतिमारूपं हेषाशब्दं च श्रृण्वतः ।

This is a quotation in the ŚN where the meaning of the word श्वेतिमारूपं is not very clear. Hence T. Gaṇapatiśāstrī puts a question-mark against

this word in the printed text and writes a footnote. श्वेतिमं रूपम् इति स्यात् । श्वेतिमशब्दात् अर्थ आद्यच्चि श्वेतिमं श्वैत्ययुक्तमित्यर्थः । रूपमाकृतिम्. Thus श्वेतिमारूपम् is interpreted as श्वेतिमै रूपम् —‘white form’.

ND 65 — on the other hand reads श्वेतिमारूपम् as it is in the printed text and splits the word as श्वेतम् आरूपम् by explaining it as आरूपम् अव्यक्तरूपमित्यर्थः. Thus श्वेतिमारूपं means ‘unexpressed whiteness.’ This meaning suits the context. Hence emendation suggested by T. Gaṇapatiśāstri is not required.

5. ŚN 58.17-20 यथा ग्रा (मा ? सा) दिकामेषु ग्रा (म ? स) काम आगच्छति । न तत्रागमनं ग्रा (म ? स) साधनम् । ननु न तत्र ग्रा (म ? स) कामनानिबन्धन

ND 182 यथाग्रामादिकामेषुग्रामकाम आगच्छेतिग्रामसाधनंन तत्र ग्रामकामना

The word ग्रामकाम occurs in three lines and everywhere T. Gaṇapatiśāstri suggests the reading ग्रासकाम as the reference is to भोजनप्रवृत्ति which would be more related to ग्रास than ग्राम. But ND reads ग्रामकाम only. It can also be mentioned that the commentator Ānandabodhācārya, the author of ND, repeats these lines word by word in his independent work *Nyāyamakaranda*. But curiously enough, no where does he explain the illustration clearly.

From the above observations it could be guessed that the ND must have before it some other manuscript of the ŚN, not used by T. Gaṇapatiśāstri. Out of 360 cases of different readings noted by me, 17 tally with the ‘क’ manuscript of T. Gaṇapatiśāstri and 8 with ‘ख’ ‘ग’. Three more manuscripts of ND itself are noted in the catalogue of Government Ori Mss. Library, Madras. They were not available to me. But a critical edition of the ND would certainly be helpful to understand the text of ŚN, the words as well as the meaning.

The ND is also useful in many other ways. It may be noted here that with the help of the ND we can fix the date of the author of the ŚN. About the date of Prakāśātmayati, the author of the ŚN, the final word is not given yet. Dasgupta in his *History of Philosophy* assigns him the period 1200 A. D. But as Ānandabodha who flourished in 1150 A.D. has written ND the commentary on the ŚN, the author of the ŚN cannot be later than him but should be earlier. Hence the date 950 A.D. for Prakāśātmayati, mentioned by the Rājasevāsakta D. Venkataramaiah, the editor of the English translation of *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa (The Pancapādikā of Padmapāda* — D. Venkataramaiah, introduction, English trans. p.XV) seems deserving acceptance.

APAVĀRYA AND JANĀNTIKAM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE*

By

GULAB V. DAVANE

WHILE reading classical sanskrit plays we come across the stage directions 'Apavārya' and 'Janāntikam'. If somebody asks, "What is the difference between the two?" it becomes difficult to answer. The annotations on these terms as found in the various editions of the plays are often confusing. Even the dictionaries do not make the difference quite clear e.g. Apte's dictionary (Pune 1957) explains Apavārya as 'apart' 'aside to another' it is speaking in such a way that the only person addressed may hear it and then gives the definition from the S.D.VI

तद्भूवेदपवारितं रहस्यं तु धन्द्वस्य परावृत्य प्रकाशयते । त्रिपताकाकरेणान्यानपवार्यान्तरा
कथाम् ॥

Janāntikam is explained as secret communication, whispering or speaking aside to another and the definition from S.D.VI is given as त्रिपताकाकरेणान्यानपवार्यान्तरा कथाम् । अन्योन्यामत्रणं यत्स्याज्जनान्ते तज्जनान्तिकम् ॥ Thus here त्रिपताकाकरेणान्यानपवार्यान्तरा कथाम् । is common to both. Here is an attempt to understand what exactly the two stage-directions denote.

2. First let us see what the works on dramaturgy have to say about them (1) the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata (about 3rd cent. A.D.) discusses the dramatic speeches in chapter xxv. The two terms are defined as follows:—

अपवारितम्— निगूढभावसंयुक्तमपवारितकं स्मृतम् ।

जनान्तिकम्— कार्यवशादश्रवणं पार्श्वगतैर्यज्जनान्तिकं तत् स्यात् ।

Apavāritam is some speech containing as secret thought and Janāntikam is some speech which is not to be heard by persons standing by the side, for some dramatic purpose. How are these speeches to be spoken? Bharata recommends:—

हस्तमन्तरतः कृत्वा त्रिपताकं प्रयोजयेत् ।

जनान्तिकं प्रयोक्तव्यमपवारितकं तथा ॥

* This paper was read at the 29th session of the All India Oriental Conference, held at Pune in June 1978.

Thus both these varieties are to be spoken after screening or excluding others with a त्रिपताकाहस्त. According to him पताकाहस्त means holding up the hand with all four fingers raised up. When the अनामिका i.e. the indicating finger is turned down it becomes त्रिपताकाहस्त. Thus the speaker of both these speeches excludes other characters on the stage from hearing it by raising up the palm with three fingers spread up (near the cheek, to the right or left according to the position of the characters to be screened). Bharata's definition of 'Apavāritam' is not very clear. How does he distinguish it from 'Ātmagatam' which according to him is हृदयस्थं वचः? M. M. Ghosh translates 'Apavārya' as concealed speech and 'Janāntikam' as private personal address.

(2) Abhinavagupta (950-1020 A.D.) distinguishes between the two as follows:—

सर्वेषां यन्निगूह्यते एक एव शृणुयदिति तदपवारितम् ।
जनान्तिकमेकान्तिकत्वं चैकस्यैव निगूह्यत इति विशेषः ।

Apavāritam is to be heard by one and concealed from all the rest, while Janāntikam is to be heard by all and concealed from one. Bharata's definitions do not warrant this distinction. On the contrary he uses a form of plural पार्श्वगतैः for the persons who are not supposed to hear 'Janāntikam'.

(3) Dhanañjaya (974-996 A.D.), the author of *Daśarūpa* is the first critic to make clearcut distinction in all varieties of dramatic speech. Having divided dramatic speeches in 3 categories viz. प्रकाशम्, स्वगतम्, and नियतश्राव्यम् he defines नियतश्राव्य as a speech which is to be heard by certain characters on the stage, while certain others are excluded from hearing it. Then it is divided further as द्विघान्यत्राट्यघर्मख्यं जनान्तमपवारितम् । He makes it clear that these two varieties are presented on the stage artificially (नाट्यघर्म) and not as we find them in practical life (लोकघर्म). He defines the two aside speeches as follows:—

रहस्यं कथ्यतेऽन्यस्य परावृत्यापवारितम् ॥ 65
त्रिपताकाकरेणान्यानपवार्यन्तरा कथाम् ।
अन्योन्यामन्त्रणं यत् स्याज्जनान्ते तज्जनान्तिकम् ॥ 66

Thus the speaker of Apavāritam takes a turn and communicates some secret to somebody else (अन्यस्य-अन्यस्मै). The speaker of Janāntikam temporarily breaks the course of conversation by excluding some characters from hearing him by means of त्रिपताकाकर and then holds a mutual conversation with the other character for whom the speech is intended. In fact though not stated specifically the phrase अन्तरा कथाम् goes with Apavāritam also.

What Dhanañjaya means is expounded further by his brother Dhanika in his *Avaloka* as follows:

यस्य न श्राव्यं तमन्तरा ऊर्ध्वसर्वाङ्गुलिकं वक्रानामिकं त्रिपताकालक्षणं करं कृत्वान्येन सह यन् मन्थ्यते तज्जनान्तिकम् । परावृत्यान्यस्य रहस्यकथनमपवारितम् । Nṛsimhabaṭṭa in his *Laghuṣṭika* on the *Avaloka* remarks:

अन्येन सह कथयन् ततः परिवृत्य अन्यकर्णे यत् कथयति तदपवारितम् । but the word अन्यकर्णे is wrongly placed here, for then Apavāritam will not differ from the stage-direction 'Karṇe'.

What Dhanañjaya says about Apavāritam and Janāntikam can be put as follows:

Apavāritam — (1) The speaker breaks the course of conversation by turning in the direction of the addressee (2) He only communicates the secret in his mind to this character and the implication is that (3) He does not expect the addressee to respond.

Janāntikam — (1) The speaker breaks the course of conversation by means of a त्रिपताकाकर (2) Then he holds a mutual conversation with the person for whom the remark is intended (3) The conversation takes place to one end of the group of characters present on the stage (जनान्ते). In Karikā 65 he calls the speech जनान्तम्.

All later theorists repeat Dhanañjaya's views only.

(4) *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* of Sāgaranandin (Somewhere between 920 and 1100 A.D.) defines the two terms in section XVI verses 2267-2269.

About Janāntikam he say — वञ्चयित्वैकमन्योज्ञ्यं द्वाभ्यां यत् खलु पठयते । According to him it takes place in a group of three, where one is deceived by the other two. This is not correct. More characters can be present on the stage when Janāntika conversation takes place.

(5) *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (1100-1175 A.D.) defines these two terms in Viveka 1 verses 12, 13. Nothing new is added to Dhanañjaya's definitions.

The Vṛtti explains the terms as usual and gives the derivations of the two terms as follows:

अपवारितम्—अपवार्यते बहूनां प्रच्छाद्यते इति अपवारितम् ।

जनान्तिकम्—जनानामेकस्यैव गोप्यत्वात् बहूनामन्तिकम्, श्राव्यतया निकटं जनान्तिकम् ।

Thus the view of Abhinavagupta is repeated here.

(6) *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Śāradātanaya (1175-1250 A.D.) repeats the definitions given by Dhanañjaya ad verbatim.

(7) *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha (14th cent. A.D.) deals with these stage-directions in Chapter VI verses 138, 139. Nothing new is added.

Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya explains जनान्तिकम् as जनान्ते, जनसमीपे.

(8) Vasantaṛājiya, quoted by Kāṭayavema in his commentary on *Mālavikāgnimitra* is placed by scholars in about 14th cent. A.D. The author explains नियतश्राव्य as एकेन विज्ञेय known to one only, implying that such conversations take place in groups of three only; but he defines 'Apavāriṭa' as परैरलक्ष्यव्यापारे कथितोऽर्थः using the form of plural 'paraiḥ'. Hence the point about the number of characters seems to be insignificant.

(9) *Nāṭakacandrikā* of Rūpagosvāmin (About 1490 to 1575 A.D.) follows Dhanañjaya in the divisions of 'Nāṭyoktayah' and in the definitions of these two stage-directions.

Thus according to all Sanskrit critics 'Apavārya' and 'Janāntika' have some definite distinguishing characteristics.

3. We know that practice always precedes theory. It is worthwhile analysing critically the Apavārya and Janāntika remarks in Sanskrit plays from this point of view, in order to verify whether the theorists have framed their rules on the basis of the practice followed by the Sanskrit playwrights.

Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* presupposes some dramatic compositions, but unfortunately most of these are lost to us. Aśvaghōṣa's play is available in fragments only. Hence the first playwright of whom we can think in this context is Bhāsa.

Here we cannot enter into the critical problem about the chronological relationship between Bharata and Bhāsa; but we know that among all classical dramatists at the most Bhāsa alone could be known to Bharata. Let us, therefore, study the aside-remarks in Bhāsa plays in this light.

(1) Bhāsa has used very few aside-remarks (A) Apavārya remarks, where the speaker does not get or expect a response are 3 — in *Avimāraka* Act III, in *Pañcarātra* Act II and in *Cārudatta* Act III. (B) Apavārya remarks which get a response are 3 — in *Pañcarātra* Act II, in *Cārudatta* Act I and in *Cārudatta* Act II. (C) Apavārya remark which does not seem to be addressed to any one and which is as good as *Ātmagata* — in *Dūtavākya* Act I. In fact the Apavārya in *Pañcarātra* Act II, noted under (A) above can better be put here, unless it is interpreted as addressed to Yudhiṣṭhira. (D) There is only one Janāntika remark in *Cārudatta* Act III where Maitreya expects a reply from Radanikā.

As already noted Bharata's definitions of the two terms are not very clear. Probably the remark in *Avimāraka* Act III in (A) in

Pañcarātra Act II and in *Dūtavākya* in (C) would be Apavārya according to Bharata. The rest would go under Janāntika.

Many Sanskrit plays belonging to the period between Bharata and Abhinava-Dhanañjaya are fortunately available. We can analyse the aside-remarks in these plays to find out whether the rule laid down by these critics are in consonance with the practice followed in these classical plays.

Love-plays in Sanskrit afford ample scope for aside-remarks. Hence all the three plays of Kālidāsa, *Mṛcchakaṭīka* of Śūdraka, the two Nāṭikas of Śrīhaṛṣa and *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti are replete with aside remarks.

(2) Kālidāsa's plays:

(A) Apavārya remarks not expecting a response from the addressee — 6. 1 in M. Act I, 2 in V. Act II, 1 in V. Act III, 1 in V. Act V and 1 in A.Ś. Act II.

(B) Apavārya remarks meeting with a response — 2.
1 in M. Act I, 1 in M. Act III.

(C) Apavārya remarks which are as good as Svagata — 3.
2 in A. Ś. Act V, 1 in A.Ś. Act VI.

(D) Janāntika remarks with mutual conversation — 11.
3 in M. Act II, 2 in M. Act V, 1 in V. Act II, 1 in A.Ś. Act I, 1 in A.Ś. Act III, 1 in A.Ś. Act IV, 2 in A.Ś. Act VI.

(E) Janāntika remarks not expecting a response — 5, 1 in M. Act III, 1 in M. Act V, 1 in V Act I, 1 in A.Ś. Act II, 1 in A.Ś. Act V.

(3) Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭīka*.

(A) Apavārya remarks not expecting a response — 1 in Act I.

(B) Apavārya remarks with a response — 2. in Act 1, Act V.

(C) Apavārya which is as good as Svagata — 1 in Act X.

(D) Janāntika remarks with a conversation — 5. 2 in Act I, 1 in Act V. 2 in Act IX.

(E) Janāntika remarks without a response — 2. Act V, Act IX.

(4) Śrīharṣa's plays.

Śrīharṣa has used in all 23 Apavārya remarks, *Janāntika not being used by him at all*. Obviously he has included the technical Janāntika in his Apavārya.

(A) Apavārya remarks without a response — 11.

3 in A. Act II, 2 in R. Act III, 2 in R. Act IV, 1 in P.D. Act III, 1 in P.D. Act IV, 1 in N. Act I, 1 in N. Act II.

(B) Apavārya remarks with a response — 7. Out of these 4 have the stage-direction Apavārya again for the responder. 2 in R. Act II, 2 in R. Act III, 1 in R. Act IV, 1 in N. Act II, 1 in N. Act III.

(C) There is 1 remark in R. Act IV which is as good as Svagata.

(5) Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa* is full of svagata remarks; but *it has no aside speech*. For this political play an aside remark is not possible even when three or more characters are present on the stage. In Act I when Cāṇakya, his pupil and the door-keeper are present, Cāṇakya is not likely to take either in his confidence. When Malayaketu - Bhāgurāyaṇa and Rākṣasa - Karabhaka are present it is a bifocal scene. Again when Malayaketu-Pratīhārī and Bhāgurāyaṇa - Kṣapaṇaka are present in Act V it is a bifocal scene. Later in this Act Malayaketu, Rākṣasa, Siddhārthaka and Bhāgurāyaṇa are present on the stage. A lesser dramatist would have made Siddhārthaka and Bhāgurāyaṇa speak aside; but in this play of political intrigues no two agents of Cāṇakya know each other as belonging to the same party.

(6) Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa's *Veṇīśamhāra*.

(A) Apavārya remark without a response — 1 in Act II.

(B) Janāntika remarks, which are as good as Svagata — 2 in Act I.

(7) Bhavabhūti's plays.

(A) No Apavārya remarks without a response.

(B) Apavārya remark with a response — 1 MVC Act VII.

(C) Apavārya remarks which are as good as Svagata — 9. 1 in MVC Act I, 1 in MVC Act IV, 1 in MVC Act V, 1 in M.M. Act II, 2 in M.M. Act IV, 1 in M.M. Act VI, 1 in URC Act I, 1 in URC Act IV.

(D) There are not less than 11 Janāntika conversations:

2 in MVC Act I, 1 in MVC Act V, 3 in M.M. Act II, 1 in M.M. Act III, 2 in M.M. Act IV, 1 in M.M. Act VIII, 1 in M.M. Act X.

(E) Janāntika remarks without a response — 2 in M.M. Act 1.

(F) Janāntika remark which is as good as Svagata. 1 in M.M. Act III.

As already seen, 'mutual conversation' is the real point of distinction between Apavārya, in which it does not take place and Janāntika, in which it takes place. The above analysis shows that in the plays of the playwrights from Bhāsa to Bhavabhūti* 12 Apavārya remarks are without any response from the addressee, while 6 have such response. 28 Janāntika remarks have mutual conversation, while 11 do not have it. Thus in general Janāntika seems to be used when the speaker expects a reply. Otherwise the stage-direction Apavārya is used. In some particular cases Janāntika has been used even when no response is expected, probably out of exigencies of stage. We can say that Dhanañjaya seems to have framed his definitions of these varieties of Niyataśrāvya on the basis of these plays.

Abhinavagupta says that Apavārya is kept away from more characters and intended for one only while Janāntika is intended for all excepting one. The view is repeated by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra. A critical survey of the plays in the foregoing lines proves that this is not correct. When more than three characters are present on the stage Apavārya is used in 14 cases, while Janāntika in 17 cases. The context shows that mostly all these remarks are intended for one character only in all these cases.

4. Even in the use of these technical stage-directions each individual playwright has his own method. Śrīharṣa does not use Janāntika and has Apavārya even for mutual conversation. He has twice used Apavārya for a mere gesticulation, without any word. In R. Act II the picture-board falls down from the Vidūṣaka's hand while Vāsavadattā and Kāñcanamālā are present. The stage direction now is -राजा अपवार्यं विदूषकमङ्गुल्या तर्जयति। Again in Act III Vasantaka receives Vāsavadattā and Kāñcanamālā whom he has mistaken to be Sāgarikā and Susāngatā in disguise. The stage direction is काञ्चनमाला (अपवार्यं अङ्गुल्या तर्जयन्ती). Some dramatists have a fancy to use Apavārya in the place of Svagata. Bhavabhūti has committed this mistake at least 9 times. Occasionally other playwrights also have done this.

* Śrīharṣa's plays have Apavārya only. Hence they are left out for this calculation.

Bhavabhūti makes two characters make an aside-speech together; which sounds very awkward. In MVC Act IV वसिष्ठविश्वामित्रौ make Apavārya remark together, in which they speak about Rāma's glory being known to Paraśurāma. To whom is this addressed? Do they address each other with the self same words? The same can be said of the Apavārya in MVC Act V when सुग्रीवविभीषणौ recite one verse अपवार्ये where they speak how Vālin's calamity cannot be avoided. Again in the same act सुग्रीवविभीषणौ make a जनान्तिकम् remark to श्रमणा.

5. After Bhavabhūti Sanskrit drama faces a period of decadence. In this period these lesser dramatists tried to fit their plays in the technicalities of Sanskrit drama. As such we expect them to frame their aside remarks also so as to suit their technical definitions. By way of sample survey of these plays the aside remarks in the following plays have been analysed: (1) *Bālarāmāyana* of Rājasekhara (10th cent. A. D.) (2) *Caṇḍakauśika* of Kṣemendra (10th cent. A. D.) (3) *Anargharāghava* of Murāri (11th cent. A. D.) (4) *Kundamāla* of Vīranāga (about 11th cent. A. D.) (5) *Subhadrū-dhanañjaya* of Kulaśekharavarman (somewhere between 950 and 1150 A. D.) (6) *Rukmiṇīharana* of Vatsarāja (12th cent. A. D.) (7) *Prasannarāghava* of Jayadeva (13th cent. A. D.) (8) *Vidagdhamādhava*, a devotional play by Rūpagosvāmin (16th cent. A. D.) (9) *Amṛtodaya*, a philosophical play by Gokulanātha (1650 A. D.) (10) *Balamārtanḍavijaya*, a play in praise of king Mārtanḍavarman of Travancore by Devarājakavi (18th cent. A. D.) (11) *Prthvivallabha*, a historical Gujarati play by Shri K. M. Munshi, translated into Sanskrit by Shri Limaye (20th cent. A. D.).

The analysis of these aside remarks gives the following results:

- (A) Apavārya without response—20
- (B) Apavārya with response—9.
- (C) Janāntika with conversation—9.
- (D) Janāntika without response—9.

Thus the Apavāryas generally follow Dhanañjaya's definition, though not very carefully. A Janāntika seems to have been used both with and without response without any distinction. The distinction laid down by Abhinavagupta about Janāntika being concealed from one only also is not practised. Thus these later playwrights are not at all particular about the distinction of these two varieties of Nityataśrāvya. *Kundamālā*, *Prasannarāghava* and *Amṛtodaya* have no Janāntika like Śrīharṣa. Murāri seems to be very careless in making any distinction between these two stage-

directions. When a remark is to be concealed from more than one character he has used Apavārya once and Janāntika on second occasion. When Rāma is pointing out various spots to Sitā from the Puṣpaka he uses Apavārya while pointing out Prasravaṇa mountain, but Janāntika while pointing the river Godāvārī. Yet playwrights like Rūpagosvāmin seem to be quite careful about the distinction between Apavārya and Janāntika as defined by Dhanañjaya. However in general the distinction seems to have been ignored in this period.

6. Sanskrit commentators of the classical Sanskrit plays have explained these two stage-directions in their commentaries (1) Kāṭayavema in his commentary of the M. gives the definitions of Dhanañjaya for both. For Apavārya he quotes from Vasantarājiya. He explains Janāntika as जनस्याभीष्टस्यान्तिकं समीपे यदभीष्टजन एव शण्यदिति कृत्वा तत्समीपे उच्यते। This description holds good of both the stage-directions. (2) Raṅganātha in his *Prakāśika* on V. gives Viśvanātha's definitions for both and also quotes Sāgaranandin. (3) Jagaddhara, in his commentaries on the M.M. and V.S. quotes the definitions of Bharata. (4) Tripurārī in his commentary on M.M., (5) Pṛthvīrāja in his commentary on Mṛ and (6) Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on A.Ś. quote the definitions given in the *Daśarūpa*.

Thus they do not add anything new to the distinctions between these two stage directions.

7. In the modern editions of Sanskrit plays modern scholars have annotated these terms (1) Monier Williams in his edition of A.Ś. (O.U.P. 1876) has annotated Janāntika without referring to the mutual conversation and has quoted the definition of जनान्तिक in S.D. (2) Shri M. R. Kale in his edition of *Ratnāvalī* (Bombay 1921), gives a note on Apavārya, which is in fact a note on Janāntika. Śrī-harṣa's Apavāryas include Janāntikas also. Hence this note is all right for Harṣa's plays and not in general. In his edition of V. he explains both clearly in English, but does not refer to the mutual conversation in Ja. However he gives the definitions from D. R. for both.

(3) Prof. A. B. Athalye and Prof. S. S. Bhavé give a short but clear note in their edition of V. (Bombay, 1932) — "The difference between the two is not well-defined. However, it appears that Ap. is used only for a small speech, where some secret is given out, while Ja. is used for a sort of mutual whisper, by stopping the course of conversation." These scholars point out that there is mutual conversation in Ja., but they have not pointed out clearly the difference

in the gesticulations for both (5) Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar (3rd edition of A.Ś. Bombay 1941) has annotated नाट्योक्तयः in Appendix A p. 402. He explains the gesticulations for both in details and says, "The difference between Ja. and Ap. mainly lies in the particular gesticulations that accompany them." He continues — "The idea in Ja. is more or less negative i.e. to exclude certain characters, while in Ap. it is positive i.e. to indicate the character or the characters for whom the speech is meant." (6) Prof. R. D. Karmarkar (3rd Edition of the URC, BORI, Pune, 1954) repeats Prof. Gajendragadkar's view that the difference lies in the manner of utterance only. (7) Dr. G. K. Bhat and Dr. R. N. Gaidhani (Marāṭhi edition of *Veṅīśamhāra*, Pune 1957) have given a note on Apavārya, which is really a note on Janāntika. This is probably due to oversight but (8) Dr. G. K. Bhat has given a very clear note on these two terms in his Marāṭhi edition of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Kolhapur, 1962. After having explained the त्रिपताकाकर gesticulation in details he says, "Through this gesticulation other characters are given a hint that they have to remain aloof and the spectators also can get an idea that here is a private conversation between the two characters." Apavārya has been explained as follows: "When a character turns his back upon other characters on the stage, faces the audience and reveals some secret in the plot, then the dramatic speech called Apavārya is used." He further remarks:— "It seems that the difference between the two can be noted as follows: Janāntika is a private conversation between two characters and when a character makes a speech, as if having taken the audience in confidence, it is Apavārya, but this distinction is not observed meticulously in the writing of Sanskrit plays."

8. Each one of these annotations is clearly bringing out certain features of these stage-directions. Putting together all that has been said about Apavārita and Janāntika by ancient Sanskrit critics like Bharata and Dhanañjaya, the evidence produced by the practice on Sanskrit stage from Bhāsa to Bhavabhūti and even later, the remarks of ancient commentators like Kāṭayavema and Jagaddhara, and the annotations in the editions of Sanskrit plays by eminent scholars, we can explain clearly the two types of Niyataśrāvya as follows: Both stage directions are used when three or more characters are present on the stage.

(A) Apavārya or Apavāritam — This stage direction is used when one character *wants to communicate some secret instruction or information in his or her mind to certain other character, concealing it from other or others. The speaker does not expect any response from the addressee.* In order to achieve his or her purpose

the character takes a turn, *which should be easily noted by the spectators as being a turn* and then gives the intended instruction or information.

(B Janāntikam—This stage-direction is used when the speaker *wants to discuss or decide about some secret in his or her mind with certain other character*, concealing it from other or others. The speaker holds up his or her palm, with its fingers excepting the indicating finger spread up, in front of the face near the cheek — right or left according to the position of the actors on the stage — in order to exclude the characters beyond the backside of the palm from hearing it. The speaker *does not turn the neck much so as to be noticeable by the spectators*. Then the two - or rarely more - carry on *their mutual conversation*. When it is over the Tripatākākara is removed. Sometimes the conversation does not take place; but the speaker begins with a Tripatākākara expecting a response. Janāntikam can be better understood as जनानां पात्राणामन्ते 'To one side of the group of characters' and not जनानामन्तिके as *Abhinavabhārati* and *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* take it.

In Apavārya no doubt there is a secret in the mind of the speaker, but not that he communicates it 'as if having taken the audience in confidence.' For then it would not differ from 'Svagata'. Apavārya does not necessarily reveal 'a secret in the plot'. There are many Apavārya remarks which in no way contribute to the development of the plot e.g. V. Act I Urvaśi says Apavārya to Citralekhā, "अभिजातं खल्वस्य वचनम्". On the other hand Svagatas also can contribute the development of the plot e.g. *Svapnavāsavadatta* Act I Vāsavadattā's Ātmagata remark, "हम् । इह मां निक्षेप्तुकाम आर्ययोगन्धरायणः । भवतु, अविचार्यं क्रमं न करिष्यति ।"

Abhinavagupta distinguishes the two as Apavārya being concealed from many and Janāntika from one only. This is not warranted either by theory or practice. Apavārya is not necessarily 'a short remark' as understood by some scholars. The foregoing analysis in section 3 proves that even Apavārya speeches can be lengthy e.g. Mālātī's long speech on the news of her engagement to Nandana in MM Act III. The difference between the two stage-directions, thus does not 'mainly lie in the particular gesticulations that accompany both.'

Prof. Gajendragadkar is right when he says that the idea in Janāntika is more or less negative, while in Apavārya it is positive. When the Tripatākākara is raised up the spectators know that the speech is not to be heard by the characters to the back of the palm.

The speaker of Apavārya takes a visible turn and faces the addressee the spectators know that it is meant for him or her only, whom the speaker faces.

It is true that the distinction between the two stage-directions is not meticulously observed in the writing of Sanskrit plays, yet in general the practice follows the essential conditions of the two. Sometimes the stage-direction Apavārya or even Janāntikam is used when the remark is in fact Svagata. In some of these cases at least it is due to the exigencies of the stage e.g. in V.S. Act I Draupadī and Buddhimatikā are sitting¹ in a corner, their presence not being noted by Bhīmasena. Now Draupadī makes 2 Janāntika² remarks. I feel this is so because in the sitting posture it is difficult to take a visible turn. It is easier to use the Tripatākākara. Same is the case when the judge makes a Janāntika remark to the assessors about Cārudatta in Mṛ. Act IX.

Thus the critical analysis of the 'asides' in Sanskrit plays unfolds many interesting points about the two stage-directions.

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1. 'तदेकान्ते उपविष्टा भूत्वा शृणोमि तावन्नाथस्य व्यवसितम् ।'
 2. 'नाथ, अश्रुतपूर्वं खल्बीदृशं वचनम् । तस्युतःपुनस्तावद्भ्रमण ।'
'नाथ, न लज्जन्त एते । तत्त्वमपि तावन्मा विस्मार्थीः ।'
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THE HUNTED ONE*

(REFLECTIONS ON *ABHIJÑĀNASĀKUNTALAM*)

S. H. DESHPANDE

IN Kālidāsa's *Abhiññānasākuntalam* the main portion of the first act opens with king Duṣyanta in hot pursuit of a fleeing stag. Between his pantings the stag repeatedly turns back his neck to gauge the distance between himself and his pursuer and in his panic he strews the earth with half-chewed cuds of grass falling from his mouth. The fear that Duṣyanta's arrow might strike him from behind has all but undone him as he bounds desperately to save his life. Presently Duṣyanta narrows down the distance sufficiently to take aim and strike. "Charioteer, look, I have had him", he cries.

However, the stag is saved. Hermits intervene and inform Duṣyanta of this being an āśrama-deer and how the killing of such is prohibited.

It is generally believed, and with good reason, that this scene is symbolic of what is to follow. Śakuntalā, the heroine is chased by a malicious fate, undergoes an ordeal of suffering and is yet finally 'saved'. Her royal husband who had repudiated her through loss of memory, reunites with her in the last act of the play. There is confession of guilt, a spirit of 'forget and forgive', tears of joy and everything ends on a 'happy' note.

Happy note! This, obviously, is the aim of the playwright. Yet the happy ending of the play somehow looks concocted. The spectator (reader) is left cold, at least when he has had occasion to sit back and reflect on the happenings in the play. Can Śakuntalā be *really* happy after all that has happened? This question keeps nagging him. An additional factor compounding the reader's dissatisfaction over the last act is the very different Śakuntalā from the one whom he has earlier known. He feels that Śakuntalā, as he knew

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her, vanished from the play at the end of the fifth act when, arms raised to the heavens and crying bitterly, she departed from the King's palace.

The purpose of this article is to locate the sources of the reader's dissatisfaction.

A convenient beginning is to follow the 'deer' motif as it runs through the play and see what emerges at the end of the study. We will show that the author of the play, in handling this motif, has unwittingly given himself away.

The deer in the play perform three functions simultaneously. In the first place, they act as symbols of the serenity that pervades the atmosphere of the penance-grove and Kāśyapa's āśrama. In the second, they symbolize the tenderness and innocence of Śakuntalā herself. Thirdly, in their physical form, they are her companions and friends. All these functions, of course, are intermingled.

Let us again take a look at the opening scene of the first act. Dissuading Duṣyanta from the attempt to kill the deer, one of the hermits tells him, "This deer *belongs to the hermitage.*" This has an echo which suggests that Śakuntalā is a hermitage-girl (āśramakanyakā), not just any kind of girl whom the king could treat as he wished. The hermit proceeds, "Hitting this delicate body of the deer is like scorching flowers with fire. How frail are the deer and how sharp your arrows!" The 'frailness' or 'tenderness' is that of Śakuntalā's heart and it too is going to be struck by a 'sharp arrow.'

Then the king enters the precincts of the āśrama and savours its profound peace. Āśrama life is a sweet melange of peace, piety and trust. The least sound is usually enough to disturb the deer but here they move about unruffled in spite of the human sounds around. The āśrama dwellers love them so much that they have even moved down the sharp edges of the darbha grass that it may not hurt the deers' mouths when they graze on it.

Then the king and Śakuntalā meet and the story takes its onward course. When the introductions and the small talk are over, the impatient king asks Śakuntalā's friends, 'Is this friend of yours planning to enter holy wedlock? Or is she going to live as a recluse in the company of does?' The link between the deer and Śakuntalā has been already forged and it will be strengthened at each successive stage of the play.

At the end of the first act an obstruction impedes the first

meeting of the lovers. A rogue elephant, at the sight of unfamiliar objects like chariots, horses and other paraphernalia of the royal safari has turned loose and made hordes of deer disperse and run.

In the second act the king takes a holiday from the hunt. He cannot shoot the deer because their eyes remind him of the 'doe-eyed one' (mṛgākṣī).

Announcing his decision to have a day off, he says, "Let my bow have a day of rest today. Let quiet so prevail in the grove that herds of deer ruminant undisturbed in the shade of trees."

In the third act the deer is not physically present on the stage but there is a fictitious deer cub in the wings looking for its mother, invented by Priyamvadā as an excuse to depart from the scene (along with Anasūyā) and leave the lovers to themselves.

The fourth act literally overflows with the deer and with references to them. As Śakuntalā prepares to leave for her husband's home the entire forest is overcast with gloom, the creepers shed tears, the peacocks have ceased to dance and the darbha grass is again dropping from the mouths of the deer who have sensed the impending separation from their beloved Śakuntalā.

Śakuntalā notices a pregnant doe and tells her father to convey to her the news of her safe delivery. Since we know that Śakuntalā is herself with child the reference to a pregnant doe further strengthens the identity between Śakuntalā and the deer. As she proceeds on her way a fawn snuggles up to her and clutches at her garment. Kaśyapa says, "Darling, when darbha grass hurt his mouth you used to apply oil to heal his wound and since he could not eat by himself you used to feed him morsels of śyāmāka grass." Śakuntalā coaxes him saying, "Child, I brought you up because you were motherless. Now go back dear. Father will look after you." We know that Śakuntalā also has been brought up without a mother.

At the end of the fourth act the idyllic rural scene with its penance grove and āśrama finally vanishes from our sight never to meet us again. With the fifth act we enter the king's capital and palace which represent another world. The scene is laid, appropriately, in the 'fire house' of the palace. Presently the fire house is going to be a battle-field and each party is going to be attacked mercilessly by the other. Fires of passion are going to be aroused and in the resulting conflagration Śakuntalā is to be burnt almost to cinders. Neither the locale nor the atmosphere of the scene is such as would leave room for any deer to make its appearance. And yet it is there — if only as a nostalgic memory.

In a last desperate and pathetic bid to revive the lost memory of the king, Śakuntalā reproduces a fragment of the conversation they had in their secret rendezvous in the forest. "Don't you remember, we were sitting in the bower. You had in your hand a leaf-cup for a drink of water...."

"Proceed. I am listening", rasps the king.

".....And then in sauntered Dīrghāpāṅga, the fawn who is like a child to me. As you saw him you said, 'let him first have the drink' and you held up the cup to him. But it would not drink from your hand. So then I took the cup from you and he immediately started lapping up the water. At which point you said in jest, 'that is as it should be. Everyone trusts his own kin. Both of you are forest species'."

The story has no effect on the king. But the remembrance of the episode serves once more to bring in the deer, this time as a witness to the lover's exchange of hearts. One more significant link has been established.

The sixth act is again situated in the palace where it would be unnatural to bring in the deer. Therefore, they are suggested by the use of the word *sāraṅgākṣī* (doe-eyed) referring to Śakuntalā as the king remembers her and repents his repudiation of her. But later in the same act, the deer emerge more full-bodied in the imagined details of a picture the king has begun painting to relieve his agony.

Śakuntalā and her two companions have already been drawn, only a fitting backdrop for them has to be painted. When Mādhavya inquires how the picture will look when completed the king replies, "I am going to draw the river Mālinī with a swan couple resting on its sandy banks. The sacred mountain Himālaya will frame the horizon and on its slopes deer will recline. From the branch of a tree the bark-garments of sages will hang and under its shade a doe will scratch her left eye on the horn of a black antelope."

This picture in the mind of the king combines all the symbols of peace, security, sanctity, love and trust which together make up Śakuntalā's environment. Only such a setting befits her and fulfils the reader's expectation of the image of Śakuntalā which he has learned to cherish. By this time we know in the depth of our hearts that Śakuntalā and the deer are inseparable.

And the realization comes with a cruel shock that there are no deer at all in the last and seventh act of reunion, not even a memory of them. There is reference to *Mṛgendra* (lion) and *Mṛgatṛṣṇikā*

(mirage) but no reference to *Mr̥ga!* And these two solitary references are not at all happy; they are anti-rather than pro-deer.

This absence of the deer from the seventh act is, I think, symbolic of a deeper loss which the reader experiences. The playwright, all through the play as analysed above, exploited every opportunity to build up a sense of identification between Śakuntalā and the deer so that we cannot think of her apart from them. They are part of her life, of her very being. And to see Śakuntalā without her deer is to miss the Śakuntalā *as we knew her*. It is a different Śakuntalā, a pale shadow of her former being, a ghost of her former self.

Strengthening this impression is the very appearance of Śakuntalā in the seventh act. Her clothes are an austere grey. The locks of her hair are tied in a single unadorned braid. Her face is wan and her demeanour on the stage is of a woman who has dried up internally.

And can Śakuntalā really forget the supreme calamity that befell her only six years ago? Then her world lay in ruins around her. What was at stake was her honour as a duly wedded wife. This itself was called into question in the royal court and although she fought back like a cornered game, nothing proved of any avail in saving her from disgrace. And the muck that was flung at her! "You are thrusting another's child on me! That I gave you a signet ring and that you lost it is a cock-and-bull story! Try your stratagems on someone less honourable! A man like myself who will not meet the eyes of another's wife will not be taken in by your play-acting."

This volley was from the king. Far more cutting must have been the remarks of the āśramiṭe companion.

Although Śārṅgarava had come as her escort, it is obvious that he had not approved of the Gāndharva style marriage. He is almost a Freudian specimen, a celibate who had suppressed his passion but not conquered or sublimated it. He frankly detested her. She was nothing but a sinner, a profligate. 'Gāndharva' marriage was, in his eyes, only a euphemism; what took place was just unbridled indulgence in sex. There is room for suspicion that he considered Kāśyapa a fool — Kāśyapa, who, instead of condemning his daughter, had congratulated her on having acquired a good husband.

First he roundly berated the king; but as the king did not budge, he directed his fire at Śakuntalā. "This is the result of your wanton behaviour. Such alliances must be entered into after a great deal of forethought — especially when performed on the sly."

Seeing that the cross-fire was leading no-where, Śāradvata put an end to the proceedings by saying, "O King, this girl is your wife. Take her or leave her. We go." All the escorts then started leaving and the perplexed Śakuntalā, quite naturally, began to follow them. Looking back Śārṅgarava thundered, "Loose woman! Are you set to be a libertine?" and struck her almost dead. During the exchange with the king he had not indicated any distrust of Śakuntalā; it looked as if he believed her story. But now he spoke with ifs and buts. "If what the king says is true, what will your father do with you, keeping you in his house? If, on the other hand, your version of the episode is correct, it behoves you to remain in his house even as a slave-girl." Coming from a fellow āśramite, this is the final blow which makes her reel.

Aunt Gautamī too, in her heart of hearts, had disapproved of her conduct. That Śakuntalā had disregarded the elders had hurt her. However, she did not employ harsh language and her heart went out to Śakuntalā in her hour of supreme distress. As Śakuntalā followed them, Gautamī said to Śārṅgarava, "Son, look, she is following us. Where else shall my poor darling go?" This was followed by Śārṅgarava's above-mentioned rap, Gautamī became mum and she too left.

Śakuntalā was now severely alone and friendless in a harsh world. In a sense she was not entirely alone since she was carrying a child in her womb; however, what it promised was the company of life-long shame the burden of which she would have to carry to the end of her days. She aptly described her own condition: "I have been reduced to the status of harlot."

True, whatever had happened was a consequence of Durvāsa's curse; the loss of the ring, the loss of the king's memory, etc. But the very character of the events was such that the scars they have left will not be healed.

There is another element in the play which leaves one somewhat uncomfortable at the prospect of Śakuntalā's union with Duṣyanta. This is the portrayal of two different cultures inconsonant with one another. One culture is urban — more specifically the culture of the royal household; the other is rural — more specifically that of the penance grove. In the play not only do the edges of the two meet but their collision even produces sparks.

At the beginning of the first act, when the sages interpose themselves between the frightened deer and the king, one of them says, "O King, this is an āśrama-deer, and therefore is not to be killed."

Once the symbolic nature of the episode is appreciated it is also clear that what is really suggested is something like the following: "Śakuntalā is an āśrama-girl. The ways of the city-bred are foreign to her and she is not likely to approve of the casual emotional alliances so characteristic of the princely households." The fickleness of the king's love is suggested quite clearly via the 'bee' symbol throughout the play¹ and especially in the fifth act in Hamsapadikā's song. Hamsapadikā was an old beloved of the king, now a back number. She sings, "O bee, you always want to gather honey each time from a fresh flower. At one time you kissed the mango-flower so hard and now you are so enamoured of the lotus flower that you do not want to come out of it. How can you forget the mango-flower so completely?" The king has received the taunt sportingly. Such, indeed is the king.²

Thus one aspect of the urban (royal) culture is the laxity of its sexual morals.

The second is its restlessness and irreligiosity. As they enter the palace in the fifth act, Śārṅgarava and Śāradvata exchange views regarding their first impressions. Says Śārṅgarava, "Accustomed to the seclusion of the forest, these crowds of people here make me

1. Prof. M. A. Mehendale has argued that Kālidāsa has again and again suggested Duṣyanta's inconsistency through the symbolisms of the *Mṛga* and the *bhramara* (bee). (vide M. A. Mehendale, "Shakuntalatil Pratik: Mṛga", *Navabharat*, Vol. I, No. 12, September 1948, pp. 14-18 and "Shakuntalatil Pratik: Bhramara", *Navabharat*, Vol. II, No. 7, April 1949, pp. 536-539). It is also the argument of this article that the king is fickle-minded towards women; but it is difficult to agree with Prof. Mehendale that through the bee-symbol Kālidāsa is purposely and repeatedly exposing the king's weakness. Mehendale thinks that Kālidāsa does this through symbols and not openly, because he himself was a court poet (Rājakavi). It is not clear why the playwright should indulge in this game. Such an effort, assuming that it is made, would certainly spoil the image of Duṣyanta. In fact Kālidāsa intends the opposite, i.e., he wants to ennoble that image, as we show below.
2. Prof. T. G. Mainkar rejects this interpretation of Hamsapadikā's song on three counts: (1) The bee in the song forsakes mango-blossom, which yields honey and goes in for the lotus flower which contains none. Thus the change of his mind indicates *rejection* of sensual pleasure and not its *acceptance*. (2) "Vasumatī is senior in age while Hamsapadikā is young So the king has gone to the senior, prauḍha, Queen surpassing (sic) the much younger one". (3) The word *Kamalavasatimātranirvṛtaḥ* suggests that what is desired by the bee is 'only residence (*vasatimātra*) and not carnal pleasure. (vide T. G. Mainkar, *Kālidāsa: His Art and Thought*, Deshmukh Prakashan, Poona, 1962, pp. 156). Against Prof. Mainkar's interpretation the following points may be raised. (i) How do we know that Hamsapadikā is *much* younger? Granted that Vasumatī is senior, that does not necessarily mean that she is middleaged or old (prauḍhā). (ii) 'Mātra' (only) could also be taken conjointly with *Kamala* in which case the emphasis on *Vasati* (residence) would disappear. (iii) And finally why does the king consider Hamsapadikā's song as a 'taunt'? We, therefore, find Prof. Mainkar's interpretation unacceptable.

feel as if the place is on fire." Śāradvata replies, "My reaction is not different. I look upon these people, hankering after (material) happiness, as unclean. This (urban) life is profane. There is so much noise and movement here, but in fact the people are unconscious (lit. 'asleep') of their spiritual fate. The life here looks free, but is, in reality, bound (in the spiritual sense)."

Lastly, the utter lack of honesty in royalty and its associates. When Śakuntalā tries to remind the king of his earlier meeting with her, he accuses her of falsehood. Gautamī then answers this charge by saying, "Śakuntalā has been brought up in a penance grove and knows not what falsehood or deceit is." Later Śārṅgarava tears the courtly mask to pieces. "How strange that the word of those who have never learnt deceit since their childhood is disbelieved; on the other hand, those who have cultivated deception as a science are considered trustworthy!" This shaft goes home and the king mocks at Śārṅgarava by addressing him as "truth-teller". It is understandable that the penance-practising sages poring over the sacred scriptures should have a prejudice against princess who studied the profane literature on state-craft. In any case, this prejudice seems to have taken a deep root in Śārṅgarava's mind. As he noticed the delay on the king's part to take away Śakuntalā at the proper time, dark forebodings must have assailed his mind and confirmed him in his grudge against royalty. This is, perhaps, the reason why even before he meets the king he is indifferent to the descriptions of his supposed greatness. For example when the royal priest points Śārṅgarava's attention to the king and says, "This protector of the Varnas and Āśramas is awaiting you", Śārṅgarava is eager to announce that he is not impressed. "Well, that is quite commendable, but I do not think much of it (lit. I am quite indifferent to it). Such things are to be expected from kings. The trees do bend when full of fruit. . . .," etc.

Thus the two cultures have been clearly contrasted. The rural culture is noble, peaceful, pure, truthful and marked by self-restraint. Its urban counterpart is noisy, base, unholy, insincere and lax. It cannot be a happy thought that Śakuntalā is leaving the former behind and entering the latter.

Kālidāsa seems conscious of these difficulties.. He has guessed the possible discomfort of the spectator. This consciousness has clearly influenced his construction of the seventh act. All through that act his attempt is to make the spectator forget these gnawing

thoughts and make him rejoice unreservedly in the final re-union of the couple.

Let us see the devices he uses to accomplish this effect.

In the first place there is an attempt to give a face-lift to Duṣyanta's tarnished image. Actually this begins with the closing lines of the sixth act. The king of Gods Himself has sought Duṣyanta's help in defeating the demons. Between the sixth and the seventh acts the king has won a resounding victory over the demons and at the beginning of the seventh act we see him descending towards the Earth in an aerial chariot driven by Mātali, Indra's famous charioteer. With the obvious intention of impressing the audience with the greatness of the king, Mātali is extolling his virtues. We learn from Duṣyanta that after the victory Indra conferred on him the signal honour of yielding him a share of his throne. He placed a garland of Mandara flowers around Duṣyanta's neck. This honour makes Duṣyanta even more humble. He denies all credit to himself and attributes it to Indra's greatness. Duṣyanta's humility in turn makes Mātali more eloquent in his praise of Duṣyanta.

The physical setting of the reunion is extraterrestrial space. This portion of space is precisely the same from where the *Pravaha* wind directs the heavenly planets in their orbits. This is also the place where the heavenly river *Svargāṅgā* takes its origin and where in the Vāmana incarnation Śrī Viṣṇu planted his second step. As the chariot descends there is no thud of the wheels, no dust is raised. The distant globe of the Earth is speedily approaching the riders like a ball thrown up by somebody. Heaven and Earth are meeting one another.

Then the chariot touches the Hemakūṭa mountain. Here the revered ancestor of the Gods, Prajāpati himself, is practising penance along with his wife. There are groves of desire-yielding trees, lakes full of golden lotuses and the very seats on which the sages sit for meditation are gem-studded. In the midst of this refulgent splendour abstinence is being practised and although beautiful heavenly damsels are around, 'restraint' (Samyama) reigns supreme.

In the precincts of the Hemakūṭa hermitage Duṣyanta sees his young son playing with a lion's cub. From this point onwards until the reconciliation of husband and wife, the construction of the play is exquisite, the author having staked all his resources of skilled craftsmanship. The pulsating threads of suspense, separation filial

love, guilt, repentance and joy are adroitly interwoven into a marvellous fabric and the spectator's tears mix with those of Śakuntalā. The family re-union is presided over and blessed by the divine parents, *Mārica* and *Aditi*. Everything is neatly arranged so as to gladden the heart of any family-loving Hindu.

All of no avail, however. After one has read and put away the play, comes a point when one sheds the hypnosis induced by Duṣyanta's spiritual elevation and ennoblement, by the vastness of the interstellar space, by the glitter of gold and diamond and by the upsurge of emotion; and a question which the grief-stricken Śakuntalā had asked her father when leaving home begins to acquire a new meaning:

“Father, dislodged from your protection how shall I live in another clime?”

ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF REPHA IN THE MĀDHYANDINA SĀMHITĀ

G. V. DEVASTHALI

PECULIARITY of pronunciation of some letters of the (*Deva*)-*nāgarī* alphabet in different provinces or among different individuals is not uncommon in our tongues or languages. Even the Vedas are not immune to this phenomenon. This is evident from the fact that even the RV., the oldest of the Vedas, reads ॡ for ॠ, and ॡh for ॠh, under certain circumstances, though ordinarily they are pronounced as cerebrals, as in ordinary parlance. Thus, for example, the RV. opens with the words अग्निमीळे; and though the second word there is, in fact, ईडे it is pronounced as ईळे. The RV. *Prātisākhya*¹ has noticed this as a RV. peculiarity, declaring that the letter ॠ (as also ॠh), when it stands between two vowels, is pronounced as ळ (and ळह). Such peculiarities of pronunciation, though found to exist more or less in all the Vedas, are met with in a preponderatingly large number in the (*Mādh*)*yandina Sākhā* of the *Sukla YV.* To mention but a few of them, we may note that ञ is pronounced as ञ, य as ज and *repha* and the vowel ऋ as रे under certain circumstances, as noticed in the *Prātisākhya* and *Sikṣā* works, belonging to that *Sākhā*.² It may be quite interesting to find out when, why, and under what circumstances such peculiar pronunciation came into vogue.

It is also interesting to observe that these peculiar pronunciations, observable in a large number in the *Mādh.Sam.*, are not met with in the common parlance of the people belonging to that (*Samh*)-*itā*, at least in Maharashtra. It is also clear that they are observable in the recitation of that *sākhā* even today; and further that failure to pronounce them in that manner will be, and actually is, consi-

1. Cf. द्वयोश्च स्वरयोर्मध्यमेत्य संपद्यते स उकारो ळकारः । ळहकारतामेति स एव चास्य ळकारः सन्नूप्रमणा संप्रयुक्तः ॥ इळा साळहा चान्निदर्शनानि वीडवृष्ण इत्येतदवग्रहेण ॥ ऋ. प्रा. 1-52.

2. However, these pronunciations are not actually shown as such in the written texts of the *Vāj. Sam.* In RV., however, ॡ and ॡह are actually written as ळ and ळह (as actually heard in the recitation).

dered as incorrect and unwarranted.³ This dichotomy in the pronunciation of the letters of the *Deva.* alphabet is so well established that any variation therein or their particular provinces is even hard to imagine.

Though it may be quite interesting to study all such peculiarities, we shall restrict ourselves in this paper to a consideration of the pronunciation of the *repha*⁴ only, as observable in the works of the *Mādh. Śākhā*.

The letter or rather the sound *r* is represented in the *Deva.* alphabet by two different signs, according to the position it occupies with reference to the consonant (sound) associated with it. If it precedes the sound associated with it, it is represented by the *repha* sign, to be written above the following letter, the letter which is associated with it. If, on the other hand, it is associated with the preceding one, it is represented by a slanting line drawn under the preceding letter with its upper end touching the letter, and the other end remaining free. Usually, though not quite strictly, in the former case the sound is given the name *repha* (popularly called रफार in Marathi); while in the latter, it is simply called *r* or occasionally even रकार. The difference between the two can be easily marked and understood by observing the following two words written in *Deva.*, namely *namra* (नम्र) and *narma* (नर्म) respectively. The words, it may be interesting to note, are uniformly pronounced in all the provincial dialects and tongues, if and when used in these forms.

3. These and similar other letters are not so pronounced in common parlance even by the *Mādhyaṇḍīnīyas*, who pronounce them as such in their recitation. That such divergence in the pronunciation did exist between common parlance and Vedic recital, has been noticed by Patañjali with the remark: *evam hi śrūyate*. He tells us: There were some *ṛsis* known as *yarvānas tarvāṇaḥ*, who in common parlance spoke in incorrect pronunciation *yarvānas tarvāṇaḥ* instead of the correct *yad vā nas tad vā nah*. However, they were careful not to have wrong pronunciation during their sacred acts (*yājña-karman*). This shows that pronunciation in keeping with the directions of the *Prātis* was considered obligatory in sacred duties, though in ordinary parlance this was neither needed nor used. Such difference in the pronunciation of certain letters or words was an accepted fact.
4. Kāty. has composed two *vārttikas*: *varṇāt kārḥ* and *rād iphaḥ* (on p. 3.3.108) to form the designation of the sound *r* in the *Deva.* alphabet. So, according to Kāty. the sound or letter *r* can be designated as *rakāra* or *repha*. If this is correct, one is inclined to ask whether these two names are identical, or is there any subtle distinction between the two? For, *r*, as a part of a conjunct consonant, is written in two different ways according as the *r* follows or precedes the other consonant, as, for example, in the words *namra* (नम्र) and *narma* (नर्म). This distinction in writing may not be in vain; and may perhaps indicate a distinction between the two sounds as represented by the two signs. It may be interesting to note that in Marathi the term *repha* is always used to designate *r* in the initial position (as in नर्म); while *r* in the other position is generally referred to as रकार. But whether such a distinction between रफ and रकार is envisaged by our ancient grammarians and the authors of the *Prāti* and *Śikṣā* works is a question.

In the *Mādh. Samh.* also, the letter *r* (ठ), when associated with the preceding letter, is pronounced exactly as in common parlance. But such is not the case when it is associated with the sound or letter coming after it. In writing, it is represented by the *repha* sign in the Veda as also in ordinary writing. But so far as pronunciation is concerned, it is to be noted that in the Veda (that is the *Mādh. Śākhā*), it is not uniform all through. In some cases it is pronounced exactly as we do it in common parlance. But in others the pronunciation is quite peculiar.

Our ancestors have taken utmost pains and invented various means and devices to preserve the Vedas, not merely in their letters, their order, and their accentuation, but their recitation or rather their pronunciation. The most important and effective among them is the oral tradition, which has been continuously running without a break for innumerable generations, the vestiges of which, though on the wane, have not yet become totally a matter of the past. This oral tradition forms the practical aspect of the attempts at preservation, which was supplemented by the theoretical aspect as represented by the *Prāti.*⁵ and *Śikṣā*⁶ literature dealing with the topic of correct pronunciation of their respective Vedas or *Śākhās*.

The earliest such work pertaining to the *Mādh. Śākhā* is the *Vājasaneyi Prāti.*⁷ composed by (Kātyā)yana. In this work Kātyā. has laid down that *repha* (= *r* associated with a following consonant) and also *l* (when so associated), followed by a sibilant combined with a vowel (without a consonant), give rise to the peculiar phenomenon known as *svrabhakti* (resembling *r* and *l* respectively, between themselves and the following sibilant).⁸

But what is exactly meant by 'the sound resembling *r* and *l*' is not clearly explained there. So we turn to another authoritative work on the topic, the (Yājñ)avalkya (Śi)kṣā,⁹ only to find that even there the point has not been clarified. For, describing and illustrating the various kinds of *svrabhakti* with their names, Yājñ. Śi., instead of stating the correct mode of pronunciation, has only stated how it is often incorrectly pronounced; and declared that

5. *Prātisākhya* is a significant name, which indicates that the work pertains to the particular *śākhā* to which it is said to belong.

6. *Śikṣā* works also, like the *Prātisākhyas*, pertain to their respective *śākhās*.

7. This is published in Benares Sanskrit Series (Benares 1888) with *Uvatabhāṣya*, and also the *Pratijñāsūtra* and the *Bhāṣikasūtra* with the commentary of Ananta Bhaṭṭa. It is also published with the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Ananta Bhaṭṭa in Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 5, in 1934.

8. एलावृलृवर्णाभ्यामृष्मणि स्वरोदये सर्वत्र *Vāj. Prāti.* 4.17. The *Prāti. Pra. Śi.* has given this with the remark: तथा च प्रतिशाख्ये (See शिक्षासंग्रह पृ. 293)

9. For this see शिक्षासंग्रह (Benares, 1893), pp. 1-36.

it should not be pronounced as *i*, or *u*, or *grasta*.¹⁰ Thus from *Yāj. Śi.* we know what defects (*doṣas*) in the pronunciation we have to avoid; but we are still in the dark as to the accurate pronunciation required in such cases.

Fortunately, however, there are several other works which, not only state the exact pronunciation required in such cases, but even add suitable illustrations for them all. Among these, the *Navāṅka-sūtra*¹¹ of (K)eśava Daivajña is generally accepted as the most authentic work after the two mentioned above. This K in one¹² of his rules has stated that the *ūrdhva repha* (= *r* preceding another consonant) when followed by a sibilant (not combined with another consonant) is pronounced as if followed by the sound *e* (*saikāra*). A *Padyātmikā Śikṣā*¹³ (*Śikṣā* in verse) (possibly composed by (another) Keśava, also states this very rule almost in identical words.

The *Mādhyandina Śikṣā*¹⁴ has only laid down that in such cases one should resort to *svara-bhakti*; but does not give any definite directions as to how it is to be actually pronounced. Probably it expects us to follow *Yājñ.*'s instructions, which we have already noted. The *Laghu-Mādhy-Śi.*,¹⁵ however, in no ambiguous terms, has declared that in such cases *repha* should be pronounced as *re* (रे). Yet another *Śikṣā*, the *Amareśi Śi.*¹⁶ also has specifically laid down that *repha*, if followed by a single (= not forming a conjunct consonant with another consonant, *uṣman* (sibilant), should be pronounced as if combined with or followed by *e* (= *saikāra*). This clearly shows that *repha* under these conditions is to be pronounced as *re*.

10. For *svarabhakti*, its varieties, and their names, see *Yājñ. Śi., Kārikās* 98-101. Immediately after this we get the following *kārikās*:

रलाभ्यां पर ऊष्माणो यत् स्युः स्वरितोदयाः स्वरभक्तिरसौ ज्ञेया पूर्वमाक्रम्य पठयते ॥ 102 ॥

स्वरभक्तिं प्रयुञ्जानस्त्रीन् दोषान् परिवर्जयेत् । इकारं चाप्युकारं च प्रस्तदोषं तथैव च ॥ 103 ॥

11. For this *Śikṣā*, in *sūtras*, accompanied by *svopajña ṭikā* and memorising verses (*kārikās*), see *Śi. Sam.*, pp. 136-149.
12. This is the fourth *sūtra*, which reads: अहलशत्युच्चरेफस्य सकारः प्राक् च । Also read the commentary and the memorising verse thereon.
13. For this *Śikṣā* see *Śi. Sam.*, pp. 150ff.
14. This is also called *Prathamā Mādhy. Śi.*; for this see *Śi. Sam.*, p. 109ff.
The author of the *Prāti. Pra. Śi.* says that Ananta Yājñika in his commentary on the *Prāti. Sū.* 2.3 has cited the *kārikā*: षषसहा यत् दृषयन्ते रेफेणाङ्कितमस्तकाः । स्वरभक्तिं प्रयुञ्जीत संयोगे नैव कारयेत् ॥ as from the *Mādhy. Śi.* However, it is not found in that *śikṣā* included in the *Śi. Sam.*, pp. 109-113 nor in the other found on pp. 114-116.
15. This is also described as *Dvitiyā L. M. Śikṣā*; for this see *Śi. Sam.*, p. 114ff. The *kārikā* referred to here is *Kā.* 10 of the *Laghu. Mā. Śikṣā* read रेफो रेक (? व)-त्वमाप्नोति षषहेषु परेषु च । दशमं वर्षो अहञ्च संयोगे नैव कारयेत् ॥
16. This is included in *Śi. Sam.*, pp. 117-137 under the title अमरेणनिर्मिता वर्णरत्नप्रदीपिका शिक्षा. The *Kā.* referred to here is: ऊष्माणामुपरिस्थस्तु रेफो रेफत्वं पुनरायति यद्युष्माणोऽन्य-संयुताः ॥ 54 ॥ रेफो वाच लकारो वा यत्रोष्मणि स्वरोदये । स्वरभक्तिर्भवेत्तत्र पूर्वमाक्रम्य पठयते ॥ 53 ॥

From what has been said upto now, it would appear that there is, on the whole, a consensus of opinion among ancient Indian authorities regarding the pronunciation of *repha*. They, one and all, appear to hold that *repha*, if followed by a sibilant (as a single consonant with a vowel), should be pronounced as a *repha* followed by *ekāra* (that is as *re*). None of the authorities cited so far has made any reference to the possibility of such pronunciation of *repha*, if and when it is followed by the vowel ऋ.

The only exception in this respect is the (*Prati*)*jñā*-(*sū*)*tra*,¹⁷ which forms one of the appendices (*Parīśiṣṭas*), to the main *Prātisākhya* of Kātyāyana. This appears to be the only work which declares that *repha* should be pronounced as *re*, not only before the sibilants as stated by all the works we have noted so far, but also before the vowel (ऋ). The *sūtra* is: अपरान्तस्थस्य अयुक्तान्यहलः संयुक्तोष्मऋकारैः एकारसहितोच्चारणम् । एवं तृतीयान्तस्थस्य क्वचित् । प्रतिज्ञासूत्र 2.3

Going through the commentary of Ananta-bhaṭṭa on this *sūtra*, one finds that the commentator has given *yonir ṛvīyaḥ* and *nirṛte tubhyam* as illustrations for the latter part of this rule; and this clearly shows that even according to him this latter part of this rule does form a genuine part thereof, as intended by the author himself. But there appears to exist no other authority admitting or teaching the pronunciation of *repha* as *re* before the vowel ऋ.

Curiously, however, the two *Keśavi Śikṣās*, already referred to above, present an intriguing phenomenon. One of them known as the *Navasūtrātmikā śikṣā*, is declared as following the (*Prati*)*jñā*-(*Sū*),¹⁸ and contains aphorisms accompanied by the author's own commentary with illustrations. This work lays down the pronunciation of *r* as *re* before *ūsmans* only and not before *ṛ* also (like the *Prati.Sū.*). This may lead one to think that the laying down of the pronunciation of *r* as *re* before *ṛ* in the *Prati.Sū.* is spurious.

On the other hand, there is the other *Śikṣā*, the *Padyātmikā Śikṣā*, comprising twenty-one verses, which is not described as fol-

17. For this see *Vā. Prāti.* (Benares, 1888), pp. 401-431.

18. The order of the *antasthas* (semivowels) according to Kāty. (in fact according to all the *Prātisākhyas*) is य र ल व hence र is here referred to as *apara* (= second) and ल as the third in the following *sūtra*. Pānini has ordered them differently. 'This fact, however, is explicable by the phonological, as opposed to phonetic, approach, there adopted.' (W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, p. 20, note 1).

19. For this see n. 11 above. Its colophon reads: इति श्री देवज्ञकेशवकृता प्रतिज्ञानुसारिणी केशवीणिसा समाप्ता ।

lowing the *Prati.Sū.*²⁰ But it contains a verse²¹ in which the pronunciation of *repha* as *re* before *r* seems to have been laid down, of course, along with the other part, namely the pronunciation of *r* as *re* before an *ūṣman*. This also is rather strange; and one may suspect that some error has crept into this *Śikṣā* at this point. For, the *kārikā* giving this rule has mentioned only three of the sibilants (namely *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s*) leaving out the fourth (namely *h*) altogether. This would mean that, according to this *Śikṣā*, *r* is to be pronounced as *re* before *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s* only, and not before *h* also. This evidently is not correct. For, all authorities, as we have already seen, unanimously hold that *r* is pronounced as *re* before all the sibilants without any exception. This leads one to think, that the *r* which we find in the *kārikā* under consideration is, in all likelihood, a misprint for the *ūṣman* that has been left out. And one is struck to find that the word ऋकार, which is not wanted therein, can be easily replaced by the word हकार, which is expected in its place. Thus, this verse of the metrical *Keśavī Śikṣā*, thus corrected, will be found not to lend its support to the pronunciation of *r* as *re* before *r̥kāra*.

If then this emendation of ऋकार into हकार is admitted, the *Prati.Sū.* remains the only authority laying down the pronunciation of *r* as *re* before the vowel *r̥*.

Thus there appears to be a conflict between the *Vāj.Prāti.*, *Yājñ.Si.*, and various other works on the one hand, laying down the pronunciation of *r* as *re* before the *ūṣmans* only (they are silent about such pronunciation before *r̥kāra*), and the *Prati. Sū.* on the other, which, while accepting what these authorities have laid down, declares that such pronunciation of *r* takes place before the vowel *r̥* also.

In this connection, the author of the *Prātisākhya-pradīpa-śikṣā*²² has pointed out that the *vaidika* (traditional Vedic) pundits, finding themselves unable to discard either, conclude by adopting an option

20. For this see n. 13 above.

21. Read: अन्तस्वानां द्वितीयस्य सैकारोच्चारणं भवेत् । अयुक्तहल्भिः शषसंऋकारेण युतस्य च ॥
But curiously enough the same has happened in the case of the third semi-vowel; and the fourth *ūṣman*, namely ह is somehow left unmentioned. Read:
एवमेव तृतीयस्य शषसैः संयुतस्य च । सैकारोच्चारणं कुर्यादिति शास्त्रव्यवस्थितिः ॥

Or shall we read शषहैः (for शषसैः) as it is done in the लघुमा. शिक्षा where we get शषहेषु (स being altogether omitted)? See n. 15 when the *kārikā* is cited.

22. Bālakṛṣṇa, son of Sadāśiva, surnamed Goḍaśe, appears to have been well-versed in *Prātisākhya* and *Śikṣā* literature, and composed his *Prātisākhya-Pra. Śikṣā* at Vārāṇasī in 1802. See *Vedavikṛtilakṣaṇa-Saṃgraha* (BORI, POONA), Intr., p. xvi-xcii and n. 4.

in the pronunciation, on the basis of the oral tradition prevailing among them.²³

He, however, does not appear to be satisfied with this decision or solution; and declares in very clear terms that all the *vaidikas*, must, in *my* considered and definite opinion, accept the view which has been adopted in the *Prāti.Sū.*, accepted by Yājñ., Mādhyandina, and others in their *Śikṣās*, and has come down to us by (oral) tradition having no (known) beginning.²⁴ The *Amoghānandini-Śikṣā*,²⁵ also appears to give preference to *lakṣaṇa* (= works like the *Prātiśākhya*s and *Śikṣās*) as against *sampradāya* (tradition), saying that the latter is open to *vināśa* (extinction).²⁶

With such conflicting views held by different authorities, the question of the pronunciation of *r* before *r* appears to remain unsolved; and I would like to place it before the connoisseurs with an appeal for further light.

23. Read: अत्र सिद्धान्तः । रेकारोच्चारणे भगवता कात्यायनेन प्रातिशाख्यसूत्रे ऊष्म णामेव ग्रहणं कृतम् । तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यमाध्यन्दिनादयः शिक्षाकर्तार ऊष्मा (?ष्म) णामेव ग्रहणं कुर्वन्ति । एकस्मिन्नेव प्रतिज्ञासूत्रे ऋकारोष्मणां ग्रहणमस्ति । अतो बटिका विकल्प इत्याहुः ।

Here it may be observed that अनन्त याज्ञिक commenting on and illustrating this part of the *sūtra* (namely *r* being read as *रे* before *ऋ* also as said in the *प्रतिज्ञासूत्र*) has tacitly shown his acceptance of that view and hence also the विकल्प

24. He has expressed his view in very clear terms as follows:

तथा च कात्यायनेन प्रातिशाख्यसूत्रेऽप्याहृतं याज्ञवल्क्यमाध्यन्दिनादिभिः शिक्षासु च गृहीतं अनादिसंप्रदायागतं यन्मतं सर्ववैदिकैर्ग्राह्यमिति स्पष्टं प्रतिभातीत्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन ॥ प्राति. प्रदीप शिक्षा, (शिक्षा संग्रह), पृ. 295.

25. For this शिक्षा see शिक्षासंग्रह, पृ. 93-206: There we find: लक्षणं न त्यजेद्दीमान् संप्रदायोऽन्यथा भवेत् । लक्षणेन विना शिष्यः संप्रदायो विनाशवान् ॥ — ॥ उत्तमो लक्षणज्ञानी लक्ष्यज्ञानी तु मध्यमः लक्ष्यलक्षणयोर्ज्ञानी तद्धि पारं प्रवक्षते (प्रशस्यते) ॥ कारिका 923 ff

26. अमरेश in his वर्णरत्नप्रदीपिकाशिक्षा, has expressed his view in the following couplets:

द्वैधीभावे समुत्पन्ने लक्षणानिर्णयो भवेत् ।
लक्षणं वाऽविनाशि स्यात् संप्रदायोऽविनाशवान् ॥
(possibly = संप्रदायो विनाशवान् ॥) 293
प्रमाणानुगतं बाक्यं यो मोहाद्धातुमिच्छति ।
प्रतिवातं स मूढात्मा पांसुं प्रक्षिपति स्वधम् ॥ 293-294 ॥

EARLY CERAMICS OF MAHARASHTRA

K. N. DIKSHIT

Introduction

THE production of ceramic is one of the oldest arts and crafts of mankind. It developed through Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age. At present it is used in our daily life. Since the subject is quite vast, the forming processes and techniques like preparation of material, shaping the clay, drying, turning and firing and other decorating processes are not discussed here. More emphasis is laid on the history of pottery because it helps in dating different cultures and traditions. The pottery is fired in a kiln and it is the atmosphere of the kiln as well as the composition of the clay which determines the colour of the fired pot. It may also be mentioned that painted designs are early development. The introduction of potter's wheel brought exactness and symmetry of form.

Background

The early ceramic tradition of Maharashtra is closely connected with the rise and fall of those cultures which in economic sense mark the existence of the food-producing stage of human civilization and the settled life of early man in this region. While determining the chronology of ceramic tradition of this part of the country, it would be worthwhile to emphasize one important fact of this subcontinent that when the people in Baluchistan, Sind, Rajasthan, Punjab, Western Uttar Pradesh and Saurashtra were leading a highly developed civilized life, Kashmir, southern Uttar Pradesh, eastern India, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and south India were in the early agricultural and pastoral stage which continued till such time as they came in contact with the communities which were well versed in the use of painted pottery, specialized chert blades and copper tools. In archaeological parlance the former are called 'Neolithic' and the latter 'Chalcolithic.'

The archaeological evidence shows that while the Harappan Civilization of the great cities in the north-western states of India was in its last legs, a few chalcolithic cultures emerged in parts of south-eastern Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnatak,

southern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal. In course of migration of these cultures in different regions led to the establishment of large-scale agricultural communities in different riverine valleys. These cultures underwent further change with the advent of iron around C. 1000 — 800 B.C. marking the beginning of historical period, i.e. from the time of the birth of *Mahajanapadas* in northern India.

Chronological Sequence

Within this broad frame work we would make a survey of the ceramic tradition of Maharashtra whose origin goes back to about four thousand years from now. The following is the broad chronological order of ceramics found in the archaeological excavations conducted so far in Maharashtra:—

1. Neolithic —Course Grey Ware (from c. 2000 B.C.)
2. Chalcolithic —Malwa and Jorwe Wares (c. 1600 — 1000 B.C.)
Late Jorwe Ware (c. 1000 — 700 B.C.)
3. Iron Age —Black-and-red Ware (from 7-6th century B.C.)
(Megalith and non-Megalith)
4. Early Christian era —Roman and local Wares (from c. 1st century B.C.).

The above sequence of ceramics is based on the modern scientific dating technique — direct and indirect methods and typological analysis of pot sherds. Radiocarbon dating method is one of them. About 500 Radiocarbon dates of Indian sites are available today for determining the time spreads of these cultures.

First Farmers of Maharashtra

The neolithic framers of Karnataka introduced in the riverine valleys of Maharashtra a thick coarse hand-made grey pottery for storing food and drink, and other uses about four thousand years ago (Sankalia, 1974). The most common shapes were globular pots of various sizes with rounded base and flaring rim. Pl.I. These pots are decorated with incised or applique linear, criss-cross and finger-tip ornaments. Other types include large troughs and sub-spherical bowls. The edges and shoulders of some of these pots are having post-firing red-ochre paintings. The excavations at Daimabad (Pravara-Godavari valley) (Deshpande 1958-59, Dhavalikar, 1969-70) and Songaon (Bhima valley) (Deo, 1969) throw a welcome light on

the culture of this period. Besides pottery, remains of plastered huts of mud, food-grains and bones of domesticated animals have been unearthed. Beads of terracotta and stone were also discovered. More details of this period in Maharashtra could be known only after the excavations of other sites in western Maharashtra are completed.

Introduction of Copper

Surface explorations in the central Tapti Basin revealed possibly Late Harappan pottery from Hingoni Budruk, Dhule, Bahyana, Nyahali, Kaothe etc. (Sali, 1977). The similar pottery was also reported earlier from the earliest excavated levels of Prakash (Thapar, 1967). The types include dish-on-stand, cylindrical vase with a flat base, perforated jars, etc. As nothing is known except potsherds, it would be better to excavate one of the well preserved sites of this region. Such a plan will further confirm the chrono-cultural relationship of Maharashtra if any, with Malwan situated in the estuary of Tapti. It is significant to note that the estuarine culture represented at sites like Bhagatrav and Malvan, is principally a post-Harappan extension of the culture of Saurashtra. In Tapti valley it might have entered from the coastal regions of Gujarat.

A few sites located on the south bank of Tapti also yielded Sawalwa Ware identified by a variety of blackpainted red ware (Joshi, 1969-70). The fabric is medium to coarse. Since the stratigraphical position of this ware is not clear at the moment, more evidence is needed for assigning it a separate phase. However, recent excavation at Daimabad is an attempt in this direction where this ware has been reported from the lowest level.

Malwa Culture

In the middle of the second millennium B.C., a new set of people knowing the use of painted pottery, specialised stone-blade technique and copper came on the scene of Maharashtra, particularly in the Tapti and Bhima Valleys. The excavations at Daimabad, Inamgaon, (Sankalia et al, 1973), Nevasa (Sankalia et al, 1959) Prakash and Chandoli (Deo and Ansari, 1965) revealed the remains of a culture better known to archaeologists as 'Malwa'. Construction of circular huts with lime floor was a characteristic feature of this culture. It also introduced the use of potter's wheel.

The ceramic industry of these people is not very fine but the surface treatment of the pots by a reddish to pink thick slip and black paintings add lustre to it. Different ceramic shapes such as delicate globlets, bowls with rounded base and concave or carinated

sides, jars, dish-on stand and channel-spouted bowls would all suggest the artistic taste of these people. They form a normal complement of an Indian village household. The paintings consist of geometric, non-geometric and animal designs. The painting over a large globular vessel reported from Daimabad in two horizontal compartments is, however, very interesting and significant. The upper panel shows a human figure with two deer approaching and a peacock in between, whereas the lower one depicts three tigers with stylised bodies and long legs. Big storage jars were also in use. Some pots were having grooved high-necks with funnel-shaped mouth. Other wares of this period are pale grey, burnished and unburnished grey. A cream slipped ware was also present. The types include medium sized storage vessels and some characteristic designs.

Foreign Affinities

A few forms of Malwa ware are comparable to similar forms in western Asia. The linked dancing-figure design on the pot could be compared with that of tepe Sialk and Chagar Bazar (Sankalia, 1973). But this may be clarified that these forms are not the direct copy of any one pot from the particular site in Iran, but possibly an adaptation of the idea which was current in Iran and western Asia as far as Crete. As Indian and vis-a-vis west Asian Cultures are far removed in time and space, the very basis of their comparison remains uncoordinated. The channel spouted vessels from Sialk have larger channels and also have curved handles. Moreover, the Malwa examples are several hundred years older than their west Asian counterparts. (Agarwal & Kusumgar, 1974).

Jorwe Culture

This culture was superseded by another culture noticed for the first time about a few centuries before the end of 2nd millennium B.C. at Jorwe (Sankalia and Deo, 1955). Stratigraphically, the ceramic of this culture was found succeeding the Malwa ware for the first time at Prakash and confirmed subsequently at Daimabad, Bahal (Deshpande, 1956-57) and Inamgaon. The lustrous Red Ware found in the deposits of Jorwe culture provides a link amongst several chalcolithic sites of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. The Jorwe pottery is well fired as is evident from the metallic ring. It is of matt dull-red surface and has a variety of geometrical paintings in black colour. The shapes include simple, carinated and spouted bowls, globular pots and storage jars. Spouted pots are the characteristic of this period. Pl. II. Ill-fired globular pots of burnished grey colour were also used as burial-urns. However, Chan-

doli yielded a rich pottery repertoires, lamps and terracottas whereas Songaon, Inamgaon and Daimabad revealed the settlement pattern as well as food habits of the people. In addition the extensive excavations at Inamgaon provide interesting evidence about the change or evolution in pottery forms. An oval clay box with a female figurine within and a headless clay female figurine standing on the back of a bull are other interesting objects. A theriomorphic pot was also noticed at Chandoli and Nevasa. Pl. III. Similar pots but with vertical opening were also reported from a large number of sites in West Asia. However, a comparable example from Sialk Necropole B too has a side opening. A three legged bowl from Chandoli could be compared with Tepe Giyan examples.

Daimabad Bronzes

In 1974, four solid bronzes including an elephant, a rhinoceros, a buffalo and a chariot yoked to a pair of bull and driven by a man were found as a chance discovery by a villager. The bronzes which are of low tin bronze are about 65 kg. in weight. The chemical analysis by the Chief Archaeological Chemist, Archaeological Survey of India, indicated a fairly developed furnace technology for the casting of these bronzes. In the absence of instrumental analytical equipment, no trace element analysis was conducted. Dhavalikar (1977) who examined the find-spot of discovery connects these bronzes with the activities of the people using Malwa ware, whereas Sali (1977) connects them with Late Harappans. On the basis of atomic absorption spectrophotometry, Agarwal (1978) thinks that these bronzes are of recent historical practice.

Beginning of Iron Age

In the beginning of the 1st Millennium B.C. Jorwe culture dispersed to further south. At Inamgaon it degenerated into what is called Late Jorwe which survived longer, possibly upto 700 B.C. (Dhavalikar, 1973). It was followed by iron using culture practising megalithic types of architecture for disposal of the dead. The excavations of stone-circles in northern Maharashtra at Takalghat, Khapa, Mahurjhari (Deo, 1969-70) and Junapani (Thapar, 1961-62) throw a flood of light on the cultural equipment of these people. They buried their dead alongwith his or her ornaments, tools and weapons and even horse with its trappings and ornaments. Pl. IV. Besides iron, they were fully conversant with copper and gold. Iron tools were of superior quality. The ceramic, Black-and-Red Ware used by them was quite distinctive. It was due to what is called 'inverted firing' technique that the bottoms are red while inside and on the mouth these are black. The types include funnel-shaped pots

with conical base, dishes with flat and convex sides, cups, basins and globular pots. The material equipment of megalithic people gives indications of culture contacts with other cultures and regions.

Early Historic Period

At Prakash in the Tapti valley and Bahal in the Cirna valley, a full-fledged Iron Age Culture of the Early Historical period succeeded chalcolithic culture. It could be dated pre-Northern Black Polished Ware or somewhere to the middle of 1st millennium B.C. The dominant ceramic of this period is also Black-and-Red Ware, but at Prakash it is somewhat different in shape and fabric from the megalithic Black-and-Red Ware. The living pattern shows that the people of the Early Historic period were a community of settled farmers, artisans and traders. They used rice, gram, peas, sorghum, millets, *ragi* and *kardai*.

Emergence of Towns and Cities

In the wake of trade contacts, religious upheaval and imperialistic advancement of *Mahajanapadas*, new towns came to be established in Maharashtra. As in the rest of India the introduction of iron did not immediately change the pattern of life. A march towards urbanism in Maharashtra took a little longer time. The beginning of urbanisation took place in this region around the times of the great Maurya dynasty, or a century or two earlier. Asokan contacts with Maharashtra are attested by the find of Edicts at Sopara and Aparanta. The antiquity of Paithan, Nasik, Nevasa, Karad and Kolhapur (Sankalia and Dikshit, 1952) and port-towns like Sopara and Kalyan lying in north-western Maharashtra goes back to the third century B.C. A kind of historical Black-and-Red Ware which is black inside and red on the outer bottom alongwith other red wares was also found at these sites. The shapes are dishes with shallow round base, rimless bowls, *lotas* and carinated *handis*. The clay is impure and normally ill-fired.

Roman Pottery

India developed a good trade contact with the Roman world in the 1st few centuries of the Christian era, (Deshpande, 1969). There are references to different guilds who organised internal and external trade. At Ter have been found in excavations hundreds of Roman lamps looking like a conch-shell with a spout for the wick and a hollowed belly to contain oil. Pl. V. Other potteries of this period are amphora, Rouletted, Arretine and local Red Polished ware. The Arretine is a soft and delicate red-glazed ware with shades varying from red to yellow-red with the lustre rivalling that of sealing

wax. It is named after the place of its manufacture Arretium (modern Arezo) in Italy. The production technique of this ware is by means of a mould. The Rouletted black ware was carefully potted on a quick wheel and while wet rouletted decorations were made. Local imitations were also produced. Amphora was extensively used for transporting wine and oil. It was also meant for use at public festivals, weddings and funerary purposes. It has a long cylindrical body with a pointed base, a long narrow neck and two straight handles. The Red Polished pottery of this period which is highly burnished has a variety of types like sprinklers, cups and bowls. The prototype of sprinkler in bronze was found at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) alongwith other objects of Roman importation Pl. VI. It was also found at Western Indian rock-cut caves of Buddhist origin like Pitalkhora, Kanheri, Karle, Junnar etc. This type is also represented in sculptures at Ajanta. In later times in this group of fabric also comes painted Andhra Ware reported from Satavahana sites. The main type of this fabric is bowl having paintings of slant lines or dots.

Emergent Picture

The intrusion of neolithic folk from Karnatak in Maharashtra and inter-connection of chalcolithic communities like Malwa and Jorwe with them at different stages throw welcome light on the early ceramic tradition of Maharashtra. In central Tapti basin it was possibly influenced by the extension of estuarine culture of Saurashtra. In the Early Historic period the ceramic types and fabric again witnessed a change due to arrival of Iron using communities from north as well as from south. In fact the Roman trade contact brought a far reaching impact on the household ceramic complement.

From the foregoing survey, it is amply clear that the ceramic tradition of Maharashtra was not any isolated feature but was always a part of wider technological diffusion and contact. At every stage of technological development, new ideas influenced and brought about a change in the settlement pattern. New cultural traits appeared on the scene of Maharashtra with the movement of people, while the original one started diminishing or vanishing.

The study of ceramic tradition of Maharashtra after 3rd century A.D. could be accomplished provided new excavations of historical sites are taken up. Except Gupta pottery, other fabrics and shapes of later cultures are not well established in this region.

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Plate I



Plate II



Plate III



Plate IV

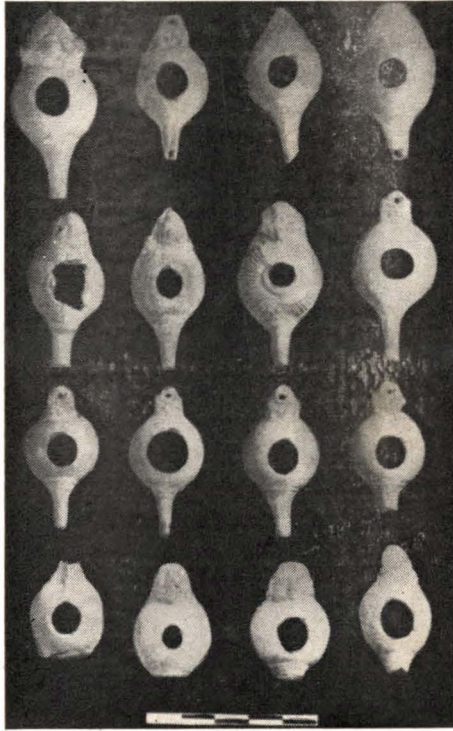


Plate V

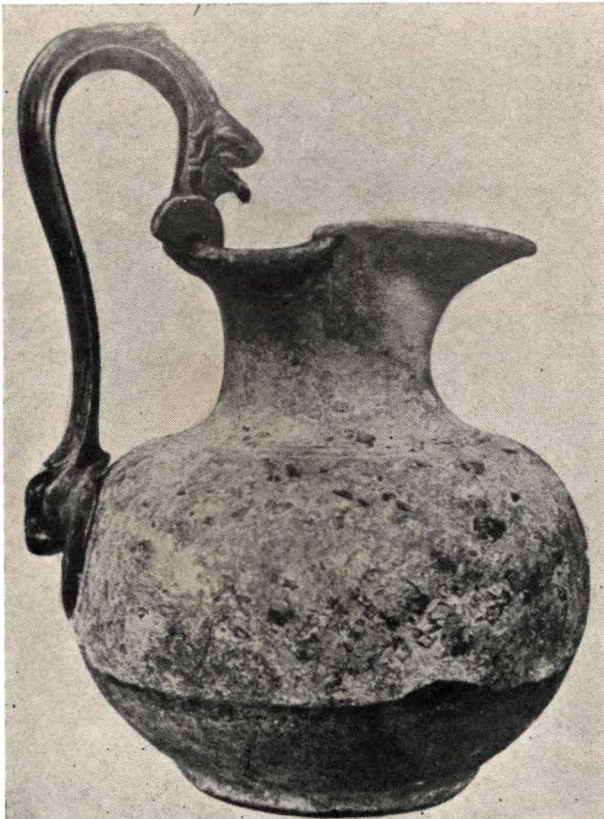


Plate VI

ON ARUNAGIRINĀTHA'S OBSERVATION ON THE FIGURE OF SPEECH IN KUMĀRASAMBHAVA 1.3

K. P. JOG

THE commentaries on literary works in Sanskrit have not, I believe, received serious attention of scholars and, therefore, studies in Sanskrit Literary Criticism have remained lop-sided. It is indeed often that a reader of Sanskrit works on Poetics wonders whether the various theories in them were actually applied to literary works in Sanskrit. This feeling of curiosity was, I believe, sensed by the writers of these commentaries who have subjected the works of celebrated authors to various theories of Poetics in Sanskrit and tried to ascertain the validity or otherwise of the same. Again, while they did so, they have, on occasion raised some such problems connected with these theories as demand of solutions. As an instance of this, I would point to Arunagirinātha's (A's) observation on the figure of speech in the well-known verse from the *Kumārasambhava* (1.3)

(अस्त्युत्तरस्यां विशि . . . हिमालयो . . .)

अनन्तरत्नप्रभवस्य यस्य हिमं न सौभाग्यविलोपि जातम् ।

एको हि दोषो गुणसंनिपाते निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः ॥

I choose this example for the following reasons:

(i) The figure of speech in this verse has been variously discussed by some important writers on Poetics in Sanskrit, viz., Kuntaka, Jayaratha, Śobhākara, Appayya Dikṣita and Jagannātha Paṇḍita — though the celebrated commentator of Kālidāsa, viz., Mallinātha, has not taken note of his predecessors;¹

(ii) A is held by T. Ganapati Śāstri as a predecessor of Mallinātha;² and

(iii) A appears to refer to some earlier (now not available or known) commentator's view on the figure of speech in this verse.

1. Cf. *Kumārasambhava* (with Arunagirinātha's commentary and Nārayana's sub-commentary), ed. T. Ganapati Śāstri, T.S.S. no. 27, Trivandrum, 1913, cantos 1-3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

A's comment on this verse runs as follows:

ननु विशेषस्य सामान्येन समर्थने किमत्र दृष्टान्तेन यः खलु
यथा रन्ध्रं व्योम्नश्चलजलबध्मः स्थगयति
स्फुलिङ्गानां रूपं दधति च यथा कीटमणयः ।
यथा विद्युज्ज्वालोल्लसनपिङ्गाश्व ककुभस्-
तथा मन्ये लग्नः पथिकतरुषण्डे स्मरद्वयः ॥

इत्यत्र काव्यानुमानेऽपि कार्कश्यभयात् तर्कानुमाने इव न प्रयुज्यते । तत्र ह्यप्रतीतप्रतीत्युपपादनं क्रियते । अर्थान्तरन्यासे तु प्रतीतोपपादनम् । न च क्वचिदीदृशे विषये दृष्टान्तो दृश्यते । न च वाच्यं

गुणानामेव दौरात्म्याद् घुरि घुर्यो नियुज्यते ।

असञ्जातकिणस्कन्धः सुखं स्वापिति गौर्गडिः ॥

इत्यत्र सामान्यस्य समर्थको यो विशेषः स दृष्टान्त एव । एवमिहापि दृष्टान्तोऽस्त्विति । यतस्तत्र स एव समर्थकः प्रकृतायाः सामान्यव्याप्तेः । इह तु प्रकृतस्य विशेषस्य समर्थिका सेति विशेषः । न च तस्या अपि स्थिरीकरणाय दृष्टान्तोऽपेक्ष्यः । न हि काव्ये प्रमाणप्रतिपन्नेनैवार्थेन व्यवहारः । प्रतीतिमात्रस्यैवोपयोगात् । तत्कथमत्र दृष्टान्तः । उच्यते । न तावदयं दृष्टान्तो व्याप्तिविरोधी किन्त्वतिरिक्त इति शङ्क्यते । न चैवं शङ्क्यम् । चारुत्वाधानात् । अर्थान्तरन्यासस्य ह्यस्य (तु ?) शृङ्गाराङ्गभूतः स्वभावसुकुमारोऽयं दृष्टान्तश्चारुत्वमाधत्ते । उक्तं च कुन्तकेन

अलङ्कारस्य कवयो यत्रालङ्कारणान्तरम् ।

असन्नुष्टा निबध्नन्ति हारादेर्मणिबन्धवत् ॥

इति । यः पुनर्यच्छब्दवाक्यस्य तच्छब्दवाक्येन साकाङ्क्षत्वादर्थान्तरन्यासवाक्येनासम्बन्धः कैश्चिच्छङ्कितः सोऽपि न । यतोऽत्र द्विधाकाङ्क्षा शाब्दी चार्थी च । तत्र प्रथममर्थस्य स्वभाव-
ञ्चतत्त्वादन्तरङ्गभूताया आर्था आकाङ्क्षाया अर्थान्तरन्यासवाक्यान्वयेन निवृत्तौ पश्चादितरा-
न्वयेनेतरा निवर्तते ।

A's comment is obviously aimed at justifying the use of the phrase इन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः beside (Or rather, in addition to) the general statement एको हि दोषो गुणसंनिपाते निमज्जति. This justification he must have found it necessary to offer, since, perhaps, some earlier commentator of *Kumārasambhava*, or some rhetorician, had already raised doubt about the propriety of the phrase इन्दोः. It is this doubt that A discusses first. Apparently, the doubter does not accept this phrase as an instance of उपमा (as Mallinātha does), he would rather treat it as a दृष्टान्त (We may paraphrase it as उदाहरण). The reason why the doubter would object to the use of the दृष्टान्त is that it (viz. दृष्टान्त) brings in an element of some rigid thought-process which can have a rightful place only in a syllogistic statement but certainly not in a poetic composition.

He explains this position further thus: The verses like यथा रन्ध्रं etc. . . . which are instances of the figure of speech अनुमान do not con-

tain any दृष्टान्त and this is quite unlike in a syllogistic statement where a दृष्टान्त is an absolute necessity: see for example the well known व्याप्ति with an उदाहरण, "यत्र यत्र धूमस्तत्र तत्र वह्निः यथा महानसे". The doubter's position can be clarified in full thus: The verse अनन्तरत्न . . . is an instance of अर्थान्तरन्यास, since the 2nd line justifies the 1st line (of course, together with its related - principal - clause which is foregone in अस्त्युत्तरस्यां . . . नगाधिराज. And the words इन्दोः compare with the दृष्टान्तः यथा महानसे, thus bringing in the element of rigid expression of some thought. The element, the doubter further argues, has no legitimate place in an अर्थान्तरन्यास, because, in an अर्थान्तरन्यास the poet seeks to justify what is already understood by his reader [this also, in a charming way as is evident from the word कार्कश्यभय]. As against this, the syllogistic statement seeks to clarify, and not to justify, what is understood!

Here, someone would point out to this doubter the use and acceptance of दृष्टान्त in poetical compositions like गुणानामेव . . . The doubter is indeed aware of this and yet does not have to give up, because, in his opinion, the general statement in such verses is प्रस्तुत 'relevant or matter in hand' from the poet's point of view and he justifies it by an example. Here, in अनन्तरत्न . . . however the general statement एको हि . . . निमज्जति is itself अप्रस्तुत 'irrelevant or matter not in hand' and should need no justification; in fact, it itself seeks to justify the preceding line. Further, it has to be remembered that in poetic compositions there is place for statements of only such things as are matter of experience — they need no proof whatever.

Having thus discussed the doubt in respect of the phrase इन्दोः . . . A points out that this दृष्टान्त is not unnecessary or redundant inasmuch as it renders the अर्थान्तरन्यास more charming. A goes to assert that Kālidāsa himself remained unsatisfied by introducing the अर्थान्तरन्यास in the sentence एको हि . . . निमज्जति and, therefore, added the दृष्टान्त in the phrase इन्दोः. A's assertion has a basis in कुन्तक's remark अलङ्कारस्य.³

It appears, therefore, that, according to A, the figure of speech in this verse is संसृष्टि of अर्थान्तरन्यास and दृष्टान्त; though he does not say so specifically.⁴ Consequently, he would translate the verse thus:

"(Himālaya) . . . of whom, the origin of innumerable jewels, the snow could not become the destroyer of beauty; indeed, a single fault is lost sight of amidst a multitude of virtues — (this is) like the spot (which is lost sight of) amidst the rays of the moon."

3. *Vakroktajīvita*, ed. S. K. De, Calcutta, 1928. (2nd ed.).

4. *Kumārasambhava*, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

A's observation on the figure of speech in this verse raises the following problems:

(i) Can we really treat the phrase इन्दोः as a दृष्टान्त ?

(ii) Supposing it is a दृष्टान्त, how can we account for the use of इव?

(iii) Again, the विवरण of नारायण which, it is alleged, follows A's commentary very closely, specifically states that इन्दोः . . . इत्यत्र तूपमा. Could this be the position of A? — this last despite A's specific use and justification of the word दृष्टान्त?

It appears to me that A had before him the work of Śobhākara who, in his अलङ्काररत्नाकर defines the figure of speech उदाहरण thus:⁵

सामान्योद्दिष्टानामेकस्य निदर्शनमुदाहरणम् ।

सामान्येनाभिहितानामेकस्येवाद्युपादानमुखेन प्रतीतिविशदीकरणार्थं निदर्शनमुदाहरण-मलङ्कारः । अयं चेवाद्युपादानेनोपमासाधर्म्यात् तत्प्रस्तावे लक्षितः । उदाहरणम्—अनन्तरत्न . .

A has, therefore, used the word दृष्टान्त in the sense of उदाहरण of Śobhākara. It may be equally possible to say that, in A's opinion, Kālidāsa felt unsatisfied even after using the general proposition एको . . . निमज्जति and, therefore, added an उदाहरण as in syllogistic pattern they use यथा महानसे. Perhaps A further thought that इन्दोः . . . is not like यथा महानसे. wanting in charm and it was a well-known dictum that figures of speech comprised in charming compositions of poet, not in dry as dust or matter of fact statements. In order to indicate this, he has referred to the verse गुणानामेव . . . It is possible then to conclude that A very much anticipated a later rhetorician Jagannātha who has criticised Śobhākara's view,⁵ much though he used the word दृष्टान्त (as an equivalent of उदाहरण). And the decisive step A has taken is that he has referred to कुन्तक; that would clearly show how he sees two figures of speech in this verse.

It should therefore follow that (i) the word दृष्टान्त in A's comment should not be mistaken (a) for the name of a figure of speech or (b) in the sense of उदाहरण as Śobhākara used it, (ii) the use of इव is certainly taken care of if it is remembered that A sees an उपमा in इन्दोः . . . , and (iii) What A had left unsaid was clarified by his commentator नारायण.

5. Cf. *Rasagāṅgādhara*, ed. Badarinath Jha, *Vidya Bhavan Sanskrit Grantha Mala* 11, Benares, 1955, p. 417.

I avoid here any discussion on the propriety or otherwise of the views of Jagannātha, Appayya Dikṣita and Śobhākara — for this last, see *Alaṅkāra-ratnākara*, ed. C. R. Devdhar, Poona Oriental Series, No. 77, Poona, 1942.

It may be incidentally pointed out, while closing this discussion, that Mallinātha maintains इन्द्रोः . . . as an उपमा. It is true that neither A nor Mallinātha has taken note of the other and also that Mallinātha does not show any acquaintance with the view of Śobhākara. It is indeed difficult to answer why Mallinātha has not taken note of Śobhākara's view. Or is it possible that Śobhākara's work had not attracted the attention of the Paṇḍits by Mallinātha's time? or even by A's time? And, finally, could A be a predecessor of Mallinātha? These questions still keep on lingering in one's mind!

VĀKYASAMSKĀRA AND PADASAMSKĀRA

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and

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IN his discussion on the *pb. antarāṅgabāhiraṅgayor antarāṅgam balavat* (pb. 22) Śīradeva quotes the statement *svvicārya pada-syārtham vākyaṁ grhṇanti sūrayah*: 'having thoroughly reflected upon the meaning of the word the scholars grasp (the meaning of) the sentence.'¹ The statement is quoted in connection with an argument on the order of applying Pāṇini's rules. The example is *vṛkṣa iha*: 'in this tree.' If we put the elements making up the expression side by side, we obtain the sequence *vṛkṣa + Ņi + iha*. Here two phonological rules become applicable simultaneously, p.6.1.87 to the subsequence (*vṛkṣa + Ņi*), and p.6.1.101 to the subsequence (*Ņi + iha*). If p.6.1.87 is applied first, the resulting form is *vṛkṣe* which is to be combined with *iha*. If p.6.1.101 is applied first, the resulting form is *Iha* which is to be combined with *vṛkṣa*. The combination of *vṛkṣe + iha* gives us *vṛkṣa iha* (p. 6.1.78, p. 8.3.19), which is not desired. The combination of *vṛkṣa + Iha* gives us *vṛkṣeha* (p.6.1.87), which is not desired. Therefore, to have the desired expression Śīradeva says that we must adopt the *padasamskārapakṣa*: 'view according to which rules are applied resulting in the derivation of a *pada* (not taking into account its connection with another word)'. Thus we will first derive the loc. sg. from *vṛkṣe*, and once we have derived it, connect it with *iha* in the wordgroup *vṛkṣe iha*.

On the other hand, in deriving the form *harir* in the wordgroup *harir gacchati*: 'Hari goes',² we cannot adopt the *padasamskārapakṣa*,

1. K. V. Abhyankar, *Paribhāṣasāṅgraha*, Poona (BORI), 1967, p. 187. Śīradeva is dated somewhat after Puruṣottamadeva who is placed in the second half of the 12th cent. A.D., see *ibid.*, Introduction, p. 28 and 29.
2. See PN (The *Paribhāṣendusekhara* of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. Edited and explained by F. Kielhorn, part II, Translation and Notes. Second edition by K. V. Abhyankar, Poona, 1960) on pb. 56, p. 319-320; S. D. Joshi: "Sentence-structure according to Pāṇini", *Indian Antiquary* (Third Series), Vol. III, Bombay, 1969, sections 5.5.1-2; and S. D. Joshi and P. Kiparsky, "Siddha and Asiddha in Pāṇinian Phonology", *Current Approaches in Phonological Theory*, Edited by D. A. Dinnsen, Indiana University Press, 1979, p. 233-235.

because the independent derivation of *hari* as a finished form would result in the form *hariḥ* (p. 8.2.66, -s ——— -rU; p.8.3.15, -rU ——— -h). Once this form has been derived, there is no rule which tells us that in the sequence *hariḥ gacchati* the *visarga* is to be changed into *rU* again. Thus we would have *hariḥ gacchati* as the final result, which is not desired. That is why, to have the desired form, we must adopt the *vākyasamskārapakṣa*: 'view according to which rules are applied resulting in the derivation of (*padas* by taking into account their connection with other words in the) *vākya*'. Only then we will know that *hari* does not occur at the end of an utterance, so that P.8.3.15 is not applied. Or, in other words, we will put the elements of the whole expression *harir gacchati* before us, as *hari* + *sU* + *gam-* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*, and then start applying rules.

To sum up, the *padasamskārapakṣa* assumes that the *pada* must be treated and derived as a single utterance, independently of its connection with another word, and that it is joined afterwards only with other similarly derived *padas*, as the speaker wishes. The *vākyasamskārapakṣa*, on the other hand, assumes that the entire *vākya* which is in the mind of the speaker is to be treated as a single coherent utterance and be derived as such. Thus whereas the *padasamskāra* starts from the analytical elements of the *pada*, the *Vākyasamskāra* starts from the analytical elements of the *Vākya*. In the latter case, a distinction must be introduced between *antaraṅga*-rules which are word-integrative rules, and *bahiraṅga*-rules which are non-word-integrative rules. Moreover, as regards the order of application, priority must be given to the *antaraṅga*-rules.

The term *pada* figures as a recognized technical term in Pāṇini's grammar. *Padas* are *subantas* and *tinantas* (P.1.4.14), i.e., those which end in suffixes called *suP* and *tiṅ* have been provided with elements which, among other things, take care of word-connection. That is to say, *padas* are derived in Pāṇini's grammar as connected words, not just as words to be connected after their derivation. It remains to be shown how exactly the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is designed to do this.

It is well-known that the term *vākya* does not occur among Pāṇini's technical terms, although Pāṇini knows the word *vākya* and even uses it. P.7.3.67 prescribes its formation. The rule says that -c of the verbal base *vac-* is not substituted by -k before this suffix *ṆyaT*, when the word derived is not the name of an utterance. Thus we have *vācyam āha*: 'he said what was to be said', and *vākyam āha*: 'he spoke a sentence'. In the last example the word *vākya* stands for the name of an utterance (*śabda*).

The word *vākya* occurs in three *Pāṇinisūtras* in the sense of 'sentence' (P.6.1.139; P.8.1.8; P.8.1.82). From some other rules of Pāṇini we infer that utterances may contain more than one finite verb (P. 8.1.35; P. 8.1.51-53; P. *8.1.59-66) or just one (P.8.1.36-50; P.8.1.68-69; P.8.3.93-94; P. 8.2.96; P. 8.2.99).

Since Pāṇini did know the term *vākya*, but did not include it among his technical terms standing for linguistic concepts applied in his grammar, and, since, in any case, *vākya* as a linguistic concept deserves some consideration, we must conclude that Pāṇini has purposely excluded the term — and therefore the concept in whichever way he may have defined it — from his grammar. Why? Obviously, because he thought that he could do without it. His idea must have been that words can be derived as connected words without introducing and defining the concept of *vākya*. This holds both for derivations involving lexical stems and for derivations involving *padas* (p. 2.1.1).³

But then what about P.2.3.46? Doesn't this rule make provision for the derivation of *padas* like *vrkṣaḥ*: 'tree' independently of any other word? Strictly according to Pāṇini, yes (see also under 1.1.2). In this respect, P.2.3.46 occupies a unique position in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. But to Kātyāyana, who proposed to rephrase P.2.3.46 as *abhihite prathamā*, even though the nominative ending does not convey a specific syntactic function, this does not mean that a nominative word is syntactically indifferent. In fact, since it is considered to convey any *abhihitakāraka*, connection with another word is presupposed.

However, although Pāṇini does not bother to introduce the concept of *vākya*, he obviously cannot dispense with the idea of connection. To express this idea, he does not use a single technical term. Instead, he uses different non-technical terms, like *samartha* (p.2.1.1.; p.4.1.82), *sambandha* (p.3.4.1); *yoga* (p.1.4.59), *yuktā* (p.2.3.19) *sākāṅkṣa* (p.2.3.114), and also technical terms like *kāraka* (p.1.4.23), *samānādhikaraṇa* (p.6.3.34) and *anabhihita* (p.2.3.1), which imply connection with another word. Pāṇini must have considered that including sentence intonation as dealt with in p.8.1.18 ff. there is nothing in the notion *vākya* which he

3. Note that Pāṇini's grammar also provides for the derivation of lexical items, either by combining verbal bases or nominal stems with *krt* - or *taddhita* - suffixes respectively, or by combining (*subanta*) *padas* to form a cp. stem (p. 1.2.46). For instance, p. 3.1.133 prescribes the suffixes *NvuL* and *trC* in the sense of agent. Thus we derive the *prātipadikas* *kāraka* and *kartr*. Here the meaning 'agent' has no syntactic value unless it is connected with other meanings, but it forms part of the lexical meaning. These lexical items form the base of Pāṇini's grammar.

could not have from the idea of connected words. After all, he might have asked, what else is a *vākya* but a series of connected words? And if it is nothing else, one is at blow absolved from finding out a definition for *vākya*, not an easy problem.

Kātyāyana is of a different opinion. In connection with rules prescribing loss of accent and substitution for *yuṣmad* and *asmad* he wants to introduce the condition *samānavākya*: 'within one and the same sentence' (*Samarthāhnikā SA*, Vt. XI). For that purpose he has to define the notion *vākya*, something of which Patañjali says that it is *apūrva*: 'completely new' in Pāṇini's grammar, and possibly *dveṣya*: 'objectionable' (*Samarthāhnikā*, Bh. No. 118). Kātyāyana mentions two definitions of *vākya*. Here the second one says that a *vākya* is *ekatiṅ*: 'containing a single finite verb' (Vt. X).^{*} Thus, whereas a *tiṅanta* may form a *vākya* by itself, a *subanta* or a group of *subantas* cannot. Why cannot *subantas* form a *vākya*: 'sentence'? The answer is that probably, according to Kātyāyana, a sentence is an organized whole, in which the connections ultimately depend on connection with a finite verb. Thus, to Kātyāyana, in distinction from Pāṇini, probably the finite verb forms the organizing principle of the utterance, which will simply fall apart in disconnected pieces, like words in an enumeration, in the absence of a finite verb. This could be the deep reason behind Kātyāyana's proposal to rephrase P.2.3.46 as *abhihite prāthamā*.⁴

The question whether the concept of *vākya* introduced is an improvement on Pāṇini's rules, and succeeds in justifying examples where Pāṇini fails, must be left unanswered here (see *SA*, p. 122-124).

Given Pāṇini's idea of words to be derived in view of their connection with another word, given also his division of words into *subantas* and *tiṅantas*, and, finally, given the relative unimportance of word-order in Sanskrit, what are, in fact, the possibilities for word-connection? They are just three:—

- (a) *tiṅanta* + *tiṅanta*,
- (b) *tiṅanta* + *subanta*,
- (c) *subanta* + *subanta*.

In (a) the connection is taken care of by individual rules, as the case may be (see the rules enumerated under 1.1.0 for utter-

^{*} *SA* .. Patañjali's *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*: *Samarthāhnikā*, Edited with Translation and Explanatory Notes by S. D. Joshi, Publications of the Center of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class C, No. 3, University of Poona, 1968.

4. Vt. III on p. 2.3.46, see also *Mbh.* I, p. 462, line 6, (Kielhorn's edition). It is definitely the reason behind Patañjali's redefinition of *śeṣa* as *karmāḍinām avivakṣā*, see *Mbh.* I, p. 463, line 13.

ances containing more than one verb). In (b) the connection is accounted for by P.1.4.23-55, and, from the point of view of form, by P.2.3.1-49. In (c) the connection is accounted for by P.2.3.50, both from the point of view of relation and that of form, because the rule says that the genitive ending conveys the sense of relation other than the ones enumerated so far.

But if Pāṇini's grammar is designed to derive words in view of their connection with another word, does this mean that we cannot derive isolated words, like *vrkṣah*: 'tree' or *piba*: 'drink'? Does it also mean that the *padasamskārapakṣa* is a view alien to the design of Pāṇini's grammar?

In this connection, it may be worth while to quote a passage from the *Mbh.*⁵ Kātyāyana in *Vt.* IV on P.1.2.45 has stated *padārthād anyasyānupalabdhir iti cet padārthābhisambandhasyopalabdhiḥ*: 'If (it is argued that in a *vākya*) we do not understand anything other than meanings of words, (then we say this is not so, because) we understand (also) the relation between the wordmeanings'. After explaining the *Vt.* literally, Patañjali continues, *iha devadatta ityukte . . . eteṣāṃ padānāṃ sāmānye vartamānānām yadvīṣeṣe 'vasthānaṃ sa vākyaṛthah*: 'On the one hand, when we say *devadatta*: 'O Devadatta' (sg. voc.) we indicate an agent, not an object, nor an action or quality. When we say *gām*: 'cow' (sg. acc. fem.) we indicate an object, not an agent, nor an action or quality. When we say *abhyāja*: 'drive near' we indicate an action, not an agent, not an object or quality. When we say *śuklām*: 'white' (sg. fem. acc.) we indicate a quality, not an agent or object, nor an action. On the other hand, when we say *devadatta gām abhyāja śuklām*: 'O Devadatta, bring near the white cow', everything becomes indicated. Devadatta alone is the agent, nobody else. The cow alone is the object, nothing else. (The act of) bringing near alone is the action, no other. White alone is the quality not black. (Therefore we will say that) the sentence-meaning consists in (connection) made specific of words which (by themselves) convey (connection) in a general way (only)'.⁵

What Patañjali means is this. The isolated words *devadatta*, *gām*, etc. tell us that they are to be connected with other words in the sense of *karṭṛ*, *karman*, *kriyā* and *viśeṣaṇa*. But they are, so to speak, open-ended forms whose precise connection is still to be filled in. The form *devadatta* means (*devadatta* + *karṭṛ*) + x; *gām* means (*go* + *karman*) + x; *abhyāja* means (*abhyāj* + *kriyā*) + x;

5. *Mbh.* I, p. 218, lines 5-10. The passage was translated and discussed earlier in S. D. Joshi, art. quoted, section 2.3.1.

śuklām means (*śukla* + *viśeṣaṇa*) + x. Here the x-es represent suitable wordclasses. But in the sentence these word-classes have been replaced by specific words in connection with which *devadatta*, etc. function as the agent, etc. A sentence is not to be derived from a partially abstract scheme, but a concrete utterance in which every constituent has assumed a concrete shape.

What do we learn from this? Mainly two things. First, that Patañjali here adopts the *padasamskārapakṣa*, according to which a *vākya* is a concatenation of independently derived *padas*. Secondly, that it is possible to derive isolated words with the help of general rules in Pāṇini's grammar, which do not specify a word-context for the word to be derived, but which assume a suitable wordclass-context.

Returning to the questions raised at the beginning of this section, we will say that (1) nominative *padas*, according to Pāṇini, can be derived independently, out of context, to just convey the *prātipadikārtha*: 'nominal stem meaning', (2) non-nominative *padas* cannot be derived independently. They require at least the presence of a suitable wordclass to explain their connective grammatical meaning; (3) *tiṅanta* *padas* cannot be derived independently. Forms like *piba*: 'drink' require connection with a particular pronoun (P. 1.4.105) without which we cannot explain the particular ending chosen.

What view does the *padasamskārapakṣa* represent? Actually, it is not a view on how Pāṇini's grammar works, because as far as this is concerned, there can be only one view, namely, the *vākyasamskārapakṣa*. To understand Pāṇini's grammar, both in its design and in its operation, we must start from connected words, whether in a wordgroup or in a sentence taken as a completed utterance. But then, what is the use of the *padasamskārapakṣa*? Leaving out of account the question of the derivation of nominative *subantas* to explain which the *padasamskārapakṣa* was not evolved in the first place, we understand that the *padasamskārapakṣa* really represents the learner's view of Pāṇini's grammar. It is the method according to which this grammar was and still is taught in the *pāṭhaśālās*. Basically, it is a paradigmatic method, because each independently derived form can be seen as belonging to a particular paradigm built round one lexical stem. As a method it is helpful in acquiring knowledge of Pāṇini's rules and their application as regards individual unconnected forms. But is not a view on Pāṇini's grammar as a whole, as an alternative to the *vākyasamskārapakṣa*. It can only work by suppressing the idea of connection which is fundamental to

Pāṇini. It has been raised to the status of *pakṣa*: 'alternative view' in an unwarranted way.

In fact, it fails to provide insight in the design and the purpose of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It becomes positively harmful, when the impression is created that Pāṇini's grammar is *śabdānuśāsana* (*Mbh.* I, p. 1, line 1) in the sense that it is a method to instruct us in deriving unconnected words which are to be connected after their derivation only. Pāṇini's grammar is designed to explain and derive connected words as they are connected in an utterance, and it starts from the actual form of that utterance. This is what is called *śabdānuśāsana* (see also under 1.1.0 in connection with *vākyaṃ āha*; *śabda* means 'utterance').

But what about Sīradeva's difficulty to solve which he adopted the *padasaṃskārapakṣa*? The answer is that the distinction between *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* rules introduced by the *vākyaṃskārapakṣa* will remove the difficulty. Therefore we need not adopt the *padasaṃskārapakṣa*.

ĀNANDAVARDHANA'S IDEA OF "RASA" AS 'KĀVYĀRTHA' AND 'KĀVYĀTMAN'

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

THE doctrine of 'dhvani' in Indian poetics is indeed beset with several riddles, judging by the diversity of interpretations regarding it in the past as well as the present. The object of this paper is to highlight one of them and offer an explanation.

The *Dhvanyāloka* proper should be virtually regarded as commencing with the *kārikā* (I.2):

Yo'rthaḥ sahrdayaślāghyaḥ
Kāvyātmeti vyavasthitaḥ;
Vācyapratīyamānākhyau
tasya bhedāvubhau smṛtau.

because the preceding initial *kārikā* is nothing more than a recapitulation of the diverse objections that might be raised against the nomenclature of 'dhvani' to the *ātman* or soul of poetry. It only states the need for establishing the thesis that Dhvani is 'kāvyātman' by explaining it at length.

Ānandavardhana introduces here two of the key terms of his thesis — namely, 'artha' or 'kāvyārtha' and 'kāvyātman' — without offering any explanation. And more often than not, it is seen that the common meaning of 'sense' or 'meaning' is assigned to 'artha', and 'ātman' is understood as 'soul' enshrined within a body. But these common and popular associations lead us away from the main thesis and argument of Ānandavardhana because, for one thing, poetic meaning in question is not the usual referential or implied meaning of individual words or sentences in any poem; and for another, the *ātman* or soul of poetry cannot be construed as literally residing within the 'body' of the poem outside the reader in any objective sense. What we are really concerned with here is a meta-semantic and aesthetic analysis of the basic facts of poetry — its raw-material or ingredients and ultimate experience in the reader — necessitating the promulgation of a new aesthetic concept like 'dhvani'.

Few modern scholars have noticed the pregnant significance of this Kārikā, which is substantially the very foundation of all the super-structure of dhvani, though Abhinavagupta has often hinted at it. On the other hand, scholars remain baffled by the apparent paradox contained in the kārikā — ‘The meaning admired by sahrdayas is established as the soul of poetry and it is two-fold: ‘vācya’ (stated) and ‘vyaᅅgya’ (suggested). How can there be two ātmans or souls in a single body? It is anathema in Indian thought because the Upanishadic Ātman is admittedly one. Further the common referential meaning (vācya) cannot be regarded as the ‘soul’ of poetry at all even by stretching one’s imagination to the utmost limit, because the whole argument of the *Dhvanyāloka* runs counter to it.

II

The line of thinking sketched above reveals an utter lack of historical and philosophical perspective demanded by the text of a poet-philosopher like Ānandavardhana. Let us take the historical perspective first. The father of the ‘rasa’-theory is Bharata; and one cannot ignore him while trying to understand the Dhvani theory. He has used both the crucial words ‘artha’ and ‘kāvyārtha’ at the very beginning in his treatment of ‘rasa’ and ‘bhāva’ (i.e. Chap. VI & VII, *Nāᅅyaśāstra*). While his rasasūtra —

“tatra vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāri-samyogād-rasaᅅpattiᅅh”
is universally noticed, its immediately preceding observation —

“na hi rasādᅅrte kaścid-arthaᅅ pravartate”

receives less attention. But it is a very important statement of theory:—“There is no ‘artha’ other than ‘rasa’ to be discussed in the treatise as a whole. ‘Rasa’ is the be-all and end-all of all ‘nāᅅya’ which includes ‘kāvyā’. ‘Artha’ *par excellence* for Bharata is ‘rasa’ itself. This should be fully appreciated before we embark on a study of Indian aesthetics.

This is further substantiated by Bharata’s observation while explaining ‘bhāvas’ etymologically —

‘kāvyārthān bhāvayanti’ iti

— an observation pertinently taken up by Abhinavagupta as representing Bharata’s last word on ‘bhāva’-cum-‘rasa’, and explained first (under VI.31) before introducing controversial discussions in his *Abhinavabhāratī*. The most significant point noted by him therein is the fact that “rasa” or aesthetic meaning in poetry is something over and above the commonly understood Vākyārtha;

and that it is to be reckoned as a meta-semantic understanding comparable to what grammarians call 'pratibhā' and Mīmāṃsakas call 'bhāvanā' of 'vidhi' or 'niyoga' within the reach of a only few eligible persons:—

Yathādarśanam pratibhā-bhāvanā-vidhi-niyogādi-
bhāṣābhīrvyavahṛta-pratipattiḥ, tathaiva
kāvyātmakādapi śabdādadhikāriṇo 'dhikā'sti
pratipattiḥ.¹

In such a philosophical analysis, the totality of 'kāvyā' itself (including ordinary 'śabda' and 'artha') can be regarded as 'śabda' in a broad technical sense when 'rasa' becomes its 'artha' or 'kāvyārtha'. This indeed is the consideration which entitles poetics to be regarded as a 'śāstra' or science. In a word, it becomes a truism that 'kāvyārtha' which is 'rasa' is supra-mundane, 'alaukika' or 'lokottara'.

Anandavardhana himself in Kārikā I.7 uses the word 'kāvyārtha' in this sense in the compound 'kāvyārtha-tattvajña' indicating the differentia of connoisseurs. The *Locana* explains 'kāvyārtha' here as "Kāvyasya tattvabhūto yo'rthaḥ", i.e. the intrinsic aesthetic meaning of poetry. Its implications are fully brought out in the *Kaumudī* as follows:—

'The word 'tattva' is deliberately used to exclude the plainly stated (vācya) meaning. It here means only 'soul' or *ātman*. In all these usages, the word 'artha' never means ordinary 'sense'; since manifestation of 'rasas' by naming them has been ruled out. Etymologically, it means that which is most intended to be realised primarily (even referential meaning only serving as means thereto); and as Bharata's usage shows, it is applicable first and foremost only to 'rasa'; though loosely we might talk also of suggested 'vastu' (idea) and 'alaṅkāra' (figure of speech) as kāvyārtha, since they too have a kind of aesthetic superiority over the plainly stated meaning.²

That we are on the right track is further corroborated by the explanation of Bharata's verse (VII.7): 'Yo'rtho hṛdayasamvādī' explained in the *Locana-Kaumudī* on the initial verse as "yo vibhāvādirūpaḥ satkavivarṇanādhīruḍho'rthaḥ" and "tasya arthasya bhāvaḥ samunmeṣaḥ, rasodbhavaḥ rasotpattiheturbhavati". Here we find that the causal factors of 'rasa', namely

1. Nagendra's edn., Delhi, p. 470.

2. इह सर्वत्रार्थशब्दो नाभिधेयवचनः स्वशब्दाभिधेयत्वस्य निरस्तत्वात्; किं तु अर्थ्यते प्राधान्येनेत्यर्थः, वाच्य-
स्यार्थस्य तं प्रति सर्वथा पर्यवसानात् । स च यद्यपि मुख्यतया रसादिरेव, अत एवोक्तं मूनिना "काव्यार्थान्
भावयन्ति" इति; तथापीह वस्त्वलङ्कारद्वयोरपि वाच्यपेक्षयोत्कर्षः किंान् भवन्तीत्यभिप्रायेणार्थत्वे-
मुक्तम् । —KSRI Edn., Madras, p. 172.

'vibhāva' etc., are also termed 'artha' in the sense of 'vācyārtha' or referential meaning.³

The *Kaumudī* is only echoing what Abhinavagupta himself said explicitly in the beginning of his commentary on Bharata's VI chapter:—

padārthavākyārthau raseṣveva paryavasyata iti
asādhāraṇyāt, prādhānyācca kāvyasyārthāḥ
rasāḥ. Arthyante prādhānyena ityarthāḥ.
Na tvārthasābdo abhidheyavācī.⁴

The semantic spectrum of the word 'artha' is indeed very wide. As the *Amarakoṣa* observes:—

artha'bhidheya-rai-vastu-prayojana-nivṛttiṣu

In the aesthetics of Bharata inherited by Ānandavardhana, it does not mean 'abhidheya' (dictionary sense), but only 'prayojana' or intended ultimate value of 'rasa'. Otherwise, the 'vācyārthas' of poetry would be tantamount to be 'laukika'; and then they could at the most lead to a worldly purport (tātparyā) like 'bheda' (exclusion) or 'sāmsarga' (syntactical understanding of the various elements), missing entirely the mark of 'rasa'. Hence it is that it becomes incumbent on the part of the aesthetician to discard 'tātparyā' as the poetic process involved in the delineation of 'rasa' and posit a unique explanation like 'dhvani' as Ānandavardhana did:—

yastvatrāpi tātparyasāktimeva dhvananam
manyate sa na vastutattvavedī. Vibhāvānu-
bhāvaprati-pādake hi vākye tātparyasāktirbhede
sāmsarge vā paryavasyet; na to rasyamānatā-
sāre rase-ityalam bahunā.⁵

'Rasa' by definition is neither scriptural, figurative nor logical meaning. It is *sui generis*. Hence none of the recognised explanations of sentence-meaning like 'tātparyā', 'lakṣaṇā' and 'anumāna' can encroach upon the exclusive province of 'dhvani' which is aesthetic experience or significance.

3. Cf. वाच्यार्थिभावीभूताद्रसनिष्पन्दः—*Locana*, Op. cit., p. 193.

4. *Loc. Cit.* Cf. also *Kalpalatāviveka*, Ahmedabad, 1968, p. 308; and Hemacandra, *Kāvyaṅmūśāsana*, Dr. V. M. Kulkarni's Edn., Ahmedabad, 1964, p. 97.

5. *Locana*, KSRI edn., p. 156. A sentence in common parlance — like 'Bring the Cow' — can signify the purport of excluding animals other than the cow, or of insistence on the act of bringing the cow desired, on the part of the person commissioned (See *Kaumudī*, *Loc. Cit.*).

III

With this minimum background in mind, we might now try to understand the initial statement of the dhvani-analysis (*Dhvanyāloka*, I.2). The 'artha' intended therein cannot be anything other than 'rasa'. No sahr̥daya will ever deny the paramount position of 'soul' to it in poetry. It justifies the first half of the kārīkā fully. It also squares up totally with the statement in I.5⁶ — kāvyasyātmā sa evārthaḥ — because the illustration cited is of Vālmiki's creative upsurge of 'rasa' at the sight of the bird mercilessly shot by a hunter. The same is called 'svādu arthavastu' or 'sweet aesthetic content' in I.6 and the need of sahr̥daya for fully appreciating it is underscored in I.7. Naturally 'so'rthaḥ' in I.8 is nothing but 'rasa' which is exclusively vyaṅgya or suggested. It is stated as the goal in I.9 to 12, again generally, as 'so'rthaḥ', etc. And what is most crucial and decisive is the use of the term 'arthah' twice in I.13, first in the sense of referential (vācya) meaning and then in the sense of suggested 'rasa', etc. (vyaṅgya), while technically introducing the aesthetic term 'dhvani' for the first time. 'Dhvani' could in no way be called 'kāvyā-viśeṣa' or poetry *par excellence* unless all elements involved therein — ordinary śabda and artha as vyañjakas, vyaṅgya artha, vyañjanāvyāpāra — partook of the unique aesthetic process in such a unique way, that 'rasa', etc. stood out most outstandingly beautiful or enjoyable.

So much for the repetitive and consistent usage of the word 'artha' to denote only 'pratīyamānārtha' by the kārīkākāra, which can be justified only on the premise that he was following the tradition of Bharata in regarding 'rasa' as primarily kāvyārtha or vākyārtha, a meta-linguistic value.⁷

IV

Now the question arises about 'kāvyātman'. The very use of the word 'ātman' is analogical. Neither Ānandavardhana nor Abhinavagupta have taken them too literally and stretched the analogy beyond permissible limits in their accounts of poetry. The very crux of the thesis of dhvani, or the sheet-anchor on which 'dhvani' can be established, demands an initial distinction between real kāvyārtha or rasa on the one hand and popular vākyārtha or

6. The references are throughout to K. Krishnamoorthy's Edn., *Dhvanyāloka*, Dharwar, 1974.

7. For a fuller discussion of the issue relating to the aesthetic use of these terms, see my article under publication in the Journal of the Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati, viz.; — 'Kāvyārtha' and 'Vākyārtha'. Cf. also *Locana* — 'rasādirarthah', KSRI edn., p. 146 and *Dhvanyāloka* — '(rasānām vākyārthatvenābhypagamāt,' Dharwar edn., p. 170.

vācyārtha, since both are actually involved in poetry as 'end' and 'means'. There can be 'vācyārtha' without 'Kāvyaārtha' or 'rasa', but the *vice-versa* is not true. There cannot be any 'kāvyārtha-rasa' without vācyārtha. Both are thus peculiarly involved with each other in ideal poetry. The relation is not exactly that of soul and body either; for while a lifeless or soulless body is a corpse and useless, and does not deserve any attention but disposal, the body of poetry consisting of 'vācaka-śabda' and 'vācyārtha' makes its own demands like alaṅkāra and guṇa from the poet; and unless this minimum beauty is assured, it cannot serve as a fitting medium or body for 'rasa.' In other words, the body of poetry too has claims on the poet's creative attention and is not purposeless.

Still more remarkable is the fact that 'rasa' or aesthetic experience of the connoisseur can be described only as 'vyaṅgya' or suggested in the final form assumed by the 'dhvani' theory. And 'vyaṅgya' is a relative term, which becomes meaningless without its counter-part 'vyañjaka' since both these are essential in the poetic process or vyāpāra or vyañjanā. Now what are the vyañjakas of rasa if not vācaka-śabda and vāvyārtha? Thus, any description or division of the 'vyaṅgya' ātman must perforce take into account its vyañjakas, which are in common language regarded as vācaka and vācyā without reference to 'rasa.' Because of these unique exigencies of the aesthetic situation in poetry, the ātman has to be construed a little widely as to embrace both; and its narrow meaning of monistic soul in the Upaniṣadic sense has to be given up altogether.

Anandavardhana knew that he had precedents in such a loose usage of the term ātman. Nowhere does he explain it as Vedāntic soul. He explains it generally as 'tattva' or ultimate principle (I.1) sārārūpa-artha (I.2), i.e. essential goal, sārabhūta-artha (I.5), etc. In such explanations kāvyārtha as seen above and kāvyātman become almost interchangeable. The term 'ātman' also according to the *Amarakoṣa*, has several meanings, one of which is 'body':—

ātmā yatno dhṛtīrbuddhiḥ svabhāvo brahma varṣma ca.⁸

As Kṣīrasvāmin points out, the usage 'Kṛsātman' refers to the lean body of a person. In the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* we have the usage —

tasmāditara ātmā medyati ca kṛṣyati ca.⁹

Here also it is clear that the body is spoken of as getting fat or lean.

8. Loc. Cit. III.iii.10.

9. Loc. Cit. V.i.7.

A still more glaring example is that of Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* who speaks of two ātmans, antar-ātman and śārīra-ātman:—

dvāvātmānau — antarātmā śārīrātmā ca.¹⁰

While explaining the above, Kaiyaṭa observes that according to the Sāṅkhya standpoint, 'antaḥkaraṇa' would be 'antarātman' and not 'puruṣa' which would be possible according to Naiyāyikas.

From the above, it should be clear that the use of the term 'ātman' to mean the body is not such a inexcusable or insoluble proposition.

V

But there is one more important consideration which must have guided Anandavardhana in according an apparently equal status to vācyārtha and 'vyaṅgyārtha' in his very first proposition about kāvya. Following Bharata, one must hold that rasādi alone is the aesthetic goal or meaning in poetry. It might be true also in the case of drama. But in non-dramatic poetry, which allows an equal room for nature-description, etc., 'rasa' may not be exclusively primary. It might often be secondary. But even secondary or subsidiary 'rasādi' is beautiful; that is the province of rasavadalaṅkāra. Other forms of suggested meaning also like 'vastu' can often be outshone by the preponderant beauty of vācyārtha. This has to be accorded a status of poetry, since in the classics of Sanskrit literature, we have both types in abundance, and none can be gainsaid. Thus recognition of such guṇibhūtavyaṅgya or poetry of subordinated suggestion became unavoidable.

Anandavardhana, therefore, had to concede a conspicuous place to primary vācyārtha too in his aesthetic analysis of poetry. This apparent shifting of stand was forced upon him by the sheer logic of poetic facts. Though theoretically, it might appear like a compromise or concession, actually, however, it is not so at all. All individual instances of recognised poetry do consist of both beautiful 'vācya' and beautiful 'vyaṅgya' elements. The relative judgement of the one or the other as being superior is a matter of taste since these are only adventitious limiting adjuncts (upādhis) which are not constant but variant. As Caṇḍīdāsa puts it:—

na khalu dhvanitva-guṇibhūtavyaṅgyatve
tadviśeṣo vā gotvāśvatvādivat vaiyadhī-
karaṇyaniyata-dharmāḥ svīkriyante,
kiṁ tu aupādhikāḥ. Tataśca yadā yasya

10. Under Pāṇini, I.3.67-68.

pradhānopakāra katvamutkṛṣyate tadā tasyo-
pādhermukhyatvena vyavahārah.¹¹

The two forms of poetry in question do not differ from each other like a cow and a horse. Both are found assisting each other; their names only serve to indicate which assists which in a given instance. Even Ānandavardhana is conscious of this and adds the caution that one should not exhibit any craze for *dhvani* vis-a-vis *guṇābhūtavyāṅgya*.¹²

That is the reason why in the famous definition of Dhvani, Ānandavardhana is cautious enough to narrow down the scope of 'dhvani' to 'kāvyaviśeṣa' or a type of poetry without shutting the door on the possibility of another type of poetry like 'guṇābhūtavyāṅgya.' Hence Abhinavagupta has no hesitation in accepting the position that "experience of beauty itself can be deemed 'ātman' of poetry."

Yaccoktaṁ — cārutvapratīṭistarhi kāvyasyātmā
syāt' iti, tadaṅgīkurma eva.¹³

In fact, the novel distinction of 'alankāra' and 'alankārya' adumbrated in the *Dhvanyāloka* too becomes meaningful only in the above context of reconciling the claims of the beauty of both the categories of poetic beauty.¹⁴ For the first time, 'alankāras' come to be appreciated in relation to 'rasas' instead of being treated as independent sources of poetic beauty.

In the light of the above, it will be seen that the adverse critiques of Mahimabhaṭṭa and Viśvanātha of the *Dhvani-Kārikā* (I.2) as involving a blatant self-contradiction are not quite tenable. As Abhinavagupta remarks in another place, "all the beauties attained by all the means only add up to contribute to the superior fascination of the end which they serve".

guṇaḥ kṛtātmasaṁskāraḥ
pradhānaṁ pratipadyate
pradhānasyopakāre hi
tathā bhūyasi vartate.¹⁵

11. *Kāvya prakāśadīpikā*, S. P. Bhattacharya's edn., Vol. II, Calcutta, 1965, p. 205.

12. *Locana*, KSRI edn., p. 184.

13. रसभावादित्वात्पर्यमाश्रित्य विनिवेशनम् ।

अलङ्कृतीनां सर्वात्मलङ्कारत्वसाधनम् ॥ — *Dhvanyāloka*, II. 6.

14. Cf. न सर्वत्र ह्यनिरागिणा मवितव्यम् । — *Dhvanyāloka*, *Vṛtti* under III.39.

15. This citation from the *Locana* ascribed to Bhagavān is yet to be traced; it is also cited anonymously in the *Kāvya prakāśa* (end of Chap. VI) and *Kalpalatā-viveka*, p. 81.

But the truth of the matter, when considered in depth, is that the distinction between 'dhvani' and 'guṇibhūtavyaṅgya' is not only just functional and arbitrary dictated by considerations of practical criticism; but also that it is unreal. The distinction is possible only when one holds in abeyance the ultimate end or purpose of poetry, viz. 'rasādi' and becomes alive to manifestations of penultimate poetic beauty. If that whole and sole canon of poetic art is adopted in an undiluted form — everything will come under a single category of 'dhvani' and there will be nothing like any 'guṇibhūtavyaṅgya' at all.¹⁶ Like 'māyā' in 'Advaita,' all distinctions other than 'dhvani' will disappear; and even there, the distinctions like 'vastudhvani' and 'alaṅkāra-dhvani' will fade away leaving the Brahman so to say of 'rasa' exclusively.¹⁷ Such are some of the implications underlying the practical analysis of poetry by Ānandavardhana in the very beginning of his work (I.2-4) which deserve more than a passing attention. One "ātman" of 'rasa-dhvani' appears as if it were two, because both share in the unique beauty of poetry and their relation is one of 'aṅgāṅgi-bhāva' 'principal and subordinate' the roles of 'principal' and 'subordinate' remaining fluid and indeterminate in given instances of poetry, though it might go against dry logic or exacting science. Ānandavardhana is very much conscious of the fact that, while enjoying the 'vyaṅgya,' the 'vācya' is not elbowed out.¹⁸

16. Cf. Op. Cit. II. 40. The *adhyāropa-apavāda* technique adopted in Advaita-vedānta bears close resemblance to the technique adopted here by Ānandavardhana.

17. प्रतीयमानस्य चान्यभेददर्शनेऽपि रसभावमुखेनैवोपलक्षणम्, प्रधान्यात्— —*Vṛtti* under I.5.

18. Cf. न हि व्यङ्ग्ये प्रतीयमाने वाच्यद्विद्विरीभवति । —*Dhvanyāloka*, Dharwar edn., p. 200.

It should not be forgotten that, ultimately, even the analogical maxims like 'Padārtha-vākyārtha-nyāya', 'ghaṭatadupādānakāraṇa-nyāya' and 'ghaṭa-pradīpanyāya' are partial explanations which miss the unique interrelationship of the two constituent elements intellectually analysed, though aesthetically indivisible. Since one can proceed only from the known to the unknown even in aesthetics, the several varieties or paradigms of 'dhvani' are named after the 'vācya's' only which play diverse roles as 'vyaṅjakas', and not in terms of 'vyaṅgya' rasas, etc. (whose number would be infinite indeed as realised by Ānandavardhana himself).

Prakrit Verses In Dasarupaka with Avaloka
And
In Kāvya prakāsa
V. M. KULKARNI

[1]

PRAKRIT VERSES IN DAŚARŪPAKA WITH AVALOKA

THE *Daśarūpa* or *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya (last quarter of the 10th century A.D.) with the commentary *Avaloka* by Dhanika (written a little later) mainly deals with dramaturgy. As it contains a treatment of such topics as the types of hero, of heroine, and the nature and number of *rasas* which are common to poetics we take it up for our study. This work has been published several times. Here references are made to the Nirnaya Sagar Press, 5th edition (1941).

- (1) Dullahajaṇṇurāo (p. 13)
 बुल्लह-जणाणुराओ लज्जा गरुई परव्वसो अप्पा ।
 पिअसहि विसमं पेम्मं मरणं सरणं णवरं एक्कं ॥
 (बुल्लह-जनानुरागो लज्जा गुर्वो परवश आत्मा ।
 प्रियसखि विवमं प्रेम मरणं शरणं केवलमेकम् ॥)
 —*Ratnāvalī* II-1
- (2) Kim dharaṇie miariko (p. 24)
 किं धरणीएँ मिअंको आआसे महिहरो जले जलणो ।
 मज्झण्हम्मि पओसो दाविज्जउ देहि आर्णात्ति ॥
 (किं धरण्यां मुगाङ्क आकाशे महीधरो जले ज्वलनः ।
 मध्याह्ने प्रदोषो दर्शयतां देह्यात्तपित्तम् ॥)
 —*Ratnāvalī* IV-8
- (3) Majjha painṇā esā (p. 24)
 मज्झ पइण्णा एसा भणामि हिअएण जं महसि बट्ठं ।
 तं ते दाबेमि फुडं गुरुणो संतप्पहावेण ॥
 (मम प्रतिज्ञा भणामि हृदयेन यत् काङ्क्षसि ब्रष्टुम् ।
 तत्ते दर्शयामि स्फुटं गुरोर्मन्त्रप्रभावेण ॥)
 —*Ratnāvalī* IV-9

- (4) Kulabāliāe pecēhaha (p. 43)

कुलबालिआए पेच्छह जोव्वण-लाअण्ण-विभम-विलासा ।

पवसंति च्च पवसिए एंति च्च पिए घरं एंते ॥

(कुलबालिकायाः प्रेक्षध्वं यौवन-लावण्य-विभ्रम-विलासाः ।

प्रवसन्तीव प्रोषिते आयन्तीव प्रिये गृहमायति ॥)

—GS(W) 871

The reading 'pasavanti' in the printed text is most probably a printing mistake for the Sanskrit rendering of this word is correctly given as 'pravasanti' in the Sanskrit *cchāyā*. But the readings 'piye' and 'ette' are incorrect. The Adyar edition (1969) reads 'Kulavāliānam' (Sk: Kulapālikānam) for Kula-bāliāe. It retains the wrong readings 'piye' and 'ette' (vide p. 92).

- (5) Hasiam aviāra-muddham (p. 43)

हसिअमविआर-मुद्धं भमिअं विरहिअ-विलास-सच्छाहं ।

भणिअं सहाव-सरलं धण्णाण घरे कलत्ताणं ॥

(हसितमविकार-मुग्धं भ्रमितं विरहित-विलास-सच्छायम् ।

भणितं स्वभाव-सरलं धन्यानां गृहे कलत्राणाम् ॥)

Our printed edition reads *Succhāam* (Sk: *succhāyam*). The Adyar edition (p. 92) reads 'sacchāam'. The emended reading '*sacchāham*' means 'like, similar'.

- (6) Lajjāpajjattapasāhañāim (p. 43)

लज्जा-यज्जत्त-पसाह्णाहं परतत्ति-णिप्पिवासाइं ।

अविणअ-दिम्मोहाइ धण्णाण घरे कलत्ताइं ॥

(लज्जा-पर्याप्त-प्रसाधनानि पर-चिन्ता-निष्पिपासानि ।

अविनय-दिङ्मोहानि धन्यानां गृहे कलत्राणि ॥)

—GS (W) 866

The Prakrit word 'tatti' stands for 'trpti' as well as 'cintā'. The Adyar edition reads 'paracintā'. With that reading the *gāthā* becomes metrically defective. The reading 'aviṇaa-dummehāim' in our printed edition is rendered into Sanskrit as 'avinaya-dur-medhāmsi'. The Gujarati Printing Press edition (1914 A.D.), p. 66, explains it as follows:

अविनय-दुर्मोघांसि इत्यस्य अविनये दुर्मोघांसि अविनयो न कर्तव्य इत्येवमविनय-
विष(य) कदुष्टज्ञानवन्ति' इत्यर्थः अविनयशून्यानि इति यावत् ।

The Adyar edition p, 93, adopts the reading 'aviṇaadimmohāim;' and explains it as follows:

अविनयदिङ्मोहानीति । एषामविनये दिङ्मोह एव । अविनय-मार्गस्मरणमेव न
विद्यत इत्यर्थः ।

(7) Tāva ccia rai-samae (p. 44)

ताव च्चअ रइसमए महिलानं विभ्रमा विरागंति ।
जाव ण कुवलअ-दल-सच्छहाइं मउलेंति णअणाइं ॥
(तावदेव रतिसमये महिलानां विभ्रमा विराजन्ते ।
यावन्न कुवलयदल-सच्छाये मुकुलयतो नयने ॥)

—GS I.5

The Adyar edition (p. 95) reads 'Jā ṇavakuvalaa' —
(Sk:

यावन्नकुवलयदलसच्छाये मुकुलीभवतो नयने ॥)

The Sanskrit *cchāyā*, presented in our printed text, reads:

यावन्न कुवलयदलस्वच्छभानि मुकुलयन्ति नयनानि ॥

The Sanskrit rendering 'svacchabhāni' goes against Hemacandra's grammar:

छायायां होकान्तौ वा ।

आकान्तौ वर्तमाने छाया-शब्दे यस्य हो वा भवति ।

Again, in Prakrit there is no dual number. Hence the form 'ṇaṇāim' is perfectly all right. In Sanskrit rendering it is necessary to follow the dual number construction.

(8) Saccam jānai daṭṭhum (p. 51)

सच्चं जाणइ दटठुं सरिसम्मि जणम्मि जुज्जए राओ ।
मरउ ण तुमं भणिस्सं मरणं पि सलाहणिज्जं से ॥
(सत्यं जानाति द्रष्टुं सदृशे जने युज्यते रागः ।
द्विद्यतां न त्वां भणिष्यामि मरणमपि श्लाघनीयं तस्याः ॥)

—GS I-12

This gāthā is cited as an example of the figure of speech 'Vyatyāsa' in *Alaṅkāra-ratnākara* (p. 116) and of 'Ākṣepa' in *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha*. *Alaṅkāraratnākara* reads saccia (Sk: saiva) in place of 'Saccam'.

(9) Mahu ehi kim ṇivālaa (p. 51)

महएहि किं णिवालअ (?महएहि किं व ¹बालअ) ²हरसि णिअंबाउ
जइ वि मे सिचअं (?सिअअं) ।
साहेमि कस्स सुंवर (? रण्णे) ³दूरे गामो अहं एक्का ॥
(मधुकैः किंवा बालक हरसि नितम्बाद् यद्यपि मे सिचयम् ।
कथयामि कस्य सुन्दर (?कस्यारण्ये) दूरे, ग्रामोऽहमेका ॥)

—GS (W) 877; *Vajjālagga* 491

1. Pañthiya — *Vajjālagga* and Hemacandra.
2. Jai harasi niyamsaṇam niyambāo-*Vajjālagga* and Hemacandra.
3. Gāmo dūre — *Vajjālagga* and Hemacandra.

The gāthā and its Sānskrit *cchāyā*, as presented in our edition, are wrong and misleading. The gāthā as presented in Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (p. 54) or in Weber's *Sapta-śataka* (No. 877) is perfectly all right and yields good sense. The reader is referred to *Vajjālagga* (p. 510, Notes on gāthā No. 491, wrongly printed as 421), edited by Prof. Patwardhan, for its translation and notes on it by Weber.

(10) Tam ccia vaṇam (p. 52)

तं च्चिअ वअणं ते च्चेअ लोअणे जोव्वणं पि तं च्चेअ ।
अण्णा अणंगलच्छी अण्णं चिअ किपि साहेइ ॥
(तदेव वचनं/वदनं ते एव लोचने यौवनमपि तदेव ।
अन्या अनङ्गालक्ष्मीरन्यदेव किमपि कथयति ॥)

—Dhanikasya

(11) Jam kimpi pecchamāṇam (p. 52)

जं किं पि पेच्छमाणं भणमाणं रे जहा तह च्चेअ ।
णिज्जाअ णेहमुधदं वअस्स मुधदं णिअच्छेहि ॥
(यत् किमपि प्रेक्षमाणां भणन्तीं रे यथा तथैव ।
निर्ध्याय स्नेहमुग्धां वयस्य मुग्धां पश्य ॥)

—Dhanikasya

The Adyar edition reads the second half of this gāthā differently:

णिअसुआणेहमुधद वअस्स मुद्धं णिअच्छेहि ॥
(निजसुतास्नेहमुग्धा वयस्य मुग्धां नियच्छ ॥)

But the earlier part of the second half, as presented in the Adyar edition, is metrically defective. The Sanskrit rendering (*niyaccha*) too is misleading. The Prakrit root '*ṇiaccha*' is one of the 15 ādeśas of √*drśa* as recorded by Hemacandra in his Prakrit Grammar (4.181).

(12) Taha jhatti se paattā (p. 52)

तह झत्ति से पअत्ता सव्वंगं विभममा थणुन्नेए ।
संसइअ-बालभावा ह्णोइ चिरं जह सहीणं पि ॥
(तथा झटिति तस्याः प्रवृत्ताः सर्वाङ्गं विभ्रमाः स्तनोद्भूदे ।
संशयितबालभावा भवति चिरं यथा सखीनामपि ॥)

—Dhanikasya

(13) De ā pasia ṇiantasu (?) (p. 53)

दे आ पसिअ णिअत्तसु मुह-ससि-जोण्हा-विलुत्त-तमणिवहे ।

अहिसारिआण विघं करेसि अण्णाण वि हआसे ॥

(प्रायंये तावत् प्रसीद निवर्तस्व मुख-शशि-ज्योत्स्ना -विलुप्त-तमोनिवहे ।]

अभिसारिकाणां विघ्नं करोष्यन्यासामपि हताशे ॥)

—GS (W) 968

This gāthā is for the first time cited by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 74) and its rendering and exposition in Sanskrit is contained in the *Locana* (commentary) on it by Abhinavagupta (pp. 74-75). The text of this gāthā and its Sanskrit *cchāyā*, as presented in our edition is partly wrong “*dea pasia ṇiantasu*” needs to be corrected as shown above; the Sanskrit rendering “*daivād dr̥ṣṭvā nitāntasumukha*” — is due to faulty reading of the original text on the part of the editor; it should be corrected as shown in the *cchāyā* given above. Abhinavagupta’s exposition of the gāthā referred to above is at once original and brilliant.

(14) Dīaham khu dukkhiāe (p. 53)

दिअहं थुडुंकिआए सअलं काऊण गेह-वावारं ।

गरुए वि मण्णुवुक्खे भरिमो पाअंत-सुत्तस्स ॥

(दिवसं रोषमूकायाः सकलं कृत्वा गृहव्यापारम् ।

गुरुकेऽपि मन्युवुःखे स्मरामः पादान्तसुप्तस्य ॥)

—GS III. 26

The Adyar edition (p. 116), however, reads:

दिअहं अडुडुंकिआए सअलं काऊण गेहवावारं ।

.....पाअंतसुत्ताए ॥

(दिवसमडुडुत्कृतया सकलं कृत्वा गेहव्यापारम् ।

.....पादान्तसुप्तायाः ॥)

The commentator adds “*ḍuḍūtkāro raṇaraṇikā*”.

The editor of the Adyar edition observes in his Notes to *Daśa-rūpāvaloka* (p. 262):

“Bhaṭṭanṛsiṃha’s *aḍuḍūtkṛtāyā* and *pādāntasuptāyāḥ* seem to me to be more suitable and to yield a better interpretation. I do not, however, find *ḍuḍūtkāra* in the sense of *raṇaraṇikā* in the Prakrit dictionaries available to me. I feel Bh.Nr. must have had access to genuine sources for the reading and the interpretation.”

There is no such word as ‘*ḍuḍūtkāra*’ in Prakrit. *Aḍuḍūnkiā* is a ghoṣṭ-word.

- (15) Taha ditṭham taha bhaṇiam (p. 54)

तह विदुं तह भणिअं ताएँ णिअवं (? णिउत्तं) तहा तहासीणं ।
 अबलोइअं सइण्हं (? सयण्हं) सविग्गमं जह सबत्तीहिं ॥
 (तथा वृष्टं तथा भणितं तथा नियतं (? निवृत्तं) तथा तथासीनम् ।
 अबलोकितं सतृष्णं सविभ्रमं यथा सपत्नीभिः ॥)

—Dhanikasya

The reading 'ṇiadam' seems to be doubtful. The Adyar edition reads 'ṇiudam' (Sk: nivṛttam). However, 'ṇiudam' cannot be equated with 'nivṛttam'.

The actions on the part of the heroine, described in the first half of the gāthā, more or less correspond with the ones, described in the first half of the following gāthā:

जं जं करेसि जं जं च जंपसे जह तुयं णिअंसेसि ।

—Kāvyaṇuśāsana, p. 425, v. 727

—Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharana, p. 618, v. 152

—GS IV.78

There is a variant reading 'niacchesi' in place of 'ṇiamsesi'. The meaning of 'niacchesi' is already had from 'ditṭham'. One is therefore tempted to hazard a conjecture that the original reading may have been:

.....ताएँ णिअसिअं तहा तहासीणं ।
 (.....तथा निवसितं (परिहितं) तथा तथासीनम् ।)

- (16) Sāloe vvia (? ccia) (p. 58)

सालोए च्चिअं सुरे घरिणी घरसामिअस्स घेतूण ।
 णेच्छंतस्स वि पाएँ धुअइ हसंती हसंतस्स ॥
 (सालोक एव सूर्ये गृहिणी गृहस्वामिकस्य (—स्वामिनो) गृहीत्वा ।
 नेच्छतोऽपि पादौ धावति हसन्ती हसतः ॥)

—GS II.30

- (17) Raṇḍā caṇḍā (p. 66)

रंडा चंडा ४दिक्खिआ धम्मदारा मज्जं मांसं पिज्जाएँ खज्जाएँ अ ।
 भिक्खा भोज्जं चम्मखंडं च सेज्जा कोलो धम्मो कस्स ण⁵ होइ रम्मो ॥
 (रण्डा चण्डा दीक्षिता धर्मदारा मद्यं मांसं पीयते खाद्यते च ।
 भिक्षा भोज्यं चर्मखण्डस्य शय्या कौलो धर्मः कस्य न भवति रम्यः ॥)

—Karpūramañjarī I.23

4 सिक्खिदा (Sk शिक्षिता) 5 भाइ । भादि (Sk प्राति)

(18) Vevai seadavadanī (?) (pp. 78-79)

This passage, as printed in our edition, is very corrupt. For restoration of this Apabhraṁśa passage *vide supra* Dr. H. C. Bhayani, "Restoration of the text of some corrupt Apabhraṁśa and Prakrit citations in Dhanika's *Avaloka* on the *Daśarūpaka* and in Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-Jivita*".

वेवइ सेअ-द्वद्विअ-रोमचिअ-गत्ति
 चवइ विसंठुल-वयगइ बाहोल्लिअ-णेत्ति ।
 मुहु तहे सामलिहअउ खणे खणे विमुज्जइ
 मुद्ध सुहअ (?) तुह पेम्मेण सा विगडिज्जइ ॥
 (वेपते स्वेव-प्रवार्द्रित-रोमाञ्चित-गात्रा
 वदति विशुद्धल-वचनानि बाष्पाद्रित-नेत्रा ।
 मुखं तस्याः श्यामलीमूतं क्षणे क्षणे विमुह्यति
 मुग्धा मुग्ग तव प्रेम्णा सा व्याकुलीक्रियते ॥)

In connection with this passage the reader is referred to Prof. Venkatacharya's Introduction (pp. xxxviii-xl) to the Adyar edition

(19) Aṇṇahuṇāhumahelia (?) (p. 91)

This Apabhraṁśa stanza is extremely corrupt. For the restoration of the text *vide supra* Dr. Bhayani's paper.

अण्णहु णाहु महेलिअहु, बहुपरिमल-मुसुअंधु ।
 महु कंतह अल्ल-व्वणह, अंगि ण फिट्टइ गंधु ॥
 (अन्यासां नाथो महिलानां बहु-परिमल-मुसुगन्धिः
 मम कान्तस्य आर्द्र-व्रणस्य अङ्गे न भ्रशयति गन्धः ॥)

(20) Ekkatto ruai piā (p. 91)

एकतो रुअइ पिआ अण्णतो समर-तूर-णिग्घोसो ।
 पेम्मेण रणरसेण अ भटस डोलाइअं हिअअं ॥
 (एकतो रोदिति प्रियान्यतः समर-तूर्य-निर्घोषः ।
 प्रेम्णा रणरसेन च भटस्य दोलायितं हृदयम् ॥)

This gāthā is cited for the first time by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 383) to illustrate 'rasa-avirodhitā'.

- (21) Bhama dhammia vīsaddho (p. 94)

भम धम्मिअ १वीसद्धो सो सुणओ अज्ज मारिओ तेण ।
 गोला २णद्धकच्छकुडंगवसिणा दरिअसीहेण ॥
 (भ्रम धार्मिक विश्रब्धः स शुनकोऽद्य मारितस्तेन ।
 गौदानदीकच्छकुञ्जवासिना वृत्तसिहेन ॥)

—GS II.75

This gāthā is cited for the first time by Anandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 52) when discussing the nature of *dhvani* and its distinction from *mukhyārtha*.

- (22) Paṇaakuviāṇa doṇha vi (p. 102)

पणअ-कुविआण वोण्ह वि अलिअ-पसुत्ताण ३माणहंताणं ।
 णिच्चल-णिरद्ध-णीसास-दिष्ण-कण्णाण को मल्लो ॥
 (प्रणय-कृपितयोर्द्वयोरप्यलीकसुप्तयोर्मानवतोः ।
 निश्चल-निरद्ध-निःश्वास-दत्तकर्णयोः को मल्लः ॥)

—GS I-27

- (23) Keli-gotta-kkhalāṇe (p. 103)

केली-गोत्त-क्खलणे वि कुप्पए केअवं अआणंती ।
 बुट्ठ उअसु परिहासं जाआ सच्चं चिअ परुष्णा ॥
 (केली-गोत्र-स्खलनेऽपि कुप्यति कैतवमजानन्ती ।
 बुष्ट पश्य परिहासं जाया सत्यमेव प्ररुदिता ॥)

—GS (W) 967

The Adyar edition (p. 234) reads the earlier part of the second half as follows:

बुद्धमस्स मुसा परिहासं and the commentator gives its *cchāyā* as बुद्धमस्य कस्यचित् (?) मूषापरिहासं. Obviously both the text and its *cchāyā* are not satisfactory. One feels like conjecturing that the original reading might have been बुट्ठ मुअसु परिहासं (Sk: बुष्ट मुञ्च परिहासं). The first foot of this gāthā occurs in a gāthā cited in *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* (p. 622) and *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (p. 622, 789 and 841).

- (24) Neurakoḍivilaggaṃ (p. 104)

णेउर-कोडि-विलगं ४चिहुरं दइअस्स पाअ-पडिअस्स ।
 हिअअं पउत्थ-माणं उम्मोअंति चिअ कहेइ ॥
 (नूपुर-कोटि-विलगं चिकुरं दयितस्य पाद-पतितस्य ।
 हृदयं प्रोषितमानमुन्मोचयन्त्येव कथयति ॥)

—GS II.88

6 वीसत्थो विश्वस्तः; वीसद्धं विश्रब्धम् 7 अडविअड (Sk तट-विकट)

8 माणदल्लाणं (मानवतोः) 9 चिउरं (चिकुरम्)

(25) Hontapahiassa jāā

(p. 104)

होंत-पहिअस्स जाआ आउच्छण-जीअ-धारण-रहस्सं ।
 पुच्छंती भमइ ¹⁰घरं घरेण पिअ-विरह-सहिरीओ ॥
 (मविष्यत्पथिकस्य जाया आप्रच्छन-जीव-धारण-रहस्यम् ।
 पृच्छन्ती भ्रमति गृहं गृहेण प्रिय-विरह-सहनशीलाः ॥)

—GS I-47

[2]

PRAKRIT VERSES IN KAVYA-PRAKĀŚA

Mammaṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*¹ is a standard work on Sanskrit poetics. Its date lies between 1050 and 1100 A.D. "It sums up in itself all the activities that had been going on for centuries in the field of Poetics; while it becomes itself a fountain-head from which fresh streams of doctrine issue forth." It comprises as usual three parts, the *Kārikās*, the *Vṛtti* and the examples. He cites over 600 verses to illustrate his teachings. Out of these verses about 64 verses are in Prakrit:

(1) (Tatra vācyasya (vyañjakatvam) yathā —)

(p. 28)

माए घोरोवरणं अज्ज हु णत्थि त्ति साहिअं तुमए ।
 ता भण किं करणिज्जं एमेअ ण वासरो ठाइ ॥
 (मातर्गृहोपकरणमद्य खलु नास्तीति शिष्टं त्वया ।
 तद् भण किं करणीयम् एवमेव न वासरस्तिष्ठति ॥)

—GS (W) 889

This verse is in *gāthā*.

(2) (Lakṣyasya (vyañjakatvam) yathā —)

(p. 29)

साहेंती सहि सुहअ खणे खणे वूमिआसि मज्ज कए ।
 सग्भाव-णेह-करणिज्ज-सरिसअं दाव विरइअं तुमए ॥
 (शासती (=कथयन्ती) सखि सुमग भणे भणे वूनासि मम कृते ।
 सद्भाव-स्नेह-करणीय-सद्दशकं तावद् विरचितं त्वया ॥)

—GS (W) 860

10 घरं घरेसु गृहं (? गृहाद्) गृहेषु

1. This work has been published several times. It has so many commentaries on it. The edition here referred to is the one with the commentary *Bālabodhini* of Vāmanācārya published by B.O.R. Institute, Pune (1950).

This verse is in: *Gīti*.

- (3) (Vyāṅgyasya (vyañjakatvaṁ) yathā —) (p. 30)

उअ णिञ्चल-णिष्फंदा/णिष्पंदा भिसिणी-पत्तमि रेहइ बलाआ ।
णिम्मल-मरगअ-भाअण-परिट्ठिआ संखसुत्ति व्व ॥
(पश्य निश्चल-निष्पन्दा बिसिनी-पत्रे राजते बलाका ।
निर्मल-मरकत-भाजन-परिष्ठिता शङ्खशक्तिरिव ॥)

—GS I-4

- (4) [Ādi-grahaṇāt (“Kālo vyaktiḥ svarādayaḥ” iti mūlsthādī-
pada-grāhyasyābhinayasya niyāmakatvaṁ udāharati ‘Ed-
daha’ iti]:

(p. 67)

एहमेत्त-त्यणिआ एहमेत्तेहिं अन्छिवत्तेहि ।
एहमेत्तावत्था एहमेत्तेहिं विअहेहिं ॥
(एतावन्मात्रस्तनिका एतावन्मात्राभ्यामक्षिपत्राभ्याम् ।)
एतावन्मात्रावत्था एतावन्मात्रैदिवसैः ॥)

—GS (W) 973

- (5) [Kraṇeḍāharaṇāni (Vakṭṛ-vaiśiṣṭyāt vācyasya vyaṅgya-
tvam]

(p. 73)

अइपिहुलं जलकुंभं घेतूण समागदम्हि सहि तुरिअं ।
सम-सेअ-सलिल-णीसास-णीसहा वीसमामि खणं ॥
(अतिपृथुलं जलकुम्भं गृहीत्वा समागतास्मि सखि त्वरितम् ।
श्रमस्वेव-सलिल-निःश्वास-निःसहा विश्राम्यामि क्षणम् ॥)

—GS (W) 881

- (6) [Boddhavya-vaiśiṣṭyāt vācyasya vyañjakatvam —]

(pp. 73-74)

ओण्णिहं/णिण्णिहं दोन्बल्लं चिंता अलसत्तणं सणीससिअं ।
मह मंदभाइणीए केरं/कए सहि तुह/तुमं वि अहह परिहवइ ॥
(औन्निरघं/निन्निरघं दौर्बल्यं चिन्तालसत्त्वं सनिःश्वसितम् ।
मम मन्वभागिन्या संबन्धि/कृते सखि तव/त्वामपि अहह परिभवति ॥)

The verse is in *Gīti*.

—GS (W) 956

- (7) [Vākya-vaiśiṣṭyāt vācyasya vyañjakatvam —] (p. 75)

तइआ मह गंडत्थल-णिमिअं दिट्ठि ण गेसि अण्णत्तो ।
एण्ह स च्चेअ अहं ते अ कवोला ण सा विट्ठी ॥
(तवा मम गण्डस्थल-स्थापितां/निमग्नां/न्यस्तां वृष्टिं न नयस्यन्त्यतः ।
इवानो संवाहं तौ च कपोलौ न सा वृष्टिः ॥)

—GS (W) 939

(8) [Anya-sannidhi-vaiśiṣṭyāt vācyasya vyañjakatvam —]

(p. 77)

णोल्लेइ अणोल्लमणा अत्ता मं धर-भरम्मि सअलम्मि ।

खणमेत्तं जइ संभाएँ होइ ण व होइ बीसामो ॥

(नुवत्यनार्द्रमनाः श्वभ्रूमां गृहभरे सकले ।

क्षणमात्रं यदि सन्ध्यायां भवति न वा भवति विश्रमः ॥)

—GS (W) 875

(9) [Prastāva-vaiśiṣṭyāt vācyasya vyañjakatvam]

(p. 77)

सुव्वइ समागमिस्सइ तुज्ज पिओ अज्ज पहरमेत्तेण ।

एमेअ किं ति चिट्ठसि ता सहि सज्जेसु करणिज्जं ॥

(श्रूयते समागमिष्यति तव प्रियो ऽद्य प्रहर-मात्रेण ।

एवमेव किमिति तिष्ठसि तत् सखि सज्जय करणीयम् ॥)

—GS (W) 962

(10) [Kāla-vaiśiṣṭyād vācyasya vyañjakatvam —]

(p. 79)

गुरुअणपरवस पिअ किं भणामि तुह मंवभाइणी अहकं (?अहअं) ।

अज्ज पवासं वच्चसि वच्च सअं जेव्व सुणसि करणिज्जं ॥

(गुरु-जन-परवश प्रिय किं भणामि तव मन्दभागिन्यहकम् (“न्यहम्”)

अद्य प्रवासं व्रजसि व्रज स्वयमेव शृणोषि करणीयम् ॥)

—GS (W) 851

(11) [Vastumātram yathā —]

(p. 133)

पंथिअ ण एत्थ सत्थरमत्थि मणं पत्थरत्थले गामे ।

उण्णअपओहरं पेक्खिऊण जइ वससि ता वससु ॥

(पथिक नात्र स्रस्तरमस्ति मनाक् प्रस्तरस्थले ग्रामे ।

उन्नत-पयोधरं (पक्षे-पयोधरां) प्रेक्ष्य यदि वससि तद् वस ॥)

—GS (W) 879

Hemacandra (Kās, p. 67) repeats this example. *Kalpalatā-viveka* (p. 141) reads ‘uggaa’ for ‘uṇṇaa’.

(12) [Dvādaśa-bhedo'rtha-śaktyudbhavo dhvaniḥ krameṇodā-haraṇam (? — odāharaṇāni) (Svataḥ-sambhavinā vastunā-vastuno vyaktim udāharati)]

(p. 135)

अलससिरोमणि धुत्ताण अग्गिमो पुत्ति धणसमिद्धिमओ ।

इअ भणिण णअंगी पप्फुल्लविलोअणा जाआ ॥

(अलसशिरोमणिर्धूर्तानामप्रिमः पुत्रि धनसमृद्धिमयः ।

इति भणितेन नताङ्गी प्रफुल्ल-विलोचना जाता ॥)

—GS (W) 970

- (13) [Kavi-prauḍhoktimātra-siddhena vastunālamkārasya vya-
ktim udāharati —] (p. 140)

केसेसु बलामोडिअ तेण अ समरम्मि जअसिरी गहिआ ।
जह कंदराहि विहुरा तस्स दढं कंठअम्मि संठविआ ॥
(केशेषु बलात्कारेण तेन च समरे जयश्रीर्गृहीता ।
यथा कन्दराभिर्विधुरास्तस्य दृढं कण्ठे संस्थापिताः ॥)

—GS (W) 977

The verse is in *Gīti*.

Weber reads 'तेण समरम्मि जअसिरी' (तेन समरे जयश्रीः).

- (14) [Kavi-prauḍhokti-mātra-siddhenālamkāreṇa vastuno vya-
ktimudāharati —] (p. 141)

गाढालिगणरहमुज्जुअम्मि दइए लहुं समोसरइ ।
माणंसिणीण माणो पीलणभीउ द्व हिअआओ ॥
(गाढालिङ्गनरभसोद्यते दयिते लघु समपसरति ।
मनस्विनीनां मानः पीडनभीत इव हृदयात् ॥)

—GS (W) 934

Hemacandra (Kās, p. 80) repeats this example. Weber reads the second half as follows:

माणंसिणीएँ माणो पेल्लणभीओ द्व हिअआहि ।
(मनस्विन्या मानः पीडितभीत इव हृदयात् ।)

- (15) [Kaviprauḍhokti-mātra-siddhenālamkāreṇālamkārasya
vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 142)

जा ठेरं व हसंती कइ-वअणंबुरुह-बद्ध-विणिवेसा ।
दावेइ भुअण-मंडलमण्णं विअ जअइ सा वाणी ॥
(या स्थविरमिव हसन्ती कवि-वदनाम्बुरुह-बद्ध-विनिवेशा ।
दर्शयति भुवनमण्डलमन्यदिव जयति सा वाणी ॥)

—GS (W) 983

- (16) [Kavi-nibaddha-vakṭṛ-prauḍhokti-mātra-siddha-
vyañjakārthasya dhvaneścaturṣu bhedēṣu madhye
vastunā vastuno vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 143)

जे लंकागिरिमेहलामु/मेहलाहि खलिआ संभोअ-खिण्णोरई-
फारुण्फुल्ल-फणावली-कवलणे धत्ता दरिदृत्तणं ।
ते एण्हि मलआणिला विरहिणी-णीसास-संपक्किणो
जाआ मत्ति सिसुत्तणे वि बहला तारुणपुष्पा इव/विअ ॥

(ये लङ्कागिरि-मेखलामु/-मेखलाभ्यः स्थलिताः संभोग-खिन्नोरगी-
स्फारोत्फुल्ल-फणावली-कवलने प्राप्ता दरिद्रत्वम् ।
त इदानीं मलयानिला विरहिणी-निःश्वास-संपर्किणी
जाता ऋटिति शिशुत्वेऽपि बहलास्तारुष्यपूर्णा इव ॥)

—Karpūramañjarī I-20

This verse is in *Śārdūlavikrāḍita*.

- (17) [Kavi-nibaddha-vakṭṛ-prauḍhokti-mātra-siddhena
vastunālaṅkārasya vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 144)

सहि विरइऊण माणस्स मज्झ धीरत्तणेण आसासं ।
पिअ-वंसण-विहलंखल-खणम्मि सहस त्ति तेण ओसरिअं ॥
(सखि विरचय्य मानस्य मम धीरत्वेनाशवासम् ।
प्रिय-दर्शन-विशृङ्खल-क्षणे सहसेति तेनापसृतम् ॥)

—GS (W) 936

The GS (W) reads 'oāsam' for 'āsāsam', and 'piaama-
damsaṇa-vihalakkhaṇammi' in the second half. The *Bāla-
bodhinī* refers to another reading 'vihallattaṇa' in place of
'vihalaṅkhala'. Oāsam meaning 'avakāśam' does not yield
a happy sense in the present context. 'Vihalattana' mean-
ing 'vihvalattva' is equally a good reading.

The *Kalpalatāviveka* (p. 162) repeats this example.

- (18) [Kavi-nibaddha-vakṭṛ-prauḍhokti-mātra-
siddhenālaṅkāreṇa vastuno vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 144)

उल्लोल्ल-करअ-रअण-क्खएहि तुह लोअणेषु मह विण्णं ।
रत्तंसुअं पसाओ कोवेण पुणो इमे ण अक्कमिआ ॥
(आर्द्रार्द्र-करज-रदन-अतैस्तव लोचनयोर्मम दत्तम् ।
रक्तांशुकं प्रसादः कोपेन पुनरिमे नाक्रान्ते ॥)

—GS (W) 971

In place of 'ullolla' we have a variant reading 'Ollolla'
but the meaning remains the same.

The verse is in *Giti*.

- (19) [Kavi-nibaddha-vakṭṛ-prauḍhokti-mātra-
siddhenālaṅkāreṇālaṅkārasya vyaktim udāharati —]
(p. 145)

महिला-सहस्स-भरिए तुह ह्मिअ सुहअ सा अमाअंती ।
अणुदिणमण्णकम्मा अंगं तणुअं पि तणुएइ ॥
(महिला-सहस्र-भृते तव हृदये सुभग सा अमान्ती ;
अनुदिनमनन्यकर्मा अङ्गं तनुकमपि तनयति ॥)

—GS II-82

- (20) [Pada-prakāśyatve krama-prāptamatyanta-tiraskṛta-vācyam udāharati —] (p. 150)

खल-ववहारा वीसंति वारुणा जइ वि तह वि धीराणं ।
 ह्रिअ-वअस्स-बहुमआ ण ह्नु ववसाआ विमुज्जंति ॥
 (खल-व्यवहारा वृश्यन्ते वारुणा यद्यपि तथापि धीराणाम् ।
 हृदय-वयस्य-बहुमता न खलु व्यवसाया विमुह्यन्ति ॥)

—GS (W) 978

The verse is in *Mukha-vipulā*.

- (21) [Svataḥsambhavinālamkāreṇālamkārasya vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 158)

तुह वल्लहस्स गोसम्मि आसि अहरो मिलाण-कमल-दलो ।
 इअ णव-वहुआ सोऊण कुणइ वअणं महीसमुहं ॥
 (तव वल्लभस्य प्रभाते आसीदधरो म्लान-कमल-दलम् ।
 इति नववधूः श्रुत्वा करोति वदनं महीसंमुखम् ॥)

—GS (W) 990

The verse is in *Sarva-vipulā*.

- (22) [Kavi-prauḍhokti-mātra-siddhena vastunā vastuno vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 158)

राईसु चंदधवलासु ललिअमप्फालिऊण जो चावं ।
 एककच्छत्तं विअ कुणइ भुअणरज्जं विजंभंतो ॥
 (रात्रीषु चन्द्रधवलासु ललितभास्काल्य यश्चापम् ।
 एकच्छत्रमिव करोति भुवन-राज्यं विजृम्भमाणः ॥)

—GS (W) 992

The verse is in *Sarvavipulā*.

[In the second half we get a few variant readings: 'Cia' for 'via', 'viambhanto' for 'vijambhanto'. The *Pradīpa* commentary reads: "Ekacchattam va kuṇai tihuaṇa-rajjam"]

- (23) [Kavi-prauḍhokti-mātra-siddhenālamkāreṇa vastuno vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 160)

वारिज्जंतो वि पुणो संदाव-कअत्थिएण ह्रिअएण ।
 थणहर-वअस्सएण विसुद्ध-जाई ण चलइ से हारो ॥
 (वार्यमाणोऽपि पुनः संताप-कदर्शितेन हृदयेन ।
 स्तनभर-वयस्येन विशुद्धजातिर्न चलति तस्या/अस्या हारः ॥)

—GS (W) 994

The verse is in *Gīti*.

- (24) [Kavi-prauḍhokti-mātra-siddhenālamkāreṇālamkārasya
vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 161)

सो मुद्ध/सुद्ध-सामलंगो घम्मिल्लो कलिअ-ललिअ-णिअ-वेहो ।
तीए खंधाहि बलं गहिअ/लहिअ सरो सुरअ-संगरे जअइ ॥
(स मुग्घ/शुद्ध-श्यामलाङ्गो घम्मिल्लः कलित-ललित-निज-देहः ।
तस्याः स्कन्धाद् बलं गृहीत्वा/लब्ध्वा स्मरः सुरत-सङ्गरे जयति ॥)

—GS (W) 998

- (25) [Kavi-nibaddha-vakṛ-prauḍhokti-mātra-siddhena
vastunā vastuno vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 162)

णव-पुण्णिमा-मिअंकस्स सुहअ को तं सि भणसु मह सच्चं ।
का सोहग्ग-सभग्गा पओस-रअणि व्व तुह अज्ज ॥
(नव-पूर्णिमा-मृगतङ्कस्य सुभग कस्त्वमसि भण मम सत्यम् ।
का सौभाग्यसमप्रा प्रदोष-रजनीव तवाद्य ॥)

—GS (W) 986

The verse is in *mukha-vipulā*.

- (26) [Kavi-nibaddha-vakṛ-prauḍhokti-mātra-siddhena
vastunālamkārasya vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 163)

सहि णव-णिहुवण-समरम्मि अंकवाली-सहीए णिबिडाए ।
हारो णिवारिओ च्चिअ उच्छीरंतो तदो कहं रमिअं ॥
(सखि नव-निधुवन-समरे अङ्कपाली-सख्या निबिडया ।
हारो निवारित एवोच्छीयमाणस्ततः कथं रमितम् ॥)

—GS (W) 996

The metre of this verse is *mukha-vipula*.

S. P. Bhattacharya pertinently observes: "Different commentators give different *chāyā* indicative of different readings उद्घ्नियमाणः, उद्धर्तमानः, उच्चरन्, उच्चलन् in the original *gāthā* text. Rucaka's *chāyā* उच्छ्रियमाणः is what has been adopted by Vaidyanātha". Foot-note No. 104 to Ullāsa IV of the *Kāvya-prakāśa-samketa*, edited by him and published in COJ, Vol. II Nos. 6, and 12.

- (27) [Kavi-nibaddha-vakṭṛ-prauḍhokti-mātra-siddhenā-
laṅkāreṇa vastuno vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 163)

पविंसती घरदारं/घरदारं विवलिअवअणा विलोइऊण प्हं ।

खंघा/खंघे मोत्तूण/घेत्तूण घडं हा हा णट्ठो त्ति रुअसि सहि किं ति ॥

(प्रविशन्ती गृहद्वारं विवलित-वदना विलोक्य पन्थानम् ।

स्कन्धात् / स्कन्धे मुक्त्वा/गृहीत्वा घटं हा हा नष्ट इति रोदिषि सखि किमिति ॥)

The metre of this verse is *Gīti*.

—GS (W) 960

- (28) [Yathā vā —] (p. 164)

विहलंखलं तुमं सहि दटठूण कुडेण तरलतरदिट्ठं ।

वारप्फंस-मिसेण/-णिहेण अ अप्पा गुरुओ त्ति पाडिअ विहिण्णो ॥

(विगृह्णखलां/विह्वलाङ्गां त्वां सखि वृष्ट्वा कुटेन तरलतरवृष्टिम् ।

द्वार-स्पर्श-मिवेण/निमेन चात्मा गुरुक इति पातयित्वा विभिन्नः ॥)

—GS (W) 880

The metre of this verse is *Gīti*.

GS (W) reads 'vihalakkhanaṃ' in place of 'vihalaṅkhalam'.

- (29) [Kavi-nibaddha-vakṭṛ-prauḍhokti-mātra-siddhenā-
laṅkāreṇālaṅkarasya vyaktim udāharati —] (p. 165)

जोण्हाए मधुरसेण अ विइण्ण-तारुण्ण-ऊसुअमणा सा ।

बुद्धा वि णवोढ व्विअ परवहुआ अहह हरइ तुह हिअअं ॥

(ज्योत्सया मधुरसेन च वितीर्ण-तारुण्योत्सुकमनाः सा ।

बुद्धापि नवोढेव परवधुका अहह हरति तव हृदयम् ॥)

—GS (W) 984

The metre of this verse is *Gīti*.

If we read with Weber the second half as

बुद्धा वि णवोढ व्व परवहू अह हरइ तुह हिअअं ॥

(बुद्धापि नवोढेव परवधूरथ हरति तव हृदयम् ॥)

then the metre would be *gāthā*.

- (30) [Padaikadeśa-racanā-varṇeṣvapi rasādayaḥ/
Tatra prākṛtyā yathā —] (p. 168)

रइ-केलि-हिअ-णिअंसण-कर-किसलय-रुद्ध-णअण-जुअलस्स ।

रुहस्स तइअ-णअणं पव्वइ-परिउंविअं जअइ ॥

(रति-केलि-हृत-निवसन-कर-किसलय-रुद्ध-नयन-युगलस्य ।

रुद्रस्य तृतीयनयनं पार्वती-परिचुम्बितं जयति ॥)

—GS V. 55

(31) [Sambandhasya (vyañjakatvaṁ) yathā —]

गामारुहं म्निह गामे वसामि नअरट्टिठहं ण आणामि ।
 णाअरिआणं पइणो हरेमि जा होमि सा होमि ॥
 (ग्रामरुहास्मि ग्रामे वसामि नगरस्थितिं न जानामि ।
 नागरिकाणां पतीन् हरामि या भवामि सा भवामि ॥)

—GS (W) 705

The metre of this verse is *gāthā*.

(32) [Vacanasya (vyañjakatvaṁ) yathā —]

(p. 176)

ताणें गुणग्रहणाणं ताणुक्कठाणें तस्स पेम्मस्स ।
 ताणें भणिआण सुंदर एरिसिअं जाअमवसाणं ॥
 (तेषां गुणग्रहणानां तासामुत्कृष्टानां तस्य प्रेम्णः ।
 तासां भणितीनां/तेषां भणितानां सुन्दर ईदृशं जातमवसानम् ॥)

—GS (W) 940

The metre of this verse is *Jaghanavipulā*.

(33) [Tatra diṅgmātram udāhriyate —]

(p. 187)

खण-याहुणिआ देअर जाआए सुहअ किं पि ते भणिआ ।
 रअइ पडोहर-वलहीघरम्मि अणुणिज्जउ वराई ॥
 (क्षण-प्राघुणिका देवर जायया सुभग किमपि ते भणिता ।
 रोदिति गृहपश्चाद्भाग-वलभीगृहेऽनुनीयतां वराकी ॥)

This *gāthā* is first cited in *Dhvanyāloka*.

—GS (W) 963

Weber reads 'gharopantaphaliṇi-gharammi' (Sk: grho-
 pānta-phalinigrhe) in place of 'paḍohara', etc.

(34) [Asundaram (madhyama-kāvyaṁ-udāharati) yathā —]

(p. 211)

वाणीरकुञ्जुडीण-सउणि-कोलाहलं सुणंतीए ।
 घर-कम्म-वावडाए व्हएँ सौअंति अंगाई ॥
 (वानोर-कुञ्जोडीन-शकुनि-कोलाहलं शृष्वत्याः ।
 गृहकर्मव्यापृताया बध्वाः सीदन्त्यङ्गानि ॥)

This *gāthā* is first cited in *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 282) —

—GS (W) 874

- (35) [Vācya-vyaṅgyayoḥ viṣaya-bhedam āha —] (p. 244)

कस्स व ण होइ रोसो वट्टूण पिआए सव्वणं अहरं ।
 सभमरपउमग्घाइरि वारिअवामे सहसु एण्हि ॥
 (कस्य वा न भवति रोषो वृष्ट्वा प्रियायाः सन्नगमधरम् ॥
 सभ्रमरपमाघ्राणशीले वारित्वामे सहस्वेबानीम् ॥)

—GS (W) 886

This gāthā is first cited in *Dhvanyāloka* (pp. 76-77).

In place of — ‘pāumagghāiri’ we have the variant —
 pāumagghāiṇi (Sk: padmāghrāyiṇi).

- (36) [Na ca (— mukhyārthabādhaḥ) —] (p. 247)

अत्ता एत्थ णुमज्जइ एत्थ अहं दिअसअं पलोएहि ।
 मा पहिअ रत्तिअंघअ सेज्जाएँ महं णुमज्जिहिसि ॥
 (श्वधूरत्र निमज्जति (=शेते) अत्राहं दिवसकं प्रलोकस्व ।
 मा पथिक रात्र्यन्धक शय्यायामावयोनिमङ्क्ष्यसि ॥)

This gāthā is first cited in *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 71).

—GS VII.67

The text, presented by GS, is somewhat different.

एत्थ णिमज्जइ अत्ता एत्थ अहं एत्थ परिअणो सअलो ।
 पंथिअ रत्तीअंघअ मा महं सअणे णिमज्जिहिसि ॥
 (अत्र निमज्जति श्वधूरत्राहमत्र परिजनः सकलः ।
 पथिक रात्र्यन्धक मावयोः शयने निमङ्क्ष्यसि ॥)

The text, as presented in *Dhvanyāloka* is poetically
 and aesthetically superior to what we find in GS.

- (37) [Sambaddha-sambandho vyaṅgyo'rthaḥ —] (p. 250)

विवरीअरए लच्छी बम्भं वट्टूण णाहिकमलत्थं ।
 हरिणो वाहिण-णअणं रसाउला झत्ति ढक्केइ ॥
 (विपरीत-रते लक्ष्मीर्ब्रह्माणं वृष्ट्वा नाभिकमलस्थम् ।
 हरेर्बक्षिणनयनं रसाकुला झटिति स्थगयति ॥)

—GS (W) 816

GS reads ‘Siri’ (Sk: Śriḥ) in place of ‘lacchī’.

(38). [Tathā hi —]

(pp. 252-53)

मम धम्मिअ वीसत्थो सो सुणओ अज्ज मारिओ तेण ।
 गोलाणइकच्छकुडंगवासिगा दरिअ-सीहेण ॥
 (अम धामिक विश्वस्तः स गुणकोऽद्य मारितस्तेन ।
 गोदानवीकच्छकुञ्जवासिना वृत्तसिहेन ॥)

—GS II.75

We have the variant reading 'visaddho' (Sk: viśra-
 bdhaḥ) in place of 'Visattho'.

GS reads 'Golā-aḍa-viaḍa' (Sk: 'Godātaṭavikaṭa) in
 place of 'Golāṇaikaccha'.

This verse is for the first time cited in *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 52).

(39) [(Aśravayatvam) yathā vā —]

(p. 336)

जं परिहरिउं तीरइ मणअं पि ण सुंदरत्तण-गुणेणं ।
 अह णवरं जस्स दोसो पडिवक्खेहि पि पडिवण्णो ॥
 (यं परिहर्तुं तीर्यते (=शक्यते) मनस्यपि न सुन्दरत्व-गुणेन ।
 अथ केवलं यस्य दोषः प्रतिवक्षैरपि प्रतिपन्नः ॥)

—GS (W) 979

According to Māṇikyacandra (*Saṅketa*, p. 224) and
 Bhaṭṭa Someśvara (*Kāvyaḍarsa-saṅketa*, p. 136) this *gāthā*
 is drawn from Ānandavardhana's *Pañcabāṇalīlā* (= Viṣama-
 bāṇalīlā). For different interpretations the reader is re-
 ferred to *Bālābodhinī* (p. 336).

(40) [Adhama-prakṛtyuktiṣu grāmyo guṇaḥ | Yathā —]

(p. 425)

फुल्लक्करं कलमकूरसमं वहन्ति
 जे सिन्धुवारविडवा मह बल्लहा ते ।
 जे गालिअस्स महिसी-बहिणो सरिच्छा
 ते किं च मुद्ध-विअइल्ल-पसूण-पुंजा ॥
 (पुष्पोत्करं कलम-कूर-समं वहन्ति
 ये सिन्धुवारविटपा मम बल्लभास्ते ।
 ये गालितस्य महिषीबल्लः सदृक्षा -
 स्ते किं च मुग्ध-विकल-प्रसून-पुञ्जाः ॥)

—Karpūramañjarī I.19

The metre of this verse is *Vasantatilakā*.

There is a variant reading 'ṇihaṁ' (Sk: nibhaṁ) in place of 'Samaṁ' but both mean 'similar,' 'like'.

- (41) [Arthāntara-saṅkramita-vācye dhvanau kathitapadaṁ kvacid
guṇaḥ —] (pp. 429-30)

ताला जाअंति गुणा जाला दे स-हिअएहि घेप्पंति ।
रइ-किरणणुगाहिआइँ होंति कमलाइँ कमलाइ ॥
(तदा जायन्ते गुणाः यदा ते सहृदयैर्गृह्यन्ते ।
रवि-किरणानुगृहीतानि भवन्ति कमलानि कमलानि ॥)

—*Viṣamabāṇalilā*, GS (W) 989

This gāthā is for the first time cited by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* with the introductory words "Yathā ca mamaiva *Viṣamabāṇalīlāyām* (p. 170).

- (42) [Garbhitam tathaiva (= kvacid guṇaḥ) | Yathā —]
(p. 432)

हुमि अवहत्थिअरेहो णिरंकुसो अह विवेअरहिओ वि ।
सिविणे वि तुमम्मि पुणो पत्तिअ भत्ति ण पम्हुसिमि ॥
(भवाम्यपहस्तितरेखो निरङ्कुशोऽयं विवेकरहितोऽपि ।
स्वप्नेऽपि त्वयि पुनः प्रतीहि भक्ति न विस्मरामि ॥)

—*Viṣamabāṇalilā*, GS (W) 999

Commenting on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* "Yathā vā mamaiva kāmadevasya sahaçara-samāgame" (p. 345 l.5-p. 346.l.1), Abhinavagupta quotes for the first time this gāthā in his *Locana* (p.346). We have the variant readings 'pattihi' and 'pasumarāmi' in place of 'Pattia' and 'pamhusimi' respectively.

- (43) [Pratikūlānubhāva-graham udāharati —] (p. 439)

णिहुअ-रमणम्मि लोअण-पहम्मि पडिए गुरुण मज्झम्मि ।
सअल-परिहार-हिअआ वणगमणं चेअ महइ व्हू ॥
(निभूतरमणे लोचनपथे पतिते गुरुणां मध्ये ।
सकल-परिहार-हृदया वनगमनमेव काङ्क्षति बधुः ॥)

—GS (W) 987

We have the variant reading 'guruṇa' in place of 'gurūṇa'.

- (44) [Satyapi rase tadanupakāratvam śabdālamkāra-
syodāharati —]

(pp. 467-68)

चित्ते^१चहृद्वि ण खुद्वि सा गुणेषु
सेज्जाइ^२ लोट्ट्वि विसद्वि विम्मुहेसु ।
बोलम्मि वद्वि पवद्वि कव्वबंधे
माणे ण तुद्वि चिरं तरुणी तरट्टी ॥
(चित्ते निखाता न तुद्विघते (=क्षीयते) सा गुणेषु
शय्यायां लुठति विकसति विड्मुखेषु ।
वचने वर्तते प्रवर्तते काव्यबन्धे
ध्याने न त्रुट्टयति चिरं तरुणी प्रगल्भा ॥)

—Karpūramañjarī II. 4

The metre of this verse is *Vasantatilakā*.

- (45) [Sanskrit-Prakritayorbhāṣayoḥ śleşam udāharati —]

(p. 513)

महदेसुरसंघम्मे तमवसमसङ्गमागमाहरणे ।
हरबहुसरणं तं चित्तमोहभावसरउमे सहसा ॥

(संस्कृतपक्षे,

महदे सुरसंघम् मे तम् अव समासङ्गम् आगमाहरणे ।
हर बहुसरणं तं चित्तमोहम् अवसरे उमे सहसा ॥

प्राकृतपक्षे,

मह वेसु रसं घम्मे तमवसं आसं गमागमा हर णे ।
हरबहु सरणं तं चित्तमोहं अवसरउ मे सहसा ॥
(मम देहि रसं घमं तमोवशाम् आशां गमागमात् हर नः ।
हरबधु शरणं त्वं चित्तमोहोऽपसरतु मे सहसा ॥)

—Ānandavardhana's *Devīśatāka* 76

- (46) [Vākyagāmupamāna-luptām udāharati —]

(p. 567)

सअल-करण-पर-वीसाम-सरि-विअरणं ण सरस-कव्वस्स ।
वीसइ अह व णिसम्मइ सरिसं असंसमेत्तेण ॥
(सकल-करण-पर-विभ्रम-श्री-वितरणं न सरसकाव्यस्य ।
वृश्यतेऽथवा निशम्यते (=श्रूयते) सद्दशमंशांशमात्रेण ॥)

—GS (W) 995

The metre of this verse is *mukhavipulā* (gāthā).

1. Vihaṭṭadi (Sk: viḥaṭate); pahuṭṭai (Sk: prasphuṭati).
2. Sejjāsu (Sk: śayyāsu).

(47) [Dharmopamānaylorlope vṛttau vākye ca dṛśyate —]

(p. 574)

दुंदुल्लंतो मरिहिसि कंटअ -कलिआई केअइवणाइं ।

मालइ-कुसुम-सरिच्छं भमर भमंतो न पाविहिसि ॥

(भ्रमन् (= गवेषयन्) मरिध्यसि कण्टक-कलितानि केतकीवनानि ।

मालती-कुसुम-सदृक्षं भ्रमर भ्रमन् न प्राप्स्यसि ॥)

—GS (W) 985

This gāthā is for the first time cited by Abhinavagupta in his 'Locana' commentary on *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 274) as an example of *aprastuta-prasāmsā-dhvani*. The term 'dhuṇḍhullanto' is the present participle of dhuṇḍhulla, an ādeśa for 'bhrama' or gaveṣa (vide Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar IV.161; 189). *Bālabodhinī* accepts the readings ṭuṇṭṇanto (Sk: ṭuṇṭṇāyamānaḥ) and further observes:

'टुंटुण्णंतो' इत्यत्र 'दुंदुल्लंतो' इति पाठे 'दुण्डुलायमानः' इति संस्कृतम् । केतकीवनानि

दुण्डुलायमानः अन्वेषमाणः इत्यन्वयः ।

The Marathi verb 'dhuṇḍālaṇe' is very closely connected with this Prakrit verb.

(48) [— Ekadeśavivarti (rūpakam) Yathā —] (p. 597)

जस्स रणंतेउरए करे कुणंतस्स मंडलगलअं ।

रससंमुही वि सहसा परंमुही होइ रिउसेणा ॥

(यस्य रणान्तःपुरे करे कुर्वतो मण्डलाप्रलताम् ।

रससंमुख्यापि सहसा पराङ्मुखी भवति रिपुसेना ॥)

—GS (W) 980

(49) [(Samāsokti —) udāharaṇam —]

(p. 616)

लहिऊण तुज्ज बाहुप्फंसं जीए स को वि उल्लासो ।

जअलच्छी तुह विरहे ण हुज्जला दुब्बला णं सा ॥

(लब्ध्वा तव बाहुस्पर्शं यस्याः स कोऽप्युल्लासः ।

जयलक्ष्मीस्तव विरहे न खलूज्ज्वला दुर्बला ननु सा ॥)

—GS (W) 993

(50) [— sā aparā (atīṣayoktiḥ) / Yathā —] (p. 630)

अण्णं लडहत्तणअं अण्ण च्चिअ का वि वत्तणच्छाआ ।
 सामा सामण्ण-पआवइणो रेह च्चिअ ण होइ ॥
 (अन्यद् लटभत्वम् (=सौन्दर्यम्) अन्यैव काऽपि वर्तनच्छाया ।
 श्यामा सामान्य-प्रजापतेः रेखं न भवति ॥)

—GS (W) 969

(51) [— tat — dipakam / Yathā —] (pp. 639-40)

किवणार्णे धणं णाआणे फणमणी केसराइँ सीहाणं ।
 कुलबालिआणे थणआ कुत्तो छिप्पंति अमुआणं ॥
 (कृपणानां धनं नागानां फणमणिः केसराः सिहानाम् ।
 कुलबालिकानां स्तनाः कुतः स्पृश्यन्तेऽमृतानाम् ।)

—GS (W) 976

(52) [— Sa vakṣyamāṇaviṣaya uktaviṣayaśceti dvidhā ākṣepaḥ /
 Krameṇodāharaṇam —] (pp. 639-40)

ए एहि किं पि कीए वि कए णिकिअ भणामि अलमहवा ।
 अविआरिअकज्जारंभआरिणी मरउ ण भणिस्सं ॥
 (ए एहि किमपि कस्या अपि कृते निष्कृप भणामि-अलमथवा ।
 अविचारितकार्यारम्भकारिणी म्रियतां न भणिष्यामि ॥)

The following gāthā which occurs in *Gāthāsaptasatī* (VII.2) reads the first half differently but is almost identical in sense and spirit:

ता सुहअ विलंब खणं भणामि कीएँ वि कएण अलमहवा ।
 अविआरिअकज्जारंभआरिणी मरउ ण भणिस्सं ॥
 (तत् सुभग विलम्बस्व क्षणं भणामि कस्या अपि कृते अलमथवा ।
 अविचारित-कार्यारम्भाकारिणी म्रियतां न भणिष्यामि ॥)

(53) [— sā saḥoktiḥ / Yathā —] (pp. 672-73)

सह विअह-णिसाहिं बीहरा सासवंडा
 सह मणिबलएँह बाहधारा गलंति ।
 तुह सुहअ विओए तीए उच्चिग्गिरीए
 सह अ तणुलआए दुब्बला जीविआसा ॥
 (सह दिवसनिशाभिर्दोर्घाः श्वासदण्डाः
 सह मणिबलयैर्बाष्पधारा गलन्ति ।
 तव सुभग विद्योगे तस्या उद्वेगिन्याः
 सह च तनुलतया दुर्बला जीविताशा"॥)

—Karpūramañjarī II-9

The metre of this verse is *Mālinī*.

(54) [Ekamanekatra kriyate sa paryāyah / Udāharaṇam yathā —]
(p. 693)

तं ताण सिरिसहोअररअणाहरणम्मि ह्रिअअमेक्करसं ।
बिबाहरे पिआणं णिवेसिअं कुसुमबाणेण ॥
(तत्तेषां श्रीसहोदररत्नाहरणे हृदयमेकरसम् ।
बिम्बाधरे प्रियाणां निवेशितं कुसुमबाणेन ॥)

—*Viṣambāṇalīlā*; GS (W) 988

Ānandavardhana cites this gāthā from his own Prakrit poem called *Viṣambāṇalīlā* to illustrate Upamādhvaniḥ (*Dhvanyāloka*, p. 265).

(55) [— anyonyanāmā alaṅkārah | Udāharaṇam —] (p. 708)

हंसाण सरेहि सिरौ सारिज्जइ अह सराण हंसेहि ।
अण्णोण्णं चिअ एए अप्पाणं णवर गरुअंति ॥
(हंसानां सरोमिः श्रीः सार्यतेऽथ सरसां हंसैः ।
अन्योन्यमेवैते आत्मानं केवलं गरयन्ति (गुरुकुर्वन्ति) ॥)

—GS (W) 953

(56) [— tadekam tāvat uttaram / Udāharaṇam —] (p. 709)

वाणिअअ हत्थिवंता ¹कत्तो अन्हाण ²वग्घकत्ती अ ।
³जाव लुलिआलअमुही घरम्मि परिसक्कए ⁴सोण्हा ॥
(वाणिजक हस्तिवन्ताः कुतोऽस्माकं व्याघ्रकृतयश्च ।
यावत्लुलितालकमुखी गृहे परिष्वक्ते स्नुषा ॥)

—GS (W) 951

This gāthā is for the first time cited by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 299) with the introductory words:

स्वतःसंप्रविशरीरार्थशक्त्युद्भवे प्रभेदे पदप्रकाशता यथा—

(57) [— tat aparamuttaram | udāharaṇam —] (p. 710)

का विसमा देवगई कि बुलहं जं जणो गुणग्गाही ।
किं सोक्खं सुकलत्तं किं दुक्खं जं खलो लोओ ॥
(का विषमा ? देवगतिः ; किं बुल्लभम् ? यज्जनो गुणग्गाही ।
किं सौख्यम् ?-सुकलत्रम् किं दुःखम्? यत् खलो लोकः ॥)

—GS (W) 975

1 कुत्तो (कुतः) 2 वग्घकत्तीओ (व्याघ्रकृतयः) 3 जा विलुलिआ (यावद् विलुलिता) 4 सुण्हा (स्नुषा)

(58) [— sā — asaṅgatiḥ / Udāharaṇam —] (pp. 714-15)

जस्सेअ वणो तस्सेअ वेअणा भणइ तं जणो अलिअं ।
 वंतकखअं कवोले वहुएँ विअणा सवत्तीणं ॥
 (यस्यैव व्रणस्तस्यैव वेदना भणति तज्जनो ऽलीकम् ।
 वन्तक्षतं कपोले वध्वा वेदना सपत्नीनाम् ॥)

—GS (W) 981

(59) [— tad bhavet smaraṇam Udāharaṇam — Yathā vā —]
 (p. 733)

कर-जुअ-गहिअ-जसोआ-थणमुह-विणिवेसिआहरपुडस्स ।
 संभरिअ-पंचजणस्स णमह कप्हस्स रोमंचं ॥
 (कर-युग-गृहीत-यशोदा-स्तन-मुख-विनिवेशिताधरपुटस्य ।
 संस्मृत-पाञ्चजन्यस्य नमत कृष्णस्य रोमाञ्चम् ॥)

—GS (W) 974

(60) [Dvitiyam pratipam udāharati —] (p. 736)

ए एहि दाव सुंदरि कण्णं दाऊण सुणसु वअणिज्जं ।
 तुज्ज मुहेण किसोअरि चंदो ¹उवमिज्जइ जणेण ॥
 (अयि एहि तावत् सुन्दरि कर्णं दत्त्वा शृणु वचनीयम् ।
 तव मुखेन कृशोदरि चन्द्र उपमीयते जनेन ॥)

—GS (W) 972

(61) [Sa dvitiyaḥ (viśeṣaḥ) Udāharaṇam —] (p. 742)

सा वसइ तुज्ज हिअए ²स च्चिअ अच्छीसु सा अ ³वअणेसु ।
 अम्हारिसाण सुंदर ओआसो कत्थ पावाणं ॥
 (सा वसति तव हृदये सैवाक्ष्णोः सा च वचनेषु ।
 अस्माद्दृशीनां सुन्दर अवकाशः कुत्र पापानाम् ॥)

—GS (W) 947

(62) [— tadā bhavet atadguṇaḥ nāma Udāharaṇam —]
 (p. 747)

धवलो सि जइ वि सुंदर तह वि तुए मज्ज रंजिअं हिअअं ।
 राअभरिए वि हिअए सुहअ णिहित्तो ण रत्तो सि ॥
 (धवलोऽसि यद्यपि सुन्दर तथापि त्वया मम रञ्जितं हृदयम् ।
 रागभृतेऽपि हृदये सुभग निहितो न रक्तोऽसि ॥)

—GS VII.65

(63) [Śabdārthālamkārayostu saṁsr̥ṣṭiḥ —]

(p. 753)

सो णत्थि एत्थ गामे जो एअं महमहंतलाअण्णं ।
 तरुणाण ह्मिअलूडि परिसक्कंति णिवारेइ ॥
 (स नास्ति अत्र ग्रामे यः एतां प्रसरत्लावष्याम् ।
 तरुणानां हृदयलुप्टाकीं परिष्वङ्कमाणां निवारयति ॥)

—GS (W) 997

(64) [Sandeḥasaṅkaram udāharati —]

(p. 760)

जह गहिरो जह रअण-णिम्मरो जह अ णिम्मल-च्छाओ ।
 तह किं विहिणा एसो सरसवाणीओ जलणिही ण कओ ॥
 (यथा गम्भीरो यथा रत्ननिर्भरो यथा च निर्मलच्छायः ।
 तथा किं विधिनेष सरसपानीयो (वाणीको) जलनिधिर्न कृतः ॥)

—GS (W) 982

The fourth quarter of this verse is metrically defective.

INDIAN RASĀYANA AND CHINESE ALCHEMY WITH ALLIED ORIGINS

S. MAHDIHASSAN

HUMAN culture can be traced upto the caveman. As man's most important asset he conceived, $\text{Life} = \text{Body} + \text{Life-essence or Soul}$. He further identified, $\text{Soul} = \text{Blood}$. Its active principle was imagined as Redness, when Blood became Redness-concentrate. This enabled him to look upon red minerals as rich in soul-content. Likewise plants bearing red fruits were accepted as potentially permeated with Redness. Accordingly a mineral, like red-ochre, and a herb like ephedra, bearing red berries, became agencies which could donate life-essence to increase the stock of soul in man and thereby his life-span. Thus both red-ochre and ephedra started as drugs of longevity. Now according to its function, $\text{Life} = \text{Growth}$. This means that the mechanism of action, as revealed by soul, would be growth. When it kept the life-span growing it resulted in longevity and when conceived as ever-growing man became immortal. At the same time when man is dead returning soul to his remains would revive him. Thus an agency conferring immortality also becomes that of resurrection, each the resultant of growth — energy.

Turning to red-ochre it was interred with the dead by the caveman so that it is the earliest known agency of resurrection. Red-ochre must have been used earlier still as the oral drug of longevity but this cannot be proved directly. However even today red-ochre is recommended as the drug of choice, in diseases with loss of blood, like dysentery and piles. It is therefore reasonable to believe that red-ochre was used long enough as the drug of longevity and as such of immortality before it became the agency of resurrection. Now resurrection is not mere revivification. A panacea would be a cure for all diseases. Essentially it treats each and every symptom but does not change the constitution. An oldman suffering from dysentery and headache taking a panacea would be freed from both but would remain old as before. On the other hand an agency of immortality-cum-resurrection changes the constitution itself; it infuses growth-energy, inducing wery tissue of the body to function normally and at its best. As result the consumer of such a drug would have his system reconditioned when he would revert, to the

state of robust health, such as he enjoyed in prime of life. Thus a drug of immortality is far more powerful than a panacea. Accordingly drugs like red cinnabar and ephedra have given rise to cults of immortality which panacea could not.

Returning to red-ochre the Chinese replaced it by a redder substance, minium, or red oxide of lead. And lead itself is used orally even today as a drug of longevity. Later on they collected a mixture of minium and cinnabar; the latter is red sulphide of mercury. Purifying the mixed ores they recovered lead and mercury and both are used even today as drugs of longevity. Finally nothing appeared so close to blood in its redness as pure cinnabar and this being red sulphide of mercury gave mercury and sulphur as its constituents. Now each of the three is independently used as drug, mercury, sulphur and cinnabar. Further cinnabar has been found interred with the dead in China. In so far as no other substance has been discovered superior to cinnabar, as nearest to red-blood, it finally came to represent the highest achievement of a seeker of longevity rejuvenation and immortality, emphasis being placed on rejuvenation or on the basic change in the constitution itself.

Growth is such an important property of life-essence that a drug rich in soul-content can induce even a metal to grow. When a substance remains as such but acquires the property of growth it becomes a ferment. Accordingly when a metal incorporates growth energy it becomes a ferment. And when growth is perfect, which means it can repair any injury inflicted upon it, the resulting perfect-metal appears as gold, which is even fire-proof. They by its different effects, a decrepit old man becomes a youth in prime of life, a dead is recalled to life, and a metal becomes live-gold, gold which is also a ferment. When ferment-gold is over-heated its results in bullion-gold which is like the fossil-gold we all know.

By now we can realize how there have been three theories of the origin of metals in China. Using minium they conceived lead as the progenitor of all metals, using a mixture of minium and cinnabar, the co-creators of metals become lead and mercury; using pure cinnabar there was the third and final theory that, sulphur and mercury are the joint-producers of all metals including gold. Thus from red-ochre to red-minium and finally to cinnabar we find they have all been used and are still being used as oral drugs and at the same time they account for a progressive development of theoretical alchemy.

We can now turn to ephedra, the plant carrying red berries. These are edible and a hearty meal, by an aged old ascetic, must

have made him feel energized. Ephedrine is an energizer and an euphoriant. As the solitary old denizen of a forest he needed an energizer to overexert himself and to be able to collect forest produce as his daily ration. Since ephedrine is also an euphoriant, taking it regularly, he could thereby reconcile himself to his fate. Then what made a weakling strong enough to support himself and a depressed individual feel bold enough to face life as it came, was what may be called the "blessing of choice". Subjectively he felt strong enough to be immune to death. It then became the drug of longevity-cum-immortality. And what confers immortality upon the living confers resurrection upon the dead. *Rig Veda* extols Soma, the extract of ephedra, as both. Moreover ephedra twigs were interred with the dead Aryans just as cinnabar had been with the dead Chinese. Now when ephedra was not found in India, ephedra juice or Soma-Rasa, in Sanskrit, was replaced by other drugs, generically called Rasāyana. Rasa = Juice and Ayana = Abode, when Rasāyana = Vehicle of juice, or juice concentrate, the juice being referable to that of a plant bearing red berries. Rasa properly interpreted would be growth-inducing principle and better as life-essence or soul. What was cinnabar to the Chinese was ephedra to the Aryans. Cinnabar gave the art alchemy, a branch of medicine aiming at rejuvenation; Soma or ephedra gave the art Rasāyana, a branch of Indian medicine definitely recognized as concerned with rejuvenation. Thus with Redness as soul, cinnabar became the source to which alchemy can be directly traced and ephedra, bearing red-berries, the source to which Rasāyana system of Indian medicine can be traced.

Thus we have as equivalents Cinnabar = Ephedra = Redness-incorporate, whence Alchemy = Rasāyana, the former using inorganic and the latter herbal drugs of rejuvenation. As aiming at immortality each has become a cult in its own right.

This is summary — article and references have been avoided. These would be found in the following publications:

1. Mahdihassan, S. (1976), Alchemy and its three theories of the origin of metals Hamdard — Medicus, Karachi 19 (7-12) 45-59.
 2. Mahdihassan, S. (1977), *Indian Alchemy or Rasāyana*, a monograph, *Inst. Hist. Med.*, New Delhi.
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ĀNANDAVARDHANA AND ABHINAVAGŪPTA

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BOTH Ānanda and Abhinava are names highly revered in Sanskrit Poetics, and rightly so since it is these two that have made Sanskrit literary criticism what it is today. Bharata is regarded as the Aristotle of Indian Poetics. I am in this very strain tempted to add that Ānanda is the Pāṇini of Sanskrit Poetics while Abhinava is its Patañjali. Both of them hail from Kashmir where Śaivism was the popular religious cult and Poetics the popular subject of study. One simply admires the contribution that Kashmir has made to Poetics. Arts were cultivated in Kashmir and Aesthetics was the craze of many. A mere glance at the literary and cultural history of Kashmir is enough to prove this. Bhaṭṭa Tauta, Udbhaṭa, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Pratihārendurāja, later Mammaṭa are names very well known and could be mentioned off hand.

Abhinava is an accredited spokesman of Śaivism and Tāntrism and he has materially contributed to both of them. Ānanda, on the other hand, though under the shadows of these cults and philosophical views does not seem to have been their open spokesman as Abhinava was. It could be said that in Ānanda we have a pleasing mixture of all that Kashmir had to give to a finely sensitive mind and in Abhinava we have a champion of the religious movement and a mystic who was deeply influenced by the prominent religious trends of the land. In Ānanda Śaivism is not so vividly seen, while it would be difficult to think of Abhinava without his Śaivism. I have always felt while reading the works of these two that in Ānanda we are dealing with a purely literary aesthete while in Abhinava we are dealing with a Śaiva aesthete. I have also felt that their different inclinations have subtly affected their theories and their approach to the literary problems they discuss.

We know little about Ānanda but we do know a good deal about Abhinava. Abhinava hails from a very illustrious family of scholars for his grandfather Yaśorāja, uncle Vāmanagupta, parents Nṛsīṃhagupta and Vimalakalā were scholars and religious minded persons. Abhinava was taught by his father, kṛta-saṃskāra, and therefore the father was 'gurubhyo'pi gariyān', superior to his teachers. His mother was a Yogīnī. He chose to remain celibate and

eager to master the different Śāstras, 'śāstradr̥ṣṭikutūhala', he moved from one teacher to another, 'nānāgurupravarapadanipata' like Siddhacela, Indurāja. Tauta, Lakṣmaṇagupta and Śambhunātha, to learn at their feet. He also met the tārkiḱs, the śrautas, the Bauddhas, the Ārhats and the Vaiṣṇavas, only to enrich his mind. The intensity of his religious feelings was great and he had the realisation of the Highest Deity, for he speaks of himself as 'Śivasmaraṇa-dīpta, Śivasmṛtikṛtārtha' and also proudly asserts that he is Śivacaraṇām-bhojamadhupa' and 'Maheśvarābhinavaguptapāda'. Abhinava wrote many works which could be classified under four heads: the Tantra, the Stotra, the Pratyabhijñāsāstra and Dramaturgy and Poetics. These works are undoubtedly monuments of learning, critical insight, literary grace and charming style. And yet the fact remains that Abhinava is no poet and in his voluminous literature we could hope to come across very few really good verses which could lay any claim to poetry. But there could be no two opinions about his vast hard-earned scholarship.

Ānanda is a different spirit, so it seems to me. If he had not the labour of an Abhinava, he had an inspiration all his own. He had the courage to differ from Bharata and he had a very sensitive mind, very quick to perceive poetical excellence and aesthetic qualities. He is therefore infinitely more valuable than most of the other Ālaṅkārikās. The credit of giving impetus to poetic theory in Kashmir rightly belongs to him. His works known to us are the *Devīcarita*, the *Arjunacarita* and the *Viṣamabāṇalīlā*. Of these compositions the *Devīcarita* was written when Ānanda was very young for it indicates how not to compose a poem and it is indeed surprising to see Ānanda who has condemned artificiality, writing such a poem. Ānanda too like Abhinava is no poet then. And yet it is surprising that these two should have been the persons who have taught us how to read poetry. Paul Valery has observed at one place that those who are neither good poets nor sensitive critics cannot through their dry philosophic-critical writings guide public taste, nor can they create any fine taste or sensitivity in the minds of the readers. So far as Sanskrit poetics is concerned both Ānanda and Abhinava, though no poets yet could guide early Indian taste and create sensitivity, only because both are great sensitive critics. One may or may not agree with their theories but one has to concede that in their discussions they have given some expositions of some poetical passages and in the course have made us alive to their beauties which we in all probability would have missed altogether. The praise therefore bestowed on the two, on Ānanda that he is 'ālaṅkārika-saraṇī-vyavasthāpaka' and a 'sahṛdaya-cakravarti' and on Abhinava that

'svādayantu rasam sarve yathākāmaṁ kathāncana /
sarvasvaṁ tu rasasyātra guptapādā hi jānate' //

is only just and no vain compliment.

There are reasons to believe that Ānanda took pride in speaking of a 'sahṛdaya' a word that he uses for more than thirty times. The word 'sahṛdaya' might have come from Vāmana yet it is Ānanda who has given it some weight and significance. Ānanda's approach throughout in his *Dhvanyāloka* is purely literary and he speaks of pure delight and of nothing else. This is evident in his discussions and from his deliberate use of words like 'sahṛdaya, sacetas, ānanda, kāvyatattva' and the like. One may refer here to Abhinava's famous dictum 'sarasvatyāḥ tattvam kavi-sahṛdayākhyam vijayatāt'. According to Ānanda, it seems, the essence of poetry, and perhaps by implication of all arts, depends on the two factors, Kavi the creator, the artist and the sahṛdaya, the critic or the spectator. One misses here the philosophical overtones that now and then appear in Abhinava. Ānanda declares in the last verse that he has explained the 'sat-kāvyatattva' which is always subtly felt but is also latent in enlightened minds, 'paripakva-dhi,' for the benefit of the sahṛdayas, 'sahṛdaya-udaya-lābhahetoḥ.' There are reasons to believe that Ānanda did not desire to mix up philosophy with poetics, since he wrote another work *Tattvāloka* wherein as Abhinava informs, he dealt with the difference between the śāstranaya and the kāvyā-naya. In the former, that is in the *Tattvāloka*, he dealt with the 'puruṣārtha' and in the latter he dealt with the 'rasa'. In the former experience, Ānanda holds that there is absence of relish, 'āsvādayogābhāva'. From such a treatment of the matter by Ānanda it would be proper to hold that to him the experience of the Highest Reality was in important aspects different from the experience in literature, experience of beauty in arts. This has led to a very important difference between Ānanda and Abhinava. In the phrase 'kavi-sahṛdayākhyam tattvam' Abhinava seems to clearly suggest that aesthetic delight is a process in which whatever is in the mind of the creative artist is experienced by the critic of fine taste. This is precisely the reason why Ānanda has referred to the celebrated case of Vālmiki whose 'śoka' was transformed into a 'śloka' and where the original 'bhāva' of Vālmiki is conveyed to the reader by process of Dhvani. But Abhinava does not seem to accept this position. He therefore indulges in learned discussions only to establish his favourite view that 'bhāva' and 'rasa' both are associated only with the mind of the sahṛdaya, the critic, since it is he alone who has the aesthetic experience, the 'āsvāda'.

Ānanda and Abhinava both are 'rasavādins' no doubt yet they hold different views on important matters. Ānanda is interested in Dhvani undoubtedly, but he establishes the 'rasa' as the soul of poetry. This fact explains his concept of 'rasa-dhvani', the highest principle in poetry and the highest aesthetic experience. Further he made an attempt to find this 'rasa-dhvani' in almost every form of poetry and literature, from big extensive compositions like the Epics and the Dramas down to the smaller ones like the Muktakas. Abhinava, on the other hand appears to hold that 'rasa' is to be found only in the 'prabandhas' larger compositions. Abhinava is more, or one may say primarily, interested in giving a neat metaphysical foundation to the 'rasa' principle and the aesthetic experience.

Ānanda maintains the importance of the 'rasa', as a pure and simple aesthetic experience of the nature of 'delight'. It is therefore that he is interested in a study and analysis of the different 'rasas' to be experienced by a sahrdaya in the different larger and smaller literary compositions. Ānanda really began a new era in criticism. Poetry is something much more than a skilful arrangement of the different elements. In his Dhvani theory the function of language and the content of poetry are neatly wedded to each other. Poetry was something more than the proverbial unity, sāhitya, of the śabda and the artha, the word and meaning. Being sensitive to poetic beauty he could not resist the temptation to refer to Prakrit poetry. This fact is to my mind very significant for Ānanda possibly is the first ālaṃkārika, a literary critic, to refer to Prakrit poetry and to the exquisite *Sattasāi* of Hāla. Ānanda is always coherent, clear and logical and therefore he could easily see that notions of real and false do not apply to poetry. Poetry is not history, he declared, in his 'na hi kaveḥ iti-vṛtta-mātranirvahanena kiñcit prayojanam'. History is interested in 'itivr̥tta' but Poetry is interested in 'rasa'. He also declares 'rasajñatā eva sahrdayatvam'. With such a view about poetry it is but natural that we should find Ānanda speaking about the different rasas and also maintaining the supremacy of the Śṛṅgāra rasa. In a very clear manner he observes 'śṛṅgāra eva madhuraḥ para-pralhādanaḥ rasaḥ' and 'ārdratām yāti yataḥ tatrādhikam manaḥ', also 'śṛṅgāro sukumāratamo hyasau'. He therefore desires the poet to be full of 'śṛṅgāra' for then only is charming poetry possible. He goes on to observe

'śṛṅgārī cet kaviḥ kāvyē jātam rasamayam jagat'
sa eva vītarāgaḥ cet nīrasam sarvameva tat' //

—*Dh.* III after Kārikā 42

This importance which Ānanda is seen attaching to the Śṛṅgāra rasa is only to be contrasted with the importance which

Abhinava attaches to the Śānta rasa. To Abhinava, the Śānta rasa is the rasa par excellence and he has spent considerable energy, philosophical and academic ingenuity to establish his thesis about the 'mahārasa'. If Ānanda deals with many rasas and regards the Śṛṅgāra as the 'sukumāratama,' Abhinava declares 'eka eva tāvat paramārthato rasaḥ, mahārasaḥ' and gives the Śānta rasa a very exalted place. This is obviously the result of his Śaiva convictions. There is evidence to show that there was a tussle between the champions of poetry and the champions of philosophy and the latter used to look down upon the former since poetry seduces the human mind by arousing passions which as a matter of fact, deserve to be restrained. The sensuous and the erotic elements in poetry are hindrances to the achievement of perfect tranquility. Bhaṭṭa Tauta and Abhinava both put up a strong defence of poetry and the aesthetic experience by bringing in their theory of 'catharsis'. Śrīdhara in his *Kāvya-prakāśa-viveka* quotes from Bhaṭṭa Tauta a few verses where the argument is: 'In poetic experience we do not have real objects, sense-objects, so how can they excite our mind and passions? Surely the state of mind cannot be the object, for it is never perceived as an outside object. Again, the aesthetic experience itself is not a passion that disturbs the mind. Even if it be a passion, it only serves to purify the mind, much in the same manner as dust is seen to clean a rusty mirror. The aesthetic experience is really a sort of step towards the highest experience of 'summum bonum'. Ānanda did say as a matter of fact that the notions of real or false do not apply to poetry but these points which Bhaṭṭa Tauta and Abhinava make out, though interesting as well as important, are not suggested by him. Bhaṭṭa Tauta and Abhinava are on philosophical level while Ānanda seems to move on one that is purely literary. He therefore speaks of many rasas, of the Śṛṅgāra rasa as the most charming one and of the 'ārdratā' that the mind experiences in the relish of the Śṛṅgāra. This suggestion of 'ārdratā' by Ānanda is perhaps responsible for the later doctrine of the 'vikāsa, vistāra, kṣobha and the vikṣepa' as the conditions of the mind in the relish of the different rasas. Ānanda, as a matter of fact, with his Śṛṅgāra and the abhimāna or ahaṅkāra associated with it, anticipated Bhoja. It is because of the element of this ahaṅkāra or the ego that according to Ānanda, the Śṛṅgāra is opposed to the Śānta rasa. True, Ānanda considers the Śānta to be the main rasa in the *Mahābhārata* but it is also to be remembered that he thinks that the *Rāmāyaṇa* has the Karuṇa rasa. The *Mahābhārata* is a history and a review of history always made one sad by making one poignantly conscious of the evanescent character of human life and its so-called achievements.

Kalhaṇa rightly said that in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, a historical work, the main rasa was the Śānta:

'kṣaṇabhāṅgini jantūnām sphurite paricintite /
mūrdhābhiṣekaḥ śāntasya rasasyātra vicāryātām' //

This is the feeling which possesses one when goes through the volumes of history by Toyanbee. Ānanda was therefore right when he read Śānta rasa in the *Mahābhārata* but on that count only he cannot be regarded as a champion of that rasa. Ānanda and Abhinava clearly differ in this matter.

It is really Ānanda who has taught us how to read poetry. He is perhaps the first critic who regarded the *Mahābhārata* as a unified work so far as its emotional impact on the reader is concerned. The Epic has no doubt several incidents and is episodic in character but the total effect is, Ānanda rightly points out, of unity, an artistic unity, for all the major and minor incidents converge on one point, that of delineation of human vanity and futility of life. It may be that the Kaurava princes fall on the battlefield or the Pāṇḍavas perish in the Himālayas. Ānanda's view that *Rāmāyaṇa* has a unity is equally sound.

Coming to the smaller units Ānanda and Abhinava are equally helpful and penetrating. I may refer to one place by way of illustration. The celebrated Kālidāsian verse

'calāpāṅgām dṛṣṭīm spr̥sasi bahuśo vepathumatīm,
rahasyākhyāyīva svanasi mṛdu karṇāntikacaraḥ /
karau vyādhunvatyāḥ pibasi ratisarvasvamadharam,
vayam tattvānveṣāt madhukar hatāḥ tvam khalu kṛtī! //

—*Śākuntala* I.22; *Dh.* II after Kārikā 19

is taken up for discussion by Ānanda and he points out how this very simple verse is simply studded with alamkāras. We have Samāsokti in 'madhukara-nāyaka-vyavahāra; Vyatireka in 'vayam hatāḥ tvam kṛtī'; Bhrāntimān in 'dṛṣṭīm spr̥sasi'; Arthāntaraṣamkramitavācyā in 'vayam'; Kāvyaṅga in spr̥sasi, svanasi, pibasi and kṛtī' and Anuprāsa through repetition of letters 's, r, m' and so on. Most of the verses of Kālidāsa are deceptively simple and one requires either an Abhinava or a Rāghavabhaṭṭa to help in understanding the unassuming art of the master. Ānanda is equally subtle in understanding the Muktakas and I may refer to

'āhūto'pi sahāyaiḥ omīti ukhvā vimuktanidro'pi /
gantumanā'pi pathikāḥ naiva śīthilayati saṅkocam' //

—*Dh.* I after Kārikā 13

an instance of 'anuktanimitā viśeṣokti. Udbhaṭṭa and Abhinava think here of the 'cold' but the reference is obviously to 'svapna'

in which the beloved was clasped. There is another interesting point about which Ānanda and Abhinava seem to hold different views. The Vīra rasa has its three varieties the Dānavīra, the Dharmavīra and the Dayāvīra. Ānanda thinks that the Dayāvīra, if there be no egoism, ahaṁkāra, is identical with the Śānta rasa. Abhinava on the other hand thinks that the Dayāvīra in all circumstances is the Śānta rasa only. Theoretically this would mean that according to Abhinava, the Dayāvīra cannot be developed at all if ahaṁkāra, egoism, is present. Abhinava goes to the length of saying that even the Dānavīra and the Dharmavīra are varieties of the Śānta rasa, if there be no egoism, ahaṁkāra, present. One really wonders as to how can the Vīra rasa or its variety be developed without any 'ahaṁkāra'. This insistence on the Śānta rasa is seen in Abhinava because he considers the Śānta rasa to be the most important among the rasas. He observes, 'mokṣa-phalatvena ca ayaṁ paramapurūṣārtha-utsāhatvāt sarvarasebhyaḥ pradhāna-tamaḥ'. This statement should be read along with the statement of Ānanda that 'śṛṅgārarasaḥ sarvarasebhyaḥ pradhāna-bhūtaḥ'. It is also to be remembered in this very context that the Kārikas in the *Dhvanyāloka* do not mention even once the Śānta rasa though they speak of the traditional eight rasas. It is in the *Vṛtti* that there is a mention of the Śānta rasa as 'pratiyata eva, asti śāntaḥ rasaḥ'. This would only mean that Ānanda had not quite made up his mind about the Śānta rasa, though he reads it in the *Mahābhārata*. Possibly in his times the Śānta rasa had not found a sure place in the list of the rasas, for it is Udbhaṭa who first mentions the Śānta rasa. In their enthusiasm for the Śānta rasa, critics read it in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as well. De quotes a line that runs as 'rāmāyaṇa-mahābhāratayoḥ ca śāntāṅgitvaṁ pūrvasūribhiḥ nirūpitam'. If this be the view of Kuntaka, a contemporary of Abhinava, then it could be said that the view was a common one, even that of Abhinava. But the point to be noted is that Ānanda has said in so many words that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the rasa is Karuṇa. Who are these 'pūrvasūris' then? When Ānanda does not hold this view, it is obvious that he is not included in these 'pūrvasūris'.

Reading in between the lines one feels that there is a difference of opinion between Ānanda and Abhinava regarding the importance of the Alāṁkāras and the Guṇas. To Ānanda, the Vyaṅgya and the Guṇibhūtavyaṅga are equally charming and he is interested in discussing the beauty of the vastu-dhvani, the alāṁkāra-dhvani and the rasa-dhvani. In poetry all these elements like vastu, alāṁkāra and rasa were of almost equal importance and he did not desire to under-rate the value of any of them. As a matter of fact, it is in Ānanda that one finds a searching and penetrating analysis of the

relation that exists between these elements in poetry. Bhāmaha and Vāmana giving an undue importance to the alaṅkāras and the guṇas are not as satisfying as Ānanda is. Bhāmaha thought of so many alaṅkāras and Vāmana thought of so many guṇas and linked them with the 'rīti' the style. Ānanda cut through all this intricate growth, reduced the number of the guṇas to three only and related them to rasa instead of the rīti. Abhinava, a religious mystic that he was, thought that the aesthetic experience was very much the same as the highest philosophical delight, so it is the rasa that matters in poetry. Such a position naturally relegates the other elements to a subordinate position. This would be a position different from that of Ānanda. Ānanda's concept of Saṅghaṭanā would reveal his just appreciation of the importance of these different elements. This would also attest to his purely literary approach throughout. The ālaṅkārikās had given a subordinate position to the rasa in their alaṅkāra 'rasavat'. Ānanda established that in the rasa lay the main charm of poetry and that it was always suggested. The rasa was always vyaṅgya and could never be vācya. Ānanda enlarged the field of poetry, of rasa and dhvani by maintaining their existence in the Epics, in Prakrit poetry and in the prabandhas as well as in the muktakas. It is in this context that it is significant the Ānanda finds dhvani in the celebrated verse 'yā niśā sarva-bhūtānām' from the *Bhagavadgītā*. One would hesitate to describe the *Bhagavadgītā* as a piece of literature in the generally accepted sense of the term.

Ānanda regarded good poetry as investing the world with a certain charming 'newness'. He observes

'dṛṣṭapūrvā api hi arthāḥ kāvyē rasa-parigrahāt /
sarve nava iva ābhānti madhumāsa iva drumah' //

making familiar things unfamiliar. He quotes a verse describing the greatness of the speech of a poet which runs as

'a-tathāsthītān api tathā samsthītān iva hṛdaye yā niveśayati /
arthaviśeṣān sā jayati vikaṭa-kavi-gocaraḥ vāṇī //

He held that poetry was autonomous and self-sufficient. This is a world beyond the two concepts of false and real. Here is a world where the poet, his genius and the critic, the kavi, kaviśakti and the sahrdaya really matter. This is a creation of the poet who is the creator here.

'apāre kāvyasaṁsāre kavirekaḥ prajāpatiḥ /
yathāsmāi rocate viśvam tathā idaṁ parivartate' //

—Dh. III after Kārikā 42

Ānanda goes on to observe that poetic sensitivity and the ability to understand poetry are really different from scholarship and he ob-

serves further that any amount of knowledge of lexicons and grammar does not entitle a person to the realisation of the rasa in poetry. This world of the poet is always governed by one principle and this principle is propriety, *aucitya*. Thus literature is to Ānanda a delightful creation of a poet. The saḥṛdaya is able to derive highest delight from this creation. It is quite in keeping with this position of Ānanda that he speaks of the aim of poetry as 'saḥṛdayamaṇaḥ-prīti'. Ānanda does not bring in 'vyutpatti' in this context. Thus Ānanda appears to hold the view that poetry is expected to delight and not teach. There could not be either a didactic or philosophical purpose in poetry.

To turn to Abhinava is to turn to a religious mystic. Abhinava, it appears deliberately uses the word 'ānanda' instead of 'prīti' used by Ānanda while speaking of delight of poetry. The word 'ānanda' has a philosophical background and a mystical aura. To Abhinava, poetry is but another way to reach the region where the mystics usually are and therefore he started the linking of religious ecstasy and the aesthetic experience. Ānanda held that the rasa was 'dhvanita' while Abhinava held that it was 'abhivyakta'. According to Abhinava, when a saḥṛdaya reads a kāvya he feels a sense of loss of time, space and self-interests. The saḥṛdaya is not 'taṭastha' and his involvement is complete. There is a self-less 'hṛdaya-samvāda'. This in its turn develops into a total engrossment, 'tanmayibhavana' where the 'waking I' is suspended altogether. The purity of the emotions result in undifferentiated bliss, 'ānandaikaghana' joy. There is a reaching of the deepest layers of the unconscious where Advaita is realised. This is the same ground and destination of the mystic where the saḥṛdaya finds himself, though he started from a different way and also one may say, without that aim. In Abhinava there is a synthesis of poetics and philosophy. There is yet another point to be noted in this context. To Abhinava all poetry is primarily Drama, 'kāvyaṁ tu mukhyataḥ daśarūpakātmakam eva' or again 'kāvyaṁ ca nāṭyam eva'. He speaks of art-experience thus: 'the vibrations which arise in one's heart when one touches sandalwood and the like, or hears soft-singing and when one is no longer indifferent, that is known as the śakti of the bliss, the 'ānandaśakti' through which one becomes a saḥṛdaya. This highest art of literary experience according to Abhinava is 'ātmaparāmarśa' or 'ātmānanda'. Poetic delight, the aesthetic experience is therefore a kind of self-realisation. This aesthetic experience is of a different category altogether. It is not the ordinary experience of a common man nor is it an experience in trance of a Yogin. It is neither a distinct perception nor an indistinct one. Abhinava in all this discussion is

using terminology that does not appear in Ānanda and the 'ātmā-nanda' of Abhinava has a more profound character, a philosophical intensity than the 'rasa-dhvani' experience of Ānanda that causes 'prīti' to a sahr̥daya. Philosophical colouring to an aesthetic experience was given by Kālidāsa when he wrote the celebrated lines 'ramyāṇi vikṣya madhurān ca niśamya śabdān' etc. but there Kālidāsa speaks of a 'paryutsukibhāvanā' and not of an 'undifferentiated bliss.'

I would like to dwell on one more point. Ānanda has given us a fine verse which runs as

'yā vyāpāravatī rasān rasayitum kācit kavīnām navā,
 dr̥ṣṭiḥ yā pariniṣṭhitārthaviṣayonmeṣā ca vaipaściti /
 te dve api avalambya viśvamanīsam nirvarṇayanto vayam;
 śrāntā naiva ca labdham abdhīśayana tvad-bhakti-tulyam
 sukham //

—Dh. IV after Kārikā 43

With this verse Ānanda has illustrated a mingling of Virodha alamkāra and the Arthāntarasamkramitavācyā variety of Dhvani. Abhinava reads here a reference to the life of the poet who was first a devotee, then lived a period of some interest in poetry and philosophy and finally came back to religion. Abhinava remarks, 'evam prathamam eva parameśvara-bhakti-bhājah kutūhala-mātrā-avalambita-kaviprāmāṇika-ubhaya-vṛtṭeḥ punarapi parameśvara-bhakti-viśrāntiḥ eva yuktā iti manvānasya iyam ukṭiḥ'. My rendering of this verse of Ānanda will be something like this: "We have used both the visions, the vision of a poet which is wonderful and ever new and makes aesthetic experience possible and also the vision of a wise man that penetrates into the reality of the objects in the existing world in our task of constantly describing the universe and we are not tired or weary. In fact, we have realised the pleasure in our task, the pleasure that results from devotion to you, O Lord who sleeps in the ocean.' Ānanda is speaking here of the 'kavidr̥ṣṭi' which is 'navā' and of the 'vaipaściti dr̥ṣṭi' which is 'artha-viśaya-unmeṣā' and he also speaks of the 'kavi-vyāpāra' and 'dr̥ṣṭi-avalamba' and he also adds a significant upasarga 'ni' in 'nirvarṇayantaḥ' — all these facts make me feel here he is singing of the joy of a creative artist. When a beautiful creation is achieved Ānanda speaks of 'niṣpattau āścaryabhūtaḥ' elsewhere and he also speaks of the poet as a 'prajāpati' who can create at his will, so it would be difficult to agree with Abhinava here when he interprets all these utterances as 'I am a poor man and have borrowed the two dr̥ṣṭis, 'anātmīyam api dari-dragr̥he iva upakaraṇatayā anyataḥ āhṛtam etan mayā dr̥ṣṭidvayam';

I am, as a matter of fact, neither a poet nor a learned man, 'nāham kaviḥ na paṇḍitaḥ iti ātmanaḥ anauddhatyaṁ dhvanyate,' I am tired, 'na kevalam sārāṁ na labdham yāvat pratyuta khedaḥ prāptaḥ iti bhāvaḥ'; the tired man has always regard for one who happily sleeps. Abhinava's conclusion is 'sakalapramāṇa-pariniścita-dṛṣṭā-dṛṣṭaviṣaya-viśeṣajam yat-sukham yadapi vā lokottaram rasa-carva-ṇātmakam tata ubhayato'pi parameśvara-viśrānti-ānandaḥ prakṛṣyate, tadānanda-vipruṇ-mātrāvabhāsaḥ hi rasāsvedaḥ'. This is alright for a mystic but not for a creative artist. The Greek Sculptor on finishing a statue, fell on his knees before it as he felt that its beauty was no mere creation of his own, but something heavenly. This is precisely what Ānanda is saying here, I think. I am only too willing to accept the suggestion of Abhinava that in this verse Ānanda is speaking about himself. But I find it rather difficult to accept the interpretation that Abhinava has put on it. In the entire *Dhvanyāloka* one does not come across any suggestion or an expression where Ānanda appears to compare the delight of an aesthete with the delight of a mystic and to suggest that the delight of an aesthete or of a creative artist is inferior to the delight of a mystic. This certainly is the view of Abhinava who is essentially a religious mystic. On the other hand, if we remember the importance that Ānanda attaches to a poet and the warmth with which he speaks of the ability of a poet to invest the universe with a new beauty and also his view that the universe of poetry is both vast and autonomous, it is difficult to imagine that he could have regarded the aesthetic delight as inferior to the delight of a mystic. Ānanda is seen declaring 'śṛṅgāraḥ eva paraḥ pralhādanaḥ rasaḥ', and also 'na kāvyārtha-virāmosti yadi, syāt pratibhāguṇaḥ' so there is little chance of his declaring 'śrāntāḥ' as Abhinava wants us to understand. With all this in mind I may be excused for proposing to read the last line of this verse in a different way altogether just to make it fully agree with the tone of the *Dhvanyāloka*. One may then read the line as

śrānta naiva ca, labdham abdhīśayana tvad-bhakti-tulyam
sukham'

and not as Abhinava reads,

'śrāntā, naiva ca labdham abdhīśayam tvadbhaktitulyam
sukham'.

That may be a cry of a weary mystic but cannot be an outburst of a buoyant aesthete. Ānanda seems to hold that to a poet poetry gives supreme delight and he is never tired in his task for therein he realises the delight that arises from devotion to the Lord. To Abhinava whom philosophy was of greater interest, poetry could not give that delight which results from devotion to the Lord. I have

always felt that this fundamental difference in their attitudes is reflected here. There is yet another point that deserves notice. The Lord here referred to is 'abdhīśayana' who is obviously Viṣṇu and not Śiva, the Highest Deity for Abhinava. The poet of this verse then would appear to have Vaiṣṇavite inclinations. Ānanda's authorship of this verse is beyond doubt for he prefaces the verse with 'yathā mama eva'. If this verse then, as Abhinava suggests, refers to the life of Ānanda then Ānanda was a Vaiṣṇavite. In that case Ānanda and Abhinava differ in their religious inclinations also. Ānanda's stand in the matter of the joy of an aesthete, to my mind, resembles that of Mahimabhaṭṭa to whom poetry was 'niratiśaya-sukhāsvāda-lakṣaṇa' and who quotes in his support the verses:

'pāṭhyāt atha dhruvāgānāt tataḥ saṃpūrite rase;
tadāsvādabharaikāgro hr̥ṣyati antarmukhaḥ kṣaṇam /
tato nirviśayasya asya svarūpavasthitau nijāḥ;
vyajyate lhādaniṣyando yena tṛpyanti yoginaḥ' //

—*Vyaktiviveka* I. p. 100

Thus the joy of the aesthete is equal to the joy of the mystic.

Ānanda gladly accepted the world of poetry as satisfying in itself. In Abhinava there is an effort to bestow on this world a new dignity. Possibly Abhinava might have felt like not only defending poetry but also a necessity of defending his own interest in it. The Naiyāyikas ridiculed poetry for Jayantabhaṭṭa observes 'athavā na idr̥śī carcā kavibhiḥ saha śobhate' and the Mīmāṃsakas went on saying 'kāvyālāpān ca varjayet'. It was Kashmir Śaivism in Abhinava that made him link religious ecstasy and aesthetic experience. Abhinava expects good literature to give its reader a transcendental experience and one can very well ask the question as to how much of Sanskrit poetry gives this experience. Abhinava would find it difficult to prove his thesis about the Śānta rasa in the context of poetry. The case is otherwise with Ānanda. There is no great literature that reveals the Śānta of Abhinava but there is a good deal of it that is full of Śṛṅgāra of Ānanda. Ānanda carried out a synthesis of the Sphoṭa of the Grammarian, the Tātparyā of the Mīmāṃsaka and the Rasa of the Bharatas in his Rasa-dhvani doctrine and Abhinava further brought into this synthesis the Śānta rasa of Bauddhas. In this context I have always thought of comparing Abhinava with Śaṅkara who more than succeeded in giving a Vedic support to another Buddhist idea, the central idea of the Mādhyamika philosophy. Śaṅkara could interpret the Upaniṣadas, the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa and the *Bhagavadgītā* in such a manner as to make them support his view and perhaps Abhinava also could have got support from this literature. No critic takes the *Nāgānanda* as a piece of great

art. Aśvaghōṣa and the Buddhist Vaiśā writers would certainly support him but neither Kālidāsa nor Bhavabhūti would support him.

It must always be regarded as a happy accident when a great author like Ānanda has an equally great commentator like Abhinava to explain his work. The *Locana* of Abhinava indeed explains the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānanda but achieves something much more in the process of explanation. In Ānanda we have a creative theorist while in Abhinava we have an erudite commentator. The tradition of Sanskrit commentators is a noteworthy one for one has to think of Śaṅkara and others in this context. Writing a commentary on a work rarely prevented these early commentators from revealing the quality of their minds and their originality. Abhinava deliberately chose the role of a commentator for he wrote commentaries on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, the *Kāvyaakautuka* of Bhaṭṭa Tauta and the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana. To say therefore that Abhinava is a commentator is not to deny him originality. It goes without saying that Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta both are stars of the first magnitude in the firmament of Sanskrit Poetics. Their epoch-making writings amply reveal their personalities.

The study of a classic with the help of a commentator is always a very refreshing one. One gets an insight into the thought-world of two minds. In such a study one can think of a comparative study of the two authors and also can raise the question as to how far the commentator has faithfully interpreted the work on which he is commenting. One can also study the contribution made by the commentator to the discipline to which he belongs. All these are very important and interesting questions and almost a 'must' for every serious student of a discipline.

NĪLAKANTHA'S VYAVAHĀRA - MAYŪKHA AND ŚVAŚRŪ - SNUṢĀ - DHANA - SAMVĀDA

S. G. MOGHE

IT is well-known that MM. Dr. P. V. Kane has brought out the critical edition of the *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* of Nilakaṇṭha in the year 1925. He has placed the literary activity of Nilakaṇṭha between 1600 and 1660 A.D.

Dr. J. Duncan M. Derrett has critically edited the manuscript of *Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dhana Samvāda* for Professor V. Raghavan felicitation Volume brought out by Adyar Library and Research centre, Madras in 1968. He has also published the English translation of the said manuscript in Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume brought out by Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad in 1970. Dr. Derrett remarks that this manuscript refers to a conflict between mother-in-law Vs. daughter-in-law in the matter of a succession to the property of a person who died sonless particularly in the early regime of the British period in India. This text belongs to about 1815 A.D. or it could conceivably be a little later. He further adds that there is no sign that the parties to the dispute were actually litigating in a British court. They could have been members of Tanjore Maharaja's encourage and might have agreed to submit their problem for court Shastri's decision.

In the light of this background, an attempt is made in this paper to assess or determine the position of Nilakaṇṭha's *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha* in the later Dharma-Śāstra literature particularly from the Mīmāṃsā point of view and the development in the Hindu Dharma-Śāstra. Incidentally an attempt is also made in this paper to determine the utility of the manuscript *Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dhana-Samvāda* as an aid to the critical edition of the *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha* of Nilakaṇṭha. I have also attempted here to clarify some of the doubtful or unintelligible passages noted by the learned doctor Derrett in his translation to the above manuscript.

The thorough perusal of the manuscript *Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dhana-Samvāda* reveals that the learned Shāstri has tried to refute the position established by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa in his *Smṛticandrikā* and

Nilakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha*. Here it may be noted that the view point of Nīlakaṇṭha in the *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha* and his views as quoted by the learned anonymous Shāstrī in the above manuscript will be referred to simultaneously, in the following paragraphs.

THE POSITION OF NILAKAṆṬHA

I. Nilakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha* quotes the texts of Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana and suggests the following arrangement.

(1) After the death of her husband, if a daughter-in-law is faithful to her dead husband and serves the elderly persons (i.e., mother-in-law and father-in-law), then she is entitled to have a share¹ in the property of her husband.

(2) If, however, the position suggested in the first alternative is otherwise, then she will be deprived of her rightful share and will be given just that which will enable her to maintain herself.²

(3) Nilakaṇṭha interprets the text³ of Kātyāyana by resorting to the Mīmāṃsā principle of Upalakṣaṇa and challenges⁴ the arrangement suggested by Madanaratna who follows the arrangement given by Devaṅṇabhaṭṭa in his *Smṛticandrikā*.

(4) Madanaratna⁵ holds that the first line of the *Kātyāyana smṛti* refers to the mistress of a deceased person and the second line refers to a legally married wife of a person.

(5) Nilakaṇṭha quotes another text⁶ of the Kātyāyana in the *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* to contradict Madana and his view is upheld by Viramitrodaya in his *Vyavahāra-Prakāśa* quoted by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane in his notes on the *Vyavahāra Mayūkha*, p. 239.

THE POSITION OF ANONYMOUS SHĀSTRĪ

It may be noted here that the anonymous Shāstrī who has written *Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dhana-Samvāda* has not tried to reject the

1. कात्यायनः—भोक्तुमर्हति क्लृप्तांशं गुरुशुश्रूषणे रता । and नीलकण्ठस remarks तदिच्छायांशभाक्त्वम् । व्यवहारमयूख p. 140
2. कात्यायनः—न कुर्याच्चिदि शुश्रूषां चैलं पिण्डं नियोजयेत् । and नीलकण्ठस remarks अन्यथा प्रासाच्छादनमालमित्यर्थः । Ibid p. 140
3. स्वयति स्वामिनि स्त्री तु प्रासाच्छादनभागिनी । अविभक्ते घनांशं तु प्राप्नोत्यामरणान्तिकम् ॥ Ibid p. 139
4. तत्रान्त्यः पत्नीपर आद्योवृद्धापर इति मदनः । एतद् व्यवस्थामूलं चिन्त्यम् । Ibid p. 139
5. Refer to footnote No. 4.
6. मृते भर्तरि भर्तृशं लभेत कुलपालिका । यावज्जीवं न हि स्वाम्यं दानाघमनविक्रये ॥ व्यवहारमयूख p. 138
7. प्रासाच्छादनमेव साभाल्लभते आमरणान्तिकं . . . विभक्तेपि भर्तरि पत्नीभिन्नाया अपुत्राया भरणमात्नोक्तेः । व्यवहारप्रकाशः p. 654 quoted in the notes on व्यवहारमयूख p. 239

view point of Nilakaṇṭha by advancing arguments in this respect. He has, in fact, put forth the position correctly on the strength of the written texts and local customs and has made the application of the Mīmāṃsā maxim to come to the pointed conclusion. By his decision in the matter, it becomes clear that the anonymous Shāstrī has not favoured the opinion of Nilakaṇṭha expressed particularly in the *Vyavahāra Mayūkha*. The following points may be noted in this respect.

(1) The text of the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* II.135-136 gives a preference to a wife over a mother; while the text of the Kātyāyana gives a preference to a mother of a dead person over a lawfully married wife. In a conflict between these two, it is not proper to resort to option⁸ which is vitiated by eight faults.

(2) There is no authority⁹ to deny a share to a mother of a deceased person.

(3) If it be said that there is a custom denying a right of a daughter-in-law to establish a right of a mother to the entire property, even then it goes against the valid custom which has become a source of law.¹⁰

(4) If, however, it is said that there is a custom denying a share to a mother, then it has to be rejected because it comes in direct conflict¹¹ with the import of the *Manu-Smṛti* IX.217.

(5) The anonymous Shāstrī points out that a share¹² to a mother is denied on account of her excessive affection or absence of her desire or this is a custom particularly followed by low-class people.

(6) The anonymous Shāstrī further shows that though a person does not desire¹³ for a share in the property, yet something is given to him as a token. For this view, he depends upon the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* II.116.

(7) The anonymous Shāstrī relies on the *Aitareya*¹⁴ *Brāhmaṇa* II.7 to show that it is a case of injustice to deny the legitimate rights of others. If, however, any injustice is caused to any one, one will have to pay in the long run heavily for the injustice

8. विकल्पस्याष्टदोषदुष्टत्वात् वस्तुनि विकल्पासंभवाच्च। The Adyar Library Bulletin p. 542.

9. मातृशं-निराकरणं प्रमाणाभावात् । Ibid P. 550

10. क्वचित् मातृशं-प्रदानाचारोऽपि दृश्यते इति चेत् न तस्य स्मृतिविरुद्धत्वेनाप्रामाण्यात् । Ibid p. 551

11. न च आचार-प्रामाण्यं देशभेदेन व्यवस्थितम्, प्राथमिकन्यायविरोधात् । Ibid p. 551

12. मातुःपुत्रस्नेहातिशयेनानिच्छाया वा पामराणां आचाराद् वा (मातृशस्य विभागकालेऽप्रदानं) इति प्रतीमः Ibid p. 551

13. आनिच्छायासंभवावः-सक्तस्यानीहमानस्य किञ्चित्त्वा पृथक् क्रिया इति । Ibid p.551

14. दोषैः प्राणिनं प्राणाद्गृहते चयते एवैनं च यदि चैनं न चयतेय पुत्रमथ पौत्रं चयते-इति । Ibid p. 553

caused or even the heirs of a particular person are required to suffer for the injustice caused by their ancestors.

(8) The anonymous Shāstrī concludes this discussion by suggesting the application of the Mīmāṃsā maxim¹⁵ 'samam syāt aśrutatvāt' to the present case of a conflict between a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law and recommends that both a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law should be given equal share for want of any authority to the contrary.

(9) The exact import of this decision is that he has rejected the arrangement suggested by Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāra Mayūkha*.

II. It would be equally interesting to see the utility of the manuscript *Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dhana-Samvāda* as an aid to the critical edition of the *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* brought out by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane.

(1) If, however, the gloss of Nīlakaṇṭha on the *Kātyāyana Smṛti* as edited on p. 140 of the *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* is compared with the text of *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* quoted in the manuscript *Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dhana-Samvāda*, then it becomes clear that in the edited manuscript the expression 'mātra'¹⁶ is dropped.

(2) If, however, the gloss of Nīlakaṇṭha on the text of the *Kātyāyana Smṛti* as edited by Dr. Kane on p. 139 of the *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* is compared¹⁷ with the text presented by the anonymous Shāstrī, one notes the reading संसृष्टिनः for संसृष्टस्य. The reading संसृष्टिनः has no place in the critical edition brought out by MM. Dr. Kane.

(3) After the sentence 'etat vyavasthāmūlam cintyam.' Nīlakaṇṭha refers to the opinion of Madanaratna with the remarks 'तात्त्विकी तु व्यवस्थामाह स एव । But if this is compared with the text presented in the above manuscript, one notes the reading तात्त्विक for तात्त्विकी. Even in the foot-note to this portion, Dr. Kane has not noted this another reading तात्त्विक.

(4) In addition to this, the anonymous Shāstrī points out in the presented text of the *Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dhana-Samvāda* that Nīlakaṇṭha blames Madanaratna and suggests his own arrangement in the following words.

अत एव मयूखे . . . एवं च श्वश्रूश्वशुरादि-गुरुशुश्रूषणे रता यास्तद् अनुमतायाः संन्यतायाः तद् इष्टायाम् च सत्यां पत्याः धनहारित्वं न अन्यथा इति व्यवस्थितम् ।

Adyar Library Bulletin, p. 545.

15. तस्मात् विवादाध्यासितधनविषये मातृत्वेन श्वश्रवाः पत्नीत्वेन स्नुषायाश्च स्वामित्वप्राप्तौ समं स्यात् अभृतत्वात् - इति न्यायात् उभयोः तुल्यांशहारित्वं सर्वदेशाचार-सकलशास्त्रसंमतम् । Ibid p. 552
16. तदिच्छायामशभाक्त्वमन्यथा प्रासाच्छादनमात्रमित्यर्थः । व्यवहारमयूख p. 140 and व्याख्यातं च एतद् चंद्रिकामयूखयोः । . . अन्यथा प्रासाच्छादनमित्यर्थः । Adyar library bulletin p. 544.
17. अविभक्तपदं संसृष्टस्याप्युपलक्षणम् । व्यवहारमयूख p. 139 and अविभक्तपदं संसृष्टिनोऽप्युपलक्षणम् । Adyar library bulletin p. 545.

It may be noted here that if this portion quoted above is compared with the portion of the *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha*, p. 140, edited by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, then one gets the impression that some portion is missing in the *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha*. If, however, this is substituted in the present text of the *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha*, then it would be a good help to the textual criticism.

It would be fair on the part of the present author to conclude that the help rendered by the manuscript entitled *Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dhana-Saṁvāda* to the critically edited text of the *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, can hardly be denied, since this text of the manuscript gives us new readings and one complete small passage also is seen missing in the text of the *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha*.

III. Now it would be proper on the part of the present author to discuss the passages from the manuscript entitled *Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dhana-Saṁvāda* which have particularly baffled the learned scholar Dr. Derrett.

(1) In his English Translation of the manuscript entitled *Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dhana-Saṁvāda* Dr. Derrett translates the passage तदा यदि निष्कामो यजमानः स्यात् तदा चमसेनापः प्रणयेत् यदि पशुकामः स्यात् तदा गोदोहेनापः । as 'If the sacrificer has no desire he should pour out the water with a cup, if he is desirous of cattle he should pour it with the milking pot.' (Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume, p. 268).

Dr. Derrett adds in the foot-note to this translation as follows:— 'This text requires to be supplemented, but it is not clear to me exactly why. It is a paraphrase of *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* I.16.3 and it may be that the supplementation is included in the paraphrase. The general point is that many rules which appear at first sight to be straightforward options are in fact parallel rules, because a condition has to be imported (as was not necessary in the case of the immediately previous quotation which was complete with its conditions), under which, if the condition was present one rule would apply, but if not then the other. Our author's point is that we cannot read the texts without the condition which is stated in another *smṛti* in the same chapter of the law.' (Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume, p. 268).

Here the learned Dr. Derrett has admitted that this passage is a summary of the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* I.16.3. He has understood the term 'adhyāhāra' as supplemented. But it may be respectfully pointed out that the term 'adhyāhāra' is to be understood in the sense of 'atideśa', i.e. transferred. The learned anonymous

Shāstri has made rather a loose use of the term 'adhyāhāra' for the Mīmāṃsā technical term 'atideśa' which is understood as a rule of transfer. This loose use of the term 'adhyāhāra' has baffled the learned doctor.

(2) The passage under discussion is actually a subject matter of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, VIII.1.23-24. Here it is clearly stated that the Kāmya-guṇas of the prakṛti are not transferred to the Vikṛti for two reasons: (1) *Camas* which is required in the Prakṛti is beneficial to the interest of a sacrifice, i.e. ऋत्वर्थं while 'godohana', i.e. a milking pot is beneficial to the interest of a man. i.e., पुरुषार्थं Hence one which is serving the purpose of a sacrifice in the prakṛti (yāga) can not be transferred to the matter in the Vikṛti which is serving the purpose of a man.

(2) Generally the details of the prakṛti yāga are transferred to the vikṛti yāga but here is a case which clearly shows that the details of the prakṛti can not be transferred to the vikṛti.

(3) The term 'Adhyāhāra' is explained in the *Mīmāṃsā-Kośa*, p. 334 as follows:—

अध्याहारः अश्रुतपदान्तरकल्पनम् । अध्याहारः वाक्यदोषः । विकल्पवाक्यप्रयोगासंभवात् अवाचकप्रयोगानुपपत्तेश्च अध्याहारः । अध्याहारात् वरमनुषङ्गः । etc.

(4) For the clarification of this Mīmāṃsā discussion, I further invite the attention of the scholars to the comments of Śabara on Jaimini's Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, VIII.1.23-24 which run thus:—

अन्यत् कार्यं गोदोहनस्य, अन्यच्चमसस्य । चमसः ऋत्वर्थो गोदोहनं तु पुरुषार्थः । . . . अऋत्वर्थः किमर्थं प्रवर्तेत । ऋतूपकाराय हि तस्य प्रवृत्तिः । एवं प्रतिपदः तस्मान्न प्रवर्तेरन् गुणकामाः । मीमांसादर्शन p. 1597.

(5) MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha has also clarified this point in his *Mīmāṃsā Maṇḍana* as follows:—

किन्तु तत्प्रणयनसाधनतयो प्रकृतिगतः ऋत्वर्थचमस एव सोर्योपेक्षितः न तु पुरुषार्थो गुणकामो गोदोहनरूपः । तस्मान्नास्ति गुणकामस्थातिदेशः इति । मीमांसासंख्येय p. 300.

(6) I also take this opportunity to draw the attention of the scholars to the enlightening discussion on this point in the *Śāstra-dīpikā*, pp. 557-558.

In this respect, the English translation of the *Śābara-Bhāṣya* on Jaimini's Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, VIII.1.23-24, Vol. II, pp. 1339-1340. आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र p. 53 may be read.

(2) Dr. Derrett in his English translation of the said manuscript *Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dhāna-Samvāda* translates the passage correct-

ly as (7) 'Nor is the authority of a custom determined with reference to distinctions between localities, for that would conflict with the principle¹⁸ first mentioned.'

In his foot-note on this passage, Dr. Derrett adds: the text says 'Prāthamika-nyāya-virodhāt, the meaning of which is not entirely clear to me. Apparently our author says that if the opposition to smṛti comes from the side of customs, on the ground that after all smṛti itself is founded on customs the effect would be that smṛti would never have any authority more than its local coincidence with custom would allow, which would remove the authority of smṛti totally in these secular (vyavahāra) contexts.' (Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume, p. 274).

For the clarification of the prāthamika-nyāya, I draw the attention of the readers to the *Mīmāṃsā-Koṣa*, Vol. V, pp. 2751-2753. This nyāya simply lays down that whatever is laid down first is more powerful than the one which is laid down later on. The late Pandit Kevalānanda Sarasvatī quotes following passages for the clarification of this principle which may be read with advantage.

Cf:— प्रथमश्रुतात् चरमश्रुतो दुर्बलः ।

प्रथमश्रुतानुसारात् चरमश्रुतं नेयम् इति न्यायोऽपि द्वितीयाश्रुत्याबाध्यो दुर्बलत्वात् । मीमांसाकोष pp. 2752-2753

If, however, the principle of this nyāya is made applicable to the present case under discussion, then it would be evident that the custom referring to the non-giving of a share to a mother comes in direct conflict with the text of *Manu-Smṛti*, IX.217 which allots a share to a mother, is to be set aside and the preference is to be given to the text of the *Manu-Smṛti*.

In conclusion, one may be justified in admitting that the standpoint of Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* in respect of a share to be given to a daughter-in-law stands rejected at the hands of the anonymous Shāstrī who is the author of the manuscript entitled *Śvaśrū-Snuṣa-Dhana-Samvāda*.

(2) This manuscript is also useful from the point of view of the textual criticism, since it presents some new readings absent in the critical edition of the *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha* and also the missing passage which has no place in the *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha*.

(3) The above discussion on the Mīmāṃsā technical points will be more useful in removing the doubts of the learned doctor Derrett, the learned authority on Dharma-Śāstra.

18. न च आचार-प्रामाण्यं देशभेदेन व्यवस्थितम्, प्राथमिक-न्यायविरोधात् ।
Adyar Library Bulletin p. 551.

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DOSAS IN KĀLIDĀSA

T. S. NANDI

This article proposes to spell out doṣas or blemishes in the poetic expression of Kālidāsa as envisaged by literary critics in Sanskrit. This does not tarnish the image of our great poet. On the contrary it enhances the reputation of sanskrit poetists who were capable of such close and subtle analysis of poetic expression and thereby exhibited rare sensitivity. At the same time their effort helps us to look at Kālidāsa as a human being capable of mistakes; Kālidāsa who otherwise looks almost superhuman with his rare poetic genius. The close and microscopic analysis which these sanskrit poetists beginning from Bhāmaha down to Viśvanātha have exhibited is sadly missing in so many renowned critics of reputation in the present context. These sanskrit poetists were highly disciplined in their branch of knowledge, were gifted with seismographic sensitivity and stood as watchdogs against any loose expression of any poet,—be it a great name like Kālidāsa or anyone else. Kālidāsa is very much honoured and loved by Indian literary criticism in general, but when put to close scrutiny, these sanskrit poetists weighed every expression with meticulous care, undaunted by the great name of the poet and exhibited exceptional objectivity which could be compared only to a medical expert entering the operation theatre and treating the patient lying on the table just as a patient, be it an ordinary man or the president of India. So, it should not prove to be surprising when the literary critics applaud Kālidāsa for his beautiful expression in the word 'कपालिनः' in the famous verse द्वयं गतं संप्रति शोचनीयतां (कुमार. 5) on one hand, and then take him to task in the second half of the same verse wherein they do not expect the separation of 'त्वं' and 'च' in the expression—'त्वमस्य लोकस्य च नेत्रकौमुदी'. These critics adore Kālidāsa, love him and applaud him for the most refined poetic expression humanity has ever exhibited since the beginning of the creation, but they never spare him for what they consider even the slightest looseness in either expression or conception. Ānandavardhana who considers Kālidāsa as perhaps one of the foremost of poets, also does not conceal his righteous indignation when he spots some impropriety in Kālidāsa.

We will begin our perusal with Bhāmaha and travel right upto Viśvanātha; Jagannātha however, being out of question as he practically quotes his own compositions to illustrate various situations, in literature, and his magnum opus, the *Rasagaṅgādhara* in its present form does not discuss doṣas fully.

Bhāmaha, a rare intellectual as he was, had perhaps an agnostic bent of mind and also a very high sense of pride and self respect. He refused to be daunted by anyone else and his approach figured out to be highly individualistic and bold to any basic problem of literature. Besides being a man of subtle sensitivity he has gifted with robust common sense and not only respected the same but also expected it from others as well. He therefore could not appreciate poets who made messengers of clouds, wind, moon etc. It simply stunned his imagination and common-sense and he could not understand how things having no capacity to speak, or speak clearly could serve as messengers (Bhāmaha, I:42-48). He stamps such attempts as 'ayuktimat doṣa'. He perhaps feels sick of those who tried to imitate Kālidāsa by writing any number of so-called doota-kāvya, but the veiled reference to Kālidāsa cannot be precluded. Perhaps Kālidāsa was too much of an established name and Bhāmaha was also in a mood to consider his case when he allows some freedom at I.44, wherein he takes note of such practice by the 'sumedhas'. But we may note that this was perhaps the first shot fired in air against Kālidāsa who has to be on the receiving end at the hands of others.

Both Daṇḍin, who chooses to cite his own compositions as illustrations and Vāmana have not a word against Kālidāsa, and Vamana is perhaps the first known literary critic who quotes Kālidāsa at various places. Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa also have practically nothing to say against Kālidāsa. Ānanda seems to hold our poet in high esteem when he observes :

तत् वस्तुतत्त्वं निष्यन्दमाना महतां कवीनां भारती अलोकसामान्यं प्रतिभाविशेषं परिस्फुरन्तं अभिव्यनक्ति । येन अस्मिन्नतिविचित्रपरम्परावाहिनि संसारे कालिदासप्रभृतयो द्विजाः पञ्चषाः वा महाकवयः इति गण्यन्ते ।

Both Ānanda and Kālidāsa seem to have been made of the same cultural stuff and are both equally great and modest, commanding respect from the rest. But all the great admiration for Kālidāsa does not prevent him from criticising Kālidāsa when he shows some impropriety अनौचित्य in delineating the gross physical aspect of love in case of divine heroes like Lord Śiva. Ānanda is almost angry with Kālidāsa when he says (Dhv. III.14).

यत्त्वेवविधे विषये महाकवीनामप्यसमीक्ष्यकारिता लक्ष्ये दृश्यते स दोष एव, स तु शक्ति-तिरस्कृतत्वात्तेषां न लक्ष्यते इत्युक्तमेव । He holds that—तस्मादभिनेयार्थेऽभिनेयार्थे वा काव्ये यदुत्तमप्रकृतेः राजादेरुत्तमप्रकृतिभिर्नाधिकाभिः सह ग्राम्यसम्भोगवर्णनं तत् पित्तोः संभोगवर्णनमिव सुतरामसम्भ्यम् ।

It could be said in defence of Kālidāsa that perhaps here even a great critic like Ānandavardhana has fallen a prey to considerations other than purely aesthetic and perhaps his awareness of the mood of the society around him and the accepted notions of morality and the popular approach to Lord Śiva prompted Ānand to criticise Kālidāsa, whom, even here, in the mind of his mind, he is prepared to grant concession taking into account

his great genius-śakti. And perhaps Kālidāsa rises higher when he shows capacity to treat Lord Śiva as a human hero.

Kuntaka's objection against Kālidāsa on the grounds of 'अनौचित्य' also seems to be prejudiced by the then social and moral considerations rather than purely aesthetic calculation. He points out at अनौचित्य when he says...

यथा च कुमारसंभवे त्रैलोक्याक्रान्तिप्रवणपरक्रमस्य तारकाव्यस्य रिपोर्जिगीषावसरे सुरपतिर्मन्मथेनाभिधीयते कामेकपत्नीव्रत etc. इत्यविनयानुष्ठाननिष्ठं त्रिविष्टाधिपत्यप्रतिष्ठितस्थापितथाविधाभिप्रायानुवर्तनपरत्वेनाभिधीयमानं अनौचित्यमावहति । This is like एकदेशदाहदूषितपट. He adds: एतच्च तस्यैव कवेः सहजसौकुमार्यमुद्रितसूक्तिपरिस्पन्दसौन्दर्यस्य पर्यालोच्यते, न पुनरन्येषाम् आहार्यमात्रकाव्यकरणकौशलश्लाघिताम् ।

Perhaps Kālidāsa could rise above the then social and moral considerations and a much broader approach based on purely aesthetic consideration. Lord Śiva's expression of gross physical love was perhaps a human trait and the poet tolerated it with a view to give a human touch to his character, so also cupid's proposal to Indra was a human touch given to that character. Surely Kālidāsa garbed it in an extremely poetic expression the literary merits of which could not be denied even by Ānanda or Kuntaka.

It is perhaps with Mahima that a purely literary approach is attempted in this direction and this gathers momentum in Kṣemendra and is found to be fully blossomed in Maṃmaṭa and the rest. Mahima does not spare Kālidāsa when he observes (p. 59, T.S.S. Edn.) प्रक्रमभङ्गदोष in the poet. Says he :

सर्वनामप्रक्रमभङ्गः यथा ते हिमालयमामन्थ्य... (कुमार. ६.८४)... अत्र हि भगवन्तं शूलिनं प्रक्रान्तमिदमा परामृश्य तेनैवोक्तरीत्या तत्परामर्शः कर्तुं युक्तः, न तदा, तयोर्देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तशब्दयोरिव भिन्नार्थत्वात् । न चासौ कृत इति सर्वनामप्रक्रमभेदः । (on p. 62) कारकशक्तिप्रक्रमभेदः is illustrated in गाहन्तां महिषाः etc. (अभि. शा. १.७) and also यथा च, कृतवानसि विप्रियं न मे (कुमार. ४.७) has the same fault which as Mahima suggests could be improved upon by reading it as— अत्राऽपि न च तेज्जं कृतवत्यसम्मतम् (p. 63). He also points out to क्रमप्रक्रमभेद as illustrated in Kālidāsa's तव कुसुमशरत्वं (अभि शा. ३). पीनस्वत्यदोष occurs (p. 71) in the absence of विशेषप्रतिपत्ति as illustrated by तव प्रसादात् etc. He observes अत्र हरशब्दस्येति वक्ष्यते ।

Thus it goes to the credit of Mahima who seems to be the first known critic to weigh Kālidāsa's achievements in terms of pure poetic merits of cultured expression. Mahima Bhaṭṭa could therefore be taken as a pioneer of new criticism which further flowers into the *Kāvya prakāśa* of Maṃmaṭa. Meanwhile Kṣemendra deserves greater attention when he also points out to impropriety as in, क्रोधं प्रभो सहर. etc. and observes : संहारावसरे रुद्रस्य भवाभिधानमनुचितमेव. He finds further अनौचित्य in कुमार. when referring to 8th Canto, he says : अत्राम्बिका-संभोगवर्णने पामरनारी-समुचितनिर्लज्जसज्जनखराजिविराजितोष्मूलहृतविलोचनत्वं त्रिलोचनस्य भगवतस्त्रिजगद्गुरोयर्दुक्तं तेनानौचित्यमेव परं

प्रबन्धार्थः पुष्पाति. But as observed earlier, this criticism is based on grounds other than purely literary.

Bhoja in his सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण turns to Kālidāsa at as many as one hundred and forty times out of which illustrations from the कुमार. are fifty, from रघु० thirty seven, ten from मेघ०, thirty from अभि. शा., and thirteen from the विक्रमो० and not a single from either मालविका० or the ऋतु०. For want of verse-index in Josyer's edition (excepting in Vol. I), it is very difficult at this juncture to cite the occurrences from the works of Kālidāsa in the *Śṛṅgīraprakāśa*. The attempt, however, is going on. But it may be noted that to explain his concept of doṣa, Bhoja has not cited any illustration from Kālidāsa, in his सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण. This is either surprising or perhaps explains Bhoja's attitude towards the great poet.

Perhaps it is in a strong retaliation to Bhoja's Malava tradition, that Mammaṭa takes Kālidāsa to task at nineteen places while illustrating various faults, though of course he bears great respect for the poet and makes no secret of it at some other places. Mammaṭa, who carries the reputation of being a वाग्देवतावतारः, is known for his crisp expression, brevity and logicity which delight the learned and frighten the men of lesser merits. Out of the twenty three citations from Kālidāsa, as many as twenty figure in the VIIth ullāsa of the *Kāvyaṅprakāśa* wherein Mammaṭa discusses various doṣas.

Mammaṭa holds that the verse मृदुपवनविभिन्नो० etc. (विक्रमो० ४) is an illustration of पदगत अश्लील on account of the use of the word, विनाश, which is suggestive of inauspiciousness or अमङ्गलार्थ. The verse स्रस्ता नितम्बादवरोपयन्ती (कुमार० ३) is an illustration of अविमृष्टविधेयांशदोष. Mammaṭa observes: अत्र द्वितीयत्वमात्रमुत्प्रेक्ष्यम् । मौर्वी द्वितीयामिति युक्तः पाठः । so, he makes bold to improve upon Kālidāsa's expression also. The same fault also occurs in वपुर्विरूपाक्षमलक्ष्यजन्मता० (कुमार० ५). The verse नवजलधरः (विक्रमो० ४) is free from this fault and wins applaud from Mammaṭa. The verse कातर्यं केवला नीतिः (रघु० १९. ४२) is an illustration of 'तत्' used in प्रकान्त अर्थ. So also is द्वयं गतं संप्रति० (कुमार० ५) तद् गच्छ सिद्धयै. etc. (कुमार० ३) is an illustration of श्रुतिकटु पदांश. Mammaṭa observes: अत्र दर्शयन्द्ध्यै इति कटु. The verse यश्चाप्सरो-विभ्रममण्डनानां० (कुमार० १) is an illustration of पदांशगत निहतार्थ for, holds the critic that the word 'मत्ता' is normally used with reference to intoxication due to wine: अत्र मत्ताशब्दः क्षीषार्थं निहतार्थः । The verse त्वयि निजदधरतेः प्रियवादिनः (विक्रमो० ८) is an illustration of वाच्यस्य अनभिधानं, for here, we should have the mentioning of 'अपि'. -अत्र अपराधस्य लवमपि' इति वाच्यम् । ते हिमालयमामन्द्य (कुमार० ६) and भट्टीभूतः पुत्रवंतोऽपि (कुमार १) are illustrations of भ्रनप्रक्रमदोष with reference to सर्वनाम and पर्याय respectively. Mammaṭa holds that in the first verse we should read अनेन विसृष्टा: and in the next one, says Mammaṭa 'महीभूतोऽपत्यवतोऽपि' इति युक्तम् । 'गाहस्तां महिषाः' (अभि. शा. ३) is an illustration much appreciated by both Vāmana and Bhoja. But Mammaṭa finds fault with it and holds it to be an illustration having कारकस्य प्रक्रमभङ्गदोष. He says that we should read as: 'विश्रब्धा रचयन्तु सूकरवरा मुस्तासति... etc., which is free from fault. अविद्यमानः क्रमः is a दोष

illustrated by 'द्वयं गतं संप्रति (कुमार० ५). He holds that 'चकार' should have come after 'त्व'. It is not surprising that Mammaṭa who finds fault here in this verse had a word of appreciation for the same illustration while explaining the charm of the word 'कपालिनः' in the fifth ullāsa of his work. अमत्परार्थता is illustrated as in राममन्मथशरेण ताडिता' (रघु. ११-) ज्याष-धनिष्पन्द-भुजेन० (रघु-६) is illustrative of the अनित्यता of दोष. So also, चन्द्रं गता पद्मगुणान्न भुङ्क्ते (कुमार० १) illustrates अदुष्टता of निर्हेतु. तिष्ठेत् कोपवशात् (विक्रमो० ४) also illustrates a situation where न्यूनपदत्व is neither गुण nor a दोष. क्रोधं प्रभो (कुमार) etc., illustrates a peculiar description of anger which is appropriate with ref. to the divine beings only.

Thus, we see that Mammaṭa has a bold if not cold also, and logical as well as appreciative approach to Kālidāsa. Some three other illustrations are cited from Kālidāsa in a different context and therefore are not cited here.

Viśvanātha the author of *Sāhityadarpaṇa* quotes Kālidāsa at sixty four places but only twenty one illustrations figure in his seventh chapter on दोषविचार०. There too, at places he echoes the views of his illustrious predecessor Mammaṭa. But all told he has advanced many fresh illustrations. विधेयाविमर्शदोष is found in the verse आसमुद्रक्षितीशानां (रघु०१) etc., Viśvanātha holds that it should be 'आसमुद्र' to avoid the दोष. 'काप्यभिरुया तयोरसीत् (रघु. १) has प्रक्रममङ्ग दोष, for the use of अतीतकाल is inappropriate. Says he: अत्र तथाभूतचित्राचन्द्रमसोः शोभा न खल्वसीत् अपि तु सर्वदापि भवति । Viśvanātha holds that कुर्यां हरस्यापि० (कुमार ३) is free from the fault called अधिकपदत्व. Similarly, जुगोपात्मानमत्रस्थो (रघु. १) is free from विधेयाविमर्शदोष. But पदांशे दुःश्रवत्व is seen in तद्गच्छ सिध्मै. (कुमार० ३) and निहतार्थता in घातुमत्तां गिरिघत्ते etc. This was so observed by Mammaṭa also. तिष्ठेत् कोपवशात् (विक्रमो० ४) has न्यूनपदत्व as neither दोष nor गुण as observed by Mammaṭa earlier. ते हिमालयमामन्थ्य (कुमार० ६) has सर्वनाम्नः भग्नप्रक्रमत्व. He says: अत्र अस्मै इतीदमा प्रक्रान्तस्य तेनैव तत्समानाभ्यां एतददःशब्दाभ्यां वा परामर्शा युक्तः न तच्छब्देन । But अप्रतीतत्व becomes a गुण in त्वामामनन्ति प्रवृत्ति. etc. (कुमार० २). अनुचितार्थत्व is found in दिवाकराद्रक्षति यो. (कुमार० १). He holds: एवमादिषूप्रेक्षितार्थस्या-संभूततयैव प्रतिभासनं स्वरूपमित्यनुचितमेव तत्समर्थनम् । अक्रमता is illustrated as observed by Mammaṭa earlier, in 'द्वयं गतं संप्रति (कुमार० ५) wherein— अत्र त्वमित्यनन्तरमेव चकारो युक्तः । भानुः सङ्कृत् युक्ततुरङ्ग (अभि. शा.-५) is free from अनवीकृतत्व. But अधिकपदत्व occurs in वाचमुवाच कौत्सः (रघु. ५) wherein says Viśvanātha, अत्र वाचमित्यधिकम् । उवाच इत्यनेनैव गतार्थत्वात् ।

Thus Viśvanātha's attitude also can be compared to a great advantages with that of Mammaṭa. Vidyānātha does not touch Kālidāsa & this can be said of Jagannātha also.

A perusal of the approach towards Kālidāsa, of the alamkārikas beginning from Bhāmaha to Viśvanātha reveals that the earlier poetists, with some exception of Bhāmaha who only indirectly seems to refer to Kālidāsa, almost seem to be highly appreciative of the great poet. There is a slight change in the attitude as exhibited in Ananda who is sore with Kālidāsa

only at one place, though of course on grounds perhaps not absolutely literary. This trend continues with Kuntaka and Kṣemendra also, but the latter shows some freshness of approach as observed earlier. It is with Mahima that perhaps a new direction is pointed in Kālidāsa-criticism and this gathers momentum in Maṃaṭa and his followers, though of course, Bhoja has a mixed approach as revealed in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, ch IX.

The Sanskrit poetists, it should be confessed, are capable of objective literary criticism in the true sense of the term. But all that they have done, is concerning the poetic expression in Kālidāsa. Though Kuntaka had drawn upon the course of दुर्वासस् as an illustration of प्रकरणवक्रता much is left out as far as Kālidāsa's plays are concerned. The Sanskrit writers on dramaturgy have discussed subtle points concerning the structure of drama etc., & Viśvanātha draws upon Kālidāsa very often, but they did not approach the Sanskrit drama from what may be termed as modern critical approach to a play. For example, a theme which may travel beyond the not so serious love-affairs of Kings and courtiers is missing in Kālidāsa, though of course, this is not to belittle his achievement in a given circle. The more important problems of bread and social injustice never touch the imagination of our author, but perhaps here also it can be said he breathed in a society and atmosphere wherein higher value was attached to the brighter and more positive approach to life wherein people had ample faith in god and Karma. It can be also observed that all told the dramas lack in hot action even when compared with either Bhāsa or Śūdraka, and there are only glimpses of psychological depths. Even here we can afford to be charitable and hold that whatever action is seen in these plays seems to be quite sufficient for the purpose in view. A variety of characters though missing in Kālidāsa by and large, is not totally absent and we have paupers such as fishermen and ordinary police-officers musing over the ideas of forming friendship over a peg of wine.

With all this, Sanskrit literary criticism has marvellous achievement to its credit so far as purely text-oriented objective criticism is concerned. If it lacks some of the niceties of western criticism, it achieves a lot by saving itself from illogical verbosity of subjective criticism; the weakest point of the modern critic in general.

Kālidāsa thus, with all दोषविचार done by Sanskrit poetists, still remains the most beloved and respected doyen of Indian literature for them all, and we will choose to join hands with Ānanda when he praises Kālidāsa among the fewest great literary artists worth the name. And with due respect to the views of Sanskrit poetists who have not only pointed out blemishes in Kālidāsa's poetic expression but have also suggested improvements, we should not forget the undisputed liberty a poet enjoys and should enjoy in his own creation, a liberty also accepted by Ānanda when he says:

“अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरैकः प्रजापतिः ।

यथास्मिं रोचते विरचं तथेवं परिवर्तते ॥”

SOME POST - GUPTA TERRACOTTAS FROM KANAUJ

J. S. NIGAM

KANAUJ (Kannauj, Kanoj) 27°3' latitude North, 79°59' longitude East, is an ancient town in the District Farrukhabad, Uttar Pradesh. The ancient settlement was on the southern bank of Bhāgirathī not far from the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Kālī. The enthusiastic Kanaujians with a resolve to revive the glory of their town which during the seventh century had assumed the proud position of being the capital of Northern India under the sceptre of Harṣavardhana, collected a number of antiquities and even did not hesitate in extracting the antiquarian remains from the huge mounds thereby. This sort of plundering was discouraged by the author, who was officially assigned the responsibility to study and document the material collected in this manner with a view to set up an archaeological museum at Kanauj as cherished by the local people. It is needless to say that the earliest art manifestations of man besides the paintings on the rock-shelters, caves and dwellings; carvings on the bone tools, are his exercises on the clay. This plastic material had several advantages besides its plentiful availability. In India the origin of this medium of art can be pushed back to the fourth millennium B.C. A few of the terracottas displayed in the Archaeological Museum, Kanauj are discussed here.

A terracotta plaque shows a female figure sitting on a swing (Pl. I). She has trefoil coiffure, a chain of pearls at the forehead and wearing ear-rings. The swing is fastened to a branch of a tree being represented by a rich foliage over her head. She is sitting on the seat tied to the hanging ropes, cross-legged resting her toes on the ground holding the cords in both the hands, the lower ends of the same are seen dangling below. The composition reflects the graceful femininity rendered in this medium as seen in the youthful breasts, slim waist and slightly heavy pelvic girdle, folded legs firmly resting on the toes. The plaque is prepared from a single shallow mould, dull red in colour and is not well baked.

A dull red, underfired terracotta plaque pressed against a single shallow mould has its lower part broken (Pl. II). Here under a



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Some Post-Gupta Terracottas From Kanauj: Plate II
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Some Post-Gupta Terracottas from
Kanauj: Plate III

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Some Post-Gupta Terracottas from Kanauj: Plate IV
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niche a female is depicted as if dancing as suggested by her raised left leg which is also bent low at the knee. The right leg slightly bent at the knee is ahead of the left and crossed with it. The body above the waist is inclined towards the left. Her right hand is brought forward near the belly, while the left hand is suspended down the knee of the raised left leg. She wears a crest jewel fastened with two pearl-strings on the forehead, ear-rings and a neck collar. A part of her *sāri* covers her head and is seen further coming down from her left shoulder in the traditional manner of wearing a sari by an Indian woman. The upper part of the plaque is also decorated. The modeller has successfully portrayed the femineity and also maintained the vertical axis of the dancing woman, a very vital point to keep the body balance in such a performance.

A fragmentary terracotta plaque, the dull red colour indicative of its not being well baked; depicts a female sitting (Pl. III) with the head lost. The plaque has been made from a single shallow mould. The round full breasts leave no doubt that it is a female figure. She is sitting cross-legged on a seat as suggested by its vertical leg on the left. Her right feet is kept on the left and thus partially obstructing it from the view. The right hand is folded at the elbow with palm turned downwards while the left hand which is also folded at the elbow has the palm raised up in *varada-mudra*. On her right is a peacock dancing in ecstasy. The raised plumage of the peacock with its neck drawn backwards in a graceful manner presents a very sound study of the bird in this posture. The identification of the female figure in the absence of any attributes is not free from hazard. If the peacock can be taken to have any association with the composition, the female figure may be that of Kaumārī. Otherwise, if a secular presentation may be that of a princess in the royal park where birds were completely free from any kind of fear as indicated by the posture of the peacock and its proximity to the female figure.

A terracotta plaque, dull red, and ill baked, prepared from a single shallow mould is depicting a woman with a child or dwarf (Pl. IV). She is standing with her left leg firmly put on the ground, while the right leg is flexed at the knee passing at the back of the left and resting on the toe in a relaxing posture. The diaphanous lower garment worn below the navel exhibits the voluptuous character of the female. She wears an anklet each. The portion above the belly is unfortunately broken. A child or dwarf sitting on her right has his right arm folded at the elbow and brought forward at the belly. His neck is slightly inclined towards the right and the face raised up suggesting that he is looking up at the woman. The inclination at the girdle and the belly on the right implies that

she was wholly inclined on her right and may have been looking below at the child, but certainly not in a posture to lift him up.

A fragmentary terracotta plaque of dull red colour is pressed against a single shallow mould and not fired to the maturity. It depicts a male and a female, both dancing (Pl. V). The male wears locks of hair on the sides and ear-discs, holding a sword in the right hand, the left hand though concealed may be kept on the back of the hugged female. His left leg is folded at the knee and resting on the toe. The right leg is stretched forward and mutilated. From a similar fragmentary terracotta plaque the position of the right leg is available. It is bent at the knee and resting on the toe. The female figure on the left is wearing ear-discs. Her right arm is folded at the elbow and palm raised up to the breasts while the left arm is hanging down and resting on the knee of the folded left leg; the right leg is also folded at the knee. The posture of the body and particularly the legs clearly indicate that she is dancing. Thus the composition presents a dancing couple.

A terracotta figure in dull grey, prepared from a single shallow mould (Pl. VI) presents a male warrior standing. The lower portion of the plaque is broken, but the posture of the feet can be known from several similar incomplete figurines in the collection. He is standing full front with bare feet and legs apart. Wearing a parasol type of hair in two tier and a knot above, curly locks falling on the sides, and leaf-shaped ear ornaments. The oval face has large lenticular eyes, high brows, broad nose and thick lips. A tight fitting tunic with round opening at the top, reaching about the knees a looped sash on the right with its folded ends on the left appears to be the only apparel. He holds a sword in the right hand while the left is akimbo.

A fragmentary terracotta figure, dull red, pressed against a single shallow mould (Pl. VII) is the bust of a warrior. He wears parasol type hair with a knob at the top and curly locks falling on the both the sides on the shoulder. A disc at the left is worn in the ear, the one on the right is not visible. The details of the face are not pleasing. The eyes have been summarily treated, the broad nose has completely damaged and the lower lip is disproportionate. The masculinity of the warrior who holds a *khetaka* in his right hand has been expressed by the broad chest. Other details are unfortunately not available.

A dull red, fragmentary terracotta figure of warrior (Pl. VIII), the right hand and both the legs are broken. He wears a mass of hair tied with a fillet; an upper garment as indicated by a depression

at the collar and also at the waist. The head prepared from a mould shows a narrow forehead, lenticular eyes, broad nose and rings in the ears. It holds an oval shield in the left hand which is resting on the left knee. It may be conjectured that a sword or lance may have been held in the right hand in a charging posture as also suggested by the position of the thighs. The figure is in round. The moulded head has been luted to the hand modelled body.

The terracotta figurines described in the foregoing pages show a lingering of the artistic traditions of Gupta period. In that golden age of Indian art and history, 'the rendering of human form is simple and restrained, but the form is always elegant and faces charming, with sharp pointed nose, full eyes and oval outline. The females invariably have full round breasts pressing against each other. Both men and women show minimum ornamentation, relying more on natural charms of the body than on ornate make-up. But this fondness for simplicity is compensated for by the extreme loveliness of hair styles. (The female on the swing (Pl. I) has her hair done in trefoil style with two side-masses and crest (*Sikhaṇḍa*) in the Centre, and has full round breasts. These are the Gupta traditions continued in the later days. A terracotta plaque depicting a similar theme belongs to the Gupta epoch is from Rajghat.¹ The manner of hair doing is partially concealed by the *sari* covering the head of the female figure (Pl. II), but the mass of hair seen on the left side of the head and slight protrusion on the top suggests that in this case also the trefoil style was used. In addition, the jewel crest and double strings of pearls on the forehead and the *ṭaṭaṅka-chakra* (discular ear-rings) are the reminiscent of the Gupta style. The female with a dancing peacock (Pl. III) has of course no head, but it shares the general features of other plaques discussed here and can conveniently be taken to belong to the same group. The standing female with a child at her right (Pl. IV) may be captioned 'mother-and-child' but it is totally different in composition from the figurines described *Aṅkadhātrī* recovered from the Gupta levels at various excavated sites. The treatment of the toes in both the feet, the fingers and the thumb in the dangling right arm carry it close to the Gupta fashion. It recalls a standing skirted female figure in graceful pose, from Mathura in sandstone ascribed to the seventh century A.D.² The dancing couple (Pl. V) depict the forceful movement, possibly presenting a heroic ballad. The damaged plaque does not give the full import of the composition. However, the locks of the hair falling on the sides in the male figure are no doubt in the Gupta style, other-

1. Agrawala, V. S. *Gupta Art*, (1948) p. 14, Fig. 11.

2. Saraswati, S.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculptures*, p. 152, Fig. 113.

wise the edges of the plaque are plain contrary to the decoration met in Gupta epoch. The standing warrior (Pl. VI) has a few comparable parallels from the excavated sites. At Ahichchhatra³ the male figures though without the head hold a staff of office are assigned between A.D. 650 — 750. In our example the style of hair bears a similitude, but he holds a sword having two grooves at the blunted edge of the blade. Of course the sword does not seem to have the knuckle guard. The other figure (Pl. VII) of the warrior belongs to the same group as the preceding one. The warrior with a shield (Pl. VIII) differs in treatment and shows him in action. It may be about two centuries removed, in point of time, from the rest of the terracotta figurines described here and could be placed in the ninth century A.D.

3. Agrawala, V. S., *Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, District Bareilly, U.P., Ancient India* No. 4, p.150.



Some Post-Gupta Terracottas
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Some Post-Gupta Terracottas
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Some Post-Gupta Terracottas from
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Some Post-Gupta Terracottas from Kanauj: Plate VIII
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GĪTĀ – A RECONCILIATION OF SCRIPTURE AND REASON

M. D. PARADKAR

Popularity of the Gītā:

THE *Bhagavadgītā*, though known to be an episode in the *Mahābhārata*, the famous Indian epic, holds a place of importance among world-famous books. It is significant to note that the section on books on philosophy, religion and Belles Letters opens with the outline of this song of the Lord. This book has been translated in most European languages and a Japanese translation has proved to be the best seller. Burnouf, the French translator of the *Gītā* writes 'No greater book has ever come from the hands of man.' Warren Hastings, the first Governor General of India in his preface to the English edition of the *Gītā* by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1785 declared that 'the writers of the Indian philosophies will survive when the dominion in India shall long have ceased to exist.' This has proved literally true as is indicated by the number of English Translations of this book which have crossed the mark of a century. Distinguished persons like Edwin Arnold (1885), Farquhar (1912) Franklin Edgerton (1925), R. C. Zaehner (1925) have commented upon this book and Carlyle, Walt Whitman and Emerson have been enamoured by the spiritual beauty and philosophic depth of the *Gītā*. Geoffrey Parrinder, Professor of the comparative study of religions in the University of London has thought it proper to bring out a verse-translation of the *Gītā* in 1974 after twelve years of work 'with the purpose of' helping readers memorize important verses and philosophical teachings of this ethico-philosophical book.¹

No wonder, therefore, that Indian tradition hails *Gītā* as one of the most inspiring philosophical books of this ancient land. It is included among the three corner stones of Indian philosophy and all Ācāryas beginning from Śaṅkarācārya down to Nimbārka and Madhva, themselves founders of the different schools of Vedānta, have thought it proper to comment on the *Gītā* and solicit its support to their views. Late B.G. Tilak, the father of Indian unrest wrote his famous *Gītā-rahasya* with a view to elucidate its teachings

1. 'The Bhagavadgita — A Verse Translation' — Geoffrey Parrinder, p. 115, l. 6-8.

extremely useful in invigorating the aspirants of freedom and revolutionaries like Bhagatsing have fearlessly walked into 'the jaws of death' with the words of the *Gītā* on their lips. Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation, called *Gītā* as his mother and sought refuge in her bosom in difficulty - or distress. Vinobha Bhave's lectures on the *Gītā* can also be referred to. Surprisingly politicians like Mr. Morarji Desai have also thought it proper to express their views on the *Gītā* in a book. It is not surprising that the common man in the country also regards *Gītā* as a religious classic and feels that its study brings not only merit but also happiness and prosperity.

Reason for popularity:

What can be the reason for such an unprecedented popularity with all sections of the people? It cannot merely be philosophy or something new that was never said before. All along, the *Gītā* has been taken to be the quint-essence of the Upaniṣads. All Upaniṣads are the milch-cow, Kṛṣṇa the cowherd's son, the milkman; Arjuna the son of Pṛthā, the calf, men of pure intellect, the enjoyers and the *Gītā*, the milk, the supreme nectar,² is a statement of fact borne out by the words of Kṛṣṇa 'स एवायं मया तेऽद्य योगः प्रोक्तः पुरातनः'. The reason, therefore, is to be sought elsewhere and that is in its reconciliation of existing beliefs and speculations by means of the living warmth of a dynastic religious feeling. In fact, *Gītā* excels in its characteristic attitude of tolerance and compromise in putting forward the paths leading to final beauty viz. Jñāna yoga, the Karma-yoga as well as Bhakti-yoga. But in my opinion, the greatness of the *Gītā* consists in bringing out a reconciliation of scriptures and reason. In order to appreciate this, it will be necessary to know the concept of ideal action in the *Gītā*. The ideal act naturally originates in a pure motive, where the agent is prompted to undertake it by a non-selfish goal. Evidently such an act is non egoistic i.e. the agent of it in addition to being indifferent towards his personal pleasures and pains, is not really to attribute the entire authorship to himself. The third salient feature of such an act is that it is of the right type leading to good consequences. Among these three characteristics foremost importance has to be given to the last viz. the right act. Non-egoistic wrong action or mere non performance of any action cannot be compared with the performance of a right action though done egoistically. It is in this light that the words of the *Gītā* viz.

न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेदज्ञानां कर्मसङ्गिणाम् ।

जोषयेत्सर्वकर्माणि विद्वान् युक्तः समाचरन् ॥

2. Read सर्वोपनिषदो गावो दोग्धा गोपालनन्दनः ।
पाथो वत्सः सुधीर्भोक्ता दुग्धं गीतामृतं महत् ॥

have to be understood. It is better that the common man continues to do his duties albeit with attachment rather than he gives up the duty itself. According to the *Gītā*, the attempt of every one should continue to replace the attitude of attachment by one of non-attachment. Not that Arjuna in throwing away his bow at the end of Chapter I was egoistic but due to intellectual confusion he was taking a right act as wrong one and therefore sought to abandon it. According to the *Gītā*, rightness of the action is essential. Hence Kṛṣṇa's insistence on 'युध्यस्व विगतज्वरः'. While passing through various topics during the course of his dialogue with Arjuna.

Limited Significance of Scriptures:

Gītā forbids a person to undertake any action motivated by personal consequences; evidently *Gītā* is aware of other consequences and aims not to do away with the desire for them. It is true that *Gītā* observes:

तस्माच्छास्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ ।
 ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रविधानोक्तं कर्म कर्तुमिहार्हसि ॥

But this respect for the scriptures is not in opposition to one's deliberative reason; in other words it is not of the nature of blind faith. Now all individuals cannot have reason raised to pure level. For the sake of the guidance of common men whose reason has not attained Sattva level, intellectual leaders of the society have to lay down some general rules of the conduct after giving due consideration to the over-all circumstances as well as consequences of diverse lines of action. In the absence of such general rules, the sense of unity, uniformity essential in a society is likely to vanish. Is it not desirable that an individual at times should agree to set aside his personal ideas and conveniences and follow the general rules of conduct established in the society? Of course, it goes without saying that these rules must not come in conflict with fundamental moral principles, which form the very core of behaviour.

Scripture Finally Based on Consideration of Consequences:

After all what are scriptures? These do not appear all of a sudden; they are a result of long experience. It is true that the authorship of a scripture is attributed to a particular person; but this only means that he gave a collective systematic form to customs and traditions prevalent in a society after having made a careful necessary selection. In doing so, the person has to think of alloca-

tion of duties according to the respective aptitudes. This is meant by the *Gītā* in the words:

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परन्तप ।
कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥ XVIII. 41

Here the term 'स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः' viz. in accordance with the qualities and aptitudes following the bent of their minds' is extremely significant.

Fourfold Social Order in the Gītā:

This brings one to the 'fourfold social order', the significance of which in the *Gītā* has become a subject of dispute. At the outset, it must be borne in mind that in a society all individuals do not possess the same nature or aptitude. 'No two balls are alike' Tennyson very rightly said. Granting this to be untrue, no society can function if all its members were to insist on undertaking one and the same type of work. A division of labour or a classification of functions, therefore, becomes absolutely necessary. Now instead of allowing this division or classification to happen in a haphazard manner will it not be proper for the social leaders to see that it is arranged in keeping with the natural bent and aptitude of the individuals? This is evidently the implication of the words of Kṛṣṇa viz. 'in accordance with the distinctions of aptitudes and functions,'³ and it appears that this cannot be found fault with. The difficulty, of course, will arise if *Gītākāra* were to insist on the son of a Brāhmaṇa following the profession of the father. The duties laid down by the *Gītā* for the class of priests are 'mental serenity, self-restraint, penance, purity, forgiveness, straightforwardness, the acquiring of knowledge and faith in spiritual matters.'⁴ For the ruling class these duties are 'bravery, illustriousness, steadfastness of will, resourcefulness, non desertion of the battlefield, philanthropy and the capacity to govern.'⁵ It must be remembered that here *Gītā* has not prescribed a life of mere luxury and enjoyment. The functions of the trader following from his nature consist of 'agriculture, cattle-preservation and commerce' and the function of the servant following from his nature consist of 'service'.⁶ The service laid down for the fourth class is certainly not free or forced labour. Moreover, all these functions are equally liable to the three fold distinctions

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3. Read चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः । IV-13
 4. " शमो दमस्तपः शौचं शान्तिरार्जवमेव च ।
ज्ञानं विज्ञानमस्तिक्यं ब्रह्मकर्मस्वभावजम् ॥ XIII-42
 5. " शौर्यं तेजो धृतिर्दास्यं युद्धे चाप्यपलायनम् ।
दानमीश्वरभावश्च क्षात्रं कर्म स्वभावजम् ॥ XIII-43
 6. " कृषिगोरक्षवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म स्वभावजम् ।
परिचर्यात्मकं कर्म शूद्रस्यापि स्वभावजम् ॥ XIII-44

into the *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamasa* categories. It must not be forgotten that the austerities of a Brāhmaṇa as well as the charity of a Kṣatriya can come under the category of *tāmāsa*, if wrongly done. The blackmarketing by a trader will surely be dubbed by the *Gītā* as *tāmāsa* i.e. immoral. There is nothing in the *Gītā* that prevents a *Sūdra* from being *sāttvika* i.e. moral. It may also be noted that the 16th chapter of the *Gītā* draws a distinction between *daivī sampat* i.e. saintly temperament and *āsuri sampat* i.e. diabolical temperament, and this distinction is equally applicable to all the four classes. The words of the *Gītā* namely 'स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः।' as well as 'स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः' if understood in an unprejudiced manner will be found to contain an optimistic message of the attainment of the same spiritual good by any one irrespective of the class to which he belongs.

Views on Cāturvarṇya:

Swamī Vivekananda rightly observed that caste was simply a social institution which had nothing to do with religion and that in spite of circumstances which tended to thwart its own existence, it (the caste system) has yielded wonderful results. Late Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's views on this matter deserve to be recalled here: On the *Gītā*-line 'चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागश्च:' he has observed "The emphasis is on *guṇa* (aptitude) and *Karma* (function) and not on *jāti* (birth). The fourfold order is designed for human evolution. There is nothing absolute about caste system which has changed its nature in the process of history. To-day it cannot be regarded anything more than an insistence on a variety of ways in which the social purpose can be carried out. Functional groupings will never be out of date and as for marriages they will happen among those who belong to more or less the same stage of cultural development. The present morbid condition of India broken into castes and subcastes is opposed to unity taught by the *Gītā* which stands for an organic as against an atomistic conception of society."⁷

This question of the four-fold social order in the *Gītā* has also to be understood along with its constant emphasis on the basic identity as well as equality of all beings irrespective of all distinctions. Lord Kṛṣṇa's words 'सुहृदं सर्वभूतानाम्' (V.29), 'समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः' (IX.29) 'सर्वभूताशयस्थितः' (X.20) etc. should not be forgotten. His unambiguous assurance in 'Arjuna, by resorting to me those born in miserable bodies due to their past evil deeds (e.g. the lepers, the

7. "The Bhagavadgītā" pp. 160, 161; also see pp.364-365.

dumb, the blind etc. as also even females, Vaiśyas and Śūdras attain the highest state⁸ has also to be given due consideration.

If this is the attitude of God towards human beings, the attitude of an ideal person cannot be different from this. No wonder, therefore, that the ideal Yogī in the *Gītā* is सर्वभूतात्मभूतात्मा (V.7) as well as अद्वेष्या सर्वभूतानाम् (XII.13) and is found absorbed in pursuing the true good of all beings i.e. 'सर्वभूतहिते रतः' (V.25, XII.4). The author of the *Gītā* pointedly declares that a truly enlightened person does not make any difference between an educated brahmin and a Śvapāka or even a quadruped.⁹ This attitude of complete universal fraternity and equality is in confirmity with Vyāsa's liberal humanistic outlook indicated in the 18th chapter of Śāntiparva where the sage Bhṛgu unhesitatingly declares that if the *brāhmaṇa* characteristics are found in one born as a *śūdra* and absent in one born as a *brāhmaṇa*, neither the former in reality can be called a *śūdra* nor the latter a *brāhmaṇa*.¹⁰ The remark of this great sage viz.

न विशेषोऽस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्मणमिव जगत् ।

ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि कर्मभिवर्णतां गतम् ॥

certainly deserves to be recalled to memory making it possible to appreciate the status given to him by the *Gītā* in 'महर्षीणां भृगुरहम्' of the Xth chapter. This does not mean that there is no reference to the hereditary system of social classes in the vast literary work like the *Mahābhārata* but one should not fail to appreciate the broad and sound teachings of that work naturally adumbrated by the *Gītā* also.

As has been already indicated earlier, *Gītā* recognises the importance of śāstra i.e. scripture but attaches only a limited significance to it. This is clear from Arjuna's question - that forms the commencement of the 17th chapter viz:

ये शास्त्रविधिमुत्सृज्य भजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः ।

तेषां निष्ठा तु का कृष्ण सत्त्वमाह रजस्तमः ॥

The answer given by Kṛṣṇa begins with 'त्रिविधा भवति श्रद्धा देहिनां या स्वभावजा' with an explanation of the same in the next three verses. After a proper consideration of the implication of these verses Professor G. W. Kaveeshwar has rightly come to the conclusion that 'the faith to which it refers is one contrary to or at any rate independent

8. " मां हि पार्थ व्यपाश्रित्य येऽपि स्मृः पापयोनयः ।
स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम् । IX-32
9. " विद्याविनयसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शूनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥ V-18
10. " शूद्रे चैतदपवेत्त्वैक्यं द्विजे तत्त्वं न विद्यते ।
न वै शूद्रो भवेत् शूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः ॥

of the current scriptural texts and yet directed towards the idea of true good. The question seeks the evolution of the conduct of one whom the prevalent procedure does not appear and yet who is animated by a desire to pursue the path of true well being to perform good action.¹¹

Possibility of Good Conduct Apart From Scripture:

Kṛṣṇa's reply to this question significantly starts without condemning all conduct differing from the current scriptural procedure. The statement viz. सत्त्वानुरूपा सर्वस्य श्रद्धा भवति भारत speaks of natural conviction in the heart of man belonging to the three varieties, it cannot be said to be good or bad. Importance, has to be attached not only to worship born of sincere faith; one has to see that it is necessary of the right type. Scriptural injunction is not the sole standard for the right and wrong. The action of a person need not be found fault with merely on the grounds of being different from established scriptural procedure; one has to decide its merit on its being of the right type. If it belongs to the right type it will come under the *sattva* category; intermediate type will be called *rajas* and the lowest *tamas*. Evidently the word *yajana* here speaks of any act performed with good intention of attaining true good. This provides the clue to understand and appreciate the verse:

यजन्ते सात्त्विका देवान् यक्षरक्षांसि राजसाः ।

अशास्त्रविहितं घोरं यजन्ते तामसाः जनाः ॥

implying respectively a fully right act, a semi-right act and a veritably wrong one. *Gītā*, therefore, gives scope to the individuals reason and takes care at the same time to point out the risk involved in indiscriminately using it.

Looked at from this point of view, the three fold distinctions given in the 17th as well as the 18th chapters of the *Gītā* contain laudable attempt at reconciling established scriptural rules and individual's freedom of reason. It is true that the *Gītā* condemns anti-scriptural act but reason for it lies in its being prompted by egoistic attachment and attraction, hypocrisy and conceit.¹² It must also be noted that the *Gītā* speaks of three fold classification in general terms also without a reference to the scriptures. Thus the descriptions of three-fold food (*trividha āhāra*) occurring in XVII 8 to 10 is based on a rational reflection and a consideration of consequences; it has no reference to any scriptural bent. The same has to be said about

11. "Ethics of the *Gītā*" p.235.

12. अशास्त्रविहितं तप्यन्ते ये तपो जनाः ।

दम्भाहंकारसंयुक्ताः कामरागबलान्विताः ॥ XVII.5

the classification of *dāna*. The three-fold division of knowledge is purely scientific in nature having no insistence on following the contents of any scriptural text. Scriptures have their importance and as they are based on a long standing experience of generations, it will not be proper to summarily dismiss their rules as it will lead to *Buddhibheda* in case of the ignorant. At the same time, entirely depending upon scriptural standard may root out the importance of deliberative reason in the ethics of the action thereby relegating the consideration of consequences of the action to the limbo of things forgotten. Hence a reconciliation of scripture and reason is rightly brought out in the *Gītā*. This rational approach towards the ethics of the action makes *Gītā* according to Huxley 'the most systematic spiritual statement of perennial philosophy.'

PACK-BULLOCKS-THE MAJOR MEANS OF TRANSPORT IN SOUTH KONKAN FROM 17th TO 19th CENTURY A. D.

N. N. PATEL

IN common parlance South Konkan means the present district of Ratnagiri in the state of Maharashtra. The same area is known as Bijapuri Tul Konkan to the student of the history of medieval Deccan. A good source on the historical geography of this period¹ says that the Bijapuri Tul Konkan starts from the river Savitree² and ends at Vengurla or the creek of Terekhol³ to the south of which begins the Portuguese territory. In this article it is proposed to examine the place of pack-bullocks in the transport system on the landside of this area in the medieval period.

As late as 19th century the district of Ratnagiri had no made roads. When placed, therefore, in the right perspective we can easily perceive that the present-net-work of made roads in that district (Bombay-Konkan Goa — National High way and the tarred roads opening on this main backbone of communication both from East and West connecting to it the Taluq H. Qs. and important port-towns and inland towns) has to be removed from the landscape. In that case what remains of the communication on land is nothing but pathways passing through this district of undulating space, ghats and a few narrow size bullock cart roads.⁴

The primary source that I can quote on the use of oxen for travelling on the then most important road of the region viz. Dabhol to Bijapur via Chiplun is the log-book maintained by the Dutch Ambassador van Twist to Visiapour.⁵ He travelled from Dabhol to Bijapur via Chiplun. At Chiplun he is said to have hired oxen for this journey. On these oxen he reached Vijapur from Chiplun within about twelve days.

1. Jervis' Konkan — Page 64.

2. River Savitree forms a boundary between the present district of Ratnagiri and Raigad.

3. Terekhhol even now forms a boundary between the State of Maharashtra and the Union Territory of Goa.

4. Pl. see — Page No. 3. Govt. Selections No. CCLIII-New Series, 1892.

5. An article by Dr. P. M. Joshi in JIH Vol. XXXIV pp.111 to 137; published by the University of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1957.

Van Twist started from Dabhol on 30-1-1637 on his diplomatic mission to Bijapur as permitted by the Sultan. His itinerary includes, en route, the following towns —

- (i) Ghatmatha;
- (ii) Helwak;
- (iii) Patan;
- (iv) Moral *etc.*

We are precisely concerned upto the station of Ghatmatha which is the end of Kumbharlee Ghat, the admitted eastern boundary of the Konkan. On reaching Ghatmatha, on 3-2-1637, the top of the Sahyadris to the east of Chiplun, Van Twist has put a remark "A very bad road". The road, was not good even for small group of bullocks. The present distance between Chiplun and Ghatmatha is 27 miles. This means that the group headed by Van Twist covered this distance in two days. He left Chiplun on 2-2-1637 and reached Combaerli and further reached Ghatmatha on 3-2-1637. This was the mode of transport provided for a diplomat on way to the Sultan of Bijapur and that is why the same has to be accepted as the best means of communication.

As regards his journey from Dabhol to Chiplun two points remain moot: (i) What was the mode of transport used by Van Twist from Dabhol to Chiplun. This doubt crops up as the log book which is otherwise so elaborate, does not mention the conveyance used for this first stage of journey viz. from Dabhol to Chiplun. One would immediately say that the nearest route is by the creek of Dabhol which is also the course of river Vashisthee.

The other possibility is by land route from Dabhol to Khed (Village Camp Dapoli is out of question as this place was selected by the British as their cantonment in the beginning of 19th century) to Chiplun via Pedhe Parshuram a village with an ancient temple (where the deity is Parshuram, the creator of Konkan in legends and traditions). This route also may not have been adopted as an enthusiastic traveller like Van Twist would certainly not ignore places like Khed and Pedhe Parshuram. Secondly, nobody would suggest this circuitous route to a diplomat on mission in the face of a straight and dustless highway from Dabhol creek to Chiplun, an inland port. In that case he has not mentioned a place like Govalkot — a fort on a hill, a little before Chiplun. We will leave this discussion here which will have to be examined vis-a-vis the antiquity of the present temple of Pedhe Parshuram and the fort at Gowulkot.

Based on this source, it is obvious, however, that the oxen were in common use for a long-way journeys like Dabhol to Bijapur. If

this was the case as regards a National highway of those days *viz.* Dabhol (a Subah Head Quarters of a Governor) to Bijapur (the Head Quarters of the then Central Government) there cannot be a more important road or any other conveyance in vogue. It may occur to some that the port of Dabhol was a known market of horses from Persia and Red Sea area and why were the horses not used. Horses were a rare and a costly commodity. These were most needed and always reserved for combatants than for non-combatants. It may also be argued as to why even a diplomat was not favoured with a pair of horses for use upto Bijapur. This facility does not appear to have been extended to Van Twist as he was not sent under the direct orders of the King of Holland but by the commander of a defence force, Mr. Cooper.

The scarcity of good roads is authentically commented upon in the 'Bombay Presidency Gazette'; ed. by James Campbell in August 1880. The significant indications from this source are reproduced below with regard to the context.

"At the beginning of the British rule (1818-1820) carriage was almost entirely by water."

"There were no wheeled carriages, no horses, no camels and few pack bullocks."⁶

This Gazetteer mentions several fair weather cart roads connecting intra district places and it is quite possible that Capt. Wingate, who had been to Ratnagiri in 1854 may have instructed the peasantry on his innovation. Those passes that reach the centres above the ghats have been made easier for foot-passengers and pack bullocks. The observation in the said Gazetteer given below is very important in the present context.

"At the same time, besides many cross roads along the coast, a bullock track (mind you not a bullock-cart track) nine to twelve feet wide, has been made from end to end of the district."

The topography of the district is such that a native of this district (of whom there are a few lakhs in Bombay who are genuinely fond of going to their native village once in a year with their families) even to this day is required to walk a few miles before he reaches

6. It will be not out of place to mention here for the information of the reader that the present-day wooden wheel used for bullock carts in Old Bombay Presidency was devised by Capt. Wingate of the Bombay Engineers in the first half of the 19th century around 1840. Before that the Zamindars had stone wheels used for generations. Page 32, Vol. Ist the Bombay Survey & Settlement Manual Govt. Pzp. Poona, 1950.

his homestead despite a network of the present made roads and the profusion of auto-conveyances.

It is seen through the Contemporary treatises on the relevant period that the majority of the people (ryots) and the *bara balutedars* were deeply engrossed in bread winning activity. Hence there was really no mobility initiated by them on a large scale. They must have gone on foot to their relations in nearby villages or for the annual fairs which they do even now. The agencies who needed the means of transport were —

- (i) the armies that frequented on political missions, such as quelling a rebellion or as escorts for the parties collecting revenue;
- (ii) the diplomatic missions,⁷
- (iii) the careerist-adventurous such as Mahmud Gawan⁸ and Yusuf Adil Khan^{8a} both are said to have landed at the port of Dabhol.
- (iv) The traders who received the consignments of food-grains from up-ghats and sent their goods such as salt, dried fish, myrabolaous and pepper at times to the marts up the ghats.

Of the above list the ones at (i) and (iv) are more concerned with the means of communications. Those at (ii) and (iii) stand no comparison with the earlier so far as the volume of traffic is concerned. The user at (i) armies comprising of large forces were not frequently attracted towards Konkan as there were lot of active rebels up the ghats to keep the Imperial forces engaged. Moreover, the army used to go mainly on horse backs and hence no wide and made roads were required for this noble animal which has carried the armies of kings and emperors for several centuries in several nations of the world. Whatever the use of the roads by the users at i, ii & iii, the use of the roads, good or bad, was constantly made by the traders as they had to keep up the supplies of the very necessities like foodgrains, to the population. These arteries of distribution of the necessities of life below the ghats (foodgrains & pulses) and above the ghats (salt, spices etc.) were mainly kept up by the caravans of pack-bullocks. That statement is supported by the authorities reproduced below. These authorities best explain the matter in their own words. James Forbes (He stayed in

7. Of these there used to be a good traffic as we find from Van Twist's narration in Dr. P. M. Joshi's article that he came across the ambassador of the Sultan of Mulindi (East Africa) at Dabhol who was returning to Mulindi after visiting the Sultan's Court at Bijapur.

8. The opening chapter of Prof. H. K. Sherwani's "Mahmud Gawan."

8a. The opening paragraph of Dr. P. M. Joshi's article on Adilshah in the History of Medieval Deccan, Vol. I, ed. by Prof. H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi.

India for sixteen years from 1768 to 1784) observes as follows on the subject. His observation is based on what he saw with his own eyes during his return journey from Fort Victoria⁹ to Bombay. He had been from Bombay to Fort Victoria for rest. James Forbes is here commenting though not on S. Konkan but on the area adjacent to it.

“Candhar,¹⁰ eighteen miles from the wells, is pleasantly situated on the banks of the river, and a place of considerable trade; being a great throughfare from the sea-coast to the Gaut mountains. We met there a number of Vanjarrahs, or merchants, with large droves of oxen, laden with valuable articles from the interior country to commute for salt on the sea-coast: immense caravans of oxen are employed in the salt-trade, in this part of India; where there are no roads for wheel carriages, and all merchandize is transported by these useful animals: especially up the steep ascents and difficult passes of the Gaut-mountains, which board the Konkan to the eastward.

(Oriental Memoirs: By James Forbes, Vol. I, Ch. IX — p. 118— Published by Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, Publisher in Ordinary to his Majesty, London 1834 Second Edition).

The aspects like the means of communication and for that matter the daily lives of the population do not change with the change over in the political heads. This was more so in the medieval times. I may daresay¹¹ that the description of the journey of Forbes from Bancoote to Dazagaon in Savitri Creek given by him in the same source stands true to this day except the stocks of timber that he notes. A few auto-fishing vessels, a ferry and the pontoon jetties are the only additions. The eye-witnesses like James Forbes, the contributors to Gazetteers and the settlement Officers (whose names and observations are cited below) have been co-incidentally and fortunately so placed in the history of the medieval Deccan that their narratives for the present-subject have become an adjunct between the Medieval and Modern periods. Let us peruse a few more authorities on the subject.

1. “As regards import and export by pack bullocks I am unable to give any reliable figures (here he is discussing the toll col-

9. Fort Victoria is situated in the limits of Banhof (revenue village Velas) of Mandargad taluka at present Ratnagiri district in Maharashtra State.

10. Candhar is modern Khandat in Mangaon taluka at present Raigad district in Maharashtra State.

11. The contributor of this article has worked as the Deputy Collector of Dapoli sub-division of the present Ratnagiri district for more than three years. In this period he was required to undertake official tours on this side.

lection imposed on imports and exports by land routes) as carriage of goods by that method escapes the toll entirely, for although it is well-known that much grain and merchandize passes through Kha-repatan on pack bullocks etc."

[Para 15 of the Original Survey Settlement Report of Devgad taluka in Ratnagiri district published as selections from the Records of the Bombay Govt. No. CCLIII - New Series. Government Central Press - Bombay, 1892.]

2. [Para 4 of the Original Survey Settlement Report of Khed Taluka published as Selections from the Records etc. New Series CCLIV - Government Central Press - Bombay, 1892. The para is so tersely drafted that it cannot be cut to any further size necessitating their reproduction verbatim.]

Para 4: At present (the report is dated 23-2-1867) there is but one made road in the district between Khed and Dapoli and that, when I saw it, was much in need of repair. A road from Mahad via Poladpur to Khed and then to Chiplun and Ratnagiri¹² is, I believe, in course of construction and will go far towards opening up the country which during the monsoon, when native craft cannot venture to sea, is at present almost inaccessible. The Ambali and Hatloth Ghats afford an exit for the produce of the more inland villages to the Deccan, but they are only possible for pack-bullocks."

3. [On page 6 in para 16 of the Original Survey & Settlement report of Rajapur Taluka, District Ratnagiri published in "the Selections from the Records of the Bombay etc. No. CCXXII - New Series, Govt. Central Press, Bombay, - 1888. The most valuable information on the subject is supplied by this report. Rajapur was the busiest bazaar Peth of those days in Ratnagiri.]

"From above Ghats, foodgrains, sugar, molasses, cotton, tobacco, oil-seed, Ramdurg and Shetpur cloth, native blankets and other articles are imported in large quantities by country carts, of which 10,101, and pack bullocks of which 25,891 were unloaded in Rajapur during the season of 1884-85."¹³

Walter Hamilton in his Description of Hindostan, Vol. II¹⁴ says while discussing the Deccan (Dacshina) that "the rivers of the Deccan are too impetuous for navigation when they are swollen by periodical rains, and in the hot season too shallow, except near their

12. This is the first section of the present Bombay-Konkan-Goa Road, which was yet to come into being (that is in A.D. 1867).

13. If this be the position of the volume of the traffic by pack-bullocks in A.D. 1884-85, it has to be much more earlier than that.

14. Page 4 of the Description of Hindostan by Walter Hamilton, Vol. II, 1820.

junction with the sea, which is invariably obstructed by sand banks." He further says that this necessitated the transport of the commodities on bullocks. This colossal mass of transportation was done, he says by mainly the four principal tribes (1) Rhatores, (2) Burteah, (3) Chowhan and (4) Powar. As regards the transport on the bullocks in the Deccan (inclusive of Konkan) he has to say as follows:

"In 1813, the Rhatores were supposed to possess, 90,000 head of cattle, and occupied a line of country between the heads of the river Warda, in Gundwana, through Nirmul, Hyderabad, Kurnool, and Cudalaph, down to the confines of Mysore, and as far as the coasts of Concan."¹⁵

This mode of transport has almost vanished. Its vanishing traces are still found in the rickety pack-bullocks that fetch charcoal from the Kilns in the interior of this district upto the black-topped roads from where the huge automobiles carry it to be the metropolis of Bombay.

15. Ibid.

MAYASABHĀ AND OTHER CELESTIAL SABHĀS

An Analysis of the Sabhā Motif in the Mahābhārata

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THE *Mahābhārata* records references to beautiful architecture but the *sabhās* described in the Sabhā Parvan have a socio-cultural importance. An attempt is made here to analyse the *Sabhā* motif in the *Mahābhārata*. When the Khāṇḍava *vana* was reduced to ashes by Agni, only six living creatures could escape. They were Aśvasena, Mayāsura, and the four *śaraṅgaka* birds.¹ Out of these six, Mayāsura was an architect of the *asuras*.² As Arjuna had saved him and assured him protection, Mayāsura was under great obligations. He expressed his gratitude by offering his services. Arjuna was pleased with his gesture but did not want him to return the obligations. Yet Mayāsura insisted on offering his skilled services, for building something very extraordinary on this earth. At last Arjuna directed him to Śrīkṛṣṇa. Mayāsura therefore, approached Śrīkṛṣṇa and the latter bade him construct a beautiful auditorium. It was to be unique on this earth. Śrīkṛṣṇa and Arjuna introduced Mayāsura to Yudhiṣṭhira and told him about their plan of erecting an outstanding auditorium. Yudhiṣṭhira approved of the plan.

Mayāsura selected a piece of land for this purpose. The land was 10,000 square cubits. Mayāsura drew a plan. He was determined to make the edifice very beautiful. He then went to Bindusaras which was at the north³ of the Kailāsa. Vṛṣaparvā, a demon

1. Adi P.219.40 (critical edition). तस्मिन्वने दह्यमाने षडग्निन ददाह च । अश्वसेनं मयं चापि चतुरा
शाङ्गकानिति ॥

2. Maya refers himself as Viśvakarmā of the *dānavas*. Sabhā p. 1-5.
अहं हि विश्वकर्मा वै दानवानां महाकविः ।

Arjuna refers to him as Mahāsura. Sabhā p.1.3. कृतमेवं त्वया सर्वं स्वस्तिगच्छ महासुरा।

Asura was said to be the common name for all the antagonists of Suras and they consisted of several classes viz. *daityas*, *dānavas*, *dasyus*, *Kālkañjas*, *kāleyas*, *khālins*, *nāgas*, *nivātkavacas*, *pulomas*, *piśācas*, and *rākṣasas*. (vide Fausball — Indian Mythology, Varanasi. 1972 p.1). Fausball also mentions (p. 3) that the *asuras* had their strongholds and haunts in mountain caves. Possibly they had small principalities as well. The elaborate architectural detail in the *sabhā* as will be seen later, appears to be the influence of the *asura* culture. These were probably the people from Assyria or the Middle East, who had been settled in India earlier and were subsequently known as master builders.

3. The location of Bindusaras in the extreme north indicates that the place was possibly beyond the Vedic civilization.

king had earlier ordered Mayāsura to build a *sabhā*. A large residual material of that work was still lying there. This material could not be had from anywhere else. Mayāsura wanted to bring a few more things from there. They were a mace studded with precious jewels and a conch — Devadatta. This conch belonged to Varuṇa.⁴ Mayāsura brought all these things from Bindusaras and gave the mace to Bhīma and the conch to Arjuna. With the material brought from Bindusaras he constructed a very beautiful *sabhā*.

The *Sabhā* contained trees of gold and it was as glorious as Agni *sabhā*, Suryasabhā or Candrasabhā. Strings of diamonds and emeralds were shining on the doors. The *sabhā* contained beautiful paintings and sculptures. The security guards posted by Mayāsura there, were 8,000 in number. They were known as *kinkaras*.⁵ These guards were very powerful and could physically lift the entire *sabhā* and could take it wherever they were desired to take it.⁶

There was a beautiful lake in this *sabhā*. It had many jewels in it. It also contained lotuses of gold. There were gold tortoises moving freely in this lake. Steps leading to the lake were made of precious stones. The water was as clear as crystal. So even then there was water there, it appeared that there was no water. There were many such places as would cause optical illusions. Mayāsura took about fourteen months to execute the job of building this *sabhā*.

Yudhiṣṭhira entered the Mayasabhā after feeding 10,000 brahmins and after giving them sumptuous gifts of 1,000 cows each. The voices of the brahmins singing the benedictions reached the heavens. Yudhiṣṭhira looked like Indra in that *sabhā*. A number of sages and kings had come from various countries with rich presents.⁷ Tumburu who was a friend of Arjuna was singing there along with twentyseven other *gandharvas*. Yudhiṣṭhira rose from his throne

4. The association of the conch and Varuṇa is significant in as much as the conch is a marine product and Varuṇa is a god of waters in Vedic and later traditions.

5. *Sabhā*, p.3.25 तं स्म तत्र मयेनेकता रक्षन्ति च वहन्ति च । सभामष्टौ सहस्राणि किकरा नाम राक्षसाः ॥ The *kinkaras* belong to asura tribes. Also vide Rāmāyaṇa-Sundarkand, 42-25, तेषामशीतिसाहस्रं किकराणां तरस्विनाम्

6. Cf. The genie in the tale of Allauddin's Lamp.

7. Here are the names of a few sages:

Ārvāvasu, Sumitra, Maitreya, Śunaka, Balī, Baka, Dālbhya, Sthulāsira, Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana, Suka, Sumaṅta, Jaimini, Paila, Tittiri, Yājñavalkya, Loma-harṣana, Apsuhomya, Dhaumya, Animāṇḍavya, Kauśika, Dama, Uṣṇīśa, Traibali, Parnada, Ghaṭajānuka Maunjayana, Vāyubhakṣya, Pārāsarya etc. (*Sabhā* p. 4-8-15).

The Kṣatriyas who were mentioned were, Munjaketu, Vivardhana, Saṅgrāmajita, Durmukh, Ugrasena, Kaksasena, Kṣemaka, etc. (*Sabhā* p. 4-18-24). This indicates how traditional names have been huddled here. The belief is clear. All species of men must adore the *sabhā*.

when Nārada entered the *sabhā*. He offered him a seat and honoured him with rich gifts. Thereafter, Nārada questioned him about his well-being and also about the affairs of the State. By posing questions on the various aspects of polity, Nārada gave Yudhiṣṭhira a sound advice on statecraft. Yudhiṣṭhira heard him and answered all his questions in an orderly manner. Then he asked Nārada as to how his *sabhā* was and whether he had seen a similar or a better *sabhā* on this earth or elsewhere, and if so, whether he would describe it.

Nārada was amused at the King's question. He frankly admitted that he had not seen such a beautiful *sabhā*, bedecked with so many jewels, anywhere on this earth. But he had been to the *sabhās* of Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Brahmā and would describe them, if he would be heard. Naturally Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers were anxious to know the details of those *sabhās* and they requested Nārada to describe them.

Now, it would be worthwhile to study certain significant features of Mayasabhā which may throw some light on the *sabhā* motif.

Firstly, we find that the description of the Mayasabhā at places crosses the borders of reality and enters into fantasy. Thus we find that the *sabhā* of Yudhiṣṭhira is elevated to the divine heights, when the demigods and the *gandharvas* are said to have arrived therein.⁸ Nārada's arrival in the *sabhā* itself prepares the background for the imaginary description. The very fact that Nārada declares to have seen and describes the *sabhās* of various gods shows that the Mayasabhā was an offspring of an imagination. The description of Mayasabhā in its fantastic form was probably the gift of the folk fancy. The description of the Nāga world in the *Mahābhārata* itself amply testifies this.⁹ The folklore element in such description can be traced down to the descriptions of palaces in the Arabian Nights etc. There, apart from flying horses, flying carpets and palaces are mentioned.¹⁰

The earliest suggestion for this motif of the flying unit comes in the *R̥gveda* itself — in the moving citadel of the demon Śuṣṇa.¹¹ The movement of the normally static things is a motif that arrested the fancy of the early man; and this was associated with superhuman being, here Maya or Asura. The *R̥gveda* also ascribes the miracle to Śuṣṇa, who is Asura. In the *Jaimineya Brāhmaṇa* this mira-

8. *Sabhā* p. 4-30-31. एते चान्ये च बहवो राजानः पृथिवीपते । धनंजयसखा चात्र नित्यमास्ते स्म तुम्बुरुः । 30
चित्रसेनः सहामात्यो गन्धर्वाप्सरसस्तथा । गीतवादित्रकुशलाः साम्यतालविशारदाः ॥ 31

9. *Aśv.* p. 58 (37-40), ददशं नागलोकं च योजनानि सह । प्राकारनिचर्यैदिव्यैर्मणिमुक्तेरलंकृतैः उपपत्तं
महाभागं शातकुम्भमयैस्तथा । . . . पञ्चयोजनं विस्तारमायतं शतयोजनम् ।

10. *The Arabian Nights*. Edited by Rosa Van Rosen. New York, 1944.

11. *R̥gv.* VIII-1-28. त्वं पुरं चरिष्वं वधे शुष्णस्य सं पिणक् ।

culous city is situated in the waters and belongs to the Gandharva Triśiras.¹² In the popular story of Allauddin and the lamp, the demon whom Allauddin controls, does this miracle.

It is also worthwhile to compare the description of these *sabhās* with the *Kauśītakī Brāhmaṇopaniṣad* where *paryaṅkavidyā* is mentioned. There also we find extraordinary imaginary architecture with various symbols.

Again, the motif of the *sabhās* of various gods probably came to be set in, in the establishment of temples. The temples, however, are never spoken of prior to the *Gṛhya Sūtras*.¹³ i.e. prior to the 6th century B.C. That was also the time of the advent and spread of Buddhism. If we have a fare glance at the Buddhist temples or "gomphas" especially those in Tibet, we begin to suspect, if similar architectural complications with various deities had not already developed in the pre Christian era in India. The *Mahābhārata* shows a prior knowledge of the *sabhās* of gods which were not known in the Vedic period. Is it then the influence of a foreign cult got assimilated? The *asuras* as builders, support this. The huge sculptures are known from early Egypt and Assyria. The elaborate architectural details in the *sabhā* appear to be the influence of the Asura culture-people from Assyria or the middle-east, who had settled in the land of India earlier and made a good name as builders.

The motif of *sabhā* of a fantastic nature is further seen in such tales as of Hatim Tai, and in the work of the later poetic philosophers of the Sufi-cult like Jāyasī and Kutuban. This is about the 12th century A.D. The descriptive details in these writers were obviously influenced by a long tradition of builders and their accounts.

The motif of a *sabhā*, pure and simple, came from the sacrificial ritual where Agni was the central god. We have also such terms as "Sabhyaḥ Agni". Then the motif of the moving *sabhā* developed from the Sun and the Moon, or even the cloud as is seen in the *purāṇas* of Śuṣṇa or of Triśiras, for cloud can verily be the *sabhā* of the water-god-Varuṇa and such a *sabhā* must naturally be moving.¹⁴

The motif of movement in the description of *sabhās* may be compared with the moving jar (*kamaṇḍalu*) that was brought out

12. Jaim.Br.I-125-127. तस्य ह अष्टु नगरं पारिप्लवं आस ।

13. Dange — *Hindu Dharma ani Tatvājnyāna* — (Mar.) p. 309 ff. Pune, 1974. chap. on Murtipuja. Also Kane P.V., (*History of Dharmashastra-II*-p.xi, also 710 f.

14. For Varuṇa and waters — see Macdonell. *Vedic Mythology*-Varanasi-1963. p. 26, 2. Heinrich Luders — *Varuṇa I: Varuṇa und die Wassers-Göttingen*, 1951.

by Dhanvantari in the famous legend of the churning of the ocean.¹⁵ It is not improbable that the "flying" motif in the case of the jar or the city¹⁶ came from the Sun or the Moon. In the present context, the *sabhā* is closely connected with the Sun and the Moon, as it is stated that the *sabhā* resembled the one of the Sun or of the Moon.

It will be worthwhile to study the *sabhās* of other gods also, so well described by Nārada in the *Sabhā parvan*.

Nārada further describes the *Indrasabhā*. This was erected by Indra himself by performing various glorious deeds. This *sabhā*, had therefore, the splendour of the Sun.¹⁷ It was one hundred *yojanas* in length and about half that distance in width. It was situated in the sky and could be moved anywhere at will. It was five *yojanas* in height. The *sabhās* here, were free from old age, grief and fatigue and stayed in the *sabhā* without any fear.¹⁸

Indra with Śaci¹⁹ adored the supreme throne in the *sabhā* and was always surrounded by *maruts*, *siddhas*, *devarśis*, *sādhyas*, *devaganas*. There were clouds with golden garlands.²⁰ Indra had a celestial body. He had a crown on his head, and red ornaments on his arms. His garments were spotlessly white. He had put on garlands of highly coloured flowers. Modesty, fame, effulgence were adoring him. Nārada mentions a number of *devarśis* who were sitting in the *Indrasabhā*. They were Somasuta, Parvata Sārvaṇī, Gālva, Śaṅkha, Likhita, Gaurasīra, Durvāsas, Krodhana, Śyena, Dīrghatamasa, Pavitrāpāni, Yājnyavalkya, Bhāluki, Uddālaka, Śvetaketu, Tāṇḍya, Bhāṇḍāyaṇi, Haviṣmān, Garīṣṭha, Hariścandra, Hṛdya, Udarasāṇḍilya, Pārāśarya, Kṛṣivala, Vātaskandha, Viśākha, Vidhātā Kāla, Karāladanta, Tvaṣṭṛ, Viśvakarmā, Turṅburu and many others, born of women and otherwise²¹ — *Yoniya* and *ayoniya*. These *devarśis* subsisted on wind and other sacrificial oblations.

Among those who were around Indra, the following were prominent.

15. Ādi p.18-38. घन्वन्तरिस्ततो देवो वपुष्मानुदतिष्ठत । श्वेतं कमण्डलं बिभ्रदमृतं यत्र तिष्ठति 'Kamaṇḍalu' is nothing but the Sun. With the kamaṇḍalu cf. Caru at Rg.V. 1-7-6 where Sāyana understands it as the cloud. On this point see Dange S.A. — *Aśvatthāchi Pāne* (Mar.) Nagpur 1974 p.13f.
16. cf. Śālva's aerial city. 'शात्वो वैहायसं चापि तत्पुरं व्यूह्य तिष्ठितः । Vana p. 15-3.
17. *Sabhā* p. 7-1. शक्रस्य तु सभा दिव्या भास्वरा कर्मनिर्मिता । स्वयं शक्रेण कौरव्य निमित्ताकंसमप्रभा ।
18. *Sabhā* p. 7-3. जराशोककलमापेता निरातङ्का शिवा शृभाः ।
19. Even in *Brahmasabhā*, Brahma is said to be sitting with *Devamāyā*. तस्यां स मगवानास्ते विदधद् देवमायय *Sabhā* p. 11-13.
This was inevitable as it was a set pattern that the presiding deity must be accompanied with its female counterpart.
20. *Sabhā* p. 7-6 ff. मरुत्वन्तश्च सहिता भास्वन्तो हेममालिनः ।
21. Cf. Modern test tube babies — Leslie Brown born on 25th July 1978 in England.

Sahadeva, Sunīta, Vālmīki, Śamīka, Praceta, Medhātithī, Vāmadeva, Pulastya, Pulaḥ, Kratu, Marutta, Marīchi, Sthāṇu, Kakṣivāna, Gautama, Tārṅṣya, Vaiśvānara, Kālakakṣīya, Āsrāvya, Hiraṇmaya, Samvarta, Raibhya, Nalaparāvasu, Svastyatreya, Jaratkāru, Kahola, Vibhāṇḍaka, Rīṣyaśṅga, Unmukha, Kāṇva, Kātyāyana, Gārgya, and Kauśika.

Apart from personages mentioned above, there were the divine waters, medicinal herbs, Śradhā, Medhā, Saraswatī, the three deities viz. Dharma, Artha, Kāma, lightning and water bearing clouds, the roaring clouds, eastern direction and twentyseven types of fire.

On account of such a description, the *Sabhā* more or less becomes Indrasabhā or a prototype world of Indra. Agniṣṭoma, Indrāgni, Mitra, Savitā, Aryamā, Bhaga, Viśvedeva, Sādhyā, Guru, Śukra, Viśvakarma, Sumana, Taruṇa, Yajna, dakṣiṇā, grahas, and the holy *mantras* of sacrifices were present there. *Apsaras* and *gandharvas* sang there and pleased the great warlord Indra. Bhṛgu and Saptarṣis came there in a *vimāna*, which was white as the moon. Puṣkaramālīnī was another name for Indra's *sabhā*.

Thus Indra *sabhā* shows a curious mixture of the ancient Vedic sacrificial atmosphere and the later temple motifs. Many of the later sages find their access in Indra's *sabhā*, while some authorities like Śankhya and Likhita are also mentioned. The tendency to accommodate almost all reputed personalities as also various gods in the hall or temple of one ancient or prominent god, speaks of the motif of assimilation of deities and cult gods.²²

Nārada further describes the Yamasabhā, Varuṇasabhā, Kuberasabhā and lastly Brahmasabhā. The accounts of these *sabhās* also are equally strange. Thus Yamasabhā takes any form. No sorrow, old age, hunger and thirst, meanness and fatigue could enter the Yamasabhā.²³ All those who had performed many sacrifices and who had undergone severe penance adored that *sabhā*. The Agni (*havyavāhana*) and the Kāla (eternal time) were in their seats near the Yama.²⁴ Among the persons present in the Yamasabhā were Yayāti, Nahuṣa, Māndhātā, Puru, Somaka, Nṛga, Trasadasyu, Kṛtavīrya, and many others. In addition to these individuals there were other groups also. Thus there were hundreds of Matsyās, Hayās, Dhārtarāṣṭras, Janamejayas, etc. The kings who had performed horse sacrifices were there. There were fire eaters, foam eaters, vapour

22. See Lang, Andrew. *Custom and Myth*. London 1884. Cf. "Apollo and the mouse" where later folk-gods are treated as being arrayed in the temple of the Greek god Apollo.

23. *Sabhā* p. 8-3.

24. The association of Agni and Kāla with Yama is significant.

eaters. Wicked persons and those who died in dakṣiṇāyana were there. Those who fulfilled various vows and performed penance were there. They had resplendent bodies and white garments. *Gandharvas* sang celestial music and measured their feet in perfect rhythm.

The Varuṇasabhā was also of unique splendour. Its dimensions were those of Yamasabhā. It had beautiful ramparts and arches. Viśvakarmā had made ample use of water here. So gardens were rich with flowers and fruits. Varuṇa adorned this *sabhā* with Vāruṇī. The Ādityas worshipped Varuṇa, the lord of waters. Vāsukī, Takṣaka, Airāvata, Nāga and many others sat round Varuṇa. Bali, the son of Virocana, Narakāsura, Prahlād, Vipraciti, Kālakhanja, and many other *daityas* were worshipping Varuṇa. Bhāgirathī, Kālindi, Venā, Narmadā, Vipasā, Śatadru adorned Varuṇasabhā.

Here the motif of Varuṇa and the Nāgas is quite distinct. This motif is not seen in other *sabhās*. The nāgas or serpents may be said to have been suggested on account of the watery nature of Varuṇa. This is all the more significant with Varuṇa's description as one with cords or *pāsas*. The *pāsas* were already thought to be a link with the serpents. The description of the Varuṇasabhā also indicates that when Varuṇa ceased to be adored in the later Vedic (Brahmanic) period, the Nāga tribes probably assimilated him in some form. That the Nāgas were a race is clear from later literature.²⁵

Another point to be noted is that in the *sabhā* of Varuṇa there are *asuras* and *daityas* who had been opposed to the *deva* heroes. This also shows that Varuṇa lost the Vedic platform, in the later Vedic period as a prominent god, probably he was taken up and assimilated by the asura, daitya and Nāga tribes.

In the Varuṇasabhā motif we find a queer mixture of early Vedic characteristics of Varuṇa and later legendary traits. Varuṇa's association with heaygens and later with rivers, both having an encompassing quality, and his associations with water complex.

Varuṇa's seizing of the wife of Atri and later drinking dry all 600,000 lakes with the help of Agni is also a significant fact in connection with Varuṇasabhā.²⁶ For else how could the precious stones and jewels be present in the bodily form in his *sabhā*?²⁷ The mountain with the precious stones mentioned may be compared with Mandara, which was used as a churning rod at the churning of ocean.

25. Aśvalāyana śrauta sutra IV 6.1.

26. Anuśasan parva 154-23.28.

27. Sabhā parvan 9-2. दिव्यरत्नमयैर्दत्तैः . . .

The presence of all such things in human form suggests the principle of anthropomorphism applied to non-human objects.

The Kuberasabhā had also comparable description. This *sabhā* resembled the crest of Kailāsa in its whiteness. It was covered with the rays of the Moon.²⁸ It also could be removed from one place to another and it looked as if it was stuck up in the sky. The Kubera adorned the highest seat in the *sabhā*. He was surrounded with 1000 women.²⁹

Kubera is mentioned earliest in the *Atharva Veda*.³⁰ There he is supposed to be the chief of the evil beings. There his name is Vaiśravaṇa, i.e. a person who has lost Śrutis or Śravaṇa. That explains Vaiśravaṇa's association with evil spirits. Kubera had no status of a god in the Vedic pantheon, but certainly he was known to some Vedic clans. Intermixture of ideas and influence of the Kubera cult had brought softening of this god and he was assimilated in the post Vedic Hindu religious faith. This appears to be prior to the period of the *Mahābhārata*. From this point the description of the Kuberasabhā is uniquely important.

The last of the *sabhās* described by Nārada was the Brahma-sabhā. Nārada had to perform Brahma *vrata* for 1000 years to have a glimpse of this *sabhā*. This *sabhā* had no pillars and looked as if it did not end anywhere. Brahmaniṣṭhas could occupy this *sabhā* and anyone visiting this *sabhā* could get one's sins removed. The Brahma-sabhā was supposed to have been described by Āditya to Nārada. This indicates the Solar symbolism as the Sun was supposed to know the things beyond the vision of man.

When we compare the descriptions of all the *sabhās* we find that all of them have some common motifs. Thus all *sabhās* had a flying motif i.e. they were away and up above the earth and were almost touching the ceiling-like sky. The belief that the sky is a plane is traceable in many of the primitive tribes. There is an Indian folk-tale where an old woman could not sweep her courtyard as the sky touched her back. She is said to have struck the sky with her broom and it went high.

The Zūnī and several other tribes believe that the sky has plural levels. A variant Zūnī belief is that the sky is a "stone cover" solid and resting on the earth like an inverted bowl.³¹

28. Kubera is otherwise known as Soma, i.e. Moon.

29. *Sabhā parvan* 10-5. Association of Kubera with 1000 women and again the presence of *apsaras* in his *sabhā* point out that he is more near to *Gandharvas*, *Yakṣas* etc. Again Kubera's association with 1000 women signifies that he is a god of prosperity and fertility.

30. *Atharva Veda* VIII 10.28.

31. Funk and Wagnell — *Standard Dictionary of Folklore*. New York, 1950, Vol. II, p.1018.

The *sabhās* with all the joys of life may also be compared with the "island of the blessed" known to the folklore, to which the dead are said to go after death. Among the people of Fizi, the belief in the floating island, full of pleasures, connects with its momentary vanishing. This very probably is based on the disappearing and again rising of the Sun. The belief in a divine pleasure island is only a phase of the island of the Blest³² and probably is the germ of the elaboration of the heavenly *sabhās*. Again we find that the *sabhās* described in connection with Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, and Brahmā, were replicas of heaven. We have in the Epic and Purāṇic traditions different types of *lokas* such as Viṣṇuloka, Brahmāloka etc.³³ The process from *Rgveda* to the *Mahābhārata* seems to be that of the gradual change of the concept of the sacrificial pental-Yajñasabhā as it was called, to the aerial and supernatural *sabhās*. In between these two ends there were probably Agnisabhā or the *sabhās* of other gods — particularly the solar gods and ultimately the concept changed into that of *loka*, aided by a fine play of imagination, not unknown to folklore elsewhere.

The description of the *sabhās* shows a clear and well formed idea of the main gods and the various deities that attend them. Also are found in these *sabhās* the well-known sages, both of the Vedic and of later periods, whose names had been associated with various lores, secular and religious. Thus it indicates also the development of temple structure after the *Gṛhya sūtras* — period concurring with the rise of the Buddhistic period.³⁴

32. Donald Mackenzie — *Myths of China and Japan*. London, p.257.

33. Gonda, J. *Loka — World and Heaven in the Veda*. Amsterdam, 1966.

34. For further studies. See Stela Kramrisch — *Hindu Temple*. Calcutta, 1946.

EXAMINATION OF MAHIMABHAṬṬA'S CRITIQUE¹ OF THE DOCTRINE OF SUGGESTION

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THE doctrine of suggestion (*Vyañjanā*) holds a very important place in the aesthetic theory propounded in the *Dhvanyāloka*. The phenomenon of suggestion was well-known to writers on dramaturgy and poetics, right from the age of Bharata, author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Bharata uses the words *abhivyañjita* and *abhivyakti* in the context of the *sthāyibhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas* in the 6th and 7th chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.² Writers on poetics like Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa and Vāmana were aware of the phenomenon of suggestion in connection with secondary usage (*lakṣaṇā*) and also in connection with a good many *alaṅkāras*, though none of them recognised its paramount importance in poetry, nor assigned to it the status of the soul or essence of poetry. The phenomenon of suggestion was recognised by the grammarians when they enunciated their doctrine of *sphoṭa* and also the doctrine that the *nipātas* (indeclinables) convey their senses by suggestion (*nipātānām dyotakatvam*) and not by direct denotation. Bhartṛhari in his *Vākyapadīya* (II.298-299) explains the phenomenon of linguistic suggestion with the help of the illustration of *ghaṭa* and *dīpa*,³ used later on by Ānandavardhana in *Dhvanyāloka* III, though in a slightly different context. The doctrine of suggestion was first enunciated and worked out in all its details as the theory of Dhvani by Ānandavardhana in the *Dhvanyāloka* and by Abhinavagupta in the *Locana* commentary on the same and was accepted by almost all the subsequent writers on Sanskrit poetics. There were of course some opponents of this doctrine, such as Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka (author of *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*), Mukulabhaṭṭa (author of *Abhūdihāvṛttimātrkā*), Pratīharendurāja

1. See Dr. K. C. Pandey's *Indian Aesthetics*, Vol. II, pp.307-312, and Dr. B. Bhaṭṭacharya's "Suggestion Verses Inference in Sanskrit Poetics," *Indian Culture*, Vol. XIII, No. 1.

2. See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Adhyāya VI (GOS edition, 1926), p. 290; नानाभावाभिनयव्यञ्जितान् वागङ्गसस्वोपेतान् स्याधिभावान् आस्वादयन्ति सुमनसः प्रेक्षकाः । Abhyyāya VII, p. 349: एवमेते काव्यरसाभिर्व्यञ्जितहेतव एकोनपञ्चाशद्भावाः प्रत्यवगन्तव्याः ।

3. घटादिषु यथा दीपो येनार्थेन (= येन प्रयोजनेन) प्रयुज्यते ।
ततोऽन्यत्रापि साचिव्यात् स करोति प्रकाशनम् ॥
संसर्गेषु तथार्थेषु शब्दो येन (अर्थेन) प्रयुज्यते ।
तस्मात् प्रयोजनाद् (=अर्थोद्) अन्यानपि प्रत्याययत्यसौ ॥

(commentator on Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyaḷaṅkārasārasaṅgraha*), Dhanika (author of the commentary *avaloka* on Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka*) and Mahimabhaṭṭa, (author of *Vyaktiviveka*). The works of Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭanāyaka are not available to us any longer. We can get some idea of their views from their summaries given by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* and in his commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In the case of the remaining authors, however, we have detailed first hand information about their *anti-dhvani* views. In the present article it is proposed to examine Mahimabhaṭṭa's refutation of the function of suggestion as presented by him in the *Vyaktiviveka*.

In the very opening stanza of the *Vyaktiviveka* Mahimabhaṭṭa says that he has undertaken to write his work with the specific object of showing that all the major and minor varieties of suggestion can be included under inference,⁴ and that it is not at all necessary to assume the existence of the linguistic function called *Vyañjanā* in order to account for the comprehension of the various major and minor varieties of *Dhvani*. The task of refuting the *Dhvani* doctrine is achieved by Mahimabhaṭṭa in a three-fold way, namely, (1) by showing how the opening *Kārikā* of the *Dhvanyāloka* (I.1) and the *Kārikā* defining *Dhvani* poetry (I.13) are marred by several glaring errors of thought and expression and how the names given to the various varieties and subvarieties of *Dhvani* poetry are unscientific and unreasonable; (2) by showing how theoretically it is impossible to assume the linguistic function *Vyañjanā* for conveying the so-called suggested sense, which is really cognised by the non-linguistic intellectual function, namely, logical inference; and (3) by showing how the examples from literary works cited in the *Dhvanyāloka* to illustrate the major and minor varieties of *Dhvani* poetry can be reduced to the form of logical reasoning.⁵

According to the advocates of the doctrine of suggestion, both words and their literal senses are suggestive of a subtle, deep-laid meaning over and above the literal sense. Words are suggestive when they, as forming a sentence-unit, are polyvalent (*nānārthaka*) and when their literal sense as determined by the context is self-sufficient and perfectly rational, and still another sense strikes the mind of the reader or listener, as intended by the poet. Literal senses of words are suggestive when the words as components of a sentence-unit are univalent (*ekārthaka*) and the sentence-sense is self sufficient and rational, and yet a deep-laid meaning strikes the mind

4. अनुमानेऽन्तर्भावं सर्वस्वैव ध्वनेः प्रकाशयितुम् ।
व्यक्तिविवेकं कुरुते प्रणम्य महिमा परां वाचम् ॥

5. For (1) See chapters I and II, for (2) chapter I and for (3) chapter III of the *Vyaktiviveka*.

of the reader or listener, as intended by the poet, because of the contextual background. For explaining away the cognition of the additional, deep-laid intended sense the advocates of *Dhvani* assume the existence of a special linguistic function called *Vyañjanā*, since none of the other linguistic functions, namely, *abhidhā*, *lakṣaṇā* and *tātparya* is able to convey that additional sense. According to Mahimabhaṭṭa, however, words can never be suggestive (*vyañjaka*) of any sense; they can only be expression (*vācaka*) of one or more senses. So far as literal senses are concerned, they too are never suggestive of any senses, but they can lead to the cognition of other senses only by the non-linguistic, intellectual function called *anumiti* of *anumāna* (logical inference).⁶ The reason for denying suggestive power in the case of words and their literal senses is obviously the circumstance that the so-called suggestive function is theoretically impossible in their case. For demonstrating this Mahimabhaṭṭa has explained in chapter I, pp.80-81, the real nature of the suggestive process and the conditions under which it can operate.

Abhivyaṅgi (= *Vyañjanā*, suggestion) is the revelation of an existent or non-existent object by another object which acts as its revealer, there being no other relation (such as physical contact) between the two objects, apart from the relation of the revealer and the revealed and the revealer and the revealed being perceived simultaneously.⁷

The revelation of an existent object is of three kinds: (1) The manifestation of an effect by its material cause, the effect existing in a potential form in the material cause, prior to its manifestation, for example the manifestation of curds by milk, or that of an earthen pot by clay, or that of cloth by yarn.⁸ This variety of revelation is obviously based on *Satkāryavāda* (the doctrine of the potential existence of an effect in its material cause) of the *Sāṃkhya* philosophers. (2) The manifestation of an object already existing (such as a jar) by a revealing object (such as a lamp), the revealed object being, prior to its manifestation, concealed from view by impediments (such as darkness). Here the object revealed is more important than the revealing object, which serves only as a means of manifesting the former, and the revealing object is perceived at the same time as the revealed object.⁹ This variety of revelation is

6. *Vyaktiviveka* I, st. 27, p.111 (Hindi edition by Rewaprasad Dvivedi):

शब्दस्यैकाभिधाशक्तिरर्थस्यैकैव लिङ्गता । न व्यञ्जकत्वमनयोः समस्तीत्युपपादितम् ॥ See also pp. 16, 24, 462, etc.

7. P. 80 सतोऽसत् एव वार्थस्य प्रकाशयमानस्य संबन्धस्मरणानवेषिणा प्रकाशकेन सहैव प्रकाशविषयतापत्तिरिति तल्लक्षणमाचक्षते ।

8. P. 80: तत्र कारणात्मनि कार्यस्य शक्त्यात्मनावस्थानात् तिरोभूतस्य इन्द्रियगोचरत्वापत्तिलक्षण आविर्भाव एका ।

9. P. 80: तस्यैवाविर्भूतस्य कुतश्चित् प्रतिबन्धाद् अप्रकाशमानस्य प्रकाशकेनोपसर्जनोक्ततात्मना सहैव प्रकाशो द्वितीया, यथा प्रदीपादिना घटादेः ।

found already mentioned in a citation from the *Vākya-padīya* under note No. 3. (3) The manifestation of an object already perceived in the past and having its sub-liminal impressions lingering in the perceiver's mind, when some other object connected with it, or some linguistic or non-linguistic symbol representing it, is perceived at some later time and the sub-conscious impressions of the object perceived in the past are raised to the level of consciousness, for example the revelation of fire (on a mountain) by the perception of smoke rising up from the mountain, or revelation of an object by the perception of its likeness in a portrait or statue, or the revelation of the meaning of a word by the auditory or ocular perception of that word in a spoken or written form.¹⁰

The revelation of a non-existent object has only one variety and it is illustrated by the manifestation of a rainbow etc., by the light of the sun etc.¹¹

Having explained thus the nature and varieties of revelation, Mahimabhaṭṭa proceeds to show how the so-called suggestive function of language does not fit in with any of the first two varieties of the revelation of an existent object. The so-called suggestive function of language cannot correspond to the first variety, for in that variety the revealed existent object is a tangible material thing like curds or earthen pot or cloth. Nor can the so-called suggestive function correspond to the second variety, for in that variety also the revealed object is a tangible thing like a jar, and further the revealed object is manifested simultaneously with the perception of the revealing object (such as a lamp). In the case of the so-called suggestive function of language, the sense revealed is not a tangible, material object, but an immaterial, intangible notion or idea. Moreover, while the revealed jar and the revealing lamp are perceived simultaneously, the so-called suggested sense in language and the words and literal senses revealing it are not perceived simultaneously, but at different points of time, i.e. the suggestive word and the suggestive literal sense are perceived first and the suggested senses are perceived only after the lapse of some time.¹²

Thus the first two varieties of revelation being ruled out in the case of linguistic suggestion, the advocates of *Dhvani* must unavoidably admit that the function named by them as *Vyañjanā* comes

10. P. 80: तस्यैवानुभूतपूर्वस्य संस्कारात्मना अन्तर्विपरिवर्तिन कुतश्चिद् अव्यभिचारिणोऽर्थान्तरात् तत्प्रतिपादकाद् वा संस्कारप्रबोधनमात्रे यथा घृमादग्नेः यथा वा आलेख्यपुस्तकप्रतिबिम्बानुकरणादिभ्यः शब्दाच्च, गवादेः ।
 11. P. 80: असत्स्तु एकरूपा एव तस्य प्रकारान्तरासंभवाद् यथा अर्कालोकादिना इन्द्रचापादेः ।
 12. P. 81: न चैतल्लक्षणं वाच्ये संगच्छते । तथा हि सतोऽभिव्यक्ते राद्ययोरर्थयोर्यल्लक्षणं न तत् प्रतीयमानेष्वेकमपि संस्पृष्टं क्षमते । तस्य दध्यादेरिव इन्द्रियविषयभावापत्तेः प्रसङ्गात् घटादेरिव वाच्यार्थसहभावेन इदताप्रतीतेर-संभवात् । न च स्वरूपासंस्पृशं लक्षणं भवति ।

under the third variety of revelation, which is non-different from inference.¹³

There are, however, some weak points in the arguments put forward by Mahimabhaṭṭa, which tend to make his position unconvincing:

(1) It is not correct to say that the lamp and jar are perceived simultaneously. For a jar in a dark room is perceived only when the rays emanating from the lamp fall on the surface of the jar and are reflected from it on to the eyes of the perceiver. Now theoretically the passage of the rays of light from the lamp to the jar and of the same rays reflected by the jar on to the eyes of the perceiver does require some time, howsoever small it may be because of the tremendous speed of light. The time is so short that it is not perceived, and the perceiver thinks that he sees the jar simultaneously with the perception of the lamp. The advocates of the *Dhvani* doctrine also admit that between the cognition of a word and of its literal sense on the one hand and the cognition of the suggested sense on the other hand there is some interval of time, as they are related to one another as cause and effect, but that the interval is so small that it is not noticed.¹⁴ They cite the *sūcśāatapatra-patraśatavedhakramanyāya* (the maxim of the perforation of a pile of hundred lotus-petals by a needle) in this connection.¹⁵

(2) The argument that in the illustration of the lamp and jar, the jar is a tangible, material thing, but the so-called suggested sense is not a tangible, material object, is fallacious. For the illustration of the lamp and jar is not intended to be understood literally. The jar in the illustration stands for both material things and immaterial notions. The suggested sense of a word or a sentence in any language is always of the nature of an immaterial notion. When on perceiving one thing we have the recollection of another thing connected with it by some relation or another, it is the immaterial mental image, already existing in the form of a subconscious impression, that is revealed in our mind, and then we have the recollection of that thing. Thus recollection too is a kind of revelation of the immaterial, intangible mental image of an object perceived previously.

13. P. 81: तृतीयस्याः (अभिव्यक्तेः) तु यत्लक्षणं तद् अनुमानस्यैव संगच्छते न व्यक्तेः । यदुक्तम्—त्रिरूपात्तिलङ्गाद् यद् अनुमेये ज्ञानं तदनुमानम् इति । तच्चानुमानमेव । न हि अर्थद्वयान्तरप्रतीतिरनुमानमन्तरेण अर्थान्तर-मुपपद्यते । उपमानादीनां च तत्रैवान्तर्भावात् ।

14. *Dhvanyāloka* III, p.404 (Kashi Sanskrit Series edition, 1940):

न हि विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिण एव रसा इति कस्मिच्चिदवगमः । अत एव विभावादिप्रतीत्यविनाभाविनी रसादीनां प्रतीतिरिति तत्प्रतीत्योः कार्यकारणभावेन व्यवस्थानात् क्रमोऽवश्यंभावी । स तु लाघवात् लक्ष्यते, इति जलक्ष्यक्रमा एव सन्तो व्यङ्ग्या रसादय इत्युक्तम् । See also pp. 406, 408 and 410.

15. *Rasagaṅgādhara* I, p. 55 (Kāvya-mālā edition, Bombay, 1939).

In chapter III, p.510, while discussing the question about the suggestiveness of indeclinables (*nipāta*), Mahimabhaṭṭa says that they do not suggest but only lead to an inferential knowledge of their senses. He however adds that there are some *nipātas*-interjections — such as *āh*, *aho*, *hā* and *dhik kaṣṭam*, which reveal feelings in the speaker's mind such as anger, wonder and grief in the same way as a lamp reveals a jar in a dark room.¹⁶ This remark of Mahimabhaṭṭa clearly shows that passing mental moods like anger, wonder and grief in the mind of a speaker are revealed by interjections. If mental moods can be revealed by interjections, there is no reason why senses other than the literal senses in the speaker's mind should not be revealed, i.e. suggested, by words and by their literal senses.

(3) When Mahimabhaṭṭa says that the apprehension of the literal sense 'cow' from the apprehension of the word 'cow' is an example of the third variety of revelation which is non-different from inference, he seems to be taking the position that even the literal sense of a word is understood by inference from that word. But this position goes against what he has emphatically said in his work again and again, that a word has only one linguistic function, namely, *abhidhā*,¹⁷ which means that the literal sense of a word is conveyed by the denotative function called *abhidhā* and not by the non-linguistic intellectual function, namely, inference. Even the *Nyāyasūtra* of Gautama refutes the view that literal senses are understood from words by inference and emphatically states that they are understood by the linguistic function called *abhidhā*, as the sound-sense equation is based on *samaya*, i.e. convention of long standing.¹⁸

(4) Lastly Mahimabhaṭṭa's statement that the non-existent rainbow is revealed by the light of the sun is not correct. The rainbow is really an optical phenomenon in which the white light of the sun falling on and passing through the tiny particles of water in a cloud, is broken up into its seven constituent colours. The rainbow is therefore as real as the light of the sun, and cannot be said to be something unreal or non-existent (*asad rūpa*). Further the rainbow is self-luminous (*svayamprakāśa*), just like the rays of the sun, and hence it is not correct to say that it is revealed by the light of the sun. It can be said to be revealed by the light of the sun only in the sense in which curds etc. are said to be revealed by milk etc.,¹⁹

16. निपातोपसर्गादीनाम् असत्त्वंभूतार्थानाम् उपाधिरूपत्वाद् उपाधिमतसमाश्रयेणैव अर्थावगतिरिति पदवाक्ययोः अर्थावगमकत्व (=अर्थानुमापकत्व) उक्त्यैव तेषामपि गमकता (=अनुमापकता) प्रतिपादितैवाकेचित्तुननिपाताः क्रोधाद्भूतशोकदीन् भावान् प्रदीपवद् वक्तृगतानिव अवद्योतयन्ति न वाच्यगतान् ।

17. See the passages cited in note No. 6, *supra*.

18. *Gautama-Nyāyasūtra*, II.1.56: न, सामयिकत्वाच्छब्दार्थप्रत्ययस्य.
See *Nyāyasūtra*, II.1.49-56.

19. See *supra* the first variety of revelation and note No. 8.

as the light of the sun can be regarded as the material cause of the rain-bow and as the seven colours of the rainbow can be said to be already existing in a potential form (*śaktirūpeṇa*) in the light of the sun. A good example of the revelation of a non-existing thing would be perhaps the revelation of a non-existing snake when there is merely a rope lying on the floor in a badly lighted room.

Just like the advocates of *Dhvani*, Mahimabhaṭṭa certainly recognises the fact that in poetry, as in common parlance, there is many times the subsequent apprehension of a subtle second sense in addition to the obvious literal sense. But whereas the advocates of *Dhvani* postulate the existence of a separate linguistic function, namely, *Vyañjanā* (suggestion) for conveying the additional sense, Mahimabhaṭṭa says that the assumption of such a linguistic function is un-called for, since the phenomenon of the cognition of an additional sense can very well be explained away with the help of the non-linguistic mental function of inference, in accordance with the principle that a linguistic function must not be assumed to account for the cognition of a sense that can be explained away through a non-linguistic function.²⁰ Mahimabhaṭṭa says that inferential cognition is a very comprehensive phenomenon, as it includes in itself the secondary function (*lakṣaṇā*), the function supposed to be responsible for conveying the purport of a sentence (*tātparyavṛtti*) and the so-called suggestive function.²¹ On the other hand Ānandavardhana, long before Mahimabhaṭṭa, had said in several passages of the *Dhvanyāloka* that the function of suggestion (or revelation) is a very comprehensive function (*mahāviśaya* or *aparimitaviśaya vyāpāra*) and Abhinavagupta, on p.456 of the *Locana*, has shown how the function of suggestion is so comprehensive as to include in its fold *abhidhā*, *lakṣaṇā*, *tātparya*, *anumiti*, *pratyakṣa* and many more revealing devices. Between these disputants the controversy assumes the form of a war of words, one and the same phenomenon of revelation (*avagamana* or *pratyāyana*) being interpreted and named by them in different ways — a case of *nāmamātre vivādaḥ*.

Even though Mahimabhaṭṭa tries to prove that all the three major kinds of suggested sense, namely *vastu*, *alaṅkāra* and *rasa*, are conveyed by inference, still what he achieves is to show that the cognition of the three kinds of suggested sense is the outcome of the process of inference, and although he says (chapter I, p.25), that a matter conveyed by inference is far more charming than one con-

20. अनन्यलभ्यः शब्दार्थः । (*Kāvyaṅprakāśa*, II.10, Zalkikar's Commentary, p. 44, BORI Edition).

21. *Vyaktiviveka* I. p.67: महाविषयत्वं चास्य (अनुमानव्यापारस्य) ध्वनिव्यतिरिक्तेऽपि विषये पर्यायोक्त्यादौ गणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यादौ च सर्वत्र सद्भावात् ।

veyed by direct expression,²² he does not offer any explanation of how exactly this inferential cognition leads to a delightful aesthetic experience on the part of the sensitive reader or spectator. The theory of *Dhvani* assumes two further stages after the suggestion of the abiding emotion (*sthāyibhāva*) by its antecedents (*vibhāva*), consequents (*anubhāva*) and concomitants (*vyabhicāribhāva*), namely, (1) the evocation of a similar emotion in the mind of the reader or spectator in sympathetic response to the emotion suggested in the case of a particular character in a poem or drama, and (2) its perception by the mind of the reader or spectator in the light of knowledge and bliss, which constitute the nature and essence of the reader's or spectator's soul. It is this final perception of the emotion that is, according to the *Dhvani* theory, responsible for the delightful experience. Mahimabhaṭṭa has nothing corresponding to this in his doctrine, though he at one stage says on the basis of a citation from an unknown author, that the realisation of *rasa* is a delightful experience comparable to the rapture of self-realisation that mystic philosophers are privileged to have.²³ This citation brings Mahimabhaṭṭa very close to the *Dhvani*-theorists, though the words *āhlādanīṣyando vyajyate* involving the assumption of the function of suggestion in the final stage of *rasa*-realisation are inconvenient to the inference theory of Mahimabhaṭṭa.

22. नानुमितो हेत्वाद्यैः स्वदतेऽनुमितो यथा विभावार्थैः ।
न च सुखयति वाच्योऽर्थः प्रतीयमानः स एव यथा ॥

23. *Vyaktiviveka*, I. p. 100: न च तस्य (काव्यस्य) विशेषः संभवति, निरतिशयसुखास्वादलक्षणत्वात् तस्य ।
यदाहुः-पाठ्यादथ च्छवागानात् ततः संपूरिते रसे ।
तदास्वादभरकाग्रो हृष्यत्यन्तमूखः क्षणम् ॥
ततो निविषयस्यास्य स्वरूपावस्थितौ निजः ।
व्यज्यते ह्लादानिष्यन्दो येन तृप्यन्ति योगिनः ॥

SELF REALIZATION IN YOGA AND JUNGIAN PSYCHOLOGY: A COMPARISON

ARVIND SHARMA

I

ONE of the key elements in Jungian psychology is the goal of *self-realization*, which “marks the last station on the way of individuation” which in turn involves progressive differentiation and separation at various levels of the psyche.¹ The word Yoga, on the other hand, means the very opposite, namely “union”. This conflict, however, is not merely verbal; it is also superficial. “The term *yoga* is derived from *yuj* to join, and is cognate with the word *yoke*. It means “the way to union with the ultimate reality” in several schools of thought. In the Sāṅkhya-Yoga, however, it stands for “*vi-yoga* or separation — separation of the *puruṣa* from *prakṛti*.”² There is thus no serious terminological obstacle to comparing Yoga³ and Jungian psychology.

II

The process of Self-Realization in Yoga consists of what are called the eight limbs of Yoga (*astāṅga-yoga*). “The eight steps are: *yama* (abstentions), *niyama* (observances), *āsana* (posture), *prāṇāyāma* (control of breath), *pratyāhāra* (withdrawal of senses from their objects), *dhāraṇā* (fixed attention), *dhyāna* (meditation) and *samādhi* (concentration).”⁴

The last step, called *samādhi*, may be further elaborated thus:

There are, then, two main kinds of yoga or *samādhi*, viz. the *sāmprajñāta* and the *asāmprajñāta*. Four kinds of *sāmprajñāta samādhi* are distinguished according to the different objects of contemplation. It is called *savitarka* when the mind (*citta*) is

1. Jolan Jacobi, *The Psychology of C.J. Jung* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1942) p.100 ff.
2. T.M.P. Mahadevan, *Outlines of Hinduism* (Bombay: Chetana Ltd., 1971) pp. 129-130.
3. The word Yoga is used here in the sense of one of the six orthodox schools of Indian philosophy.
4. T.M.P. Mahadevan, *op. cit.*, p.126.

concentrated on any *gross* physical object of the external world, e.g. the image of a god or goddess. Having realized the nature of this object, one should concentrate on *subtle* objects like the tanmātras or subtle essences of the physical elements. The mind's concentration on these subtle objects is called *savicāra samādhi*. The next step is to take some *subtler* objects like the senses and concentrate the mind (citta) on them, till their real nature becomes manifest to it, in what is called *sānanda samādhi*. The last kind of samprajñāta samādhi is called *sāsmīta* inasmuch as the object of concentration herein is asmitā or the ego-substance with which the self is ordinarily identified. The fruition of this stage of concentration is the realization of the true nature of the ego. But it also gives us a glimpse of the knowing self as something almost indistinguishable from the ego.

Thus the mind (citta) realizes the nature of different objects within or without the body and leaves them behind, one after the other, till it becomes completely free from the thoughts of all objects and attains what is called *asamprajñāta samādhi* or *yoga par excellence*. It puts a stop to all mental modifications and does not rest on any object at all. This is the final stage of samādhi because when it is attained the whole world of objects ceases to affect, and to exist for, the yogin. In this state the self abides in its own essence as pure consciousness, enjoying the still vision of isolated self-shining existence. When one attains this state, one reaches the final goal of life, namely, liberation or freedom from all pain and suffering. All life is a quest of peace and a search for the means thereof.⁵

This whole course of spiritual practice is undertaken to rectify the false identification of the *puruṣa* with *prakṛti*. "What has to be done is to isolate the *puruṣa* from *prakṛti*; and this isolation is to be accomplished by a process of mind-control. It is in the mind that the *puruṣa* is reflected; and all the trouble the *puruṣa* goes through is because of the fact that it identifies itself with the reflection of the mind. If the mind could be stilled and emptied, and if there is no more reflection in it, the *puruṣa* will realize its nature and escape the snares of *prakṛti*. The method by which this becomes possible is *yoga*".⁶

This process may be called one of Individuation in the sense that the *puruṣa* discovers its identity as pure consciousness vis-a-vis

5. Satischandra Chatterjee and Dharendra Mohan Datta, *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy* (University of Calcutta, 1968) pp.300-301.

6. T.M.P. Mahadevan, *op. cit.*, pp.124-125.

prakṛti as an end-result of this process. He comes to realize himself as he truly is. The fact that this process can be looked up as one of Individuation enables room to be created for its comparison with the Jungian concept of Individuation. Before such a comparison can be attempted, however, some key aspects of the Jungian process of Individuation may be identified.

III

Jung defines Individuation as "Becoming an individual being, and in so far as we understand by individuality our innermost, final, incomparable uniqueness, becoming *one's own Self*."⁷ This process, however, should not be confused with ego-centric individualism, nor its "individualistic emphasis on his supposed uniqueness" considered as something "contrary to his collective responsibilities, but the realization of his uniqueness of its place within the whole."⁸

The process of individuation, which is not without its pitfalls like that of Yoga⁹ may briefly be described as consisting of four stages since it "exhibits a certain formal regularity." These stages are represented by "various archetypal symbols, whose form and manifestation may vary according to the individual."¹⁰

The first stage is represented by the experience of the shadow, which may belong to the realm of the ego or the collective unconscious and thus have a personal or collective form. According to Jung the shadow is:

represented by counter-tendencies in the unconscious, and in certain cases by a sort of second personality, of a puerile and inferior character, not unlike the personalities who announce themselves at spiritualistic seances and cause all those ineffably childish phenomena so typical of poltergeists. I have, I think, found a suitable designation for this character-component when I called it the *shadow*. On the civilized level, it is regarded as a personal "gaffe", "slip", "faux pas", etc., which are then chalked up as defects of the conscious personality. We are no longer aware that in carnival customs and the like there are remnants of a collective shadow figure which prove that the personal shadow is in part descended from a numinous collective figure. This

7. See H. G. and C. F. Baynes, tr., *Two Essays in Analytical Psychology* (London: Bailliere, 1928) p.183.

8. Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p.100. It is interesting to reflect that the Yogic process which might be called Individuation is liable to a similar misrepresentation.

9. Cf. Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p.101 with Satischandra Chatterjee and Dhirendra-mohan Datta, *op. cit.*, p.301.

10. Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p.101.

collective figure gradually breaks up under the impact of civilization, leaving traces in folklore which are difficult to recognize. But the main part of him gets personalized and is made an object of personal responsibility.¹¹

As the first stage in the process of individuation this shadow must be confronted, and "Confronting one's shadow means becoming unsparingly critically conscious of one's own nature Only when we have learned to distinguish ourselves from it, having accepted its reality as a part of our being and remaining always aware of this fact, can the encounter with the other psychic pairs of opposites succeed. Then, and then only, commences that objective attitude towards one's own personality without which there is no progress along the way to totality."¹²

The second stage on the road to Individuation is characterized by an encounter with the *soul-image*. It is called Anima in men and Animus in women by Jung. This "archetypal figure of the soul-image stands for the respective contrasexual position of the psyche, showing partly our own personal relation thereto is constituted, partly the precipitate of all human experience pertaining to the opposite sex."¹³ It remains an obstacle, for instance, for the Individuation of the male, so long as his "feminine, emotional side is wholly undifferentiated."¹⁴ Since the "first bearer of the soul-image is probably always the mother,"¹⁵ "the release from the mother is one of the most important and delicate problems in the realization of personality."¹⁶ According to Jung, a considerable amount of psychic energy is spent in indulging in projection at this level so that "When this part has been made conscious, one no longer shoves off his own faults onto the feminine or masculine partner, i.e. the projection is resolved. Thus a quantity of psychic energy, which up to then lay bound up with projection, is taken back and can be placed at the disposal of one's ego."¹⁷

The next step, "after the confrontation with the soul-image", is "the appearance of the old wise man, the personification of the *spiritual* principle."¹⁸ "Its counterpart in the individuation process of the woman is the magna mater, the great earth-mother, which repre-

11. R.F.C. Hull, tr., *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* C. G. Jung (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959) p.262.

12. Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p.104.

13. *Ibid.*, p.104.

14. *Ibid.*, p.105.

15. H. G. and C. F. Baynes, tr., *op. cit.*, p. 106.

16. Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p.105.

17. Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p.112.

18. *Ibid.*, p.115.

sents the *cold and objective truth of nature.*"¹⁹ The danger at this state lies in the fact that "From both figures emanates a mighty fascination that inevitably seizes the individual who faces them with a kind of self-exaltation and megalomania unless he understands how, by making conscious and differentiating, to free himself from the danger of identification with the delusive image. An instance of this is Nietzsche, who fully identified himself with the figure of Zarathustra."²⁰

The significance of this further lies in the fact that it indicates "for the man the second and true liberation from the father, for the woman that from the mother, and therewith the first perception of his own unique personality."²¹

The fourth and the final stage can now be approached. "Now we are no longer far from the goal. The dark aspect has been made conscious, the contrasexual in us has been differentiated, our relation to nature and spirit has been clarified. The basically double nature of the psyche is recognized, spiritual arrogance is shaken off. We have penetrated deep into the layers of the unconscious, have raised much therefrom into the light, and have learned to orient ourselves in that primordial world. Our consciousness as bearer of our individual uniqueness was contrasted with the unconscious in us as bearer of our psychological share of collective generality."²² Now, "The archetypal image that leads out of this polarity to the *union of both partial systems* — consciousness and unconsciousness — through a *common mid-point* is named. The SELF. It makes the last station on the way of individuation, which Jung calls *self-realization.*"²³

IV

The Yogic process of the separation of the *puruṣa* from *prakṛti* and the Jungian process of the individuation of the *self* are comparable processes in some ways. Thus, for instance, both the Sāṅkhya-Yoga and the Jungian systems distinguish between the Ego and the Self. When one's "core" is realized in Sāṅkhya-Yoga:

It must be clearly understood, however, that this being, this core, has nothing whatever to do with the ego, the centre of everyday self-consciousness: on the contrary, true knowledge consists in spirit's realization that there is no such thing as 'I' or 'mine'. Spirit is totally other than our ordinary self-con-

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*, p.116.

21. H. G. and C. F. Baynes, tr., *op. cit.*, p.262.

22. Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p.118.

23. *Ibid.*

scious ego; hence you cannot rightly say that it is either bound to or released from matter, for it exists in another sphere altogether. As Jung has repeatedly pointed out, there are two selves in man — the ego which is the centre of the conscious mind, and the 'self' as he calls it, borrowing the Sanskrit term *ātman*, which is the centre of the total personality, both conscious and unconscious. It is the latter that corresponds to the Sāṅkhya *purusha*, but in the Sāṅkhya system salvation consists in the total detachment of this higher 'self' from everything which has its origin in matter, including mind, the conscious ego, and what we would call 'soul'.²⁴

There are other points of comparison as well:

(1) Jung emphasises the dangers of the process of individuation and points out that "it requires the strictest control by the associate or physician as well as by one's own consciousness to maintain the integrity of the ego against the violently in-breaking contents of the unconscious and to adjust them purposively to a harmony within the ego."²⁵ Yoga emphasises the need for a Guru.²⁶

(2) In the discussion of the stages of individuation, Jung distinguishes up to a point between the person and the collective forms of appearance. In the process of evolution as visualized in Sāṅkhya, the process bifurcates into a cosmic and a personal one.²⁷

24. R. C. Zaehner, *Concordant Discord* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) p.100. Zaehner goes on to refer to a statement made by Thomas Merton which he regards as "containing an exact description of the Sāṅkhya *purusha*" (*ibid.*, pp. 100-101). The statement runs as follows: "Contemplation [he writes] is not and cannot be a function of this external self. There is an irreducible opposition between the deep, transcendent self that awakens only in contemplation, and the superficial, external self which we commonly identify with the first person singular. We must remember that this superficial 'I' is not our real self. It is our 'individuality' and our 'empirical self' but it is not truly the hidden and mysterious person in whom we subsist before the eyes of God. This 'I' that works in the world, thinks about itself, observes its own reactions and talks about itself is not the true 'I' that has been united to God in Christ. It is at best the vesture, the mask, the disguise of that mysterious and unknown 'self' whom most of us never discover until we are dead. Our external, superficial self is not eternal, not spiritual. Far from it. This self is doomed to disappear as completely as smoke from a chimney. It is utterly frail and evanescent. Contemplation is precisely the awareness that this 'I' is really 'not I' and the awakening of the unknown 'I' that is beyond observation and reflection and is incapable of commenting upon itself. It cannot even say 'I' with the assurance and the impertinence of the other one, for its very nature is to be hidden, unnamed, unidentified in the society where men talk about themselves and about one another. In such a world the true 'I' remains both inarticulate and invisible, because it has altogether too much to say — not one word of which is about itself."

25. Julian Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p.101.

26. See Kenneth W. Morgan, ed., *The Religion of the Hindus* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1953) pp.25, 41, 159, 242.

27. See J. N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism* (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1971) p.239.

(3) Some expressions used in Jungian psychology have a striking similarity to statements made in Sāṅkhya-Yoga. Thus, for instance, at a particular stage of individuation one is said to achieve "isolation, that isolation of the 'inwardly free' whom no love relationship or partnership can hold in chains..."²⁸ This reminds one of *Kaivalya*.²⁹ The Self is described by Jung as "something comprehensible only in experience but conceptually undefinable."³⁰ Virtually the same could be said of the *puruṣa*.³¹

On the other hand, there are also differences. The unconscious is described as "purest nature without intention"³² in Jungian psychology; this is how the conscious *puruṣa* may be described in Yoga.

(4) In Jungian psychology, individuation seems to be described in terms which closely approach the notion of salvation in Sāṅkhya-Yoga. Firstly, just as salvation represents a radically new mode of life, *self-realization* results in not "only a displacement of the previous psychological centre, but also as consequence thereof a completely altered view of and attitude toward life, a 'transformation' in the fullest sense of the word."³³ And it is pointed out that "If we succeed ... in making the Self a new centre of gravity of the individual, then a personality arises therefrom that, so to speak, suffers only in the lower levels but in the upper is peculiarly detached from every sorrowful and joyful event alike."³⁴ This seems to possess parallels with the notion of the *jīvanmukta*, which is admitted in Sāṅkhya.³⁵

The differences between Sāṅkhya-Yoga and Jungian psychology are also obvious and many. Only a few important ones need to be noted here:

(1) It is believed in Jungian psychology that "The activation of the archetype of the soul-image is therefore an event of fateful significance, for it is the unmistakable sign that the second half of life has begun."³⁶ No such chronological significance attaches to the stages in Yogic advancement.

28. Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

29. T. M. P. Mahadevan, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

30. Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

31. At one point Jolan Jacobi, in discussing the archetype of the Old Wise Man and the Magna Mater, ventures "a somewhat daring formula ... man is materialized spirit ... woman matter impregnated with spirit" (*ibid.*, p. 116). If man is equated with *puruṣa* and woman with *prakṛti* the settlement applies with startling accuracy to Sāṅkhya.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

33. Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

34. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 123.

35. M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1932) p. 297.

36. T. Wolff, quoted in Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

(2) Self-realization implies in Jungian psychology “not an individualistic emphasis on” the “supposed uniqueness” of the Self, “contrary to his collective responsibilities, but the realization of his uniqueness at its place within the whole.”³⁷ On the other hand, in Yoga “If . . . we are to attain liberation, we must somehow restrain the activities of the body, the senses and the mind (manas) and finally suppress all the modifications of citta. When the waves of the empirical consciousness (kārya-citta) die down and leave the citta in a state of perfect placidity (kāraṇa-citta), the self realizes itself as distinct from the mind-body complex and as free, immortal and self-shining intelligence.”³⁸ The motto of the Jungian approach ultimately is integration of the Mind, in Sāṅkhya-Yoga it is its “dis-integration.”

(3) The fundamental postulate of Jungian psychology as the self is psychological but the basic postulate in Sāṅkhya-Yoga, that of *puruṣa*, is metaphysical. This is obvious from a discussion of the levels of *samādhi* or meditational states in Yoga:

Of these several stages in reaching yogic perfection, it is necessary to add a few words of explanation only on the last, viz. *samādhi*, which directly leads to *kaivalya*. It is divided into a lower and a higher form known respectively as *samprajñāta* and *asamprajñāta samādhi*. The latter is the goal, the former serving but as a stepping-stone to it. In both alike there is need for the highest power of concentration. The first is a state in which the *buddhi* continues to function though it is wholly absorbed in the contemplation of a particular object, everything else being excluded except the fact that one is having a vision of it. It is accordingly described as ‘conscious *samādhi*’. All sources of distraction are eradicated here and the *buddhi* shines forth with its *sattva* element in the ascendant. In *asamprajñāta-samādhi*, the consciousness of the object also disappears along with self-consciousness. It is consequently termed ‘superconscious *samādhi*’. The *buddhi* ceases to function then or its *vṛttis*, as it is expressed, become latent. In that condition not only are the inferior *vṛttis* arising from the dominance of *rajas* and *tamas* overcome, but also those arising from *sattva*. When in the final form of *asamprajñāta-samādhi* the *buddhi* is thus concentrated on the self, it vanishes once for all, leaving the *puruṣa* apart and alone. If we compare our common mental state to the ruffled surface of water in a lake which reflects an object like a tree on the bank as a distorted image, the *samprajñāta* condition may

37. Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p.100.

38. Satischandra Chatterjee and Dhirendramohan Datta, *op. cit.*, p.297.

be likened to the calm surface containing a steady and faithful image of it and the *asamprajñāta* to the condition where the tree is by itself and there is no image at all for the lake has dried up. There are thus altogether three levels of life that may be distinguished; the first in which *rajas* or *tamas* is the chief governing factor, the second in which *sattva* predominates and the third which transcends *sattva* also. The lower *samādhi* is quite intelligible psychologically; but the higher, because it presupposes the suppression of the mind, takes us beyond normal psychical life. We pass in it to the realm of mysticism.³⁹

V

To conclude: The concepts of self-realization in Yoga and Jungian psychology are, to an extent, homologous notwithstanding the differences. Both are transpersonal in the sense that ordinary personality is transcended in both. But both are *not* transpersonal in the sense that ultimately the true Self is reached — *it* is not transcended.

39. M. Hiriyanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-297.

BHAVA AND ABHAVA ACCORDING TO THE GRAMMARIANS

J. M. SHUKLA

THE doctrine of existence (bhāva) and non-existence (abhāva) has been discussed by the Buddhists, the Naiyāyikas, the Vaiśeṣikas, the Mīmāṃsakas and the Vaiyākaraṇas. Discussion on non-existence (abhāva) has given rise to many theories regarding it, in the different systems of Indian Philosophy.

For the Buddhists existence refers to the ultimate reality of a point-instant and its cognition is pure sensation. Non-existence is imagination and it cannot produce any sensation directly. Reality (Bhāva or Sattā) is not split into existence and non-existence, but it consists of existence only. Negation should be cognised by inference and therefore should be included in it. It is not a direct way of cognising reality.¹

According to the Naiyāyikas non-existence is cognised without any sense contact because it is not a positive substance. Non-existence or negation produces the cognition 'is not'. It is not an abstract negativity or mere absence. When we say "the ground is without a jar" (ghaṭābhāvavadbhūtaḥ), there is, between the non-existent jar and the ground, the relation of the qualifying to the qualified (viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva). This relation is real (svābhāvika).

Early Vaiśeṣika writers like Kaṇāda and Praśastapāda have neither mentioned negation nor discussed it as a category. It seems that the commentator Candramati (sixth century A.D.) in his *padārthaśāstra* accepts negation as an independent category for the first time. Vaiśeṣika commentators like Vyomaśiva,² Śrīdhara³ and Udayana⁴ (984 A.D.) emphasise that Praśastapāda understood negation or non-existence as subordinate (upasarjana) to existence (bhāva) and therefore did not consider its separate mention very essential.

1. Buddhist Logic Vol. I, Dover Edition, p. 361 to 365.

2. Bhāvopasarjanatayā pratibhāsāt bhāvaparijñānāpekṣitvādabhāvasya na pṛthagupasarṅkhyānam — *Vyomavati*, p. 20.

3. Abhāvasya pṛthagānupalabdhiḥ bhāvapāratantryānnatu abhāvāt-nyāyakandali p. 6.

4. *Kiraṇāvalī*, p. 4-5.

Among the Mīmāṃsakas, the followers of Prabhākara, the friend of the Buddhists, did not accept non-existence as a separate reality or a separate source of knowledge. The followers of Kūmarila accepted non-existence as an external reality and they affirmed that non-existence could be cognised by non-perception (anupalabdhī) which should be considered as a separate means of knowledge.

The Sāṃkhyas maintain that non-existence is a kind of transformation (pariṇāmavīśeṣa) and cognised by perception. The Jainas also do not recognise non-existence as a separate means of knowledge. Vedānta, influenced by the Buddhists accepted non-existence as a source of knowledge.

From the very early times the distinction between Bhāva and Abhāva has been discussed by the grammarians and their friends the Etymologists and metaphysical idealists like Bharṭṛhari (450 to 500 A.D.). In Yaska's *Nirukta* (circa sixth century B.C.) we meet with grammatical explanation regarding Bhāva. Bhāva though essentially one and indivisible reveals itself in six different aspects viz. production, existence, transformation, growth, decay and destruction.⁵ For Patañjali Bhāva is action (Kriyā). It seems however that Bhāva was looked upon as different from action in the sense that it was manifested by the latter. Durga adds that bhāva may be looked upon as process itself or an effect.⁶ He philosophises by saying that what Vārṣyāyaṇi has referred to is the eternal or transcendental bhāva. The worldly creation has emanated from this eternal Being (bhāva). All the six modifications as well as all the verbal usage is but a part of that highest process.⁷

Early Pāṇinian grammarians like Pāṇini (Pā.), Kātyāyana (Kāt.) and Patañjali (Pat.) use the word bhāva in different senses.

- (1) A thing or an object: "The word siddha is found used for permanent and unchangeable objects.⁸
- (2) Possession of qualities or nature: Possession of male qualities, or possession of female qualities?⁹
- (3) Relationship: Relationship between the original and the transformed (prakṛtīvikṛtibhāva) or the subordinate and the principal (guṇapradhānabhāva).

5. *Nirukta*, I.2.

6. Bhāṣya on "bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ" *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Aṣṭ.) I.3.i.

7. Commentary on *Nirukta*, I.2.7.

8. Yatkūṭastheṣvavicaliṣu bhāveṣu vartate | *Mahābhāṣya* (Mbh.), paspasāhnikā, p. I.6 (Keilhorn).

(b) Śadbhiḥ prakāraiḥ satām bhāvānāmupalabdhīrbhavati // Mbh. on Pā. Aṣṭ. 4.1.3.

9. Mbh. on Pā. Aṣṭ. on 4.1.87.

- (4) Birth (prādurbhāva).¹⁰
- (5) Meaning (arthah) "There are some words the meanings of which are due to each other, e.g. mother, father, brother."¹¹
- (7) Existence.¹²
- (8) Happenings of the past, the present and the future (tribhāvah).¹³
- (9) The radical factor for the use of a word (pravṛttinimitta).¹⁴
- (10) Action on opposed to accessories (sādhana).¹⁵
- (11) Completed action shown not by a verb but a verbal derivative.¹⁶

Although the grammarians use the word bhāva in different senses as shown above, the word Abhāva, has been used in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in its non-technical meanings like non-existence, non-entity or negation, without any philosophical connotation. Perhaps for the first time Bharṭṛhari (Bh.) has treated non-existence or negation (abhāva) with all its metaphysical implications to bring it in general agreement with his Theory of nominalist idealism.

For the logical and the epistemic basis of Bh.'s philosophy of symbolism, one should not turn to the Mbh. of Pat. because Pat. as a grammarian, was more concerned with the pragmatic use of words than with the logical consistence of such a usage. He often declares that he has to explain the usage of words in the Vedas and the world. As this usage has been diverse, one cannot be dogmatic about emphasising a particular doctrine.¹⁷ In the course of explaining the meaning of the sūtras of Pā. and the Vārt. of Kāt. Patañjali discusses at many places the logical and the epistemic basis of the words used by Pā. and Kāt. Quality (guṇa), substance (dravya), gender (līṅga), time (kāla) accessories (sādhana), action (kriyā), and so on, discussed from different standpoints. That these stand-points are found with parallels in some of the tenets of the Sāṅkhyas and

10. *Vārttika* (Vārt.) 4 on Pā. Aṣṭ. 1.1.57.

11. Kecedanye'pi śabdā yeṣāmanyonyakṛto bhāvah tadyathā Mātā Pitā Bhrāteti Mbh. on Pā. Aṣṭ. 1.2.64 (Vā. 25).

12. Anubandhalope bhāvābhāvayorvpratīṣedhādaprasiddhiḥ Vārt. 6 on Pā. Aṣṭ. 1.3.9.

13. Vedayante tribhāvah Mbh. on Pā. Aṣṭ. 3.2.123.

14. Śabdasya pravṛttinimittam bhāvaśabdenocyate / āsvatvam / āsvatā / *Kāśikā* on Pā. Aṣṭ. 5.1.119.

15. Mbh. on Pā. Aṣṭ. 2.3.37, 3.1.24.

16. Pākaḥ / Dhātvarthaśca dhātunaivocyate yastasya siddhatā nāma dharmatstatra ghañādayaḥ vidhiyante / *Kāśikā* on Pā. Aṣṭ. 3.3.18.

17. Sarvavedapāriṣadam hīdam śāstram tatra naikah panthā śakya āsthātum Mbh. on Pā. Aṣṭ. 2.1.58.

the Vaiśeṣikas is only an accident. In the present state of our knowledge of the early philosophical doctrines we can say no more. As Helārāja (10th century A.D.) the celebrated commentator of *Vākya-padīya* (VP.) points out, the grammarians have not embarked upon the examination of the different systems of philosophy.¹⁸ As against the Realists, the grammarians emphasise that words do not denote external reality. The phenomenal world is understood as a system of linguistic fictions. It is natural for Bh. to look for a metempirical and metalogical background for the linguistic fictions. He proclaims that Absolute consciousness (Mahāsattā) as the spirit of language (śabdānugama) is responsible for the activity of the linguistic fictions.¹⁹

While discussing the theory of knowledge and the nature of the relation between a word and its meaning, Bh. in the third section called 'A Section on Relation' (Sambandha-Samuddeśa) of the third book of VP. has expounded in a detailed manner the nature of Bhāva and Abhāva.

The grammarians understand Existence (bhāva or Sattā) as two-fold, viz. Primary Existence (Mukhyā Sattā) and secondary or superimposed Existence (aupacārikī sattā). Primary existence is pragmatic existence or external existence (Vyavahāra sattā). Patañjali accepts this two-fold division of existence. For him existence (sattā) is either Present Existence (Samprati-sattā) and the past existence or the future existence (bhūta-bhaviṣya-sattā).²⁰ It seems that for Patañjali the notions of vartamānasattā, sampratisattā, bahiḥ-sattā and mukhyā sattā were synonymous. They denoted the external existence of an object. As a counter-part to the present existence (vartamānasattā) we have the past-future existence (bhūtabhaviṣyat-sattā), the mental existence (bauddhī sattā) or the superimposed existence (upacārasattā). We may add to the latter the expressional existence (abhidheyasattā or Vyākaraṇasattā). Bh. has selected two words viz. the Primary or External Existence (mukhyā sattā) and the superimposed existence (upacārasattā). We may add to the latter the expressional existence (abhidheyasattā or Vyākaraṇasattā). Bh. has selected two words viz. the Primary or External Existence (mukhyā sattā) and the superimposed or the secondary existence (aupacārikī sattā) for a clear exposition.

18. Nāsmābhirdarśanavivekaḥ prārabdhaḥ / Helārāja on VP III.9.58.

19. (a) VP.L131 (The numbers are according to W. Rau's edition, 1977).

(b) Dharmakīrti for his own purpose has accepted this in a different context, Vikalpāyanaḥ śabdā vikalpāḥ śabdāyanaḥ / quoted by Nyāya-māñjarī, p. 145.

20. na Sattāṁ padārtho vyabhicarati idaṁ tarhi prayojanam, sampratisattāyām yathā syāt, bhūtabhaviṣyatsattāyām mā bhūt Mbh. on Pā. Aṣṭ. 5.2.94.

The secondary existence presents the real nature of objects in all circumstances, in all forms and at all times.²¹ As a crystal placed near a red flower assumes the red colour of the latter and seems to become one with it, words while taking their stand at first on the secondary existence, are related to various contrary and non-contrary properties. The secondary existence is of the nature of a mental construct as against external reality. Because it imparts an all-pervading understanding of an object, it is considered as an ultimate reality.

Let us consider the six modifications of being. They can be reduced to existence and non-existence. Existence can be further reduced to existence (asti), birth (jāyate), increase (vardhate) and transformation (vipariṇamate). Non-existence can be reduced to decay (apakṣīyate) and destruction (vinaśyati). All these contradictory assumptions can be possible through the secondary existence.

If we consider that words express external existence, expressions like the sprout comes up (aṅkuro jāyate), cannot be used. In the birth there are three stages viz. the thing which assumes a form, the form itself and the act of the assumption of the form. All these three have existence. One cannot therefore say that a sprout comes up, for the sprout which already existed cannot be said to be born. If we assume that it did not exist before it was born, who was then responsible for its birth, as an agent? Action can take resort either in an agent or in an object. Here in this case, neither can be conceived. Therefore one cannot say on the basis of external reality that "a sprout comes up."

Let us consider an objection. The above assumption is based on the contention that the sprout was non-existent before it was born (asatkāryavāda). Why not accept with the Sāṃkhya that the sprout already existed before it was born (satkāryavāda). Helārāja would like to answer that the object which existed as a power in the cause was not endowed with an alround existence. Some special property which is responsible for the change of the form of existence into the form of birth must be assumed; otherwise the causal activity would be fruitless. The form of the object embedded in existence would be different from the form of the object in its birth. Hence the expression "the sprout comes up" cannot stand affirmed, if words expressed external reality.²³

21. Sarvāvasthāsu sarveṣāmātmarūpasya darśikā VP.III.3.39 b.

22. VP. III. 3. 40-41.

23. Kāraṇe śaktirūpatayāvasthāne'pi sarvathāsato janmayogādavaśyam kasyacida-pūrvasyānśasya lābho 'bhyupagantavyeti yena rūpeṇa saṁna tena rūpeṇa janma, yena ca janma na ten sanniti jāyate 'ñkura iti prayogānupapattiḥ — Helārāja on VP.3.3.43.

The Secondary Being can assume all the forms viz. that of the agent, the object and the action. At the time of its birth, the sprout is already there and is understood as the agent (Kartā) of the action of being born. When the agent becomes the object of assuming the form of that which is being born, it is understood secondarily as an object. The process of being born is the action (Kriyā). All these are the basis of the Secondary Being. While being born, the object or the effect does not totally abandon the previous condition of being the cause. It then begins to enter into the next condition. It is therefore a combination (sammūrçhita) of both the conditions.²⁴

The secondary Being is thus the resort of contradictory notions like existence and non-existence and increase and decay. It is put to use for expressing accessories (sādhana) like the agent (Kartā) and the object (Karma). Although without any temporal distinctions, it exists in things belonging to different times. It is ultimately the cause of the use of all words.

So far, Being or Existence is understood as External or Primary Being (mukhyā Sattā) and the superimposed or the Secondary Being (Upacāra Sattā). When the words are understood to express their meanings in the context of the Secondary Being, the next question will be what do the words express. Bh. gives four views²⁵ with regard to this.

Words express only a part of an aspect of Reality (pradeśasya ekadeśam). It cannot be fully expressed by words in our daily usage. Objects like a jar which are an aspect of Reality are cognised on account of Nescience which is a power inhering in the Reality. Words do not fully cognise an object e.g. a jar or a piece of a cloth, but only a part of that object, viz. the jariness. Secondly the meaning of a word is determined not directly but in the context of some external factor (parataḥ nirūpaṇam). A cow by itself is not a cow or a non-cow, but is understood as a cow because of cowness.²⁶ Thirdly Reality which is one without any difference is expressed in the form of different objects like a jar. This is an expression of something contrary to Reality (viparyaya); fourthly even non-existence is expressed by words. These opinions, as Helārāja says, refer to the views of the grammarians, the Naiyāyikas, the Vijñānavādins and the Śūnyavādins respectively.

24. pūrvānavasthāmavijahatsarṁsprāṇ dharmamuttaram sammūrçhita ivārthātmā jāyamāno' bhidhīyate VP.3.7.118.

25. Pradeśasyaikadeśam vā parato vā nirūpaṇam viparyayamabhāvam vā vyavahāro 'nuvartate VP.3.3.52.

26. Svato gaurṇa gauḥ nāpyagauḥ gotvābhisambandhādgauḥ Helārāja on VP. 3.3.52.

The above discussion shows that neither the object denoted by the meaning nor the word, nor the cognition are understood in their original nature. They are always distorted (*viparyasta*). The object denoted by a word is coloured by quality (*guṇa*) or universal (*jāti*). The word is coloured by some limiting factor and the cognition is distorted by the form of the external object. In short, any positive entity when expressed by words appears accompanied by some limiting factor, which Bh. calls impurity (*aśuddhi*). Such an entity is not different from non-entity (*abhāva*)²⁷ because words express positive entities in a distorted or impure form, in other words, in a form that does not exist.

Bh. discusses non-existence in the context of existence or positive entity and ultimately proves that existence and non-existence are not two distinct entities totally different from each other, but are only appearances (*vikalpa*) of the Ultimate Being or the Great Reality (*mahāsattā*). As non-existence is understood on the basis of existence, existence also is conceived on the basis of non-existence. Neither does existence transform itself into non-existence nor does non-existence transform itself into existence. One does not come into being after destroying the other. These are two occasional states or two limiting factors of Reality.

The above contention refutes the *satkāryavāda* theory of the *Naiyāyikas*. According to this theory the non-existent effect becomes existent, in other words, non-existence transforms itself into existence. When non-existence is accepted as a category, it should be totally different from existence.²⁸ *Helārāja* would say that in the state of being totally different from each other, existence and non-existence could never be cognised as there would be no limiting factor (*upādhi*).²⁹

The undifferentiated Reality which is of the nature of light is associated with notions of past, present and future. When associated with the present time it can be cognised by the senses and when associated with the past and the future it is cognised mentally.

Bh. further maintains that with regard to existence and non-existence there are two schools of thinkers. Those who accept the doctrine of existence hold the view that the birth and death are only

27. *Tathā ca bhāvasvāpi śabdenābhidhīyamānasya jñāyamānasya vā paropādhirūpatayābhāvasamakakṣyatā* | *Helārāja* on VP. 3.3.59.

28. *Kim punastattvam sataśca sadbhāvo sataścāsadbhāvaḥ satsaditi grhyamānam yathābhūtamaviparitam tattvam bhavati asaccāsaditi grhyamānam yathābhūtamaviparitam tattvam bhavati* | *Vātsyāyanabhāṣya* on *Nyāyasūtra*, I.1.1.

29. *Atācātyantaviveke bhāvopādhitayābhāvasyābhāvopādhitayābhāvasya pratitirna syāt* — *Helārāja* on VP. 3.3.61.

the manifestations and the concealment of Reality. They are those sages who accept the Satkāryavāda theory. For them non-existence is either the previous or the later condition of existence. Those others who accept the non-existence of external reality are the Śūnyavādins for whom non-existence is the ultimate truth.³⁰

That non-existence cannot stand a logical scrutiny will be clear from the following. If non-existence were a real entity, it should be either contrary to or non-contrary to existence, either real or unreal and either having order or without an order. None of the above points are tenable with regard to non-existence. As non-existence has no form and is therefore indescribable, it cannot be contrary to or non-contrary to existence. It can either enhance existence nor destroy it. Similarly it cannot be a real entity as both are self-contradictory. The Vaiśeṣikas have considered non-existence as real but Bh. considers it formless and indescribable and therefore unreal. One cannot conceive for non-existence, order and simultaneity also, because the latter are related to real entities.

Bh's metaphysical insight takes further strides to deny the ultimate reality to existence also. Like non-existence existence also cannot be said to have contrary and non-contrary nature, order and simultaneity and the absence of these. As there cannot be temporal distinctions in non-existence, they cannot also be maintained in existence. The truth is that neither existence nor non-existence is a real entity. Both are mental constructs. In both we find the working of the power called nescience and the power called Time. The mutually opposite distinctions like the existence and non-existence are possible on account of the power called Nescience and order and simultaneity are possible on account of the power called Time.³¹

The seer (draṣṭā), the seen (dṛśya) and the seeing (darśana) are only the unreal differentiations of Reality. The difference that is understood as positive and negative entities is false. This is the view of the Upaniṣadic thinkers.³² The Ultimate Reality is expressed by words. Positive and negative expressions are one. There is no such entity as non-existence (abhāva), nor its four kinds.

30. Sarvaṁ śūnyamidam jagadityabhāvavādināmāpyabhāvaḥ pāramārthiko na bhāvaḥ kaściditya na bhāvaṁ tattvalakṣaṇaṁ padārtharūpamicchanti — Helārāja on VP. 3.3.64.

31. Itthaṁ sarvavyavahārā vikalpagaṭhitā eveti bhāvabhāvāvapi tathā vijñeyau — Helārāja on VP. 3.3.68.

32. Yatra draṣṭā ca dṛśyaṅca darśanaṁcāvikalpitam tasyaivārthasya satyatvaṁ śrītastraivyantavedinaḥ — VP. 3.3.72.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN JAPAN: YESTERDAY AND TODAY

SOON MAN RHIM

Introduction

It can be said that, among the various changes taking place in post-war Japan, that of the women's social status is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable. There is a popular Japanese saying, therefore, that nylon stockings and women are stronger since the war.

Women's position in pre-war times was arrested in a surprisingly low condition. This happened despite progress and furtherance of modernization in every other sphere of life. So much so that one could hear the traditional saying, "fusho fuzui," "when the husband beckons, the wife had better jump". Thus, Japanese women suffered from the centuries old tradition of male dominance.

Women in Japan are now enjoying comprehensive freedom in various fields, beyond all comparison with that of pre-war days. They have the right to own property and to initiate divorce actions. With suffrage in 1946, they came to enjoy legal rights with men. They are also accorded opportunities to work in areas previously confined to men and to participate in various intellectual activities. There can be no doubt, however, that traditional custom continues to hold restrictions on their freedom greater than is experienced by women in most Western countries.

The position of Women in "Traditional Japan"

In pre-war times, the family, rather than the individual, had been the basic unit of Japanese society. The law reflected this state of affairs by granting the head of the Japanese family absolute authority over the other family members. This was in sharp contrast with conditions in the West. In case any member of the family defied the househead's authority, he was subject to the law of "kandoo" (expulsion from the family)¹ which was the most feared of all punishments in old Japan.

1. R. P. Dore, *City Life in Japan: A Study of a Tokyo Ward* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1958), p. 101.

The other side of the coin of the authority of the family head, however, was his obligation to look after the welfare of all members of the family. In this patriarchal system, based on primogeniture, the eldest son, as the future head of the family, occupied a preeminent position. Among other things, he normally inherited the bulk of all family property. Naturally it was his duty to care for the elderly parents and to look after the family line.

If the male members of a traditional Japanese family were legally thus compelled to subject themselves to the decisions of the household head in all important matters, it was even more true of the women in the family. A long-established custom in Japan, as in China and Korea, was that throughout her life a woman's duty was to follow three simple rules known as the "three obediences": to her father when young, to her husband when married, and to her son when widowed.²

In the Japanese patriarchal family, emphasis on sex distinctions and on female inferiority was carried out from birth. When she was born, a female child was received by her parents so coldly as to let her lie on the floor for the space of three days, in contrast to giving a boy a soft cushioned bed and proper care. While young, a girl had to strictly adhere to the rule of separation between the sexes. The old Japan accepted the Confucian tag that from the age of seven boys and girls do not sit together. Naturally it was forbidden for them to bathe in the same place, or for a woman to touch a man's belongings. To what extreme this was carried was that feminine laundry was forbidden to be hung on the same drying pole as men's washing.³ A woman had to observe a certain distance in her relations even with her husband, for example, walking three steps behind him.

Perhaps the most tragic condition of women was to be seen in Japanese farming families. In times of poor crops and natural disasters the least useful members of the family unit, namely, the daughters, were sacrificed for the sake of familial survival. In connection with this, Jack Seward observed:

The practice of *mabiki* — 'weeding out' children, especially girl children, at birth — was common for hundreds of years and is evidenced in the Japanese proverb, 'Ko wo suteru yabu ga aredo oya wo suteru yabu wa nai,' or 'Although there is a

2. Ernest W. Clement: *A Handbook of Modern Japan* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1907), p. 176. Cf. the West's three K's: Kinder (children), Küche (kitchen), and Kirche (church).

3. Eisho Miyaki and Minobu Oi, *Nihon Joseisi* (The History of Japanese Women). (First rev. ed. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobungkang, 1974), p. 144.

bamboo grove where you can leave your babies to die, there is none where you can discard your parents'.⁴

At the end of the 19th century, however, the reformers listened to the reprobations of foreigners, and began outlawing the practice of infanticide.⁵

The daughters might even be called upon, for the sake of saving their families, to sacrifice their honour and enter brothels. Once they were sold to brothel-owners, they were placed under long-term employment contracts. Usually, it was very difficult to ever get enough money ahead to redeem their freedom. As Jack Seward points out:

Japanese society recognized that these girls were innocent pawns in a struggle for survival. Their quiet acceptance of this fate, in fact, bespoke their willingness to abandon their personal dreams of having their own homes and families in order that their families might live. They were regarded with pity and respect.⁶

They were still considered virtuous, because "filial piety" was higher virtue than "personal chastity".⁷

In regard to marriage, a Japanese young girl had no freedom to choose her mate. She had to accept whatever suitor her parents had chosen for her. Early marriage was encouraged so that she might the more easily adjust to her new "family customs" (*kafuu*), and be more susceptible to the instructions of her mother-in-law generally considered a tiger. "Submission to the mother-in-law's commands and obedient absorption of her instructions were essential duties of the young bride."⁸ If she failed in learning the ways of the family, she was returned to her original home. In fact, returning a bride was very common, especially in certain areas of northern Japan. It is interesting to note that this practice made a high divorce rate in the Meiji Period (1868-1912).⁹

In the trousseau of a traditional Japanese bride, if she came from a good home, there would probably have been a copy of the marriage manual of Kaibara Ekken, a Confucian scholar of the fif-

4. Jack Seward, *The Japanese* (New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1972), pp. 90-91.

5. Jean-Francois Delassus, *The Japanese: A Critical Evaluation of the Character & Culture of a People*, (New York: Hart Publishing Co., Inc., 1972), p. 116.

6. Seward, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

7. Clement, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

8. Dore, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

9. Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and His Family in a Tokyo Suburb* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1968), p. 166.

teenth century. This little book, titled "Onna Daigaku" (The Great Learning for Women), was written for the guidance of the new wife, so that she might understand clearly what was expected of her. The book was popular especially with the parents of the upper classes, since it summed up clearly what they were expected to teach their daughters.

Besides the rule of separation between the sexes discussed above, one can find the following moral instruction for women, which is worth quoting despite its length:

It is a girl's destiny, on reaching womanhood, to go to a new home, and to live in submission. Should her parents allow her to grow up self-willed, she will infallibly show herself capricious in her husband's house, and thus alienate his affection. The end of these domestic dissensions will be her dismissal from her husband's house and the covering of herself with ignominy.

The only qualities that befit a woman are gentle obedience, chastity, mercy and quietness.

A woman must consider her husband's home her own. . . . However low and needy her husband's position may be, she must find no fault with him, but consider the poverty of the household which it has pleased heaven to give her as the ordering of fate. Once married, she must never leave her husband's house.

Never should a woman fail, night and morning, to pay her respects to her father-in-law and mother-in-law.

A woman must look to her husband as her lord, and must serve him with all worship and reverence. The great lifelong duty of a woman is obedience. In her dealings with her husband, she should be courteous, humble, and conciliatory. . . . When the husband issues his instructions, the wife must never disobey them. . . . She should look on her husband as if he were Heaven itself.

The five worst infirmities that afflict the female are indocility, discontent, slander, jealousy, and silliness. It is from these that arises the inferiority of women to men. Woman's nature is passive. As viewed from the standard of man's nature, the foolishness of woman fails to understand the duties that lie before her very eyes, perceives not the actions that will bring down blame upon her own head. When she blames and accuses she does not see that she is her own enemy, estranging others

and incurring their hatred. . . Such is the stupidity of her character, that it is incumbent upon her, in every particular, to distrust herself and to obey her husband.

A woman should yield to her husband the first place, and be herself content with the second place. It is necessary for her to avoid pride, even if there be in her actions aught deserving praise. . . to endure without anger and indignation the jeers of others, suffering such things with patience and humility.¹⁰

Thus, was accepted the celebrated Confucian Kaibara's moral treatise for girls as an ideal, in the traditional Japanese society.

According to the Japanese tradition of male dominance, it was clear that a woman's pleasure and freedom did not come from asserting her independence. Rather they came from learning to want to do what she was required.

In fact, the married woman could never fully pay the debt of gratitude she owed her husband, and she was obliged to show it every day of her life. Whether she loved him or not was quite beside the point. She had to serve him like a slave. She was the first to arise in the morning and the last to go to bed. In the evening, her husband bathed first, the children next, and she last. If some of the more tasty dinner dishes were in short supply, they were distributed in that same order and she might even have none. Any generous Westerners must have felt a pang of conscience, noticing the way in which Japanese women were treated. Here is a noted comment:

A Japanese, like a Grecian wife, was to her husband a faithful slave, 'something better than his dog, a little dearer than his horse'; she was both a drudge and plaything, to be cast aside as capriciously as a child throws away a toy.¹¹

The Japanese men, especially wealthy men, would take their concubines to live in the same house with their wives. The wife could only bow and keep her thoughts to herself. A sign of jealousy was a show of bad manners and disrespect. As a matter of fact, on the wedding day, was placed on the bride's head a wide, white headband, called a "tsuno-Kakushi" (horn-hider). This was to serve to hide proverbial female horns of jealousy, the cardinal sin for a wife. This was a reminder, even on her wedding day, that she was not

10. Quoted in David and Vera Mace, *Marriage: East and West* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959), pp. 72-74.

11. Clement, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

to expect her husband to be faithful to her, nor was she to be jealous no matter what he did.¹²

A Japanese woman might be divorced by her husband and sent back to her parents under slight and flimsy pretexts. Her husband could divorce her simply by giving her the infamous "mikudari-han" (literally, three and a half lines): a letter of notification of intent to divorce, only three and a half lines in length. In more recent times, all that was necessary was a trip to the ward or town office by the head of the family to obliterate the girl's name from the family register. "It was therefore possible for the girl's in laws, at the slightest whim, to terminate her marriage."¹³

In traditional Japan, divorces were commonly initiated not by the husband but by the mother-in-law. If trouble erupted between the man's wife and her mother-in-law, the wife was sacrificed. To the son repudiation by his parents was far more serious than divorce from his wife. "The answer to the traditional questions, 'Whom should a husband save if his wife and mother were drowning?' was 'His mother' because he could always get another wife."¹⁴

As in China and Korea, the following "seven reasons for divorce" were considered acceptable: disobedience to father-in-law or mother-in-law; barrenness; lewdness; jealousy; leprosy or any like foul disease; garrulousness and prattling; stealing.¹⁵ While for the Japanese men it was so easy to rid themselves of their wives by divorce, it was virtually impossible for Japanese women to obtain separation. Moreover, if her husband divorced her, the chance of her making another marriage was slim indeed. Such a woman was called "demodori" (girl who has gone and come back). She was rated only one notch above cripples and untouchable in order of desirability.¹⁶

Regarding adultery in old Japan, there was also very unfair treatment for the woman as compared to her husband. For example, if her husband proved unfaithful to her, she could take no legal action against him. If, however, she was caught committing adultery, both she and her lover could receive a death penalty and be lynched by her husband.¹⁷ Discussing this double standard, Stephen and Ethel Longstreet related:

12. Pearl S. Buck, *The People of Japan* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p. 77.

13. Mace, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

14. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

15. Clement, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

16. Seward, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

17. Miyaki and Oi, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

He would often tell his wife of his pleasures outside the house and of the women with whom he copulated, away from her. A hedonist, greedy for his own gratifications, he was not to be berated for his vices. No wife would dare! Such was the old code that she expected no fidelity, made no protest, for it was all too complex, contorted with tradition.¹⁸

The relative position of man and woman may be also illustrated by the length of period of mourning. In case of the death of the husband, the law prescribed mourning garments to be worn for thirteen months and abstinence from impurity for fifty days. In the case of death of the wife, however, mourning garments worn for only three months and abstinence for only twenty days were sufficient.¹⁹ It was heartrending that even in death women in pre-war Japan held such an inferior legal status. As a matter of fact, in marriage, divorce, and property rights, women hardly existed as legal entities separate from their husbands.

Even in today's Japanese proverbs, one is able to find a reflection of the discredit done women in the past. Several examples may suffice: "Onna wa mamono" (Women are demons); "Onna no saru-jie" (Women's monkey-like wit); "Onna sannin yoreba yakamashii (Three women together make a terrible clatter); "Onna wa sangai ni ie nashi" (A woman has no home in any of the three worlds).²⁰ And the most contemptuous of all: "Shichinin no ko wo nasu tomo onna ni kokoro wo yurusu na!" (Never trust a woman, even though she has borne you seven children!)²¹.

Paradox in Traditions:

Thus far a tradition of female subservience in Japan has been discussed. It should, however, be kept in mind that in the distant past women were highly esteemed and even played an important part in political life.

In the beginning, Japan was a matriarchy. The legendary founder of the country was not a god but a goddess — the Sun Goddess "Amateras-Omikami" (The Great Goddess Who Lights Up

18. Stephen and Ethel Longstreet, *Yoshiwara: City of the Senses* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1970), p. 194.

19. Clement, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

20. In this respect Kurt Steiner explained: "Japanese women were ... 'houseless in three worlds': while young and unmarried they belonged to their father's house, being subject to his will; they entered their husband's house upon marriage, pledged to obedience to him and the head of his house; when the husband died, the oldest son usually became head of the house, and the widow was subject to his will." See his "The revision of the Civil Code of Japan: Provisions Affecting the Family," *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 2, February 1950, p. 181.

21. Seward, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

Heaven). This appears to accurately symbolize the historic dependence of Japanese men upon women. Until the ninth century, well into the Heian (Fujiwara) Period (794-1185), it was customary to see a matrilocal family in which when they married the husband moved in with his wife's family.²²

On the imperial throne of Japan, eight empresses had been seated. One of them was the Empress Jingo, who is distinguished for her martial valour and military exploits. As Seward wrote:

About 200 A.D., the Empress Jingo, whose martial ways may have inspired our English word jingoism, led Japan to its first successful foreign conquest (of part of Korea), a feat that no Japanese man was to match for seventeen hundred years.²³

During the 13th century, a few women also became legendary fighters and were immortalized in the popular Kamakura war tales. For example,

The black-haired, fair-skinned Tomoe, . . . was said to be 'a match for a thousand warriors and fit to meet either God or devil.' More than once, it was recorded, she had 'taken the field, armed at all points, and won matchless renown in encounters with the bravest captains.' In one fight, 'when all the others had been slain or had fled, among the last seven there rode Tomoe.'²⁴

The military role of women was remarkable. It is significant, however, to note that at the dawn of Japanese civilization women also played a key role in the development of artistic and intellectual life. From the 5th to the 12th centuries, life at the imperial court gravitated around the women and their intrigues. Japanese literature was born from the pen of Japanese noblewomen. The first great work of Japanese literature, "Genji Monogatari" (the Tale of Genji), was written in early eleventh century by the brilliant women novelist Murasaki Shikibu. Lady Murasaki was not the only prominent woman writer of her era. As Ivan Morris pointed out: "During the period of almost 100 years that spans the world of the Tale of Genji, almost every noteworthy author who wrote in Japan was a woman."²⁵ Actually, the sophisticated society,

22. Frank Gibney, "Those Exotic (Erotic) Japanese Women," *Cosmopolitan*, May 1975, p. 181.

23. Seward, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

24. Peter Swerdloff, et. al., *Human Behaviour: Men and Women* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1975), p. 17.

25. Quoted in Robert J. Lifton, "Woman as Knower: Some Psycho-historical Perspectives," in *The Woman in America*, Robert J. Lifton, ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 29.

which Lady Murasaki wrote about, "was a world in which women not only moved as relative equals to men but even retained a certain superiority."²⁶ We may well wonder what the women in those days, particularly court ladies, thought of the condition of the irremediable inferiority of women in subsequent periods of Japanese history.

Then when was the beginning of the downward road for Japanese women? According to Gibney, "as the unity of imperial Kyoto was cracked, then shattered, and Japan plunged into a series of civil wars, so was the memory of the matriarchy."²⁷

At the beginning of the Muromachi Era (1333-1568), Japan entered a period of gradually worsening lawlessness and confusion. This was the time when the country descended into the second stage of feudalism and the government was unable to protect property; landowners willed their estates to the single son strong enough to hold onto it, disinheriting daughters. As Gibney continues to argue:

By the fifteenth century, the country was totally ruled by principle of might makes right. Woman retreated to a subordinated position within the home, but she built up the home, ultimately, as her castle, and men recognized it was her domain. The familiar pattern of the young wife coming to live with her husband's family, being tyrannized by her mother-in-law, has been justifiably a favourite of Japanese novelists.²⁸

The discredit of women was more stringent under the iron rule of the Tokugawa, a line of dictators who reigned for three centuries from 1600 to 1868. During this period "the government was run partly on Confucian principles with many of its laws ethical in nature."²⁹ Confucian ideas on individual relationships in the family or in society had greater vitality. One idea that appealed especially to the rulers was the emphasis on "the virtues of loyalty to one's superiors and filial piety."³⁰ As Confucianism controlled every aspect of socio-economic, political and cultural life in Tokugawa times, the lives of Japanese women became shackled by a Confucian moral code that required every female to obey her father when she was young, her husband after her marriage and her son in widowhood. A woman was accounted to be a creature born to obedience and to be basically inferior to man.³¹ Then the Confucian moralists went so

26. Gibney, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. John F. Embree, *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 2.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Cf. Mace, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

far as to proclaim women's defects: "intractability, bad temper, jealousy, slanderousness, and stupidity."³²

It should be made clear, however, that the strong idea of male dominance had been more deeply implanted by Buddhism rather than Confucianism. During the Tokugawa regime "Buddhism continued, as before, to be the dominant religion, overshadowing, and at times assimilating, the native Shinto."³³ Buddhism taught that woman was "the personification of all evil."³⁴ For the Buddhists, woman was regarded as a "creature with the look of an angel on its countenance, but with a diabolical spirit in its inmost heart."³⁵ This led to the following of Buddhist precepts that "women were fundamentally more prone to sin than men and that their only path to exaltation lay in total subservience to the male element."³⁶ No wonder throughout the Tokugawa period Japanese women were instructed that they had to look on their husbands as if they were Lords, and that they had to obey them with fear and trembling. At any rate, Japanese women were enslaved within the feudalistic system of Tokugawa society.

For the sake of fairness and completeness, however, it should be mentioned that there were considerable differences in the matter of the subjection of women between the various classes of Tokugawa society.

There were the fixed and rigid class lines in the Tokugawa period: the highest of which was the samurai (the warriors); next came the peasantry; lowest were the townsmen, artisans and merchants. The Tokugawa feudal society also included two pariah classes, the eta and the hinin. The former were a hereditary caste, performing several of the menial occupations that were taboo to orthodox Buddhists, such as slaughter of animals, execution of criminals, tanning and working leather, and manufacture of footwear. The hinin were not a hereditary group but were individuals who had lost caste by becoming beggars or criminals. Eventually by early Meiji Period (1868-1912), both classes were abolished as legal entities in the antifeudal decrees. Samurai, peasants, townsmen and eta all alike became commoners.³⁷

32. Quoted in Delassus, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

33. Embree, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

34. Quoted in Mace, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Seward, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

37. Herschel Webb, *An Introduction to Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 95-96. For further detailed discussion of the social classes of Tokugawa society, see Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, (New York: World Publishing, 1946), pp. 61-66.

The interesting observation, however, is that in these lower classes the subordination of women was not carried out to the same extent as in the middle and upper classes. Poverty seems to make for equality within the sexes all the world over. As Professor Chamberlain, who taught in Japan in the latter part of the 19th century, noted:

The peasant women, the wives of artisans and small traders, have more liberty and a relatively higher position than the great ladies of the land. In these lower classes the wife shares not only her husband's toil, but his counsels; and if she happens to have the better head of the two, she it is who will keep the purse and govern the family.³⁸

An exception to this were the wealthy merchants who, although looked upon as the lowest class, emulated the highest samurai, even in the matter of subordination of women.

These considerable differences between the various classes of Tokugawa society, however, should not be interpreted as a different kind of view on women. It was a matter of degree regarding the subjection of women. The dismal view of women had been deeply embedded in the whole Tokugawa society. Furthermore, this idea of degradation of women had remained even after Meiji Reformation of 1868, which was supposed to bring about vigorous modernization. It has not been eradicated even today in Japanese society.

Women in the Meiji Era (1868-1912) and After:

In 1867 the Tokugawa government fell and political power was returned to the Imperial Throne. Feudalism was abolished and the monarchy restored. The era of the "Meiji" (Enlightened Government) which had arisen was one of modernization of most phases of the national life. In 1889 the emperor gave his people a constitution. The government accomplished industrialization and achieved military preparedness with great speed and efficiency. The most modern techniques in transportation and agriculture were established. In addition, education in modernized schools was made compulsory. "Ninety-eight per cent of the children were in school by the end of the Meiji period, a percentage considerably higher than that in the United States.³⁹ In the social sphere, the government abolished the samurai and eta (untouchable) classes.

38. Basil H. Chamberlain, *Japanese Things* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1974), p. 508.

39. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

With all these radical changes several significant features of life remained unchanged, or merely appeared in a new form. One of the most evident examples was the position of women despite the fact that schools for women were established in the seventies and eighties. Women gained legal rights, for example, to head households, inherit property, and initiate divorce actions.

As for the educational advantages for Japanese girls during the Meiji period (1868-1912), these had very largely increased. The number of girls and young women availing themselves of these advantages had grown encouragingly. For example, in 1885 there were 600 students in nine Girls' High Schools, and in 1912 those numbers remarkably increased to 74,816 students in 297 Girls' High Schools.⁴⁰ These schools, however, had been set up mainly to educate young girls to become a good housewife, to serve husbands, and to be a good mother for children.⁴¹ They emphasized most the cultivation of such arts as flower arrangement, the playing of musical instruments, and the performance of the tea ceremony. Quite naturally the education for the girls was designed to exclude women from male activities.⁴²

Just as Kaibara's "Onna Daigaku" (The Greater Learning for Women) was the standard text for female education under the Tokugawa regime, so the Meiji era (1868-1912) most appropriately had the "Shin (New) Onna-Daigaku", by Mr. Fukuzawa, the famous educator. While showing the untenableness of the teaching of Kaibara's male chauvinistic "Onna-Daigaku", Mr. Fukuzawa did not rush to the opposite extreme. He argued that women should not attempt to imitate men since they had their own spheres of activity and had to keep to them. On the subject of the education of girls, he stressed the necessity of giving them a thorough drilling in household duties. In connection with this, the "Sekai-no-Nihon" (The World's Japan) reviewed:

They should have a knowledge of cooking; they should be taught how to make the most of money, how to manage servants, etc. Next to these things he attaches great importance to their being instructed in the laws of health. Among other subjects botany is to be recommended as socially suited to the female mind. He further argues that women should be taught Economy and Law. He thinks that a knowledge of these subjects will tend to develop their general intelligence, and save them from becoming the creatures of emotion.⁴³

40. Miyaki and Oi, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Dore, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

43. Quoted in Clement, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

As for higher education for women, it also tended to concentrate on the acquisition of such accomplishments mentioned above. It is, however, true that there was constant pressure for the entry of women into the professions which had been opened to them in the West. As R. P. Dore said:

It achieved some considerable success; more intellectual and vocational higher educational institutions for women were founded, and medicine, school-teaching and nursing were fairly early opened to them.⁴⁴

For example, in 1900 there was established an English Normal School which was intended primarily to train young women to be efficient teachers, particularly in English. The founder was Miss Umeko Tsuda, a type of the best kind of new woman in that period. She, at the age of eight, was the youngest of the first group of Japanese girls sent to the United States in 1871 to be educated. Ever since her return to Japan, she tried to elevate the condition of Japanese women.⁴⁵ Another important institution was the University for Women. It was opened in Tokyo, in 1901, the first of its kind, starting the first year of the new century. The purpose, however, of this institution could be summed up from the words of its founder: "...intended to educate women to become a good housewife as well as a good mother, and to cultivate the spirit of samurai home"⁴⁶ It is also worth mentioning that Tokyo Woman's Medical School, which had opened in 1900, developed into a full-fledged college for medicine and dentistry in 1912.⁴⁷ In the main, however, the professional education for women was limited to home economics, musics, arts, education, medicine and literature.

In view of these facts, it is clear that despite the popularization of education among women, it still deprived a progressive element in women's education. It was still devised to make woman occupy a subordinate position. Furthermore, women were taught that they should not assert their independence or claim equality with men. In short, it was not the purpose of education of the Meiji period to liberate women and recognize them as respectable individual persons.⁴⁸ To our surprise this concept of education had prevailed until the Second World War was over.

According to the new Civil Code, women gained legal rights to head households, inherit property and initiate divorce actions. The

44. Dore, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

45. Clement, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

46. Miyaki and Oi, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

legal provisions, however, could not change the unwritten law in society which had in the past been the real basis of the family system. In fact, inheritance of property and succession to headship by women had been avoided, though they were not impossible. Regarding divorce no provision was made in the law for an obligation to support the divorced spouse. Thus, the woman who sought a divorce did it only by paying the price of her financial security, regardless of who the guilty party was. This must have been a disadvantage especially for women in a country where the number of married women pursuing an independent career was still very small.

The inferior position of the married woman in Japanese life and law was probably nowhere more clearly apparent than in the unique situation known as "shoshi" ('recognized illegitimate' children). A man who had a child by a woman other than his wife, and acknowledged his paternity, automatically created the condition where his legal wife must have accepted that child ("shoshi") as her own. She had no choice but to accept responsibility as stipulated in Art. 728.⁴⁹ That seems clearly enough to mean that a wife must accept a concubine's child as if it were her own, in case the father recognized it. As Kurt Steiner remarks:

. Thus adultery on the side of the husband, committed with an unmarried woman, was not only free of any sanctions of civil or criminal law — a status which encouraged the not uncommon practice of keeping a mistress — but the off-spring could legally be forced upon the wife as if it were her own.⁵⁰

Such was the general feature of the legal status of women according to the new Civil Code. The inferior position of women remained unchanged.

With reference to employment, the status of women appeared to be improving with industrialization. For instance, the work of weaving formerly carried on by women in the home was then largely transferred to factories with modern machinery, creating an increasing demand for female hands. This was also true in cotton mills, match factories, tobacco shops, and many other such places of work. Japanese women were also employed in some of the printing offices, telephone exchanges, post offices and railway ticket offices. In hospitals and schools, too, the Japanese young woman was finding her sphere.

Such development, however, affected but a small percentage of the nation, thus still making the majority of women dependent on

48. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

49. Clement, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

50. Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

male support. Even though some of them found employment their working conditions were terrifying. In the textile industry, for example, these young unmarried girls under 20 years old came to the cities from their homes far away and were put by employers into unhealthy small dormitories. They were forced to work 12 hours a day, either day or night, with only 30 or 40 minutes break period. Their private lives were constantly watched by supervisors, and, for example, their correspondence was closely inspected. The purpose of such harrassment was to prevent them from escaping.⁵¹ According to a 1914 survey, the women earned only 65% of the men's wage in the textile industry.⁵² These girls had to pay for their room and board and for working clothes, and yet had to save from the meagre leftovers for their travelling expenses to visit their homes. Nothing was left for savings.

Although some Japanese women showed skill and taste in both artistic and literary employment, Japanese male chauvinist culture hardly respected them. According to Frank Gibney, for example:

When the newspaper *Hochi Shibun* daringly hired a few women writers in the early 1900's, the editors kept quiet about it. 'If it were known that women were the authors of the paragraphs read by the general readers' — it was explained — 'silly prejudices would destroy the effect of the writing.'⁵³

Even under these circumstances, a women's liberation movement began to appear. It was, however, literally a struggle with its own heroines and standard-bearers. For instance, in September 1911, was born a literary association, "Seitoshu" known as Blue Stocking. Under the courageous leadership of Hirajuka Raicho, the association was launched to liberate women through women's literature. In the first publication of *Seito*, the organ of the association, Hirajuka Raicho declared the following foreword:

Originally a woman was indeed like the sun and a free person in her own right. Now, a woman is like the moon. She lives depending on others and shines with the help of other light. She is the moon, and pale like a sick person.⁵⁴

Such a moving remark immediately drew sympathetic reactions from the women discontented with contemporary conditions. At the outset the magazine published only one thousand copies, but within

51. Miyaki and Oi, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

52. Yasuko Ito, *Sengo Nihon Joseisi* (The History of Post-War Japanese Women), (Tokyo: Otsukishoten, 1974), p. 14.

53. Gibney, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

54. Quoted in Miyaki and Oi, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

a year had to meet a demand of three thousand copies. Most of the subscribers were among middle-class women.

The January issue of the 1913, Hirajuka Raicho touched on the women's problem more seriously:

The women in Japan wished to destroy the old moral code as well as the laws that were made by men for their own convenience.⁵⁵

The February issue carried an essay on "The Solution of the Women's Problem" by Hukuda Eiko, and in the March issue there appeared Hirajuko Raicho's essay, "To the Women of the World." The sale of these two issues were prohibited by the authorities. The government felt that such agitations of women's liberation would bring about dangerous thought which would crumble the precious foundation of the traditional family system.⁵⁶ Under such a policy of suppression, one teacher, having read the magazine, was expelled from her school. Her only crime was that of being a subscriber to the publication, *Sheito*.⁵⁷

When Hirajuka married, another women's liberation activist, Ito, succeeded her as the leader of the society. Ito, however, was unable to continue the publication of the magazine because of government pressure. Consequently, the magazine ceased publication with the 1916 February issue.

Ito appeared to be even a stronger personality, and when she married a man from the anarchist political movement she found herself black-listed. Then, at the time of the 1923 Kanto earthquake, which caused a conflagration, the government began to arrest so-called social activists as part of a national security measure. One day as the couple left their house with a young relative, who had been staying with them, all three were massacred by military police.⁵⁸ This story illustrates the social fabric in which even an ordinary liberation movement could be destroyed.

This discussion would, however, be incomplete without at least a few words about the protests raised by the reformers among the lawyers and publicists. They assailed the Civil Code of 1898 which continued to embody many of the ideals of the old family system. They, then, urged "the liberalization of the family laws," and demanded "greater freedom of the individual from family control and

55. Ito, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

56. Miyaki and Oi, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

57. Ito, *loc. cit.*

58. Miyaki and Oi, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

an enhancement of the position of women vis-a-vis that of men."⁵⁹ As might be expected, however, the reformers' efforts came to naught because of the strong reaction of the traditionalists.

A victory for the modernizers, however, appeared to have been won after the 1918 Rice Riot. At the outset, the riot was started by housewives in fishing villages and in the Eta (untouchable) communities⁶⁰ who had suffered most from the grim realities of life. Later the riot spread with the support of many housewives in various cities and localities, and finally the riot was put down by the government army. In 1919, an Emergency Legal Commission of Enquiry was established to study the social unrest caused by the riot and to make some recommendations. According to the commission's recommendations, published in 1925 and 1927:

The power of the househead were to be lessened, parental control over marriage reduced, and the independence of women to be somewhat enhanced.⁶¹

Nevertheless, these recommendations were never put into effect, and the likelihood of their implementation decreased as the army gradually gained power in the thirties. The voices of the reformers were silenced and, therefore, women did not fare any better in the thirties under the militarists, who emphasized the traditional moral customs. Accordingly, change regarding the women's subordinate status came only at the end of World War II.

The New Woman in the Post-War Japan

During the post-war period, the change in Japanese women has been especially conspicuous. So much so that Japanese men jokingly comment that stockings and women are stronger since the war.

First and foremost are the legal changes in the status of women. The new Constitution of Japan (1946) provided for equality under the law and the respectability of individuals, and other laws abolished discrimination between the sexes in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution.

All women of 20 years of age or over were given the right to vote and to be elected to public office. In 1946, therefore, the Japanese women could exercise their suffrage for the first time. In that

59. Dore, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

60. As discussed earlier, the Meiji Reformation of 1868 emancipated the outcasts theoretically, but barriers which separated them from the people who were above them were slow in coming down. Even today true social equality for the former eta is much more difficult to achieve. For example, intermarriage with eta is still frowned upon by Japanese of other classes.

61. Dore, *loc. cit.*

year approximately 67% of the women electorate cast their ballots, and 39 out of the 89 women candidates were elected to the National Diet. According to an official statement:

Since then, through the elections of members of the House of Representatives, of the House of Councillors, and of the local assemblies, the voting rate of women has been always over 60%.⁶²

As time went by, however, the number of women candidates and the election rate of women in the elections of both Houses as well as in local elections became very small. For example, the number of women in the House of Representatives declined from 39 in 1946 to 7 in 1973, even as the House itself grew from 466 members to 491.⁶³ As of 1977, women representation has remained low with only six women in the House of Representatives and somewhat more in the House of Councillors.

As for education after the war, coeducation was introduced and more girls began getting a higher education. Eighty-five out of every hundred public educational institutions are now coed.⁶⁴ Just as many girls as boys (85% in both cases) move from junior high school, the last stage of compulsory education, to senior high school. Today the percentage of women and men going to college is equal. It should be noted, however, that girls go mostly to the two-year junior colleges, where they study home economics, literature, and teacher training; while men fill up the four-year universities. In 1971, only 18.5 per cent of the four-year university students were female, while in the junior colleges 83.2 per cent of students were women.⁶⁵ Most of the junior colleges, in fact, are regarded as finishing schools, where girls go before they marry. Yet, it can be said that:

Thanks partly to increased educational opportunities and partly to the labour shortage in Japan, women have become doctors, bureaucrats, professors and bussinesswomen in numbers; their mothers, not to mention their grandmothers would have thought fantastic.⁶⁶

- In regard to employment, the entry of women into various kinds of occupations was started during World War Two, to replace the

62. *Japan: Its Land, People and Culture*, compiled by Japanese National Commission for UNESCO (Tokyo: Printing Bureau, Ministry of Finance, 1958), p. 229.

63. William H. Horbis, *Japan Today: People, Places, Power*, (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1975), p. 35.

64. Delassus, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

65. Miyaki and Oi, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

66. Gibney, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

working men summoned to the colors. After the war, however, more and more women began to take additional jobs. The total number of working women was about 3,000,000 in 1948, and it grew to over 10,960,000 in 1970, which accounted for 33.2% of the total employment.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the female population of the labour force reached 19,960,000 in 1974, which was 38% of the country's labour force.⁶⁸

During the 10 years from 1960 to 1970, the most remarkable increase in the number of working women took place in the manufacturing industries, the personal service industries, and in wholesale and retail trades. These were followed by banking, insurance and real estate. According to a 1974 statistic, more than 80% of working women were concentrated in manufacturing, personal service and the wholesale and retail trades.⁶⁹

While until 1950, the majority (about 60%) of the Japanese workingwomen continued to be engaged, as in pre-war times, in agriculture and in forestry, it is interesting to note that with the growth of Japan's economy since 1955 the number of working women in agriculture and forestry fell greatly. In 1974 only 17% of working women remained in these industries.⁷⁰ This was due to the increased industrialization of Japan.

Today, Japanese women hold professional and technical jobs. Among them are hundreds of thousands of teachers, doctors and pharmacists. Women are active in such fields as mass communications, advertising, foreign trade, and even scientific technology. New opportunities for women are also opening up in fields that have always been male preserves. For instance, Midori Sato operates a detective agency that employes 30 people, including her own husband. She is so well thought of that the Imperial Palace asked her to investigate the background of a young woman whom Crown Prince Akihito wanted to marry. Mrs. Sato approved.⁷¹

In 1974 Aiko Noda became the first woman to sit on Japan's High Court, the equivalent to the United States' Court of Appeals. She observed:

Perhaps twenty years ago I was a pioneer. But these days things are different and there are fewer obstacles for women.⁷²

67. Miyaki and Oi, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

68. *Fujinrodo no Chizujo* (The Actual Condition of Working Women), edited by Bureau of Women and Minors, Ministry of Labour (Tokyo: Printing Bureau, Ministry of Finance, 1975), p. 5.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

71. *The New York Times*, June 17, 1974, p. 36.

72. Quoted in *ibid.*

Now, while many jobs still remain closed to Japanese women, the barriers to their advance are breaking down, as in Aiko Noda's case. But is it noteworthy that women constitute only 8% of doctors, half of 1% of the lawyers, and 1% of civil servants in managerial jobs. They comprise half the elementary school teachers, but only 1% of all elementary school principals. Moreover, despite the law of equal pay for equal work, the pay of Japanese women averages only one-half that of men, and men get all the choice position.⁷³ And, with the increase of working women who continue their work after marriage, the shortage of such facilities as day-care centers raises complicated issues.

In discussing today's Japanese women in employment, we cannot help but think of the traditional Japanese society, in which a girl from a good family would rarely have been permitted to work before marriage. Nowadays, however, work outside the home is the norm even for well-to-do-girls. As Paul F. Langer points out:

They are eager to escape the restrictions of the home, have fun and gain sophistication — and perhaps, a husband — through employment in one of Japan's modern, large-scale enterprises. Such girls are swelling the ranks of what the Japanese call 'BG' (an abbreviation of the Japanese-coined words 'business girl', meaning a girl working in a business enterprise). Smartly dressed and made up, they set the style in the larger cities today.⁷⁴

Today's Japanese society sheds its prejudice against the working women.

The position of Japanese women in marriage and the family has also been liberalized since the war. Since 1947 the principle of equality of sexes is established in relation to freedom of marriage and divorce, property and inheritance rights, parental rights, and so forth.

By law parents may not force their children into marriage against their wishes. Parental consent is no longer required for marriage over the age of twenty, and below that age the consent of one parent will suffice. Regarding divorce, it is no longer a unilateral act of the husband. According to the new Code, infidelity by the husband, not only by the wife, can be a ground for judicial divorce. Women can now, therefore, obtain a divorce as easily as men. And alimony as well as settlements are now as commonplace

73. Horbis, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

74. Paul F. Langer, *Japan: Yesterday and Today*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 175.

as they are in the United States, although the amounts are smaller. As for the inheritance of property, it is now based on equal division between children of both sexes with a reserved portion for a surviving spouse. The new provision removes from the husband the former powers to restrict his wife's exercise of property rights. The new Code also does away with the category of "shoshi" — illegitimate children of the husband which the old Code required the wife to recognize as her own. Husbands and wives now cooperate together and determine their place of residence by mutual consent. Where once the father was the sole authority under the law, parents now share authority in the upbringing and education of their children. The new Code eliminates the position of househead and the powers over family members which it entails.⁷⁵

These new laws proclaimed the equality of the sexes in matters pertaining to marriage and the family. Yet, it is hardly believed that the emancipation of Japanese women can be realized by a mere change in the laws. Thus, Kurt Steiner rightly cautioned that:

... a system that is as strongly entrenched in the past and has as far-reaching ramifications as the Japanese family system cannot be altered by the strike of the pen of any lawmaker.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the enactment of the new laws has had considerable effect in elevating the status of Japanese women.

Aside from the legal changes discussed thus far, there is no discrimination between the sexes regarding freedom of assembly, association, and speech. Japanese women have begun to organize themselves into political, religious, and economic groupings such as, for example, Housewife's Federation, the League of Women Voters, YWCA, WCTU (the Women's Christian Temperance Union), the Council Regional Women's Clubs, the Council Widow's Organization, etc. Today, "two thirds of the female population belong to some kind of active women's association,"⁷⁷ and their collective voices are heeded to an extent undreamed of in pre-war days.

In addition to the legal protection and safeguards, technological changes have also freed the Japanese housewife from much of the drudgery which used to keep her busy in the home all day long. House appliances have given her more free time. For example, electrical appliances such as refrigerators and washing machines

75. Dore, *op. cit.*, p. 119. For a summary of these legal changes, see Steiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-184.

76. Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

77. Delassus, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

have reduced the time spent on shopping and laundering. The post-war invention of the electric rice cooker has also been a tremendous boon to the Japanese housewife. Television is also thought to have helped perfect the liberation of Japanese women.

The increase in social mobility associated with urbanization has weakened the traditional extended family concept — “the elaborate, many generationed structure of siblings and in-laws and adopted sons, of ‘main families’ and ‘branch families’ ruled by paterfamilias on the principles of unbroken family line and inheritance by the oldest son.”⁷⁸ Consequently, many young couples are now setting up their own nuclear family — a family comprising of a married couple and their children. This is shown by the fact that the average number of persons in a household in 1965 was 4.05. It then shrunk to 3.7 in 1972.⁷⁹

As the nuclear family comes in, many Japanese women begin to lead a life apart from the harshness of their mother-in-law. As we have discussed already, in the old dispensation, a son’s new wife was virtually her mother-in-law’s maid. With a reduction in the size of the average family, it became easier for the average Japanese housewife to take care of her duties and still have some free time left for outside activities. Furthermore, instead of being urged by the government to produce children every year, like animals in the field, Japanese women were pleasantly startled to hear that they should practice birth control. In more recent years, the birth rate in Japan has been about 17 per 1,000, one of the lowest in the world.⁸⁰ In connection with birth control in Japan, a foreign observer remarked:

Nowadays, a great many Japanese women have themselves sterilized after their first or second child. The pill is gaining ground, and, consequently, abortions are becoming less frequent.

Continuing to say:

This wholesale acceptance of birth control, unique in world history, has been so successful that the government, faced with a possible depletion of the national work force, is considering a change of policy.⁸¹

Today, in Japan, relations between the sexes have unquestionably become far freer than they had been. Men sometimes do the

78. Horbis, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

79. *Time*, June 5, 1972, p. 40.

80. Delassus, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

81. *Ibid.*

dishes, and it is commonplace to see young couples stroll hand-in-hand through city streets, a thing unheard of in the past. Young people, boys and girls, gather for long hours in coffee shops. They also roar noisily about the town on motorcycles or scooters. In recent years one can also see millions of young Japanese women wearing, not the kimono (traditional women's dress in Japan), but jeans. They think jeans are very American, and yet, they have become an integral part of the Japanese life style.⁸²

Increasingly, women are bringing their sexual affairs questions and problems out into the open. Some women's magazines print a continual stream of articles and surveys about sex and the young girl. For example, in the May 1976 issue of *Fujin-Korong*, a popular Japanese women's magazine, included are articles such as: "What is Sexual Freedom?"; "Women can Love Many Men at the Same Time"; "The Reason for Recommending Wife-Swapping"; "Happy Divorce I Have Experienced"; and so forth.⁸³

Now Japanese girls often summarize the qualifications of an eligible boyfriend in a cynical cliché: "Iye tsuki, car tsuki, baba nuki", (with a house, with a car, without an old lady).⁸⁴

Today a wife usually has control of the household finances. Explaining how the Japanese woman is the target of the consumer-marketing man, Frank Gibney went so far as to say:

She controls most of the money. Today, in almost 90 per cent of Japanese households, the husband brings home his monthly pay envelope and turns it over to the wife. She doles out his pocket money, decides about purchases, and does most of the buying.⁸⁵

These things are depressing or rather shocking in the eyes of the older generation who remembers vividly the withdrawn, silent, subdued women of Japan. Perhaps the contemptuous feeling toward the new Japanese woman may best be illustrated by the case of Shoichi Yokoi, the Japanese Imperial Army corporal who lived in a cave on Guam for 28 years and only emerged from that hiding place in January, 1972 about whom *Time* magazine reported:

Youth is not the only group that Yokoi finds dismally altered. Women, he rages, have become 'monsters'. Virtue has 'all but gone from them', and so has gentleness — 'they screech

82. *The New York Times*, June 8, 1976, p. 29.

83. Cf. *Fujin-Korong* (The Woman's Public Opinion), May 1976.

84. *Time*, June 5, 1972, p. 40.

85. Gibney, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

like apes'. In Tokyo, right after his return from Guam, he saw a woman who proved typical of many Japanese females. 'She was in what is known as a mini. Her hair was dyed red, her fingernails were painted, and her eyes were so shadowed in purple that she looked like a ghost. She was everything I didn't dream about in the jungle'.

The magazine goes on to say:

What he did dream of was the kind of girl he knew before he was shipped off to war: 'Then women were everything that made life blissful for men — virtuous, obedient to commands from menfolk, lovely to look at, gentle and retiring.'⁸⁶

This is how the modern Japanese women have struck the older generation.

The Tenacity of Old Custom

After the war, nothing and no one in Japan has changed as much as the woman. Yet, the position of women in Japan still seems to be a subordinate one. In villages and rural towns, especially, life continues to follow the old ways.

One may notice that the husband still is supreme in his house. The wife must never call her husband by his first name. She should not omit the honourable title due to her husband. So she will address her husband as Sir. The father as the male head of the household is served first at meals. In the family bath, the husband, and then the sons have absolute priority at the pinewood bathtub or at the ceramic basin. The father receives with a nod the deep bows of his family.

In terms of American standards, there are many other subordinations which make women come second to men. For example, when her husband receives guests in their home, the wife, most of the time, eats in the kitchen. In this respect, an American described his own experience:

Within five days after first reaching Japan, I was guest for dinner in a Japanese house at which the wife did not feel entitled to eat with the men, talked animatedly with her husband but said 'yes' to his every remark, and trotted rather than walked back and forth to the kitchen.⁸⁷

86. *Time*, September 18, 1972, p. 67.

87. Horbis, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

The same American cautioned American women newly arriving in Japan that "if they board elevators first, as is the custom at home, they bump into men who are boarding first, as is the custom in Japan."⁸⁸ So it is not unusual in Japan that a woman steps back to allow her husband to go first and she will let him take the last empty seat on the subway.

For Japanese workingwomen there are legal protection and safeguards, which allow maternity leave, ban underground labour, guarantee twice-daily nursing periods for mothers of babies, and provide for menstruation leave. Yet one can still witness residual forms of discrimination, not only financial as we have already discussed, but more subtle patterns which include relegating women to serving tea and waiting on men in various ways. As Horbis explained:

The most scandalous evasion is the 'thirty and out' custom, whereby employers fire white-collar women at that age or earlier on such grounds as that girls are just 'office flowers' whose job (as one feminist puts it) is 'to meet guests, to be charming and young, and to pour tea.'⁸⁹

Consequently, it is not unusual that women rarely move on to senior jobs and are often denied promotions equal to those of men.

In Japan a small group of lawyers and feminists were recently pressing for the dismissal of a law school dean for his statement that women lawyers should get out of the legal profession and stay home. Nevertheless, judging from reports filed with the investigating committee by four professor-judges, change does not seem to be imminent. In their reports male chauvinism prevails:

'I don't like girls to study because girls who like to study are not charming. That is my personal opinion.'

'I think it is better for women to become housewives and mothers than to become businesswomen, because to marry and have children is a very valuable task. I recommend that women not be lawyers. It is the traditional Japanese system.'

'If a woman requires maternity leave, her male colleagues have to work harder, so men judges don't welcome women lawyers as judges. If women have the will to achieve difficult tasks, they should study harder and have more ability than men.'⁹⁰

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

90. Quoted in *Paterson News*, October 27, 1976, p. 13.

There is also another indication of the disadvantages that Japanese women have in connection with divorce. This is true despite the fact that legally getting a divorce in Japan is very simple. If the couple agrees on the divorce (and 90 per cent of them do) they just march down to their local ward office and submit a form that has been signed by two adult witnesses. The cost is nominal. Divorce in Japan, however, brings social stigma and loss of face. In the recent years the divorce rate in Japan was only one out of ten marriages as compared to one out of three in the United States.⁹¹ Of course, divorced women can also make their way in Japanese society. But it is very difficult in Japan where male prerogatives are still all-pervasive. It "is thus liable to discourage all but the most unhappily married or the strongest in character."⁹²

Another example of the low status of Japanese women may be discussed in the light of arranged marriages. Today there is no doubt that the love marriages are gaining in popularity. The Imperial family itself set an example in this respect. Crown Prince Akihito reportedly met his future wife, Michiko, on the tennis court in a fashionable mountain resort near Tokyo. Akihito succeeded in his love marriage in spite of considerable opposition from court conservatives.⁹³

Most marriages in Japan (roughly two out of three marriages),⁹⁴ however, are still arranged by the families. Marrying the women their parents have chosen, many Japanese males are prone to keep family and romantic love separate, as was the case of traditional Japanese society. Thus, it is not unusual to see men fulfill their romantic love through their relationships with other women. On the other hand, for many Japanese females, they are put in the position of simply dreaming romantic love and putting up with the double standard. By Western yardsticks Japanese women must be very unhappy.

The vicissitudes of prostitution (one of the Japanese words for which is *baishun*, or "selling spring") can be regarded as another indicator of the status of women.

Historically speaking, the brothels in which Japanese girls worked were mostly concentrated in the regulated areas throughout

91. Horbis, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

92. *The New York Times*, May 6, 1975, p. 44.

93. *The New York Times Magazine*, September 26, 1971, p. 64.

94. Delassus, *op. cit.*, p. 127. Today there has been also an amalgamation of old tradition (arranged marriage) and modern custom (love marriage). Son or daughter falls in love and then he or she asks parents' consent or approval. If they consent, then marriage takes place.

the country. These were often surrounded by walls or moats, like Tobita in Osaka and Yoshiwara in Tokyo. Yoshiwara became the most famous in Japan and lasted from the early 1600's until its end by government decree on the first day of April, 1958.

In its heyday, it was a city within a city, with fine shops and all the sources of supply and service it needed to function as a municipal entity. Called the Fuyajo (the castle that knows no night), it closed its gates at midnight, which was the hour of curfew, but the revelers trapped within merely continued their bacchanalia until the gates were opened again at six o'clock the following morning.⁹⁵

The prostitutes confined to the environs of Yoshiwara were almost similar to the birds in the cage. They could leave Yoshiwara for only two reasons: "to visit dying parents or, in a group, to see the cherry blossoms in Ueno, which betokens the importance of cherry-blossom viewing in the Japanese scheme of things."⁹⁶

As the status of women was rising after the Second World War, Japanese wives began to cry out against money spent on geisha parties, bar girls, and whores.⁹⁷ A vocal minority of Japanese housewives demanded that the government take steps to abolish legalized prostitution, including, of course, Yoshiwara. In 1949 laws were already introduced to abolish Yoshiwara and all places like it. For nine years the male members of the Diet fought this. Finally, in 1958, prostitution was forbidden and Yoshiwara, as well as other places like it, were abolished.

Oddly enough, according to the Anti-Prostitution Law, it became a crime for a woman to sell her body, and yet it was not a crime for a man to buy it. In 1966, therefore, Japanese women tried to correct this oversight. They attempted the passage of a bill that would make it illegal for a man to buy the services of a prostitute or even to ask anyone to help find such a woman. Nevertheless, the bill was defeated, mainly for the reason that Japan's male lawmakers were in no mood to consider any extension of the Anti-Prostitution Law.⁹⁸

The abolition of Japan's red-light districts did not eliminate the prostitutes. Most of the former prostitutes went underground, rendering their services in the guise of masseuses, girl guides, Turkish

95. Seward, *op. cit.*, p. 91. For a detailed discussion on Yoshiwara in Tokyo, see Longstreet, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-225.

96. Seward, *loc. cit.*

97. It should be noted that unlike a prostitute a geisha and a bar girl do not usually earn their living by sexual favours.

98. Seward, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

bath attendants, waitresses, cabaret hostesses, and models at nude-posing studios. Today those who work with pimps find themselves slaves to masters more heartless and demanding than any Yoshiwara brothel-keeper.

The degradation of the Japanese women of the past may be also seen in terms of tourism. According to an entertainment guide to Japanese night life, it presents advice about modern Japanese girls available to the tourist who thinks of himself as a sensualist:

Japanese woman is a national treasure. At her best, she is a living art form . . . and much too good to be true. But she is true . . . Japan puts armies of young women to work in factories and offices, but it also employs thousands more like lilies of the field, neither to toil nor spin, but mainly to gladden the heart and beautify the scene. . . .⁹⁹

This sound outrageous to those who regard and treat women as true human beings.

Japanese men with the long history of exploitation of women are shamelessly looking for their hedonism even outside their country, especially the neighbouring countries. Of course, sightseeing must be the prevalent motive when the Japanese tour Europe or the United States, and the groups include both husbands and wives. Nevertheless, many groups who go to nearby countries in Asia are entirely made up of men. In this case the motive of their desire to travel is "a little wander plus a lot of lust."¹⁰⁰

For example, according to a description of Japanese tourists made by a Japanese newspaperman in Bangkok, Thailand:

. . . group-tour guides there, with flags held high, commonly march their platoons into bordellos and crisply call out the numbers of rooms to which each man has been assigned.¹⁰¹

To our disgust, it is a safe, orderly, and accepted part of the tourist business.

A JAL stewardess who flies to Taiwan also makes a shocking report that "men on the planes unabashedly summon her to ask, 'How much does it cost in Taipei?'"¹⁰²

In South Korea, Japanese men seek out kisaeng (Korean counterpart of the Japanese geisha) parties. Some indignant girls from

99. Quoted in Longstreet, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

100. Horbis, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

101. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

a Christian Women's University went so far as to stage a demonstration at the Kimpo Airport in Seoul against Japanese kisaeng tourism. Their placards made this appeal:

Morals are corrupted and personalities degraded just to earn foreign currency . . . Stop the prostitution tours that are turning our fatherland into a red-light district for Japanese men.¹⁰³

Thankfully their protest was soon taken up by women in Japan who staged a similar demonstration at Tokyo's Haneda Airport. The Japanese women carried placards "pleading with the 'sex animals' to 'feel ashamed,' and to cease and desist from 'prostitution sight-seeing.'"¹⁰⁴ Despite this joint Korean-Japanese women's struggle, the same malpractices are still going on.

Considering these facts, Japanese men still seem to take for granted their privilege to have sex outside the home. Pearl Buck who is well versed in Japanese culture, ruefully observed: "The Japanese man has not yet learned to enjoy woman as a human being."¹⁰⁵

Thus, it is obvious that the supremacy of the male still holds in all areas of Japanese life.

Conclusion

One should not hastily conclude, however, that the tradition of male dominance did always prevail in Japan. As we have discussed already, there had been clear-cut matriarchal overtones at times in the distant past. In other words, Japanese women once played important roles in various fields of their society based on a matriarchal system.

But even that much of their privileged status ultimately went downhill, especially throughout the Feudalistic Age which lasted until Japan decided to open its doors to the outer world in the middle of the 19th century.

Though Japan began to emerge as one of the modern nations since the middle of the last century, women were still placed in the lowest position of society. It was only after World War Two that Japanese women were liberated legally and spiritually from the old bondage of the family system. For the first time in the history of

103. Sekai, ed., *Letters From South Korea*, trans. by David L. Swain (New York: IDOC/North America, 1976), p. 86.

104. Horbis, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

105. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

Japan, women were allowed to know and to enjoy their human rights. By the new Constitution and new civil laws they are now guaranteed the right to participate in various activities in their society on an equal basis with men. Although their numbers are still small, women now play important roles in many fields.

But old attitudes die hard. The customs of the centuries and inherent traditions cannot be changed simply by Western example or even by constitutional decrees or labour law revisions.

The weight of tradition that casts women as mothers and wives has so far been a formidable block to the big and radical liberation movement. But it is also true that today's Japanese women are slowly becoming more aware of their disfavoured status. This self-awareness of Japanese women should be considered a hopeful sign that may eventually liberate them. The passions that sparked the American feminist movement in the recent past may yet be seen in Japan. Time will tell.

YASKA AND THE PADAPATHA OF SAKALYA

By

S. A. UPADHYAYA

YASKA knows well the tradition of the Padakāras of the *Ṛgveda*.

In fact, he emphatically points out that the analysis of word is not possible without the knowledge of etymology. cf. *athāpīdamantareṇa padavibhāgo na vidyate*.¹ "Moreover, without this (i.e. the science of etymology) the division into words (of the *samhitā* text) is not possible." To divide the *samhitā* text into different *padas*, one must know their meaning; and for the *padartha-jñāna*, the knowledge of the Nirukta-sāstra is inevitable. cf. *arthavaśeṇa hi padānyavatīṣṭhante, na cedam antareṇārthaparijñānamasti tasmād ata eva padavibhāgaprasiddhir iti*.² Thus a Padakāra is an etymologist first. To illustrate his point, Yaska refers to the word *avasāya* which the Padakāra splits in two different derivations. Let us examine these two contexts:

(i) *Ṛgveda*: X.169.1:

*mayobhārvāto abhī vātūsrā
ūrjasvatīrōṣadhīrā rīśantām /
pīvasvatīrjivādhanīyāḥ pībantv-
avasāya padvāte rudra mṛṣa //*

Translation: May the delightful wind blow towards the cows. May they eat the nourishing herbs. May the fattened ones, rich in life, drink (water); O Rudra, be gracious to the provision endowed with feet (i.e. to the cows who provide food to people, particularly when they are travelling).

The word *avasāya* is dative singular of *avasa*.³ Therefore the Padakāra has not slit up the word *avasāya* in the *padapāṭha*. cf. *avatergatyarthasyāsau nāmakaraṇaḥ tasmānnāvagrḥṇanti*.⁴

1. *Nirukta* I.17.1.

2. Durgācārya's comm. on *Nirukta* I.17.1.

3. The word *avasā* is derived from the root *av* 'to go' with the addition of the suffix *asa*; cf. *Nighanṭu* II.14, *avasā*, thus, means "that with the help of which one goes on a journey, i.e. 'provision'; in the context it refers to the cows; cf. *avasāya annāya gorūpāya* — Sāyanabhāṣya; *padvāte avasāya*: "wandelnden Zehrung" — Geldner; "die fussbegabte Nahrung", d.h. das Vieh, dessen Milch die tägliche Nahrung bietet" — Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda*, col. 128.

4. *Nirukta* I.17.2.

(ii) *Rgveda* I.104.1:

Yóniṣṭa indra niṣāde akāri
támá nī ṣida svānó nārvā /
vimúcyā váyo' vasáyāśvān doṣā
vástorvāhīyasah prapitvé //

Translation: O Indra, a seat is prepared for you for sitting; (coming) like a neighing horse, occupy it, having freed the birds and unyoked the horses⁵ who are your better carriers to destination⁶ both by day and at night.

Here the word *avasāya* is to be derived from the root *sā*, with the addition of the preposition *ava*; *ava* + *sā* means 'to unbind, to release'. *avasāya*, therefore, is split up as *ava sāya* in the *padapāṭha*. cf. "*avasāyāśvān*" *iti syatirupaśṛṣṭo vimocane tasmādavagr-hñanti*.⁷

The *padapāṭha* does help in the correct understanding of the *samhitā* text. To illustrate, the *padapāṭha*, rightly explains the word *rodasī* as singular at *Rgveda* V.56.8:

rātham nú mārutam vayám
śravasyúamá huvāmahe /
á yásmīn tasthāú surāñāni bíbhratī
sácā marútsu rodasī //

Translation: We, indeed, invoke the fame-seeking chariot of the Maruts, on which together with the Maruts, has stood Rodasī, carrying the delightful gifts.

The word *rodasī* is singular and refers to the beloved of the Maruts.⁸

Yāska does not follow the *padapāṭha* blindly, though he recognises its importance in interpreting the *samhitā* text. He criticises the Padakāra Śākalya for incorrect splitting of the word *vāyaḥ* as

5. *Vāyaḥ*-Nom. plu. of *vī*. Here it is construed as an irregular Acc. plu. Indra's horses are often compared to birds to suggest their great speed. Sāyaṇa explains *vāyaḥ* as *aśvabandhanārthān raśmīn*; "das Geflügel (collect-iv), bildlich von Indra's Rossen" — Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rgveda*, col. 1214, "die Kraft ausspannend, die Rosse anhaltend" — Geldner; "having unyoked and brought to a halt the flying horses" — Velankar, H. D. Hymns to Indra in Maṇḍala I, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XVIII, 2, Sept. 1949, p. 21.
6. *Prapitvá* is derived, following Velankar, from *pra-pat*, meaning 'resting place, destination'.
7. *Nirukta* I.17.2.
8. According to Yāska, *rodasī* is the wife of Rudra (*Nirukta* XI.49.2). Sāyaṇa explains as: *rudrasya patnī marutām mātā / yadvā rudro vāyuh / tatpatnī mādhyamikā devī /* It rather refers to the beloved of the Maruts; cf. *Rgveda* I.167.3; VI.50.5 (*mīmyāksa yeṣu rodasī nū devī*): VI.66.6, etc.

va/yāḥ in his *Nirukta* VI.28.3. The Ṛgvedic mantra under discussion is X.29.1:

vāne nā vā yó nyadhāyi cākāñ-
chúcirvām stómo bhuraṇāvajigaḥ /
yásyédindrah purudíneṣu hótā
nṛṇām náryo nṛtamah kṣapāvān //

Translation: "He who is released in the fuel like Soma in the tub, is laid down; he has loved (the hymn). The pure hymn has awakened you two, O restless Gods, of which alone in ample days, Indra and the priest (who is) most heroic among heroes, a friend of the nights, kind to men, have been enamoured."⁹

Yāska discusses only the first *pāda*. He reads *vāyaḥ* as one word and explains it as "a young bird; an offspring of a bird" (*veḥ putrah*). Śākalya in his *padapāṭha* reads *vāyaḥ* as two words: *vā/yāḥ*/Yāska objects to this reading of Śākalya and points out that it contradicts the accent of the finite verb *nī/adhāyi*/. If *yāḥ* is taken as a separate word, the verb *adhāyi* should have been accented. cf. *veti ca ya iti ca cakāra śākalya udāttam tvevamākhyātamabhaviṣyadasusamāptaścārthah*/.¹⁰ Besides the reading *vā yāḥ* leaves the sense incomplete. The word *vā* cannot be understood either in the sense of *samuccaya* or *vikalpa* in the context. It cannot have the sense of *upamā* as the same sense is conveyed by the word *nā*. The word *yāḥ* also has no meaning in the context.¹¹ Yāska, therefore, disapproves the *padapāṭha* of Śākalya and prefers to read *vāyaḥ* as one word. May be, Yāska had some other *padakīra* to support his standpoint.

In a few cases, Yāska, in his enthusiasm for etymologising, disregards the *padapāṭha*. To illustrate: *Ṛgveda* V.39.1:

yādindar citra meháná-'
sti tvádātamadrivaḥ /
rādha stánno vidadvasa
ubhayāhastyá bhara //

9. Velankar, H.D., Hymns to Indra in Maṇḍala X, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XXI, 2, Sept. 1952, p. 9.
10. *Nirukta* VI.28.3, Read Durgācārya's comm: "vā" iti "yaḥ" iti ca pade cakāra śākalyaḥ padakārah / tadetat vicāryamānam na sādhu bhavati, kim kāraṇam / ... evam etasmin padadvaye sati, yadetat ākhyātam nyadhāyīti etat udāttam abhaviṣyat yadvṛttāt parasya nityamākhyātasya nighāto na bhavati lakṣaṇavido manyante, na cedamudāttam, tasmāt yaḥ iti nedam yadvṛttam / kim tarhi / vāyaḥ iti ekam padam /
11. Read Durgācārya's comm: *evametasmin padadvaye sati mantrasyārtho' susamāpto bhavati / katham / dvipadatve hi sati "vā" śabdasyārthena kenacit bhavitavyam, na ceha vikalpah samuccayo vā kaścidartho' sti / syādetat upamārtho bhaviṣyatīti tadapi na sambhavati, nakārenopamarthasya kṛtatvāt ya ityasypiprthagbhūtasya na kaścidartho'sti / tasmādākhyātasya anudātta-tvādarthāsambhavācca dvipadatve "vāyaḥ" ityetaidekapadameva "śakuniputraḥ" eva cāsyābhidhaeyah upapadyate /*

Translation: O wonderful¹² Indra, O wielder of thunderbolt, bring us with (your) both hands that gift which is assigned by you (to us) in your liberality,¹³ O finder of wealth.

Here the word *mehānā* is explained by Yāska in two ways: (i) *mañhanīya* — i.e. worthy to be given. The word is derived from *mañh* “to give”. (ii) *yanma iha nāstīti*, i.e. “whatever is not mine here”. Here the word *mehānā* is supposed to be consisting of three words: *me*, *iha* and *nā*. This second interpretation is, obviously against the *padapāṭha*. However it may be noted that Gārgya in his *padapāṭha* of the *Sāmaveda* (I.345) analyses the word *mehānā* into three words *me iha nā*.

At *Ṛgveda* I.142.10 Yāska¹⁴ reads three words *purú vā áram* as one word, notwithstanding the *padapāṭha*. The Mantra is:

tānnasturīpamádbhutam
purú vāram purú tmānā /
tvāṣṭā póṣāya ví syatu
rāyé nábhā no asmayúḥ //

Translation: May Tvaṣṭṛ, loving us, himself release often that wonderful, abundant, — indeed sufficiently abundant — semen (existing) in our navel for the sake of prosperity (of our race) and riches.

Here the words *purú vāram* are analysed in the *padapāṭha* as *purú/vā/áram/* meaning “abundant” (*purú*) enough (*áram*).” Yāska however understands *puruvāram* as one word, meaning “collected” (*sambhṛtam*).

Similarly while interpreting *Ṛgveda* I.105.18, Yāska¹⁵ understands *māsaḥ* (maker of months and fortnights) as one word, whereas the *padapāṭha* reads two words: *mā/saḥ* (*mā* = me; *saḥ* = once). Durgācārya in his commentary on *Nirukta* V.21.1 refers to this tradition of the *padapāṭha*, viz. *mā/saḥ*.

Yāska, sometimes, explains a word according to the *padapāṭha* as well as in his own way to accommodate his etymology.

12. *citra* is vocative. Yāska reads *citram*, and construes it as an adj. to *rādhaḥ*.

13. Yāska understands *mehānā* (f) as an adj. to *rādhaḥ* (n). It is better to understand *mehānā* as an adverbial instrumental meaning “liberally”. The word is derived from *mih* “to shower”. cf. Grassmann: *Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda*, col. 1064; “die Gabe, die freigebig von dir zugeteilt wird” — Geldner.

14. *Nirukta* VI.21.1.

15. *Nirukta* V.21.1; cf. *māsaḥnmāsānām cārddhamāsānām ca kartā bhavati /*

To illustrate: *Ṛgveda* VI.75.2:

dhánvanā gá dhánvanājím jayema
dhánvanā tivrāḥ samádo jayema /
dhánuḥ sátrorapakā́mám kṛṇoti
dhánvanā sárvaḥ pradísó jayema //

Translation: With the bow, may we win the cattle; with the bow, the battle; may we win the fierce battles with the bow. The bow produces aversion for an enemy; may we conquer all the (four) quarters with the bow.

Here the word *samádaḥ* means “a battle”. Yāska first gives his own interpretation as *sam adaḥ*, i.e. “eating together”, i.e. “a battle” where people appear to devour each other.¹⁶ Then following the *padapāṭha* he explains the word as: *sam-madaḥ* “raging together”.¹⁷

Thus Yāska has not only recognised the importance of the *padapāṭha* in the interpretation of the *samhitā*-text but has also critically assessed it. In his enthusiasm for etymology, he, sometimes, disregards the *padapāṭha* and splits the word in his own way, and in a few cases, explains them in a manner which cannot be easily accepted. His readings which are different from the *pada*-text of Śākalya probably indicate that he might have followed a different tradition of the *padapāṭha*.

16. cf. *Nirukta* IX.16.1: *samadaḥ samado vātteḥ /* Durgācārya explains: *sampūrvasya atteḥ bhakṣanārthasya, bhakṣita iva hi tatra parasparataḥ /*

17. cf. *Nirukta* IX.16.1: *sammado vā madateḥ /* Durgācārya explains: *samhr̥ṣṭāstatra hi parasparato yuddhyante /*

JAINISM QUA HINDUISM

H. S. URSEKAR

IN this paper I propose to consider the position of Jainism vis-a-vis Hinduism. It is indeed a controversial topic and hence it calls for a detached attitude and dispassionate approach.

There are four possible theories urged:

(1) Jainism is the child of Buddhism, (2) Jainism is the child of Hinduism, Jaines being Hindu dissentors or reformist section of Hinduism, hence a sect of Hinduism, (3) Hinduism is the child of Jainism, (4) Jainism is considered as a separate independent pristine creed parallel to Hinduism.

Regarding the first view that Jainism regarded as child of Buddhism it is true that there is a section of scholars who believe that Jainism is only the child of Buddhism and it is of recent origin. Dr. Jacobi has conclusively shown that Jainism is older than Buddhism.¹ Dr. Radhakrishnan following the opinions of Guerinote, Jacobi and Bulher has opined: "It is now conclusively established that Vardhamana was an historical person distinct from Gautama Buddha and Jainism a system quite independent of Buddhism."² Dr. Winternitz has pointed out as follows: "An essential difference between the two religions is, however, that Jainism has always remained a national Indian Religion, whilst Buddhism developed into a world religion".³

The next three views whether Hinduism is a child of Jainism or Jainism is a sect of Hinduism or whether Jainism and Hinduism are parallel creeds which developed side by side on this ancient land can be considered together.

At the outset it is better to bear in mind the observation of Satprem a French Scholar "India is a country of vast spiritual liberty. So-called Hinduism is an invention of the West. The Indian speaks only of the eternal law (Sanātana Dharma)."⁴ Historically speak-

1. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, Part II, intro. p. XXXIII.

2. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, p. 291.

3. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 425.

4. Satprem, *Shri Aurobindo*, p. 22.

ing it is well accepted as is shown by Prof. Toynbee that the Indian or Vedic civilisation emerged during 2000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. That civilisation withered away and there after arose the Hindu civilisation during 1000 B.C. to 1000 A.D.⁵

C. R. Jain a great scholar has advanced a theory that "Hinduism cannot possibly be the source of Jainism; on the contrary. Jainism may well be the source of Hinduism."⁶ Thus Mr. Jain claims that Jainism is older than Hinduism and it is the latter that has borrowed from the former and hence Hinduism is a child of Jainism.

But the consensus of scholarly opinion is against this view. Mrs. Stevenson after considering the available material has concluded that "Modern research seems to have proved that this great monastic fraternity arose at the end of the sixth century B.C. and one of its great claims to interest lies in the fact that enshrined in its rules and precepts it has, like some slow moving glacie, brought down to this materialistic century the thoughts of a time when men, ignoring the present were ready to stake their all on a future life."⁷

Max Weber in his book "*Religion of India*" described Mahavir as the Author of the Jain aceticism and calls Jainism as a Sect.⁸

According to Jain tradition there are 24 Tirthankaras starting from Rhishabhdev or Adishwarji. The Jains trace their antiquity inter alia on the strength of following legend namely that God Arishthanemi, 22nd Tirthankar according to Jain works was the cousin of Lord Krishna (See: *The Jain Religion and Literature* (Vol. I) and (Introduction to *Outlines of Jainism*).⁹ Archy J. Bahm writes in his book "*Worlds Living Religions*", "Vardhaman, Mahavir who lived from 599 to 527 B.C. is the Chief founder of Jainism."¹⁰

Now the consensus of the opinion of scholars is to the effect that Lord Parshwanath the 23rd Tirthankar is believed to have lived from 877 to 777 B.C. He was the son of King of Banaras. He lived about 250 years prior to Mahavir and was the founder of Jainism and that the earlier 22nd Tirthankaras are not historical personages. Dr. Jacobi has observed "That Parshwa was a historical person, is now admitted by all as very probable."

Mrs. Guseva a Russian Research Scholar in her book "*Jainism*" has said: "The community which was founded by the 23rd Tirthan-

5. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. I, p. 186.

6. C. R. Jain, *Jain Law*, p. 14.

7. Mrs. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 7.

8. Max Weber, *Religion of India*, p. 193.

9. H. R. Kapadia, *The Jain Religion and Literature*, Vol. 1, p. 24.

10. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, Part II, intro. p. XXI

kar, Parshva (Or Parshvanath) was called "Nirgrantha" (or Niggantha), which means 'free from fetters' (from attachments). Both men and women could be members of the community."¹¹

Dr. Maurice Winternitz in his book "A History of Indian Literature" (Vol. II) has observed as follows: "On the strength of the unanimous tradition of both Buddhism and Jainas, we may take it as certain that Mahavira was a senior contemporary of Buddha, and that both were contemporaries of Kings Bimbisara and Ajatasatru of Magadha. The year of Mahavira's death is, however, at least as uncertain as that of Buddha's. Appendix VI, H. Jacobi (Ind. Ant. 9, 1880, 158 ff; SBE-45, p. xx ff.) has made it seem very probable that Mahavira was not the founder but only the reformer of an earlier sect of the Niganthas founded by Parsva. Nevertheless, when the tradition says that Parsva lived exactly 250 years before Mahavira, we are not by any means justified in taking this as a certain historical fact."¹²

According to Dr. Radhakrishnan "Vardhamana was not so much the founder of a new faith as the reformer of the previously existing creed of Parsvanatha, who is said to have died in 776 B.C."¹³

Thus Jainism can be traced back historically to about 2800 years from today which is certainly a period less ancient than the Hindu Religion which spreads over a long period of at least 4,000 years.

Having considered the historical view let us take up the geographical argument. It was Veer Savarkar who defined Hinduism based on territorial basis.¹⁴ According to him one whose father-land and land of religion or sacred land extends from the ocean to the Indus river is a Hindu. In applying this test we find Jainism is essentially a religion confined to India and that the Jains consider India as their father-land (Pitrubhu) and that they also consider it as their sacred land of religion (Punyabhu) because the founders thereof were sons of the Soil of India including Lord Parshvanath and Lord Mahavir. According to the geographical significance also it will be reasonable to conclude that Jainism is the child of Hinduism.

Turning to the definition of Hindu adopted by Supreme Court in the case of Yadnapurusdasji versus Muldas the Supreme Court has accepted the definition of Lok Manya Tilak as given in his *Geeta*

11. Mrs. Guseva, *Jainism*, p. 44.

12. Winternitz, *A History of India Literature*, Vol. II, p. 424.

13. Dr. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, p. 287.

14. आसिन्धु सिन्धुपर्यन्ता यस्य भारतभूमिका । पितृभूः पुण्यभूश्चैव स वै हिन्दुरिति स्मृतः ॥

Rahasya. According to that definition one who accepts *Vedas* with reverence and recognises the fact that the paths to salvation are diverse and realises the truth that the number of Gods to worship is large is a Hindu.¹⁵

Applying this authoritative test we find in the first instance some scholars saying that the Jains do not believe in the authority of *Vedas*. In this connection *Ganadharavada* is a very crucial book. It is a part of *Vishesh Avashyak Bhashya* by Jeenabhadra Suri who lived from 489 to 593 A.D. and is regarded as one of the most important basic books on Jainism as it gives the essence of Jain Agamas. Dr. Solomon the editor of *Ganadharavada* has observed that "The *Visesavasyaka-bhasya* occupies a unique place in the history of Jaina literature, esp. philosophical literature." "The *Ganadharavada* occupies a peculiar position and deals with all the main topics of Jaina philosophy and as such can hold its own independently, like the Gita, as a book worthy of being studied by all curious readers."¹⁶

Lord Mahavira had attached to him 9 Ganas (schools) and 11 Ganadharas, Chief Disciples. It is pertinent to note that Lord Mahavira did never condemn the *Vedas*. We have the authority of Dr. Solomon "Another point that claims our attention is that the doubts of the Brahmin doubters are based on the authority of the *Veda* which at times seems to present contradictory statements. This is as it ought to be even though the *Visesavasyaka Bhasya* is a Jaina work, because Indrabhuti and the other ten were originally Brahmanas. But what is worth appreciating is that Mahavira is not made to brush aside the statements of the *Veda* as not acceptable to him. But with due respect to them he explains that the contradiction is only apparent. Thus the *Veda* is explained throughout the *Veda* and there is no attempt to condemn or cavil at the scriptures of other schools."¹⁷

In the *Kalpa Sutra* of the Jains the prophesy about Lord Mahavir was that he would be a person who would know the secret of the four *Vedas* and would be the upholder of the *Vedas*.¹⁹

It is true that Jains do not believe in the Divine Origin (Apaurushyatwa) of the *Vedas* but certainly it is clear on the authority of *Ganadharavada* that nowhere has Lord Mahavir condemned or ran down *Vedas* or their authority. On the other hand we find Lord

15. 1966 A.I.R.S.C.J. 1119 at p. 1131.

प्रामाण्यबुद्धिर्वेदेषु साधनानामनेकता । उपास्यानामनियमश्चेतद्धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ॥

16. *Ganadharavada* edited by Dr. Solomon, p. 22.

17. *Ganadharavada*, edited by Dr. Solomon, pp. 33-34.

18. *Kalpa Sutra* of Jains, p. 47.

Mahavir expressing his opinion about the *Vedas* with reverence and is quoting the *Vedas*.

एवं हि भूतधर्मो णाणं तण्माव भावता बुद्धा ।
तण्णो तवभावम्मिचितं णाणं वेतसमयम्मि ॥

Dr. Solomon translates the above verse as follows: "Even thus one may have the notion that knowledge is an attribute of material elements, because it exists only when they exist. (But) it is not so, since even in their absence, there is knowledge (in general) as pointed out in the Vedic tradition."¹⁹

Even Charvaka the great atheist has condemned the *Vedas* and is notorious as a *Veda Nindaka* (calumniator of *Vedas*) and yet nobody says that the followers of Charvaka are not Hindus. On the other hand, Jains are never dubbed as *Veda Nindakas*.

The second test of a Hindu is that he should recognise the fact that means to salvation are diverse. This test is satisfied by the Jainism. In the *Tattvarthasutra* which is regarded as a great authority, the first sutra lays down that:

सम्यग्दर्शन-ज्ञान-चरित्राणि मोक्षमार्गः ।

This sutra (aphorism) represents the well known Ratna Traya (three jewels) known to the Jain Philosophers. It means that the way to salvation lies through the right belief, right knowledge and right conduct.

The idea of Moksha or salvation is given in the same book as follows:

कृत्स्नकर्मक्षयो मोक्षः ।

That means the salvation is freedom from the bondage of Karmas. The decidertum of every Hindu is also the salvation or freedom from the cycle of births and deaths which is kept going due to the Karmas. According to Jainism the soul is not freed from the bondage of re-birth till there is a destruction of all the Karmas. Hence the Jainism satisfies the second test too.

Turning to the 3rd test namely that there must be realisation of the truth that the number of Gods to be worshipped is large. There are 24 Tirthankaras of the Jains beginning with Rhishabha-deva. A suggestion may be offered here as to how the number of Tirthankaras came to be fixed at 24. This perhaps reflects paralal-

19. *Ganadharavada*, edited by Dr. Solomon, p. 7.

20. *Tattvarthasutra* by Vachak Umaswati, p. 97, verse 1.

21. *Tattvarthasutra* by Vachak Umaswati, p. 131, sutra 3.

lism from the Hindu Theology namely that there are 24 names of gods mentioned in the Sandhya Vidhi performed daily by the Dwijas starting from Bow to Keshav, Narayan, etc.

It is well known that Jains build their temples dedicated to any one of the 24 Tirthankaras who is called the Mulnayak of the said temple. They keep the Temples very clean and manage them in an orderly manner. They have a special feature called Deva Dravya (Temple Fund) which is used exclusively for the purpose of upkeep of the Temple. Jains are called Ajjas (Aryas) and belong to the Aryan race. They are nowhere called as Ahindus or non-Hindus.

The observations of the Supreme Court of India in the case of *Yajnyapurushdasji versus Muldas* conclude the matter authoritatively. "The development of Hindu religion and philosophy shows that from time to time saints and religious reformers attempted to remove from the Hindu thought and practices elements of corruption and superstition and that led to the formation of different sects. Buddha started Buddhism. Mahavir founded Jainism; Basava became the founder of Lingayat religion, Dhyaneswar and Tukaram initiated the Varkari cult, Guru Nanak inspired Sikhism; Dayananda founded Arya Samaj and Chaitanya began Bhakti cult; and as a result of the teachings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda Hindu religion flowered into its most attractive, progressive and dynamic form. If we study the teachings of these saints and religious reformers, we would notice an amount of divergence in their respective views, but underneath that divergence it is clear therefore that there is a kind of subtle indescribable unity which keeps Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs, Lingayats within the sweep of the broad and progressive Hindu religion."²² That is why they are all governed for their personal law with covers, marriage, divorce, adoption, succession, guardianship, maintenance and other matters by the different statutes like the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, Hindu Succession Act 1956 and other statutes.

It will be seen that Jain religion satisfies the test of a Hindu as laid down by Lokmanya Tilak and as approved by the Supreme Court in the case of *Yajnapurushdasji vs. Muldas*. It may be further pointed out that Jainism has in common with Hinduism features as divisions into castes, the theory of Karma and cycle of births and deaths, the existence of the soul and its salvation, the concepts of Papa and Punya and 'this above all' viz. the basic values of life like non-violence, truth, charity, peace and freedom of the indivi-

22. A.I.R. 1966, p. 1119 at p. 1130.

dual. For it is the community of fundamental values of life that loads cohesion to a religion.

In the matter of division into castes amongst Jains the verse from *Uttar Addhyayan Sutra* is relevant. It can be translated as follows: "It is by action that one can be a Brahmin. It is by action that one can be a Kshatriya. It is by action that one can be a Vaishya. It is by action that one can be a Shoodra."²³

Max Weber a great authority has observed in his book "*Religion of India*" as follows: "Among the theophratrics in India are Jainism, Buddhism, some of the revivals of Vishnu faith in a redeemer, and the Shiva sect of Lingayat. These communities are, regarded as heretical, even though, at least from our stand-point and for the most part from that of Hinduism, there is not basic difference between their particular sacred values and paths and those of orthodox Hinduism."²⁴ R. William in his book "*Jaina Yoga*" has observed "The differences which separate Jainism from Hinduism and Buddhism, the other two religious which India has given to the world, are largely differences of emphasis for all have built from common material. Ahimsa for example, is preponderant in, but not peculiar to, Jainism; it is extolled even in such Hindu texts as the *Manu-smriti*."²⁵

Archie J. Bahm said that Jainism and Buddhism, objected to some in effective local practices and have been declared heresies. Yet they express the dominating mood and logic of the Hindu mind in essentially the same way as other movements, and their achievements and teachings have been absorbed into the general Hindu cultural tradition.²⁶

In fine we may conclude that Jainism is a dissenting faith of Hinduism, of a reformist nature because of its emphasis on ethical values of life like Ahimsa and others.

23. *Uttar Addhyayan Sutra*, Adhyayana 25 and 12 by Sudharma Swami.

कम्मणा बम्मणो होई । कम्मणा होई खलियो । कम्मणा वेसय्यो होई । कम्मणा होई सुद्धा ॥

24. Max Weber, *The Religion of India*, p. 23.

25. R. Williams, *Jain Yoga*, Intro. p. XXII.

26. Archie J. Bahm, *World Living Religions*, p. 32.

CHRONOLOGY AS RELATED TO SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF INDIAN MARITIME HISTORY, 1500-1800 A.D.

LOTIKA VARADARAJAN

IN a sense the period A.D. 1500-1800 is possessed of a basic thematic homogeneity in as much as it is one in which indigenous maritime activity flourished despite the growing presence and intrusion of European shipping into the waters of the Indian Ocean. The presence of European ships and traders in ever increasing numbers after the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama presented Indian merchants and shippers with new opportunities and increasing challenges. European models began to influence patterns of indigenous ship construction particularly as a result of the introduction of ordinance on board. There is, however, little evidence that techniques of navigation changed on ships manned entirely by local crew. After A.D. 1800 the indigenous trader began to sink increasingly into the background and this led to a corresponding decline in local maritime activity. A study of the period A.D. 1500 to 1800 would form a necessary pre-requisite in any attempt to strive for an understanding of the colonial experience and modern times. This paper is aimed at highlighting repositories likely to provide information relating to levels of navigational expertise, nautical techniques, organisation and deployment of crew and methods of ship building. This was the basic structure which made it possible to engage in trade and all the other activities associated with such enterprise.

It would be self defeating to restrict the study of the period A.D. 1500 to 1800 exclusively to sources set within the same chronological limits. There is a considerable degree of continuity in the Indian maritime environment stretching from the pre-Portuguese to the post-Portuguese period and continuing into modern times. There were no significant departures in techniques of ship-building or nautical practices in vogue. An ethnocultural study of sailing vessel traffic in the post A.D. 1800 period can be expected to yield valuable results. The practice of sailing vessel traffic is being rapidly eroded but navigators with a mastery of traditional techniques

may still be found. The development of modern means of transport along the east coast of India has virtually obliterated earlier patterns. Along the west coast however, the picture is a little different. In the absence of effective land communications along the Western Ghats, sailing vessel traffic made sound economic sense until the recent past.¹ A study of material dated to pre-1500 and post-1800 A.D. can be expected to yield a considerable quantum of data of a kind which may not be available in contemporary sources. The dangers associated with transgression of chronological barriers in choice of source material is, of course, very real. However, the possibility of distortion can be reduced by comparing material derived from these sources to known facts relating to the period under review. The risk taken has to be a calculated one.

From early times Indian maritime activity was associated intimately with the requirements of trade. This trade was not localised in nature but formed part of a much broader Afro-Asian network. Channels of trade flowed along two lines of communication by land and by sea. Once a channel had been made operative it was rarely closed although the volume of traffic circulating along it may have been subject to severe fluctuation. There was the well known silk route linking Ceres to the Roman world. There were also the eighth century routes described by Kia Tan which wound their way from Tonking through Indo-China, Thailand, Burma to north-east India and found an outlet past Kamrupa at Tamralipti. The stages along the sea routes from the South China Seas via Indonesia, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Ceylon, Peninsula India, the Gujarat shoreline to the Levant and Egypt via the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea had been effectively charted.² The sea routes along the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf linked up with the overland route. Through Persia there were two branches, one leading to the north of the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea by way of Sarai and Tana and the second proceeding south of the Caspian Sea and finding outlets through Aleppo and Constantinople. The Red Sea route had links via Jiddah with the caravan route to Cairo, Alexandria and Suez. In Africa, there was the northern caravan route across the Sahara

1. In Gujarat mechanization and reliance on modern tools such as the compass can be dated back only to the past ten years.
2. Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise de l'Extreme-Orient, IV, 1904, Paul Pelliot, "Deux itineraires de Chine en Inde a la fin du VIII siecle", pp. 132-139, 175-178, 181-185, 209-229, 269-413; G. Ferrand, *Instructions Nautiques et Routiers Arabes et Portugais*, Vol. III, Paris, 1928; G. R. Tibbets, *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971; G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton, 1951. For the dating of Arab pilot manuals please see *Studia* 11, 1963, Taxiera da Nota, "Methodes de Navigation et Cartographie Nautique dans l'Ocean Indian avant le XVI siecle", p. 55; *ibid.*, Jean Aubin, "Y-a-t-il eu interruption du commerce par mer entre le Golfe Persique et l'Inde du XI siecle?", p. 16.

linking up with the Ashanti coast via Timbuctoo. There was also the sea route across the Arabian Sea ranging from Mogadisciu in the north to Sofala in the south.³

The commerce which flowed along these arteries of communication was well defined. Navigational expertise of a high order had been developed. The Phoenicians had perhaps been first in the field⁴ followed by the Greeks and Romans,⁵ Persians,⁶ Arabs⁷ and Chinese.⁸ There are references to Indonesian navigational expertise.⁹ In India, Gujaratis¹⁰ and the groups referred to loosely as *Chola* *Telaing* and *Kling*¹¹ played a special role, Malayali sailors appear to have adhered more closely to the shorelines of the Indian sub-continent.¹² Bengal receives mention but little is known about its navigators.

3. See Lotika Varadarajan, "Portuguese Source Material and the Indian Textile Trade of the Seventeenth Century, ms. p. 9, paper presented at *International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*, Goa, 1978.
4. For Phoenicians please see *Studia*, 11, 1963, M. P. Nougarede, "Qualites Nautiques des navires Arabes", pp. 117-118; G. R. Taylor, *The Haven Finding Art*. London, Sydney, Toronto, 1972, p. 43; Michel Mollat, *Societes et Compagnies de Commerce en Orient et dans l'Ocean Indien*, Paris, 1970, G. Charles-Picard. "Le Carrefour Phenicien", pp. 93-99.
5. The tradition of Arab crafts had been that of following the winds and currents associated with the North-East monsoon. The innovation introduced by the Romans and ascribed to Hippalus was that of utilising the South-West monsoon for the outward voyage. *Studia*, II, 1963, T de Mota, p. 51; *ibid.* M. P. Nougarede, pp. 114, 119, G. H. Hourani, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-28.
6. See *Journal Asiatique* (henceforth J.A.), Tome CCIV, 1924, G. Ferrand, "L'element Persan dans les taxtes nautiques Arabes des XV^e et XVI^e siecles" pp. 234-257.
7. For Arab nautical practices please refer to citations in n. 2 above and A. Kammerer, *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie l'Arabe aux XVI^e et XVII^e Siecles*, 3 Vols., Cairo, 1945-52: J. A., 1948, J. Sauvaget, "Sur d'anciennes instructions nautiques arabes pour les mers de l'Inde", pp. 16-19; *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. CXXVII, 1961, G. R. Tibbets, "Arab Navigation in the Red Sea", p. 322. For Arab vessels please see *Studia*, II, 1963, M. P. Maugarede, pp. 96, 98.
8. *Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, 1918-1923, (henceforth *Memoirs*), J. Hornell, "The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian boat designs" pp. 204-206; F. Hirth, W. W. Rockill, *Chau Ju Kua; his work on the Chinese and Arab Trade called Chu Fan-Chi*, St. Petersburg, 1911, pp. 32, 33; G. Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 73; *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1886, George Phillips, "The seaports of India and Ceylon", p. 30-42.
9. J. A., X^e serie, tome XV, 1910, G. Ferrand, "Les Voyages des Javanais a Madagascar", pp. 281-330: *ibid.*, G. Ferrand, "A propos d'une carte Javanaise du XV^e siecle", pp. 158-161.
10. *Ibid.*, 1919, G. Ferrand, "Le kouen-Louen", pp. 489-490; *Journal of South-East Asian History*, 1969, C.R. Boxer, "A note on Portuguese reactions to the revival of the Red Sea spice trade and the rise of Atjeh, 1540-1600", p. 416.
11. According to G. R. Tibbets (*op. cit.*, p. 38), the second half of the seventh fa'ida of the Fawaid by Ibn Majid has been almost literally taken from the sailing instructions of a Chola pilot. Gabriel Ferrand is of the view that when Arab authors such as Suliman Mahai and Ibn Majid compiled their sailing instructions they designated under the term *chola*, all Hindus of the East coast including those of Kalinga. See J.A. 1918, G. Ferrand, p. 165.
12. Tome Pires noted that among Malabar seamen much use was made of a boat without a keel known as *lada*. This was more suited to coastal and riverine traffic. See Armanda Cortesao, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, Kraus Reprint, Liechtenstein, 1967, pp. 65, 75-76.

Throughout the Indian Ocean there was a strong tradition of navigation by means of astronomical reckoning. The compass of twenty-four quarters was in usage among the Chinese and Indonesians,¹³ whereas the Arabs preferred the star compass of thirty-two quarters.¹⁴

The Kamal¹⁵ was used for fixing locations by star at sea, and signals to facilitate accurate landfalls were well imbibed by the *muallam*.¹⁶ The day was divided into set units of time,¹⁷ and rough and ready methods for assessing mean speeds of sailing had been devised.¹⁸ The magnetic compass first developed and used by the Chinese in chariots used to traverse the desert,¹⁹ was adapted to navigation and absorbed by the Arabs.²⁰ Indian tradition points to a greater reliance on the star rather than the wind or magnetic compass.²¹ During the day position finding with the help of the sun also appears to have been utilised although the date to be ascribed to the practice is not known.²²

In methods of ship construction there was a clear line of demarcation between the Arab stitched bark and the sturdier nailed junks of the Chinese. The lateen sail, well suited to navigation across the Arabian Sea during the North-East monsoon, could be contrasted

13. *Studia*, II, 1963, T. de Mota, p. 60; *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (henceforth J.N.C.B.R.A.S.), 1877, J. Edkins, "On Chinese names for boat and boat gear with remarks on the Chinese use of the mariner's compass", p. 134; G. R. Tibbets, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-295.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-273; J.N.C.B.R.A.S., 1877, J. Edkins, p. 132.
15. For *kamal* see *Studia* 11, 1963, T. de Mota, pp. 52-53, 56.
16. *Maullan* referred to the pilot of an ocean going vessel, *rubban* to a pilot of the Red Sea. Tibbets. *op. cit.*, p. 3. Under the Portuguese *rubban* was changed to *rebooes* and carried the meaning of pilot. *Studia*, 11, 1963, T. de Mota, p. 57, n. 9. In India the term *sukani* carried the same meaning. See Harilal Rangil Mankad. *Vahan ne Parivasha* (Nautical Vocabulary), Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, 1935, p. 12.
17. The Arabs based it on the *zam* which was the equivalent of one watch or three hours sailing time (G. R. Tibbets, *op. cit.*, p. 299). The Chinese *ken* or watch was equivalent to two hours and twenty-four minutes (J.N.C.B.R.A.S., 1877, Edkins, p. 132). For sandglass and use of incense sticks for measurement of time see E.G.R. Taylor. *op. cit.*, Joseph Needham, Appendix. p. 271.
18. Ferrand, *op. cit.*, III, p. 28.
19. J.N.C.B.R.A.S., 1877, J. Edkins, pp. 128-132.
20. Based on a Chinese source it is stated that the Arab adoption of the compass did not predate 1090 A.D. *Studia*, 11, 1963, J. Faublee and M. Urbain-Faublee "Madagascar vu par les auteurs arabes avant le XI^e siècle", p. 455.
21. See Harilal Rangildas Mankad, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
22. Museum Bulletin, XXVI, 1976-77, S. K. Bhowmik, ed., special issue to Honour the Centenary celebrations of the Kutch Museum, Bhuj, M. B. Pandhi, "Kutch nu vahan vatu", (Navigation of Kutch), Plate XXVI. Alan Villiers (Sons of *Sindbad*, London, 1940, p. 159) remarked that Arabs had lost the ability to navigate on the high sea but Indian *muallam* were able to steer a course by measurement of the sun c.f. A. Taxiera de Mota (*Studia*, II, p. 56), who remarks on the absence of reference in Arab text to the utilisation of the sun to determine location at sea.

with the kind of rigging developed by the Chinese junk.²³ Along the coast of peninsula India James Hornell has divided ship types into three broad overlapping classifications: Bulchistan, Sind Kutch and Kathiawar, zones of Arab influence, Gulf of Cambay to Mangalore, partly Arab partly indigenous apart from European influences, Goa to Travancore where there has been an induction of Indonesian influences.²⁴ Apart from sewing planks together, carvel jointing and the practice of rabbeting have also been noted. Rabbeting is the most labour intensive and also the most seaworthy method of boat building.²⁵ The place of origin of the rabbet technique or *Vadhera* as it is known in Gujarat, remains in intriguing mystery.

While there is a fair amount of information available on the subject of Asian trade during the period under review comparatively little is known about Asian navigational techniques and practices, apart from information relating to the Arabs and Chinese. Leaving aside the question of scale and tonnage, it appears reasonable to infer that many different kinds of boats could be found in any given anchorage enjoying entrepot commerce at any given point in time. Narrowing the point of vision to strictly Indian waters, how much do we know about medieval Indian shipping and navigation?

European travel accounts devote some attention to indigenous methods of boat building. There are some references to Sanskrit and Prakrit texts on navigation, boat building²⁶ and literary tracts on terms.²⁷ Hornell²⁸ gives a very complete account of existing traditions along the pre-independence Indian coastline. What is perhaps required is a comprehensive analysis of the subject. The location of suitable and exhaustive source material is, however, a

23. For Chinese methods of shipbuilding and nautical technology see M. Mollat, *op. cit.*, J. Needham, "Abstract of material presented to the International Maritime History Commission at Beirut", pp. 157-163.
24. *Mariners Mirror*, 32, 1946, James Hornell, "The Sailing Craft of Western India" pp. 195-196.
25. Jean Deloche, "Techniques Anciennes de Construction Navales en Inde: Le Probleme de la Liaison des Bordages", manuscript, courtesy author, pp. 11-14 (paper presented at VIth European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies, Paris, 1978).
26. For the Hindu science of navigation based on the lost Sanskrit text entitled *Niryamaka* please see *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*, p. 183. For reference in Prakrit see R. C. Dwivedi, *Contributions of Jainism to Indian Culture*, Varanasi, 1975, P. S. Jain "An account of the trade and shipping in Prakrit literature", pp. 277-278. The nautical expertise of the Bodhisattva who practiced as the pilot, Suparaga, at Broach is graphically described in the *Jatakas*. See J.A. 1918, S. Levi, "Pour l'histoire du Ramayana", p. 86.
27. A phenomenon of the medieval period was the development of a category of material comprising a compendium of terms used by *Kathakas* or reciters to embellish their stories and enable them to grip the attention of the audience. This category of *Varna* literature has stray references on a variety of subjects.
28. For citation see *Memoirs*, n. 5 above.

serious problem. Some of the boats which Hornell was able to locate on the east coast have disappeared. For the period under review it appears essential to try and bring new categories of source material to light. *Varna* literature of the medieval period may prove useful particularly the *kathakatasika* material available in Bengal.²⁹ The forthcoming issue of *Archipel* may also provide indications as to the new lines of investigation.³⁰ Oral traditions also need to be probed and customary practices in the construction of sailing boats need to be systematically recorded. The west coast of India would lend itself particularly well to this type of investigation. If on the spot surveys are conducted at certain centres which still cater to sailing boat traffic, or if persons who still carry memories of sailing vessels and their construction and techniques could be interrogated, a great deal of valuable information could be gleaned. In this context mention may be made of E. P. Thammuty, Maistry, Boat Building Yard, Baypore, Calicut-15, and Narsibhai Morarji Wadia boat building Yard, Bilimora, Gujarat. At the former establishment, apart from indigenous models, boats are made to Arab specifications, and an old practitioner can still describe how stitching used to be done. A person with the proper technical qualifications could work but changes effected as a result of increase in tonnage and placement of an engine to further improve the viability of what essentially remains a sailing vessel. The Narsibhai Morarji Wadia Boat Building Yard appears to be one of the few places left on the west coast where *Vadhera* jointing is still being done. K. B. Vaidya has done sterling work in providing a detailed physical description of the shores and creeks of the Saurashtra-Kutch coastline.³¹ Since mechanisation on a wide scale dates back only to about the seventh decade of the twentieth century interviews of different members of the various sailing communities along with their community leaders can be expected to reveal a considerable quantum of information. Among these may be mentioned the Vaishnavite *machhwas* of South Gujarat, the Hindu Lohana Khatris of Mandvi, Muslim Vaghers of Okha, Dwarka, Salaya, Kutch-Mandvi and Jamnagar, and the Muslim Machhiwars of Nawabandar, Jaffrabad, Sutrapada, Diu and Venakbara.

Two traditions are in evidence today. Firstly are those who sail without the help of any charts or technical devices trusting

29. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Babu Misra, eds. *Varna-Ratnakara of Jyotirisvara-Ravi-Sekharacharya*, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1949, pp. XXII-XXIII.

30. *Archipel*, Vol. 18 (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 54, Boulevard Raspail, Paris 75006).

31. K. B. Vaidya, ed. *Kaybees Indian Shipping Annual*, 1951, The Ports Number, Bombay, 1951, pp. 257-274, 499-501, 516-535.

solely to experience and their own sensory perceptions.³² Secondly, in North Saurashtra and Kutch there are remnants of a tradition of navigation on the open sea with the help of some form of marine charts, and drawing on the repository of astronomical position finding.³³

Relations between the owner of the ship and the captain, the relations of the captain with his crew, the distribution of work load, responsibilities and functions follow the Arab model³⁴ rather than the European one.³⁵ Links with an earlier pre-Muslim tradition have been obscured if not lost. With the increasing switchover to mechanised craft in preference to sailing vessels there is a danger that if material existing today is not documented it will be irretrievably lost thus irrevocably destroying gossamer links with a living past.

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32. They would perhaps fall into the category of pilots such as the Arab, Nedji mentioned by A. Villiers, *op. cit.*, p. 159. Such men were very skilful shore-line navigators with unerring accuracy in landfall.
 33. The Indian muallam mentioned by A. Villiers, who, unlike his Arab counterpart *circa* 1940, could navigate on the high seas by measurement of the sun was in all probability a Kutchi navigator. See *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, Cf. n. 22 above.
 34. See M. Mollat, *op. cit.*, M.R.B., Serjeant, "Maritime Customary Law of the Arabian Coasts", pp. 201-204.
 35. Unlike the indigenous tradition where there is job differentiation more for convenience than rank, it was noted of Portuguese vessels during the sixteenth century that even if the ship was sinking each man would only perform what was properly his job. P. A. Tiele. *The Voyage of Jon Huyghen Van Linschoten*, II, London, 1885, p. 237.

INDIAN AESTHETICS AND SOME OF ITS PRINCIPLES

P. N. VIRKAR

MEANINGS of the word 'aesthetics' given by dictionaries are
(i) The science of the beautiful, (ii) that branch of science or
philosophy which deals with the beautiful,
(iii) appreciation of the beautiful in accordance
with the principles of good taste and so on.

Dictionary mean-
ing of the word
'aesthetics'

Baumgarten (1714-1762) is said to be the first Western thinker
to propound that art has an independent importance. He declares
that the problems of art form a separate science
and to that science he gives the name 'Aesthetic'.
Aesthetics, then, is nothing but the plural form
of the word 'Aesthetic'.

Baumgarten and
importance of
aesthetics

According to Baumgarten, thus, aesthetics appears to mean 'the
theory of art.' One dictionary happens to give 'the theory of fine
arts' as a meaning of the term aesthetics'. We
have, therefore, to know first the distinction be-
tween an 'art' and 'a fine art.' According to the
Indian terminology, the word *Kalā* may be taken to stand for an
art and *Lalita Kalā* to stand for a fine art.

Aesthetics strictly
means 'theory of
fine arts'

In ancient Sanskrit works, *Kalās* were said to be sixty-four.
'*Kalānām catuṣṣaṣṭivāt*' says Vatsyayana in his *Kāmasūtra*.

Kalās or Arts

A commentary on *Srimad bhāgavata*, while com-
menting on the 36th verse of the 45th adhyāya of
the 10th skandha says that sixty four *Kalās* are
mentioned in the *Saivatāntra*. The commentary reproduces the list
of sixty-four *Kalās*. In the *Lalita-vistara*, supposed to have been
written in the second century A.D., a list of 88 topics is given and
the words '*evamādyāsu Sarvakarmakalāsu*' follow that list. It is
possible to dissolve the compound *karmakalāh as karmāṇi ca kalāh
ca*. So, even if we ignore this list occurring in the *Lalita Vistara*
and cast a glance only at the lists given in the *Kāmasūtra* and *Saiva-*

1. Aesthetics, thus, concerns itself only with art, i.e., beauty produced through human effort. It cannot take natural beauty into account, as, even if rules were to be framed regarding 'natural' beauty, who is expected to observe them?

tantra, it will reveal that not only such activities as *Gītam*, *Nāṭyam*, *Nṛtyam*, *Ālekhyam*, etc., but those like *Śayanaracana*, *Dyūtavīṣeṣa*, *Bhūṣanabhojana*, *Udakaghāta* and others were also regarded as *Kalās*. Some of these are mainly utilitarian in character, while some others appear to be pastimes, serving the purpose of recreation, more or less.

But those like *Gītam*, *Nāṭyam*, *Ālekhyam*, etc. from these very lists stand out as activities belonging to quite a different type. The joy that one derives from these stands on a plane much higher than the pleasure yielded by most of the other activities in the list. Beauty is the feature that dominates these activities in a strikingly large measure.

An art or a *Kalā* may, therefore, be broadly described as an activity that lends some beauty to the piece of work it produces, whatever the main purpose served by that product may be. When, however, an artist strives to produce a piece of beauty mainly to derive from it aesthetic pleasure for himself and to give a similar pleasure to *rasikas*, i.e., to those having the capacity to appreciate beauty, we may call his artistic activity by the name 'a fine art' or 'a *Lalita Kalā*'.

Out of so many arts, therefore, the following six are, in India, looked upon as 'fine arts' or '*Lalita Kalās*':—

Names of fine arts in India (i) *Nāṭya* (dramatic representation), (ii) *Kāvya* (Poetry), (iii) *Saṅgīta*² (music), (iv) *Citra* or *Ālekhyā* (drawing and painting), (v) *Mūrtiśilpa* (Sculpture) and (vi) *Vāstuśilpa* (architecture).

For our purposes then, the word aesthetics may be taken to mean 'the theory of (the above mentioned six) fine arts.' It is already pointed out earlier in this article that according to the Indian terminology we shall be using the term *Lalita Kalā* for a fine art. The name *Lalita Kalā* does not appear to have been used in connection with these six fine arts or some other fine arts, in any of the ancient Sanskrit works. It happens to be a somewhat modern usage. It is, however, possible that *Kālidāsa*'s famous line—*त्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविद्यौ*³ might have suggested to someone the idea of using the

2. नृत्यं गीतं च वाद्यं च त्रयं सङ्गीतमृच्यते ।

(Dancing, singing and instrumental music — these three are said to bear the name 'Saṅgīta').

3. *Raghuvamśa*, VIII-87.

word *Lalita Kalā* for fine arts. The word *Lalita* means 'beautiful'. Mallinātha renders Kālidāsa's 'Lalite' as 'Manohare'. So a *Lalita Kalā* is a *kalā* that appeals to the mind because of its beauty.

In India, fine arts have been flourishing since very very ancient times. Works on the science of each of these six fine arts were also written many centuries ago. We have, for instance, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata written about two thousand years ago. It deals mainly with Nāṭya, but dwells upon some other arts as well, as subsidiary to Nāṭya. The *Saṅgitaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva and some other works treat of music at length. The *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* of Someśvara, the *citra Sūtra* in the third khanda of the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, *Sukranīti*, *Kāṣyapaśilpa* and others contain a fairly elaborate treatment of drawing and painting, sculpture and architecture. The number of works written on *Kāvyaśāstra* or poetics is perhaps the largest of those written on any of these fine arts.

No Sanskrit work, however, seems to have been written on aesthetics or Saundaryaśāstra, i.e., a work dealing with the principles of beauty *common to or applicable to all the fine arts*. Still, there are so many topics dwelt upon in the works on the Science of each of the fine arts in general and in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the large number of works on poetics in particular, that are capable of being applied to any of the fine arts. It is necessary to discover and properly interpret all those ideas and to weave them into one whole, i.e., into full-fledged work on 'Principles of Indian Aesthetics.' The work is expected to give a clear and complete idea regarding what the Indian way of looking at aesthetic problems had been.

It will be enlightening to quote here the following remarks made by Raniero Gnoli:—

"The Indians⁴ were keenly interested in the study of aesthetic consciousness on the part of both the spectator and the poet..... Indian thinkers recognised the unique characteristics of the poet with an insight anticipating, by some ten centuries the developments of modern Western aesthetics. The first Indian work on aesthetics, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, is a work of deep psychological insight..... Bharata's work, however, variously interpreted, is un-

Raniero Gnoli's
remarks on 'Indian
Aesthetics'

4. Encyclopedia of World Art, Vol. V, p. 62, under the 'Indian Aesthetics.'

deniably the foundation of Indian aesthetic thought. However, for simple and a clear statement of the Indian attitude to aesthetic problems one turns not so much to Bharata's as to another, later approach, — that of Ānandavardhana."

In this article, I intend to draw the attention of the readers to some places in ancient Sanskrit works, wherein we can find light shed on the way, the Indians of the ancient times had been thinking about aesthetic questions. My attempt will mainly be directed towards showing how ideas, though expressed in the context of *one* of the six fine arts (say, in the context of poetry) can hold good in the case of the other fine arts as well. Within the limits of this article, however, I can give but a limited number of illustrations, only to indicate the lines on which one will have to proceed.

This article shows how ideas are one fine art can be applied to other fine arts as well

shed on the way, the Indians of the ancient times had been thinking about aesthetic questions. My attempt will mainly be directed towards showing how ideas, though expressed in the context of *one* of the six fine arts (say, in the context of poetry)

We may begin with citing two mantras from the *R̥gveda*, the oldest of the available Sanskrit works. Although the *R̥gveda* is not a work on the theory of any art, some mantras serve to prove that thoughts of aesthetic importance had begun to occur to poets. Mantra II of the 71st hymn in the tenth mandala runs thus:—

Two mantras from the R̥gveda

serve to prove that thoughts of aesthetic importance had begun to occur to poets. Mantra II of

सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमकृत ।

अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रेषां लक्ष्मीनिहिताधि वाचि ॥

(Wise men fashioned their words after having thought of them in their mind. It was like cleaning barley grains from chaff with a sieve. It is in the speech of such people that kindred minds respond to kindred thoughts. Beauty dwells in the speech of these people).

If one carefully ponders over this stanza, one does find an aesthetic principle embodied in it. That principle is: Poets have to think well and select the right words with which they compose their poems. The words chosen by them are pregnant with beauty. *Rasikas* are fascinated by such poems only.

Now although this stanza seems to speak of poetry, the ideas therein are applicable to any work of art. A singer has to select his tunes; a painter his lines and colours. Beauty abides in whatever they select and in the way they present it. *Rasikas* alone can capture that beauty.

The fourth stanza in the same hymn is:—

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददशं वाचम् उत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।
उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसत्रे जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥

(One who sees speech does not see (the spirit behind) it. Another who hears the speech does not comprehend (the spirit behind) it. Speech, however, reveals its true spirit before an expert, just as a wife full of passion lays bare her body before her husband.)

This stanza also brings out a similar idea. The beauty of any work of art — whether it be a poem or a picture or a song — can be appreciated only by a *rasika*. This reminds me of the 7th Kārikā of the first Uddyota of the *Dhvanyāloka*:—

शब्दार्थशासनज्ञानमात्रेणैव न वेद्यते ।
वेद्यते स हि काव्यार्थतत्त्वज्ञैरेव केवलम् ॥

(It is not possible to catch the hidden meaning of a poem only by studying the science of words (i.e., grammar) or the science of meaning (i.e., going through a dictionary or an encyclopaedia). That meaning is understood only by those who know what the true essence of the poetry is.)

Now although this Kārikā says something about poetry, it holds good in the case of any work of art. One must be a *rasika* to be able to appreciate the beauty whether of a poem or of a painting or of an artistically erected edifice.

Ślokas 2 to 7 from the 3rd Sarga of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki tell us what that great sage did before he commenced writing the epic. The purport of those verses is:—

The sage sipped water and folded his hands in supplication. He sat on a mat made of darbha grass and began to mentally visualise, by his yogic power the whole of Rāma's life-history. He was able to see exactly as it took place whatever was done by Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, as also by King Daśaratha and by his queens and by his people. He visualised vividly their smiles, their talking and all their movements. He saw all that had happened to Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā when they were roaming about in the forest. He saw whatever happened there with the objectivity of an emblic fruit resting on the palm of one's hand.

The account given above is an excellent illustration of a principle of great value to aesthetics. The principle is this: A great artist first of all directs all his efforts towards bringing before his

mental eye a complete and vivid picture of the work of art he is going to produce and it is then alone that he actually proceeds to give shape to it. It has been our experience even in modern times that an architect has first to mentally visualize the plan, elevation, design, etc. of a building, and it is then that he actually puts that plan on paper.

In his *Sivasūtravimarsinī*, Kṣemarāja has explained the word *Kalā* (art) as:—

A derivation of the word 'kata' कलयति स्वस्वरूपावेशेन तत्तद् वस्तु परिच्छिनत्ति इति कलाव्यापारः ।

(An artistic activity is that activity of an artist which determines the subject of the work of art by the infusion of his mind into it.)

Mahimabhaṭṭa in his *Vyakti-Viveka* says:—

रसानुगुणशब्दार्थचिन्तास्तिमितचेतसः ।
क्षणं स्वरूपस्पर्शोत्था प्रज्ञैव प्रतिभा कवेः⁵ ॥

(A poet's genius is the same as his intellect activated by the infusion of his mind into the subject of his poem.)

The quotations given above remind me of the following remark made by no less a person than Dr. Rabindranāth Tagore: 'In art, man reveals himself and not his objects.'⁶

'Objectives of an art', is a topic of great concern to any aesthete. It has been discussed at a considerable length in our ancient Sanskrit works. Bhāmaha's *Kāvya-lankāra* is the earliest available work on poetics. He says there-
in:—

Objectives of an art — according to Indian standpoint

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु वैचक्षण्यं कलासु च ।
करोति कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च साधुकाव्यनिषेवणम् ॥⁷

(Application to good poetry gives proficiency in the attainment of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa as also in the various arts. It also brings fame and joy.)

Now although these have been described by Bhāmaha as the objectives of Kāvya, they can be taken to have been the objectives of any other art according to the ancient Indian viewpoint. In the

5. Vimarśa 2, Kārikā 117.

6. Rabindranāth Tagore in 'Art and aesthetics', p. 6.

7. 1-2.

case of drawing and painting (Citra-Kalā), we find the following statement in the third Khanda of the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara-purāṇa*:—

कलानां प्रवरं चित्रं धर्मार्थकाममोक्षदम्⁸ ।

(Citrakalā is the most excellent of all arts and it helps in the attainment of Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Mokṣa.)

The *Saṅgeeta Ratnākara* says thus regarding the art of music:—

तस्य गीतस्य माहात्म्यं के प्रशंसितुमीयते ।

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षानामिदमेवंकसाधनम्⁹ ॥

(Who are capable of praising adequately the greatness of that Saṅgeeta? It is the only means of securing Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa.)

But, just before this stanza, the following line occurs in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* itself:—

गीतेन प्रीयते देवः सर्वज्ञः पार्वतीपतिः ।

(The omniscient God, Śiva, is delighted by music.)

Two stanzas later, we are told in the same work:—

(बालः) गीतामृतं श्रुत्वा हर्षोत्कर्षं प्रपद्यते ।

(A crying child is highly pleased on hearing a nectar-like song.)

So, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* mentions joy as an objective of music in addition to the attainment of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa.

Several centuries even before Bhāmaha, the *Nāṭya-Sastra* had said thus in connection with the dramatic art:—

दुःखार्तानां श्रमार्तानां शोकार्तानां तपस्विनाम् ।

विश्रामजननं लोके नाट्यमेतद् भविष्यति¹⁰ ।

(The drama will give peace of mind to the unlucky people afflicted with pain and grief and who are exhausted as a result of excessive work.)

A few stanzas later, it says:

बिनोदजननं लोके नाट्यमेतद् भविष्यति¹¹ ॥

(This drama will be a means of recreation in this world.)

So joy had been looked upon as an objective of art from times ancient enough. Anandawardhana in the very first Kārikā of the *Dhvanyāloka* says:—

तेन ब्रूमः सहृदयमनःप्रीतये तत्स्वरूपम् ।

8. Adhyāya 43, Verse 38.

9. Adhyāya 1, Prakaraṇa 1, Verse 30.

10. 1-115, 116.

11. 1-124,

(Hence we shall describe the true nature of that Dhvani, for the delight of the Sahṛdayas.)

As already pointed out just a few paragraphs earlier, Bhāmaha mentions *Prīti* or joy as *one* of the objectives of poetry. Quoting

Of the so many objectives joy is the highest this verse of Bhāmaha in his *locana*, Abhinavagupta further says:

तथापि तत्र प्रीतिरेव प्रधानम्¹² ।

(But out of the so many objectives mentioned (by Bhāmaha), joy alone is the principal objective.)

Taking clue from this sentence of Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa in the second *Kārikā* of the first *Ullāsa* of his *Kāvya-prakāśa* states six objectives of *Kāvya* and in his *Vṛtti* on it speaks of joy with the words:—

सकलप्रयोजनमौलिभूतं समनन्तरमेव रसास्वादनसमुद्भूतं विगलितवेद्यान्तरमानन्दम्

He thus places joy above all the other aims of poetry. We can say this in the case of the other fine arts also and observe that though art, according to ancient Indian writers, was meant to serve some other ends also, joy was considered to be the highest of them all.

Before proceeding to the next point, it is essential to dwell for a short time on the nature of this 'joy', as described by the ancient Indian aestheticians. They describe that Joy as Brahmanandasahodarah, i.e. *similar* to that experienced when one loses oneself in meditating over the omnipresent 'Brahman'.

Leaving aside the consideration of the other details describing this joy, the main feature to be borne in mind is that this Joy is higher and purer than worldly joys in that self-interest is absent when one is enjoying the beauty of a work of art. Kant, a famous Western philosopher, who flourished several centuries after Abhinavagupta, also declared that aesthetic judgment, i.e., appreciation of the beautiful, is disinterested as it clings only to the idea and not to the object proper.

The six objectives of poetry mentioned by Mammaṭa in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* include the objective 'conveying advice in the manner of a beloved.'¹³ The mention of this as an objective leads us to discuss a subject forming an important part of aesthetics, viz. Art and Morality. 'Art is for art's sake and hence instruction

12. *Dhvanyāloka*, Kāśī edition, p. 40.

13. काव्यं कान्तासंमिततयोपदेशयुजे ।

can never by thought of as even one of its objectives' — many artists will say. We have to understand correctly what the viewpoint of the ancient Indians in this matter had been. Neither Mammaṭa nor any other Indian aesthetician means to say that the business of poetry (or any other art), is to preach, or to give a sermon on morality. A work of art should instruct, but only indirectly, presenting the matter in the sweetest possible form. It is to be presented in a manner one's beloved would present, i.e., after first attracting him towards herself by giving him the highest delight.

We shall be able to understand this view of Mammaṭa correctly, if we try to catch the spirit behind it. Everyone will agree that the main business of any work of art is only to give joy. The gods when they approached Brahmā, wanted from him an object of diversion,¹⁴ i.e., for enjoyment and Brahmā gave them the Nāṭya-Veda. So a work of art is primarily meant for giving joy, no doubt. But that joy has got to be one on a higher plane, a pure joy. It must be pure, that is, free from any base, polluting matter, free from any evil or self-interest. The joy arising from the appreciation of a work of art must elevate the mind. That is the idea behind regarding 'instruction' as one of the objectives of art. That is what the great Marathi novelist Shri Hari Narayan Apte meant when he wrote — 'That work of literature is truly great which serves to elevate man from beastliness to godliness'.

Art must elevate
man by giving 'pure'
unpolluted joy

One of the most important contributions of the ancient Sanskrit authors to aesthetics is the doctrine of *Rasa*. This is not a place to discuss that doctrine in all its details. My task here is only to show how it is of prime importance not only in the field of poetry or drama, but in that of any other fine art.

The main idea underlying the *Rasa* doctrine is that an artist must aim at delineating some feeling in the work of art he intends to produce. It goes without saying that he should delineate it beautifully, but what he should beautify must be a feeling rather than anything else. The reason is obvious. It is only when a work of art touches the feelings of the *Rasika* that he considers it as something full of life; else it is something lifeless, howsoever outwardly beautified it may be. This state of affairs reminds me of a Sanskrit Subhaṣita:—

किं कवेस्तेन काव्येन किं काण्डेन घनुष्मत्तः ।

परस्य हृदये लगनं न घूर्णयति यच्छिरः ॥

(Of what avail is that poem to a poet and of what avail is that shaft to an archer, which, when it comes in contact with another's heart, does not make him nod his head or which doesn't make his head reel.)

And the reader will nod his head only when a poem arouses some feeling in his heart and a feeling will be aroused if the poem itself manifests some feeling.

And what is true of a poem, is true of any other work of art. That song sounds the sweetest the tunes in which touch the heart of the hearer. No other song will attain that level if it merely displays proficiency in the science of music. Similarly, that picture or painting will be deemed to be full of life in which the painter has striven to depict some feeling. Even if we take the case of architecture, the impression that the Taj produces would not have been so overpowering if it had not meant an embodiment of Love of Shahajahan for his beloved Mumtaj.

Well, this, in brief, is the importance of the *Rasa-Siddhānta* in aesthetics. Even Western thinkers have admitted the importance of depicting feelings in works of art.

Abhinavagupta, when offering his own interpretation of Bharata's *Rasa-Sūtra*, draws our attention to a very significant point, worth noting. If a poet has delineated a particular feeling in his poem, a similar feeling is aroused in the heart of the reader. It is of course aroused in a 'generalised' form. The *rasika* then forgets all the details concerning himself. He is 'concentred all' in the enjoyment of that 'generalised' feeling, glistening in the pure light of the reader's soul.

It has been observed above that the feeling has, of course, to be delineated beautifully, Anandavardhana says that the words employed by the poet in his poem should be '*Lalita*'¹⁵ that is, endowed with *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras*. And whatever is laid down in the case of a poet is expected to be borne in mind by any other artist as well. He also must strive to present a sentiment in as beautiful a form as possible. So the beauty of form is also a very important consideration in aesthetics, but Indian aestheticians tell us that the beauty of form will appear to be a real beauty only when it serves to enhance the beauty of the feeling depicted in the work of art — feeling.

15. *Dhvanyāloka*, Kāśī edition, p. 45 and the *Locana* on the word '*Lalita*'.

which must be regarded by an artist as the King in the realm of aesthetics.

This consideration obliges us to turn to Aucitya, a principle of paramount importance in aesthetics. Ānandavardhana was the first to advocate this principle emphatically and elaborately, with ample illustrations. "The only intention of a poet in composing a poem must be the delineation of a sentiment, says Ānandavardhana:—

Principle of Aucitya (propriety) — its supreme importance

कविना¹⁶ प्रबन्धमुपनिबध्नता सर्वात्मना रसपरतन्त्रेण भवितव्यम् ।

Sometime later, he again emphatically declares that a mature poet should not take a pen in his hand if he does not have the desire to lead *rasikas* to realise some sentiment:

परिष्कारवतां कवीनां रक्षादितात्पर्यविरहे व्यापार एव न शोभते ।

And having every now and then emphasized that the depiction of a sentiment should be a primary consideration before a poet, Ānandavardhana tells us that every idea and every expression used by a poet must be chosen only suitably, that is, every detail that goes to make up his poem must serve to enhance the beauty of that sentiment alone. If the principle of Aucitya is not strictly followed, the composition even of a poet fails to give delight, he says:

All details must be so selected as to suit the main sentiment

अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद् रसमङ्गस्य कारणम् ।

प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत् परा ॥

And the observance of the rules of Aucitya being all-important, Ānandavardhana devotes over eighty pages of his book to a detailed and elaborate discussion of the topic. He gives ample guidance and a number of illustration regarding what a poet should do in order to be able to pay due regard to the observance of Aucitya. On pp. 363-364 of the Kasi edition of the *Dhvanyāloka*, he goes to the length of admitting:

Importance of Aucitya stressed by Ānandavardhana

अत एव चेतित्वत्तमात्रवर्णनप्राधान्येऽङ्गाङ्गभावरहितरसभावनिबन्धेन च कवीनामेवं विधानि स्थलितानि भवन्तीति रसादिरूपव्यङ्ग्यतात्पर्यमेवेषां युक्तमिति अन्नोऽस्माभिरारब्धो न ध्वनिप्रतिपादनमात्राभिनिवेशेन ।

(If therefore, poets are interested only in describing a plot and if they don't discriminate between what is principal and what is

16. Ibid, p. 336.

subordinate, their poems do suffer from such lapses. It is in order to bring home to them that they should place the delineation of a sentiment above everything else that we have taken pains to write this book, and not merely with the desire to propound the doctrine of Dhvani.)

Now although the importance of the Aucitya principle has been emphasised by Anandavardhana in the context of Nāṭya and Kāvya, it is of supreme importance to other fine arts as well. I can here illustrate the point only in brief. The tunes and rhythm employed must suit the rasa intended to be delineated. If, for example, the principal rasa is Karuṇa the tunes must nourish the tragic sentiment only. The rhythm must not be fast but slow. Fast rhythm is bound to damage the tragic sentiment.

Aucitya is of importance also to arts other than poetry, e.g. music

The use of an alaṅkāra, says Anandavardhana, does not serve to beautify a poem, simply because it is an alaṅkāra. It enriches its beauty only when it is suitably used. The poet should not make a special effort to introduce an alaṅkāra. It must enter a poem even without the poet's knowledge, while all his attention is directed towards the manifestation of *Rasa*.

An Alaṅkāra is truly so, if used suitably.

Abhinavagupta, while commenting on this portion, gives two very apt illustrations. Ornaments do not serve to adorn a dead body, as that body is without a soul. Nor does it beautify a hermit, as the tendencies symbolised by an ornament and those by a hermit are not 'matching.' A hermit is an embodiment of renunciation, while an ornament is suggestive of the tendency to enjoy.

Illustrations given by Abhinavagupta

And what is true of poetry is true of any other art. An illustration from music has already been given. To take the example of painting: if a painter desires to represent an occasion wherein a beloved is mourning over the demise of her husband, it will not be proper for him to show that her attention is directed at that time, even for a moment, towards putting on ornaments, howsoever attractive and costly they may otherwise be. He must depict her as Kālidāsa has depicted Rati, lamenting the loss of Madana:

बसुधालिङ्गनधूसरस्तनी; विललाप विकीर्णमूर्धजा . . .

(She lamented, with her breasts dusty on account of her rolling on the ground and with her hair dishevelled.)

Symbolism is a topic that cannot be done without while discussing aesthetics. It is of great importance in the fields of sculp-

Art and Symbolism
Use of symbols
in every day life

ture, painting, etc. Now symbols are made use of every now and then in everyday life. The words that we use are symbols of the objects they signify. The letters that we write symbolise the sounds of the words we hear. Coins and paper-currency are symbols of the value they represent. Symbols are also used for securing brevity. We call them shortforms. 'A' for area, 'L' for length, 'X' for multiplied by, are all symbols.

But the meanings of all these symbols are fixed by convention. They are as good as the Vācya or the expressed meanings of the symbols. The use of some symbols is akin to the

Meanings of many
symbols filed by
convention. Such
symbols do not
serve to lend
beauty

use of lakṣaṇā (i.e. secondary usage) in literature. If, for example, one draws only a few distinguishing features in a picture, they can be indicative of the whole building, whether it be a post office, a temple or a school.

Some symbols, however, are suggestive. In a cinema show, for example, a flame is shown to be extinguished to suggest the demise of a character. Even out of the suggestive symbols, however, it is only the use of those symbols that is of value in the field of art, which use serves to invest a piece of art with beauty.

Suggestiveness
lending beauty is
important in the
field of Art

Vyañjanā and Dhvani propounded by Ānandavardhana in the context of poetry and drama are of paramount importance in the field of aesthetics — in the field of any other art. Clever people usually suggest what they hold to be dear and valuable. They do not describe it directly, says Ānandavardhana:

Vyañjanā, Dhvani
and Symbolism

प्रसिद्धिश्चेयमस्त्येव विदग्धविद्वत्परिषत्सु यदभिमततरं वस्तु व्यङ्ग्यत्वेन प्रकाश्यते, न साक्षाच्छब्दवाच्यत्वेन¹⁷ ।

An artist, therefore, aims at 'Suggesting' his subject by employing symbols. This choice of symbols will speak of his Pratibhā, i.e., genius. In the 15th Kārikā of the 1st Uddyota of the same book, he says:

उक्त्यन्तरेणाशक्यं यत्तच्चारुत्वं प्रकाशयन् ।

शब्दो व्यञ्जकतां विभ्रद् ध्वन्युक्तेर्विषयो भवेत् ॥

(That word alone will deserve to be given the name 'Dhvani' which, in addition to being suggestive will manifest beauty that is incapable of being manifested by any other word (or group of words.)

So not only a poet, but any artist, whether an architect or a musician or a painter, must use symbols that are not only suggestive, but are capable of lending such beauty to the work of art as cannot be lent by substituting them by anything else. According to Ānandavardhana, then, a great artist should aim at delineating a sentiment and at delineating it most artistically, through the employment of symbols suggestive of uncommon beauty.

Doctrine of Dhvani of importance in the case of any art

Before coming to a close I must draw the attention of the readers to the following Sanskrit verse quoted by Yaśodhara in his *Jayamangalā* commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana (The source of the verse is unknown):—

Six 'Aṅgas' of painting

रूपमेवाः प्रमाणानि, भावलावण्ययोजनम् ।

सावृत्त्यं वर्णिकाभङ्ग इति चित्रं षडङ्गकम् ॥

“(i) The various kinds of appearance, (ii) the different proportions, (iii) investing the picture with feeling, (iv) as well as beauty, (v) similarity and (vi) different kinds of brushes (or colours) — these are the six essential components that go to bring about a picture.

Now herein we are told something about the art of drawing and painting. But most of these characteristics are applicable to arts other than Citrakalā. Take, for instance, Bhāva-yojana. The painter must introduce ‘feeling’ in his picture, we are told. But Ānandavardhana tells us that a poem or a dramatic play as well must manifest a feeling. I have said earlier that a sweet song is that which touches the feelings of the listeners. Turning next to Lāvanya-yojana, no work of art — whether a poem or a song or anything else, can be called a work of art, if the element of beauty is not there. Sādrśya (similarity) is also worth our attention. There

True meaning of Sādrśya

must be the element of similarity in a picture.

But similarity between what? That is the question. It is not ordinary similarity, that is, the composer does not mean when he uses the word Sādrśya, that there should be similarity between an actual tiger and the picture of a tiger. For, though that similarity must be there, it is not necessary that an expert should tell us that. It is just a matter of common sense — the commonest man will say that the picture of a tiger must bear similarity to a real tiger. What similarity, then, is implied here in the word Sādrśya? It is the similarity between the *experience* the

Sādrśya of importance to any other fine art

painter wants to convey through his picture and the experience that a *rasika* spectator has when

he sees that picture. It is then that we can say that the painter is a great artist and that spectator is a true *rasika*. This, again, is true of any work of art — whether a poem or a play. That is why Bhaṭṭa Tauta has observed that —

नायकस्य कवेः श्रोतुः समानोऽनुभवस्ततः ।

(Then, i.e., when the reader is enjoying a poem, the experience of the reader, that of the poet and that of the character depicted in his poem by the poet are exactly alike.)

One important point in the case of these six components of a picture that the artist must fully bear in his mind is that these are but *aṅgas* or subsidiaries, and that none of them is the principal thing.

The whole work of art is the chief thing and the six parts must subordinate themselves and cooperate so as to give the 'whole', i.e., the work of art the highest prominence. This was what Ānandavardhana meant when he laid stress on the observance of *Aucitya*. This was what he had in view when he said that *Guṇa-pradhāna-bhāva* must not be lost sight of. That is, the poet must never forget what is principal and what is subordinate (vide the quotation from the *Dhvanyāloka* cited on page 13 of this article.)

This leads us to take into account a principle known as the Gestalt principle in psychology. The principle tells us that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Now, what more is there in the whole than the sum of all its parts? It is the peculiar arrangement of the parts that is the extra-ordinary thing. It is in arranging parts in that particular manner that the genius of the artist works. A well known Sanskrit *Subhāṣita* runs thus:—

त एव पदविन्यासास्ता एवार्थविभूतयः ।

तथापि नव्यं भवति काव्यं, ग्रथनकौशलात् ॥¹⁸

(A poet employs the very same words that other men employ in everyday language. The meanings of those words are also the same as the meanings that are understood by common people. But even then a good poem appears to be new or extra-ordinary on account of the skill of the poet in *arranging* the selected words and meanings, on account of his skill in composing the poem.)

18. The source of this *Subhāṣita* is unknown.

UNMATTAPRALĀPAKAM- A RARE AND LITTLE-KNOWN VEDĀNTA WORK

SIDDHARTH Y. WAKANKAR

THE title of this short poem itself is indicative of the contents and the tendency of the unknown poet. It is an off-beat poem of 28 verses. It may be termed as a 'heterodox poem' — if at all this term can be used — since, it does not follow the accepted pattern of orthodox poetry, though dealing with a *Vedānta* topic. The novelty of this short composition lies in the fact that herein the ethically accepted/declared vices or demerits are shown to be virtues or merits. Of course, the poet, it may be accepted, does prove his view-point successfully.

The contents of the composition may be summarised as under:

In the very first verse itself, the poet says that though he is interested in 'tasting the nectar in the form of Pure Knowledge' (*Śuddhabodhasudhāsvādī*), he is prattling like an intoxicated person and the meaning of his *Pralāpa* is secret or hidden and let the virtuous try to unfold it with their intelligence. In the next verse, going against the orthodox or traditional way of thinking, the poet says — *Kāma*, *Krodha*, etc. — the six positively crooked and wicked enemies of mankind, the *Ṣaḍripus*, in fact, the *Samsāramāraṇopāyāḥ* — are declared to be *Samsāratāraṇopāyāḥ*, since, the persons possessing these vices attain Liberation in the end. From the third verse onwards, the poet explains his way of thinking. A few instances may be cited:

That *Krodhī*, i.e. the enraged *Nṛsimha*, who out of anger tore off the chest of *Hiraṇyakaśipu*, the infatuated demon, is a receptacle, i.e. giver of Liberation. That rogue, i.e. shrewd fellow, who has cheated (i.e. defeated or brought under control) those 'great cheaters in the form of *Kāma*, etc., who have been cheating the three worlds' — is liked by Lord *Śiva*. In this same vein of Paradoxes, the poet goes on giving examples to corroborate his view.

Language:

The language throughout is very simple and lucid. The metre used is *Anuṣṭup*. Every *Sloka* is a unit by itself. The poem is a

good example of *Analāṅkṛti punaḥ kvāpi*. Sometimes, some *Alāṅkāras* can be seen, e.g. *Yathāsaṅkhyā* in verse 6, *Anuprāsa* generally everywhere. The entire poem is studded with the instances of *Virodhāṅkāra*. At times, the examples given are quite striking and appealing. Sometimes, some unusual words like *Vārikapāṭa* and *Khaṇḍalāḍuka* (last verse) also occur. The compounds pose no problem. But, grammatical and orthographical mistakes do occur and hinder the smooth understanding of the text.

The Author:

The author of the poem is not mentioned. But, at the end, it is said that one Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīrāma, belonging to Mewāḍa community and hailing from Broach, has written (and not composed) this poem. Though the poet composes this type of poem, it, seems, he believes in the worship of Lord Śiva. An obeisance to Gaṇeśa at the beginning and to Viśvanātha at the end prove this.

The importance of this poem is its peculiar way of composing, suggestive of the mode of this type of thinking existing in Sanskrit literary history also. Herein, the other side of the coin is prominently brought forth, which can not be summarily rejected as 'non-sense', because, followers of these vices do get Liberation as proved by the poet every now and then.

Critical Remarks:

The poem is composed, of course, in a lighter vein, though very appropriate and convincing instances drawn from Hīndu Mythology are cited by the poet to substantiate his point. The examples that are described herein are generally known to almost every one. It is true that the concerned deities did exhibit the qualities, associated with their personality. These qualities, however, are not the permanent attributes of those respective deities. It may be added further that they were the 'sham-shows' (*Līlāḥ*) in which the deities are known to indulge fondly, as the occasion demanded, to carry home the truth that the Gods could go to any extent just to satisfy and save their devotees. These sports or *Līlās* also had greater effect and did inspire awe and fear in the minds of the enemies of those devotees, on whose behalf, the deities had put up the sham-shows! It may be very fitting for the Gods to resort to these qualities, but, surely, they will not win social sanction if a human being were to deal in the same manner, under the very same circumstances, etc. The appearance of Lord Viṣṇu as Nṛsiṅha was the most appropriate form of the God of Death, since, Hiraṇyakaśipu had secured invincible prowess and laid down such conditions that Death

should not approach him in this form or that, at this or that hour, indoors or outdoors, etc. and still, the essential nature of God-to put an end to all evil life — was brought to bear in His ferocious and ghastly form. But, this was all His *Lilā*, since, when the devotee — the tiny-tot Prahlāda-sang prayers to appease Him, He was the same whole-some, smiling and peace-inducing Self again. However, such a demonstration of *Krodha* will hardly help any one today and will not be even tolerated, perhaps, except in a house-hold dominated by fear. Hence, it is much less useful as an approach to God-hood or Self-Realization. The other examples can easily be explained in a similar way. It must be borne in mind that what is important here is not the attributes, but, the time, occasion, circumstances, etc. when these should be manifested, that too, not by ordinary human beings, but, only by extra-ordinary and super men. That is, these vices of the Gods — which are ethically condemned in respect of human beings — can never help ordinary human beings in their pursuit of Spiritual Quest and Upliftment. It should also be noted that the Gods, pictured in mythology, reflect the human qualities, including their weaknesses, and hence, though the cited examples seem at first sight to be appealing, appropriate and convincing, yet, they in fact are only apparently convincing or true.

It may be recalled here that Bhartṛhari and Shakespeare have already ably expressed that human beings are actors on the stage of life, performing their respective roles in the puppet-show controlled by the Highest God. It could be said with equal justice that the God is the greatest Actor of all and He does it in the interest of His devotees and certainly neither for His selfish interest nor to advertise His essential nature, which is *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ananda*.

Ms. Material:

The present work is available in only a single MS., deposited in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. (See *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. II, p. 344). The MS. can be described as follows: Accession No. 10799; Subject — *Vedānta*, F.-2; *Ślokas*-28; Size-25.6 x 11.2 cms.; Lines-9 to 10 per folio; Letters-26 to 32 per line; Language-Sanskrit; Script-*Devanāgarī*; Not dated. The text follows:

N.B.:—The corrections in the text are suggested in the footnotes.

श्रीः

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ अथोन्मत्तप्रलापकम् ।

शुद्धबोधसुखास्वादी प्रलपामि प्रमत्तवत् ।

तत्प्रलापं निगूढार्थं साधयन्तु सतां धियः ॥१॥

कामः क्रोधश्च लोभश्च मोहश्च मदमत्सरौ ।
 संसारतारणोपायास्तेषां विवरणं शृणु ॥२॥
 विश्रान्तिमुन्दरीदत्तरतिलावण्यलम्पटाः ।
 एकान्तलीलाचतुराः कामिनो मुक्तिगामिनः ॥३॥
 यद्वृत्तान्मोहवैत्यस्य योगी नरहरिः स्वयम् ।
 वक्षो विदारयाञ्चक्रे स क्रोधी मुक्तिभाजनम् ॥४॥
 भृकुटी कुटिलं यस्य मुखमीक्षितुमक्षमाः ।
 लामलोभादयो भावाः स द्वेषी केशवप्रियः ॥५॥
 शाश्वते सुप्रसन्नानां नश्वरे भृकुटीभृताम् ।
 रागद्वेषवतां तात मुक्तिः करतले स्थिता ॥६॥
 येन वर्णाश्रमाचारवेहमो^१ घनादिषु ।
 मुह्यन्ति गलितात्मानः स मोहः परमं पवम् ॥७॥
 मत्तो नान्यत्परं किञ्चिदहमेव महेश्वरः ।
 अहमेवोत्तमश्चेति भवो मुक्तिप्रबो मतः ॥८॥
 दृश्योत्कर्षं सहते दृगुत्कर्षबलात्तु यः ।
 स नु संवत्सरशतं ज्येष्ठो निर्भत्सरान्मुनेः ॥९॥
 क्षणं न क्षमते यस्तु बाह्यस्फुरणमक्षमी ।
 तद्वामचरणाम्भोजं निबद्धाः क्षमिणां गुणाः ॥१०॥
 कामादयो महाधूर्ता धूर्तितं यैर्जगत्त्रयम् ।
 तान् धूर्तयति यो युक्त्या स धूर्तो धूर्जटिप्रियः ॥११॥
 यो लालयति लोभादीनन्तमूलानि कृन्तति ।
 बहिरन्योन्य एवायमन्तर्गतकपद्यसौ^२ ॥१२॥
 गुणात्मिकेषु सर्वेषु दोषमेवान्तरात्मनः ।
 कर्णे जपति यो नित्यं पितृानोऽसौ विमुक्तिभाक् ॥१३॥
 परापवाद एवास्ति हृदये यस्य सर्वदा ।
 पारङ्गतोऽसौ दृष्टश्च समयी मुनिशेखरः ॥१४॥
 मिथ्यैवेदं जगत्सर्वमि^३ निश्चितचेतसाम् ।
 ते मिथ्यावादिनो लोके बुर्लभाः सत्यवादिनाम् ॥१५॥
 नैव किञ्चित्करोमीति यः सदाचारवर्जितः ।
 आचारिणो न गच्छन्ति तस्यानाचारिणो गतिः^४ ॥१६॥

1. It should be भोगः

2. कपर्धसौ

3. मितिः

4. It should be गतिम्

पूर्वं तु यानि मित्राणि विचारादीनि तान्यपि ।
 विहाय तत्परं याति मित्रद्रोही स मुच्यते ॥१७॥
 पञ्चभूतात्मकं विश्वं निर्मितं येन मायाया⁵ ।
 स एवा हि⁶ मया दृष्टो मायावी मुक्तिभाजनम् ॥१८॥
 स्वेच्छयैव कृतं विश्वं स्वेच्छयैव निहन्ति यः ।
 कृतज्ञादपि पूज्योऽसौ कृतघ्नो मोक्षमश्नुते ॥१९॥
 आश्चर्यं योऽभिमन्येत जीव आत्मानमीश्वरम् ।
 सोऽभिमानी गतिं याति साधूष्वपि स पूज्यते ॥२०॥
 गुणेषु दोषं पश्यन्तो विश्वमात्रविनिन्दिकाः⁷ ।
 आत्मस्तुतिपरा यान्ति नित्यं बैकुण्ठमन्दिरम् ॥२१॥
 बुध्वापि⁸ शुद्धमात्मानं ध्यावहारिकलोकवत् ।
 करोमि न करोमीति दम्भकृत् शम्भुवल्लभम्⁹ ॥२२॥
 धर्माधर्मविनिर्मुक्ता अपि धर्मपथे स्थिताः ॥
 ये धर्मध्वजिनस्तेषां बन्धाश्चरणरेणवः ॥२३॥
 बोधखडगेन तीक्ष्णेन मोहाहङ्कारबुधियाम् ।
 घातकं पातकं हन्ति पुरुषजन्मशताजितम्¹⁰ ॥२४॥
 अहङ्कारं हरिहरं ब्रह्मैवाहमहं शिवः ।
 इति विश्वासहन्तारः पुण्या विश्वासघातकाः ॥२५॥
 भवेतां कर्ममार्गस्थौ तावुभावपि निन्दितौ ।
 अस्माकमभिनिर्मुक्ताभ्युदितौ पङ्क्तिपावनौ ॥२६॥
 मुक्तो विघिनियेधाभ्यां निश्चितः स्वेच्छया चरन् ।
 कर्मस्थानामपाङ्क्ति यः सोऽस्माकं पङ्क्तिपावनः ॥२७॥
 वत्वा¹¹ वारिकमाट्यं¹² खण्डलाङ्कवन्मुनिः ।
 एकाकी मिष्टमिमशनास्ति¹³ स याति परमां गतिम् ॥२८॥

श्रीविश्वनाथाय नमः ।

मेवाडाज्ञापित भरुचना भट्ट लक्ष्मीरामे लक्ष्य छे ॥

5. मायया.
6. एव
7. विनिन्दकाः
8. बुद्ध्वापि.
9. °वल्लभः
10. Metrically faulty.
11. दत्त्वा.
12. Not clear.
13. Metrically wrong, it should be मिष्टमयनास्ति।

PANDITA JAGANNĀTHA'S EQUIPMENT AS A POETICIAN

Y. S. WALIMBE

SANSKRIT poeticians, including Jagannātha, have invariably emphasised the equipment of a poet, and elaborately stated what qualities go towards the making of a poet — whether it is genius alone, or genius coupled with vast erudition and constant application, and so on. The point as to whether a poet is born or made, has also been too often discussed. The opinions of poeticians like Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha, Rudraṭa, Mammaṭa, Rājaśekhara etc. in these matters are too wellknown to need a specific mention. However, very surprisingly, they have not bothered to state, at least most of them, as to what qualities go to make a good poetician or a literary theorist. We have Abhinavagupta's classic exposition of what constitutes an ideal spectator or reader: it emphasises the power to become one with the theme or the story, coupled with a mirror-like pure mind as a result of constant appreciation and familiarity with poetry.¹ Perhaps this was enough in the eyes of the ancients even for a literary critic or theorist.

However in Jagannātha we find a number of qualities which made him an eminent poetician and literary theorist in his own right. He possessed a very vast background of traditional knowledge and especially śāstras like Navyanyāya, Vyākaraṇa and Vedānta. This rigorous discipline in these basic sciences like logic and grammar went a long way towards Jagannātha's equipment as a poetician. The entire discussion in the *Rasagaṅgādhara* is interspersed with technical terms and concepts from Neonyāya, and words like 'avacchedya' and 'avacchedaka', 'vyāpya' and 'vyāpaka', 'dharma' and 'dharmi' etc. are constantly met with. It is this profound knowledge of Nyāya which has enabled Jagannātha to define each and every Alaṅkāra in the most precise and clearcut manner, in striking contrast to Mammaṭa's discussion of the same in the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*. Jagannātha's definitions are exact and mostly free from all the three defects of being too narrow (avyāpti), too wide (ativyāpti) or totally improbable (asambhava). When he defines a figure like Upameyopamā, Rūpaka, Bhrāntimān or Utprekṣā,² it is this logical accuracy that immediately strikes one's mind. It is again this proficiency in

Nyāya that has enabled Jagannātha to subject the definitions and discussions of other poeticians to a strict logical scrutiny, and to point out the loop-holes and inaccuracies in them. His criticism of the views, especially of Appayya Dikṣita is a concrete instance of this point, and requires separate discussion. Jagannātha's great proficiency in Vyākaraṇa has helped him in achieving perfect accuracy in grammatical discussions. Grammar has always been the second love of Sanskrit poeticians, and more so of Jagannātha.

Thus when Jagannātha discusses the sub-divisions of Upamā like Samāsagatā, Karmakyajgatā, Ādhārakyaajgatā, Kyaṅgatā, Karmaṇamulgatā and Kartṛṇamulgatā following Mammaṭa, he has entered the field of grammar rather than of poetics proper. His etymological explanation of the word 'yuvati' in the context of Smaraṇa, his discussion of Vācyotprekṣā based on Kyaṅg and Ācārakvip, of 'Kartari kṛt' and 'Laḥ karmaṇi' in connection with the verse, 'Limpativa tamo'ñfāni ' etc. and of the definition of Kartṛtva in the context of Nidarśanā,³ are only so many examples of his profound knowledge of grammar. The grammarian in the Manoramā-kucamardana is very much conspicuous here also. Jagannātha's leanings towards the grammarians are also clearly visible in his definition of Abhidhā. The constant sprinkling of technical terms from both Nyāya and Vyākaraṇa often proves bewildering to an average student of the *Rasagaṅgādhara*, and even advanced scholars may find it a challenging job to wade through these discussions — often involved and longwinding — and to get at Jagannātha's exact point. But this is how Jagannātha writes: this is his idiom, perhaps enforced by the vogue of scientific and technical dialectic of his time.

Vedānta is one more traditional Śāstra that has enabled Jagannātha in systematizing many a basic concept in Sanskrit poetics. The most conspicuous instance of this is the way in which he has explained the theory of Rasa. It is a well-known fact that Abhinavagupta established the doctrine of Rasa (as found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* on the solid foundation of the Pratyabhijñā school of Śaiva philosophy, to which he himself belonged, and which he brilliantly advocated in his works like the *Tantrāloka* and the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvṛttivimarsinī*. However, in course of time, this Śaiva basis of Abhinavagupta's aesthetics appears to have lost ground to the Vedānta philosophy, as we find it reflected, for example, in Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaaprakāśa*,⁴ and in Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.⁵ In Abhinavagupta's scheme of Śaiva philosophy there is hardly any room for Brahmāsvāda about which Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha talk. Though the latter two employ the Advaita Vedānta terms and concepts in the context of Rasa, it is Jagannātha who erected a complete scheme of the relish of Rasa

on the foundation of Vedānta. According to him Rasa is nothing but the Cit or the self-luminous consciousness of the sāmājika freed from all of its limiting adjuncts, and the only distinction between the relish of Rasa and the enjoyment of Parabrahmāsvāda is that the relish of Rasa is accompanied by the contact with the objects of the poetic world like the Vibhāvas etc., which is totally absent in Brahmāsvāda.⁶ It is again on the basis of this Vedānta philosophy that he refuses to accept the Guṇas as the properties of the Rasa, since the Rasa is equated with the Ātman or the soul of poetry, and the Ātman is without any properties or attributes.⁷ Jagannātha's deep acquaintance even with other schools of Indian philosophy, like Pūrvamīmāṃsā and Sāṃkhya is reflected in the *Rasagaṅgādhara*, though it is not so prominent as Nyāya and Vedānta etc. All this deep erudition of Jagannātha has created a proper philosophical background for his discussions which is very essential for a work like the *Rasagaṅgādhara*, which professes to deal with all aspects of Sanskrit poetics in a profound and scientific manner.

However, all this erudition in Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa and Vedānta has not fortunately succeeded in the annihilation of Jagannātha's poetic susceptibilities, or the drying up of his creative springs. On the contrary we find in him a very rare quality of literary appreciation which does not invariably go with men of extraordinary learning. The *Rasagaṅgādhara* is replete with innumerable examples of Jagannātha's fine studies in literary appreciation. With his powers of brilliant analysis he throws light on a number of subtle shades of meanings which do not normally catch the attention of the reader. His fine comments on his own examples of Uttamottama and Uttama kāvya are very significant in this connection, and bring out his subtlety of interpretation. In connection with the verse, 'Hatakena mayā vanāntare ' etc., which Jagannātha uses to illustrate the Bhāva of Dainya, he has beautifully explained why Rāma compares himself to a fallen person (patita), throwing away the sacred knowledge of Vedic lore, instead of comparing himself to a Śūdra etc. In the case of a Śūdra, he points out, there is no question of discarding the Vedic lore, since he is not even entitled to acquire it. A fallen Brahmin, however, loses his natural right to that lore because of his sinful behaviour, and hence Rāma's comparison with such a patita, and Sītā's comparison with that sacred knowledge really nourishes the feeling of Dainya here.⁸ We come across an equally fine analysis of the verse, 'Satenopāyanām ' etc. which Jagannātha gives to illustrate Rasābhāsa. Here the Rasābhāsa, he says, does not consist in unilateral love, as the royal lady's trepidation has been already suggested by the word 'cakitanayanām.' On

the contrary, he points out that the trepidation was due to the unexpected arrival of a stranger in her harem, and what she felt was really joy after she recognised him and his bravery.⁹ One cannot but appreciate Jagannātha's fine quality of appreciation here. Even in the verse, 'Badhāna drāgeva . . .' etc., from the *Gaṅgālaharī* which he cites to illustrate Ajahatsvārthā Lakṣaṇā, Jagannātha points out that the word 'Jagannāthasya' itself conveys the sense of 'one who possesses a number of sins', and the idea is to suggest that no other word can properly express the sense of these sins.¹⁰

Jagannātha's verse style and its excellences as we find them in his poetical works are themselves interesting subjects for a detailed study. But what is more noteworthy is that these qualities have helped him to a considerable extent even in his job as a poetician. It goes without saying that almost all the verses that Jagannātha employs for the sake of illustrations are poetic. However he does not rest contented by giving an illustration; he endeavours to improve upon it by making proper alterations or emendations, and very such alteration or emendation makes a significant change either in the form or in the content of the verse. In the verse, 'Sapadi vilayametu . . .' which Jagannātha uses to illustrate Dharmavīra, he changes only the last line slightly, and shows that it can be a good example of Satyavīra also.¹¹ In the course of the letters, compounds etc. to be avoided in compositions abounding in Mādhurya, he makes such quick changes in the wording of his illustrations, that one is simply left wondering at his versatility. In the verse, 'Kalitakuliśaghātā . . .' etc., which he gives as an instance of Jihvāmūliya-prācurya, he suggests an emendation in the first two quarters, and the defect is immediately removed.¹² Again in the verse, 'Vacane tava yatra mādhuri . . .' etc., which he cites to illustrate the defect of 'ṭavargajhay-prācurya', he alters the second line as 'Adhunā sakhi tatra hā katham . . .' etc. and removes the defect.¹³ But Jagannātha even goes a step further, and improves upon the faculty or defective illustrations cited by his opponents like Appayya Dikṣita. Thus in the verse, 'Tavāmṛtasyandini pādapañkaje . . .' etc., cited by Appayya as an instance of Prativastūpamā, Jagannātha hits at the defect of unevenness of construction (*asam-ṣṭhulatā*) and suggests an emendation in the second line as 'Sthito-sravinde makarandanirbhara . . .' instead of 'Sthiteravinde . . .' which removes the said defect.¹⁴ Even in the famous verse, 'Upāsanāmetya pituḥ sma rajyate . . .' from the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* (I.34) Jagannātha points out the 'Camel-like unevenness' (*kramelakavadasaṁṣṭhulatā*) and suggests an alternate wording as 'Upāsanārtham piturāgatāpi sā . . .' etc. which would lend to it 'the loveliness as of the proportion-

ate disposition of a beautiful woman's limbs' (lalanāngasanniveśa iva kamanīyatāmāvaheṭ).¹⁵

Thus it may be safely concluded that Jagannātha's role as a poetician and literary theorist was considerably helped not only by his erudition in the various branches of traditional learning, but also by his extraordinary poetic abilities. His was not the case of 'A critic is a failed poet', but of a successful critic also being an equally successful poet, a case rather analogous to that of Matthew Arnold or T. S. Eliot. Jagannātha possessed the creative and critical faculties almost in an equal measure.

REFERENCES

The edition of the *Rasagaṅgādhara* used here is that of Mathurānāth Śāstri published in the *Kāvya-māla Series*, 6 Ed. (Revised) in 1947.

1. Cf. येषां काव्यानुशीलनाभ्यामवगतं विश्वदीप्तं मनोमकुटे वर्णनीयतन्मयीभवनयोग्यता ते सहृदयसंवादभाजः सहृदयाः । —Locana on Dhvanyaloka, Uddvota, I.
2. Cf. (a) तृतीयसङ्गव्यवच्छेदबद्धिकलकवर्णनविषयीभूतं परस्परमूपमानोपमेयभावमापन्नयोरर्थयोः सादृश्यं सुन्दरमूपमेयोपमा ॥ —R.G.p. 268.
(b) उपमेयतावच्छेदकपुरस्कारौपमेये शब्दान्निश्चीयमानमूपमानतादात्म्यं रूपकम् । तदेवोपस्कारकत्व-विशिष्टमलंकारः । —R.G.p. 297.
(c) सद्भवे धर्मिणि तादात्म्येन धर्म्यन्तरप्रकारकोऽनाहार्यो निश्चयः सादृश्यप्रयोज्यश्चमत्कारो प्रकृते भ्रान्तिः । सा च पशुपक्ष्यादिगता यस्मिन्वाक्यसंदर्भे ज्ञद्यते स भ्रान्तिमान् ॥ R.G.p. 268.
(d) तभिद्वन्द्वत्वेन तदभाववत्त्वेन वा प्रमितस्य पदार्थस्य रमणीयतद्वृत्ति-तत्त्वमानाधिकरणान्यतरतद्वमंसंबन्ध-निमित्तकं तत्त्वेन तद्वत्त्वेन वा संभावनमूलेषा ॥ —R.G.pp. 274-75.
3. Cf. (a) युक्त्य इति च 'सवतोऽक्तिव्यथा' इति डीषि साधुः । —R.G.p. 294.
(b) सा चोत्प्रेक्षा द्विविधा-नाच्या प्रतीयमाना च । . . इत्यादिभिः क्यञाचारक्रियादिभिः प्रतिपादकैः सहिता यन्नोत्प्रेक्षासामग्री, तत्र वाच्योत्प्रेक्षा । —R.G.p. 276.
(c) अत एव च 'कर्तारि कृत' इत्यनेन विशिष्टशक्तिबोधकेन न घनादिषु भावग्रहणस्य विशेषणशक्तिबोधकस्य गतायत्वंम् . . . इत्यर्थकरणान्न विरोधः । —R.G.pp. 895-96.
(d) इदं च 'घातनोक्तक्रिये नित्यं कारके कर्तृतेष्यते' इत्युक्तपथेन घातूपात्तव्यापाराश्रयत्वं कर्तृत्वमिति . . . प्रतीयमानोत्प्रेक्षा संभवत्येव । —R.G.pp. 465.
4. Cf. लोके प्रमदभिः स्थाय्यनुमानेऽभ्यासापाटववतां काव्ये नाट्ये च तैरेव . . . अन्यत् सर्वमिष तिरोदघत् ब्रह्मास्वादमिवानुभावयन् अलौकिकचमत्कारकारी शृङ्गारादिको रसः । —K.P.IV.
5. Cf. सत्वोद्रेकादखण्डस्वप्रकाशानन्दचिन्मयः ।
वेद्यान्तरस्पर्शांशून्वो ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदरः ।
लोकोत्तरवमत्कारप्राणः कैश्चित् प्रमातृभिः ।
लोकोत्तरचमत्कारप्राणः कैश्चित् प्रमातृभिः ।
स्वाकारवदभिन्नत्वेनायमास्वाद्यते रसः । —S.D.III, 2, 8.
6. Cf. वस्तुतस्तु वक्ष्यमाणश्रुतिस्वारस्येन रत्याद्यवच्छिन्ना भगनावरणा चिदेव रसः । . . . इयं च परब्रह्मास्वादा-त्समाधौविलक्षणं, विभाव।दिविषयसंवलितचिदानन्दालम्बनत्वात् । —R.G.p. 27-8.
7. Cf. किं चाल्मनो निर्गुणतयात्मरूपरसगुणत्वं माधुर्यादीनामनुपपन्नम् । —R.G.p. 60.
8. Cf. अदे हलकेन मया विवासिता न तु विधिनैत्येतस्याथस्य पतितोपमयैव परिपोषः न तु . . . श्रुत्येत्युपमालंकारो दैन्यमेवालंकुस्ते । —R.G.pp. 100-101.
9. Cf. न चात्र चकितनयनाभिरयनेन पर्युषषस्पर्शासाभिष्यक्त्या रतेरनुभयनिष्ठते . . . रति तदीयामपि व्यनक्ति । —R.G.pp. 120-21.
10. Cf. अत्र जगन्नाथस्येत्यनेन शक्य एवानेकपापविशिष्टत्वेन लक्ष्यते । पापानां पदान्तरैणाभिः क्वचित् व्यङ्ग्यम् । —R.G.p. 276.
11. Cf. प्राचीन एव 'सपदि विलयमेतु' इत्यादिपद्ये 'मम तु मतिर्न मनागपंतु सत्यात्' इति चरमपदव्यत्यासेन पद्यान्तरतो प्रापिते सत्यवीरस्यापि सभवात् । —R.G.p. 80.
12. Cf. यदि च 'कथय कथमिवाशा जायतां जीविते मे . . . कृतान्ताः' इति विधीयन्ते, तदा नार्थ बोधः । —R.G.p. 87.
13. Cf. 'अधुना सखि तत्र हा कथं . . . इति त्वनुगुणम् । —R.G.p. 88.
14. Cf. —R.G.pp. 461-62.
15. Cf. —R.G.p. 461.

THE PROBLEM OF MULTIPLE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA: A STATISTICAL APPROACH

M. R. YARDI

THIS paper is the first of a series in which it is proposed to identify the original Bhārata by the application of statistical methods to a linguistic study of the *Mahābhārata*. In my paper on the *Theories of Multiple Authorship of the Bhagavadgītā*, published in the Diamond Jubilee Volume of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (1978), it was pointed out that the statistical study of the versification style of the *Bhagavadgītā* did not disclose significant differences of style between the eighteen adhyāyas and therefore did not justify the assumption of its multiple authorship. It was also further indicated in this paper that the application of the same method to all the parvas of *Mahābhārata* would enable us not only to recover the original text of the *Mahābhārata*, but also to determine the major interpolations, which have been made therein in the course of its chequered history. This study has now been completed for the *Bhīṣmaparva*, *Karṇaparva* and the *Sauptikaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*. The study of the *Droṇaparva*, *Śalyaparva* and *Strīparva* has been taken in hand and the results will be available in due course.

The *Mahābhārata* contains sufficient internal evidence to justify the assumption of three major revisions of this epic poem. At the outset, we must mention that there is no clear statement that the title of Vyāsa's work was *Jaya* or the Triumph. It is true that the *maṅgalacarana* or *benedictory* verse with which the *Adīparva* begins, states that after saluting Nara and Nārāyaṇa and the goddess Sarasvatī, one should relate *Jaya*.¹ Apart from the fact this it does not state clearly that Vyāsa wrote a work by name *Jaya*, this verse does not find a place in the Southern recension of the *Mahābhārata*. Only two other verses, which mention this term are B.1.56.19 which refers to the *Mahābhārata* as a historical tract by name *Jaya*,² and B.5.136.18 where it is applied to the episode *Vidulaputrānuśāsana*.

1. नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
देवी सरस्वती चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

2. जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजगीषुणा ।

The editor *Ādiparva* (critical edition), therefore, observes that perhaps *Jaya* is a technical term applicable generally to certain works and not a specific name of the original work of Vyāsa, as is generally supposed.³ There is, however, a clear mention that the *Mahābhārata* was recited by *Vaiśampāyana*, a pupil of Vyāsa, at the *sarpasastra* of Janmejaya, grandson of the war hero, Arjuna. This event seems to have taken place within about fifty years at the close of the battle, as Janmejaya's father Parikṣit was born within a year of the close of the battle, and Janmejaya was a teen-ager at the time of the *sarpasastra*. The *Mahābhārata* further mentions that this *Vaiśampāyana* text did not contain the subsidiary legends and consisted of 24,000 ślokaś.⁴ It will be seen that this *Vaiśampāyana* text is called as *Bhārata Saṃhitā* and *Ur Mahābhārata* by the western scholars. The scene thereafter shifts to the Naimiṣ forest, where the *Mahābhārata* text is recited by Ugrāśravas sauti, son of Loma-harṣaṇa, at the conference of hermits presided over by Śaunaka. It is obvious that the incorporation of various ancient tales and legends is due to the bardic embellishment of the epic poem. The final text is known as *Mahābhārata* and is said to consist of a hundred thousand ślokaś.⁵ It now contains not only a vast variety of myths and legends but also discourses on political, religious and philosophical topics — nay almost all topics so as to justify the boast that what it does not contain is rarely to be found elsewhere.⁶

In a scholarly and thought provoking paper, *The Bhṛguś and the Bharata: A text historical study*,⁷ the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar has pointedly drawn our attention to the many digressions contain in the *Mahābhārata*, which have the sole intention of eulogising the members of the Bhārgava clan. The epic contains the story of the birth of Bhārgava Rama and his great exploit of the extirpation of all the bad old kings. In order to justify this insertion, he is represented as the teacher of the *Mahābhārata* heroes, Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Karṇa, although they are separated by one full yuga. The epic further relates the well-known story of Yayāti, who had married the Bhārgava Devayāni and the episodes (*upakhyānaś*) of Aurva, Dadhica, Rucika, Cyavan, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vipula and Uttanka, who are either direct descendents of Bhṛgu or connected with the Bhṛgu clan. Even Śrīkrṣṇa was distantly connected with the Bhārgavas, being a descendant of Yadu, the son of Yayāti by Bhārgava Deva-

3. See Addenda and Corrigenda to *Ādiparva*, note on the verse B.1.56.19 at page 989.

4. चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रं चक्रे भारतसंहिताम् ।
उपाख्यानैर्विना तावद् भारतं प्रीच्यते बुधैः ॥ B.1.1.61.

5. B.1.56.13.

6. B.1.56.33.

7. *Essay VI. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Vol. I. Critical Studies in Mahābhārata.*

yāni. The entire Pauloma and a large section of the Pausya, two independent sub-parvas of the epic are also devoted to the legends of the Bhārgavas. Dr. Sukthankar has further pointed out that another striking feature of the Bhārgava legends is their repetition on different occasions in the epic. For example, the birth of Bhārgava Rama is related in all four times and his exploit of the extermination of the kṣatriyas thrice seven times has been repeated ten times in nearly identical form.⁸ Besides these there are important discourses attributed to the celebrated Bhārgavas, such as the Bhṛgu-Bhāradvāj-*saṁvāda*, the Cyavana-Kuśika-*saṁvāda* and the Markaṇḍeya-*samasyā*. Dr. Sukthankar further goes on to observe that the *Dharma* and *Nīti* are the two topics in which the Bhṛgus had specialised, and this would explain the inclusion of topical discourses on these subjects in the enlarged *Mahābhārata*. Dr. Sukthankar finally concludes with the following observation: "The infiltration of masses of Bhārgava myths and legends, the manner of its treatment, and even that strange admixture of the epic and the *Dharma* and *Nīti* elements which latter especially has so long puzzled many enquirers into the genesis of the *Mahābhārata* thus appear to find a simple and straight forward explanation in the assumption of an important unitary disakuasis of the epic under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence."⁹

However, it is not necessary for a linguistic study of the *Mahābhārata* to start with any such assumptions. The only assumption that need be made is that the original *Bhārata* should contain the record of the victory of the Pāṇḍavas in the fratricidal war with the Kauravas.¹⁰ Hence the 'war books' consisting of *Bhīṣmaparva*, *Droṇaparva*, *Karna-parva*, *Salyaparva* and *Sauptikaparva* must contain portions of the original *Bhārata*. The statistical problem is, therefore, to find out whether these portions of the 'war books', dealing with the fall of Bhīṣma and the deaths of other Kaurava generals and the massacre of the sleepers in the Pāṇḍava camp by the enraged Aśvatthāman, display a homogeneity of style, and if they do, to regard this as the original *Bhārata*. The next step is to find out whether the remaining portions of these *parvas* display the same style or different style or styles by the application of suitable statistical tests. When a similar study is made of other *parvas*, it should be possible to identify the different styles, including the one which we have identified as the style of the original *Bhārata*. The number of different styles so identified will represent the different 'layers'

8. त्रिः सप्तकृत्वः पृथिवीं कृता निःक्षत्रिया पुरा ।

9. Sukthankar Memorial Edition, Vol. I, p. 336.

10. The verse 1.55.43 gives the original plan of the epic as dissension, loss of kingdom and final victory.

or 'strata' of the *Mahābhārata* and indicate the occasions on which major revisions of the epic have taken place.

Such a linguistic study is made possible by the happy circumstance that the *Mahābhārata* is written mostly in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, which has a flexible pattern. This metre consists of thirty-two syllables, eight in each quarter and requires that the fifth syllable should be short, the sixth long and the seventh alternately long and short in each quarter. A syllable is long if it contains either a long vowel or a short vowel followed by a conjunct consonant. If we take the half lines (*ślokārdhas*) with sixteen syllables, the fifth, the thirteenth and the fifteenth syllables should be usually short, the sixth, seventh and the fourteenth long. The remaining ten syllables, namely the first, the second, the third, the fourth and the eighth and the ninth, the tenth, the eleventh, the twelfth and the sixteenth can be either short or long. If the number of long syllables is counted in these ten different positions for groups of *adhyāyas*, statistical methods can be applied to the distributions of long syllables so obtained to ascertain whether these distributions are homogeneous or significantly different. There are a few hyper-metric lines, in which one of the *pādas* or quarters may have nine syllables instead of eight and in such cases, we have to omit in the count that syllable which makes the least disturbance to the accepted pattern.

The statistical method used is known as the Analysis of Variance. This method, although strictly applicable to normal distributions, is also found to be valid for non-normal distributions, which, for large samples, approach the normal. In this particular instance, as the syllables can be either short or long in ten positions, the distribution is a multinomial one and the justification for the use of the analysis of variance lies in the fact that for large samples the multinomial distribution approaches the normal. A count of long syllables in the ten different positions has been taken for all those *adhyāyas* in *Bhīṣmaparva*, *Karṇaparva* and *Sauptikaparva* which consist wholly or mainly of *anuṣṭubh ślokas* and the analysis of variance worked out for those of groups of *adhyāyas* which relate to the principal events of the war.

The *Bhīṣmaparvā* consists of four parts, the *Jāmbukhand-Vinirmāṇaparva*, *Bhūmiparva*, *Bhagavadgītāparva* and the *Bhīṣmavadha-parva*. The latter is divided, for the purpose of easy computation, into four parts, *adhyāyas* 41-60, *adhyāyas* 61-70, *adhyāyas* 71-94 and *adhyāyas* 95-117, which deal with the defeat of the first Kaurava general, Bhīṣma. The *Karṇaparva* is divided into three parts,

adhyāyas 1-21, *adhyāyas* 22-37 and *adhyāyas* 38-69 dealing with the installation of Karṇa as General, the 16th and 17th days of the war and the death of Karṇa. The *Sauptikaparva* consists of two parts, the *Sauptikaparva adhyāyas* 1-10, which describe the massacre of Pāṇḍavas' kith and kin while asleep and the *Aiṣikaparva* which deals with the lament of Draupadi and reprisals against Aśvatthāman. *Adhyāya* 7, however, in which Aśvatthāman seeks the help of Lord Śiva to counteract the protection of Pāṇḍavas by Lord Kṛṣṇa is taken along with *Aiṣikaparvan adhyāyas* 11-18. It will thus be seen that the *adhyāyas* 41-117 of the *Bhīṣmaparva*, all the *adhyāyas* of the *Karṇaparva* and the *adhyāyas* 1-10 (excluding *adhyāya* 7) of *Sauptikaparva* refer to the principal events of the war. We shall, of course, have to exclude all *adhyāyas*, which consist wholly or mainly of long metre stanzas or prose passages.

If we now take the first group of 19 *adhyāyas* 41-60 of the *Bhīṣmaparva* (excluding *adhyāya* 56, which consists of long metre stanzas see Table 1), the analysis of variance is as given below:

TABLE A
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF COUNTS OF LONG SYLLABLES

Bhīṣmaparva adhyāyas 41 — 60*

Sources of variation	Degrees of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean square	F
Between <i>adhyāyas</i> Regression	1	221658.85	221658.85	898.64
Deviation from regression	17	715.05	42.062	0.16
Within <i>adhyāyas</i>	171	45196.8	264.31	—
Total	189	267570.7	—	—

The total sum of squares 267570.7 is separated into two parts, 222373.9 due to variation between the *adhyāyas* and 45196.8 due to variation within the *adhyāyas*. The sum of squares due to the regression of the *adhyāya* means on the number of ślokārdhas is 221658.85, the deviation from regression being 715.05. The appropriate degrees of freedom are shown in the Table. It will be seen that a large part of the sum of squares is ascribable to the differences in the sizes of the different *adhyāyas*. An estimate of the variance due to the variation between the *adhyāyas* after allowing for

* *Adhyāya* 56, which consists of long metre stanzas has been excluded.

their different sizes is 42.062. This is obtained by dividing the sum of square due to deviation from regression 715.05 by its degrees of freedom 17. An estimate for the variance within *adhyāyas* is obtained by dividing 45196.8 by its degrees of freedom 171 as 264.31. The quotient of the two estimates of variance of a normal population has a distribution discovered by Fisher, who has tabulated it in the form, $Z = \log_e \sqrt{F}$. Snedecor named the variance ratio *F* after Fisher and has given a Table for the distribution of *F* itself. The quotient of the two estimates of variances is .16, which is less than 1.68, the 5% tabulated value of *F* for $n_1 = 171$, $n_2 = 17$. This indicates that the style is uniform over the 19 *adhyāyas* 41-60 of the *Bhīṣmaparva*.

If we now turn to the group of *Adhyāyas* 67-70 (Table 3), we notice that the estimated variance due to the variation within *adhyāyas* is only 96.67, as against the estimated variance 264.31 within the *adhyāyas* 41-60. If we leave this for the present and go to the next group 71-94 (omitting *adhyāyas* 76 and 81 which consist mainly of long metre stanzas), we again find that there are no significant differences of style between the 22 *adhyāyas*. The estimated variance within the *adhyāyas* is now 217.93. The question now to be answered is whether the two variances, 264.31 representing the variation within the *adhyāyas* 41-60 and 217.93 representing the variation within the 71-94 differ significantly. In order to test the homogeneity of the two variances, we calculate *F* as the quotient of the larger variance by the smaller and then double the tabular probabilities. The latter follows from the fact that *F* so calculated is always greater than 1, so that only the upper part of the distribution is used, (see Snedecor 10.13). In order to test the hypothesis of homogeneity between two variances, it would therefore, be necessary to utilise a Table giving 2.5 percentage points of *F* distribution. Such a table is given by Bowkef and Liebermann in their book, *Engineering Statistics*. In this instance the value of *F* is the quotient $264.31/217.93 = 1.21$, ($n_1 = 171$, $n_2 = 198$). This value of *F* is less than 1.34, which is the tabulated value of *F* at 2.5 per cent. level, so that the value of *F* is less than the tabulated value in more than 5 per cent of cases. This indicates that the group of the *adhyāyas* 71-94 has the same style as the group 41-60. If we now proceed to the next group of *adhyāyas* 95-117, we find that the estimated variance within the *adhyāyas* is 293.28 (d.f. 207), which can be shown by the same test to be not significantly different from the first two groups. If we add the mean squares within *adhyāyas* for all the 64 *adhyāyas* of the *Bhīṣmaparva* and divide the sum by the degrees of freedom 576, the estimated variance due to variation

within the 64 *adhyāyas* comes to 258.78 with 576 degrees of freedom (see Table 2).

If we now turn to the *Karṇaparva*, the *adhyāyas* 1-21, 22-37 and 38-69 (of course omitting the *adhyāyas* which consist wholly or mainly of long metre stanzas, see Table 2), do not display any significant differences of style between the *adhyāyas*. The estimated variances due to variation within the *adhyāyas* are found to be 280.38 (d.f. 180), 313.05 (d.f. 144) and 257.84 (d.f. 198) respectively. The estimated variance within all the 58 *adhyāyas* of the *Karṇaparva* is 278.56 (d.f.522). Similarly the 9 *adhyāyas* of the *Sauptikaparva* 1-10 (excluding *adhyāyas* for the reasons mentioned already) do not disclose any significant variation of style between themselves. The estimated variance within the *adhyāyas*, is now 285.54 with 81 degrees of freedom. In order to test the homogeneity of these variances, we again obtain the quotient of the two higher variances by the lower variance 258.78, as given below:

TABLE B

<i>Parva adhyāyas</i>	Mean Square within <i>adhyāyas</i>	Estimated variance within <i>adhyāyas</i>	F	Degrees of freedom
<i>Bhīṣma</i> (64)	149056.8	258.78	—	$n_2 = 576$
<i>Karṇa</i> (58)	145409.7	278.56	1.08	$n_1 = 522$
<i>Sauptika</i> (9)	28120	285.54	1.10	$n_1 = 81$
Total (181)	317595.5	269.38	1.04	$n_1 = 1170$

2.5 percentage points	F = 1.17, $n_1 = 522$, $n_2 = 576$
„	F = 1.86, $n_1 = 81$, $n_2 = 576$
„	F = 1.08, $n_1 = 1170$, $n_2 = 576$

The F-test shows that at the 5 per cent level the values of F are less than the tabulated values, confirming the uniformity of style of all these 131 *adhyāyas*.

If we now turn to the *Jambukhaṇḍavinirmāṇaparva*, *adhyāyas* 1-13 of the *Bhīṣmaparva* (Table 3), we find that there are no significant differences of style between the 13 *adhyāyas*. The estimated variance within the *adhyāyas* is 85.37 with 117 degrees of freedom as compared with the estimated variance of 258.78 of the 64 chapters of the *Bhīṣmaparva* with 576 degrees of freedom. In this case, the value of F is the quotient $258.78/85.37 = 3.03$, $n_1 = 576$, $n_2 = 117$, which is much in excess of the 2.5 per cent value 1.34, indicat-

ing that this group of *adhyāyas* has a style which is significantly different from those of the 64 *adhyāyas* of the *Bhīṣmaparva* in Table 2. Similarly the estimated variance within the *adhyāyas* 14-22 which include the *Bhūmiparva* and the *adhyāyas* 23-40, consisting of the *Bhagavadgītā* are 74.98 (d.f. 81) and 77.21 (d.f. 162) respectively and do not reveal significant differences. Similarly the estimated variance within the 10 *adhyāyas* 61-70 of the *Bhīṣmaparva* is 96.67 (d.f. 90). The estimated variance of all these 50 *adhyāyas* of the *Bhīṣmaparva* is 82.82 with 450 degrees of freedom. The same test applied to these variances show that they are not significantly different from one another. The estimated variance within the *adhyāyas* 7 and 11-18 of the *Sauptikaparva* is 87.31 (d.f. 81) and the F test shows that this variance is not significantly different from the 50 *adhyāyas* of the *Bhīṣmaparva* mentioned in Table 3. If we take all the 59 *adhyāyas* in Table 3, the estimated variance due to variation within the *adhyāyas* is 83.50 with 531 degrees of freedom.

To sum up the linguistic evidence, the three *parvas*, *Bhīṣma*, *Droṇa* and *Sauptika*, exhibit two distant styles. The style of the 64 *adhyāyas* of the *Bhīṣmaparva*, 58 *adhyāyas* of the *Karṇaparva* and 9 *adhyāyas* of the *Sauptikaparva* as mentioned in Table 2 may be called the A-style. As the principal events of the war, namely the fall of Bīṣma, the death of Karṇa and the massacre of the innocents in the Pāṇḍava camp are contained in these *adhyāyas*, it would not be unreasonable to postulate (subject, of course, to confirmation after a study of all the *Parvas*) that this represents the style of the Vaiśampāyana text. Totally different from this style is the style of the 50 *adhyāyas* of *Bhīṣmaparva* and the nine *adhyāyas* of the *Sauptika parva* as shown in Table 3. We may call this style the B-style.

The results of this study are summarised in Table 4. List A shows 145 *adhyāyas*, which must have formed part of the original Vaiśampāyana text. The number of *Anuṣṭubh Ślokas*, long metre stanzas and the total number of verses are also given in the Table. List B similarly summarizes the position in regard to the later additions to the text. The statistical study shows that all the 59 *adhyāyas*, indicated in List B, have been written in the same style and so must have come from the same source, which will have to be identified later. These figures have, however, to be accepted with the following reservations. An *adhyāya*, which wholly or mainly consists of long metre stanzas, has been included in a group of *adhyāyas*, if it comes in the middle of that group and helps in the continuity of the narrative. Further as the statistical methods depend upon the law of large numbers, a statistical study can disclose stylistic differences only between two sufficiently large groups of *adh-*

yāyas. When a particular *adhyāya* in List A or particular *ślokas* therein have been added by a later diaskeuast they cannot be discovered by the application of statistical methods. If, however, *adhyāya* or particular *ślokas* in List A refer to the incidents mentioned in *adhyāyas* in List B, there may be a strong presumption that they are later additions. If, after the completion of the study of *Mahābhārata*, the list A is found to contain 24,000 *ślokas* or nearabout, which is said to be size of the Vaisāmpāyana text, there will be a strong presumption that we have succeeded in recovering that text. This study has the additional advantage that it will determine the major additions that have been made subsequently.

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TABLE 1
COUNT OF LONG SYLLABLES IN BHIŠMAPARVAN
ADHYĀYAS 41-60 (excluding 56)

Bhisma Adhyayas	No. of Slokardhas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	16	Sum	Sum of squares	Soum of products
41	208	102	135	144	180	133	128	128	167	109	156	1332	180823	277056			
42	56	31	33	37	40	46	31	32	47	25	46	368	14070	20608			
43	173	95	105	125	93	125	103	80	148	86	146	1106	127574	191838			
44	100	57	56	82	44	72	68	52	77	38	86	627	41071	62700			
45	180	69	86	84	65	74	88	90	93	30	101	789	65129	102570			
46	118	72	71	87	69	81	80	75	103	58	93	789	63763	93102			
47	60	39	41	45	44	33	35	36	57	31	49	410	17334	24600			
48	144	82	81	108	82	96	83	90	117	77	117	928	88130	133632			
49	82	45	58	47	41	56	56	49	72	47	69	540	30106	44280			
50	243	184	144	176	132	160	143	137	210	100	205	1541	248035	374463			
51	86	52	44	68	41	61	49	44	78	41	65	538	30238	46268			
52	45	28	27	35	29	33	33	25	42	26	36	314	10118	14130			
53	70	35	42	48	43	44	47	28	60	34	54	435	19748	30450			
54	92	54	47	71	52	69	59	48	78	45	72	595	36709	54740			
55	145	61	100	94	75	93	86	76	124	82	111	902	84424	130790			
57*	72	39	46	50	39	56	45	44	55	21	63	458	22190	32976			
58	126	71	76	88	79	88	70	70	104	61	103	819	68833	103194			
59	48	24	27	34	31	36	27	33	34	22	45	313	10201	15024			
60	167	104	89	112	97	128	104	79	147	94	144	1098	125312	183366			
Sum	2173	1194	1308	1530	1226	1484	1344	1216	1308	1031	1761	13902	1284758	1935287			
SXY _j	165222	182938	213158	170196	205387	185997	169505	252387	144824	245678							
Sxy _j	28666.11	33339.11	33174.32	29980.32	35664.27	32285.85	30433	46108.9	26410.16	44275.22							
b _j	.5328	.6197	.7095	.5572	.6629	.0001	.5656	.8570	.4908	.8229							

*The *adhyaya* 56 consisting wholly of long metre stanzas is excluded.

$Sx^2 = 302325$ $Sx^3 = 58802.43$ Correction term = 1017187.3 Total sum of squares = 267570.7 Between *adhyayas* = 222373.9
 Written *adhyayas* = 45196.8 Degrees of freedom = 171 mean square within *adhyayas* = 264.31 $Sxy = 345337.3$
 $(SXY)^2 = 221658.85$ Deviation from regression = 222373.9 - 221658.85 = 715.05 (d. f. 17)
 $10Sx^3$

THE PROBLEM OF MULTIPLE AUTHORSHIP

TABLE 2

COUNT OF LONG SYLLABLES IN ADHYĀYAS OF BHĪṢMAPARVA KARṆAPARVA AND SAUPTIKAPARVA

Parva <i>Adhyāya</i>	No. of <i>Slokār- dhas</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	16	Sum	Sum of squares	Sum of products	Sum of squares within <i>adhyāyas</i>	Degrees of freedom	Estimat- ed variance within <i>adhyāyas</i>
<i>Bhīṣma</i>																				
<i>adhyāyas</i>																				
41—60*	2173	1194	1808	1530	1226	1484	1344	1216	1808	1031	1761	13902	1284758	1985287	45196.8	171	264.81			
71—94*	2280	1216	1370	1534	1311	1502	1378	1133	1954	1187	1891	14536	1124798	1658214	43150.9	198	217.93			
95—117	2786	1506	1677	1909	1572	1951	1715	1415	2334	1356	2261	17696	1700398	2544678	60709.1	207	298.23			
<i>Bhīṣma</i> 64 <i>adhyāyas</i>	7130	3916	4855	4973	4109	4997	4487	3764	6096	3574	5013	46134	4109054	6138179	149056.8	576	258.78			
<i>Kraṇa</i>																				
1—21@	2171	1134	1338	1528	1368	1614	1332	1115	1916	1175	1845	14415	1368121	1996644	50469.8	180	230.88			
22—37	2071	1191	1332	1456	1300	1554	1295	1203	1826	1104	1676	13937	1643003	2365958	45075.6	144	313.08			
38—69@	2462	1415	1522	1692	1552	1791	1567	1338	2160	1348	2032	16418	1638572	2327004	49364.8	198	251.84			
<i>Karṇa</i> 58 <i>adhyāyas</i>	6704	3790	4192	4676	4220	4959	4194	3656	5002	3627	5553	44770	4650596	6689606	145409.7	522	278.56			
<i>Sauptika</i> 1—10£	958	538	627	674	596	696	576	558	835	496	816	6412	739538	1065267	23129	81	235.54			

The following *adhyāyas* have been excluded as consisting of wholly or mainly of long metre stanzas. * *adhyāyas* 56, 76 and 81.
 @ *adhyāyas* 13, 47, 48, 53, 54, 60, 61, 64, 65, 67 and 68. £ *adhyāya* 7 has been omitted, as it properly belongs to group 11—18.

TABLE 3
COUNT OF LONG SYLLABLES IN SOME ADHYĀYAS OF BHĪṢMAPARVA AND SAUPTIKAPARVA

Parva <i>Adhyāya</i>	No. of Ślokār- dhas	1	2	3	4	8	9	10	11	12	16	Sum	Sum of squares	Sum of products	Sum of squares within adhyāyas	Degrees of freedom	Estimat- ed variance within adhyāya	
<i>Bhīṣma</i>																		
<i>adhyāyas</i>																		
1—18	950	606	633	643	627	568	562	574	826	510	705	6254	376864	554711	9987.8	117	85.8658	
14—22	542	313	334	394	334	381	338	315	452	283	442	3586	228364	333965	6073	81	74.9753	
23—40	1290	799	842	988	816	805	825	819	1107	666	992	8654	506852	787776	12507.6	162	77.2074	
61—70	740	484	447	525	441	508	437	395	628	368	584	4767	268271	404665	8700.1	90	96.6678	
<i>Bhīṣma</i>																		
<i>50 adhyāyās</i>																		
	3522	2152	2256	2545	2218	2262	2162	2103	3018	1827	2723	23261	1379851	2031117	37268.5	450	82.8189	
<i>Sauptika</i>																		
<i>7, 11 to 18</i>																		
	601	323	357	456	362	420	361	383	501	294	475	3882	205148	305269	7072.4	81	87.31	
<i>Total 59</i>																		
<i>adhyāyas</i>																		
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	44340.9	531	88.50	

Table 4

List A (Vaiśampāyana Text)

<i>Parva</i>	<i>Adhyāyas</i>	<i>Ślokas</i>	Long metre stanzas	Verses
<i>Bhīṣma</i>	41—60 (excluding 56)	1086.5	69	1155.5
	56		28	28
	71—94 (excluding 76, 81)	1115	8	1128
	76	8	16	19
	81		12	12
	95—117	1368	37	1405
	67 <i>adhyāyas</i>	8572.5	170	8742.5
<i>Karṇa</i>	1—21 (excluding 18)	1085.5	68	1158.5
	18	4	21	25
	22—37	1085.5	73	1108.5
	38—69 (excluding the following)	1231	201.5	1482.5
	47, 48		29	29
	53, 54		30.5	30.5
	60, 61	5	46.5	51.5
	64, 65		80	80
	67, 68	22	81.5	108.5
		69 <i>adhyāyas</i>	3388	681
<i>Sauptika</i>	1 to 10 (excluding 7)	479	15	494
Total for list A 145 <i>adhyāyas</i>		7484.5	816	8250.5

List B (Later Additions)

<i>Bhīṣma</i>	1—13	475	7	482
	14—22	271	27	298
	23—40	645	55	700
	61—70	370	8	373
	50 <i>adhyāyas</i>	1761	92	1858
<i>Sauptika</i>	7, 11 to 18	300.5		300.5
Total for list B	59 <i>adhyāyas</i>	2061.5	92	2153.5

THE RELEVANCE OF SANSKRIT POETICS TO CONTEMPORARY PRACTICAL CRITICISM*

UMASHANKAR JOSHI

I AM aware of the honour the authorities of the Asiatic Society of Bombay have done me by inviting me to preside over the function, for the award of medals to three outstanding scholars for their service in Oriental Research. If I did not hesitate to accept the invitation, even though not qualified as an Oriental Researcher, it was just with a view to paying my humble homage to the Bombay Asiatic Society, which has become during the past 175 years of its existence almost a legend in the academic life of our country.

While conveying that I could choose any date in April or May, the invitation letter carried a post-script that in case May 7 was convenient to me, my address would be termed Kane Memorial Lecture as that date coincided with the birthdate of the great scholar.

The moment I agreed to speak on the seventh of May, in order to be able to honour the memory of MM. P. V. Kane, the subject of my lecture had almost suggested itself. It could be one related to either of his loves, Sanskrit Poetics or Dharma Śāstra. It seems, you have only to be well-meaning to find yourself in deeper and deeper waters. I like to play with the idea that I should rather have spoken on Dharma Śāstra, if only because it is always far easier to speak on a subject, the complexities of which one is not sufficiently aware of. Knowing full well as I do, how the field of Sanskrit Poetics bristles with problems and even conundrums which would require in-depth philosophical, metaphysical, psychological, linguistic and literary study, that should have been the last thing for me to get involved in. But I hazarded it, my purpose being a limited and specific one, that of investigating how far those of us, who are interested today in the critical activity in the various languages of India, can benefit from the ideas and tools made available by ancient Indian writers on Poetics.

Perhaps it is more than a hazard inasmuch as I can hardly claim to be a regular student of Sanskrit Poetics or of Philosophy, of which

* Lecture delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bombay on 7th May 1980.

Poetics forms a legitimate part. Even though I might have to stray far, sometimes perilously far, into these fields, my main concern will be with the possible enrichment of the contemporary critical activity. And in that context, I feel, lies the hope for Sanskrit Poetics to survive. If it is not to be studied by a few specialists of a past cultural phase only and is to form a part of mankind's living knowledge, it is only by proving itself to be a rich resource to practising critics in the various languages, that Sanskrit Poetics can flourish as a body of dynamic ideas. Even if those ideas are not frequently invoked, it would be enough if they are at the back of the mind; for that too is a use. If I put stress on the need for the awareness of the seminal ideas of Sanskrit Poetics, it is more with an eye on the sharpening of aesthetic sensibility and equipping the mind with the capacity for discerning beauty in whatsoever manner it manifests itself in a literary work. It seems the study of Sanskrit Poetics has reached a stage where we can take stock of things, define fresh needs in terms of the pursuit of knowledge and try to visualize how possibly the ideas of the Acharyas — great writers of treatises on Poetics can be best availed of.

Our current critical endeavour has to keep pace with that in the western world, as our creative writing during the past hundred and fifty years or so has been, by and large, under the influence of the West. We have freely borrowed genres, models and techniques from western literature. While our critical writings mainly follow western norms, the critical terminology employed by us is, as it would be in the nature of things, more or less borrowed from the works of the ancient Acharyas. Terms like '*aucitya*' '*vakrokti*', '*rīti*', '*upamā*', '*rūpaka*', '*sahṛdaya*', '*dhvani*' and the most enigmatic of them all '*rasa*', along with '*rasānubhava*', '*rasāsvāda*', are freely used, most of them not always strictly in the sense in which the Acharyas used them.

In fact, we are in a fortunate position. We have at our disposal the whole critical usage of the West, which has relevance to our modern creative writing, and we also have a rich critical tradition of our own from which, at least, we pick up terms in howsoever a casual manner. It is open to us to make a comparative study of the two traditions and forge a critical apparatus and a critical idiom which would meet the present need for enjoying and evaluating literary works of any age or language.

Let me hasten to add at the very outset that such a comparative study is beset with great difficulties. The ideas and the technical terms used are rooted in different cultural milieus. One such term

is 'Tragedy'. In order to make *Sākuntalam* a tragedy, the ringing down of the curtain at the end of the fifth act will not do. Tragedy is a concept, interwoven with the fabric of Greek life and is totally unknown to Indian culture. One should take care not to be taken in with apparent or superficial similarities. Take the term 'metaphor' in Aristotle. Prof. D. R. Mankad argues how the metaphor is usually referred to in India as '*rūpaka*', but it might be sometimes a '*samāsokti*' as in 'unbridled rage'. It is said: metaphor is implied simile. Aristotle considers it by far the best gift of the poet — his ability to find similitude in dissimilar things. The Acharyas look upon *upamā*-simile as the greatest gift of a poet and Kālidāsa the greatest poet is accredited with the best use of the simile, which is normally described as *sādharṃyam*-similitude, sharing of the same properties. Instead of getting bogged down into details of nomenclature or semantic quibblings, it would be worthwhile to look rather for the informing aesthetic principle. The sagacious Hemachandracharya calls the simile '*hṛdyam sādharṃyam*' — pleasurable (heart-pleasing) similitude, and this should lead us to the modern exploring of the link of analogy in feeling.

Even if the concept of tragedy is foreign to India, and the 'tragic' is not exactly '*Karuṇa-rasa*', there is an aesthetic principle which is common to both. Plato talked of 'tragic pleasure' (Philebus, 47-8). Aristotle says that tragedy does not depress one, it raises the spirits of men. The Sanskrit writers (except Ramachandra-and-Balachandra) have constantly maintained that Pathos (the *Karuṇa-rasa*) also pleases, that all *rasas* are dominated by pleasure, that all art-experience ends in beauty.

Every critic who deals with a poem has to keep in his view the trinity of (1) the poet, (2) the poem, and (3) the reader. Where does he actually start from? Perhaps he thinks he starts from the second — the poem itself. But, what is a poem? Is it just a piece of paper with marks of ink on it or a video-tape? Valery said, "It is the reading of the Poem that is the Poem." In other words, it is in somebody's experience of the poem that 'the poem' becomes itself. So, the critic, while dealing with a poem, has always to start with the third — the reader, himself, i.e. his own experience of the poem. The Sanskrit writers on Poetics, especially those who testify to *rasa*, could not be more right. One can speak about the poem and even the poet only after one's experience of the poem.

It is surprising that no less an expert on Sanskrit poetics than the late S. K. De should chide the Acharyas for their preoccupation with the understanding of the nature of art-experience. He says,

“...they consider the problem indirectly and imperfectly from the standpoint of the readers and not directly and completely from that of the poet”, and adds, “they are concerned mainly with the question of the reader’s reproduction but not of the poet’s production.” But, there is no way of dealing with the poet’s production but through the reader’s re-production. Even if the poet himself chooses to say something about his production, outside of the production itself, he cannot be treated as a final authority. His account would be one of many such accounts available from discerning readers and the final authority has to be the critic himself engaged in the task of judging it aesthetically.

However, it is not correct to say that the Acharyas have neglected the problem of poetic creation. In fact, their concern with it is interconnected with their concern with the problem of poetic experience. For, when the *rasa-sūtra* ‘*vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāri-samyogād rasa-niṣpattih*’ lays down that art experience is the result of the co-mingling rather compounding of the *Vibhāvas* (the characters and the environment), *Anubhāvas* (the bodily manifestations of emotions) and *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas* (temporary states or emotions feeding the dominant emotion), it has already hinted at the process of the poetic creation as well. For example, the *Vibhāvas*, the hero, the heroine and other characters and the environment, the situation and events that follow — all should be adequate if the work is to satisfy as a work of beauty.

If one looks at how a competent modern critic of the stature of T. S. Eliot gropes for neatly articulating what involves the creative process, one would feel grateful to the Acharyas for having given a clear and authentic description of it. Eliot has a difficulty with ‘Hamlet’. He lays the blame at the door of Shakespeare’s creative faculty and suggests that we are let down by it. Somewhere it falters, he feels, and locates it in the poet’s inability to discover, to use Indian terminology, an appropriate or adequate *Vibhāva*. Let us hear him as he struggles to articulate it with the help of the, by now, popular phrase ‘Objective Correlative,’ which, incidentally, was, not his coinage but was first used in 1850 by Washington Elston in his ‘Lectures on Art’ — a fact later acknowledged by Eliot also. Eliot says: “The only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an ‘objective correlative’; in other words, a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that *particular* emotion such that when the external facts, which must terminate in sensory experience, are given, the emotion is immediately evoked.”

Eliot succeeds in formulating the need for finding *Vibhāvas*, commensurate with the original emotion, which is to be expressed in the form of art. Thus far his account of the process of poetic creation is correct and finds support in the words of the Acharyas. But he is on no sure ground if he means that the *Vibhāvas* when presented will evoke the same emotion in the mind of the reader or the spectator, for the emotion while being presented through the medium of the 'Objective Correlative', the *Vibhāvas*, has suffered a sea-change. It is now no more the original emotion. (This is one example of how the fullest understanding of the reader's art-experience is necessary for a proper understanding of the creative process). Valery knew better. He alerts us, "We must contrast as clearly as possible poetic emotion with ordinary emotion."

Valery's statement of the creative and reproductive processes (for it aims possibly at covering both) comes very near to the truth of the matter. He says that a sort of a 'sense of a universe' is characteristic of poetry and adds: "I said: sense of a universe. I meant that the poetic state or emotion seems to me to consist in a dawning perception, a tendency toward perceiving a *world*, or complete system of relations, in which beings, things, events and acts, although they may resemble each to each, those which fill and form the tangible world — the immediate world from which they are borrowed — stand, however, in an indefinable, but wonderfully accurate, relationship to the modes and laws of our general sensibility. So, the value of those well-known objects and beings is in some way altered. They respond to each other and combine quite otherwise than in ordinary conditions."

Kuntaka, who flourished in the tenth century, refers to the veiling of the real nature of objects (*samāchchhādita-svabhāvāh*), when they are presented, by a sudden inspiration, in the poet's imaginative world. He adds that when this special predicament (*tathā-vidha-viśeṣa*) finds a masterly utterance in words, it becomes a thing of wondrous beauty to the mind.

It was Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who had, a century before Kuntaka, enunciated the idea of generalised emotion (*sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*), which proved to be the greatest aid in unlocking the meaning of the *rasa*-theory. It showed how the aesthetic consciousness resulted when objects or beings were visualised not as related to the immediate tangible world, but in a generalised, i.e. universal manner.

Valery almost suggests this when he says that the poetic state or emotion occurs when the values of the objects and beings of the world are altered because of their relationship to the laws of our

general sensibility, i.e. when they cease to have personal or individual interest and appear in a generalised, universal, way. Eliot also hints at the same thing when he talks of an escape from personality.

Abhinavagupta and his *guru* Bhaṭṭa Tauta say that this poetic emotion or aesthetic consciousness or *rasa* is primarily of the poet. The actor on the stage as well as the spectator or the reader of the work consequently attain it. The generalised consciousness pertaining to the poet (*kavi-gata-sādhārāṇībhūta-samvit*) alone is in reality *rasa* (*paramārthataḥ rasaḥ*).

So, those who appreciate the work of a poet need an equal measure of genius. Rajashekhar calls the creative genius '*kārayitrī pratibhā*' and the appreciative genius '*bhāvayitrī pratibhā*'. One, who experiences the work of art, has to re-live the poetic emotion of the creator. He has to re-evolve the aesthetic consciousness of the poet, re-construct the aesthetic object.

The best connoisseur of aesthetic beauty is called '*saḥṛdaya*' one who is of the same heart. Abhinavagupta describes him as one, the mirror of whose mind has become clear due to constant contact with poetic works and who has the capacity to identify himself with what is presented i.e. with the heart of the poet.

The art-experience of such a *saḥṛdaya* is, indeed, subjective. Abhinavagupta describes it as ending in '*prakāśa*' — illumination and '*ānanda*' — beatitude.

The poem, the word-construct has also received a fair amount of attention. Some of the writings on Poetics were of the nature of manuals for prospective writers. The discussions on *alamkāras*, *guṇas*, *rīti*, *vakrokti* and *aucitya* were meant to be a valuable help, though it was maintained that when the creative spirit worked, all the embellishments and graces and properties entered the composition in an onrush vying with one another (*ahampūrvikayā parāpatanti*) and they did not remain exterior (*na teṣām bahirangatvam*) to the poem, which was an organic whole. For the organic unity there is a happy expression — '*ekavākyatā*' which literally means one-sentence-ness. The ancients consider even a long work, if it is a creative work, to be just one sentence. Even the *Mahābhārata* with its more than one hundred thousand verses is just a one-sentence piece. The very term '*sāhitya*' — togetherness is most fortunate and it at once emphasises the crucial fact about a poetic composition that the verbal correlative is commensurate with the poetic emotion and it is this *sāhitya* — togetherness which the aesthetic object is.

The seminal ideas in Sanskrit poetics are three:

1. First and most significant is the *rasa-sūtra*, which has come to enjoy the status of a kind of an Einsteinian formula in the realm of poetic theorization. It seems to be the distillation of the aesthetic thinking of generations. Though it occurs in the encyclopaedic *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, it may as well have been picked up from an earlier work, for Bharata refers to Druhina as an authority regarding even the names of the eight *rasas*.

2. The second important idea is that of '*dhvani*' — suggestion. *Rasa* came to be associated with plays or other entire works and a need was felt for accounting for the beauty of smaller compositions or even single stanzas. The *alamkāra* school came into existence cutting *rasa* to size, by naming a '*rasa-vat*' *alamkāra* also. The *guṇas* (qualities) and *rīti* (composite poetic diction) came to be emphasised later. It was Anandavardhana, who laying his hand on *dhvani*, succeeded in explaining the presence of beauty in all kinds of compositions, *muktakas* — single stanzas as well as *prabandhas* — entire works, by referring it to either *vastu-dhvani*, *alamkāra-dhvani* or *rasa-dhvani*. It was also he who reconciled the claims of *rasa* with other approaches, by yielding in no ambiguous terms that even though varieties of *dhvani* were mentioned they were all to be comprehended through the medium of *rasa* and *bhāva* which were preponderent.

Since the *alamkāra*-school started, the emphasis came to be laid on stanzas rather than entire works. The wood was lost for the trees. Anandavardhana was the first to discuss an entire work, as a practical critic. He raised the important question of what the *rasa* of *Mahābhārata* was and answered by saying that it was *sānta-rasa*. Kuntaka, who followed him, was perhaps the greatest practical critic amongst the Sanskrit writers on poetics and the fourth chapter of his *Vakroktiṣvita* has a freshness about it and throws up a number of hints for the artistic structuring of entire works.

3. The third great idea is that of '*Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*' — the generalized or universal apprehension of the poetic feeling and the poet's world.

These ideas have survived and contributed effectively to a clearer understanding of the aesthetic object due to the astute and vigorous presentation by a master-synthesizer of the stature of Acharya Abhinavagupta, who is the greatest single name in Sanskrit Poetics. He eagerly seized upon the reconciliatory approach of Anandavardhana bringing *rasa* again into the focus. Instead of attempting a new

work of his own, he chose to write commentaries *Abhinava-Bhārati* on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Lochana* on Anandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* and used both texts for highlighting his own special predilection for *rasa*, whose secret he unravelled with the help of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's ideal of *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*. Abhinavagupta is one of the tallest thinkers not only of India but of the world. His apt utterances on Poetics have gone on ringing in the ears of generations after generations. It is a pity that even though during his life time, during the eleventh century, a philosophical dialogue was possible between him and the great Muslim thinker Avicenna (Ibn Sina) of West-Asia, a worth-while dialogue is yet to start with Western thinkers of today. (Incidentally, I took an opportunity to draw Dr. I. A. Richards' attention to Abhinavagupta's work in early 1956, at Harvard, and later wrote to him about Dr. R. Gnoli's translation of a portion of *Abhinavā-Bhārati* which was just published).

Once the texts are critically edited and annotated, they should leave the hands of the Sanskritists and reach the experts in the various disciplines. I hate the idea of the "*Arthaśāstra*" being studied only by the Sanskrit graduate students, and never forming a legitimate part of the curriculum for advanced studies in Political Science. So also, the more important work in Sanskrit Poetics could be better studied by advanced students of Philosophy, for, problems of Poetic Theory form a legitimate part of Philosophy and not of one language or another, nor even of literature as such.

I hope, it would be interesting to refer here to what a modern philosopher, Roman Ingarden (picking up one by random sampling), has to say about 'Aesthetic Experience and Aesthetic Object from (as it happens) a phenomenological approach. It would remind one again and again of the observations of the Sanskrit writers on Poetics. Prof. Ingarden carefully distinguishes between the ordinary perceptual experience and aesthetic experience. He shows how a composite structure of aesthetic experience has three kinds of elements: "(a) emotional (aesthetic excitement), (b) creative (active) constitution of an aesthetic object, (c) passive — perception of the qualities already revealed and harmonized."

Prof. Ingarden says that "in the final phase of an aesthetic experience there ensues an *apposement* in the sense that, on the one hand, there is a rather quiet *gazing upon* (contemplating) the qualitative harmony of the aesthetic object already constituted and a 'taking in' of these qualities. On the other hand, along with this, there proceeds what I have named the second form of emotional response to a harmony of qualities. And namely there arise some feel-

ings in which an *acknowledgement of the value* of the constituted aesthetic object is taking place." He says that in experiencing feelings of admiration and rapture, while directly confronting an aesthetic object, one pays, so to say, homage to it. It is the sequence of '*prakāśa*' and '*ānanda*' to which he seems to vouchsafe.

I may be permitted to repeat what I have said earlier — that one can get at the poem only by experiencing it. And it inevitably follows from this that practical criticism presupposes such an experience of the aesthetic object.

Prof. Ingarden states that "it is only in such direct intercourse with an aesthetic object that a primary and vivid emotional response is possible" and adds, "To evaluate' without being moved, i.e. to form a *judgment* of the aesthetic value of something is possible, when using proper technical criteria even without the accomplishment of an aesthetic process, and thus also without waiting for a harmony of qualities to be constituted in an evident way." Some persons, who have much to do with works of art, 'are not easily enraptured by anything' and develop a peculiar routine of dealing with subsidiary details.

Practical criticism, that does not flow from *bhāvana* — a state of *bhāva* (*bhāvayanti rasān*), is, to use a rather strong term, suspect. Prof. Ingarden calls it an intellectual exercise, 'an inferred judgment'. He maintains that only those value-judgments which result from a state of feeling and are based on the aesthetic process of experiencing the art-object are valid and justified: "the *experience* which alone, and in an essential way, makes this judgment valid (one may also say — which justifies it) lies in the final phase of the aesthetic process, and, in particular, in the acknowledgement of an aesthetic object, an acknowledgement which has the character of feeling and is grounded in the 'seeing of a harmony of qualities'. Therefore, strictly speaking, it is only those judgments concerning value, which are given *on the basis* of an aesthetic process, and when such a process has been accomplished, that are *justified*."

The discerning reader, the *sahṛdaya*, the critic, reproduces — re-creates the art-object created by the poet, the *kavi*, by passing through the aesthetic process and while acknowledging the presence of the aesthetic object pays joyful 'homage' to it.

At this point the poet and critic, the *kavi* and the *sahṛdaya* meet and the *kārayitrī*-creative faculty in one and a matching reciprocating or receiving (*bhāvayitrī*) faculty in the other partake of the nature of *pratibhā* — intuitional apprehension.

As a matter of fact, the two had symbolically met when the poem originally came to be written — when the composer laid down his pen after writing the last word and making final touches, if any. Only at the final moment of the composition the poet can realize what poem he was trying to write, what the *kavigatasādhāranābhūtasamvit*-generalized consciousness of the poet-actually was. It must have been the enjoyer, the critic, the *sahṛdaya* in him who must have borne out the creator in him and reassured him of the finality of the outcome. Abhinavagupta seems to suggest as much when he says in the opening stanza of *Locana*, '*sarasvatyāstattvam kavisahṛdayā-khyam vijayate*' — victorious is the essence of Speech called *kavisahṛdaya*, for he has so worded his say that the compound *kavisahṛdaya* also means 'the creator-enjoyer, the poet, who himself is the discerning reader', over and above referring to the inevitable pair involved in all aesthetic activity — 'the poet, the artist and the discerning enjoyer, the critic.'

*THE CONTRIBUTION OF D. D. KOSAMBI TO INDOLOGY

ROMILA THAPAR

MANY among you here this evening doubtless remember Professor

D. D. Kosambi, who was a similar figure at the Asiatic Society in Bombay and a regular contributor to the Journal. My first meeting with him took place appropriately enough on the Deccan Queen on which he commuted from his home in Pune to the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research in Bombay. I was then a research student and this was for me a memorable occasion both because of the opportunity of talking with him as also that the journey itself was a journey into the past. For Kosambi, every tree, every stone, every hamlet along that route was the source material of history. It was then that I realised how much of the past is with us and alive in our present. It is indeed an honour which the Asiatic Society of Bombay has done me in inviting me to speak on Kosambi's contribution to Indology. I would like to share with you this evening my admiration for a man who has been the mentor of a generation of historians of India.

It has recently been argued that a revolution in scientific knowledge comes about not through the accumulation of data alone but through a change in the paradigm.¹ When the framework of explanation or the hypothesis is altered or a new set of questions are posed only then can there be a break-through in scientific knowledge. This applies as much to history and the social sciences. The accumulation of data is of course a necessary first step and includes the deriving of fresh data from new sources, but an advance in knowledge is dependent on using the data to present new formulations.

Histories of the Indian sub-continent, such as were to become germane to the perception on the Indian past, have subscribed to three major changes of paradigm. The first comprehensive history was James Mill's *History of British India*² published in the early nineteenth century, where he set out his theory of Indian history evolving out of three civilisations, the Hindu, the Muslim and the British. The first two of these he described as backward, stagnant and a historic. His theory was to become axiomatic to the periodisation of Indian history and is with us still, though sometimes in

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a disguised form. A change came about with Vincent Smith's *History of India*³ published in 1919, which tried to avoid the sharpness of Mill's value judgements. Smith concentrated more on a chronological overview which was in any case less charged with colonial and anti-colonial sentiment and argued for the rise and fall of dynasties as being crucial to the study of Indian history. By the early twentieth century chronological data had accumulated to the point where such a treatment of history was possible. Where Mill's assessment was seeking to justify the British conquest of India, Smith was justifying colonial rule. The infrequency of explicitly negative value judgements on the pre-British period was largely an indication of his awareness of Indian national sentiment in the matter. Nationalist historians writing on early India reversed the value judgements but adhered to the paradigm of dynastic and chronological concerns.

Kosambi's first book, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*⁴ published in 1956, was a major shift in the paradigm. He had little use for a chronological narrative since he argued that chronology for the early period was too obscure to be meaningful. For him history was the presentation in chronological order of successive developments in the means and relations of production.⁵ Because of the absence of reliable historical records he argued that Indian history would have to use the comparative method.⁶ This meant a familiarity with a wide range of historical work and his own familiarity with classical European history is evident in his writing; it also meant the use of various disciplines and interdisciplinary techniques to enable the historian to understand the pattern of social formations. His definition of the comparative method required the historian to be an inter-disciplinary creature in himself with the ability to use a large number of investigative techniques. This ability he demonstrated to the full in his writings on Indology. Added to this was his conviction that the historian in India was in a particularly happy position since so much of the past survives in the present. As he puts it, "...the country has one tremendous advantage that was not utilised till recently by the historians: the survival within different social layers of many forms that allow the reconstruction of totally diverse earlier stages."⁷ For him, this amply made up for the absence of reliable historical records.

Kosambi's acknowledged status as an Indologist was all the more remarkable, in that by profession he was a mathematician. Indology to begin with was a subsidiary interest, perhaps inherited from his father, a scholar of Pali and Buddhism who taught at various centres in India, apart from a period at Harvard. The older

Kosambi walked the countryside in an effort to relate the texts to their original milieu, an approach which was followed by his son. A quick perusal of the younger Kosambi's many publications, points to a telling trend. His earliest papers in the 1930's are mainly on various aspects of mathematics. In the 1940's his interest in Indology became apparent in the form of occasional papers. (This was also the period when he wrote on Soviet contributions to mathematics and genetics and was enthusiastic about the Soviet attempt to build a socialist society). He was appointed to the Mathematics Chair at the T.I.F.R. in 1946. During the 1950's however and until his death in 1966, most of his publications were on Indology and early Indian history although his mathematical interests remained constant.

As an Indologist Kosambi worked on virtually every aspect of Indological studies. His first venture into early Indian sources was a critical assessment of Bhartṛhari which can be regarded as a model for such analysis.⁸ At a later stage he edited, jointly with V. V. Gokhale, the Vidyākara *Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa* for the Harvard Oriental Series.⁹ Apart from applying the norms of higher criticism to such texts he also tried to place them in historical context not merely through a chronological analysis but by referring them to the society from which they emanated. He argued that from the first millennium A.D. Sanskrit should be seen as a measure and expression of upper class unity when it replaced Prākṛit in the royal courts and was patronised, particularly in the initial stages, by foreign rulers. This is of course evident in the change from Prākṛit to Sanskrit as the language of royal inscriptions between the Mauryan and the Gupta periods. He stressed the feudal background of many Sanskrit texts which brought him into a lively controversy with one of his closest friends, the Harvard Sanskritist, Daniel Ingalls. Kosambi maintained that Sanskrit was deliberately kept restricted to a small number of people, even though the excellent early grammar of the language by Pāṇini, commented upon by Patañjali, converted it into an orderly and systematic language, open to anyone who was taught it properly. However he felt that it froze in the hands of what he called, 'a disdainful priest class',¹⁰ and much of the real world was by-passed in the courtly literature.

The relation of text to context was examined at greater length in his papers on the *Bhagavad Gītā* where he attempted to relate ideology to society.¹¹ He argued that the *Gītā* in propounding the concept of *bhakti* laid emphasis on unquestioning faith in, and personal loyalty and devotion to, a deity, and these values were in conformity with the ideology of feudalism which also required a chain

of unquestioning loyalties. The text emphasised caste functions and the requirement to do one's ordained duty as a member of a particular caste which he saw as a message in support of caste society and the conservatism which such a society entails; a message propounded by the upper castes to keep the rest of society passive. He further suggests that religious sects supporting a synthesis of gods and of tolerance are expressions of a period of a social surplus, when wealth was more widely distributed; whereas the ideology of *bhakti* is more frequent in periods of crisis, but that it nevertheless acted as a means of inter-relating the scattered religious beliefs of a region. It could be argued however that the *bhakti* endorsed by the *Gītā* is not identical with that which was taught by latter *bhakti* teachers. Whereas the single minded devotion to a deity is retained, the social content changes substantially and is expressed in a concern with a universal ethic which echoes that of the Buddhist and Jainas and which permits the *bhakti* movements to become powerful mobilisers of various social groups. There is an almost apparent contradiction between the emphasis on caste-duty in the *Gītā* and the universal ethic of the later *bhakti* movement.

In his handling of Buddhist texts Kosambi uses them mainly to draw out data on social and economic life and much of his discussion on early trade, for instance, is based on these sources. This was not new as such data had earlier been extracted from these sources by scholars of Buddhism such as Rhys Davids² and Fick.¹³ Kosambi co-related this data with evidence from Sanskrit sources but above all from archaeological excavations and contemporary inscriptions and brought the Buddhist material into the wider orbit of reconstructing the history of the late first millennium B.C. The fact that the Buddhist sources do at times contradict the brahmanical tradition was for him a particularly important aspect of the Pāli texts and invested them with the kind of authenticity which he found invaluable. The recognition of this feature he owed to his father's work on the Buddhist texts.¹⁴

His knowledge of Sanskrit led Kosambi to a series of etymological analyses which he used to great effect in reconstructing the social background, particularly of the Vedic period.¹⁵ Thus he argued that the names of many of the established brāhmins in Vedic literature and the Purāṇic tradition clearly pointed to their being of non-Aryan origin. Some were given the epithet, *dāsi-putra* (such as Dirghatamas) or else their names suggested totems, as for instance, Ajigarta or Kaśyapa. Further, that the original seven *gotras* of the brāhmins were of mixed Aryan and non-Aryan priests. His analysis of the *gotras* led him into a debate with John Brough.¹⁶

From the study of the *gotras* he went on to the logical point that the language of the Vedic texts could not have been pure Aryan and must have had an admixture of non-Aryan elements reflecting the inclusion of non-Aryans as brāhmins. This theory is now more acceptable to those who have worked on Indo-Aryan linguistics, on the basis of the linguistic analyses of the texts and language which clearly indicates non-Aryan structures and forms both in syntax and vocabulary.¹⁷ Kosambi's own use of linguistic analyses bears the stamp of philosophy and he was evidently less familiar with the changes in linguistic practices of the mid-twentieth century. His etymological reconstruction of Sātakani as Indo-Austic is an example of this where he makes no attempt to support his argument by providing other Austic links.¹⁸ The same problem arises with his attempt to equate the Hittite *khatti* with the Sanskrit *Kṣatriya* and the Pāli *khettiyo*.¹⁹

An area in which he successfully utilised his mathematical knowledge was Indian numismatics and more especially in the one coinage system on which he worked in great detail, namely, the punch-marked coins which were in circulation between c. 500-100 B.C. These were coins cut from a sheet of silver, each coin bearing a set of symbols on the reverse but with no legend. Hence their chronology and the agency which issued them was an enigma. Kosambi wished to demonstrate the application of scientific methods for obtaining information from numismatic evidence. He worked on a statistical analyses of their distribution with a meticulous weighing of each coin to ascertain loss of weight by wear and tear and with a careful analysis of their fabric and alloy. By arranging the coins in accordance with their weight and their set of symbols he hoped to provide a chronological sequence of the coins and believed that this would in turn provide a clue as to the source of their issue.²⁰ For the method to be successful the coins to be used as control had to come from stratified excavations. These could be tested against coins from hoards provided they were free from encrustations. His analyses revealed that the average weight decreases when the symbols on the reverse increase. From this he argued that coins in constant circulation would also be the ones to be weighed and valued more frequently. He maintained that they were originally issued by traders but were ratified by the kings' valuers and marked with the kings' symbols. The next step was the identifying of particular symbols as the marks of particular kings. Whereas the statistical analyses of the coins is generally accepted, the identifications of certain symbols with royalty remain controversial with some numismatists still arguing that the coins may

not bear any royal marks. It does seem curious that with major changes in the nature of the state and of royalty during this period, the coins, if connected with royalty, should have remained without any appreciable change in style. It seems implausible that the Mauryan kings would not have issued special coins and would have been content to merely ratify these issued by traders, for, if nothing else they would at least have imitated the Persian and Greek coins which were circulating in west Asia and with area Indian kings and traders were in contact. It seems more likely that the coins continued to be issued and ratified by guilds as legal tender, a suggestion which is endorsed by the occasional legend of *negama* (from *nigama*?) on some issues from Taxila. The evaluation of coins by the king's valuer as described in the *Arthasāstra* would doubtless have applied to all coins irrespective of where they were issued.

Kosambi's use of archaeology was in part to reconstruct the prehistoric period where he literally walked the stretch around Pune in an effort to record the archaeological data. On the basis of his extensive fieldwork on microlithic sites and through his typology of microlithic artefacts he was able to suggest the routes which herders, pastoralists and incipient traders would have taken across the western Deccan in the pre-historic period.²¹ Relating to a more developed culture, he looked for continuities of archaic artefacts and sought to explain these in their fullest function, for example, the function of the saddle-quern which he explained both with reference to those found in archaeological excavations and as well as those in current use.²² By the term 'use' he meant not merely the technological function but also the role of the object in religious ritual. He was also among the earliest scholars to recognise the significance of the megalithic culture and the potentialities which it held in the discussion on the origins of many institutions.

Added to the fieldwork was an intelligent understanding of geomorphology and topography. In many cases his assessment of the historical importance of a site was based on the logic of geography. This he felt should indicate to the historian where to look for sites and the likely nature of the sites. This approach is demonstrated in what can only be called a brilliantly insightful discussion of the trade route from the west coast upto the plateau and across the *ghats* in the western Deccan.²³ Geographical considerations were partially responsible for the location of urban centres and Buddhist monasteries in this area during the first millennium A.D. with a continuity of Maratha forts and British railway links in the second millennium.

It was the recognition of cultural survival which led Kosambi to weave so much material from ethnology and anthropology into his historical narrative. This is perhaps best demonstrated in the pages in his *Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, where he describes what he sees in the vicinity of his house in Pune.²⁴ Here we have history virtually on the door-step, what with the encampment of a nomadic group, the presence of a tribe which had once given rise to a *jāti*, and of another which similarly became a quasi-guild. He noticed trees and sacred groves, stones marking a sacrificial ritual, caves and rock shelters which may have been occupied successively by prehistoric men, by Buddhist monks and later by practitioners of Hindu cults. Such places have a remarkable continuity as sacred centres and often provided a greater historical continuity both in object and ritual than many written texts. These for him were primary areas for archaeological and historical investigation. It is important to clarify that Kosambi was not arguing that religion played a more significant part in Indian culture than has been the case in other cultures, as has been the stand of those who maintain the greater spirituality of the Indian past; but rather, Kosambi's position is that there was a greater survival of the archaic in religious ritual than in other areas of Indian life which speaks of a certain conservatism but at the same time makes it worth investigating historically. This perspective on culture is again demonstrated in the discussion on the probable Harappan religious forms and their continuity into later periods.

Kosambi had little use for physical anthropology. For him, both the measuring of nasal indexes and the theories on the racial identities of India derived therefrom, were worthless.²⁵ At a wider anthropological level he maintained that one of the clues to understanding the Indian past was the basic factor of the transition from tribe to caste, from small, localised groups to a generalised society.²⁶ This transition was largely the result of the introduction of plough agriculture in various regions which changed the system of production, broke the structure of tribes and clans and made caste the alternative form of social organisation. This process he traced in part from the evolution of clan totems into clan names and then into caste names. The agency through which plough agriculture was introduced would therefore become the major factor of control in caste society. This agency he saw as the brahmanical settlements in various parts of the country. These led to an assimilation of local cults into the brahmanical tradition as is evident from the various *Purāṇas* and *Māhātmyas*. But equally important it led to the Sanskritisation of local folk cults with the incorporation of brāhman

priests and rituals, the association of epic heroes and heroines, and by the inclusion of such cults in Sanskrit mythology.

The interpretation of myths is essential to any study of early cultures and Kosambi's work is peppered with such interpretations. In a detailed discussion of the story of Purūravas and Urvaśi which he traces through its many variants in the texts,²⁷ he dismisses the simplistic nature-myth interpretation of Max Müller and his contemporaries who saw the disappearance of Urvaśi as symbolic of the vanishing dawn on the rising of the sun. Kosambi attempts a functional anthropological analysis in which he argues that it reflects the institution of sacred marriage in prehistoric societies as well as the ritual sacrifice of the hero by the mother goddess.²⁸ One of the frequent strands in his explanations of myths was related to his belief that societies were matriarchal in origin and many gradually changed to patriliney and that myths therefore reflect the transition from the one to the other. This view was largely derived from the writings of F. Engels²⁹ and what one might call the 'mother-right school of anthropology.'³⁰ He applied the same argument to explain the *kumbha* symbol or birth from a jar of certain brāhman *gotras* and of the Kauravas in the *Mahābhārata* where the jar has an obvious symbolic equation with the womb. Bride-price is also for him a survival of matriliney.³¹ The insistence on a transition from matriarchal to patriliney in every case is not now acceptable since many societies are known to have been patrilineal from the beginning. It is curious that the structural study of myths was known at that time but Kosambi shows little interest in it.

I have tried to indicate the various ways in which Kosambi contributed to Indological studies in his handling of the various sources and data. That his scholarship ranged over a variety of aspects was in conformity with the best Indological tradition which required a many faceted scholar who could claim familiarity with different source materials. What distinguished Kosambi from other scholars was that his ultimate concern was with an overall theoretical framework, into which, not only was his scattered research directed, but which he propounded as an attempt to comprehend the totality of Indian history. His first book, *An Introduction to the study of Indian History*, drew together the many themes on which he had researched in earlier years and which he had published as papers in various international journals of Oriental Studies. This book was to prove his claim not merely to being a historian but to changing the paradigm for early Indian history.

For Kosambi, Marxism provided the clue to understanding the past and he identified his method unambiguously with Marxism.

Kosambi would doubtless have accepted the judgement of Jean Paul Sartra that Marxism is the 'necessary' philosophy of our time, by which he meant that even if Marx's particular conclusions are unacceptable, the method of analysis which he had worked out is virtually unavoidable in the social sciences. Many among the non-Marxist and anti-Marxist historians in this country tried to dismiss the book with the predictable critique of all Marxist histories, that the author was forcing the facts to fit a preconceived theory: a critique which is applied *ad nauseum* to all versions of knowledge which are intellectually uncomfortable for those who are incapable of changing the paradigm and who are fearful of scholars attempting to do so. A few among the more intellectually gifted realised that what Kosambi was doing was not forcing the facts to fit the received Marxist pattern on Indian history, but was instead using a Marxist methodology to investigate a possible pattern and suggest a new framework; that in act he was using the method creatively. As he himself states elsewhere, Marxism was not being "proved" or "justified", but simply being used as a tool of professional investigation. And this was also part of the reason why he was regarded with suspicion by the then Marxist political establishment in this country, the people whom he has referred to in his writings as the OM — the Official Marxists!³² Enthusiastic support came to him from intellectuals interested in Marxism and in history and from liberal intellectuals in Europe and America. It is significant that Kosambi was invited to give a series of lectures on the history of Hinduism at London University and to lecture at the Oriental Institute in Moscow in 1955, long before any Indian University took such a step.

I would like now to consider his approach to early Indian history with which he was centrally concerned. In the context of his general argument of the transition from tribe to caste, socio-economic formations were in his primary interest. He draws his evidence on tribal forms both from literary sources as well as from the survival of such groups into recent centuries and from their interaction with peasant groups. The earliest of such transitions occurred in the Indus valley; hence Kosambi's concern with agrarian technology at that time.³³ He assumed that it was a culture without the plough, that the river bank was cultivated with a harrow and that the seasonal flood water was utilised for irrigation with dams and embankments helping in retaining this water and the river silt for a longer period. The decline of the Indus civilisation is attributed to the Aryans who destroyed the agricultural system by breaking the embankments, which action he maintains, is symbolically referred to in the R̥gvedic descriptions of Indra destroying Vṛtra, and

releasing the waters. Kosambi was of the opinion that the plough was brought by the Aryans who thereby changed agricultural technology. Recent evidence on the Indus civilisation makes it clear that plough agriculture was practised even as early as the pre-Harappan period and that the plough was known to the non-Aryan since the more commonly used word for the plough in Vedic literature is of non-Aryan etymology.³⁴ The theory of the destruction of the embankments is conjectural and may have greater application to dams built to prevent the flooding of the cities rather than for agricultural purposes. Nevertheless the question posed by Kosambi as to why the agrarian base of the Harappa culture declined and was unable to support an urban civilisation in the later stages still remains a valid one and is now sought to be answered by evidence of a far reaching ecological change with which Harappan technology could not cope and which eventually resulted in a shift of the location of new urban centres to the Ganges valley.

Although he had no use for any theory of an Aryan race, Kosambi did support the idea of the Aryan speaking peoples having settled in north-western India and spreading gradually into the Ganges valley, in both cases initially as conquerors.³⁵ Such a theory of conquest had been questioned by those working in Indo-Aryan linguistics and it is now being proposed that conquest should be replaced by considering the possibility of migrations and technological changes being responsible for the arrival and the dominance of the Aryan speakers, the resulting long period of co-existence between them and the indigenous peoples being suggested by the evidence of bi-lingualism. Even the archaeological data which was once put forward to support the destruction of the Harappan cities by invaders is now discounted.³⁶ The new evidence however tends to strengthen the more important point made by Kosambi that much of the Indian tradition from the earliest Vedic texts is already an amalgam of Aryan and non-Aryan as indeed are even those of the highest caste.

Plough agriculture and iron technology when it was introduced into the Ganges valley led ultimately to the growth of urban centres as well as the recognisable forms of caste. Recent views would include as causal factors in this development, the role of a change in crop patterns with a dependence on rice agriculture, the diversity of irrigation systems, the use of labour in the new technologies and the range of control over these factors by different social groups. This is a fleshing out, as it were, of Kosambi's argument by extending the span of causal factors. Analyses of the structure of caste at this time in terms of the theoretical form given to the actuality,

gives further rein to the question implicitly raised by Kosambi, namely, the degree to which ideology and social structure are interconnected.

The Mauryan monarchy which controlled the Indian sub-continent was a feasible political system according to Kosambi because of the expansion of the village economy through śūdra agriculturalists being settled on state lands and by the deportation of prisoners-of-war who were used for the same purpose.³⁷ He argues against the use of slavery in production in early India and prefers the theory of śūdra helotage, although he does not develop this theory fully. The decline of the Mauryan empire is attributed to an economic crisis, the details of which are debatable. His argument that the currency was debased devolves from his own chronological interpretation of the coins, which as we have seen, is not entirely acceptable, as also the argument that double cropping indicated an economic crisis, for we now know from archaeological sources that double cropping was an established practice even in earlier centuries.³⁸ However, that the inability of the Mauryan polity to survive must be attributed to causes which in part were certainly economic, cannot be doubted. A more plausible analysis would be to examine the nature of the Mauryan polity in terms of whether the existing man power and agricultural resources were conducive to such a system, though admittedly the sources for such analyses would not be easy to come by. Equally important is the question of whether the polity was as centralised as has been made out in historical studies.

Kosambi's treatment of the rise of the Buddhist, Jaina and other sects of that time links them to major technological changes and to urbanism. But above all he maintains that they reflect a situation of detribalisation in which they attempt to reach out across castes to a wider social range through their universal ethic. He argues forcefully in support of a mercantile patronage extended to these sects which rooted them in society more firmly than did the help they received from royal patronage. The punch-marked coins are for him an indication of developed commodity production³⁹ which provided a high status for artisans and traders as members of urban society and their link with religions propagating a universal ethic would not be surprising. This link was demonstrated in his discussion of the post-Maurya period where he examines the role of guilds and artisans as donors to the Buddhist *sangha* in the light of the expansion and diffusion of trade. The emergence of occupational *jātis* in urban areas can frequently be associated with this development.

An evident departure from the orthodox Marxist pattern of historical periodisation is Kosambi's refusal to apply either the Asiatic Mode of Production or the Slave Mode of Production to early Indian history without modifications of a major kind. For Karl Marx the Indian past conformed, by and large, to what he called the Asiatic Mode of Production characterised by a static society, an absence of private property in land, self-sufficient villages, a lack of a commercial economy and by a state control over the irrigation system. Although both he and Engels recognised deviations from this pattern, they saw this pattern as a contrast to that prevalent in Europe and argued that historical stagnancy in India was broken by the coming of colonialism. This was not altogether acceptable to Kosambi, for whom the key to the Indian past in the advance of plough agriculture over tribal society made a static history impossible. Of the notion of the self-sufficient village economy he writes, "...acute and brilliant as these remarks are, they remain misleading nevertheless...".⁴⁰ The dependence of the village on external sources for salt and metals would automatically preclude self-sufficiency. Elsewhere he has argued for the emergence of the free, tenant or land-owning peasant.⁴¹ He did however concede that from the end of the Gupta period there was a relative increase in self-sufficiency and this brought with it a static mode of production which was not the Asiatic mode for it came about during a period of feudalism.⁴² He also argued that the lack of a sense of history and the power of myth further reduced individuality. A static mode of production could not have co-existed with a form of feudalism since the latter breeds its own contradictions. Perhaps if he had been questioned on this ambiguity he may have modified his position to argue that the degree of self-sufficiency increased, but not to the extent of the static mode of production becoming the dominant feature; a condition which is characteristic of some forms of European feudalism as well.

Elaborating his views on the Asiatic Mode of Production he wrote,⁴³ "The real difficulty here (not in China) is the misleading documentation. Ancient Indian records derive from the brahman caste and those who read them pay no attention to the function of caste in ancient — (as well as modern and feudal) Indian society. Indian history is, to me, a very fine example of Marxist theory working very well in practice. Unfortunately, Marx had only the solitary report of Buchanan-Hamilton on Karnatak villages, not even the *Foral* of 1640 by the King of Portugal guaranteeing the rights of Goa village communities, which existed in a much more primitive form, and which could not be called 'hydraulic', in view of the torrential

rainfall. The Goan organisation (which I have studied elsewhere, *Myth and Reality*, Chapter V) was actually the model for the Karnatak settlement, and survived almost to this day.

It follows that 'Oriental Despotism' has to be looked at from some other points of view than Wittfogel's hydraulic social aberrations. It seems to me that the two Main Marxist considerations are: (1) The incidence of commodity production (per head) with the relative ease of food-gathering. This becomes vital when you consider Africa. By the way, the Pharaoh's main function was not regulation of water or irrigation, but distribution of the numerous materials which had all to be imported from a long distance, including wood, metals, and so on. Henri Frankfort has a very neat answer to Toynbee, where he brings this out, in contrast to Mesopotamian development of numerous warring cities. (2) The need to use overriding force to compel the people (in an environment where food-gathering was, however, irregular, always possible) to change over to food-production i.e. agriculture with the plough. In Egypt food-gathering was different except in the delta, but the cultivator had to be kept at his work. You will find that the British had to impose a poll-tax in Africa in order to get cheap labour for the mines and the white man's farms.

If you grant this, then it follows that despotism, even of the so-called oriental type, was a tool (however disgusting) used to bring a more productive form of society into existence. But during this very process, there came into being a class of state servants, state nobility or administrators — at times priests, who reduced the need for violence and helped develop the back-lands (as did my own ancestors in Goa and the Buddhist monasteries in China as well as in the Deccan). This class then used the absolute, despotic monarchy and the more or less passive substratum for its own purposes. Hence the changeless appearance of the country, seeing that the actual tools of production need not become more efficient. Under such circumstances, feudalism is a special development used to keep the rule in the hands of a ruling warrior caste-class, often conquerors. Don't be misled by the supposed Indian *kshatriya* caste, which was oftener than not a brahmanical fiction..."

His rejection of the Slave Mode of Production as applicable to the Indian past arose from a hesitation in applying the accepted Marxist periodisation of European history. Marx had suggested that primitive communism gave way to a slave mode of production predominant in Greco-Roman antiquity and this in turn gave rise to feudalism in Europe from which evolved the capitalist mode of pro-

duction. Kosambi was averse to the mechanical application of this model to India as had been done by various historians in Soviet Russia and in India, as for example, by S. A. Dange. Kosambi was caustic in his evaluation of Dange's book, *From Primitive Communism to Slavery*, which he said followed the Russian analysis and which analysis, "... saves a certain type of 'left intellectual' the trouble of reading anything else or thinking for himself."⁴⁴ Kosambi's analysis differed from any existing model. He maintains that the statement of the Greek ambassador Megasthenes (of the fourth century B.C.) that there was an absence of slavery in India was correct because Megasthenes makes a comparison with Sparta which suggests helots instead of slaves.⁴⁵ Kosambi states that at this period the *śūdras* were essentially helots. He does not however discuss in greater detail the nature of *śūdra* helotage. Whereas the origin of the *śūdra* caste may be traced to helotage, the classification cannot hold for the entire past. At the ideological level it would be clearly contradicted by the early *Dharma-śāstra* exposition of the *varṇa* theory where the origin of the *śūdra* is attributed to mixed caste marriages including those involving the upper castes. Such a theory even if not based on actuality would have undermined the notion of helotage. The possibility of a slave mode of Production in early India is problematical since there are no figures on the ratio of slaves to others nor is there a clear distinction on the percentage of slaves in domestic employ or in agricultural and craft production. Doubtless these percentages would also have varied in the *gaṇa-saṅgha* chiefships where they were probably higher and in the kingdoms where with a diversity of labour, slavery for production may have been smaller. It would also be important to consider the degree of unfreedom of the *dāsa* in relation to the *karmakāra*, *bhṛitaka* and *śūdra* which would involve questions of the legal status of these categories.

The Feudal Mode of Production is the only category of Marxist periodisation which Kosambi accepts although even here he makes his own distinction between what he calls, 'feudalism from above' and 'feudalism from below', and which he regards as the peculiar features of Indian feudalism. Feudalism from above was his characterisation of the changes which came about in the late first millennium A.D. subsequent to the Gupta period.⁴⁶ Incidentally he has little time for the Gupta period and is justifiably contemptuous of the nationalist historians who described it as the golden age of Hindu revivalism. His contempt is summed up in the sentence, "Far from the Guptas reviving nationalism, it was nationalism that revived the Guptas."⁴⁷ Recent research has not only tarnished some of the

golden quality of this age, but has on occasion even revealed that a part of it was mere tinsel. The changes noticeable in the post-Gupta period were mainly those of an increase in the granting of land with a greater frequency of transition from tribe to caste through the introduction of plough agriculture, a decline in trade and commodity production which adversely affected the growth of urban centres, the decentralisation of the army and a concentration of wealth at local courts. With this was associated the spread of *bhakti* cults whose emphasis on loyalty and devotion he saw as a characteristic feature of feudal society. In a discussion on private property in land, central to the concept of the Asiatic Mode of Production, he argues that it should be viewed in the Indian context which implies, firstly, that actual cultivators were ex-tribals who still regarded land as territory deriving from kinship rights, secondly, the holding of a field was proof of membership of a community rather than ownership of land and thirdly, that in a non-commodity producing village or one located near waste land, land would have no sale value. The only conditions were the regular payment of taxes to either the grantee or the king. These arguments read more like an attempt to somehow salvage the notion of the absence of private property without a willingness to admit the pattern of the Asiatic Mode of Production as an explanatory model. Nor are these arguments wholly convincing because although in some areas the cultivators were recent converts to peasantry in others they were peasants of long standing since many of the grants of land were made in villages of well-established cultivators. The statement that land had no sale value in newly settled areas is contradicted by inscriptional evidence in some areas where, in Bengal for example, land is sold and the price is stated in districts which were regarded as being on the edge of waste land.⁴⁸ Part of the problem with his analysis of the two phases of feudalism, and this is a problem of which he is well aware, is that no generalisation can cover the entire sub-continent since the changes varied from region to region.⁴⁹

In his discussion on feudalism from below he draws his evidence mainly from Kashmir and Rajasthan and depicts a more clearly recognisable form of feudlism but with specific Indian features.⁵⁰ This phase is characterised by political decentralisation accompanied by a low level of technology with production for the household and the village and not for a market, and the holding of land by lords on a service tenure who also have judicial or quasi-judicial functions in relation to the dependent population. The Indian features were the absence of demesne farming on the lord's estate by forced labour where in many cases, slaves were used instead, leading to an in-

crease in slaves; there was also an absence of guilds and of any organised church. The backwardness of technology allowed of an easy conquest of northern India by those with a more advanced military technology. Changes in the ruling class did not substantially affect the nature of feudalism in India and it continued until the coming of colonialism.

Kosambi's definition of feudalism would today find its critics as also would its general applicability to the sub-continent be debated. On the latter point one would have to consider whether other systems prevalent in other parts of the sub-continent would seriously subtract from the generalisation.⁵¹ The nature of control over land was different in parts of the peninsula as also was the condition of trade, where the rise of powerful guilds was characteristic of this period. The increase in the number of slaves was not such as to constitute a Slave Mode of Production and as Kosambi maintains quite correctly there was no slave economy of the Roman kind to initiate the institution of the manor. The existence of serfdom has also been suggested for many areas. Although there was no organised church nevertheless there is enough evidence of what Max Weber has called 'monastic landlordism' both among Buddhist and Hindu sects, which was certainly a parallel system to that of the church in Europe. The monastic centres of this period were opulent and powerful. Kosambi argues that religious sects frequently failed to provide the ethical and religious values by which they had once held the society, but he does not consider the monastic institution as the foci of political and economic control, a role which it often played at this time.⁵²

It is curious that Kosambi takes as his model feudalism in England and shows no familiarity with the classic work on feudal society by Marc Bloch which would have been far more pertinent to his analyses. (His facility with the French language would have enabled him to have read Marc Bloch in the original). In a sense, this points to something of a narrowness in his wider historical reading. Although far from being an orthodox Marxist he nevertheless showed little interest in schools of analyses other than the Marxist so far as interpreting early societies were concerned. He does not for example indicate any familiarity with the works of those who were critical of Lewis Morgan and Frederick Engels, such as Karl Polyani. It is also curious that in spite of his interest in French scholarship (arising out of a concern with French colonial activities in Vietnam and north Africa) he was not introduced to the writings of French historians such as Fernand Braudel with which, one suspects, he would have found a close rapport. Whereas his respect for the works

of Gordon Childe and George Thomson is evident in his own studies, his acquaintance with Moses Finlay's work on the Greeks came later⁵³ and one wonders whether he would have analysed the Indian epics in a manner similar to Finlay's analysis of the Greek epics. Convinced as he was of the correctness of one methodology, Kosambi seems to have found the debate on methodology unnecessary. His utilisation of Indian anthropological literature was more as a source of ethnology and a study of survivals and indigenous forms rather than as a means of examining the validity of any anthropological method. Possibly this limitations may also have been due to the tendency among Indian Marxists at that time to confine themselves to the writings of British Marxists, which can perhaps be explained as a curious reflection on the limitations of colonial scholarship where, even in radical circles the intellectual metropolis remained British with occasional forays into the writings of Soviet scholars. This is in striking contrast to more recent years in which the translations of European Marxist writing and that from other parts of the world are as widely read as the works of British Marxists.⁵⁴ A more mundane explanation may be the paucity of new books at that time and Kosambi was very conscious of this lack of availability of up-to-date research. In his personal correspondence with scholars in fields other than Indology he makes repeated requests to be kept informed of new studies since such information was not available in India. Where he could obtain such works he read them with great thoroughness and commented at length on them, as for example, on Maurice Godelier's views on early societies, many of which views he endorsed. That the deepest intellectual influence on Kosambi came from the writings of Frederick Engels is evident from both his books on Indian history.⁵⁵

Such limitations, as these may be, are marginal to the serious quality of Kosambi's work, a quality which is enhanced by the intellectual honesty with which he justifies his use of Marxist methodology. His was a mind which by any standards would be considered outstanding. He combined in himself the best of a rigorous Indian intellectual tradition and rejected the facile revivalism and cultural chauvinism which in recent decades have emasculated Indian thinking. In changing the paradigm Kosambi presented a view of Indian history which sought answers to the fundamental questions of how and why Indian society is what it is today. He provided a new theoretical framework which was not a mechanical application of theories derived from elsewhere but was hammered out by his proficiency in handling a variety of sources and the intellectual perceptions and originality of thought which he brought to bear on his explanations. Fresh evidence may well lead to a reconsideration

of the answers which he gave to these questions but his questions and his concerns still remain valid. Even in this reconsideration we are often dependent on the leads which he initially gave and which he indicated were worth pursuing. Kosambi raised the debate on early Indian history from variations in narrative to contending theoretical formulations.

Above all he was concerned with the contemporary relevance of his understanding of the past. But he insisted that the relevance was never to serve any doctrinaire purpose;⁵⁶ rather, it should stem from what he thought was the natural function of the historian. I can only conclude with what he himself quoted as the summation of the role of the historian. E. H. Carr writes:⁵⁷ "The function of the historian is neither to love the past nor to emancipate himself from the past, but to master and understand it as the key to the understanding of the present. Great history is written precisely when the historian's vision of the past is illuminated by insight into problems of the present. . . . The function of history is to promote a profounder understanding of both past and present through the interrelation between them."

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30. e.g. R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, New York, 1927; O. R. Ehrenfels, *Mother Right in India*, Oxford University Press, London, 1941.
31. *ISIH*, p. 27. In his letters to Vidal-Naquet dated 18.9.1965 and 27.9.1965 he provides further examples of this in the wealth paid by Bhīma for the marriage of Pāṇḍu to Mādri, the Madra princess, *Mahābhārata* I. 105.1. and also in the form of the marriage of Arjuna to Subhadra, of the Yadu tribe.
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44. *Ibid.*, p. 6; see also, "Marxism and Ancient Indian Culture". *ABORI*, 1949, 29, pp. 271-77. Kosambi's views on his relations with the Communist Party of India over his review of Dange's book and his relations with Dange are described in his letters to Vidal Naquet dated 22.11.1963 and 4.12.1963.
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52. An example of the analysis of this role can be found in H. Kulke, *Jagannatha Kult und Gajapati Konigtam*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Weisbaden, 1979.
53. M. Finley, *The World of Odessyeus*, was first published in 1954. The fact that he was initially working in the United States would at that time have made his books less easily available in India. Kosambi refers to his study *Ancient Greeks* as being most stimulating, rather than to his more acclaimed work on the Greek epics.
54. The easy availability of English translations has helped in this, such translations resulting mainly from the interest in Neo-Marxism on the part of American radicals and academics. It is significant that some of the most stimulating debates on precapitalist societies emanating from new Marxist writing are to be found in the issues of the last fifteen years of *Current Anthropology* and *American Anthropologist*.
55. A view put forward in the course of a conversation by Charles Malamound (who translated *CCAIHO* into French) and with which view I am in agreement. In a letter to Vidal-Naquet dated 4.6.1964 Kosambi writes, "I learned from these two great men [Marx and Engels] what questions to ask and then went to fieldwork to find the answers, because the material did not exist in published books."
56. *CCAIHO*, p. 24.
57. *What is History?* pp. 20, 31, 62.

REVIEWS

LANGUAGE OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA by DR. YAJAN VEER,
Foreword by Prof. Ram Gopal, Inter-India Publications, Delhi,
1979, pp. xv + 198, Rs. 75/-.

The book under review appears to be a thesis submitted and declared eligible for the Ph. D. degree of the Punjab University, Chandigarh, a fact which has not been disclosed either by Dr. Yajan Veer or by his mentor, Dr. Ram Gopal who laments the fact that "the number of scholars engaged in researches in Vedic language is woefully disappointing" (p. vii), and also suggests later on that "the most important and stupendous task... is to fix the readings of the text of the *Atharva-Veda* so that the studies of this important Veda may proceed on firm grounds" (p. viii). I do agree with the sentiments expressed by Prof. Ram Gopal but the performance of scholars of the type of Dr. Yajan Veer whose work is under review is rather disappointing to say the least.

The work before us is divided into ten chapters beginning with an introduction and ending with accent. So within a compact two hundred pages Dr. Yajan Veer has treated almost all the details which pertain to the language of the AV except perhaps the metre.

The introduction which is Chapter-I of the thesis gives a brief sketch of the linguistic peculiarities which are set out in detail in subsequent chapters (II to X). Our author states that he has "made use of technical terms employed in modern grammatical works" (p. 2) but the facts belie this assertion. I am at a loss to understand as to what Dr. Yajan Veer means by terms such as "producing organ" (p. 14); "unabsorbed form" (p. 22); "over-long vowels" (pp. 22-23); "double consonant" (p. 96); "participle of Repetition in the *Atharvaveda* (am) (p. 125); "the sense of 'like that'" (p. 148); "sense of master" (p. 160); "first position combination" (p. 172) and a host of others.

Apart from the monstrosities of language and diction, the book under review abounds in half-truths, rash statements and hasty generalizations on the basis of insufficient or scanty data. It is neither feasible nor advisable to enumerate fully all such instances.

Suffice it to say that the following examples by way of *Sthālipulakanyāya* will amply bear out my above assertion.

(1) "According to the general rule, following *a* must merge with final *e* and *o* vowels" (pp. 4, 22). Dr. Yajan Veer is very secretive with regard to the source or sources of "the general rule" which is repeated *ad nauseam* in Chapters I and III. Pāṇ. 6.1.115 is very explicit on this point since he states that within a pāda a single sound is not substituted for *e+a* and *o+a* unless *a* is succeeded by *V* and *Y*. The example before us, viz. *ye agnayah* (AV 3.21.1) is quite correct according to Pāṇini.

(2) "The AV has no example where two R's are combined with each other" (p. 19). Dr. Yajan Veer has evidently overlooked AV 1.24.4d: *Punā rupāṇi kalpaya*.

(3) "But the Atharvan text afford some exceptional usages where the vowels remain in the unabsorbed positions, e.g. *enā ehāḥ* (AV XII.3.33); *apagā asaḥ* (AV I.34.5); *prthvī uta* (AV XVIII.1.5)" (pp. 19-20). The first instance is recorded in *Saunakiya Caturādhyāyikā* (3.34). The hiatus in the second instance is caused a loss of *s* (*vide* Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Para. 177). The last one is borrowed from the RV 1.94.16d. For absence of sandhi *vide* Macdonell, VGS, Para. 25ca.

(4) "In the language of the AV, no guttural occurs as the final" (p. 62). I may point out *adhok* (p. 9) *godhuk* (p. 29) among others.

The blurb informs us that Dr. Yajan Veer "holds an honours degree in English" but the actual state of affairs is otherwise. I append below few samples taken at random from the book under review.

- (i) "Pāṇini never involves himself in contradiction; whenever he sees that some Āchāryas have considerable discordance on any topic then he takes the path of neutralization and never supports any one. He accepts the openness and *obscurity* (italics mine) of the *a* together" (p. 23).
- (ii) "According to the *general rule* (italics mine) of Sanskrit grammar, there is no *hiatus in a sentence*" (italics mine) p. 23.
- (iii) "Āchārya Sāyaṇa has taken a wide scope through which he has discussed the *various types of prolongation* (italics mine) in his commentaries on the Vedas" p. 24.

- (iv) "In the AV *names, attributives* (italics mine), verbs and indeclinables generally have the power of entering into combination with each other" p. 79.
- (v) "The language of the AV. contains more than *hundred expressions* (italics mine) to indicate the sense of infinitive" p. 126.
- (vi) "With the exception of a few hymns, the AV *Samhitā* is composed in the *verse order* (italics mine) which are of various types and the *construction of sentences* (italics mine) has consequently been subordinated to the necessities of rhythm" p. 157.
- (vii) "Usually, scholars have considered three names (acute, grave and circumflex) for the accent as these are directly related to the *substance*" (italics mine), p. 166.

I do not wish to add more. *Sat sapienti*. Throughout the thesis, Dr. Yajan Veer has betrayed his uncritical and unscientific approach to the linguistic material of the AV, his utter ignorance of modern technical terms employed in the standard works dealing with grammar and linguistics and above all his inability to write chaste and lucid English. The bibliography at the end does not give details regarding the number of volumes, date and place of publication. Judging from the references at the end of the ten Chapters, I have my own misgiving as to whether the author had ever consulted more than a couple of works listed therein. It is meant to be a learned appendage if not anything else. It is all the more surprising that a work of classical importance, viz. *Index Verborum to the published text of the Atharva-Veda* by W. D. Whitney, New Haven, 1881 is not found listed in the bibliography. An index is provided at the end. Finally one cannot help observing that the author in his hurry or anxiety to churn out and publish a research thesis has taken his duty lightly being bent on a general exposition rather than a minute description of linguistic material of the AV.

—M. S. B.

"STUDIES IN PĀṆINI" by H. P. DVIVEDI, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1978, pp. i-vi + 208, Price: Rs. 65; \$ 13.

The book under review comprises a critical study of the "Technical Terms of the Aṣṭādhyāyī"; and is a revised doctoral thesis of the author. The book is divided into eight suitable chapters, viz. (1) Samjñā in the Aṣṭādhyāyī; (2) Classification of Technical terms in the Aṣṭādhyāyī; (3) Pāṇinian and Pre-Pāṇinian technical terms;

(4) Technical terms in Non-technical senses; (5) Arrangement of Technical terms in the Aṣṭādhyāyī plan; (6) The Asamjñākam Vyākaraṇam and the Aṣṭādhyāyī; (7) The Principles of Yathoddeśa and Kāryakāla; and (8) The character of Samjñā-sāstra. The Introduction takes a cursory note about the various aspects of the study of Pāṇini: The *trimuni* — stage and the modern study of Pāṇini, studies about the structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the Technical Terms and the technique. The present study goes deeper into the latter aspect. In the first chapter we have a lucid discussion regarding the two-fold nature of the *Samjñā*. The author has shown that the term does not get restricted only to the 'Sampratyaya' or a name and technical term, but also is used for a proper name, in a restricted sense. Thus, *Kadrū* and *Kamandalū* signify the names of a particular woman, and animal respectively only in their feminine forms. He questions the proposal of Dr. K. C. Chatterjee (*Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar*) by pointing out that *Kṛtrima* and *Akṛtrima* are not two classes of technical terms. He rightly points out that Patañjali's mention of *Ṭi*, *Ghu*, etc. as *Kṛtrima* is not intended to say that others like *Vṛddhi*, *Guṇa*, etc. are non-*Kṛtrima*. It is in this light that the definition *Kṛtrima-akṛtrimayoḥ kṛtrime kāryasampratyayaḥ* is to be understood. His position that all technical terms used by Pāṇini are artificial, and yet have their natural sense, wherever it is indicated, is acceptable. In another place he divides the technical terms of the Aṣṭādhyāyī into — (i) Śabda-samjñā; (ii) Arthasamjñā; and (iii) Dharmasamjñā. All these he exemplifies, enumerates, and presents an analysis for them. In this discussion we have a lively and critical exposition of such terms a *nadī*, *ghī*, *avasāna*, etc. In the chapter on "Pāṇinian and Pre-Pāṇinian terms" he takes a survey of the opinions of Goldstucker, Burnell and also of Bhandarkar, and finally states that prominently the mono-syllabic terms as *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha*, etc. are the inventions of Pāṇini. He also states that, probably, Pāṇini changed the older long terms for shorter ones, such as *Bhavantī* to *Laṭ*, *Parokṣā* to *Liṭ*, etc.; and he refutes that Pāṇini borrowed these shorter terms from the 'Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa'. In another chapter he takes up the question of the use of the technical terms used by Pāṇini being uniform or otherwise. He points out that Pāṇini held a synthetical view so far as the traditional values are concerned, and an analytical one with regard to his own. He suggests that the use of the technical terms in the non-technical sense in certain cases may be due to Pāṇini's synthetical outlook. He exemplifies the non-technical use of technical terms with *Nadī*, *Karaṇa*, *Sambuddhi*, etc. and examines the stand taken by Pawate in certain cases. In the course of the discussion he rightly points out that Pāṇini himself states that

the term never gets restricted to a technical sense (cf. *ubhayagatir iha bhavati*). In the chapter on the "Arrangement of Technical terms in the Aṣṭādhyāyī-plan" he evaluates the importance of the *Prakriyā-granthas*, in bringing about the present form of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and dwells critically on such works as *Prakriyā-paddhati* and *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, comparing their respective methods. The final position he takes is that the better plan is that of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, which is scientific. In another chapter he examines the method of the Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa further, *vis-a-vis* the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the former being known as "a grammar with no technical terms" (*a-samjñākam vyākaraṇam*). The last two chapters, the first dealing with *Yathoddeśa* and *Kāryakāla* and the other with the character of the *Samjñā-sāstra* are equally well written and are evidence of the author's keen insight into the subject.

The printing is nice and the get-up attractive. At a few places, however, there are certain printing mistakes. Thus at P. 12 and P. 16 the name of the book by Dr. K. C. Chatterjee shows slight difference (cf. also P. 36, No. 118; also 41); अङ्गत्विम् (P. 12); गति. . . अणिकर्तासणो (P. 113); गोस्त्रियोरूपसर्ज. . . (P. 150). But these and similar mistakes are very few and are unharmed from the point of understanding the arguments. On P. 35, the construction of the very first sentence (or line) is defective; something seems missing there! Notwithstanding these few flaws, the author deserves congratulations for this laudable effort, which is a definite addition to the studies on the subject of Sanskrit-Grammar. The price, however, is rather high for an individual purchaser.

—S. A. D.

'MEANING OF TENSE AND MOODS' by JAYASHREE A. GUNE,
Published by the Deccan College, Pune, 1978, pp. 1-216, Price:
Rs. 40/-; \$ 15.

The book under review comprises the text of Kaundabhaṭṭa's *Lakārāthanirṇaya*, with Introduction, English translation and explanatory notes. The Introduction running into 50 pages summarises the well known traditional discussions on some important topics. Thus it starts with the enumeration of the ten *la-kāras* and points out the distinguishing parts of each *Lakāra*, Ṭ and Ṇ. It gives the meaning of various *Lakāras*. The next step is to glide into the well known discussion whether the signficatory power resides in the 'L'-prototype or in the substituted actual suffixes such as *tip*, etc. It states the various views, i.e. of Grammarians, Ritualists, the Logicians, etc. and gives in short the various ancient views regard-

ing 'meaning'. It also deals with such important topics as the question of the *l* — members denoting time, the meaning of a Verbal root, the problem of *Vartamānatva*, the analysis of sentences, etc. In the treatment of the actual text also care, effort and study are quite obvious. For every verse, after the lucid translation, there are notes on important word, which help the clarification of concepts. There is a bibliography containing Primary and Secondary sources, the latter consisting of critical studies on allied subjects by modern scholars. There is also a selective Index of Sanskrit words, which enhances the value of the work.

The printing is nice and the get up pleasing, quite in the tradition of the publications of the Deccan College. Printing mistakes are unavoidable, especially in a work of this nature, and some are also indicated in the Errata. In certain places more care should have been taken. For example, on P. 65 the word in the text appears as तुच्छेन (taken from RV X.129.3). The translator does not seem to note that the original word is तुच्छयेन (*tucchyena*), for she takes it as it is from the text of Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, and yet refers to the RV. The mis-prints and the slips as noted above, however, are not quite significant, and the author's efforts deserve commendation. The book is a welcome addition to the study of Sanskrit Grammar in general and to that of Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa in particular.

—S. A. D.

ṢAṬṬRIMSAT-TATTVA-SANDOHA, with the commentary of Rājānaka Ānanda Kavi: by DR. DEBABRATA SEN SHARMA, B. N. Chakravarty University, Kurukshetra. Pp. i-xxvii + 43, Price not mentioned.

The Ṣaṭṭrimsat-tattva-Sandoha is a small but important text of the Trika system of philosophy, popularly known as Kashmir Saivism. The work consists of twenty-one Sanskrit Kārikās in the Āryā metre. Its author is not known. It was probably composed a few centuries before its commentary, Vivaraṇa, was written by Rājānaka Ānanda Kavi (second half of the 17th century A. D.).

This small tract gives a short but lucid exposition of the thirty six tattvas (categories) of the Trika system of philosophy: the five-fold pure categories (1. Śiva 2. Śakti 3. Sadāśiva 4. Īśvara and 5. Vidyā), the five Kaṇukas (1 Kāla 2 Vidyā 3 Rāga 4 Kāla and 5 Niyati) Māyā, Puruṣa, Prakṛti, Buddhi, Ahāṅkāra, Manas, the five cognitive senses, the five conative senses, the tanmātras and the five Bhūtas (gross objects). The commentary clearly explains the principles and doctrines set forth in the Kārikās. Dr. Sharma has trans-

lated into English the text and the commentary adding notes wherever necessary. He has added an Introduction, divided into two parts, historical and philosophical. In the first part he deals with the origin and development of Śiva cult and philosophy and in the second part he gives a summary of the text elucidating the thirty six tattvas (categories) and a few related metaphysical concepts of the Trika system.

The present edition would serve as a good introduction to the English-knowing students of Indian philosophy, who are not conversant with Sanskrit but are interested in getting well-acquainted with the Trika system of philosophy and enable them to understand and appreciate better the standard works of the system like *Spanda nirṇaya*, *Īśvara Pratyabhijñā-Vimarsinī*, *Pratyabhijñā-Hṛdayam*, in their English translations.

The work, which is disfigured by misprints, however, irritates the eye. The Editor would do well to remove this irritating feature in the second edition.

—V. M. K.

KṚṢṆAVILĀSA OF PUṆYAKOṬI (with commentary) Edited by
DR. K. S. RAMAMURTI: S. V. University Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati 1976 Pp. 344 + i to xvi Rs.

Śrīmad-bhāgavata is known to be the great scripture of emotional devotion and has become the source of inspiration to new devotional poetry in Sanskrit as well as modern Indian languages eulogizing Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa. The present volume is a Mahā-Kāvya by name Kṛṣṇavilāsa consisting of 11 cantoes dealing with the exploits of Kṛṣṇa and deserves a fairly high place in this class of literature. It is based on the 10th chapter of Bhāgavata which also indicates the element of Bhakti predominant in the poem.

Much is not known about Puṇyakoṭi, the author of this poem and one has to depend upon the information given by the poet himself in the introductory verses of this poem. He calls himself a scion of 'calla' family, the son of the Jogipaṇḍita and Tigmamā. The name of his first preceptor was Venkatesa, the son of Dakṣiṇamūrti of the Timmavajjhala family. As both these families are usually met with the Andhradesa the author can be said to belong to Andhradesa. The name of his second Guru is given as Bodhananda Chana mentioned by Aufrecht as Bodhananda Ghana. Both these appear to be great scholars well-versed in different shastras although no work of these has either been referred to by Puṇyakoṭi nor has any

come to light so far. In keeping with the practice of Sanskrit authors in general, Puṇyakoṭi is silent about his date; the editor of this poem however has taken care to determine the same on the basis of references to works like *Saṅgītaratnākara* and authors like Mallinātha and Bhaṭṭamalla. The editor has also pointed out that all definitions quoted in explaining the figures of speech in verses in the text come from *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayadiksita placing the author in 18th century. The Editor's remark about the text as well as the commentary coming from the pen of the same author inspite of the reference to पुण्यकोटिर्नामकवीन्द्रः in the third person at the commencement of the commentary, appears to be true on the grounds of the similarity of style in both (i.e. the text as well as the commentary). His remark viz. 'the whole work runs in an easy and eloquent style' can be said to be apt in view of the description of 'davapanarupalila' of Kṛṣṇa in the 6th canto in the words

निमीलयन् सर्वजनाधिपङ्कजं हस्ते गृहीत्वा हरिराशु पावकम् ।
अपादयं तं जलधि घटोर्भवो मुनिर्यथा विन्ध्यसमुन्नतिप्रहा ॥ (page 144)

as well as that of the *mukhasaunderya* of the Gopis enjoying the water-sports along with Kṛṣṇa in the words in the 7th canto

विहारभाजां सरसीजले तदा विलासिनीनां मदलोलनचक्षुषः ।
मुखस्य पद्मस्य सुदुर्ग्रहभिदा भ्रमट्भृङ्गकुलाकुलस्य ॥ (page 207)

The text of the poem as well as the commentary clearly indicate the scholarship of Puṇyakoṭi and his skill in using excellent similes as well as appropriate 'Lokoktis'.

The Editor of the volume, therefore, deserves compliments for bringing to light this work of Puṇyakoṭi written with a view to offer it as a panegyric to the Lord Kṛṣṇa (svakṛtagrantham bhagavata arpayan'). One has to mention, however, the Sanskrit Sandhis in this work have been separated in a very bewildering manner. Thus 'त्व मन्जयोनिप्रमुखैः' (p. 5 v. 5) 'सवयोभि रावृतः' (p. 145 v. 54) अश्रयत्प्रसूनास्त्वकचा (p. 177) in the text as well as आवाभिति (p. 97 com. on v. 55), 'बभूवु रित्यर्थः' (p. 148 com. on verse 63), 'शतो जरासन्ध्याय' (p. 275 com. on v. 13) are some of the innumerable illustrations of this. This has marred the printing as well as the gate-up of the work which otherwise can be said to be good.

SATYASIDDHIŚĀSTRA OF HARIVARMAN Vol. 1 Edited by N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI — Published by Oriental Institute, Baroda 1975 (First Edition): Pages 550 + 35; Price Rs. 65/-.

Indologists all over the world are fully aware of the debt that they owe to Gaekwad's Oriental Series publishing many important works that have catered for the need of researchers interested in various branches of Indology. This work has been carried on under the able guidance of Dr. B. J. Sandesara, the Director of Oriental Institute, Baroda as well as the General Editor of this series. Present volume *Satyasiddhiśāstra* of Harivarman bearing No. 159 of this deservedly illustrious Series is supposed to be a handbook of Abhidharma school of the Buddhas.

It is well known that Buddhist literature belonging to the Sthavirvādins of the Hīnayāna school is mostly written in Pali. Buddhist literature in Sanskrit belonging to the other schools of Buddhists is also extensive as well as extremely valuable. Asoka-Sangiti records 68 different Buddhist schools. Buddha religion is known to have reached China already in the first century A.D. The tradition of translating Buddhist works into the Chinese language was given a great impetus hereafter. There have been Buddhist scholars making China there home and carry on the work of spreading Buddhist religion there with the zeal of a missionary. As time rolled on, many a Buddhist work of literary importance of the earlier days were lost in the original although some of them are now known to be preserved in translations into the Chinese language.

The present volume named the *Satyasiddhiśāstra* by Harivarman (253 A.D.) is a priceless treasure belonging to this category of works available in Chinese translation alone; although scholars had heard much about this work from the Japanese and Chinese sources. Harivarman, the author of this treatise, is a Kashmirian who studied at the feet of Kumāralāta, known to be a master of the Sautrāntika school of the Buddhists. Chinese name of Harivarman is Pomo in whose days there were five schools of Buddhism namely Dharmagupta, Sarvāstivādin, Mahīśāsaka, Kāśyapīya and Vatsīputriya. These schools were contending against each other and we are told that Harivarman studied the texts of all the schools and returning to the root of Buddhist religion composed this *Vidyāśāstra* known as *Satya siddhi* which consists of five parts viz. *Dukkha-Satya*, *Samudaya Satya*, *Nirodha Satya* and *Mārga-Satya*. This work has certainly played a significant role in moulding the Buddhist thought of the day as is known from the fact that traditionally it became a part of famous Tripitaka.

Preparing a critical edition of such an important text from the monosyllabic Chinese language was by no means an easy task. It must be said that Pandit N. Aiyaswamy Sastri of Visva Bharati has done an excellent job by presenting the critical edition of this voluminous work consisting of 5 skandhas each skandha containing many Vargas. The learned editor has discussed all topics connected with the author as well as the work in his introduction. By giving विषयानुक्रम at the outset, the editor has rendered great help to the readers as well as scholars. The text is printed along with footnotes explaining not only variants in reading but also by indicating the abstruse points in the text. Notes 41 on P. 235, 47 on 238 are instances of this. The author has naturally used the punctuations according to Taisho edition of the text.

Additional Notes running into 11 pages speak of the critical approach as well as acumen of the Editor; four Indices of works — sayings and schools, the proper names, similes as well as subjects in the text speak volumes for the persistent labour of the Editor and stand as a testimony to the pains taken by him in making this edition as useful to scholars as possible.

Thus Vol. I of Satyasiddhi-Sāstra by Harivarman is an excellent addition to Buddhist works in print. The Editor deserves compliments of all lovers of Buddhist Literature and they will eagerly await the second volume containing the translation of this work in English.

—M. D. P.

THE YOGASŪTRA OF PATANJALI with the commentary of Vyāsa
 Edited by BANGALI BABA Published by Motilal Banarasidas
 (First Edition, Delhi) 1976 Pages 115 Price Rs. 35.00 (cloth bound); Rs. 25.00 (paper back).

Philosophy is universally considered to be the greatest gift of India. It is also known that philosophy of this ancient land has supplied spiritual food to all nations of the world throughout the ages. Indian Philosophical System consists of six Darśanas namely Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta. It is significant to note that some fundamental concepts are common to different advocates of these systems. These refer firstly to the authority of the Vedas, secondly to the idea of Dharma being the moral law of the universe, thirdly to the theory of the transmigration of the soul and its rebirth and finally the idea of liberation or Mokṣa. It will also be proper to add to these four the concept of the eternal cycle of Nature with the idea of Kalpa including Yugas. This indicates that

these systems are neither self-contradictory nor independent of one another.

Among these six systems, the western world is becoming more and more conscious of the usefulness of Yoga-system which was enunciated by Patañjali in his Yoga-sūtras, as this Darśana primarily aims at ennobling the mind by achieving equanimity. The significance of this amidst the stress and strain of advanced civilisation full of tensions of various kinds can easily be understood. This explains the serious interest in Yoga aroused in the West during the last decade.

The present translation of the Yoga-sūtras of Patañjali by Bangali Baba is not only one of the additions to the explanation of the Yoga-sūtras but is also brought out with the view of linking all the six systems with the help of the science of Yoga which according to the learned Editor has the ability to put an end to the confusion and controversy regarding the contributory or complimentary character of all these systems. The editor has done well to translate the celebrated Vyāsa-Bhāṣya on the Yoga-sūtras as mere translation of the Yoga-sūtras could not have served his purpose. The fact that the term Yoga signifies the whole course of Action beginning from its starting limit of Material Action upto the Finishing End of Spiritual Absorption (p. 1 Note 1) rightly indicates the comprehensive outlook of the editor. In fact the copious notes in this volume (The note 1 on Page 15 explaining the four steps of Pranava is another telling illustration of this) not only help in elucidating the tenets of the Yoga system but also serve the purpose of enhancing the value of the book from the point of view of a discerning scholar of Indian Philosophy.

The translation of the Sūtras as well as the commentary, is very happy; Samādhi Pāda meaning spiritual absorption; Sadhana Pāda connoting means of practice; Vibhūti Pāda speaking of accomplishments and Kaivalya Pāda indicating absolute freedom not only speaks of the quality of translation but felicitously indicates the four steps of the ladder. Translation of the Sūtras अभावप्रत्ययालम्बना वृत्तिनिद्रा ॥१०॥ (p. 5) ऋतंभरा तत्र प्रजा ॥४८॥ (p. 27) as well as the Vyāsa-bhāṣya on them deserve to be referred to in this connection; although that of the term विकल्प by fiction cannot be considered to be happy. Such instances are far and few between.

The appendix explaining the appropriate application of the terms ज्ञानयोग and भक्तियोग is extremely interesting, it provides food for thought. The chart of terminology of the Yoga-sūtra showing the significance of the terms along with the editor's novel at-

tempt of establishing their identity with the terms of the Sāmkhya, the Brahma-sūtra, the Bhagavadgītā and the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika is the most attractive feature of the book enhancing its value for students of philosophy.

The corrigenda having 37 entries in a neatly printed volume of this type is by no means exhaustive as Imference for Inference on p. 4 is not recorded. This, however, does not, in any way delect the merit of this scholarly as well as happy translation of the Yoga-sūtras of Patañjali along with the commentary of Vyāsa on the same. The learned editor deserves compliments from the students of Indian philosophy in the East as well as the West.

—M. D. P.

THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF THE DEITY by BHARATAN KUMARAPPA, Reprinted in 1979, pub. by M. C. Mittal Inter-India Publications, 105, Anand Nagar, Delhi-110 035, pp. xiii + 356, Price Rs. 80/- \$ 16.

The present work of Mr. Kumarappa is divided into two Parts. Part One deals with — as is only to be expected — pre-Rāmānuja conceptions of the Deity in four chapters. These chapters treat of the conception of the Deity in (i) the Upaniṣads (ii) the Bhagavadgītā (iii) Pañcarātra and Purāṇic literature and (iv) the Hymns of the Aḷvars. This survey of the important sacred works of Hinduism helps the reader a good deal in understanding and appreciating their influence on Rāmānuja's own view of the Deity set forth at length in the second Part. This Part opens with an Introduction treating of Rāmānuja's life (his task as a religious philosopher) and the place of empirical Reason in matters pertaining to the Deity (knowledge of the Deity not obtained through empirical Reason, Refutation of arguments for the existence of God, the Scriptures as the source for knowledge of Brahman). This Introduction is followed by three chapters which discuss (i) the nature of the Deity (ii) the Relation of the Deity to the world and (iii) the relation of the Deity to the finite self from the standpoint of Rāmānuja. These chapters concern themselves with the refutation of the advaitin's view that the ultimate Reality is advaita (One without a second) and establishing Rāmānuja's view that Brahman is highest self characterised by excellent attributes, refutation of the advaitin's doctrine of *Māyā* and establishing the emanation of the world from Brahman (Brahman as cause and world as effect, Brahman as soul, world as body Brahman as substance and world as attribute or mode) and Brahman in relation to Matter (Prakṛti) and finally, refutation of the advaita view that Brahman and the Soul are one and establishing the dis-

tinctive nature of the finite self in its different states. The author adds Bibliography and a very useful Index at the end.

Śaṅkara is an ardent champion of uncompromising, unqualified monism which teaches that the Highest or Ultimate Reality (Brahman) is really devoid of all qualities and that the universe is sheer illusion. His philosophy has been regarded as the highest product of the Hindu intellect. A great deal has been written in English on his monism and māyāvāda but comparatively less on Rāmānuja, his philosophical rival, the great protagonist of the school of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* (qualified monism). His teachings as assign real qualities of infinite goodness, knowledge characterised by bliss and beauty to a real Supreme Deity and ascribe essential reality to the world of experience. Like Śaṅkara's doctrine of unqualified monism Rāmānuja's qualified monism is also a significant expression of Hinduism. Staunch followers of Śaṅkara may not relish Rāmānuja's criticism of his monism given as introductory to each chapter in Part Two. The present work, which ably discusses Rāmānuja's doctrine of the Deity in lucid and delightful English, deserves to be welcomed by the students of Indian philosophy as well as the lay readers interested in Hindu religion.

—V. M. K.

KĀVYAPRAKĀŚADARPAṆA OF VIŚVANĀTHA: Ed. by Dr. GOPARAJU RAMA, Manju Prakashan, 62, Balarampur House; Allahabad-2, First Edition: 1979, pp. 8 + 168, Price: Rs. 16/-.

The *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Mammaṭa is the most popular and authoritative work on poetics in Sanskrit. It is, however, one of the most difficult Sanskrit books and has been commented upon by numerous scholars who have distinguished themselves in different śāstras. Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha, two famous Ālaṅkārikas wrote their commentaries on this profound work of Mammaṭa. Ruyyaka's *Kāvya-prakāśasamketa* was edited by Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya in the *Cuttia Oriental Journal* Vol. II pp. 1-75 with valuable English notes. Viśvanātha's complete commentary, *Kāvya-prakāśadarpaṇa*, is edited for the first time by Dr. Goparaju Rama and presented to the world of scholars in the work under review. It is based on the transcript of a single Manuscript. He has tried to present the text as faithfully as possible and to the best of his ability, by correcting only scribal errors and adding his emendations, wherever possible, in brackets. Dr. Tripathi, in his Foreward, introduces the *Kāvya-prakāśadarpaṇa* and the Editor to the scholars of the subject. The Foreword is followed by a half-page Preface and a brief Introduction which occasionally exhibit incorrect and unidiomatic use of the English language.

The perusal of the text shows that the Editor has no doubt improved the text in some places by adding emendations. But unfortunately, there are still passages and readings by scores which are quite corrupt and which could be easily restored by consulting pre-Viśvanātha works on poetics with or without commentaries and Viśvanātha's own work on poetics, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. The following table giving identical or nearly identical or corresponding passages or readings between the *Kāvyaaprakāśadarpaṇa* and other works on poetics and on occasions listing corrections is only illustrative and not exhaustive:

काव्यप्रकाशदर्पणे

1. न वसो भवेत्-पृ. 38
2. शिक्षाभ्यासादिभावेण शब्दबाधे
सम्यपदास्पदमिति । पृ. 38
3. काष्ठकुड्यात्मसंनिभा-पृ. 40
4. . . . अत एवाहुर्विलक्षण एवायं कृतज्ञप्रभेदेभ्यः
[?] आस्थादनाब्धः कश्चित् व्यापारः । पृ. 42
5. विभाव्यादीनां मिलितानां तु कारणत्वेन कश्चिद्दोष
. . . पृ. 43
6. भा ब्राह्मणमिष हसन्ती . . . दर्शयति तु ?
बल [भुव] नमण्डलमन्यदेव . . . पृ. 55
7. तनु कमपि-पृ. 56
8. पंथि अण एत्थत्यादी-पृ. 56
9. समुग्धो . . .-पृ. 59
10. शृण्वन्त्याः -पृ. 69
11. कस्मणवहो [कस्मणवहो] पृ. 84
12. अरित्यापाददर्पिते [1]-पृ. 84
13. . . . स्थापनार्थं मुद्युतेले [ने] -पृ. 76
14. . . . मनापि सुन्दरत्वगुणेन पृ. 99
15. स्त्रीबराङ्गञ्च पृ. 103
16. शरामि अपहृस्तितरेखं निरकुशमथ विरेचनविहित मपि
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पाशाकिरे
[लहि ऊण]
नववातर [? लब्ध्वा तव] बाहुस्पर्शा
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The above table is enough to give the scholars an idea of the defective text of the commentary edited and presented by Dr. Goparaju Rama. One cannot help remarking that the present edition leaves much to be desired. It is hoped that the Editor of the *Kāvya-prakāśadarpaṇa* would spare no efforts and work on the lines shown above and present a *truly critically edited text*. It is further hoped that he gives by way of Introduction a really critical and comparative and scholarly study of the commentary and adds scholarly and useful Indexes at the end and makes a significant contribution to knowledge.

—V. M. K.

SODHALA-NIGHANTUU OF VAIDYACARYA SODHALĀ: Edited by Prof. PRIYA VRAT SHARMA, M.A., A.M.S. Senior Prof. and Head of Department of Dravyaguna: Gen. Editor Dr. A. N. Jani — Published as Vol. 164 of Gaekwad's Oriental Series by Oriental Institute, Baroda 1977. Pages 267. Price Rs. 53/-.

Oriental Institute of Baroda is known for its excellent service in the field of Indology. With the publication of the present volume No. 164 of the deservedly famous the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, this institute has presented to the world of scholars a very important work on Indian Materia-Medica throwing light on the contributions of Gujarat to the science of Indian Medicine.

The editor of the present volume is Prof. Priya Vrata Sharma of the Faculty of Medical Science, Banaras Hindu University, an eminent scholar of Ayurveda who has so far published about 200 papers in different journals and has also guided many Ph.D. and D. Ay. M. students.

It is accepted by all that the knowledge of Nighantu is essential for a Vaidya. Acharya Hemacandra has rightly explained Nighantu as a collection of nouns. Such treatises on the quality of verbs like Dhanvantari Nighantu, Śabdapradīpa of Sureśwara (1075 A.D.), Rājanighantu of Narahari (1235 A.D.), Madanavinodanighantu of Madanapala (1374 A.D.) speak volumes for the lexiconic and useful activity carried on in this field by scholars on this ancient land.

Sodhala-Nighantu is divided into two sections Nāmasangraha and Guṇasangraha. The text is divided into 26 vargas and the author has taken care to explain the basic concepts of Dravyaguna such as Dravya, Rasa, Virya, Vikalpa and Prabhava. The editor of the present work has rightly pointed out in his preface that Sodhala in his Guṇa-sangraha has founded the new school of Nighan-

tus which emphasises the dharmacology and Therapeutics of drugs; thus deviating from the method of dealing with various synonyms of drugs given by various authors. The list of drugs described by Sodhala in his work in 6 printed pages (14 to 19 pages Preface) as well as that of the groups of drugs mentioned in the work along with an elaborate idea of dietary preparations mentioned in the work (p. 20-21) speak highly of the carefulness as well as the accumen of the learned Editor. The Index spread over 61 printed pages not only speaks volumes for the laboratory effort of the Editor but has also considerably enhanced the usefulness of the edition.

The introduction to the present volume by Bapalal G. Vaidya has added to the value of the edition as he has discussed the drugs mentioned in the 17th chapter i.e. Lakomanadivarga with a view to identify them.

It must however be mentioned that the corrigenda to both the sections of the tent running into 6 printed pages has disfigured the publication of the useful work.

Nevertheless the editor of the present volume along with Dr. Jani the General Editor of the series have to be complimented for preparing a critical edition of such a useful work on Indian Materia Medica. Discerning Readers of the Nighantu literature eagerly await similar critical editions of Aṣṭāṅga Nighantu of Vahata and Dravyaguna of Mādhava.

—M. D. P.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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(PREPARED BY V. L. MANJUL)

(An attempt is made here to record as many writings of Prof. P. V. Kane as it was possible to trace in the short time that was available. Obviously, this bibliography cannot claim to be an exhaustive one. It is intended mainly to underscore the need for such a bibliography.—Ed.)

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