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DEVANGANA DESAI

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EDITORIAL

This issue of the Journal is dedicated to the memory of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī who hundred years back excavated the Stūpa at Sopara near Bombay and discovered the eight valuable Buddhist bronzes of the 8th-9th century A. D. These bronzes are among the priceless collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay together with the Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts gifted by Pt. Bhagvanlal and Dr. Bhau Daji. Bhagvanlal had requested in his will, written shortly before his death in 1888, that the manuscripts gifted by him be placed near the manuscripts of the late Dr. Bhau Daji. The cupboard, with the words: "Pundit Bhagvanlal Indrajī, Pupil of Dr. Bhau Daji", stands today just behind the Editor's table in the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

The delay in printing the Journal was because of the technical difficulties in the press in Bombay to which it was first sent and was beyond the control of the Editor. I thank the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, and its press for speedily doing the work after they received the typescript in April, 1986. I also take this opportunity of thanking Dr. Nalinee Chapekar, Mr. S. Y. Jamsandekar and Mr. P. P. Gokhale for helping me in various matters related to the Journal.

Devangana Desai

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CONTENTS

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PART I

ARTICLES

1. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī's Contribution to History and Archaeology (With Special Reference to Gujarat) ... : HARIPRASAD G. SHASTRI 1
2. Sopara : Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī and After ... : DEVANGANA DESAI 7
3. Sopara : Abode of Buddhas Seven Supreme ... : SADASHIV GORAKSHIKAR 17
4. Memorial Stones from Sopara ... : A. P. JAMKHEDKAR 35
5. Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī's Pioneering Efforts in the Decipherment of Epigraphs of Nepal and the Recent Find of three New Licchavi Inscriptions ... : N. R. BANERJEE 38
6. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī's Collection of Manuscripts ... : SIDDHARTH WAKANKAR 51
7. An Illustrated *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prājñāpāramitā* Ms from Bihar ... : KALPANA DESAI AND SADASHIV GORAKSHIKAR 66
8. Bibliography of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī's Writings ... 69

PART II

1. Vignettes, Views and Vogues from the Padmapurāna ... : G. V. BAPAT 71
2. New Materials for the Study of Buddhist Iconography ... : D. C. BHATTACHARYYA 94
3. The Nandopākhyāna, The Nandaprabodhana and The Book of Sindbad ... : H. C. BHAYANI 104

4. Reflections on Religion in the Gāthāsaptasatī	: NALINEE CHAPEKAR	114
5. Altars and Platforms in Ancient India (With Special Reference to the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra) ...	: SADASHIV A. DANGE	122
6. 'Uśijaḥ' In the Ṛgveda	: G. V. DAVANE	136
7. Moḍherā, Moḍha-Vaṁśa, Moḍha- Gaccha and Moḍha-Caitīyas ...	: M. A. DHAKY	144
8. Nasik - A Yavana Centre	: M. K. DHAVALIKAR	160
9. Fresh Light on An Inscription from Junnar	: SHOBHANA GOKHALE	169
10. Two Problematic Sculptures of the Pratihāra Period	: N. P. JOSHI	175
11. Alaṅkāras in Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa	: K. KUSHNA MOORTHY	180
12. Bhoja's Śrīgāra-Prakāśa : Prakrit Text Restored	: V. M. KULKARNI	192
13. Yavana Inscriptions of Western India	: SAMUEL CLARK LAEUCHLI	207
14. An Old Sinhalese Inscription from Arikamedu	: IRAVATHAM MAHADEVAN	222
15. Houses of the Early Historic Period in North India : A New Evidence	: C. MARGABANDHU	227
16. A Note on the Aramaic Inscription of Priyadarśī (Aśoka) from Taxila	: B. N. MUKHERJEE	235
17. Representation of Weapons on An- cient Indian Coins	: G. N. PANT	244
18. Rāmakṛṣṇa's Nalavilāsa and the Mahābhārata	: M. D. PARADKAR	259
19. Historical Geography of South Konkan - From the earliest times till 1191 A. D.	: N. N. PATEL	266
20. Words and Image in Reference to Technique in Indian Art	: V. S. PATHAK & R. N. MISRA	280
21. Jarāsandha - A Study of Folklore Motif in the Mahābhārata	: N. B. PATIL	291

22. A Unique Wooden Idol of the Buddhist Goddess Tārā from the Kauheri Caves	: H. D. SANKALIA	296
23. Two Painted Wooden Book-Covers of a Jaina-Palm-Leaf Manuscript	: UMAKANT P. SHAH	300
24. Some Memorial Stones in Bombay	: B. V. SHETTI	304
25. Ethnology of Hūpas in India - Numismatic Evidence	: S. V. SOHONI	311
26. Kalinga Invasion of Aśoka: Circumstances and Motives	: KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL	322
27. Jyeṣṭhā - The Ambivalent Goddess	: HARIDAS SWALI	326
28. Controversies on Sultanate and Mughal Painting (Review article) ...	: KARL KHANDALAVALA	335

REVIEWS

1. Karpāsa in Prehistoric India : A Chronological and Cultural Clue by K. D. Sethna	: OWEN C. KAIL	344
2. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad and the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa : by S. M. Bhatkhande	: G. V. DAVANE	345
3. Indian Numismatics by D. D. Kosambi	: B. V. SHETTI	346
4. Elephanta : The Cave of Shiva : Photographs by Carmel Berkson : Essays by Wendy Doniger O' Flaherty, George Michell and Carmel Berkson	: OWEN C. KAIL	349
5. A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Moropant Collection in the Library of the University of Bombay : Vol. Compiled by Usha R. Bhise	: G. V. DAVANE	354
6. On the Composition of the Nāṭya-śāstra by Srinivasa Ayya Srinivasan, Studien Zur Indologie Und Iranistik, Monographie I, Dr. Inge Wezler	: V. M. KULKARNI	355
7. Sanskrit Nāṭakom men Pratināyaka The Antagonist in Sanskrit Drama (Hindi) by Abhay Mitra	: M. D. PARADKAR	358

8. The Kūrma Purāṇa : Part I & II :
Ancient Indian Tradition and My-
thology, Vols. 20 & 21 translated
and annotated by Ganesh Vasudeo
Tagare etc. ... : JAYA CHEMBURKAR 360
9. Indian Society, Religion and My-
thology by Anantray J. Rawal ; JAYA CHEMBURKAR 363
10. The Epic Beautiful: An English
Verse rendering of the Sundara
Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki
by K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar ... : M. D. PARADKAR 365
11. La Religion Des Malabars - Tessier
De Queralay Et La Contribution
Des Missionnaires Européans a la
Naissance DE L'indianisme by
Gita Dharampal ... : MANGALA SIRDESHIPANDE 366
12. Shailopanishad : The Sermon on the
Mount rendered in Sanskrit Verse
with English Text by L. V. Desh-
pande ... : M. D. PARADKAR 368
13. Songs of Tagore rendered into Eng-
lish by Aruna Chakravarti ... : A. K. BANERJEE 368
14. Nilakaṇṭhaviraṇitaḥ Bhṅttārkaḥ
(Arkamādhuri Ṭīkāsamvalitaḥ)
Edited by Shri Ananta Tryambak
Pingale ... : M. D. PARADKAR 369
15. Purābhilekha-Purātattva, Journal
of the Directorate of Archives,
Archaeology and Museum, Goa,
Vol. 1, July-December 1983, Editor
Dr. P. P. Shirodkar ... : OWEN C. KAIL 371
16. Meghadūta Bhāvānuvāda (Hindi
Padyātmaka) with original Sans-
krit Text by Abhay Mitra : M. D. PARADKAR 373
17. Rūpa Pratirūpa : Alice Boner Com-
memoration Volume, Ed. by
Bettina Bäumer ... : DEVANGANA DESAI 374
18. Acknowledgement of Books Recei-
ved ... 377

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PANDIT BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI'S CONTRIBUTION TO
HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY
(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GUJARAT)

HARIPRASAD G. SHASTRI

It was in 1861 that Dr. Bhau Daji, an enthusiastic Indologist as well as a philanthropic physician of Bombay, received a young Gujarati scholar of 22, who came from the distant place of Junagadh in Saurashtra in response to his invitation given on the recommendation of Mr. A. K. Forbes, the Political Agent of Kathiawad. Dr. Bhau Daji was highly impressed by the valuable information and material that the scholar possessed. His name was Bhagvanlal Indrajī. He did not bother to cite his surname, which was not regarded important in those times; otherwise he would have introduced himself as B. I. Bhatt. He belonged to the Ahicchatrā or Praśnorā Nāgar caste and was well-versed in the Sanskrit language and literature as well as in Āyurveda. He was also proficient in Indian Paleography, Epigraphy and Numismatics, though he got no chance to learn English, there being no English schools in Saurashtra in his days. It was, indeed, astonishing that a Sanskrit Pandit had attained mastery over these new subjects developed by Western scholars.

It was the old, unique rock-inscriptions, lying on the way to Mt. Girnar, that became the foundation-stone of his new career. The inscriptions defied all his attempts for their decipherment till about 1854, when he happened to get some clue from a copy of Prinsep's paper on the so-called Pāli (in fact Brāhmi) alphabet, received through Shri Manishanker Kikani from Colonel Lang, the Political Agent of Kathiawad State. As the alphabet published on the page he received contained only the basic characters, he collected and studied all published material on the subject which he procured through a friend at Bombay. Equipped with the general knowledge of the basic characters, medieval vowel-signs and conjunct consonants, the young enthusiastic scholar worked on the direct decipherment of the Girnar rock-inscriptions and could correct the numerous omissions and errors in the published transliteration and translation. Col. Lang was highly impressed with the brilliant success of this ' little antiquarian '. When Col. Lang was succeeded by Mr. A. K. Forbes as the Political Agent of Kathiawad, the latter recommended Dr. Bhau Daji to utilise the services of this young scholar in his archaeological researches.

Bhagvanlal had brought with him his transliteration of the Girnar inscriptions and sixty Kṣatrapa coins. Dr. Bhau Daji introduced him to Mr. Newton, the President of the Bombay Asiatic Society. The latter was extremely delighted with the unknown coins and his reading of new names on them. He incorporated all new information in the paper he was writing on the Kṣatrapa coins, with due acknowledgement. It enhanced the value of his paper to a great extent.

Bhagvanlal also convinced Dr. Bhau Daji that Wilson's translation of the Sah (Kṣatrapa) inscription, published in *Essays on Indian Antiquities* by Prinsep was full of errors and that a revised accurate reading of the Girnar rock-inscriptions was a desideratum. Thereupon Dr. Bhau Daji sent him back to Junagadh where he, with the assistance of Shri Vallabhji H. Acharya, took various fresh facsimiles and eye-copies of all the three rock inscriptions, prepared their accurate transliteration and sent all the material to Dr. Bhau Daji, who, after a thorough examination of the material, prepared a paper on the facsimiles, transliterations and translations of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Rudradāman and Skandagupta, and read it before the Bombay Asiatic Society. In his paper he made due acknowledgement of the active and ingenious assistance he received from Bhagvanlal. It embodied several important improvements in the earlier translation. The name 'Sudarśana' of the reservoir was brought to light for the first time. The name of the King, formerly read 'Aridāmau', was corrected into 'Rudradāman'. And he was now found to be the grandson and not the son of Caṣṭana. The epigraph recorded not the name 'Pahlavamavya' of the architect, but the name 'Suviśākha' of the Pahlava governor, who restored the reservoir. Much credit for these emendations goes to Bhagvanlal, whom Dr. Bhau Daji now invited to settle at Bombay and assist him permanently in his archaeological researches. For he was exactly the type of a scholar he was longing to have to assist him in the field-work. Bhagvanlal assisted him wholeheartedly since 1862 by visiting ancient places suggested by him, undertaking all necessary field-work and supplying fresh information and material to his patron, who could utilize it in preparing papers on various subjects of Indology with due acknowledgement of the assistance he received from Pt. Bhagvanlal Indrajī. At the instance of his patron, he visited the caves in the Western Ghats, the solitary site of Jaisalmer in Rajasthan, the historical places in North India, Orissa and Central India, and travelled even beyond to Nepal and Tibet in the north-east and to Baluchistan and Yusuzai in north-west.

With the demise of Dr. Bhau Daji in 1874, Bhagvanlal got desperate and lost all hopes to continue antiquarian research wherein he had specialised himself throughout.

When he recovered from this great grief, he soon realised that he should now undertake independent research on the strength of his own guts. His inability to express himself in English was, no doubt, a drawback but by no means an impediment in the prosecution of his researches. Several Western Indologists got his Gujarati articles translated into English and published them in standard journals under his own name. For instance, Dr. Bühler, an eminent German Orientalist and a great scholar of Indian Epigraphy including Palaeography, introduced Pt. Bhagvanlal Indrajī to the readers of *Indian Antiquary* through the translation of his valuable article "On the Ancient Numerals" published in Vol. VI in 1877. The next year he published the translation of his article on "The Inscription of Rudradāman at Junagadh" in Vol. VII of that Journal, with his Supplementary note and foot-notes.

Meanwhile, Dr. Codrington, the Hon. Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, began to translate Pt. Bhagvanlal's research articles into English, read them before the members of the Society on his behalf and published them in the Journal of the Society. His earliest article published in this Journal was on 'Gadhia Coins of Gujarat and Malwa' (Vol. XII, 1877). Pt. Bhagvanlal now got so renowned in the field of Indology that the Asiatic Society of Bombay elected him an honorary member in 1877. It gave him full access to the rich library of the Society.

Even other eminent scholars like Dr. Burgess, Dr. Fleet, Dr. Peterson and Dr. Cunha appreciated his scholarship, knowledge and accuracy. The Government of Bombay appointed him a Fellow of the University of Bombay in 1882.

Pt. Bhagvanlal undertook archaeological explorations in the entire country and contributed to Indian history by his original study of the inscriptions and coins of several provinces of the country. Nevertheless, his contribution to the history and archaeology of Gujarat deserves special notice.

As remarked above, he commenced his career as an archaeologist through his original and critical study of the Girnar rock-inscriptions and the Kṣatrapa coins. He also edited some unpublished inscriptions of the Traikūṭaka, Gurjara, Chālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasties in south Gujarat and thus added new chapters in the ancient history of Gujarat. In Numismatics he had specialised himself in the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas and thus became an authority on their genealogy and chronology. His commendable research article on the Western Kṣatrapas was posthumously

published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1890. It was edited by the renowned Numismatist Rapson, who in the introduction of his "Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum: The Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty" (1908), frankly admits: "I cannot close these few words of thanks without some grateful acknowledgement of the debt which I, as a student of Indian Numismatics, owe to the work of the great Indian Scholar, whose memory is preserved in the Museum by the shield which records his munificent bequest – Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī. A glance through the pages of this volume will suffice to show that to a very large extent I have built on the foundations which he had well and truly laid."

During his explorations round about Bombay, Pt. Bhagvanlal discovered a fragment of Aśoka's Rock Edict VIII at Sopara. In course of the small-scale four-day excavation conducted by him there in 1882, he unearthed a Buddhist Stūpa enshrining an unusually rich hoard of relics. Sopara represents ancient Śūrparaka, which was a reputed port of international trade, similar to that of Bharukaccha (Broach), on the Western Coast.

Pt. Bhagvanlal's paper on 'Two New Cālukya Inscriptions', submitted to the International Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna in 1887 is a valuable contribution to the history of Gujarat. His valuable and original contributions to the study of Indian Epigraphy were highly appreciated by Western co-workers in the field and it won him the rare distinction of doctorate from Western universities. He was also elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Fortunately, Pt. Bhagvanlal did not confine his activities to epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological investigations. The antiquarian data obtained through these investigations were ultimately sources of information for the reconstruction of the history of the ancient period. On planning the project of the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, James Campbell entrusted the preparation of the Early History of the Deccan to Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar and that of the Early History of Gujarat to Pt. Bhagvanlal Indrajī. Conversant with the first-hand knowledge of the original sources, Bhagvanlal was the most competent scholar for the monumental work assigned to him.

He seems to have engaged himself in this immense and responsible undertaking since about 1881. His articles on the Western Kṣatrapas as well as on the Traikūṭakas, the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Lāṭa were already written by him. On the basis of his study of the epigraphic records and coins, he was conversant with the historical accounts of the Mauryas,

the Indo-Greeks, the Guptas, the Kings of Valabhi and the Gurjaras of Lāṭa. He was also familiar with the epigraphic records of the Cālukyas and the Vāghelas. But now he had to engage himself in consulting the literary works like *Dvyāśraya*, *Sukṛtasamkīrtana*, *Kīrtikaumudī*, *Prabandhacintā-maṇi*, *Vicāraśreṇī*, *Vividha-tīrthakalpa* and *Ratnāvalī*. He had also to derive traditional accounts from the Purāṇas. A young graduate, trained in compiling historical data for the Gazetteer, was placed under him. The latter translated the portions contributed by Pt. Bhagvanlal into English and submitted them to the General Editor. Pt. (now Dr.) Bhagvanlal was very eager to commit all his findings to writing as early as possible, as he was not keeping good health since 1885. In 1888 he realised that the end of his life was imminent. In his will he enjoined to bequeath the various sections of his rich collection of antiquities to different institutions, the manuscripts in his collection being transmitted to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay. Dr. Bhagvanlal expired in 1888 at the age of only 49 before he could finalise the work assigned to him. A large portion of the Early History of Gujarat was almost ready in the form of the press-copy, but the remaining portion was to be reconstructed from his stray notes in Gujarati. When Mr. Campbell received the remaining raw material left by the late historian, he realised that the work of completing Dr. Bhagvanlal's writing was one of special difficulties. Hence he took the valuable assistance from Mr. A. M. T. Jackson of the Indian Civil Service; and yet it took a pretty long period of more than five years to finalise its press-copy. In the publication (1896) this article on the "Early History of Gujarat" formed the most copious and outstanding portion of the entire Part on the History of Gujarat.

Even a cursory glance at the "Early History of Gujarat" (1896) in comparison to Book I of the *Rāsa Mālā* (1856) by Mr. A. K. Forbes will at once show the vast gulf of difference between the two works, brought in by the large bulk of new material revealed during the intervening span of four decades. The earlier account of the history of Gujarat generally commenced with the Cāvaḍā Kingdom, to which Mr. Forbes prefixed the account of the fall of Valabhī in his work, while "Early History of Gujarat" commenced with the account of the Mauryan period, prefixed by the Purāṇic account of Ānarta and the Yādavas. It dealt with the history of as many as ten kingdoms before the Kingdom of the Cāvaḍās. "Early History of Gujarat" based on the materials prepared by the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī is, indeed, the first systematic documented ancient history of Gujarat, regarded to be a standard work on the subject even for several decades after its publication. Naturally much new material has come to light subsequently and some of the views held by Dr. Bhagvanlal have to be

emended on its basis. Nevertheless this monumental work of the pioneer historian still contains ample reliable information and some points of original research. The valuable contribution of Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji to the History and Archaeology of Gujarat must, indeed, be assessed as a well-laid foundation of the subject.

SOPARA – PANDIT BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI AND AFTER

DEVANGANA DESAI

The Asiatic Society of Bombay possesses a precious group of Buddhist bronzes representing the Seven Buddhas and Maitreya, the Future Buddha (Pls. III-VI). These eight bronzes were found in 1882 by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī in the relic stone coffer from the Stūpa at Sopara. In December 1881, he received from Mr. James M. Campbell, Compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, some notes on the remains at Sopara in Thana district, about 48 kms. north of Bombay. There was also along with the notes a rough sketch of the mound at Sopara, locally known as "Buruda Rājāchā Killā" or the Fort of the Basket-making King. At once Bhagvanlal saw through the sketch a possibility of the existence of a Stūpa there. He writes: "Finding from the rough sketch that the Buruda Rājā's fort was much like a Stūpa, the desire overtook me of seeing Sopara, a name which under slightly varying forms, occurs in the Nasik, Junnar, Karle and Nanaghat inscriptions, but about which nothing has yet been written."¹

When nothing was previously known or written on the subject, it was Pandit Bhagvanlal who identified the site of Sopara with ancient Śūrpāraka or Sopāraka mentioned in the *Mahāvamsā*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Mahābhārata*, *Śrīpālacarita* and other Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina texts, and in the inscriptions of the Western Indian caves. He has very picturesquely described various references to this town in the literary accounts. Sopara was known to Ptolemy and the writer of the *Periplus of the Erythraen Sea* and later to a large number of Arab and Persian travellers such as Macudī, Ibn Haukal, Al Istakhri, Al Biruni and others. Even today scholars refer to these literary and epigraphical sources which Bhagvanlal had painstakingly gathered on Sopara.

Bhagvanlal first visited the site with Campbell on 7th of February, 1882, had a preliminary survey of it and ascertained that the Buruda Rājā's fort was a Stūpa. Then with more time in the Easter holidays, i. e. April 7 to 10, they revisited Sopara. It was at this time that Bhagvanlal opened the centre of the Stūpa and discovered a relic coffer about 13 feet from the top of the Stūpa. Within this coffer, he found *in situ* the eight metal images seated around a copper casket (Pl. II), which in its turn encased within it four other caskets, placed one within the other, viz. those of silver, jade (stone), crystal and finally gold (Pl. I, B). The gold casket contained

thirteen tiny pieces of earthenware, which Bhagvanlal suggested were relics of the Buddha's bowl on the basis of evidence from Buddhist texts. There were several gold flowers strewn in each casket and a gold plaque depicting a seated Buddha (Pl. VII, B) and a silver coin of Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi (circa A. D. 174-203) in the copper casket. The details of the work and finds at Sopara are given in his article on the subject read out by Campbell on May 25, 1882, at the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and published in Vol. XV, 1881-82, of the Journal of the Society. The Bombay Government presented the Sopara relics to the Society and Campbell presented a finely carved wooden cabinet to contain the relics in October 1882. This cabinet is still placed centrally at the vestibule of the Asiatic Society Library.

It is interesting to note that the discovery of the Sopara relics made a great stir not only among the scholars in India and Europe of that time but also among the Buddhists of Sri-Lanka. The Buddhist High Priest of that country requested for a small portion of the bowl of the Buddha to be deposited in the monastery at Adam's peak.²

Even hundred years back Pandit Bhagvanlal had judiciously identified these images and the Bodhi trees associated with each of the Buddhas. He compares the images for their identification and iconography with the painted images of the Buddhas and Maitreya, each with a label inscription, on the doorway of Ajanta Cave 17. He has given line-drawings of each of the Sopara bronzes, caskets and seven different types of gold flowers and the stones found from the caskets.

What is of further importance is the meticulous detailed description of the entire excavation (including that of the frog found below the stone coffer, which was of the same species as found in some of the old Kanheri cave cisterns). From these details we can see that the Seven Buddhas were arranged pradakṣiṇā-wise from the left side of Maitreya, starting with the first "Mānuṣa"³ Buddha Vipāśyī to the seventh, viz. Śākyamuni or Gautama Buddha each displaying a different *mudrā* (hand-gesture) and under his respective Bodhi tree. These Seven Buddhas are Śākyamuni and his six immediate predecessors :

1. Vipāśyī : *Dharmacakra-mudrā*, under Pātali tree
(*Bignonia Suaveoleps*) (Pl. III, A)
2. Śikhī : *Dhyāna-mudrā*, under Puṇḍarīka or
white lotus (Pl. III, B)

3. Viśvabhū : *Varada-mudrā*, under Śāla tree
(*Shorea rubusta*) (Pl. IV, A)
4. Krakucchanda : *Dhyāna-mudrā*, under
Śirīṣa tree (*Acacia Sirissa*) (Pl. IV, B)
5. Kanakamuni : *Bhūmiśparśa-mudrā*, under
Udumbara tree (*Ficus glomerata*) (Pl. V, A)
6. Kāśyapa : *Abhaya-mudrā*, under
Banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) (Pl. V, B)
7. Śākyamuni : *Bhūmiśparśa-mudrā*, under
Pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*). (P. VI, A)

Although the Stūpa and the caskets belonged to the 2nd century A.D., possibly in the time of Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi whose unworn silver coin was found from the copper casket, Bhagvanlal wisely suggested from the dress and head-ornaments of the image of Maitreya (Pl. VI, B) that it belonged to about the 7th-8th century A. D. and was placed in the relic coffer when the Stūpa was opened for repair.

After Bhagvanlal's death in 1888, Sopara antiquities surprisingly did not attract much attention which was due to them. It is in 1939 because of the enthusiasm of the members of the Gujarat Research Society that interest in Sopara was revived and a Volume commemorating the hundredth birth anniversary of Bhagvanlal Indrajī was published. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the then Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India, writing in this Volume observed : " The work of the late Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī is mostly in the field of epigraphy in which he was the most brilliant Indian scholar not only of his own time but perhaps of all times... One work, however, in the field of archaeology proper will always remain to his credit and that is the excavation at Sopara, which he carried out during the Easter Holidays in 1882. "

While discussing the metal images of Sopara, K. N. Dikshit emphasized the uniqueness of this group as no other metal images represent the seven (Mānuṣa) Buddhas and Maitreya, though their representations are found in stone and painting. He drew attention to the peculiar feature of the end of the robe drawn over the left shoulder and hanging in a pleated fold on the figures of the Buddhas and suggested affinity with the Pāla bronzes of Eastern India. He believed that the bronzes were brought from Eastern India to the Deccan in about 7th-8th century A. D. But at the same time he also pointed out certain differences from the Eastern Indian

School such as the absence of decoration on *prabhāvalī* (aureole) and the presence of the long stems of trees on the back of the bronzes (Pl. VII, A)

After about fifteen years of Dikshit's article Douglas Barrett wrote on the Sopara bronzes in his article, " A Group of Bronzes from the Deccan ", published in the *Lalit Kalā* Nos. 3-4, 1956-57, which drew attention of a wider public to these bronzes. Barrett also emphasized the peculiar feature of the end of the Buddha's robe drawn over the left shoulder to which Dikshit had already drawn attention. But Barrett says that this feature first made its appearance in the Pāla images of Eastern India in about A. D. 800, and elsewhere it should be later. He says, " the new method of representing the robe is not likely to have arisen in East and West India independently and it was probably the overwhelming prestige of the great monasteries of Bihar which was responsible for the spreading of this innovation." He considers the Sopara bronzes to be of Deccan region and dates them to the 9th century A.D. under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and describes them as representing " the spiritual dignity and power typical of Deccan Art."

As Sadashiv Gorakshkar has contributed an article on Sopara metal images in the present Volume of the Journal, examining their place in the history of sculptural art, I will not go into the details of their art history, but will like to reaffirm the Deccan features of these bronzes to which he has given evidence from other metal images of the Deccan.⁵ Gorakshkar has examined the state of Buddhist religious activities in the area around Sopara and has considered the reasons that led to rededication of the Sopara Stūpa along with the images of the seven Buddhas and Maitreya.

I would like to add some points relating to the representation of the (" Mānuṣa ") Buddhas as discussed in my earlier papers.⁶ The trees or symbols of the Seven Buddhas are represented in the Hīnayāna art of Bharhut and Sanchi. At Sanchi six architraves of the Gates of Stūpa I represent Bodhi trees and Stūpas of the Seven Buddhas. Particularly noteworthy is the architrave of the Western Gateway, where along with the trees of the Seven Buddhas, the Nāgapuṣpa tree of Maitreya has been depicted.⁷ So here we have an early association of Maitreya with the Seven Buddhas in the Hīnayāna art of Sanchi.

In the art of the Mahāyāna Buddhists also we get representations of Maitreya with the Seven Buddhas. Nearer Sopara we see them in the art of Ajanta: Cave XVII, IV, VII, XXVI (dated A. D. 481). They are also represented in the Kanheri Caves II and III, and at Ellora in Cave XII. The latter has images of Vajrayāna pantheon such as Rakta Lokeśvara, Ṣadākṣari Lokeśvara and the Śaktis of " Dhyānī " Buddhas. In Ellora all the Seven

Buddhas are in *dhyāna-mudrā*. But in case of the depictions of Ajanta Cave XVII and of Sopara bronzes there is similarity in the *mudrās* displayed by the first four Buddhas. Variations can be seen in the representation of *mudrās* of the last three Buddhas, viz. Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni at Ajanta and Sopara.

	Ajanta painting	Sopara bronzes
Kanakamuni	<i>abhaya-mudrā</i>	<i>bhūmisparśa-mudrā</i>
Kāśyapa	<i>dhyāna-mudrā</i>	<i>abhaya-mudrā</i>
Śākyamuni	<i>dharma-cakra-mudrā</i>	<i>bhūmisparśa-mudrā</i>

But the interesting point is that both at Ajanta and Sopara the third Buddha Viśvabhū is largest among the Buddhas and Śākyamuni is small in dimensions. This seems to suggest prevalence of some orally transmitted, though not fully crystalized, iconographic canons regarding the depiction of the (Past or " Mānuṣa ") Buddhas in the Deccan.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who travelled in Konkan and Maharashtra in 641 A. D., notes the prevalence of both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools. He also mentions Stūpas of Four Past Buddhas in these regions, and a huge sandal-wood image of Maitreya near the capital of Konkan.⁸ Thus it seems that the worship of the Four Buddhas and Maitreya was in vogue in this region in the 7th century. Changes were taking place in the Buddhist pantheon from the Gupta period onwards,⁹ when the number of the Past Buddhas was gradually reduced to four, which included Śākyamuni and the three others of the present cycle, viz. Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni and Kāśyapa. To these Four Buddhas was added Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, making the Five " Mānuṣa " (mortal) Buddhas, corresponding to Five " Dhyānī " (transcendental) Buddhas and Five " Dhyānī " Bodhisattvas.¹⁰

But a very significant information on the worship of the Seven Buddhas by the Hīnayāna Sāmmiṭṭiya sect has been provided by Hiuen Tsang. He says that in Malwa, King Śīlāditya (who had reigned 60 years before his visit) had built near his palace an extremely artistic temple in which were installed images of the Seven Buddhas. The Hīnayāna Sāmmiṭṭiya sect was widely prevalent in Buddhist centres such as Valabhī, Sindh, Avanti, Ahicchatrā, Saṅkiśa, Ayodhyā, Kapilavastu, etc. as noted by the Chinese pilgrim. However, at many of these places Hiuen Tsang reports Stūpas of the Four Buddhas.

In this connection an important epigraphical evidence of the Sāmmiṭṭiya sect at Junnar (Deccan) having links with Sanchi (Malwa region) in

the 2nd century A. D. has been provided by Shobhana Gokhale's article in the present Volume. Sopara, like Junnar, could have been an important stronghold of the Sāmmītiya sect and a halting place of visiting monks from Malwa to Sri-Lanka. Links between Sopara and Sanchi are further suggested in the similarity of the shape of the stone (jade) casket – the similarity noted by Bhagvanlal while describing the relic caskets.

At the time when the worship of the Seven Buddhas was undergoing transformation and that of “Dhyānī” or ‘Kuleśa’ Buddhas and ‘Dhyānī’ Bodhisattvas gaining prominence, the bronzes of Sopara preserve for us an important aspect of the older cult. Moreover, unlike their representations on gateways and door lintels in both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monuments noted by us, they along with Maitreya are the principal figures surrounding the relics at Sopara.

Maitreya has been given great importance at Sopara. He sits on a higher pedestal and is largest among the Sopara bronzes. Pandit Bhagvanlal suggested that he faces west “because on gaining Buddhahood he will pass through the eastern gateway, open the relic chamber, and from the gold casket take out the fragments of Śākyamuni's bowl.” He records a belief that Śākyamuni's bowl had passed earlier from one Buddha to another, as a symbol of the office of the Buddha. So the other Buddhas are present to witness the event of Maitreya's entering the relic coffer to get his begging bowl from Śākyamuni, his predecessor.

It is of great importance to note that the figures are seated in a circle around the centre, i. e. relics in the casket (Fig. a). The placement of bronzes in eight cardinal directions and in a circle reminds us of figures on an eight-petalled lotus *maṇḍala* to which K. N. Dikshit had also drawn attention. The entire scheme at Sopara of placing in the centre five caskets, one within the other, surrounded by the eight images in cardinal directions, and their placement in turn in a circular stone coffer, which, again was supported by eight bricks and was placed in a square brick-chamber with its sides matched with cardinal directions, shows a highly planned and measured arrangement.

A. S. I. Excavation of 1939–40 : Buruda Rajacha Killa (the Stūpa site) was subjected to digging operations, spread over two short seasons during the years 1939 and 1940 “with the object of uncovering all that might yet be surviving under it.¹¹ The excavation was conducted by M. M. Qureshi, Assistant Superintendent of the Western Circle, Archaeological Survey of India. They dug 30' below in the relic chamber but found earth, bricks and later sand. When excavating on the site they found several stone lintels

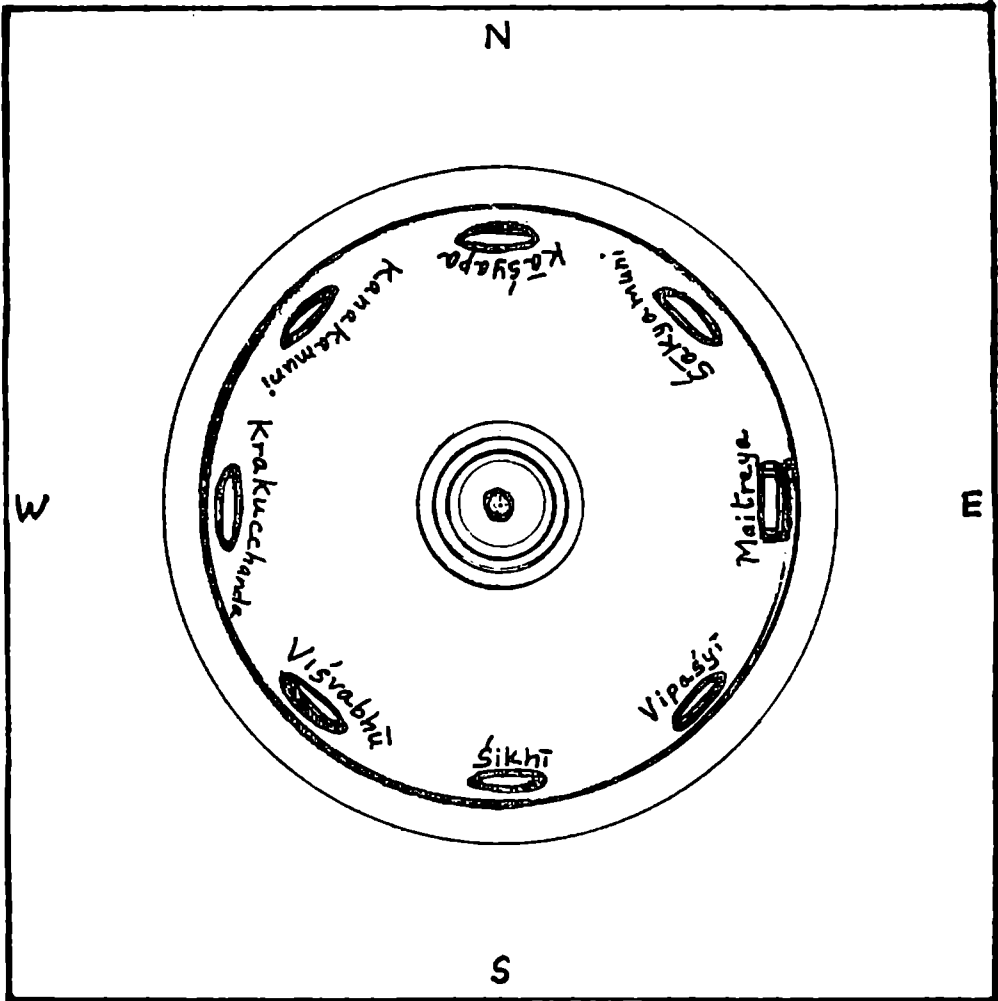


Fig. a : The placement of bronzes in cardinal directions around the relic casket, Sopara.

which, it is presumed, were used for residential quarters partly constructed of wood. Two small Stūpas were found in the south of the main Stūpa and several miniature Stūpas and round objects were found. A six-foot wide circular path for *pradakṣiṇā* was uncovered. Miscellaneous objects including plain and glazed pottery of the later period were found. Coins of the Sātavāhana period with Ujjain symbol, Gadhya coins of 8th–12th centuries and coins of the Muslim rulers were unearthed from the Stūpa site. However, no bronzes or images were discovered in this excavation.

Aśokan Rock Edicts : The evidence of Aśoka's religious activities at Sopara is provided by the Edicts discovered on the site. Pandit Bhagvanlal had found the Eighth Rock Edict (in fragment), and later in 1956, N. A. Gore, the Librarian of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, discovered the Ninth Edict.¹² Both these Edicts are now housed in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

Medieval Sculptures : Sopara played an important part in Western India's commercial life for more than 2000 years. It flourished upto A. D. 1500 and we have accounts of Arab and Persian travellers describing its prosperity. In the middle of the 12th century Tejakaṇṭha, the Koṅkaṇa delegate, was sent from Sopara to attend a literary congress held in Kashmir,¹³ and also in the same century, Al Idrisi describes Sopara as a well-peopled city with great trade.

Bhagvanlal has noted some Brahmanical stone sculptures in the compound of the Cakreśvara temple. They are still lying there. The Brahmā image (Pl. XI, A) of about 6'-4" still stands majestically under a tree. In parts it is unfinished, but its dimensions are interesting. It is rare to find such a large image of Brahmā.¹⁴ It must have been sculpted to be placed in a cardinal (*bhadra*) niche of a temple. The large size of the image indicates that there must have been quite a huge Hindu temple at Sopara (in the Sonarvat area from where the image was originally found as noted by Bhagvanlal). The image seems to be stylistically of the late 11th or early 12th century A. D.

There are also images of Hara-Gaurī, Varāha lifting Pṛthvī, Sūrya, Mahiṣāsūramardinī – all detached sculptures lying in the compound of the temple and assignable to the period between 11th–14th centuries A. D. Stylistically they differ from one another, some showing influence of Gujarat while the others like the *Surasundarī* with a parrot (Pl. XI, B) of about 4 feet in height have similarity with Northern Karnataka art tradition of about late 11th century A. D. Dr. Stella Kramrisch while commenting on this beautiful female figure says that it "represents the last phase of creative

monumental stone sculpture in the Deccan."¹⁵ Varāha (Pl. XII, C) also seems to have imbibed Northern Karnataka elements and retains vitality even in the late 12th century A. D. There is an image of dancing Śiva (Pl. XI, A) in a temple on the road from Sopara to Nirmal which stylistically can be assigned to early 11th century A. D. Compared to the dancing Śiva on the *janīghā* (wall) of the Ambarnath temple of A. D. 1060 (near Kalyan, not far from Sopara), the dancing Śiva of Sopara seems to be earlier.

Some memorial stones have been found at Sopara on which Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar has contributed an article in the present Volume. Some of them are interesting for the Buddhist and Śaivite (possibly of Nātha sect) features in their depiction (Pls. XIII, XIV).

Jaina images and architectural remains (*parikaras*, lintels) of 13th-14th century have been found from the Sonarvat area of Sopara. Bhagvanlal observed that in his time Jainas regarded Sopara as a holy place of pilgrimage. Jinaprabhasūri of the 14th century mentioned Sopāraka as one of the eightyfour holy places of the Jainas. There is a Sopāraka-gaccha which originated in Sopara.¹⁶ An image of Ambikā (Pl. XII, B) in the compound of the Cakreśvara temple is interesting. Near her feet is a playful child running after Ambikā's lion. The sculpture may be stylistically dated to 13th century A. D.

In 1981, a hoard of 19 bronze pieces of about 14th century was accidentally found from Sopara. Presently these bronzes are with the Archaeological Survey of India.

Recently a find of another Buddhist Stūpa at Sopara has been reported by Prof. Chitale. Field-work on the effect of silting on the ancient port of Sopara due to a rise in the sea-level is being done by Dr. S. N. Rajguru¹⁷ and his colleagues from the Deccan College, Pune. No doubt, such an important port and religious town of Western India which flourished for 2000 years needs a large-scale excavation.

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2. Javerilal U. Yajnik, *Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī, a Memoir*, reprinted in 1958 from the *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVII, pt. II, 1888, p. 23.
3. The use of the word "Mānuṣa" (Mortal or Human) and "Dhyānī" (Transcendental) is made for the purpose of iconographic distinctions, irrespective of whether these words are found in early Buddhist texts. The usage is common in

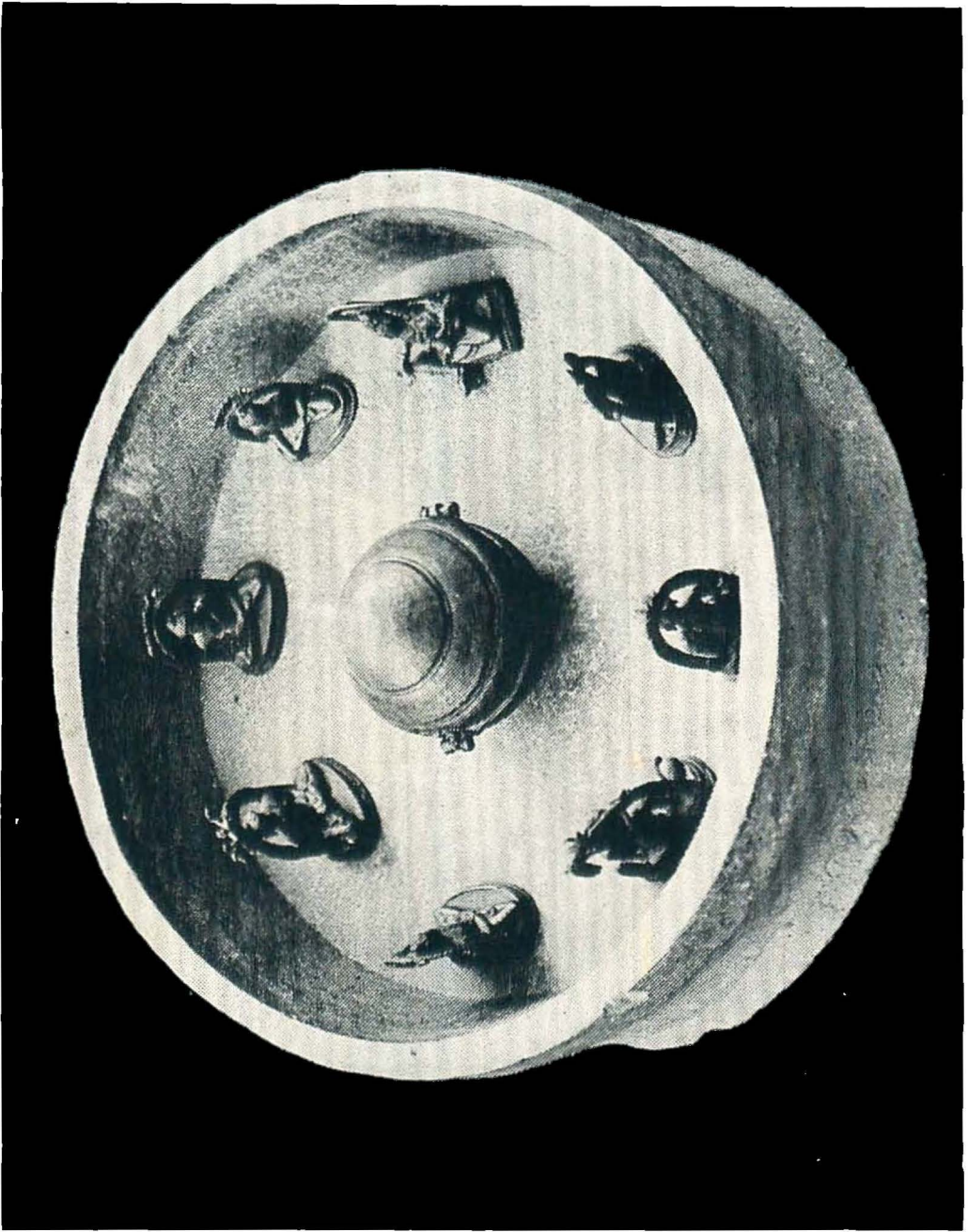
- the Buddhist iconographical writings of Benoytosh Bhattacharya, N. K. Bhattasall, Alice Getty, J. N. Banerjea and others.
4. K. N. Dikshit, "Buddhist Relics from Sopara Re-Examined", *Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji Commemoration Volume of the Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, 1939, 1-4.
 5. I may like to draw attention to some of the Deccan-Karnataka features particularly as developed in Western Cālukyan and early Rāṣṭrakūṭa art in regard to the facial features, the crown of Maitreya and the arrangement of *upavīta* (sacred thread) and *udarabandha* (waistband). These elements compare well with those of the Mallikārjuna temple of Pattadakal (circa A. D. 740), as well as those of the Daśāvātāra Cave (No. XV) of Ellora excavated under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantidurga around A. D. 750. Cālukyan elements continue in Cave XV as well as in Cave XVI (Kallāsa) of Ellora. Several elements of the Western Cālukyan later art, which had also imbibed Āndhra elements from Alampur, are seen in the early art of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. To this transitional period, the style of the Sopara bronzes belongs, i. e. circa 750-800. The analogy in style between sculpture and bronze is not out of place as generally arts of a region follow the same style even if executed in different mediums.
 6. "Sopara Bronzes in the Asiatic Society of Bombay," presented at the Bicentenary International Seminar of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, January 1984, "Sopara Bronzes : Seven Buddhas and Maitreya", presented at the International Seminar on Buddhist Iconography organized by Tibet House, New Delhi, April, 1984.
 7. Debala Mitra, *Sanchi*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1965, p. 41.
 8. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, pp. 237 ff.
 9. J. N. Banerjea in the *Classical Age*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, p. 398; and in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 278 ff.
 10. B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, reprint 1968, p. 19; N. K. Bhattasall, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, p. 19; Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 1914, p. 10.
 11. I thank the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, for giving me permission to read the unpublished report of the Sopara excavation of 1939-40. R. G. Gyani of the Gujarat Research Society had been present during this excavation of 1939-40 and has described it in his Gujarati article, "Soparāmā Purātativānveṣaṇa" in the *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, Vol. 1, 2.
 12. S. N. Chakravarti, "Ninth Rock Edict of the Maurya King Asoka at Sopara, Bombay State.," *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4, 1956-1957.
 13. Bhagvanlal Indraji, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
 14. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1906-07 has published a photograph of this Brahmā image.
 15. Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, The Phaidon Press, 3rd ed. 1965, Pl. 130, p. 210.
 16. Bhagvanlal Indraji *op. cit.*, p. 276.
 17. S. N. Rajguru and Savita Ghate presented their paper "Prehistoric Environment of Konkan" at the History Seminar on Konkan, Pune, December, 1984.



A. The Stūpa at Sopara, present condition.



B. The five relic caskets: copper, silver, stone (jade), crystal and gold, Sopara.
Now in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.



Eight Images arranged in a circle around relic caskets, Sopara. Now in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.



A. Vipśyī



B. Sikhī



←
A. Viśvabhū

B. →
Kraucchanda





A. Kanakamuni



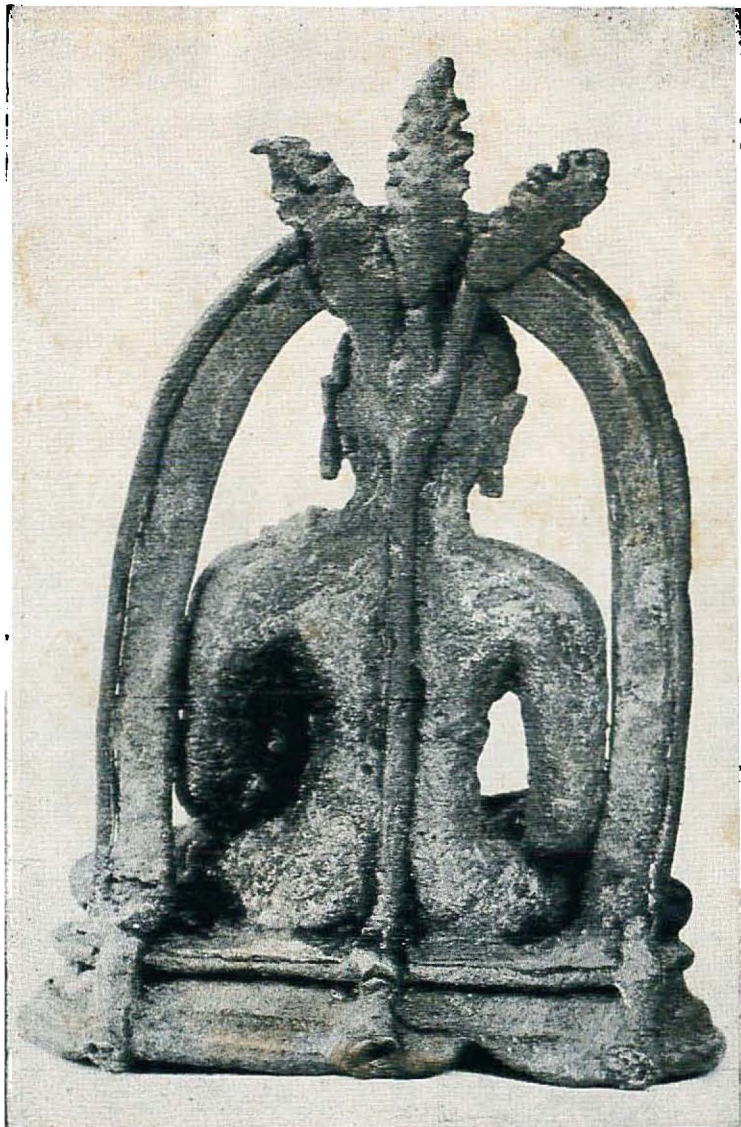
B. Kāśyapa



A. Sākyamuni



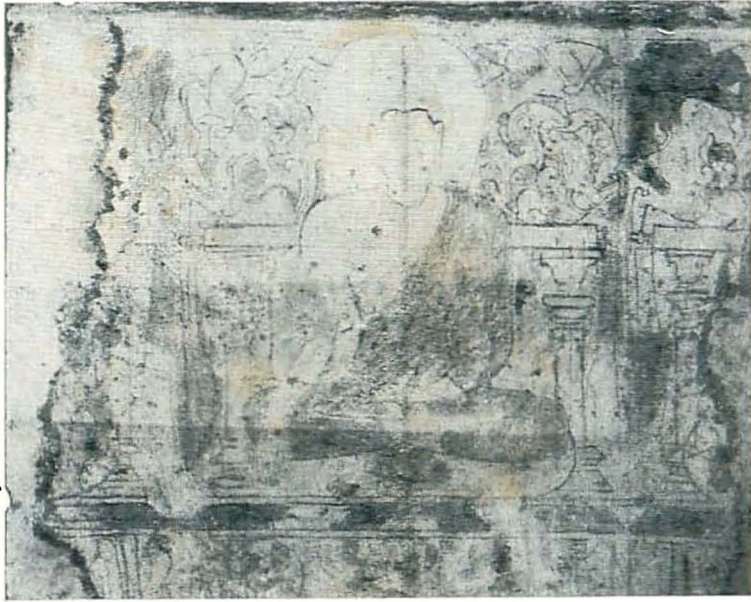
B. Maitreya



A. Back of Krakucchanda



B. Buddha, gold repouse found from the copper casket, Sopara.



A. Tathāgata, incomplete painting on the ceiling of the outer hall,
Cave 41, Kanheri, c. 8th century A. D



B. Yaśa Dampari, bronze, Rajapur Khinkhini, c. 9th
century A. D. Nagpur Museum



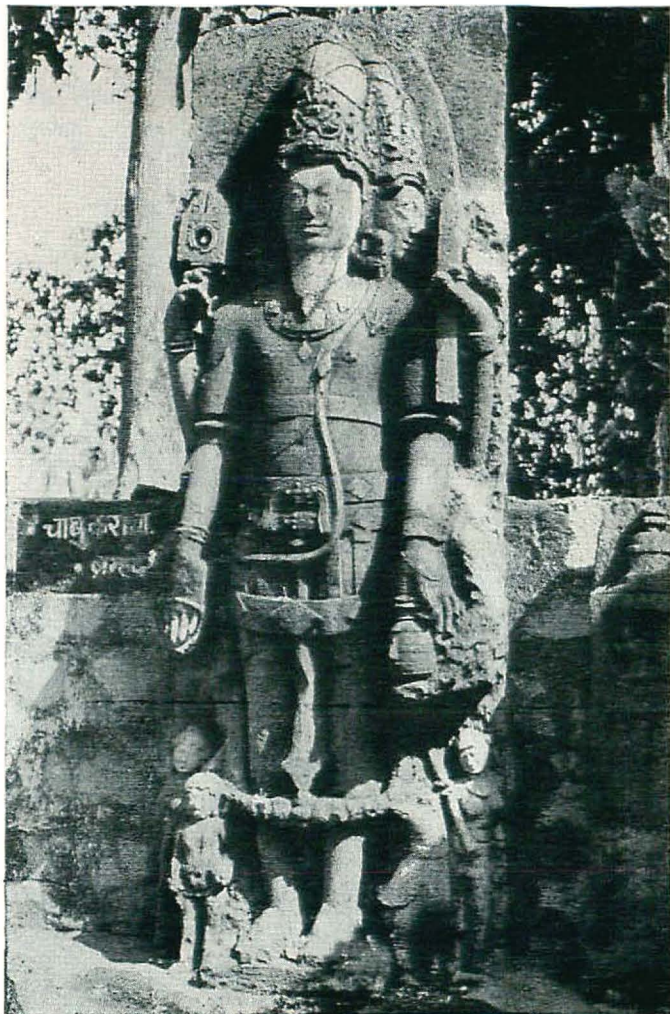
Close-ups of three figures.



A. Yaksha, findspot Gharapuri c. 2nd century A. D.,
National Museum, New Delhi.



B. Lion, probably of a pillar capital,
c. 1st century B. C., Gharapuri.



A. Brahmā, Sopara.



B Surasundarī, Sopara.



- A. Dancing Śiva, Sopara.
- B. Ambikā, Sopara.
- C. Varāha, Sopara.

SOPARA : ABODE OF BUDDHAS SEVEN SUPREME

SADASHIV GORAKSHKAR

Over a hundred years ago, on 9 April 1982, Bhagvanlal Indrajī, excavated the *stūpa* at Sopara (Modern Nala Sopara). The mound was then known as *Buruḍa Rājāchā koṭ* (citadel of the Basket weaver's king) (Pl. I, A). A little below the level of its plinth, as he then thought it was and almost thirteen feet from the existing top, there was a brick chamber inside the centre of the *stūpa*. Bhagvanlal recovered a stone relic casket (Pl. II,) containing different antiquities which he presented in a paper before the Asiatic Society on 25th May 1882.¹ His paper is a brilliant exposition of thorough scholarship and several of his arguments hold good even today. The present paper attempts to re-examine the antiquities.

Bhagvanlal gave up his investigations after recovering the casket remarking, "Further digging was stopped, as there was little time at our disposal, and because we were anxious not to spoil the relic chamber by removing its sides. It is possible that further digging may bring to light some more remains."²

Bhagvanlal emphasised the identification of Sopara with Śūrpāraka mentioned not only in literature of Hindus, Jains and Buddhists but even in the *Periplus Maris Erythraci*, the *Geography* of Ptolemy and even by Al Biruni.³ The *Yādava Koṣa* mentions Sopara as a part of Aparānta.

We share B. Indrajī's concern that inspite of its close association with Epic mythology no archaeological evidence is available to indicate this. In so far as its Jain association is concerned, it is evident from the several fragmentary sculptures lying strewn in the area and the recent find of some metal images here.⁴ The Jain evidence, however, is datable to the eleventh-twelfth century.

The existence of a *stūpa*, the legends connected with it, the discovery of relics in the *stūpa* and the fact that Buddhism prevailed here, in this area, till the coming of the Portugese underlines the importance of Sopara more as a seat of Buddhist pilgrimage, than in its Hindu or Jain context.

The date of the *stūpa*, for want of proper excavations, remains unsettled even though on a reasonable surmise it can easily be dated to the third century B. C. In fact all the evidence, legendary, literary and archaeological, tends to favour a period in the reign of Emperor Aśoka Maurya,

coeval with the third Buddhist Council, for the commencement of Buddhist activity in Aparānta in general and Sopara in particular.

The *Pūrṇāvadāna*⁵ contains a legend about Gautama's visit to Sopara at the instance of the merchant Pūrṇa and his conversion of two powerful Nāga Kings Kṛṣṇa and Gautama. This *Avadāna* also contains a reference to Vakkali and the conversion of five hundred widows. Bhagvanlal has convincingly pointed to the identification of an area, Vakala Tekdi, in Sopara as the place where the *stūpa* constructed by Vakkali and the widows once existed.⁶ Though there are no more relics around the area, Bhagvanlal noticed certain dedicatory inscriptions mentioning female donors.⁷ He felt that paleographically these belonged to the Mauryan period.

While there are no means for verifying the script in the absence of the original stones, at least there is another evidence of the Mauryan period in the form of two Aśokan inscriptions, both discovered at Sopara and both of which are now in the Prince of Wales Museum.⁸ These are firm archaeological basis for determining the antiquity of Sopara in the Buddhist context.

The literary evidence of the *Mahāvamsa*, even though a later compilation, is of some help in understanding the religious activity consequent upon the third Buddhist Council which was held during Aśoka's reign.

It is known from Aśokan inscriptions that in the fourteenth year of his reign Aśoka appointed certain officers, the Dharmamahāmātras to propagate religion and even ordered other officers such as the Yuktas, Rajjukas and the Prādeśikas to undertake tours for the same purpose, every five years.⁹ Nevertheless, worried by the infinite interpolations in the original preaching of the Buddha, Aśoka is said to have invited Moggaliputta Tissa to convene a council to weed out such interpolations. This council materialised as the third Buddhist Council in the eighteenth year of Aśoka's reign, in 256 B. C.¹⁰ As a sequel to this Council, it was decided to depute several *Theras* to various parts of the country, and it is this account that is compiled in the *Mahāvamsa*.¹¹ One of the areas so covered was Aparānta where Yona (Yavana) Dharmarakṣita was sent to propagate the law. In spite of the various interpretations of Aparānta, or Ariake of Ptolemy, it is now accepted that the entire region of Konkan i. e. the area between the Sahyadri and the sea was included in Aparānta and Śūrpāraka or Sopara was an important *tīrtha* in Aparānta.

There is reason to believe that the choice of a Yavana to propagate the *dharma* in Aparānta was evidently a deliberate one. At this very time

the political Governor of the contiguous region of Saurashtra was a Yavana called Tushāspa. Sopara was then a very important sea port and trading centre as evident from the accounts in the *Periplus* and the *Geography* of Ptolemy. The international crowd indeed included Alexandrian Greeks, Romans, Parthians and Arabs. After crossing the vicinity of Kanheri, the caravans converged in the plains around Kalyan before resuming their journey via the three main mountain passes, the Thal, Bor and the Nane Ghat. The Buddhist activity is dotted along these pathways.

The presence of many foreign traders evidently prompted Aśoka to install his edicts which pertinently impress upon the people to respect and support the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas. Interestingly, it is around Sopara that a major centre of Buddhist activity, in all probability a University centre, flourished at Kanheri almost till the advent of the Portugese in the fifteenth century.

It may, therefore, be possible to surmise that Yona Dharmarakṣita's centre of activity in Aparānta must have been Sopara.

While the influence of the *Thera's* preaching is evident from the several inscriptions, mostly at Karla, where Yavana donations predominate, yet our immediate concern is about a statement in the *Mahāvamsa* relating to the conversion of the Khattiyas (*Kshatriyas*).¹² It is said that after preaching the *Aggikhandhapama Sutta* (*Agnikhaṇḍopama Sūtra* : the discourse on the parable of the flames of fire) the Yavana preacher converted a thousand *Khattiya* (*Kshatriya*) families to Buddhism. These *Khattiyas* to us seem to be foreigners to have merited a special mention about their conversion. The dedicatory inscription of the reign of Yajñaśrī Sātakarni in Kanheri Cave-3 provides archaeological evidence in support of this legend.¹³ The donors of Cave-3, as the inscription mentions, were two *Khattiya* brothers, Gajamitra and Gajasena, whose portrait sculptures are carved at the entrance of the *Caitya* hall of Cave-3. In an earlier article we have alluded¹⁴ to the presence of Parthians as the possible *Khattiya* donors at Kanheri for they distinctly stand out as of foreign origin, by their features, dress and ornaments. In that event these *Khattiyas* must have continued to retain their independent character over a few centuries, and by the time of the donation have even acquired Indianised names. Perhaps this may also be the reason for the Kanheri *Caitya* architecture borrowing heavily from the architecture of the Karla *Caitya*, most of which is the contribution of Yavana donors.

At this stage we may also examine the other evidence of Buddhist activity in this area besides Sopara and Kanheri. On the island of

Gharapuri (Elephanta) are the ruins of an early *stūpa* on the crest of the eastern hill facing the caves. The state of ruins makes it apparent that like the Sopara *stūpa*, even this *stūpa* was opened by digging a shaft in the centre. There is no record to show who did it or when.¹⁵ But Gharapuri has yielded two sculptures which can be securely dated to the first cent. B. C., of which the Yakṣa is well known as the "Sopara Yakṣa".¹⁶ The other is a seated lion which has remained unnoticed and is not mentioned in any of the notices of this island.

The Yakṣa image (Pl. X, A) must have been life-size when complete. The image is of a standing figure wearing *dhotī* with thickly incised folds. The modelling is of a heavy and powerfully built figure and has a Gandhāran flair. It is quite different not only from other Yakṣa figures in Western India, such as Pitalkhora¹⁷ or Karhad,¹⁸ but even those at Mathura and Patna. The thick rolled cloth which falls as a loop in front is a feature which crystallises in the sixth century sculptures in this area, especially from Parel.

The two side figures of this image need special mention. On his proper right is a female attendant, who conceptually resembles Yakṣī images, reaching his waist in height. She wears rather heavy torque, *kucabandha* and wears heavy anklets. On his proper left however is an enigmatic figure of a male perched on the shoulders of a lion-faced dwarf, both facing the opposite direction.

The Yakṣa must have held a heavy mace as seen from its round end on the pedestal.

The attendant figures of the Yakṣa strike a close iconographic parallel with two other known figures, the ivory female figures from Pompeii¹⁹ and Bhokardhan.²⁰ In spite of their miniature size in comparison to the Yakṣa, and their possible use as mirror handles, the figures otherwise have compositional similarity with our Yakṣa image. The possible first century B. C. date of the ivory figures, and the style of the female attendant of the Yakṣa enable us to date the Yakṣa to at least the first century B. C., if not earlier.

The *Mahāmāyūri* list of Yakṣas includes at least three identifiable places in the Deccan. These are Pitalkhora (Pitāṅgalya), Karhad (Karahāṭaka) and Nasik (Nāsikya).²¹ The present Yakṣa somehow does not seem to have been mentioned.

Nevertheless, along with these places, the same text refers to Taraṅgavatī as the abode of Yakṣa Sukhāvaha.²² Sircar finds the place difficult of identification. Yet the etymological meaning of the word in

Chinese and Tibetan as given by him, or even in Sanskrit, implies it as a place of big waves. Could its find spot, Gharapuri, bear any relevance? For after all the island is surrounded by sea. The earliest epigraphical reference to Puri (Gharapuri) is the Meguti temple *praśasti* of Ravikirti, in the year A. D. 634-635²³ and we do not know if the island has had any other esoteric epithet. It may be worth it to examine all texts locally used in praise of various deities.

Incidentally, it is difficult to surmise the reasons that led V. S. Agrawala to suggest that the Yakṣa must have belonged to Sopara and not to Gharapuri. The controversy can be settled if we are able to trace a reference that may indicate a connection between river Vaitarana and Taraṅgavatī, for it is near Sopara that Vaitarana meets the sea. In any event, at this stage, we are unable to subscribe to the view expressed by Agrawala and would prefer to designate it as Gharapuri Yakṣa contrary to its currently vogue designation as Sopara Yakṣa.

The other evidence, which we have mentioned above is that of a seated lion (Pl. X, B). This sculpture is lying unnoticed above the main cave, probably ignored as being of a late period. However, on a closer scrutiny of the modelling of its manes, haunches and fore-paws, and of course its stance, one is prone to consider it as a degenerate form of the Mauryan Lion capital. The animal is mounted on a square base that reminds us of the Vaishali pillar capital. The existence of the practice of erecting stone pillars near a *stūpa* dates back to the Aśokan period. The Nigali Sagar pillar inscription²⁴ mentions how Aśoka revisited the *stūpa* of Koṣāgamana (Kanakamuni) and erected a stone pillar there. The prevalence of such a practice in this region is suggested by their representations on the drum-slabs of Amaravati. In the nearest proximity such pillar capitals exist at Kanheri, Karla and Bedsa. Incidentally, besides the *stūpa*, scholars now accept that there must have originally been smaller Buddhist *vihāras* on the island which may have been converted on a grand scale into Śaivite monuments. Buddhism at Gharapuri must have lost its importance as the island developed into a stronghold of Pāśupata Śaivism and the *stūpa* must have fallen into total disuse after the Portuguese destroyed the monument. Around this time the lion must have been brought down to its present location on the western flank.

At this point we are tempted to take note of two other animal sculptures that were once noticed on the south-eastern flank, on a hillock near the Raj Bunder jetty. These are a horse and an elephant, but today only the latter survives. It is installed in the courtyard of the Bhau Daji

Lad Museum at Bombay where it was removed in a fragmentary condition and reassembled. Burgess gives a detailed description of these sculptures and also mentions that there was no trace of the horse almost since 1750 A. D.²⁵

The elephant is indeed a large piece (length 13 ft., ht. 7 ft.) and it is quite difficult to assess its period. Its style of sculpting precludes its comparison with the classical phase of Gharapuri sculptures and moreover there is hardly any evidence of such large and loose mammalian sculptures of an early period in this area. The only large elephant sculptures we can consider are the ones in the courtyard of cave XVI at Ellora, but the style of these sculptures is quite different. The Gharapuri elephant, on the other hand, has no claims to any sophistication.

What then is the possible period and purpose of this piece? Is it merely a coincidence that a horse, an elephant and a lion, three of the four animals associated with Buddhist symbolism of the Aśokan period should be found on Gharapuri island? The style of the lion, we have already explained, indicates a very early date. It is quite possible that even the other two sculptures, a horse and an elephant, must be contemporary with the lion. But style apart, even the purpose of such a monolith is difficult of explanation. With its size and posture, it is possible to suggest the lion figure as the capital of a pillar. The elephant monolith necessitates a different consideration. There is a singular reference to elephant monolith in the *Mātri-Posaka Jātaka* in connection with an elephant festival.²⁶ In Purāṇic and Buddhist mythology elephant is also considered as a *Dig-gaja*. However, there is yet another metaphorical reference to elephant in the Buddhist text, *Dhammapada*. The lone elephant figure at Gharapuri faithfully reflects the saying in *Dhammapada* :²⁷

“ It is better to live alone; there is no companionship with a fool.
Let a man walk alone, let him commit no sin, (let him do) with
a few wishes, like an elephant in the forest.”

We are inclined to postulate a hypothesis that both the elephant and horse figures must belong to the earlier Buddhist phase at Gharapuri, and along with the lion, can be assigned to about the 2nd-1st Cent. B. C. Life size elephant sculptures of this period can be seen at Pitalkhora and a little later at Karla but as parts of architecture.

While the progress of Buddhism at Gharapuri was checked by the great Śaivite movement, it continued to flourish on the neighbouring island of Sashti - at Kanheri - where the activity continued and developed

unabated. Indeed two other Saivite centres had already sprung up at Jogeshwari and Mandapeshwar in the vicinity of Kanheri but evidently without in any way estopping the Buddhist activity.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, particularly, Kanheri witnessed a tremendous upsurge which is reflected in the exquisitely sculpted panels in caves 89 and 90. This was also the period which saw the emergence of new iconographic types in the littany of Avalokiteśvara²⁸ and indeed the Ekādaśamukha Lokeśvara in cave 41.²⁹

During all this time Sopara too must have continued to hold its prominence, but of this period nothing can be said with certainty. It is against this background that we review the antiquities found by Bhagvanlal from the inside of the *stūpa*. That the antiquities belong to a much later period was suggested by Bhagvanlal himself. He wrote "I can explain this only by supposing that about the seventh or eighth century the tope was opened for repairs, when new images and probably new copper and silver caskets were put in instead of the old ones, which had been spoiled by damp and verdigris."³⁰

The antiquities were contained in a circular stone box with lid measuring twentyfour inches in diameter and with a total height of seventeen and a half inches. Inside this casket,³¹ "stood an egg-shaped copper casket surrounded by a circle of eight small seated images." Bhagvanlal has carefully recorded the position of the various images which has helped him in identifying the seven Tathāgatas.³² The eighth, Maitreya is easily identifiable.

The copper casket contained four other caskets of silver, stone, crystal and gold each containing the other in that order (Pl. I, B). The gold casket contained terracotta fragments of a bowl, evidently of great significance.

We agree with Barrett's proposition that these caskets were the original reliquaries enshrined in the *stūpa* when it was built.³³ In view of what we have said earlier, we feel that the construction of the *stūpa* coincides with the activity of Thera Dharmarakṣita. Such *stūpas* at that point of time always were built over some relics either attributed to the Master or over some *śārīrika* relics of a highly venerated *Thera*. At Sopara this was all the more necessary for the proselytising activity of Aśoka's emissaries.

Recording his observations of the practice of *śārīrika* relics, I-tsing refers to two kinds.³⁴

(1) the relics of the Great teacher and (2) A *gāthā*. The *stūpa* at Kasia contained both, a pot and a copper-plate inscribed with the *Nidāna Sutta*.³⁵

The Buddhist converts at Sopara seem to have been so much impressed by the idea of enshrining relics that a resident of Sopara has even made a gift of a pillar containing such a relic at Karta.^{36a} The carving on the pillar there, however, leads us to surmise that the *śarīra* relic enshrined here must have been in the form of a *sūtra*.

There is yet another evidence of such a phenomenon nearer home at Kanheri. This is provided by a copper-plate grant recovered in 1839 by James Bird from his excavation of a *stūpa* on the ledge opposite Cave-3.³⁶ It refers to a resident of Kanaka in the Sindhu country who erected a "Caitya of dressed stones and brick, to last while moon, sun and the ocean endure, to the great Śrāvaka of Paramamuni – the noble Śāradvatīputra," and enshrined a "tooth-relic."

The review of Sopara antiquities raises certain issues :

1. What causes led to the rededication of the *stūpa* after so many centuries;
2. What were the reasons for selecting the seven Tathāgata or Samyak Sambuddhas;
3. What is the place of these images in the history of sculptural art.

We will commence our examination with the second issue.

The concept of the Samyak Sambuddhas or the Tathāgata Buddhas seems to have been fully developed by the time of the *Dīghanikāya*.³⁷ The *Mahāpadāna sutta* of this *nikāya* enumerates all the seven Tathāgatas and gives various details of each of these viz. their parents, their place of birth, their *bodhi* tree and so on. Later the *Buddhavaṃsa*³⁸ not only enumerates these seven Buddhas but gives a larger list of Tathāgatas who preceded these seven. Such later lists are headed by Dīpaṅkara who prophesied that the heretic Sumedha would be born as Gautama. This Gautama is the last of the four Tathāgatas of this *kalpa* viz. Krakuchchanda, Kanakamuni, Kaśyapa and Śākyamuni or Gautama. Nevertheless, on the evidence of a passage in the *Cullavagga*³⁹ it seems clear that only the seven Buddhas were worshipped and that Maitreya was not included.

The first epigraphical reference to one of the seven Samyak Sambuddhas is available in Aśoka's Nigali Sagar Pillar inscription.⁴⁰ It mentions that Aśoka, in the fourteenth year of his reign, "enlarged the

stūpa of the Buddha Kōṇākamana to the double of its size. And when he had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) and caused (a stone pillar to be set up)". Thus by the time of Aśoka's reign the worship of the previous Buddhas had already crystallised. In the following period we get references to the last four Tathāgatas of this *kalpa* in the Bharhut,⁴¹ and Sanchi⁴² inscriptions. Evidently by the first century B. C. the concept of the four Tathāgatas of this *kalpa* seems to have been firmly established.

In the context of Sopara we have to rely on two pertinent references to the sects prevailing in this region and which sects subscribed to the belief in these Tathāgatas. Of these an inscription at Karla refers to a resident of Sopara as a follower of the Dharmuttariya philosophy.⁴³ The other inscription at Kanheri Cave-3 mentions that the cave is the property of the monks of the Bhadrāyāniya sect.⁴⁴ References to these sects are also available at Junnar⁴⁵ and Nasik⁴⁶ caves respectively.

Both, Dharmuttariyas and Bhadrāyānyas are subsects of the Theravāda school which reestablished itself during the Third Buddhist Council held during Aśoka's reign under Moggaliputta Tissa. The Theravādins, the original conservative school, divided itself into Mahiśāsakas and Vastiputriyas (Vajjipputtakas) and the latter was further split, among others, into Dharmuttariyas and Bhadrāyānyas. Traditionally both these latter sects were called the Mahāgiriya.⁴⁷ The Sāmmitiya branch of the Theravādins even believes that the Buddha not only spoke of the power of remembering previous existence but himself referred to his previous existence.⁴⁸ It thus seems logical that the *Dharmaprasāraṅkas* sent out after the conclusion of the third Buddhist Council believed and propagated this philosophy.

Yet it must be admitted that in the Western Indian caves inspite of references to the above mentioned sects, there are no specific references to any of the previous Tathāgatas in the early period contrary to Northern India where, as we have seen earlier, we get clear references at least to the Buddhas of this *kalpa* during the Maurya, Śuṅga and the Kushāṇa^{48a} periods.

In Western India the first plastic representation of the theme of Samyak Sambuddhas appears at Ajanta in the form of a painted frieze above the entrance to Cave-17. These paintings have been assigned to the fifth century A. D. At Kanheri we see the theme sculpted on the wall around the *stūpa* in Cave-2 and then in the incomplete paintings on the ceiling of Cave-41 (Pl. VIII-A), the latter assignable to a sixth-seventh century date. Almost contemporaneously, the evidence in Caves-1, 2 and 7 at Aurangabad

where incidentally there is lot of evidence of its connections with the movement at Kanheri, indicates increasing popularity of the cult of Samyak Sambuddhas. Its final culmination is seen at Ellora, in the row of seven Tathāgatas on the eastern wall of the third floor of Cave-12 (*Tin-Thāl*). But yet the Sopara images are the only expression of this theme in metal.

The epigraphical support for the archaeological evidence is available in the copper-plate recovered by James Bird⁴⁹ to which we have alluded in an earlier paragraph. In line three of this inscription is an unequivocal reference to Bhagavat Śākyamuni – the *Samyak Sambuddha*. The implication of this epithet unfortunately has not been fully appreciated and hence in all the translations⁵⁰ of this inscription that are available an explanation of its context is missing. There can be no doubt about the context of the epithet *Samyak Sambuddha* mentioned in this epigraph for it distinctly refers to Śākyamuni as the last Tathāgata of this *kalpa*, thus suggesting the prevalence of the cult of the seven Tathāgata Buddhas. An inscription in Cave-10 at Ajanta corroborates this viewpoint. Here below the figure of a standing Buddha is a painted inscription referring to him as “*Vipassi – Samyak Sambuddha*.”⁵¹ We can then surmise that some Buddha figures either painted or sculpted were those of the Samyak Sambuddhas.

The Kanheri copper-plate is dated in the year 245 of the augmenting rule of the Traikūtakas. This date is now accepted to denote the Ābhīra era which commenced in 248-49 A. D.⁵² The copper-plate can thus be dated to c. 493-4 A. D. The epigraphical evidence thus corroborates the archaeological evidence.

Though Maitreya appears in accompaniment with the seven Tathāgatas in Western Indian caves, yet at what point of time he, as the future Buddha, was introduced in the pantheon it is difficult to ascertain. Theologically, Maitreya as the future Buddha is already mentioned in the *Calakavatti sutta* (*Calakavarti sūtra*) of the *Pathikavagga* of the *Dīghanikāya*⁵³ and even Fa Hsien⁵⁴ refers to him as the future Buddha. Maitreya's individual sculptures of the early period, first-second cent. A. D., are available in plenty and it is necessary to re-examine whether in all such instances he represents Bodhisat or the future Buddha or whether he represents the Mahāyāna concept of Bodhisattva Maitreya.

We have in an earlier article⁵⁵ observed that the cult of Maitreya originated and developed in the Gandhāra region where he was given an independent status. Maitreya's role as a messiah, indeed as the future Buddha, really assured the growth of his worship and it is likely that the

idea penetrated into China through Central Asia as early as the fifth century A. D.

However, this argument presupposes the existence of the cult of the seven Tathāgata Buddhas even in the Gandhāra region. Indeed quite a few sculptures could be cited in support of this theory. The best example of this theme is a sculpture in the Lahore Museum.⁵⁶ Here, below a large Buddha figure are seated figures of the Tathāgata Buddhas preceded by Maitreya, and even though two figures are now missing it is not difficult to realise that originally there were seven figures. Ingholt has rightly identified this stele and a few others⁵⁷ as representations of the theme of Tathāgata Buddhas. In the Lahore Museum there is yet another stele⁵⁸ where the Tathāgatas are shown standing in the lower register. In the Heras Museum too is a stele⁵⁹ showing the Tathāgatas, but in the upper register.

However, a unique stele is in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leyden.⁶⁰ It is a vertical representation of the same theme showing six seated Tathāgatas in panels one above the other and the top panel showing Subjugation of Nālāgiri. There can be no doubt that this is an illustration of the same theme.

In Western India even though the group appears at the end of the fifth century it seems to gain prominence around the eighth century with a *prima-facie* powerful centre at Ellora.

Answer to our third query, viz. the place of these metal images (Pls. II-VI) in the sculptural history, therefore, postulates an inevitable comparison of these bronzes with the local idiom. Both Bhagvanlal and Barrett who wrote about these earlier have expressed the difficulty of such a comparison, as the images of the seven Tathāgatas are devoid of any signs or ornamentations that might be of help in this direction. Barrett has considered their affinity to the Pāla idiom of the eighth century.⁶¹ We concede the fact that *per se* the seven images do not contribute to our understanding of the style excepting indicating their closeness to the Ellora sculptures by the nature of *saṅghāṭī* they wear. The point of comparison is the loose end of the *saṅghāṭī* that is drawn forward over the left shoulder. In all the seven cases the *saṅghāṭī* is worn in the open mode leaving the right shoulder bare. So too in six images the *saṅghāṭī* is plain and only in the case of Krakuchchanda (Pl. IV. 8) the folds are indicated by incised lines. All the seven Buddhas sit on plain pedestal with an oval horse-shoe shaped plain *prabhā* at the back. Its only in the treatment of the *Bodhi* Tree of each of them that an attempt at differentiation is made. This fact has been well examined by Bhagvanlal in his paper.

We are thus left only with the image of Maitreya to seek stylistic comparison and it does provide the much needed clue. Maitreya as we see (Pl. VI, B) is seated in *ardhaparyāṅkāsana* with his pendent right leg resting on a lotus. His right hand is in *varada* while he holds a branch of *nāgapuṣpa* flowers in his left hand. In this group only Maitreya and Viśvabhu (Pl. IV, A) are slightly larger than others and only they have a halo behind their heads. Maitreya is provided with a cushion, unlike others. In keeping with his iconography he wears a crown and various ornaments such as anklets, bracelets, necklace and even an *udarabandha* and *yaññopavīta*. Locks of hair roll on his shoulders.

We refer here to two bronze images for comparison. The first is a *Yakṣa-dampati* from the hoard of Jain bronzes from Rajnapuri-Khinkhini⁶² now in the Nagpur Museum (Pl. VIII, B) and the other, an image of Viṣṇu⁶³ in the Prince of Wales Museum. On a closer examination of the busts of the Maitreya, Yakṣa and Viṣṇu (Pl. IX) and a comparison of their features and ornaments particularly the prominent necklace and even the *udarabandha* it becomes very clear that they all belong to the same stylistic group, that of the Deccan.

Balchandra Jain who published the Rajnapur hoard did not discuss its style and Barrett who published the Viṣṇu image argued in favour of its Deccan origin. Barrett compared the Lakṣmi of the Viṣṇu group with the female figures in the Rajnapur hoard. But besides this, both bronzes share the form of the meandering *prabhā* with its somewhat trefoil arch and the *kuḍus* or *cāitya* window motifs on the side columns.

Nevertheless, there is a pertinent comparison that needs to be specially mentioned. The Yakṣī figure in the Rajnapur group with its buxom treatment strikes a very close similarity with the female sculptures from Hemavati.⁶⁴ The comparison is so complete that even the coiffure of both female types is not just similar but identical.

To the group of bronzes we have discussed above, we can add the *Chovisi* of Rīṣabhanātha discovered at Chahardi, Chopda in East Khandesh and now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum.⁶⁵ Barrett has already argued in favour of their Deccani origin with which we agree. We consider this group as securely belonging to the period of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, when Buddhist caves were re-emerging at Ellora and the Jains had begun to establish themselves. Indeed the art of this period does show traces of Chā'ukyan influences but that was inevitable.

The Sopara bronzes can thus be considered as products of this phase. It is difficult to accept Barrett's suggestion of Pāla borrowing for yet another

reason. Even though Kanheri has yielded terracotta votive tablets inscribed at *Nālandā Mahāvihāra*⁰⁶ there is hardly any direct stylistic influences of the Pāla idiom on the style of sculptures even at Kanheri. Moreover, Sopara seems to have been theologically away from the Vajrayāna idiom of the Pāla province to assimilate any influence.

A rightful question is whether there was any bronze casting activity during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period to justify such a designation. For this we may have to turn to the accounts of Somadeva Sūri in the *Yaśastilaka*⁰⁷ where he grudges that the ministers of the King melted down the metal images to obtain the gold used in these.

Finally, we are left to consider the reasons that led to rededication of the *stūpa*.

It is clear that the metal images certainly belong to about the ninth cent. A. D. and in all probability they were got made at the time of the rededication and for that specific purpose. While the practice of rededication may have existed, there is not much evidence to indicate the prevalence of a practice to enshrine metal images. Sopara is the only *stūpa* which has yielded metal images enshrined at a later date - almost after several centuries. Indeed, the idea must have emerged in view of the need to carry out repairs as well.

To what extent did the religious activity in this area contribute towards this? Kanheri, the nearest Buddhist centre was flourishing with a satellite centre at Kondivate. The island of Gharapuri had become a major centre for Śaivite activity with centres at Jogeshwari and Mandapeshwar. There is reason to believe that the increasing activity at the Śaiva centres must have caused anxiety to the Buddhist fraternity whose survival ironically depended on munificent donations.

But apart from this, there seems to be yet another reason and that is the doctrinal difference amongst the Buddhists themselves. The beginning of the Buddhist activity, as observed earlier, is attributable to the Theravādins who were a dominating force. While they may have continued to hold sway at Sopara, the picture at Kanheri completely changes with the introduction and gradual predominance of the Bodhisattva cult. This Mahāyānist activity gradually replaced the earlier doctrinal influence of the Theravādins who must have then remained centred at Sopara. The growing pressure of the Bodhisattva cult on one side and that of the Pāsupatas on the other, must have caused severe apprehension among the group that was still adhering to the earlier doctrine. The emergence of a new iconographic group of

the seven Tathāgata Buddhas accompanied by Maitreya is probably the last bid of this school for effective survival. That they failed to make a dent at Kanheri is visible from the pathetic representation of this theme in Cave-2 at Kanheri. But then it is also enigmatic as to how the cult was given so much prominence at Ellora where there is evidence not only of Mahāyāna but even Vajrayāna activity. The image of Mahāmāyuri, a *Pancharakshā* deity in Cave-8 can be quoted as an instance. This situation requires to be examined afresh.

In the isolated sculpture of Dīpaṅkara in the veranda of Cave-67 at Kanheri⁶⁸ too is seen an attempt to propagate the doctrine of the earlier school, for according to the *Buddhavaṃsa* Dīpaṅkara led the list of twenty-four previous Buddhas, including the group of six, who preceded Gautama.

While it is this reason that precludes any influences from the eastern region, it is this reason alone that links the Sopara metal images with the resurgence of the doctrine as seen at Ellora and the entire conspectus of sculptural art under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Being located at a flourishing port, there evidently was no derth of patronage when the work was undertaken. We have no conclusive evidence today to determine when Sopara ceased to be an active port but it may be conjectured that this must have happened soon after the repairs and rededication, around the tenth-eleventh century. Sopara was an unknown port when the Portugese landed here and the *stūpa* had receded into background till Bhagvanlal Indrajī rediscovered it in 1882.

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2. *Ibid.* p. 259. It is learnt that in 1939-40 the A. S. I. conducted excavations at this area. However, no report of this excavation is available. The nineteenth century romanticism has led to the destruction of stratigraphic evidence at many sites. Perhaps, it may have been better if Bhagvanlal Indrajī had completed his investigations. The *stūpa* atop the eastern hill at Gharapuri is another sad tale. Both these monuments deserve to be preserved after careful excavation.
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See also, Braz. A. Fernandes, "Sopārā : the Ancient Port of the Konkna", *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1928, pp. 66-77.

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6. B. Indrajī, *op. cit.*, p. 288 ff. Unfortunately, today the area is not identifiable.
7. *Ibid* : pp. 289-291.
8. B. Indrajī, *ibid* : p. 282. S. N. Chakravarti, "Ninth Rock Edict of the Maurya King Aśoka at Sopara, Bombay State", *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4, pp. 107-108 pl. LL.
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11. N. K. Bhagwat (ed.), महावंसो or the Great Chronicle (of Ceylon) Bombay, 1936, 12th Parichheda.
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खत्तियानं कुला येव निखलमित्तान पञ्चुजं ॥ ३६ ॥
13. H. Lüders, "A List of Brāhmi Inscriptions", *E. I.* Vol. X, Appendix, Calcutta, 1912, S. No. 987.
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21. D. C. Sircar, *Mahāmāyūri, List of Yakshas*, Calcutta, 1971-72, *Śloka* 74-79.
22. *Ibid. Śloka* 75 : तरंगवत्याम् सुखावहः
23. F. Kielborn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II; Saka-sarvat 556", *E. I.* Vol. VI, 1900-01, pp. 31-32.

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25. J. Burgess, *The Rock-Temples of Elephanta or Gharaपुरी*, Bombay, 1871, p. 1, p. 54 Note 2.
26. Asis Sen, *Animal Motifs in Ancient Indian Art*, Calcutta, 1972, p. 19; *Jātak* No. 455.
27. Irving Babbitt, *The Dharmapada*, New York, 1965 (paper back), Ch. XXIII, p. 49.
28. Right side wall Cave 90.
29. In the right side niche, outer verandah, cave 41. See : Pratapaditya Pal, 'Cosmic vision and Buddhist Images', *Art International*, Vol. XXV, Nos. 1-2, 1982, Fig. 9, 10.
30. B. Indraji, *op. cit.* p. 316.
31. *Ibid*, p. 297. In fact Bhagvanlal Indraji has meticulously and in great detail explained all the finds which include couple of hundred gold flowers, beads, spouse gold plaque, a coin of Yajna Sri Sātakarṇi, five caskets of copper, silver, stone, crystal and gold and the metal images. Since his description is quite exhaustive it is not necessary to repeat it here.
32. The seven Buddhas have often been referred to as 'Mānushi Buddhas', e. g. H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 64. The nomenclature is misleading and does not appear in any Buddhist text. The six Buddhas who precede Gautama or Sākyaṃuni have been referred to as *Saṃnyak Sambuddhas* in the *Dighanikāya*, which is the earliest text mentioning all six. They are also referred to as Tathāgatas, or just Saptabuddhas as in the *Cullavagga* where the Buddha is said to have instructed the Bhikkhus to utter the words, 'Whilist I revere the Blessed one, The Buddhas seven supreme' (*S. B. E.* Vol. XX, *Kullavagga* V, 6, 1) and also in the *Sapta Buddha Stotra* (see : H. H. Wilson, *Essays and Lectures of the Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. II, London 1862). The term, Mānushi Buddha seems to have been coined by 19th century authors to indicate the incarnation of the six Buddhas before Gautama-Sākyaṃuni, the last Tathāgata of the present *kalpa*.
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MEMORIAL STONES FROM SOPARĀ

A. P. JAMKHEDKAR

Memorial stones invariably form part of an assemblage of sculptures which one usually comes across in a village. It was no wonder therefore to notice such antiquities at Sopara which has a very long cultural history. These sculptures, though not of very high antiquity, are worthy of note because of certain motifs which are religious in character and are not met with in such memorial stones. The present paper attempts to bring forth the significance of these memorial stones in particular.

I

On the banks of the *cakratīrtha* at Sopara is a temple complex apparently of recent origin. The group includes, besides the main temple, a temple dedicated to Śrī Rāma, Hanumant, and cenotaph of a saint enshrining the image of Dattātraya. The temple of Śrī Rāma has been built by the saint who flourished some decades ago. The temple of the main deity also does not seem to be very old, as the architecture of all these shrines would show. These are all built in brick and mud mortar, and are topped by sloping tiled roofs of the colonial tradition. But, as the memorial stones as also other image-sculptures housed here would show, the place has an antiquity and had an ancient Śiva shrine which was restructured in the British period. Among the medieval sculptures, Surasundarī and images of Brahmā and Harihara, and about seven memorial stones are noteworthy.

Of the seven memorial stones two have been fixed in plinth of the Hanumant temple and one placed along side of Hanumant in the cella. The latter stone is in worship and is offered worship with oil. It is now half buried and only one panel is somewhat visible. This depicts a figure riding a bull (Pl. XIII, A). This memorial was in the form of a pillar, with four sides topped with a flat dome. Similar memorials, though comparatively in small number, have been reported at many places to note only some such as Balasane (District: Dhulia), Markandi (District: Chanda) from Maharashtra.

The remaining four are of more popular variety and are in the form of oblong slabs intended to be carved only on one face, and stand in the open. Those fixed in the plinth are half-buried and can be made out as memorial stones from the decorated *kalāśa* carved on the semicircular top

of the slab, as also the topmost panel with the usual theme of worship being offered to a Śiva-*liṅga*.

Two of those standing in the open show *kalāṣa*, covered with lid and tied with a ribbon in the middle (Pl. XIII, B). At each side the ribbon of cloth reveals a knot and fluttering ends in one such depiction. The middle compartment shows in separate panels a figure each worshipping a Śiva-*liṅga*. The lowermost compartment shows a supine figure with legs and hands stretched straight. The figure obviously represents the dead person for whom this memorial was carved. Curiously enough the remaining half of the stone reveals no attempt to carve anything, though it has been made plain deliberately to receive such carving.

The other of the two is similar to the one described above in that it shows the figure of the dead as also the upper panel revealing *liṅga* worship (Pl. XIII, C) but is executed in larger proportions and better relief. More conspicuous however is the topmost panel where in a pilastered frame can be seen the figure of a *yogin*. He is seated in *padmāsana*; left hand placed on the thigh and right raised to grant protection. A small detail in the depiction of the Śiva-*liṅga* is also noteworthy. Above the *liṅga* can be seen a trident-like object which cannot be explained satisfactorily.

The other two memorial slabs are near the Brahmā image and have Buddhist motifs. One of them is mutilated at both ends and has only one panel which survives in a very indifferent state of preservation. This however does not prevent one from identifying a figure seated in front of a *stūpa* adorned with a *chakra*. Though no *kalāṣa* or other mark can be made out, because of mutilation, the oblong flat slab was meant to be a memorial stone as suggested by the shape of it.

The Buddhist nature of the other slab is much more conspicuous (Pl. XIV, A). On the circular top portion one sees a *stūpa* with all its architectural components articulately carved, a *stūpa* with a proper square base and *Chattratichattra* (here consisting of two parallels) on top, with a band in the middle. Usually in larger representations a rail pattern is shown in the middle of the *stūpa*.

The main panel consists of two female figures seated side by side (Pl. XIV, B). The one on the right is seated in *ardhapadmāsana* with hands folded near the breast in *añjali-mudrā*. This figure though facing outwards is intended to be a worshipper of the figure in *lalitāsana*, the divine nature of which is made clear with an aureole and the crown which decorate it. The divine figure holds in its right hand a lotus, as the outline would



A. Memorial Stone depicting a figure riding a bull, Sopara.



B. Memorial Stone depicting *linga* worship Sopara.



C. Memorial Stone depicting a *Yojin* and *linga* worship Sopara



A. Memorial Stone depicting Buddhist themes, Sopara.



B. Detail of above.

show, and has the left hand in the boon-granting posture. From the iconographic characteristics the panel intends to depict Tārā and an *upāsikā*. Below this panel is a frieze with a *stūpa*, incense-burners and a receptacle placed on a stand.

II

These memorial stones are different from such other stones which more correctly can be described as hero-stones (Marathi: *Bhaḍakhamb*, *Vīragal*). The latter are raised in memory of warriors or valorous persons who lay their lives for some honourable cause. At Sopara, only four of the seven memorial stones are complete and available for full scrutiny. Out of these the two Śaiva stones depict the dead body. The death does not seem to be accidental, but natural; whereas the stones with Buddhist symbols do not show the dead at all.

Another noteworthy feature is the depiction of the *siddha* at the top, in one of the Śaiva panels. Did this mean attainment of *siddha*-hood after the death, for the follower of the particular Śaiva sect? Such an hypothesis becomes more amenable for consideration in view of the evidence of the spread of Nāthapantha in Maharashtra, especially Konkan. The recent researches of Shri M. N. Deshpande at Panhale (Kaji in Dapoli Taluka) indeed encourage it.

Similarly, significant is the occurrence of memorial stones with Buddhist signs, which according to us are the first of its kind to be noticed in Maharashtra. In the area around Bombay Buddhism lingered on for quite some time. For its continued history from the times of Aśoka this area offers sustained evidence in the form of the Aśokan Rock Edicts, the *stūpa* at Sopara, the Hīnayāna caves all over Konkan, the Mahāyāna occupation of these and the spread of Vajrayāna right through the early medieval period to the 13th century A. D. Ample evidence of this has again come from Panhale (Kaji). The image of four-armed seated Avalokiteśvara and the discovery of a late votive *stūpa* (of c. 13th cent) at Mahim in Bombay strengthen the case of the Sopara memorial stones.

DR. BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI'S PIONEERING EFFORTS IN THE
DECIPHERMENT OF EPIGRAPHS OF NEPAL AND THE RECENT
FIND OF THREE NEW LICCHAVI INSCRIPTIONS

N. R. BANERJEE

I Pioneering Efforts in the Decipherment of Epigraphs in Nepal :

A *Introduction* :

It was the late Bhagavanlal Indraji who was among the first scholars to study the inscriptions of Nepal. A pioneering paper entitled "Inscriptions From Nepal" was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, 1880, pp. 163-94°. These were subsequently reprinted in 1885 in the form of a booklet together with a note on the chronology of Nepal. The following is a summary of the information provided by it. The details follow the serial order of the inscriptions published by the great Indologist.

B *Inscriptions of the Licchavi Period* :

No. 1 : Caṅgu Nārāyaṇa stone inscription of Mānadeva of the year 386 (A.D. 464). The text in Sanskrit is given in the Devanāgarī script together with an eye copy with an English translation (pp. 1-4).

No. 2 : Paśupati temple stone slab inscription of one Jayavarman of the year 413 (i. e. A. D. 491), during the reign of Mānadeva. The text in Sanskrit has been provided in the Devanāgarī script with an eye copy as well as an estampage, together with an English translation.

No. 3 : Kathmandu Lugal Devi stone slab inscription of the year 435 (A.D. 513). The text is in Sanskrit and the script Licchavi or Gupta. The inscription has been reproduced in Devanāgarī with an eye copy and an English translation and an illustration of the inscribed slab.

No. 4 : Kathmandu Lagantol stone slab inscription of the year 535 (i. e. A. D. 613). The Sanskrit inscription engraved in the Licchavi (Gupta) script has worn out in many parts. Though the name of the king is lost, the name of the *dūtaka* (messenger) is found as Vasantasena. The text has been provided in the Devanāgarī script. A full translation being impossible a summary has been given in English.

* "Inscriptions from Nepal" by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, along with Dr. G. Bühler, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, 1880.

No. 5: Buddha Nijakāṭha (on the outskirts of Kathmandu, near Balaju) stone slab inscription in Sanskrit of unknown date, the date part being lost. The text is presented in the Devanāgarī script together with an estampage as well as an eye copy and an English translation.

No. 6: Bungmati stone slab inscription in Sanskrit of the Śrīharṣa Saṁvat 34, of Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarma, in the Licchavi (Gupta) script. The text has been reproduced in the Devanāgarī script along with an estampage and a translation in English.

No. 7: Devapatan Gaṇeśa temple stone slab inscription in Sanskrit of Amśuvarma, of the Śrīharṣa Saṁvat 39 in the Licchavi (Gupta) script. The text is presented in the Devanāgarī script together with the usual estampage and eye copy and a translation in English.

No. 8: Kathmandu Satdhara stone slab inscription in Sanskrit of the Śrīharṣa Saṁvat 45, during the reign of Amśuvarma in the Licchavi (Gupta) script. As usual the text has been reproduced in Devanāgarī along with an eye copy and translation in English.

No. 9: Patan Mummura stone slab inscription in Sanskrit of the Śrīharṣa Saṁvat 48 of Jiṣṇugupta. The text is presented in Devanāgarī together with an estampage and an English translation.

No. 10: Kathmandu Bhairava Dhokā stone slab (undated) inscription in Sanskrit of Jiṣṇugupta in the Licchavi (Gupta) script. The text is presented in the Devanāgarī script together with an eye copy and abstract in English.

No. 11: Devapatan (Kathmandu) Paśupati temple stone slab (undated) inscription in Sanskrit relating to the Chatra Caṇḍeśvara during the reign of Jiṣṇugupta in the Licchavi (Gupta) script. The text is presented in the Devanāgarī script together with an estampage and a translation in English.

No. 12: Kathmandu Lagantol Viṣṇu temple stone slab inscription in Sanskrit of the Śrīharṣa Saṁvat year 119, of Śivadeva in the late Licchavi (Gupta) script. The text in the Devanāgarī script together with an eye copy and estampage of the inscription was published.

No. 13: Devapatan Paśupati temple stone slab inscription in Sanskrit of the year Śrīharṣa Saṁvat 143 of Śivadeva. The text in Devanāgarī together with an estampage has been presented, but the translation has not been given.

No. 14: Patan Minanātha temple Dhurge-Dhara (channelised fountain within a sunken enclosure of stone serving as a watering place for the public) stone slab inscription of the Śrīharṣa Saṁvat 145 in Sanskrit and in the Licchavi (Gupta script). The name of the king is lost but that of the *dūtaka* (messenger or representative) is mentioned as Prince Vijayadeva. The text alone in Devanāgarī together with an estampage was published.

No. 15: Devapatan (Kathmandu) Paśupati temple black slate stone slab inscription of Śrīharṣa Saṁvat 153 in Sanskrit of King Jayadeva in the Licchavi (Gupta) script. The text in Devanāgarī together with an eye copy of the inscription and an English translation was published.

C Inscriptions of the Malla Period :

No. 16: Devapatan (Kathmandu) Paśupati temple stone slab bilingual inscription of Jyotirmalla of Nepal Saṁvat 533 (i. e. A. D. 1412) in incorrect Sanskrit and Newari in the Newari script which is akin to the Devanāgarī with some differences. The Sanskrit portion has been presented in the Devanāgarī script, but the Newari portion was not copied. Neither an eyecopy nor an estampage has been published, but an abstract of the main features of the contents has been presented.

No. 17: Patan Kṛṣṇa temple stone slab inscription in Sanskrit and Newari of Siddhiṅsimha Malla of the Nepal year 757 (A. D. 1637), in the Newari script. The text in the Devanāgarī script, but without any estampage, has been presented with an abstract in English.

No. 18: Kathmandu Chyasing Deval stone slab inscription in Sanskrit and Newari of Pratapa Malla of the year 769 (i. e. A. D. 1648) in the Newari script. The text of the Sanskrit portion has been presented in the Devanāgarī script, the Newari portion not being copied, together with an abstract in English.

No. 19: Devapatan (Kathmandu) Paśupati temple courtyard stone slab inscription of the year 778 (i. e. A. D. 1657) in the Sanskrit language and Newari script. The text in Devanāgarī together with an abstract in English has been published.

No. 20: Kathmandu Hanumān Dhoka Palace stone slab inscription of king Bhupāendra Malla of the year 810 (i. e. A. D. 1690) in Sanskrit in the Newari script. The text in the Devanāgarī script together with an abstract has been published.

No. 21: Bungmati Avalokiteśvara temple lintel inscription in repousse on brass of King Śrīnivāsa Malla dated Nepal Saṁvat 792 in the

Sanskrit language and in Newari script. The text in Devanāgarī together with a translation in English was published, but an estampage was not reproduced.

No. 22 : Patan Kṛṣṇa temple stone slab inscription in Sanskrit of the year 843 (i. e. A. D. 1723), of Princess Yogamatī, in the Newari script. The text in Devanāgarī with an abstract was published.

D Inscription of the Shah Period :

No. 23 : Kathmandu Tripureśvara stone pillar inscription in the Tripureśvara temple, of the year 1878 (Vikrama Saṁvat), i. e. A. D. 1821, in Sanskrit but in the Newari script. The text in Devanāgarī and an abstract were published.

E Resume :

The twenty-three inscriptions published by Bhagvanlal Indrajī in 1880 represent the earliest inscripational publication on Nepal. They include 15 (nos. 1-15) inscriptions of the Licchavi period, 7 inscriptions of the Malla period and only one of the Shah period during the regime of the Rāṇās.

The treatment in the case of the Licchavi inscriptions consists of publication of the text in Devanāgarī with either the photograph of an estampage or the line block of an eye copy on Litho paper as the case may be. The text is followed either by a translation in full or in an abstract form.

The Malla inscriptions of which some are in both Newari and Sanskrit and some only in Sanskrit have been published in the Devanāgarī script followed by an abstract in English except in the case of the small inscription (no. 21) of which a translation has been provided. There are no estampages on eye copies of these inscriptions.

The only Shah period inscription has been published in Devanāgarī without either an estampage or an eye copy, but is followed by an abstract in English.

II. Three Licchavi Inscriptions Discovered in Recent years :

A Introduction :

The discovery in 1967 of two Licchavi inscriptions in the neighbourhood of Buddha Nilakanṭha by a group of officers of the Department of Archaeology in the course of their participation in the 'Back to Village'

campaign (*Gaon Farka Abhiyan*) early in the year was announced in the 'Notes and News' section of the Department's Bulletin, *Ancient Nepal*, No. 2, with an assurance that the inscriptions would be fully published in a later issue of the journal. But some eminent and enthusiastic scholars of Nepal having come to know of the important and interesting discovery¹ at the Rashtriya Abhilekhalaya (a branch of the Department of Archaeology), at Kathmandu went to the spot on their own with the help of a local guide and found the inscriptions and discovered yet another, though much smaller in length, by resorting to excavation around the base of the stone pillar at the premises. They have also published the inscriptions² and have thus earned the gratitude of all scholars of Nepalese epigraphy and history. In view of the fact that full translations of the inscriptions were not published and with a view to bringing the inscriptions to the notice of non-Nepalese scholars, they are being published here again with a fuller translation in English. We gratefully accept the reading already provided as we had also similarly deciphered the inscriptions and had made our own estampages of them, except of course of the inscription on the pillar (possibly a *dhvaja-stambha*) as referred to above.

The three disparate inscriptions engraved on stone are situated in the midst of a field at the foot of the hills called Viṣṇupādukā Daṇḍa, about half a mile to the north of Buddha Nilakaṇṭha and the river Viṣṇumatī just leaves the slopes of the hills and enters the valley at this point, flowing by the side of the field through a ruggedly rocky though not very deep gorge. The environments are picturesque and speak volumes for the choice of the donors as to the location of the temple which these inscriptions imply. The spot can be approached by a motorable road upto the watchman's hut beyond the bridge across the river. One has to walk from this point over rocky boulders and through patches of cultivated fields till one reaches the spot marked by a large banyan tree that serves as a land-mark from a distance.

All the three inscriptions in Sanskrit are engraved in the Pūrva-Licchavi script, and are in different states of preservation.

Some time later, however, Shri B. K. Rijal, Research Officer in the Department, discovered a seven-lined inscription on the pedestal of an Umā-Maheśvara panel of sandstone near the Sankhamulghat at Lalitpur. These four inscriptions are dealt with below :

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1. *Purnima*, Vol. 25 years 4, No. 3, Kathmandu, pp. 329 ff.
 2. *Purnima*, *op. cit.*

B The Inscription on the Pedestal of a Śiva-linga near Buddha Nīlakanṭha :**(i) General :**

This inscription is engraved on the face of the square pedestal of a Śiva-linga. Both pedestal and the *linga* are of yellowish sandstone.

The top of the pedestal is flush with the ground, only the *linga* being exposed. The inscriptions occurring on the southern side were partially exposed, when first noticed, and following the clue, the base was excavated to bring the entire inscription fully to light.

The *linga* is typical of the period, being octagonal at the base and cylindrical in the major part and curvilinear towards the top. Remnants of brick around the pedestal and a thin scatter of potsherds the pedestal indicate some kind of shrine of which there is no trace now, and, probably some ancient habitation. It lies now at the foot of a banyan tree. It may be advisable to have the *linga* shifted from its present position to a safer situation away from the the devastating effect of the roots of the tree.

The inscription in five lines is in verse. There are three stanzas, with an extra length in prose to provide the date. It is fairly well preserved but for the damage in the beginning to the first and second stanzas. The language is chaste Sanskrit and the script is Pūrva-Licchavi (early Gupta).

Though of the date, only the last two numerals, namely 96, can be read in the last line, inferably it may be attributed to the reign of Mānadeva, and the date can be conjectured as 396 Śaka Era, (working out to A. D. 474), as the previous writers have correctly done.

(ii) Text of the Inscription :

- १ इत्त्वकृतेनेह यस्मात्
त्वत्तस्तस्माज्जगद्विद्वत्तज्जायते लीयते च
भक्ति प्राणैरमलमतिभिस्त्वस्मृनीन्द्रैरनिन्द्यैः
देवैस्सेन्द्रैरपि च भगवन्स्यसे वन्द्यसे च १
- २ कुमतिप्रस्तघोरान्धकारे
नानाकारे प्रचुरनरकप्रेततिथ्यिक्प्रतिष्ठे
ये सेवन्ते न खलु भगवंस्त्वां जना भक्तियुक्ताः
ते सेवन्ते जननमरणव्याधिदुःखान्यभीक्षणम् २
- ३ (श्रीमानदेव) नृपतिः प्रणतो जगद
त्वत्स्थापनाजनितमस्ति यदन्न पुण्यम्
तत्सर्वलोकसहितस्य विबुद्धमूलम्
दुःखक्षयाय भगवन्मम सर्वथास्तु ३

४ (संवत् ३) ९६ प्रथमाषाढे शुक्लदिव १२

(iii) *Translation* :

1st Stanza : Since they are created in this World by you. Consequently all the creatures are ceaselessly coming into and out of life. You, Oh Lord, are prayed to and worshipped by all the faultless and deeply devoted sages of impeccable virtue along with the gods including Indra himself.

2nd Stanza : but those abundant folks who are in the deep darkness of evil mind and assume diverse forms of the *pretas* (unrelieved souls), of hell and animals, and do not indeed serve you with devotion, they ceaselessly undergo the sorrows of birth, death and disease.

3rd Stanza : The prostrate King (Śrī Mānadeva) prays "If there be any piety arising out of installing your image let it be an expansive root of annihilation of my sufferings along with those of all men in all manner of ways".

4th Stanzas : (*Sarvat* 3) 96, in the 12th day of the first Āṣāḍha in the bright fortnight.

(iv) *Conclusion* :

The inscription can indeed be attributed to Śrī Mānadeva on the grounds of palaeography, and the circumstantial evidence of the last two numerals as being more commensurate with 3 as the initial figure than with 4 or 5. It is interesting to note that Mānadeva has been variously indicated in his inscriptions. Some times he has been called simply 'Bhartā' (lord or protector) as in the Lajimpat Tukucha inscription of the queen Guṇavatlī³ dated in the year 416. He is described simply as 'Rājā' in the Tilganga inscription on the pedestal of Viṣṇuvikrānta mūrti, dated 389, as also in the Ratneśvara inscription of Mānadeva of the year 399, or the Tebahal inscription dated 402. He is however called *Parama bhartāraka Mahārāja Śrī Mānadeva* in the Palanchok Bhagavati inscription of the year 425. He is called 'Nṛpati' in the second stanza of the Paśupati Sūrya Ghat Inscription of his daughter Vijayavatlī of the year 427, in keeping with the tradition noticed in the Paśupati inscription of Jayavarman in the year 413. In the earliest inscription of his reign, namely the inscription at Caṅgunārāyaṇa dated in 386, he is called only *nṛpa*. In the inscription under consideration the king is called *Nṛpati* in keeping with the tradition in the earlier inscriptions. It

3. *Itihāsa Samsodhāṅko - Pramāṇa-Prameya*, p. 205.

is also significant that the sense of the first two stanzas of the inscription is conveyed in the first stanza of Vijayavati's inscription mentioned above. This is another evidence in support of the proposed attribution of the inscription of Mānadeva.

The inscription reflects the deep sense of devotion to Śiva that prevailed during the period, as is testified by several other inscriptions recording the installation of Śiva-*lingas*, though, as is well known, the Licchavi rulers as well as their subjects were equally tolerant of other cults that flourished in consequence.

It is well known that Mānadeva's inscriptions provide us with a date range which is confirmed by the consideration that the year had an extra month of Āṣāḍha, which was the occasion for the phrase "Prathamā-ṣāḍham".

C. The Inscription on the pedestal of the Stone Pillar :

(i) *General* :

The Stone pillar is planted into the earth, a few yards to the south-east of the Śiva-*linga* described above. The pillar is surmounted by a lotus-shaped but flattened capital.

The stone is coarse grained sandstone and greyish in colour. The inscription in prose was brought to light by exposing the base by excavation by several scholars associated with the Itihasa Samsodhan Mandal. The script is Pūrva-Licchavi (early Gupta) and the language Sanskrit. By association it may be attributed to the period of Mānadeva, as already suggested by the authors of the paper in *Pūrṇimā*.⁴

(ii) *The Text of the Inscription* :

1. देव्याः कस्तव्यबुद्ध्या श्रीपादैः प्रजः
शैलस्तम्भक्रियारम्भे केदुम्बारो नियोजितः

(iii) *Translation* :

Kedumbāto, elder brother of was employed, for the sculpturing and erection of the stone pillar by the orders of the (King) favoured by the feet of Lakṣmī, in keeping with the dutiful wish of the queen.

4. *Purnima*, No. 22 (year 4, vol. 3), p. 331.

(iv) *Conclusions* :

The pillar is mentioned as *śailastambha*, i. e. stone pillar. It is not clear if it was to serve any purpose, but in the context of the *Śiva-līnga* on the premises, it would be reasonable to infer that it should have served as the *dhvaja-stambha* (flag staff) before the temple that may have existed. Though any temple has not been specifically mentioned in the *Śiva-līnga* inscription, the association of the pillar points to its existence.

The name Kedumāto, however, does lend itself to a Sanskritic derivation and should be construed as a nickname, or a name in a local dialect.

D. The Inscription on a Stone Slab

(i) *General* :

The third inscription is engraved on a stone slab of greyish sandstone of a very coarse-grained texture. The stone slab is firmly planted into the side of a cultivated patch of ground. The inscription in 19 lines is badly worn out, owing to the nature of the stone itself. The first line is entirely damaged. The second, third are partially damaged, and small parts of the fifth and of all the lines from the seventh to the fifteenth are fragmentarily damaged. The inscription is in Pūrva-Licchavi script (early Gupta) and in the Sanskrit language.

(ii) *The Text of the Inscription* :

- १
 २ लाकुलाङ्ग
 ३ म्मीजनितकर
 ४ र्त्वा — ब्जाविलसैरलसमृदुगतिर्वास्तुदेवः स पातु (१)
 ५ वि धात्मरूपम्भवभयशमनङ्कोटिसंसर्गमाद्यम्
 ६ (स) र्वाकारं दृढन्तम्पुनरणुमनर्ध स र्ध्वकल्पव्यतीतम्
 ७ क्षीणं दमितरलसो वेधसः संश्रयी (यः)
 ८ रामतेजाः स जयति सततं विश्वाधामा स्मरारिः (२)
 ९ (स्वस्तिमा) नगृहाद् बप्पपादानुध्यातस्सततमुपलीयमान
 १० किरणामलयशः प्रवानो लिच्छवि कुलकेतु
 ११ (भट्टारकमहा) राजश्रीशिवदेवः कुशलीर्भर्तुरीन्द्रज्ञे
 १२ (प्रधानपुरा) सरान्ग्रामकुटुम्बिनः कुशलमाश्राप्य समा
 १३ (ज्ञापयति वि) दितमस्तु वो यदेतत्पूर्वैराजैरस्य व्रज्जा
 १४ स्थापकर्मपरितुष्टेन मलकरणीयङ्काषां
 १५ (पणा) दूध्वं न ग्रहीतव्यमिति प्रसादः कृत.....
 १६ प्रसादस्य इदीकरणार्थं सर्व्वदण्डनायकमहाप्रतीह्व

- १७ र भौमगुह्यविज्ञापितेन मया शिलापट्टकेन प्रसादः
 १८ कृत इति समाज्ञापना दूतकश्चात्र महाबलाद्ध्यक्ष
 १९ कुलप्रवीर इति ॥ संवत् ५१२ ज्येष्ठ शुक्ल दशम्याम्.

(iii) *Translation* :

- 1.
2. with an eager body.
- 3.
4. May Vāsudeva of slackened movement owing to his association with Lakṣmī protect (me).
- 5-7. He who takes refuge in their creator who represents knowledge itself, who controls the fear of all the world, who is the creator of multitudes of creature, and who is the very person (in the universe), (who is)
8.of great effulgence, he, the destroyer of the god of love, is the personification of the universe.
9. (Hail), from Mānagrha, blessed by the feet of his father, and who is ever prosperous.
10. of rays, of clean reputation, who is the glory of the Licchavikula.
- 11-12. The devout, hale and efficient Mahārāja Śrī Śivadeva having wished welfare to the chiefs and householders of the Thanturi-draṅga, announces.
- 13-15. " Let it be known that it has been conceded by the previous rulers – pleased with the – work that the tax on account of the Mallas should not be more than one *kārṣāpaṇa*.
- 16-19. For the strengthening of the order (concession) this announcement is being made according to the order of *Sarvadaṇḍa nāyaka Mahāpratihāra* Bhauma Gupta to say that the orders have been issued (by me) through the inscribed stone slab. The Dūtaka (messenger) here is Mahābalādhyakṣa (Commander-in-chief) Kulapravīra. Saṁvat 512, Jyeṣṭha, bright fortnight tenth day.

(iv) *Conclusion* :

It may be surmised that the original name of the large village where the inscription has been installed (conceding that the slab has not

been shifted) was Thanturidrāṅga. It is also established that the Mallakara, or the tax levied to withstand the threat from the Mallas was limited to a *kārṣāpaṇa*. The immediate officer concerned was Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka (Lord Chief Justice or Chief of Police) Mahāpratihāra (Chamberlain-in-chief) Bhauma Gupta.

The Dūtaka (messenger) was the Mahābalādhyakṣa (Commander-in-chief) Kulapavāra. Thus it becomes apparent that the Commander-in-chief (Mahābalādhyakṣa) was somewhat lower in the hierarchy of official echelons than the chief of Police and Chamberlain.

E. The Inscription on the Pedestal of the Sculptured Panel near Sankhamul, Lalitpur.

(i) General :

The inscription is in seven lines in Pūrva-Licchavi script and in Sanskrit. It is damaged in several parts making a complete reading difficult. It may be pointed out that the inscription is not on a detached pedestal.

(ii) The Text of the Inscription :

1. ॠ द क्षि यस्य
2. आसन्त मणितस्याश्च
[भाति]
3. स्थापितं [आस्व], त्मणा
कालक्रमेण — न्तन - भङ्ग पुण्यपर्व
जाता इत्यम्भृता ———
4. ——— पश्चात्परमधार्मिकेन बभ्रुवर्मा
नाग्न सामेव अति
संस्कारक्रियाचिन्तिना सद्सम्भाव्यैव-
ताङ्क्रिया सकलधर्मे
5. फल भुक्तये दिव(स्थि)तवं तदधुना
तद्भ्रातृपुत्रस्य नित्य धर्मेमाभिरतवि-
भवस्य परमभागवतस्य देशवर्मे नाम्नो
मात्रा पातिव्रत्येन [.....] पतिव्रतया
6. ... धर्मिः या देशभट्टारिकया
तस्यैव कालगतस्य बभ्रुवर्मेणः स्वर्ग-
-[का]न्याय मातापित्रोर्भेतुश्चात्मनश्च
पुण्याभिवृद्धये पुनरन्यथा

7. देव्यो मातरस्ताः शैल्यकारिता
इति संवत्तृषशतं ४६५

(iii) *Translation* :

- 1.
2. there were Maṇi,
his
3. installed by
himself- in course of time
..... broken
thus born on an
auspicious occasion -
4. Later, by the devout Babhruvarmā the work of repairs
was thought of that work, out of well-meaning thoughts and -
all religious (merit)
5. Fruit for enjoyment
took to heaven
and now, of Devavarmā, his (nephew) brother's son, who was
a devout follower of Viṣṇu, by his mother, devoted to her
husband.
- 6-7. That by for the increase of the religious merit of Babhru Deśa-
bhaṭṭārikā of Varmā, who was dead, —— for her mother,
father, husband, and indeed of her own again, otherwise
8. of the Goddess the mothers, they, executed the stone-
work.

(iv) *Conclusion* :

The inscription was to record the installation (*sthāpitam*) of the image (or shrine) and its later repairs (*pratisamskāra*) by private persons during the reign, inferably, of Gaṇadeva.

It mentions the name of a deeply religious man, Babhruvarmā as the one who conceived of the idea of carrying out repairs (*samskāra-kriyā*) to the earlier installation, and also executed it. After his death his nephew came into the picture. He was known as Deśavarmā, and though he was deeply devoted to Viṣṇu, his mother remained a devotee of Śiva-Pārvatī, and had the stone image made. Thus it would indicate that the image was done afresh after the one installed earlier had been damaged, and

repaired by Babhruvarmā. It was only thereafter that the image under consideration was installed jointly by his nephew Deśavarmā and his mother, Deśabhaṭṭārikā for the welfare of all. It may be inferred that the devotion to different personal deities by different members within the same family was freely in vogue at this time. Though temples and images of much earlier dates, barring well-known exceptions, have not come down to us, that the tradition is of much older date in this part of Nepal is clearly indicated.

PANDIT BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI'S COLLECTION OF
MANUSCRIPTS

SIDDHARTH WAKANKAR

गुरुश्रुषया विद्या, पुष्कलेन धनेन वा ।
अथवा विद्यया विद्या, चतुर्थी नोपलभ्यते ॥

This *subhāṣita* states that there are only three means of acquiring knowledge: (i) serving the guru or preceptor, (ii) giving large sums of money, and (iii) exchanging one lore with the other. In other words, it suggests that there is no other way than these three of obtaining knowledge. Indian tradition gives highest respect and regard to *guruśrūṣā* and considers it the surest way of gaining knowledge. After having received knowledge, it can be propagated by only two methods: first, orally transmitting it to the next generation and second, committing it to writing for the benefit of the posterity. The first method was more prevalent – in fact, the only way – in the hoary past, since, writing down was not much encouraged – nay condemned – because the writer was considered to be prone to mistakes. Hence, the entire Vedic lore was imparted by oral tradition, which is still in existence in some parts of India. But the second method also was not bereft of any qualities. It did serve the purpose of diffusion of knowledge, probably more vehemently than the oral tradition. Surprisingly, in course of time, it was believed that writing down some important religious or ritualistic works was a sure means of acquiring religious merits thereby paving the way for heaven.

In the recent past, there were many scholars who were interested not necessarily in heaven, but more in dissemination of the valuable knowledge, when they undertook the work of copying down manuscripts by themselves or getting them written down from some one else. It was a purely academic approach. Pt. Bhagvanlal Indrajī belonged to this second category of scholars, who by *guruśrūṣā* selflessly did everything in the widest interest of scholarship and India's glorious heritage. Pt. Bhagvanlal Indrajī not only wrote down or caused to write down important MSS., but also purchased some of the rare MSS. – most probably for himself or for his master and mentor – the late Dr. Bhau Daji Lad. He spared no pains to procure valuable material for the corroboration and furtherance of research – his as well as of others. He not only prepared the copies of inscriptions for the great Dr. Bhau Daji, but also undertook the important work of acquir-

ing as well as preserving the very rare and hence important manuscripts for the benefit of the future researchers. It is very much gratifying that Pt. Bhagvanlal Indrajī donated all his collection of two hundred and sixteen MSS. to the then Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It is very significant that many of the MSS. donated by him are very rare and hence very important too. They include MSS. dealing with almost all the branches of learning couched in the Sacred Language of this Blessed Land of ours, to quote only a few : Linguistic Science, Literary Science, Medicine, Astrology, Astronomy, Architecture, Vedic Literature, Dharmasāstra, Purāṇa, Philosophy – Hindu, Buddhist, Jain – , Kāvya, Stotra and miscellaneous. This list of wide-ranging subjects gives a fairly good idea of the varied interests of Panditji in these subjects. It will be no exaggeration if we say that his donation of MSS. has doubtlessly enriched Asiatic Society of Bombay. Therefore, it is in the fitness of things that the Asiatic Society should bring out a Special Volume in the inspiring memory of that great savant-researcher – the late Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī. The present article is an humble attempt to bring to the notice of scholars the untiring efforts of Panditji towards the diffusion of knowledge. In this article I propose to deal very briefly with only rare and important MSS. donated by the late Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī. The BBRAS numbers given below refer to the numbers of MSS. listed in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrita and Prākṛta Manuscripts in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 4 volumes, compiled by H. D. Velankar (1926–1930).

- (1) BBRAS. No. 22. कातन्त्रव्याकरण of शर्षवर्मेन् with बालावबोध of मेरुतुङ्ग
Dated V. S. 1932.

The *Kātantra* or *Kālāpaka* or *Kaumāra Vyākaraṇa* is ascribed to Śarvavarman. The tradition says that this system was expounded to Śarvavarman by Kumāra Kārttikeya.

There are scores of commentaries on this system of grammar. The present one penned by the great Jaina scholar Merutuṅgācārya is very rare and hence valuable. Merutuṅgācārya was a pupil of Mahendraprabha of the Añcalagaccha (see the colophon quoted at the end of this entry). The *Paṭṭāvalī* of this Gaccha gives the following details regarding the dates of the landmarks from the life of Merutuṅgācārya : Birth–V. S. 1403 ; *Dīkṣā*–V. S. 1418 ; *Ācāryapada*–V. S. 1426 ; *Gacchanāyaka*–V. S. 1446 and Death – V. S. 1471.

This *Bālāvabodha* is not a commentary on the commentary of Durgasīma on the *Kātantra-vyākaraṇa*, as is wrongly mentioned on p. 312 of Vol. III of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. But it is an independent com-

mentary on the original *Kātantra-vyākaraṇa*. It seems that Merutuṅgācārya commented only on some selected topics, because his commentary on the entire *Kātantra* is still not available. This is further corroborated by the fact that the Manuscript No. 1215 of this work deposited in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, which is composed in V. S. 1444 (see the colophon) has only six chapters like the present manuscript under description. The copies of this work are available at Poona, Baroda and Bikaner, besides Bombay.

It is very strange that this important work failed to attract the due attention of scholars and consequently is still not published, though composed nearly six hundred years ago (in V. S. 1444, that is 1387 A. D.). Hence, the present writer has undertaken the work of critically editing this very rare and little-known manuscript.

This commentary by a Jain *Ācārya* surprisingly has the *Maṅgala* at the beginning extolling *OM*, the Hindu symbol of auspiciousness, in the following words :

ॐकारं बिन्दुसंयुक्तं नित्यं ध्यायन्ति योगिनः ।
कामदं मोक्षदं चैव ॐ काराय नमो नमः ॥ १ ॥

The words of the second verse are so chosen that they can be interpreted to apply to the Highest Gods of both Hindus and Jainas too.

देवदेवं प्रणम्यादौ सर्वज्ञं सर्वदर्शिनम् ।
कातन्त्रस्य प्रवक्ष्यामि व्याख्यानं शार्धवर्त्मिकम् ॥ २ ॥

The topics dealt with in this MS. are : explanation of technical terms, Sandhi rules, declensions, compounds, syntax. The commentary ends with the sixth chapter on Taddhita (folio 26 a). The peculiarity of the colophon is that nowhere any details of the topics dealt with are given, except the last colophon which gives the name of the topic as follows :

इत्याचार्य श्रीमेरुतुङ्गसूरिरचितायां बालाचबोधवृत्तौ षष्ठस्तद्वितः पादः सम्पूर्णः ॥

Except this colophon, all other colophons just say : इत्याचार्य..... वृत्तौ प्रथमः सिन्धिः (सिन्धिः);, प्रथमः पादः etc.

There appears to be some mistake or confusion regarding the dates given at the end of the MS. The author clearly says that he composed this work in V. S. 1444. But, the last line of folio 25-a of this MS. says that this (MS.) is copied down from an earlier MS. written in V. S. 1403, which obviously is incorrect. I give below the necessary details from the manuscript-colophon-folio 22 :

श्रीश्रीमदञ्जलगच्छे श्रीमहेन्द्रप्रभुसूरयः ।
श्रीमेरुतुङ्गसूरीशस्तत्पादाम्बुजषट्पदः ॥

(1444) युगत्रयेन्दुसङ्ख्याष्ट तेन शिक्षानुकम्पया ।
वृत्तिर्बालावबोधाय्या निमित्ता लोलबाटके ॥

.....
पूर्वप्रति संवत् १४०३ वर्षे मार्गशिरे वदि १२ सोमे
बालावबोधवृत्तिः सिद्धा ॥

Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī realized the value and importance of this rare and little-known MS, and got it copied down for the benefit of posterity at Bombay in V. S. 1932, as can be seen from the front folio remark in his own handwriting : भगवानलालस्येदं पुस्तकं लेखितं मुंबइय्यां विक्रमाब्दे १९३२ प्रवर्तमाने ।

(2) BBRAS. No. 84. व्याकरणखण्डन of वाचस्पति

In India, the Science of Grammar has been one of the most developed sciences and enjoyed the most enviable position since ancient times. In fact every poet and scholar was expected to (and he did) have a sound knowledge of this science, as it was the backbone of the then educational system. The Grammarians were held in highest esteem, as can be gauged from such glowing tributes as *budhaiḥ vaiyākaraṇaiḥ* (बुधैः वैयाकरणैः), *vaiyākaraṇāḥ prathame vidvāṅśūḥ* (वैयाकरणाः प्रथमे विद्वांसः) paid to them by a scholar critic of the eminence of Mammaṣa, the author of the *Kāvyaṣprakāśa*, an epoch-making and monumental work on Literary Criticism. On this glorious background, it is definitely a wonder in the history of Sanskrit language that somebody thought of openly challenging the propriety of the science of grammar and its refutation. There are very few copies of this work, as it is just possible that no conscientious scholar would have entertained the idea of copying down this work and being an instrument in spreading the contents thereof, obviously apprehensive of the sin of striking at the *raison d'être* of scholarship. The Asiatic Society of Bombay is one of the very few privileged institutions to possess a copy of this very rare work, thanks to the open-minded and objective attitude of the late Panditji.

(3) BBRAS. No. 98. अभिधानचिन्तामणि of हेमचन्द्र. Dated V. S. 1842.

The *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra is a very famous lexicon dealing in six chapters with Jain deities, Brahmanic deities, human-beings, animal world; the lower worlds and their inmates and adjectives, particles etc. Several editions of this work are brought out by many great scholars – Indian as well as foreign. Though the present MS. is incomplete, having only first two *kāṇḍas*, it is a valuable possession of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, because it has the following date in the handwriting of Pt. B Indrajī suggesting probably the date when it came to the hands of Panditji.

सा. ८ नवंबर १८७१ दिल्ली

(4) BBRAS. No. 173. चरकसंहिता (सूत्रस्थान) with तत्त्वप्रदीपिका by शिवदास

The *Carakasamhitā* is one of the oldest works on Medicine, which was originally composed by Agniveśa, pupil of Punarvasu Ātreya and a fellow-student of Bheḍa. It was afterwards remodelled by Caraka. The Chinese *Tripitaka* (translated in 472 A. D.) informs that Caraka was a court-physician of King Kaṇiṣka and thus possibly lived in the 2nd century A. D. Though the *Carakasamhitā* is published, this incomplete MS. of 126 folios, containing the *Sūtrasthāna* upto the *Yajjaḥ Puruṣīya adhyāya* and a major portion of the next *adhyāya*, is important because of the details given below which say that it was got copied down at Benaras by Pt. B. Indrajī in V. S. 1928 — ईन्द्रजीसूनुना भगवानलालेन काश्यां लेखितोऽयं ग्रन्थः संवत् १९२८.

(5) BBRAS. No. 231. ग्रहणलिखनानुक्रम of नारायण.

This work on the astrological and astronomical matters concerning the eclipses was composed in Śaka 1481 (1559 A. D.) by Nārayaṇa, son of Rāma. This date is clearly mentioned on folio no. 6 as under :

अथ ग्रहणपटलिखनानुक्रमः ।
 कृतसागराभ्रगुणोनिता ३०४४ विक्रमायातकालः १६१५.
 स एव बाणामिशशास्त्रहीनः १३५.
 स्यात् शाक १४८० कालः किल शालिनाम्नः ॥ १९ ॥
 वर्तमानशाके १४८१ इति संक्षेपतः सृष्टयनुक्रमः ।

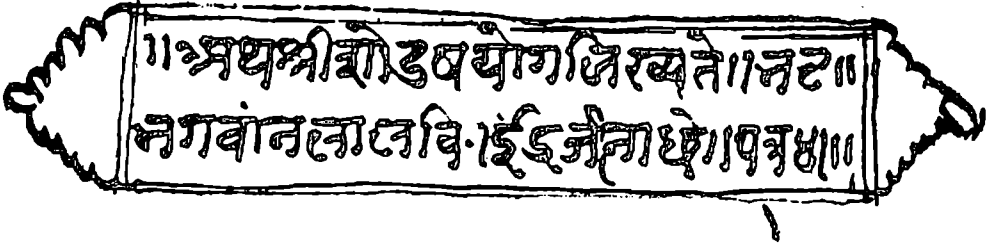
This also is a very rare work, not only because of the above details, but more because it is deposited only at two places, viz. A. S. of Bombay, no doubt, due to Pt. B. Indrajī, and at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. It is a great wonder that still the work has not attracted the attention of the scholars from the field of *Jyotiṣa*.

(6) BBRAS. No. 332. विवाहवृन्दावन of केशवार्क. Dated Śaka 1650.

This work deals in seventeen chapters with the auspicious times for marriages. It was composed by Keśavārka (who flourished in about 1252 A. D.), the son of Rāṇiga, grandson of Śriyāditya and great grandson of Janārdana. One of the MSS. of this work (I. O. No. 3037) is dated Śaka 1320. This work is available in India only at two places, viz. Madras and Calcutta. Because of its rarity Pt. B. Indrajī got it copied down, primarily for himself and then donated it to the A. S. of Bombay, for being kept in the cupboard next to that of his scholar-patron and mentor, the late Dr. Bhau Daji. This MS. is all the more important, because it contains also an easy explanation of the text in Sanskrit throughout by an unknown scholar.

(7) BBRAS. No. 340. षोडशयोग (from मुक्तावली and सिंहावली ताजिक).

This work has two pieces, the first consisting of eighteen *ślokas* from the *Muktāvalī* and the second of nineteen *ślokas* from the *Siṃhāvalī Tājika*. It is important because it gives in short the *phalas* of the sixteen *Yogas*. Another important thing is that the ownership of this manuscript is clearly mentioned in the following words : भट भगवानलाल वि. इन्द्रजीना छे.



[Record of the ownership of the manuscript]

(8) BBRAS. No. 404. क्षीरार्णव of विश्वकर्मा. Dated Śaka 1718.

The *Kṣīrārṇava* is an exhaustive as well as exhausting work dealing with architecture, especially, the details regarding the preparations of the images of various divinities. This voluminous work in the form of a dialogue between Viśvakarmā and Nārada is held in high esteem by scholars of Temple Architecture as well as artisans. This extensive work is printed with Hindi and Gujarati translations by the great Sthapati Prabhāshankar O. Sompura, *Śilpa Viśārada* from Palitana. In his Hindi introduction, the learned editor remarks : " I have consulted six-seven MSS. of the work, from places like Oriental Institute, Baroda, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. (Here it may be noted that the editor gives (p. 36) Śaka 1818 as the date of this MS., which is obviously a mistake. It should be Śaka 1718, as can be seen on the MS. itself). The first ninety-eight as well as *adhyāyas* after one hundred twenty are not available. The MSS. from Gujarat and Saurashtra commence with the *adhyāya* no. 101 known as *Kūrmāśilāniveśana*. But the BBRAS (that is the present) manuscript contains the two earlier chapters dealing with *Gaṇita* and *Jagatī lakṣaṇa*. With the help of this MS., I am able to satisfactorily continue my research ". (pp. 36-38 of the Hindi *Prastāvanā*).

This is quite sufficient to prove the value of this MS. donated by Pt. B. Indrajī. Another important feature of this MS. is that at some places, the Sanskrit text is explained through Gujarati, which definitely enhances its utility.

(9) BBRAS. No. 413. समराङ्गणसूत्रधार of भोजराज.

The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* is an encyclopaedic work. A casual glance at the contents is enough to prove the paramount importance of this monumental work as far as the construction activity is concerned. The work abounds in technical and minute details on architecture and still is very much useful even in this age of scientific and technological advances. It is very much heartening that modern scholars and scientists-equipped as they are with ultra-modern and sophisticated machinery—are now, realizing the propriety and importance of this ancient treatise. The recognition of the worth of this work was evident, when in the early eighties, one of the Universities in Malva, where flourished King Bhoja, the author of this work, organised a Seminar exclusively on this text, particularly, its technical aspect and its application, with the financial assistance of the U. G. C. Bhoja Academy is also in the offing at one of the places in Madhya Pradesh.

For us, this MS. is important though it is already printed, because on the last folio (f. 120 b) of this MS. it is clearly mentioned that this copy was caused to be written down by Pt. B. Indrajī at Amreli in V. S. 1930.

भगवानलाल ईन्द्रजी अमरेलीमां लल्ल्यातुं छे. संवत् १९३०, जेठ शुद्ध १९.

(10) BBRAS. No. 423. कुण्डरत्नाकर of विश्वनाथ.

This is a work on the construction of the *kuṇḍas* or the sacrificial fire-places. The author Viśvanātha Dvivedi is the son of Śrīpati and grandson of Jagannātha and his date falls roughly between 1449 and 1619 A. D. This seems to be a very popular work, as can be made out from the large number of places where the MSS. of this work are deposited. This MS. is not only important for its date, but more because of its being endowed with the commentary of its author.

(11) BBRAS. No. 431. वीरचिन्तामणि of शार्ङ्गधर. Dated V. S. 1926.

Like the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, this work also deals with an important subject. The author who composed this work in 1363 A. D. is different from the other Śārṅgadharā, the author of the famous *Śārṅga-dharasāṁhitā*, the well-known work on Therapeutics. The present work is a rare work on an equally rare subject, viz. *Yuddhaśāstra* and forms the 80th section of *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*.

In the fourth verse, the author very confidently declares that by the study of this science, the archers (*dhanurdharāḥ*) will be victorious against

their enemies (*jetārah parasainyānām*). It will be a revelation to many Sanskrit scholars that Sanskrit has treated this side of life also – a subject not finding any place in educational curriculum! It appears that Pt. B. Indrajī must have been impressed by this topic of historical value. Hence, he got it copied down for himself, as will be evident from the following remark, written on folio 12, last line after the text :

काश्यां लेखितेर्यं वीरचिन्तामणिर्भगवानलालशर्मणा संवत् १९२६ आश्विन शुदि ८ भौमे ॥

VOLUME II

(12) BBRAS. No. 481. राम (पूर्वोत्तर) तापनीय उपनिषत्.

This small MS. though published, is important to us for the simple reason that it was purchased (cost not mentioned) by Pt. B. Indrajī in Benares in the year V. S. 1927, as is mentioned and written in the handwriting of Panditjī in the following words: इन्द्रजीसूनुना भगवानलालेन काश्यां मूल्येन गृहीतम्. संवत् १९२७.

(13) BBRAS. No. 509. आश्वलायन श्रौतसूत्र with वृत्ति by नारायण.

This work briefly deals with the sacrifices described extensively in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*. Though this work is already printed, this MS. has its own value. It is nearly 400 years old and hence is one of the prized collections of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, thanks mainly to its donor, the late Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī.

(14) BBRAS. No. 712. महार्णव of मान्धाता Dated V. S. 1576.

Like the previous Vedic work, this fragment of a *Dharmaśāstra* work, though small in size, is very important because of its antiquity. This MS. is dated V. S. 1576, corresponding to 1520 A. D.

(15) BBRAS. No. 914. जातिस्मरणतीर्थ-माहात्म्य.

This MS. contains the 65th *adhyāya* of the *Jātismarāṇa-tīrtha-māhātmya*, which is a part of the *Himavatkhanda* of the *Skandapurāṇa*. The importance of this MS. is that it was presented to B. Indrajī as a memento by Meherasena, a resident of Lalitapura in Nepal, as is clearly written on the MS. in the following words :

नेपालदेशललितपुरवासिना श्रीमेहेरसेनेने भगवानलालाय समर्पितमिदं स्मृत्यै भूयात् ।

(16) BBRAS. No. 970. भगवद्गीता with a commentary.

The *Bhagavadgītā* is possibly the only religious work in the world which enjoys greatest respect and popularity as can be made out from the highest number of commentaries written on it, almost in all the languages of

the world. This is one more commentary by an unknown scholar, which deserves to be perused to judge its quality as well as worth and value.

(17) BBRAS. No. 1062. सप्तपदार्थी of शिवादित्य. Dated V. S. 1537.

This small manual of the *Vaiśeṣika* Philosophy was composed somewhere in the 10th–11th centuries. The MS. is dated as under :

संवत् १५३७ वर्षे ज्येष्ठमासे शुक्लपक्षे ७ तनौ लिखिता ।

Though this work is already published, still, the present MS. is valuable, being one of the earliest copies of the work – it being nearly 500 years old.

(18) BBRAS. No. 1073. गोरक्षनाटक of गोरक्षनाथ.

This is a very important work on the Rājayoga. It has exactly 200 *ślokas* and it is ascribed to the famous Gorakṣanātha, one of the celebrated Nava-nāthas. This work is held in high esteem by the scholars in the field as well as Yoga-practitioners, who claim that desired objects can be obtained by meticulously following the directions given in this text.

(19) BBRAS. No. 1074. घेरण्डसंहिता. Dated V. S. 1928.

Like the previous work, this work on Haṭhayoga also is very important. It is in the form of a dialogue between Gheraṇḍa and Caṇḍa (kāpālīḥ). The work consists of 323 *ślokas* and is divided into seven chapters termed as *upadeśas*, such as Ghaṭakarmaśodhana, Āsanaprayoga, Ghaṭasuddhiyoga, Pratyāhāraprayoga, Prāṇāyāmaprayoga, Dhyānayoga and Samādhiyoga. Herein, the word Ghaṭa is used in the sense of 'body'. The work describes in details the different aspects of Haṭhayoga, which are still practised by the Yogis.

This MS. is valuable because of the two important statements as follows :

On the front folio we get the detail that Pt. B. Indrajī got this work copied down at Varanasi in V. S. 1928 : वाराणस्यां ईन्द्रजीसूनुना भगवानलालेन लिखितोऽयं ग्रन्थः संवत् १९२८.

On the last folio (i. e. 19 a, after the text), the exact date of copying this MS. is given, viz. 10th of July, 1872. It is just possible that on this date, this MS. must have come to the hands of Panditji. Cf. भगवानलाल ईन्द्रजी ता. १० जुलाई १९७२.

(20) BBRAS. No. 1133. तत्त्वत्रय of रामानुजाचार्य. Dated V. S. 1917.

This is a small treatise by Rāmānujācārya, describing the three principal entities of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of thought, viz. Cit or Jīva; Acit or Prakṛti or Jaḍatattva and Sarvāntaryāmi Īśvara.

This MS. is very valuable to us, as it is written down by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji himself, on the Dvādaśī of Bhādrapada in V. S. 1917. He does not specify the fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada. The Pandit clearly says that he wrote it down for the purpose of acquiring some knowledge of the philosophy of Rāmānujācārya. This is quite sufficient to prove his ardent desire for learning new things while he was actively engaged in collecting data for Dr. Bhau Daji. I furnish below the pertinent remarks : Folio 12 b — भगवानलालेन स्वहस्तेन विक्रमसंवत्सरे १९१७ लिखितं रामानुजमतज्ञानार्थं रामानुजाचार्यकृतम् तत्त्वत्रयम् ।

The folio 12 a, last line mentions the exact Tithi and the year as follows : संवत् १९१७, भाद्र १२.

According to the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. VIII, p. 44, only one MS. of this work is known to be available till today and that too this one prepared by the Panditji himself and deposited at the Asiatic Society of Bombay (Frontispiece).

(21) BBRAS. No. 1139. पुष्टिमार्गलक्षण of हरिदास.

In just 21 ślokas, the author of this work explains the Puṣṭimārga, that is the philosophy of Vallabhācārya. This MS. of 3 folios is also important because like the previous MS. this also is written down by Pt. B. Indraji himself. Here also his desire to obtain knowledge seems to have urged him to write down this work, as is evident from the following remark : भगवानलालेन स्वहस्तेन वि. १९१३ वर्षे पुष्टिमार्गज्ञानार्थं लिखितम् ।

(22) BBRAS. No. 1157. हरिलीला of वोपदेव with विवेक of हेमाद्रि.
Dated V. S. 1928.

The *Harilīlā* is an index to the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. Vopadeva, the son of Keśava, was a court pandit of King Rāmarāja of Devagiri, who lived in the latter part of the 13th century and the famous Hemādri was his contemporary.

This MS. is valuable because on the last folio we get the important information regarding the name of the scribe from whom Pt. B. Indraji got it copied down or prepared, as well as the year and place where it was finished. See : संवत् १९२८ मिति भाद्रो वदि १५ लिखतं नाथुरामपारिक ब्राह्मण. इन्द्रजी-सूनुना भगवानलालेन काश्यां लेखितमिदं हरिलीलामृतम् ॥

(23) BBRAS. No. 1167. कामसमूह of अनन्त. Dated V. S. 1587.

This work is a collection of stray verses on love or the erotic sentiment. It was composed in V. S. 1541 (nearly 500 years ago) by one Nāgara, named Ananta, the son of Maṇḍana. The present MS. dated V. S. 1587 suggests that it was written down or copied within a period of 50 years after the actual composition of the work. It is a wonder that the work is still unpublished, as can be gathered from its entry given on p. 358 of the third Vol. of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*.

(24) BBRAS. No. 1179. कृष्णशतक of केशव with टीका by महादेव.

As the title suggests, this work consists of 100 verses praising the Lord Kṛṣṇa. It was composed by Keśava, pupil of Viṭṭhala Dīkṣita. It is not only valuable because of its being the only MS. available so far, but also because its utility has been enhanced by a commentary on it. This is one of the rarest works.

(25) BBRAS. No. 1196. जाममञ्जरी of वाणीनाथ.

This is a very important historical poem. It describes in just 122 ślokas the history of the Jāma race of Kaccha and Navanagara. It was composed as a supplement to his *Jāmanijayakāvya* by Vāṇīnātha, who was a court-poet of King Satruśālya. The poet gives in the last verse the details regarding the date, month and year when the work was completed.

अब्दसप्तदशमि मासे सिते दले ।
अनङ्गदिवसे वाणीनाथः पूर्तिं चकार ह ॥ २२२ ॥

It means that it was finished on the 13th day of the first fortnight in the month of Māgha in V. S. 1627.

The Asiatic Society of Bombay is the only Library, which has the proud privilege of possessing a copy of the rare and valuable work. The credit of it goes to Pt. B. Indrajī, a true and hard-working researcher.

(26) BBRAS. No. 1229. शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति (उपवनविनोद) of शार्ङ्गधर.

Upavanavinoda, containing 240 verses, is a section of the *Śārngadhara-paddhati*, composed by Śārngadhara in the 13th century. As the title suggests, *Upavanavinoda* is devoted to a detailed and scientific treatment (with some seeming exaggeration, as generally is the case with Sanskrit descriptions) of the gardens, parks etc., and the trees, shrubs to be grown, their classes, maintenance, diseases and their cures – sometimes very strange but ultimately beneficial, sometimes thought-provoking and superior to some of the modern ways of curing – paving the way for further research in this

direction, the varieties of fertilisers and their preparations. In fact, it can be termed to be a *Vṛkṣāyurveda*. Though this work is printed, this MS. is important because of the following words from the handwriting of Pt. B. Indrajī, giving the date of the manuscript :

वाराणस्यां १९२१ वर्षे भगवानलालेन लेखितोऽयं ग्रन्थः ।

(27) BBRAS. No. 1235. सिद्धदूतकान्य of भवधूतराम. Dated V. S. 1485.

This is one of the rarest kinds of work. It contains 141 verses, couched in the *Mandākrāntā* metre, on the pattern of the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa. In this poem, Vidyā is the beloved, *Tāpasa* is the lover and *Siddha* is the *dūta* or messenger. It was composed in V. S. 1423 (see verse no. 141) at Bhadrapura (see verse no. 139) on the banks of the river Revā, during the reign of Yaśasvimalla. Some scholars opine that Cāṅgadeva (verse no. 136) and Śāmbhu (verse no. 141) induced the author to compose this poem having a Vedāntic treatment. This MS. is a copy prepared 63 years after the actual composition of the poem, which itself is more than 600 years old.

The top line on folio 3-a of this MS. mentions that this copy was purchased in 1927 (V. S.) at Benares by Pt. B. Indrajī. cf. इन्द्रजीसुनुना भगवानलालेन काश्यां मूल्येन सङ्गृहीतम् १९२७.

This poem is printed from Ahmedabad in 1917 A. D.

(28) BBRAS. No. 1441. कल्पसूत्र with कल्पलता by समयसुन्दर.
Dated V. S. 1797.

The *Kalpasūtra*, otherwise called the *Paryūṣaṇā Kalpa*, is the 8th chapter of the *Daśā Śrutaskandha*, one of the *Cheda-sūtras* of the Jain religion. It is commented upon by many Jain scholars. The present MS. contains a commentary by Samayasundara, a pupil of Sakalacandra of the Kharataragaccha. Samayasundara was a prolific writer and wrote in the second half of the 17th century of the Vikrama Saṁvat. The present commentary, though not dated, is supposed to have been written during the spiritual region of Jinarājasūri, who died in V. S. 1699 (340 years ago). This MS. dated V. S. 1797 is important not only because of its date, but more because it contains the author's *Prasasti* in 21 stanzas.

(29) BBRAS. No. 1456. चतुःशरणप्रकीर्णक.

The Jain work, otherwise known as the *Kuśalānubandhiajjhayaṇa* deals in 63 Prakrit verses with the " four-fold refuge ", viz. Merit, Conduct, Austerity and Mental abstraction. It is recited during the *Paḍikkamaṇa* by the Jain monks and is attributed to Virabhadra. This MS. though undated,

is important because it contains the text with Gujarati translation, obviously for the benefit of the general masses.

(30) BBRAS. No. 1472. ज्ञाताधर्मकथासूत्र with वृत्ति.

Jñātādharmakathā is the sixth *Āṅga* of the Jain Canon. The present MS. with a brief commentary in Sanskrit, though incomplete, is very valuable to us, since it is written down by Pt. B. Indrajī himself, as is clear from the remark appearing on the front folio -

इन्द्रजीसूनुना भगवानललेन लिखितमिदं विक्रमवर्षे १९२७.

This once again is indicative of the catholicity of the mind of Pt. B. Indrajī, who never missed any opportunity of acquiring knowledge of any subject with a view to spreading it, even though he was very much engrossed in his research of inscriptions. This once again displays his indefatigable efforts and energy crowned by *jijñāsā*.

(31) BBRAS. No. 1507. भगवतीसूत्र. Dated V. S. 1693.

The *Bhagavatīsūtra*, also known as *Vivāhāprajñāpti* or *Vyākhyā-prajñāpti*, is the fifth *Āṅga* of the Jain Canon. Although this work is published, the present MS. is important because of its date, viz. V. S. 1693. It is nearly 350 years old.

(32) BBRAS. No. 1513. राजप्रश्नीयसूत्र.

The *Rājaprasnīyasūtra*, explained by Malayagiri as "*Rājaprasneṣu bhavan*" is the Sanskrit rendering of the original Prakrit title "*Rāyaprasnīyam*", which is the second *Upāṅga* of Jainism. Though the work is published, this MS. is valuable, because it is dated V. S. 1565, that is 1509 A. D., which means it is nearly 475 years old.

(33) BBRAS. No. 1710. गुर्वावली of खरतरगच्छ.

This is a very important document of historical importance. It contains the traditional history of the preceptors or gurus of the well-known Kharataragaccha. This list, containing the lives of the Ācāryas, starts with Jinacandra and ends with Jinavallabhagaṇi. While narrating the stories, the authority of the *Gaṇadharaḥṛhadvṛtti* is very often cited.

(34) BBRAS. No. 1722. तीर्थकल्प (कल्पप्रदीप) of जिनप्रभसूरि.

This work is extremely important because it supplies a legendary and historical account of the different holy places of pilgrimage, which are sacred to the Jains. The scholars opine that different parts of this work were composed at different periods of time between V. S. 1365 and 1390 and then

put together. Some of these parts are written in Sanskrit while others are in Prakrit. The MS. is very old and the work also is published.

(35) BBRAS. No. 1732. परिशिष्टपर्व from त्रिषष्टिशलाकापुरुषचरित of हेमचन्द्र.

The *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* is an extensive Sanskrit work describing the lives of the 63 important men of Jainism, It was composed by Hemacandra, the famous Jain scholar-monk. The poem contains eleven books. The *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* is the eleventh and the last book. Though the work is printed, this MS. is very very valuable as it furnishes the details regarding the age and the place where it was copied down. It also gives us a clue as to why Pt. B. Indrajī got it copied down. Here is the remark in the hand of the Panditji.

हेमचन्द्रकृतस्य परिशिष्टपर्वग्रन्थस्य खण्डः जूनागडे संवत् १९१४ विक्रमसंवत्सरे लेखितः,
मौर्धेतिहासज्ञानार्थम् ॥

This again is a solid proof, if any is needed, of the painstaking attitude of Pt. B. Indrajī in acquainting himself with the different branches of learning and trying to be as well-informed as possible in carrying out his research.

हेमचन्द्रकृतस्य परिशिष्टपर्व
ग्रन्थस्य खण्डः जूनागडे संवत्
१९१४ विक्रमसंवत्सरे लेखितः
मौर्धेतिहासज्ञानार्थम् ॥

[Handwriting of Pt. Bhagvanlal Indrajī]

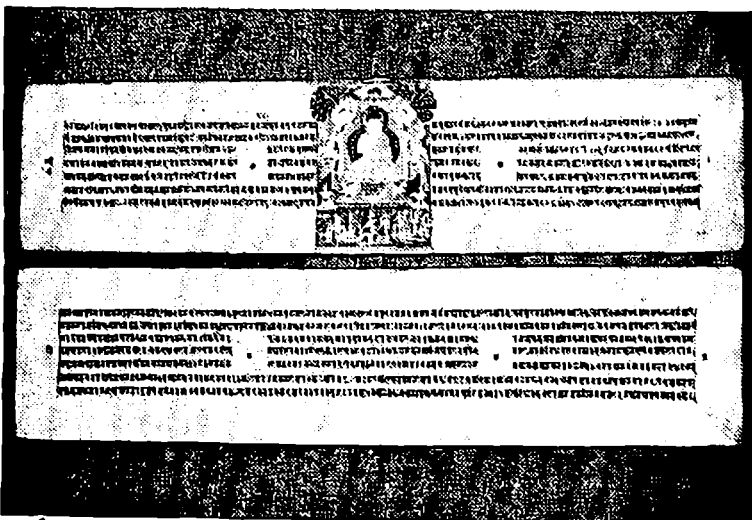
(36) BBRAS. No. 2008. रत्नावलीविवरण Dated V. S. 1754.

This work is important because here are to be found the explanations in Gujarati of mathematical calculations, connected with a work called *Ratnāvalī*, which was composed in Śaka 1534, that is 1612 A. D., nearly 370 years ago.

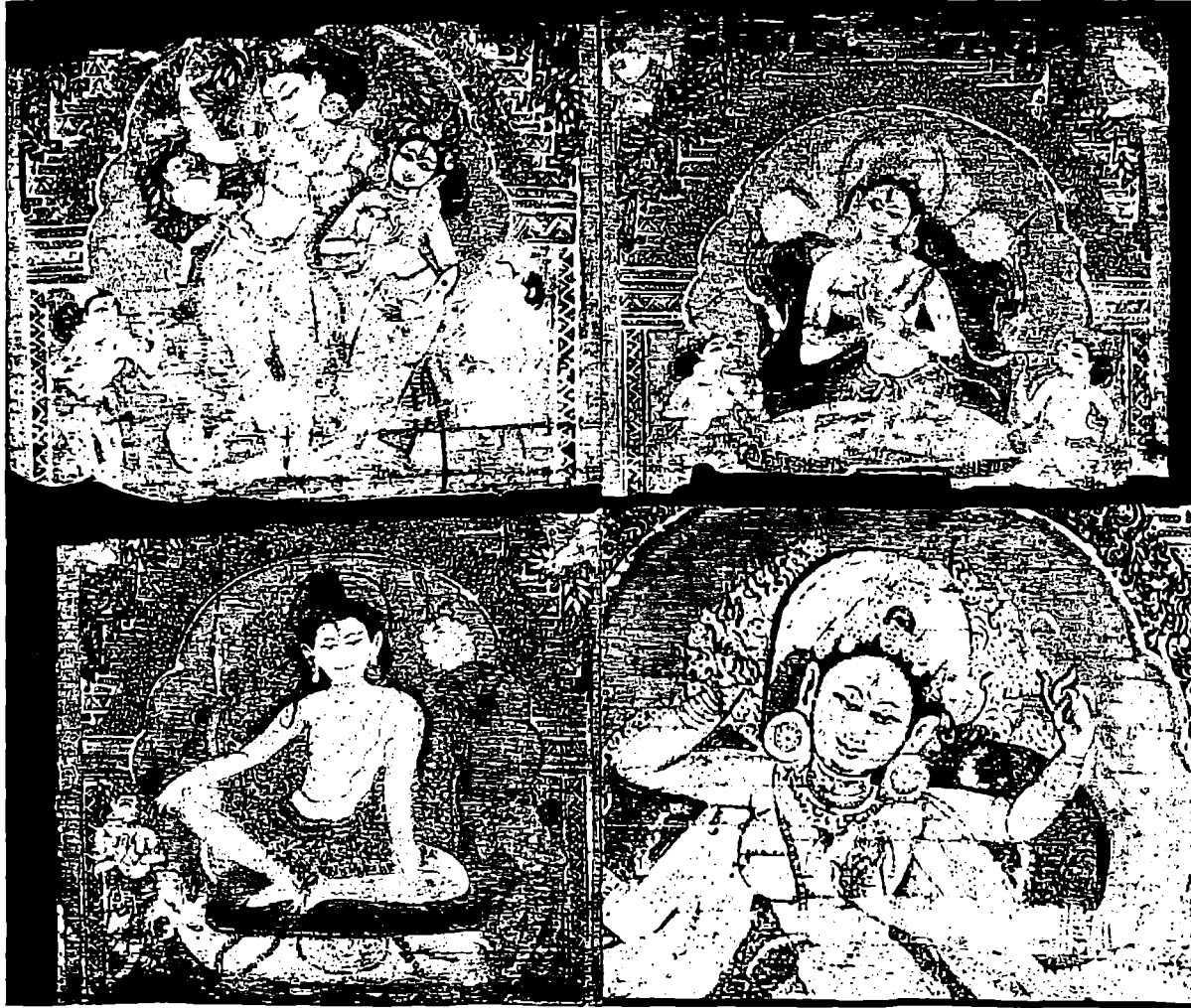
I conclude this *resumé* of MSS donated to the Asiatic Society of Bombay by the late Pt. Bhagvanlal Indrajī with a brief note on the Illustrated MSS. from his collection, rich and varied as it was,



A. Bust of Pt. Bhagvanlal Indraji in the Library of the University of Pon bay.



B. Gandavyūha MS. presented by Pt. Bhagvanlal Indraji to the Asiatic Society of Bombay.



Illustrations from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay. (B. I. 210)

Generally it is the case that the extra-ordinary scholars are least interested in or bothered about the things falling outside their field of interest, as they have concentrated their efforts on a particular branch of knowledge. Consequently, they are dubbed or labelled as ' book-worms '. Of course, there are some noteworthy exceptions to this general (mis)understanding and Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī is one such example. He not only had a keen eye for inscriptions only, but he did possess an eye for beauty in scripts also. Endowed as he was with this eyesight, he collected some very important, valuable and exquisitely beautiful manuscripts also, which are described here very briefly :

- (1) B. I. Collection. MS. No. 206. अचलोकितेश्वर स्तोत्र.
Dated Nepal Samvat 377.

This Buddhist manuscript has black folios and yellow letters on them, which is not only pleasing to the eyes but a typically valuable specimen from the point of view of art also.

- (2) B. I. Collection. MS. No. 208. गण्डव्यूह.

This manuscript has invaluable illustrated wooden covers which are decorated with fine pictures.

- (3 and 4) B. I. MSS. No. 210-211. अष्टसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता.

These two manuscripts are very important and precious; they are written on palm-leaves and are beautifully illustrated also Pls. (XV, B; XVI, A, B, C, D).

These manuscripts are, no doubt, some of the illustrated rarities donated to the Asiatic Society of Bombay by the devoted and dedicated scholar, the late Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī.

AN ILLUSTRATED *AṢṬASĀHASRIKĀ PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ* MS
FROM BIHAR

KALPANA DESAI AND SADASHIV GORAKSHKAR

The Bhagvanlal Indraji collection of manuscripts in the Asiatic Society Library includes an illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.¹

The manuscript in its present state includes 222 folios each admeasuring 6 × 58.5 cm. and having two perforations for stringing the folios. The text of six lines per folio, in fine *Kuṭīla* character, is divided in three parts 16.5 – 17 – 16 cm. unless interrupted by illustrations. The pagination is both in figures and words; the figures are in the right margin while the words are in the left.

There are six illustrated folios each with three illustrations of approximately 6 × 6 cm. size. In four of these, the margins have paintings of monks and in the remaining two, Dākiṇīs are illustrated in the margins. Evidently the illustrations have been added after the text was completed.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* is a Buddhist philosophical text with no relevance or need for any illustrations, and as such there is no uniformity of subjects in various such manuscripts. Nevertheless, in consonance with the contemporary practice of illustrating the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts, even our manuscript has a chain of eighteen illustrations; these are on the first two (f. 1 rev – 2 obv), middle two (f. 106 rev – 107 obv) and the last two (f. 221 rev – 222 obv). The illustrations face each other.

The importance of the manuscript lies in the fact that on the basis of its colophon it is the last dated manuscript known so far to have been done during the Pāla period. Its colophon reads :

“ *Deyadharmoyam pravaramahāyānāyāyina paramopāsaka Sādhubhikkhu (?) Sri Devanidhikarasya | Yudatra puṇyam tadbhavalvācāryopādhyāya mātāpitrpurvāṅgam kṛtvā sakala sūtra rāsenuttara jñānavāptaye iti | Śrīmad Govīṇḍapāludevasyālīta rājyasañvat 39 Phālguna-dīne 8 | Śubhamastu sarvadā ” ||*

Thus the manuscript was dedicated by Devanidhikara for the welfare of his ancestors, when 39 years had elapsed after (commencement) of the

reign of Govindapāla (c. 1161-1175 A. D.), the last of the Pāla rulers to whose reign inscriptional reference is available.

The following are the subjects of the illustrations :

A. *Folio 1 rev.*

- (i) Crowned Buddha, (ii) Amitābha,
(iii) Birth of the Buddha (Pl. XVI, A)

B. *Folio 2 obv.*

- (i) Miracle of Śrāvasti, (ii) Prajñāpāramitā (Pl. XVI, B),
(iii) Buddha with Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna

C. *Folio 106 rev.*

- (i) Sarvabuddha Dākiṇī, (ii) Mañjuśrī, (iii) Vajrapāṇī

D. *Folio 107 obv.*

- (i) Nairātmya, (ii) Female deity with attributes of Mañjuśrī,
(iii) Vajravārāhi

E. *Folio 221 rev.*

- (i) Subjugation of Nālāgiri
(ii) Simhanāda Lokeśvara (Pl. XVI, C)
(iii) Descent from the Tuṣita Heaven

F. *Folio 222 obv.*

- (i) Monkeys offering honey, (ii) Mārīci (Pl. XVI, D),
(iii) Mahāparinirvāṇa

The composition and the colour scheme of the illustrations follows the normal cliché viz. red background, against which is a terraced pavilion in yellow with creeper decoration in black. Behind the pavilion is lush green foliage. The deities sit on *pīṭha*, cushion or a lotus. The figure drawing is in delicate flowing line showing angularity of features.

In terms of style, the illustrations closely reflect on the style of contemporary sculptures not only in their stance and composition but even in ornamentation. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Amitābha, Prajñāpāramitā (Pl. XVI, B) and Simhanāda Lokeśvara (Pl. XVI, C).

The interpretation of the wording of the colophon raises a valid controversy. Some more inscriptions of Govindapāla's period have an identical phrase viz. *Govindapāladevasyātīta rājyasamvat.*² The commonly accepted interpretation has been, " number of years having elapsed after the

reign of Govindapāla". We have discussed this issue at length in our article to show how calculating of 39 years "after the reign of Govindapāla has ended" would indicate an unacceptable date of 1214 A. D., since in 1203 A. D. Bihar was completely sacked by Bakhtiyār Khalji and all the Buddhist monasteries were totally routed out so that no religious activity was possible at any centre or monastery.³ On the other hand, if we calculate the period from the commencement of Govindapāla's reign in 1161 A. D., then we get a date in 1200 A. D. which seems quite appropriate.

The other issue is the possible region/monastery where the manuscript must have been painted. The main consideration is the illustration of the Crowned Buddha (Pl. XVI, A), an iconographic type which is restricted to Bihar and that too at Kurkihar, which was also known as Āpaṇaka Mahāvihāra from the inscriptions on the Kurkihar bronzes⁴ as well as from another manuscript done in year 18 of Rājyapāla⁵ (c. 907-944 A. D.).

The illustrations of Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, Sarvabuddha Dākiṇī and Nairātmya indicate yet another connection, that with the Sās-kyā-pā monastery in Tibet.

These several considerations underline the importance of this manuscript which, on available evidence, is the last dated manuscript of that period.

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35. *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, with descriptive notes, edited by James Burgess, 1881.
36. Contributions to James Burgess (ed.) *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV.
37. *Antiquarian Remains at Sopārā and Padana: Being an account of the Buddhist Stūpa and Aśoka Edict*, 1882.
38. Twenty-three inscriptions from Nepāl; collected at the expense of H. H. the Navab of Junāgadh, tr. from Gujarāti by G. Bühler, 1885.

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39. "The Western Kshtrapas", (edited by E. J. Rapson), 1890, pp. 639-662.
40. "Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī's Interpretation of the Mathurā Lion Pillar Inscriptions", (edited by G. Bühler), 1894, pp. 525-540.
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PART II

VIGNETTES, VIEWS AND VOGUES FROM THE PADMAPURĀṆA

G. V. BAPAT

A group of eighteen adhyāyas in the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the *Padmapurāṇa* stands out from the plethora of details of holy places, presiding deities, rituals and such other details in the other adhyāyas. The eighteen adhyāyas selected for treatment here are worth separate consideration because they allow us to catch vivid glimpses of day-to-day life in Paurāṇic times. They also reveal that in spite of the apparent simplicity and artlessness of the composition, the poet was an artist of a high order, a man of catholic, humanitarian views, a deeply interested observer of life with a rare capacity to look with detachment on his own experience of it. It is not quite easy to establish the identity of the poet, but it is quite clear that not only was he well aware of contemporary trends in social life but was also interested in and keen to direct them into proper channels.

Though the exact date of composition of the adhyāyas is hard to determine, it might be any time between about 300 A. D. and 1,000 A. D. which is supposed to be the period of composition of the Purāṇas. If this be correct, the group of adhyāyas could be taken to illuminate facets of life in India a thousand to seventeen hundred years ago.

The adhyāyas are numbered 175 to 192.¹ With allowances for marginal errors, they contain 926 stanzas, most of which are of two lines; occasionally, three lines are counted as one stanza of the anuṣṭubh kind and there are some four-line stanzas too. The eighteen adhyāyas form a homogeneous group because they are devoted to pointing out the importance of the eighteen adhyāyas of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

Before proceeding to discuss the contents of the adhyāyas, a few assumptions which this writer has made may be stated. He assumes that like the other Purāṇas *Padmapurāṇa* too, is a sincere attempt to explain the fundamental principles of religion to all and sundry, and urge people to keep to the path of righteousness in the interest of the welfare of the whole of the community. Perhaps a strong political necessity to keep the

1. Edition used : *Padmapurāṇam*, Vol. V, Gurumaṇḍala-grantha-mālā (Calcutta 1st. ed., 1958).

people of India united on a religio-social foundation prompted the magnificent effort; perhaps, the writers, obviously intelligent, noted in their society, signs of decadence, disintegration and possible confusion which they sought to counteract by educating the common man in the true principles of religion. The mixture of very complex philosophical principles, details of rituals and pilgrimages, measures for self-discipline and simple stories would support this view which the simplicity of style strengthens.

It is assumed, further, that the stories in these eighteen adhyāyas reveal the essential human qualities and traits of the characters and that they are "types" rather than "individuals". If so, the characters and their background are true to life and the stories reflect the joys, sorrows, cares, aspirations, beliefs and concerns of the ordinary man of the poet's day: they also reflect the environment of the common man, his way of life, the challenges he had to face and his responses to them. It is on these assumptions that the group of adhyāyas has been discussed here. All the incidents show people going about their day-to-day business of life. There is no attempt at securing the heightened dignity and grandeur of the Epic kind, either in characterization or in representation of the mode of life.

This homogeneous unit of eighteen adhyāyas makes no attempt to explain the philosophy of the *Gītā*. The author merely asserts that each adhyāya of the *Gītā* has a mysterious power which enables one who recites it to overcome various difficulties in life and reach heaven after death. Obviously, the writer is anxious to preserve, through oral transmission, the text of the *Gītā*. Could the intensity of the need for preservation have been due to signs of general apathy and decadence, or foreign influences threatening to snuff out the best thought of India?

The writer employs the device of the "frame" story making Śiva the narrator and his consort Pārvaṭī the questioner-cum-listener. Śiva being omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, is beyond limits of time and space, birth and death. He can view all life here as an interesting series of transmigrations of souls and physical transformations leading to their final evolution and emancipation. The transformations are linked together by a series of causes and effects.

By making Śiva the narrator, the poet can take a dispassionate panoramic view of life. Śiva being beyond good and evil, no moral criticism of men's actions is directly offered; men make mistakes, expiate for them and proceed on the path of spiritual evolution. These factors broaden the perspective so considerably that supernatural beings like Apsarās, Rākṣasas and ghosts can freely participate in the action.

In each of the adhyāyas the poet narrates a story to bring out the importance of an adhyāya of the *Gītā*. Thus, the 175th adhyāya speaks of the 1st adhyāya of *Gītā* and so on. Within the relatively short span of 926 stanzas, the poet has gathered a surprisingly large crowd of characters. Kings, princes and their attendants, good Brāhmaṇas and bad ones, prostitutes, shepherds, highwaymen, hunters, gamblers, pilgrims, ploughmen, sages and several others appear on the scene to provide a fine, representative cross-section of society in the poet's day.

The background, too, varies from story to story. Now the poet takes us into beautiful cities and then to forests, or to lakes, āśramas and pastures, From the number of towns and holy places the poet mentions, it appears that he knew a good deal about them; but he is specially enthusiastic over the beauty of Pratiṣṭhāna (on the Gōdāvarī), Kōlhāpura, Meghaṅkara and the capital of Kāśmīramaṇḍala.

The adhyāyas also refer to common superstitions, mercantile activities, transport, amusements, vices and other matters pertaining to the way of life in the poet's times. If we make allowances for poetic licence, the impression we gain of life is fairly clear; it is valuable because it is an Indian writer's reaction to life in his own times. Of course, the poet's account is not as factual as those left by travellers who had visited India. Yet, the Paurāṇic account has its own value as a reaction to life; it is a piece of "inside" information.

Though it would not be proper to form generalizations with reference to only eighteen adhyāyas, it seems that the traditional caste sub-caste-wise division of society prevailed and Brahminical idealism was esteemed though not all Brāhmaṇas lived up to it. It appears that some Brāhmaṇas could not keep themselves within the Brāhmaṇa fold, and formed alliances with members of other and "lower" orders too. Despite such irregularities and the wide variety of localities in which the action in the stories takes place, a more or less uniform pattern of life seems to have been well-established all over India. This suggests a fundamental cultural unity throughout the sub-continent. When we consider the size of the land mass, the paucity of means of communication and spread of education, we do wonder how such unity could have been established at all in the first instance, because cultural unity is not brought about in a day.

The characters in the stories belong to different walks of life. For the sake of convenience we shall deal with them classwise.

I. KINGS :

Kings figure prominently in adhyāyas 180, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191. Their domains lie as far off as Kāśmīra, Pratiṣṭhāna on the Gōdāvarī, Saurāṣṭra, and Simhaladvīpa. To the degree possible in so short a span, the poet shows an admirable variety in the tastes, pre-occupations and pursuits of the kings, which lends an individuality to each of them. King Jñānaśruti of Pratiṣṭhāna is a reputed, pious man much given to ritualistic worship and sacrifices, yet careful of the welfare of his people (180.15-20). From his strong desire and efforts to meet Raikya, the Brāhmvādīn, it is clear that he is keen to attain complete liberation from all worldly bonds. Perhaps this story is an echo of the Upaniṣadic story of Raikya of the cart. The account of his meeting with Raikya brings out the king's generosity, desire to learn, and deep humility (180.91-100).

The king in adhyāya 186, though fond of sacrifices, uses them as a means to attain worldly glory as his performance of a horse-sacrifice (Haya-medha) suggests (186.35). Unfortunately, the gods steal his sacrificial horse and he himself dies of some disease leaving the sacrifice incomplete. His dutiful son, however, is bent on fulfilling his father's wishes. By the grace of Mahālakṣmī of Kōlhāpura, and the spiritual powers of Siddhasamādhi, the sage, the Prince is able to accomplish what he sets out to do, and something more : he brings his father back to life.

Some important points which the story suggests may be made here :

(1) The reference to Mahālakṣmī at Kōlhāpura indicates that the city and its presiding deity had come to be widely known in the poet's day and enjoyed much prosperity. The reference might indicate the antiquity of the shrine or, if the shrine is not so old as it would appear to be, point to the time of composition of the adhyāyas.

(2) The extraordinary powers attributed to Siddhasamādhi supposed to have been gained by him through his study and practice of the principles in the 12th adhyāya of the *Gītā* dealing with Bhaktiyoga, imply the superiority of spiritual enlightenment and a disciplined life to mere ritualistic practices and, especially, animal sacrifices; this is clearly mentioned in adhyāya 183, stanzas 5 and 6 by the sacrificial goat himself. The obvious conclusion is that the idea of attaining complete liberation from the cycle of birth and death through discipline and pursuit of knowledge had gained a firm hold on the minds of the educationists who composed the Purāṇa for the benefit of the laity.

(3) Of much importance to antiquarians is a reference to a curious method of preserving a dead body. It reminds one of the preservation of King

Daśaratha's body pending the arrival of his son Bharata in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. The Paurāṇic reference is a little more specific than that in the epic. The words in the Purāṇa are : *taptatailena śoṣayitvā* (186.35), and *taptatailena śoṣitaḥ* (186.53), which indicate that the body of the deceased king was "dried" with hot oil. Whether this method of preserving a dead body, even if only for a short time, was known and practised then it is worth looking into.

Śauryavarmā of Kāśmīramaṇḍala and his friend Vikramavetāla of Siṃhaladvīpa (adhyāya 188), Narasiṃha of Gauḍadeśa (adhyāya 189), Khaḍgabāhu of Saurāṣṭrikapura in Gurjaramaṇḍala and his friend the King of Siṃhaladvīpa (adhyāyas 190, 191) are all more fond of worldly pleasures than those in Adhyāyas 180 and 186. These five kings are more like ordinary mortals than the spiritually inclined intellectuals; therefore, their activities afford very lively and vivid but fleeting glimpses of life at royal courts of the day.

Adhyāya 188 affords a brief but exciting account of King Vikramavetāla of Siṃhaladvīpa out on a hare-hunt. Having received a gift of a pair of hunting Kāśmīra dogs (bitches) from his friend Śauryavarmā, Vikramavetāla decides to put them to the test.

The king rides to the hunting ground in a beautifully decorated palanquin. Attendants fan him with *cāmaras*, drummers and musicians who precede him play music and princes accompany him. Obviously, a royal hunt is a festive occasion. As this hunt is a test of canine skill and ability, human beings have plenty of leisure to look on and enjoy themselves.

It is a very excited band. As there are two dogs, bets are laid on them. The excited princes are quite noisy. Entering into the spirit of the hunt, the King himself accepts a heavy wager (188.14, 15). No sooner a hare is started than the King gets out of his palanquin and, shouting encouragements to his dog, unleashes her with his own hands, while the prince who banks on the other dog, does likewise. The wager between the King and one of the princes indicates a free, unrestrained relationship different from the formal behaviour at court.

The description of the chase is very graphic. It shows the poet's excellent knowledge of the finer points of the chase; but it also shows that despite all the verve with which the poet describes the dogs' relentless pursuit of the hare, poet's sympathies are with the hare whose desperate attempts to escape from his pursuers are most faithfully recorded. The description of one of the hounds, with her nose to the ground, fixedly following the scent of the

hare which has taken cover in a grassy patch is marvellously true to life (188. 16-30). The contrast between the turbulent world in which the hare lives in constant fear, and the peaceful one of the *āśrama* of Vatsa in which the poor creature dies, is not merely artistic but highly suggestive of the difference between a life led on the principle of acquisition and one lived on that of renunciation.

Not all hunting expeditions end so happily for the hunter, however. The King in adhyāya 189 goes out to hunt. He mounts his favourite, a beautiful, proud horse. While chasing a deer, he outdistances his attendants and presumably, the deer gives him the slip. The tired, thirsty king, tethering his horse to a tree, looks about for water when, unexpectedly, the horse collapses. The skilful poet brings out the deep attachment between man and animal by showing the king removing the bridle and saddle with his own hands to ease the dying animal. It is a humane touch which does great credit to the poet.

Adhyāya 189 illustrates a danger to which kings of the day were exposed and the precarious position of the crown. King Narasiṃha of Gauḍadeśa was, to judge by the proud elephants and mettlesome horses in his stables, a prosperous, benevolent king who was a terror to his enemies. He trusted his army chief Samarabheruṇḍa, an ambitious man whose increasing power and prosperity the king should have curbed but did not. For this oversight the king had to pay dearly because the inevitable coup followed; though the poet does not give the sordid details, one can imagine all the horror from the poet's quiet statement that Samarabheruṇḍa put not only his king but also the princes to the sword and had himself crowned. Unfortunately for him, cholera (*viṣūcīkā*) claimed him as a victim. Regicide is common enough in the history of the nations of the world. The reference to cholera is significant for those interested in the history of medicine because it establishes that the disease was known and identified in the poet's day.

The same adhyāya gives a graphic account of the king buying a horse. Horses, elephants, camels and oxen were a vital necessity to king and commoner alike in days before mechanization of transport. In general, the poet gives glowing descriptions of elephants and horses in king's stables. However, the present reference provides some information about how buying and selling of horses was conducted. Apart from the good points of a horse which we learn from its beautiful description (189. 20-27), we come to know that a young Vaiśya had brought it all the way from Sindhudeśa to Gauḍadeśa. The poet's statement that the horse was born in Sindhudeśa (189. 12) would suggest that that area could have been a breeding-centre for

mettlesome horses, and perhaps a regular business in horses was carried on by horse-traders of that region; even in the recent past Kathiawar horses were well-known for their excellence as mounts. It is clear that merchants went from place to place, waited at palace gateways to show their animals and that kings retained experts in horselore to examine the exhibits (189.19).

Elephants were symbols of military strength and affluence of kings and, therefore, their proud possessions (189. 3-5), but an elephant could occasionally be a source of trouble and anxiety to its owner as can be inferred from the brilliantly narrated episode of the elephant in *must*, owned by King Khaḍgabāhu of Saurāṣṭrikapura (adhyāya 190).

The poet has devoted practically the whole of the adhyāya to a description of elephant's mischief, and the destruction which the maddened animal caused. The poet shows us the keepers of the animal and other attendants frantically using goads (*aṅkuśas*) and bamboo sticks to bring the animal under control, the awe-stricken citizens guarding their children and watching from a safe distance but ready to run away at moment's notice (190.11, 12, 15, 16,). The king himself a responsible man, as it appears, rides out to watch and direct the operations (190.13-14), The young princes, too, are present (190.13-14).

While apprehensive citizens watch the struggle between the beast and its keepers, thoughtless observers in the King's party, and the princes dare one another to control the animal and lay bets (191.5), A foolhardy, but evidently courageous and skilful man accepts the challenge for a large reward and manages to mount the animal. Much against the advice of onlookers, he boasts of his prowess. Like a flash of lightning, Nemesis overtakes him. Pulling the boastful man down with its trunk, the infuriated animal tears him limb by limb and scatters the bits all about him (191.4-9). Though horrible and gruesome, the poet describes the act with great realism,

Besides mentioning goads (*aṅkuśas*), fetters, chains, an iron pole firmly embedded in the earth and a special building in which the elephant was housed, the poet refers to two-storeyed houses (190.14). These details should enable us to form an idea of the measures taken for the security of elephants and the kind of houses which could be seen in a prosperous town.

Though the princes laying bets appear quite immature, the King's presence at the spot should be a sufficient indication of his sense of responsibility. He, at least, is not a specimen of decadent royalty in India of later days.

The coup which Samarabheruṇḍa brought off, and the episode of the mad elephant illustrate how the peaceful course of day-to-day life could be disturbed.

The migrations of the sickly elephant in adhyāya 191 bring some interesting points to our notice. The first is that the elephant, a gift from the King of Siṃhaladvīpa to Khaḍgabāhu of Saurāṣṭrikapura in Gurjaramaṇḍala, was carried across the water (*jalamārgeṇa*) (190.2, 191.11). It indicates that a coastal marine traffic was carried on in the poet's day and that a vessel capable of shipping an elephant was not thought an impossibility. References to marine transport being rather rare, this one seems to be important enough to merit attention.

The second point is that King Khaḍgabāhu made the elephant over to a wandering poet as a gift and the shrewd poet sold it to the King of Mālava region. If Mālava is modern Mālavā, it would mean that poets of the day were quite adventurous and traversed long distances in search of patronage and reward. This custom should explain how the poet of this portion of the Purāṇa came to know considerable detail about holy places all over India.

From these interesting and revealing glimpses of the life of kings, it appears that rulers of the days of the Purāṇas were, by and large, responsible persons preoccupied with the welfare of their subjects; they had to maintain friendly relations with other kings far and wide, but also to keep themselves in readiness for war. Exchange of gifts was a way of cementing friendship. Kings had to keep an eye on their courtiers and not allow the latter to become powerful and insurgent. Some kings were, as it would seem, deeply interested in rituals and philosophy.

Music and dancing, poetry and hunting would appear to have been favourite pastimes. Some of the ancillary activities of kings were meeting poets, tradesmen, doing reverence to dedicated wise men who lived in retirement, supervision of animals like horses and elephants. From references to voluntary abdication in favour of the heir-apparent, two points emerge for consideration : (1) some kings were sincere in their philosophical beliefs and gave up the crown to spend the last portion of their lives in seclusion and contemplation; (2) it was not necessary that a king should die before the crown could be passed on to the heir-apparent; and a period of regency until such time as the king should die was not necessary. The laws of the time provided for voluntary abdication. Curiously enough, none of these eighteen adhyāyas refers to queens, princesses and the family life of kings (adhyāyas 180, 188-191).

II. BRĀHMAṆAS :

Next to kings, Brāhmaṇas figure largely in these adhyāyas. From the implication of the stories, as also from a few specific examples of worthy Brāhmaṇas (adhyāyas 176, 177, 179, 183-188, 190, 191), it is clear that, in general, Brāhmaṇas tried to live up to the ideal Brahmanism; but the unflattering sketches of individual Brāhmaṇas who had taken to unbecoming ways show that the poet noticed a distinct, wide, and perhaps widening, gulf between the Brahmanical ideal and the actual course of life followed by those born in Brāhmaṇa families; innate tendencies, or changes in the socio-economic environment may have caused the deviation. The poet notes the decadence with some dissatisfaction – even implied disapproval – which may account for his anxious attempt to persuade his listeners to live up to the traditional ideal.

The general tenor of his advice is that Brāhmaṇas should lead a disciplined life, devote themselves to intellectual pursuits, practise austerity and not run after riches and the pleasures of the world. What is most surprising is that we find Brāhmaṇa women among the deviants.

The poet does not approve of the merely ritualistic practices and sacrifices. He places peace of mind and steady pursuit of the Ultimate Reality far above them, indicating his preference for cultivation of character and philosophical detachment as in 176.4; he shows concrete examples like Baṭu, Sunanda, Vāsudeva and Vatsa (179.11, 185.19, 20, 187.61, 188.28). The poet's accent is definitely on an understanding, thoughtful approach to life and on enlightenment (183.10-13).

How low a Brāhmaṇa could fall is well illustrated through several examples. Suśarmā, an agriculturist, neither meditates, nor offers sacrifices, nor tells his beads nor welcomes guests. He is fond of liquor and meat (175.32-33); Durdama is extremely covetous (176.21); Jaḍa, not content with liquor, keeps shop, gambles, hunts animals, is a lecher and turns a robber (177-1-3); Piṅgala, instead of studying the Vedas, becomes a musician, finds favour at court, indulges in fault-finding and lives with a low-class woman (179.2-7); though Saṅkukarṇa, a tradesman, is relatively a better person, he is highly covetous, and seems to be unusually fond of acquiring wives as the reference to his fourth wife shows (181.4). Kuśilava's dominant passion is acquisition of money, to satisfy which, he, though a Brāhmaṇa, will accept gifts made in connection with obsequies (182.9). Bhāvaśarmā is, perhaps, the limit. He lives with a prostitute (perhaps, runs a brothel), is fond of meat and drink, robs the good, gambles, and keeps bad company (182.2-5). The circumstances of his death are in keeping with his course of life. During

a drinking bout he drinks so much that it disagrees with him and kills him. The unnamed greedy Brāhmaṇa in adhyāya 187 is a learned but unenlightened man. Casting all rules to the winds, he conducts Vedic services for those who are not entitled to them, accepts all kinds of gifts and, jealous of other Brāhmaṇas, reviles them (187.45-47). The last glimpse of this greedy Bhikṣuka is very pathetic. Half blind with age, reduced to skin and bone, he hobbles along from place to place collecting fees. A street-dog bites him; he collapses and dies in the street (187.47-51). In comparison with these "drop-outs" the Brāhmaṇa agriculturist who is far too absorbed in guarding his rice-crop to help a passer-by attacked by a vulture, is a very mild type (185.76-89).

The use of the word Bhikṣuka (187-46), and not Brāhmaṇa, in referring to the greedy old man in the story is quite significant. It suggests that a class of practising priests who had learnt how to conduct rituals and who said prayers and conducted rituals for a consideration had established itself in the poet's day. This class seems to have had little to do with the pursuit of pure learning recommended for Brāhmaṇas. Among the Brāhmaṇas, the Śāstrīs and learned Vedic scholars who adhered to traditional rules of conduct would appear to have formed one group while the Bhikṣukas, the unscrupulous officiating priests seem to have formed another.

The contrast between the enlightened idealistic Brāhmaṇas and those who had no use for ideals is all the more striking for the poet's realistic presentation of the back-sliders. As Śiva who is above good and evil is the narrator, there is no vituperative comment.

Though there could have been social, economic and other forces which compelled those born in Brāhmaṇa families to give up the traditional way of life, strangely enough, the poet does not mention them. It is not easy to account for the omission.

It may, therefore, be presumed that external pressure or innate tendencies had driven Brāhmaṇas into adopting unworthy ways of life. Agriculture, music, shop-keeping were some of the new professions adopted by Brāhmaṇas. Those who followed them do not seem to have been held in as much respect as those who pursued learning for its own sake. Dicing, drinking and the like were habits undesirable for anyone and very much so for Brāhmaṇas, while cheating and robbing people were positively criminal activities. From the poet's reference to the Bhikṣukas who had taken to such courses, it might be suggested that a positive decadence had set in among the Brāhmaṇas of the poet's day. The narrative concerning Bhikṣukas would

also suggest that the class had been able to establish itself probably because the common people were fond of rituals and sacrifices.

Going on a pilgrimage appears to have been a regular practice among the devout Brāhmaṇas of the day (185.23-24). Pilgrims seem to have formed groups and walked long distances. They halted at shrines on the way, bathed, offered *pūjā* to the presiding deity. Shelter for the night was asked for, and it was given by householders in the towns on the way (185.37). This speaks much for the hospitality of the hosts and respectability of the guests.

III. WOMEN :

Though rather small, the group of characters which claims our attention next is that of the women in the stories. Queens, princesses, aristocratic ladies and those from respectable families do not appear on the scene at all (except when very general references to groups are made as in adhyāya 180). That, as a rule, good, busy, respectable women who capably managed their part in life existed, is to be inferred; but most of the women who appear as individual characters in these stories are evil or quite formidable like the Brāhmaṇa's wayward wife in adhyāya 176, that in adhyāya 182 and Durācārā in adhyāya 187. Aruṇā in adhyāya 179 is not a Brāhmaṇa by birth but a vicious, low-class woman. The mildest of these evil specimens is the Brāhmaṇa's wife who, sharing his greed in life, shared his fate after death. (182).

The poet neither idealizes nor idolizes women, but presents them as being fully as fallible as men, just human beings prone to be swayed by passions. The absence of any respectable women characters is, artistically, a drawback because it leaves an impression of unrelieved feminine depravity.

In adhyāya 176, the Brāhmaṇa's pretty, young wife displays a weakness for the embraces of a Cāṇḍāla (176. 25-26) while her husband is away attending to business; there is room to infer that she misbehaves because she is dissatisfied with her husband's evil ways.

Durācārā (187), a curse to her good husband, provides a fuller picture of loose woman. Self-willed and very passionate, she refuses to sleep with her husband, gads about with her admirers and is hardly at home. Bent on her amorous pursuits but careful to keep up appearances, she has a cottage for herself which her paramours built in a wood. Her addiction to drink is rather an uncommon trait for a Brāhmaṇa woman. The poet lends a humorous touch to this portrait of an unpleasant character when he tells his readers that she kept her in-laws at bay by repeatedly threatening them (187.6-9). The poet's description of this passionate woman slipping out of her house

one night and roaming about the moonlit forest in search of her paramour turns her into a symbol of passion rather than an individual (187.24-30).

Aruṇā, the wife of Piṅgala, a Brāhmaṇa who turned a musician, is frankly a low adventuress. She has no love for Piṅgala; he is only an obstacle in her way. Very deliberately, and in cold blood, she cuts his throat and carefully buries him (179.7-8).

These evil women are extraordinary characters. They show the tremendous potential for evil present even in women, usually considered rather weak and very tender-hearted. The evil woman in adhyāya 187 illustrates how thoroughly a woman could ruin the life of a good man. From these examples it is clear that where evil tendencies are concerned, caste and class are no guarantee of good conduct.

The courtesan in adhyāya 175 forms a refreshing contrast to these horrible women. The agonies of a bullock which lies dying in a street move her to pity. In order that the soul of the bull may rest in peace, she spontaneously gives a part of the merit she has gained through good works. She, being a courtesan, has hardly any respectable position in life, and is supposed to have little affection or love for anyone. Yet the very spontaneity of her act of charity distinguishes her as a human being among a group of detestably heartless women.

We have a pleasant but all too brief a view of a married woman engaged in the innocent occupation of teaching her pet Sārikā (184.69). So innocent is this recreation that her husband's displeasure seems unjustifiably harsh.

In addition to women, the poet presents Apsarās, semi-divine beings, in their traditional role of temptresses (adhyāya 178). As specimens of character, they have little value.

In general, the poet is as critical of women as he is of men. His realistic presentation of evil women underlines the fact that like men, women also are prone to be misled by passions. His presentation of good and evil men provides excellent contrast values while his omission of worthy women deprives the reader of the other side of the picture. However, the poet's examples of mischievous, wayward women serve to show that women can be far different from the meek, submissive and demure creatures that they appear to be in the idealistic pictures presented by romantic writers. Our poet shows how, when a woman chooses to take liberties, she might thoroughly ruin the life of her husband or may go to the length of murdering him. The poet seems to be well aware that though, ideally, marriage may mean

perfect co-operation between husband and wife, in reality it may be far different and the wife may be as much to blame as the husband. The poet's realistic outlook on this vital aspect of human happiness is admirable.

IV. OTHER FIGURES :

There are, in these stories, other interesting characters which serve to illuminate different aspects of life, despite the fact that the poet sketches them with a light touch.

The group of children in a hermitage, trooping out into the forest (perhaps, to gather firewood), chance upon a young parrot separated from its parents. Moved by the little fellow's plight, they bring it back to the hermitage, put it in a cage and patiently teach it to repeat the *Gītā*. This act of mercy is delightfully refreshing in a world torn with conflict. The Vāguri bird-catcher who steals the parrot from the hermitage and sells it to a courtesan forms a distinct contrast to the kind children from the hermitage (175.48-51). The Vāguri is no respecter of persons; he makes no difference between a hermitage and an ordinary man's house. Whatever the place and whoever the person, he will steal what he can. This incident underscores the difference between man and man and helps us to understand why it is difficult for members of one class to accept those of another.

A very interesting figure is the shepherd in *adhyāya* 176 who, after taking his flock of sheep out to graze, quietly settles down to his contemplation of the Ultimate Reality. In the beautiful surrounding he loses consciousness of the "self"; peace descends on all about him as he sits entranced (176.13). But life has not been always peaceful for him; he has had encounters with beasts of the jungle as his account of a leopard stalking one of his sheep and his own hasty retreat shows (176.13-17). Another interesting character is the patient, devoted worshipper who regularly worships a Śiva-lingam in the forest just because he likes doing it (176.43-50).

The inclusion of these two characters could be very deliberate because through them the poet suggests a clear distinction between a learned man and an enlightened man. Learning, i. e., book-learning, may have been the prerogative of the Brāhmaṇa; but, as the poet seems to suggest, the right to search for, and the eminence to comprehend, the Ultimate Reality is open to all alike. The learned Brāhmaṇa could deteriorate into a Bhikṣuka, or give up any pretence to learning and become a greedy, vicious shopkeeper; but a humble shepherd or a sincere devotee might become a revered sage.

If this conjecture be granted, it is clear that in the poet's day, the accent had shifted from book-learning and performance of rituals to develop-

ment of a thoughtful approach to life and to pursuit of Truth. The poet suggests the need to develop a humanitarian outlook on life, to understand the individual's proper place in a grand scheme of things, to comprehend the meaning of life and the interdependence of the several forms of life. He seems to wish men to appreciate and strive for a harmonious social existence. The accent is definitely on enlightenment and wisdom as also on the welfare of the entire community rather than the class or the individual.

The disapproval of animal sacrifices (183. 10-14) may be interpreted as acceptance of Jain views; but it could be taken to indicate a full understanding of the inter-relation of all forms of life, of the common link of "soul" or "life-force" between man and other animals and of the right to live which all forms of life other than man have. This is, perhaps, in keeping with the implication in the *Manusmṛiti* (V. 55).

V. TRAVEL :

The story of the Brāhmaṇa who had turned trader illustrates the dangers of the road and difficulty of obtaining news of travellers. This unscrupulous man robs some people who wish to have a sacrifice performed, proceeds North and, with his ill-gotten capital, buys musk, black *agaru* and *cāmaras* which he would sell on his return home. On his return journey, night overtakes him forcing him to rest under a tree. Highwaymen murder him during the night and make off with his goods (177. 3-7).

From the particulars of the inquiries which this unworthy man's son makes about his missing father's whereabouts (177.10-11) an ingenious method of obtaining news seems to have been followed. Travellers would go up and down the roads and halt at stages on the way. Those going, for instance, north would meet those proceeding to the south at these halting-places. Each party would entrust messages to the other and thus news would be relayed. As both parties shared the necessity of passing the news on, they could trust each other to give the messages.

Sunanda in adhyāya 185 symbolizes the devout Brāhmaṇa on a pilgrimage. He sets out at a particularly auspicious time when Jupiter is in Leo. This is a custom even to-day and pilgrims flock in large numbers to Nasik and Tryambakeśvara near it. Obviously, Sunanda sets out on his pilgrimage with a group of pilgrims (185.37). His meeting with a Rākṣasa may be dismissed as a fiction but it indicates that on occasion such pilgrims were entirely at the mercy of unscrupulous people in towns on the way. The long list of names of holy places which Sunanda visited, as the charioteer of King Jñānaśruti also did (189.29-86), shows the poet's knowledge of them

and suggests that, despite the hazards of the road, people did travel long distances all over India.

Though Sunanda comes out none the worse for his encounter with a Rākṣasa, not all pilgrims were so very fortunate as to remain unscathed. The poet's account of how the well-laid plans of an old lady who wished to visit Dvārakā were negatived is humorous and quite racy (adhyāya 183). The old dame looks for a horse and a brewer palms off his toothless old horse on her. Delighted with her bargain she together with two or three of her children, mounts the horse and they all set off for Dvārakā. On the way the overburdened old animal gets stuck in mud into which he begins to sink deeper and deeper. Dismounting, the children urge it on with shouts and slaps, belabour it with sticks and pelt it with stones. What with age, and fatigue, and the deep mud, the poor animal dies leaving the crestfallen woman and her brood to foot it home (183.27-53).

The tally of pilgrims is complete when we mention the journey to Vārāṇasī which the dutiful son of the unworthy Brāhmaṇa made to perform the last rites of his unfortunate father (177).

Among the other peripatetic characters in these stories we find one which is quite a familiar one in the streets of Indian towns and cities even to-day. It is that of a monkey-ward and his performing monkey going from door to door entertaining excited children with the tricks of his monkey. The heartless man beats his monkey when it makes some mistake; the poor creature dies (183.16-23). The poet's sympathies are clearly with the monkey which he sketches in with amazing realism. The account of monkey-ward beautifully illustrates how some " institutions " of the paurāṇic day are still alive in India though there have been radical changes in many other respects over the centuries.

The Brāhmaṇa turned musician (adhyāya 179), parasites who live off others (182. 4, 187.8), and the poet who receives an elephant as a gift (191.14-15), represent unconventional world.

Bird-catchers (179.12), a thieving Vāguri (175.50), and highwaymen (adhyāya 177) represent the uncultivated classes and their occupations. These types belong to the countryside, the woods and forests.

VI. ANIMALS :

Apart from human beings, animals and birds figure as characters in these stories. The writer attributes human qualities and feelings to them so that they appear as souls undergoing evolution. The performing monkey

(in adhyāya 183) and the sorrowful elephant (in adhyāya 191) are two such creatures.

Oxen, the usual draught animals in India, do not appear always to have been kindly treated (adhyāya 175). Horses were employed to carry goods and human beings, spirited, noble horses being specially maintained by kings (adhyāyas 183, 186, 189), as personal mounts for purposes of peace and war. Sheep and goats are referred to as useful animals, goats being also used for sacrificial purposes (adhyāyas 176, 183). The tiger and the leopard, predatory animals, seem to have been more commonly met than they are now (adhyāyas 176, 187). Curiously, the monkey in adhyāya 176 is a wise one while that in adhyāya 183 is a poor performing animal. While fine pedigree Kāśmīra dogs make a present fit for a king (adhyāya 188), poor specimens roam the streets and steal food (adhyāyas 183, 187). The life-like presentation of dogs testifies to the poet's power of minute observation. Elephants fascinate our poet as his glowing descriptions of the animals show (adhyāyas 189, 190, 191). The hare figures only once as a hunted animal (adhyāya 188).

The parrot and the *sārikā* would seem to have been popular pets. Vultures are represented as being ferocious enough to attack a human being. Swans, placed in a special category, are shown to be migratory birds (adhyāyas 180, 184). Whether they came down south as far as Pratiṣṭhāna on the Gōdāvarī as the poet says they did, needs verification.

VII. SUPERSTITIONS :

Superstitions regarding ghosts and spirits appear to have formed a potent in the life of the common people. Of the sinister spirits mentioned in the stories, the *Dākiṇī* in adhyāya 176 and the *Rākṣasa* have cannibalistic propensities. The former is especially fond of human blood, roams the forests and is shunned by people (176.28, 29). The *Rākṣasa*, though a cannibal, is a little more benign than the *Dākiṇī* and honourable enough to keep his pact with the residents of a city (185.51-53). The *Graha* (177.7) seems to signify the ghost of a high-caste person who has followed an improper mode of life and has died in an accident. The learned but covetous *Brāhmaṇa* is doomed to become a *Brahmarākṣasa* after death, and to live in trees or deserts or forests bemoaning his lot (182. 8-10).

Giving away an image representing *Kālapuruṣa* on the occasion of a solar eclipse seems to have been a custom. It was believed that the idol was so surcharged with Evil that no learned *Brāhmaṇa* would accept the gift (183. 37-40, 43). Another curious belief concerns the cobra. A miserly,

rich Brāhmaṇa (in adhyāya 187) buries his treasure for safety. He dies of snake-bite. Becoming a cobra, his spirit haunts the place where the treasure lies. His sons, to whom he appears in a dream, have a ceremony called Nārāyaṇabali performed so that the deceased's soul may be liberated. The belief that a cobra guards buried treasure still persists and the Nārāyaṇabali – Nāgabali is still performed at Tryambakeśvara near Nasik as far as this writer is aware.*

Belief in the efficacy of animal sacrifices appears to have been current in the poet's time as the reference to Hayamedha (in adhyāya 186) presumably performed somewhere near Kōlhāpura, and that to a goat-sacrifice (in adhyāya 183) indicate. The Hayamedha sounds like an echo from the epics ; if such a sacrifice was really performed in the poet's day, it could only have been a local, not a wide spread affair as in the epics.

References to the goat-sacrifices are more significant than that to the horse-sacrifice. Stanzas 2-4 of adhyāya 183 suggest that the learned Brāhmaṇa, Mādhava, is the Yajamāna in what appears to be a Vedic ritual. The sacrificial goat who, in a previous life was a Brāhmaṇa, speaks of a sacrifice which he, the goat, had performed then. The goat-Brāhmaṇa's child had been dangerously ill. The child's mother had vowed to sacrifice a goat to goddess Caṇḍikā if, by her grace, the child recovered, which it eventually did. The vow was fulfilled by the goat-Brāhmaṇa in a temple dedicated to Caṇḍikā. This sacrifice appears to have been different from the Vedic sacrifice. The offering to Caṇḍikā suggests substitution of a life for life. Perhaps, it means acceptance of an extra-Vedic practice by a Brāhmaṇa as a matter of extreme necessity. To the poet, the idea of sacrificing an animal was repugnant. The arguments of the goat's mother against such a sacrifice indicate a highly humanitarian view and the poet's advocacy of it suggests a definite advance in thought regarding man in relation to the animal world about him.

Lastly, we may mention that the prophetic character of dreams in adhyāya 181 was believed in and it was accepted that there could be a correspondence between the world of dreams and that of reality.

VIII. VICES :

The poet makes no attempt to conceal the vices of his characters. The vices are much the same as those prevailing to-day. Illicit sex-relations

*T. N. Patankar : *Nārāyaṇabali Nāgabali*, pub. by the Author, Tryambakeswara, Dist. Nasik, 2nd edition, 1907.

figure prominently in these stories. Very impartially, the poet shows that in this respect women are as prone to go astray as are men. On this point, it may be remarked here that there is no idolization of women as innocent victims of the predatory male. Even respectable families may produce disreputable children, male as well as female. In some stories women appear as temptresses. The charming young woman who wears a pearl in her nose-ring (adhyāya 184) and the two apsarās who tempt Satyatapas (adhyāya 178), belong to this kind. Common harlots like the one who murdered her "husband" (adhyāya 179) and courtezans specially trained (adhyāya 175), were professional temptresses to be avoided. Though the poet himself writes of the sister arts of music and dancing with insight, he seems to disapprove of them as they act as corrupting influences.

Dicing seems to have been a common vice; similarly laying wagers on hounds when out hunting, or on personal valour and skill (adhyāya 191) appear to have been common practices.

It would seem that drinking was more freely indulged in than one would imagine. A Brāhmaṇa and, surprisingly enough, a Brāhmaṇa woman, could fall for the vice. The terms used for alcoholic drink are Madhu, Madya and Vāruṇī; but in adhyāya 182. 4-5, the poet refers more specifically to a drink made from the fruit of the Tāla (palm). Whether it means modern Toddy or something else which was a special kind of drink needs to be investigated. The mention of a brewer and his horse points to a regular business in liquor (adhyāya 183).

Hunting was a royal pastime and neither a business nor a vice among the higher classes. Members of the lower orders like Jālikas (adhyāya 179) and Vāguris (adhyāya 175), however, catch birds and other animals for food or sale, and, with them, hunting is an occupation.

IX. MERCHANTS AND MERCHANDISE :

In these stories references to commodities bought and sold are few. From them it seems that merchants travelled far and wide selling *kr̥ṣṇa-agaru*, *cāmara*, musk and horses. The first three are products from the colder northern region of the Himālayan ranges. The fourth is from Sindhu-deśa in the west of India. It was the merchant who went the round of his customers and not vice-versa as it is now. The poet's reference to heaps of pearls and stacks of sandalwood in the houses of the rich merchants of Pratiṣṭhāna suggests an extensive business in these commodities at this town which was apparently an important mart,

X. DISEASES :

Only two diseases are referred to in these stories, viz., Viṣūcikā (cholera) (189. 11) and Bhagandara (fissure or fistula) (179. 10). Maṇi, mantra and auṣadhi are the standard lines of treatment mentioned (181. 6). It seems that it was the custom to cover the body of a person dying of snakebite with Picumanda (Neem?) leaves (181. 7) though why it was done is not explained.

XI. TREASURE :

Burying treasure was the safest course of guarding it from thieves. It was believed that if a covetous person who had buried his treasure died before he could ensure that the treasure should fall into the hands of his rightful successor, the deceased's soul would be born as a cobra and guard the hoard (adhyāya 187).

XII. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS :

The general impression of the political organization which one forms is that of a large area divided into small principalities ruled over by kings. The principalities may have been grouped together as the word Maṇḍala appended to Kāśmīra suggests. The kings seem to have been peace-loving and contented with their domains, but watchful and prepared to counter any aggression. They are said to have been full of regard for the welfare of their subjects. Two of them are interested in religious practices and one in spiritual matters. A revolution is a possibility which a king may not ignore as the poet indicates.

Towns and centres of pilgrimage dot the land, but most of the land is open countryside, woods and forests. Agriculture in the main, sheep-rearing, and commerce appear as the principal occupations of the people.

The division of the total population into four groups, namely, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras does not seem to have been absolutely rigid though the general pattern holds good. The Brāhmaṇas, especially, seem to have become lax in discipline as can be judged from those who had taken to professions like shop-keeping, music, agriculture, vices like dicing, drinking, and criminal practices and robbing. Even among "educated" Brāhmaṇas relatively few are devoted to learning; the others are driven into becoming Bhikṣukas running after money.

The poet himself seems to place enlightenment above mere learning and practice of rituals. His accent is on an effort to comprehend all

existence as a whole, well-co-ordinated unit in which each individual has a part to play for a while. The poet's view of life involves a far broader time-span than that in the literature of modern times. Our poet thinks of life here as a working out of one's good or evil actions and this enables him to treat of many transmigrations of the soul. Whether one agrees with the poet on this point or not, one can hardly fail to recognize his sincerity and the novelty of the unified view of Existence.

The decline of the Brāhmanical ideal suggests a society undergoing a gradual but definite change, it being reasonable to presume that what forced the most well-educated group to go off the standard could not have failed to affect other groups also. That the decline would lead to disintegration, and decadence is what the poet appears to have foreseen. Repeatedly he suggests that pursuit of pleasure is neither profitable nor proper for a traditionally cultivated class.

The poet's descriptions of cities and towns, the wealth of merchant etc. leave an impression of great prosperity; but covetous Bhikṣukas, thieving Vāguris, highwaymen, monkey-wards, stray dogs roaming the streets, Brāhmanas turned tradesmen and musicians also suggest great poverty side by side with great prosperity as is the case in modern cities like Bombay and Calcutta.

The lower orders are only occasionally mentioned; but it appears that jungle-folk like Vāguris and Jālikas were not accepted within the general social structure but stood on the borderline. Yet a philosophical shepherd could be an honoured member of society despite his class and occupation.

Though steady, change is slow in coming and the poet seems to be making an effort to maintain a structural status quo; still, he would have a greater degree of enlightenment among the people. The poet's insistence on the humanitarian ideal, on treating all forms of life with respect and kindness, on a disinterested pursuit of knowledge shows a definite advance in thought on the relation between man and his cosmic environment. Perhaps, the poet believed that such a readjustment of the viewpoint would cause a change in the social, economic, and political areas.

The ideal of "the good individual" rather than "the good citizen" fascinates our poet. He wishes that people should realize, through the *Gītā*, the eternal values and make an effort to preserve them so that irrespective of differences, the whole of society might form a homogeneous, well-knit unit. Some of the poet's ideas compare well with Bertrand Russell's ideas.

As said at the beginning, this group of eighteen adhyāyas forms a very interesting unit which yields not only considerable information about the

day-to-day life of the people of India, but also suggests a philosophical point of view, adoption of which would bring peace, if not prosperity, to the individual citizen.

XIII. THE POET AND BEAUTY :

This discussion of the *adhyāyas* would not be complete without some observations on the poet's extraordinary sensitivity to Beauty and his wonderful power of expressing his appreciation of it.

He does not indulge in tropes, but reveals, in a few highly suggestive but telling expressions, the essence of various aspects of the Beauty he sees all about him. Cities, forests bathed in moonlight, birds, movements of men and women, sounds — all charm him. The amazing catholicity of his taste suggests a very sensitive, cultured mind.

The poet has a special way of looking at cities. He rarely describes an individual item, a single distinctive feature such as a gateway, a building, or a fountain. He is, rather, charmed by the beauty of contour which structures, looked at as masses, form. He thinks of a city as a jewel set in the landscape. Tops of palaces, tall turrets gleaming in the bright Indian sunlight, fluttering flags fanning the tired horses of the sun (180.7-10), smoke rising thick and high from sacrificial fires, the massive contours of a palace resembling the serried ranks of Himālayan peaks (180.11), are all suggestive details for a painter to put into a picture. The white mansions, golden domes, blue flags, swans and lotuses of the capital of Kāśmīra move the poet to enthusiasm which is almost nostalgic (180.70-96). He subordinates all details so as to produce a unified impression of a beautiful, well-laid-out city in its proper perspective.

The poet suggests the activity, the bustle, the pulsation of life in a city by ingeniously and symbolically referring to the sounds which rise from them. For instance, in *Meghaṅkara*, the hum comprises the sounds of *Brāhmaṇas* reciting the Vedas, the neighing of horses, notes of music, vocal and instrumental (185.5-11). Suggesting not only life but also the variety of activity in the city as it does, this is a very clever device.

The jingle of ladies' bangles and anklets, little bells on girdles (185.10, 180.6, 10-11), helps the reader to visualize the graceful movements of women engrossed in typically feminine activities like pounding rice, drawing water from wells, tripping home with water-pots balanced on the head, and dancing. As a variation, high-pitched, short exclamations and the sound of chattering symbolize girls at play in *Pratiṣṭhāna* (180.6-7).

Such use of sounds suggests the varied, ceaseless movements of men and women, the regular ebb and flow of life's activity; it is an index to the writer's rich imagination, delicate sense of beauty, power of expression and the high quality of his technique which is surprisingly modern.

The poet is equally sensitive to the beauty of nature different aspects of which he brings out with deft touches. Flowers bending before the breeze, their pervasive fragrance, the hum of bees drunk on nectar, the softness of lotus petals, are some of the percepts to which the poet gives beautiful expression (176.12, 180.76, 82). It must be specially mentioned here that the sensations which move the poet are not only visual but also olfactory, tactile and auditory. Such all-round appreciation of beauty is very rare, and it substantiates this author's view about the catholicity of the poet's taste.

It is not alone in communicating delightful experience through suggestive description that the writer excels. He uses attitudes, movements, gestures to suggest variation of moods, and states like abjectness and contentment. Of this the following may be mentioned as excellent examples : the slinking of a suspicious, frightened, stray dog (183.20-23), the involuntary toss of the head of an exhausted, dying horse (183.30), the musk deer's reflective rumination suggesting dreamy contentment (184.21), the silvery moonlight signifying welcome coolness (187.17-22), the growl and ominous twitching of a tiger's tail (187, 35-36) indicating his ferocity. This device enables the writer to render a complete mental state, an attitude, a point of view with great economy as well as vividness.

The physical beauty of women receives its meed of praise from the poet. When he speaks of an individual woman, his description is not much more than a mere catalogue of her charms (177.24, 25; 184.59, 60). But the poet, aware of the limitations of this method, employs it sparingly. He attempts to communicate the indefinable grace of well-formed limbs in movement, the appeal of gestures and sweetly spoken words.

It is the courtesan's spontaneous act of charity and not her beautiful shape which makes her come to life (175.40.41). A disturbed expression in the eyes — *madavvhalalocanā* — vividly represents a woman beside herself with desire (176.26). The poet captures the beauty and records the mental states of the women he speaks of through such deft touches.

The poet's description of the dancing *apsarās* is of a high artistic order. The *apsarās* have the definite objective of disturbing the ascetic's mind and inducing him to give up his Yogic practices. The distraction has to be as complete and as gentle as possible. The skilful poet describes

the dancing so beautifully that he brings out its manifold appeal. Sound, rhythm, tempo, body-movement — each of them beautiful in itself — are unified into an impression of extraordinary beauty. The deep note of the *mṛdaṅga* is distinguished from the high one of the flute; the initial slow tempo is almost audibly worked up to the final fast one. The speed of the dancers' movements is suggested by a beautifully vivid piece of description. As the tempo increases, the dancers' light upper garment lifts itself up, floats in the air forming a graceful curve as it slowly settles down. This lazy movement of the cloth emphasises the dancers' rapid ones. With admirable control the poet subordinates all details to a rare, unified rendering of movement in which visual and auditory impressions are combined (178.25-30).

Another example of delicate suggestion is the girl with the *Vlqā* in *adhyāya* 184: it is the pearl* she wears for an ornament, not a catalogue of her charms, which evokes an impression of her beauty. So, too, the poet makes the touch of the moon's light transform the unpleasant wife of the good *Brāhmaṇa* into a living image of Desire in *Woman* (187.23, 24).

The poet is at his best in speaking of women in groups. He brings out all the pleasantness, the grace, the charm of their presence. Here, again, a delicate suggestion like jingling of bangles or anklets (180.81; 185.10) is fillip enough for the reader's imagination. Incidentally, the charming women of *Mahārāṣṭra* — bathing in *Godāvārī*, playing games, climbing up to the terraces of houses, chattering freely (180.5-7), seem to have specially fascinated the poet. To the dark eyed women of *Kolhāpura*, women with curls in their hair and complexion like full-blown *Campaka* flowers, the poet pays his highest compliment: "they charmed even sages" (186.7-10).

The poet is conscious of beauty everywhere and in everything about him. He sees it not only in the conventionally beautiful objects but also in stately — even mad — elephants, dogs chasing a hare, the fragrant and cool breezes, flags fluttering in the wind, the smoke of sacrificial fires, and a hundred other objects and experiences. He has sympathy for almost everything though he is never sentimental. Perhaps it is this catholicity of outlook and sympathy which is the secret of the poet's awareness of the aesthetic value of everything about him. Rarely is a poet so sensitive to the varied manifestations of Beauty — through sound, smell, touch, sight — and rarely does a poet have such deep insight into the evocative potential of simple expression.

*This may prove useful in determining the date of composition of the *adhyāya*,

NEW MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA

I

Abhayākaragupta, the renowned scholar of Tantric Buddhism, flourished during the period of Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty¹ of Eastern India. He is the author of several treatises on Tantric Buddhist rituals,² of which the most celebrated is the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Ever since the publication of this text in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. CIX from Baroda in 1949, it has been accepted by scholars as an important source-book for the study of Buddhist iconography. The descriptions of Buddhist deities contained in the 312 *sādhana*s of the *Sādhana-mālā* cannot account for the iconography of all the images of Buddhist divinities represented in art.³ The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta gives us much help in this regard, since it contains iconographic descriptions of many deities and forms not mentioned in the *Sādhana-mālā*, and thus adds considerably to our knowledge of Buddhist iconography. Moreover, the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* contains the description of twenty-six *maṇḍalas* in all their possible details. This has made the text unique, since no other work of Tantric Buddhism is known to have contained such a comprehensive description of so many *maṇḍalas*. We have, however, come across another work, by the same author, which describes, though sometimes only briefly, a number of *maṇḍalas*. In addition, it contains a mine of information on various aspects of Buddhist ritual and iconography which have remained obscure to scholars in the field.

The work concerned is entitled *Vajrāvalī-Nāma-Maṇḍalopāyikā* or *Vajrāvalī-Tantra*.⁴ The author's name is invariably given as Abhayākaragupta, who is frequently styled a 'great scholar' (*mahāpaṇḍita*). We have been able to study as many as four manuscripts of the work: two belonging to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and one each from the collections of the University Library, Cambridge (U. K.) and the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Of these, the Cambridge manuscript (No. ADD. 1703) is dated in the Newari *Saṃvat* 249 = A. D. 1129. One of the manuscripts of the Asiatic Society (No. G. 4835) has the figure 250 written on the colophon. This might indicate the date of the manuscript, obviously in the Newari *saṃvat*. This will mean that the manuscript concerned should be dated to A. D. 1130. Thus both these dated manuscripts seem to belong to the period of Rāma-

pāla,⁸ and as such to be contemporary with Abhayākaragupta, who flourished during the reign of this Pāla ruler.

Although from the above we cannot precisely ascertain the date of the composition of the *Vajrāvalī*, we can perhaps be sure of two things: (1) that the *Vajrāvalī* was composed before A. D. 1129 or in that particular year; and (2) that the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, the celebrated work by the same author, Abhayākaragupta, was composed presumably a few years before this date, since the *Vajrāvalī* mentions, in the list of several other texts, the name of *Niṣpannayogāvalī*⁶ as one of the works from which the information contained in the *Vajrāvalī* has been derived. The other works mentioned as authorities in the *Vajrāvalī* include the *Samuṭa-Tantra*, the *Vimalaprabha*, the *Vajraḍāka-Tantra*, the *Mañjuvajramanḍala-Tippaṇi*, the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, the *Bhūtaḍāmara-Tantra*, the *Kālacakra-Tantra*, the *Trailokyaviṅjaya-Tantra*, the *Abhidhānottara-Tantra*, the *Śrisamāja-Dvikāla Tantra*,⁷ etc.

The prime object of the *Vajrāvalī*, as defined in its introduction, seems to be to discuss briefly (*saṅkṣiptam*) the rules and systems pertaining to the *maṅḍalas* (*maṅḍalavidhi*). But significantly, it deals with numerous other topics pertinent to Tantric Buddhist worship and rituals. For example, it has discussions on *Śiṣyasamgraha-vidhi* (recruitment of the disciples), *Bhūkhanana* and *Bhūmiśodhana-vidhi* (the digging and purification of the earth), *Āsana-vidhi* (sitting attitudes), *Abhiṣeka-vidhi* (rules of purification) of various ritual items like the garland (*mālā*), water (*udaka*), crown (*mukuṭa*), thunderbolt (*vajra*), bell (*ghaṅṭā*), mirror (*darpaṇa*), etc., *Pratiṣṭhā-vidhi* (rules for the installation of images [*pratimā*]), ponds (*puṣkariṇī*), wells (*vāpi*), monasteries and edifices (*vihāragandhakūṭicaitya-vasthāśrama*),⁹ etc. Moreover, it has a detailed discussion on the *Bodhi-cittotpādana*⁹ (how to bring the mind to its supreme state) and the *Caryāvṛata*¹⁰ (the practice of the vow) – the two important aspects of the Tantric Buddhist system of devotion.

Apart from the above, the *Vajrāvalī* contains the description of thirty *maṅḍalas*.¹¹ The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* has the description of as many as twenty-six of them. The additional *maṅḍalas* described in the *Vajrāvalī* are: *Ṣoḍaśabhujasya maṅḍala*, the *Kurukullā maṅḍala*, and the *Aparāṃṣṭa-trayasya maṅḍala*. Moreover, the *Vajrāvalī* describes the *Sambara maṅḍala* twice – as the first and again as the sixteenth *maṅḍala* – thus making the total number of the *maṅḍalas* thirty. Although twenty-six of them seem to bear the same titles as those of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, and the contents of these twenty-six also seem to be more or less the same in both works, the

literal description of these *maṇḍalas*, as found in the two works concerned, differs considerably, the reason for this being that the account of the *Vajrāvalī* is, as discussed above, given briefly (*saṅkṣiptam*), whereas that of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* is a little more elaborate. The two accounts thus differ in their literal renderings. The order of the *maṇḍalas*, as given in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and the *Vajrāvalī*, seems also to be the same, except that the latter introduces the three other *maṇḍalas* mentioned above, in between, and gives a duplicate *Sambara-maṇḍala* as the first *maṇḍala* in the collection.

The present work by Abhayākaragupta is referred to as a *maṇḍalopāyikā* meaning, obviously, that the work deals with the various systems and procedures (*upāyikā*) involved in the comprehension and articulation of the *maṇḍalas* which form the essential basis of the Tantric Buddhist mode of devotion. The term *Vajrāvalī* occurring in the title has not been explained in the work. H. P. Shastri observed: “*Vajrāvalī* means a row of conventional figures of thunderbolt, which are to be found everywhere among the Buddhists of Nepal”.¹² Obviously Shastri's reference was to the system, as seen by him in Nepal, of the drawing of the *maṇḍalas* with a series of drawings of *vajras* (thunderbolt-signs) on the periphery. This explanation finds support in the following expression found in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*: *vajrāvalīmaṇḍalimaṇḍaleṣu*,¹³ meaning, in the *maṇḍalas* surrounded by a series of *vajras*.

II

The importance of the *Vajrāvalī* is essentially for the description of thirty *maṇḍalas* that it contains. But to a student of Buddhist art and iconography, the work is a valuable document for several obscure iconological concepts, and also for the correct interpretations of the sitting postures (*āsanas*) ascribed to the images of gods and goddesses. Here we propose to take note of a few such important topics.

One of the topics discussed in the *Vajrāvalī* is the making of images (*pratimādi*) of deities and the artistic and ritual processes involved in the preparation of manuscripts (*pustakādīkaraṇe*) with painted forms (*rūpānulekhanam*). It not only speaks of the *mantras* to be uttered during the actual process of articulation, and also during the act of purification of the tools and implements to be used, but also makes a categorical mention of the fact that the artist had to be paid the honorarium (*śilpitoṣaṇa*) for his commission. Here mention is made of wood (*dāru*), clay (*mṛt*), stone (*pāṣāṇa*) and cloth (*vastra*) as the materials to be used in the making of images (*pratimādīkaraṇa*) and manuscripts (*pustakādīkaraṇa*).¹⁴ Surprisingly,

for the latter the *Vajrāvalī* does not mention the requirement of paper, but refers to cloth (*vastra*) instead. In respect of the tools used, however, we find the mention of the pen (*lekhanī*) and ink (*masī*), obviously for use in the preparation of manuscripts (*pustaka*) with illustrations of deities (*devatā-rūpam*). Another tool referred to is the *kurcikā* which, meaning a painter's brush, is also related to the art of painting. It is surprising that, although the sculptural materials like wood, stone and clay are mentioned, the text is silent about the nature of tools and implements used in this art. The overall reference, however, seems to be to the painting or drawing of the forms (*rūpalekhanam*) of the deities (*devatāyā*).

The goddess Vasudhārā is known to have two forms, viz., the two-handed and the six-handed forms. The two-handed form of the goddess is described in the *Sādhanamālā* in three of its *sādhanas* (Nos. 213-215); the description resolves more or less into a single iconographic type, particularly in respect of the distribution of the attributes in the hands, the right hand showing the *varadamudrā* and the left holding either the sheaf of corn (*dhānyamañjarī*) or the sheaf of corn together with a pot showering various treasures (*dhānyamañjarinānāratnavarṣaghaṭa*). It is interesting to note that the *Vajrāvalī* also describes the two-handed form of the goddess Vasudhārā, but there she is ascribed the pot (*bhadraghaṭa*) in the left hand and the *abhayamudrā* in the right.¹⁵ It is thus an addition to our knowledge of the iconographic formulation of the two-handed images of the goddess.

The name of the goddess Vasudhārā implies her association with the earth-goddess. But nowhere, except in the later *dhāraṇī* texts, is this clearly stated. It has, however, to be noted that the *Vajrāvalī* unambiguously equates Vasudhārā with the earth-goddess (*prthivīdevatayā sahaikībhūtām*), and also states that she stood witness for the Śākyasiṃha (Buddha) against Māra. This information finds additional meaningfulness in view of the goddess Vasudhārā being referred to here as the *bhūmipāramitā*. The two-handed form of the goddess, as described in the *Vajrāvalī*, is very close to the iconography of the goddess Lakṣmī, particularly in her form worshipped at the popular level in Bengal.¹⁶ In this connection it has to be mentioned that according to Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Abhayākara Gupta hailed from Bengal, although he was a resident of Magadha, as given in the Tibetan Tangyur.¹⁷

The *Vajrāvalī* is an important document for the study of the *āsanas* or sitting postures as applied to Buddhist iconography. One of its sections gives an exposition of the most important of such *āsanas*.¹⁸ It will be useful to take note of the definition and description of these *āsanas*¹⁹ in order to identify them in Buddhist images.

III

Moreover, it has an exposition of a number of important hand gestures applied to Buddhist images and also in the rituals for their worship.²⁰ It has to be mentioned that the *Vajrāvalī* mentions two types of postures of the body – the standing and the sitting. For the former it uses the terms like *sthāna*, *pada* and *karaṇa*. For the sitting posture it invariably uses the term *āsana*. But, sometimes, even for standing postures the *Vajrāvalī* uses the term *āsana*, e. g., the *ālīḍhāsana* or *ālīḍhapada* and *pratyālīḍhāsana* or *pratyālīḍhapada*. In this work, usually, the term *sthāna* has been used in connection with static poses, for postures requiring movement of the feet and thighs the term used is *pada*, while for dance poses involving rhythmic movements virtually of the entire body, the term which has been preferred is *karaṇa*. In this connection it is a matter of interest to note that for hand gestures too the *Vajrāvalī* uses three terms, each with a distinctive meaning. For hand gestures indicative of an action or mood the term used is *hasta*, for instance, *abhaya-hasta* or *varada-hasta*. But, for such hand gestures which have some symbolic significance of their own by virtue of some incident attached to them or in view of the association of special ritualistic import, the term usually applied is *mudrā*. For instance, *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, *dharma-cakra-mudrā*, *tarpaṇa-mudrā*, etc. When the gesture is to be expressed with a bit of acting or affectation of the body (*kāya*) and look (*dr̥ṣṭi*), the *Vajrāvalī* has used the term *abhinaya*. A number of such *abhinayas* like *khaḍgābhinaya*, *śarākarṣaṇābhinaya*, *kṣepaṇābhinaya*, *phaṇābhinaya*, etc., are defined in the *Vajrāvalī*. We can refer here to the definition of *khaḍgābhinaya* as given in the following way in the *Vajrāvalī* :²¹

vāmavajramuṣṭīkoṣāddakṣiṇavajramuṣṭīmākṛṣṭya
khaḍgābhinayena dhārayediti khaḍgābhinayaḥ

The above will mean, 'the gesture suggestive of the drawing of the sword has to be disposed this way – one should act like drawing the fist of the right hand out of the fist of the left hand, as if in the act of the drawing of the sword (out of the scabbard).' The word *abhinayena*, meaning 'through acting' brings out the true import of the gesture referred to here.

In this connection we should refer to another very interesting point that we come to know from the study of the *Vajrāvalī*. In the context of the definition of the standing posture *jātapada*, the *Vajrāvalī* states that the posture should be as in the image of Tārā of Vaiśālī (*Vaiśālītārāpadavat kuryaḍ iti jātapadam*).²² From the nature of the reference it seems that by the time of Abhayākara-gupta (that means between the late eleventh and the early twelfth century A. D.) the image of the goddess Tārā of Vaiśālī might

have acquired so much of celebrity that a mere reference to it was sufficient to explain the standing posture known as *jātapada*. People obviously remembered all details of the image, that is why it could be referred to by the author of the *Vajrāvalī* by way of an example for the posture he was defining. That an image of the goddess Tārā at Vaiśālī was very famous and that the standing posture of the image was somewhat distinctive are known from the following extract from the accounts of the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvāmin who visited this place sometime between 1235 and 1236 A. D. : “a miraculous stone image of the Ārya Tārā with her head and body turned towards the left, foot placed flat, and the right foot turned sideways, the right hand in the *varamudrā* and the left hand holding the symbol of the Three Jewels in front of the heart. The image was known to be endowed with great blessing, and the mere beholding of the goddess' face relieved devotees from distress.”²⁸

Thus we come to know that a standing image of the goddess Tārā at Vaiśālī became very famous in the eleventh–twelfth century and remained so till at least the middle of the thirteenth century when Dharmasvāmin saw it.

It is of interest to note that a manuscript of the Buddhist text *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* from Nepal, dated Newari era 135 (= A. D. 1015), now preserved in the University Library, Cambridge, contains illustrations of various deities with inscriptional labels disclosing their names and the places where the respective iconographic forms were famous. One such illustration showing a standing female deity has the attached inscriptional label reading *Tīrabhuktau Vaiśālī Tārā*,²⁴ meaning, Tārā of Vaiśālī in Tīrabhukti. A similarly inscribed miniature painting is to be noticed in the manuscript of the same text, dated Newari era 191 (= A. D. 1071), in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.²⁵ In both these illustrations the goddess Tārā, in the standing posture, is shown inside a temple. By its side is shown the scene of the offering of honey by the monkeys to the Buddha. This scene is added obviously to give visual expression to the identification of the place as Vaiśālī where this particular incidence of the life of the Buddha took place.²⁶

There is no doubt that this Vaiśālī Tārā of the miniatures of the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts of 1015 and 1071 A. D. is the same as Vaiśālī Tārā referred to in the *Vajrāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta of the eleventh–twelfth century and the goddess Tārā of Vaiśālī described by Dharmasvāmin in the mid-thirteenth century. This will mean that by the beginning of the eleventh century, the iconographic form of the image of the goddess Tārā enshrined in the temple at Vaiśālī became quite famous and the fame lingered till at

least the thirteenth century. But no mention of this iconic form is to be found in the *Sādhanamālā* or the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. The mention of the form in the *Vajrāvalī* not only is an addition to our knowledge, but this piece of information is of considerable significance in the history of Buddhist iconography in view of the evidence we get from the manuscripts of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and from the accounts of Dharmasvāmin.

IV

It has already been stated that the *Vajrāvalī* contains the description of as many as thirty *maṇḍalas*. Abhayākaragupta has given a fuller description of almost all of them in his celebrated *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. The account found in the *Vajrāvalī* is virtually a gist of what the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* contains.²⁷ But a critical analysis of the descriptions will show that the *Vajrāvalī* contains some valuable new information as well. Moreover, the latter takes note of a number of alternative views (*matāntara*)²⁸ regarding various aspects of the rituals as given in other texts. The *Sādhanamālā* also refers to the existence of several *matāntarasādhanas* or alternative iconographic forms²⁹ of many deities. This is, no doubt, of some significance in the art-historical sense. The common notion with us is that the prescriptions of Buddhist iconography and rituals were very rigid. But the existence of the provision for a second opinion in the form of a *matāntara* leads us to think otherwise. A series of interesting questions thus emerges: Do these alternative views represent different "schools" of thought pertaining to Buddhist iconography and ritual? Are these due to regional differences? Do they represent the views of different sub-sects? How far can they be explained in terms either of an innovation or an exercise of freedom of imagination? The *Vajrāvalī* will not answer all these questions, but that it evokes them is perhaps one of the most important contributions to the history of art and iconography.

Brian Hodgson collected from Nepal various information and evidence, literary and visual, pertaining to Buddhist iconography and ritual. His materials are now preserved in various collections, most notably in the India Office Library, London. These were studied by the present author. They were found to contain not only collections of *sādhanas* of Buddhist deities, together with the various alternatives (*matāntarudhyāna* / *-sādhana*), but also drawings of images and *maṇḍalas* from older manuscripts or the walls of monasteries. It is interesting to note that some of the drawings of *maṇḍalas* are accompanied by the descriptive labels for the various parts of the respective *maṇḍalas* often given at the sides in numerical order. Some of them have only the numbers mentioned against the respective parts

of the *maṇḍala*, and not their literal meanings. As for example, the drawing of the *Durgatipariśodhanamaṇḍala* has the numbers written on the respective parts, whereas, on the same page of the drawing, there is a representation of the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* showing not only the numerical indices, but also their literal explanations at the sides. Similarly, in the drawing showing the *Dharmacakramaṇḍala*, the numerical indices and the descriptive labels are given simultaneously. It is interesting to note that the outermost circle of this *maṇḍala* is given the label *juvālāvalī* (series of fire-flames) followed by *vajrāvalī* (series of thunderbolts) and *padmāvalī* (series of lotuses). The *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* is represented twice, one copied from a Nepalese painting, the other from the walls of the Mahī Vihāra of Patan in Nepal. This shows that the *matāntara-sādhana* was not merely a theoretical proposition, but it existed in practice as well, particularly among the Buddhists of Nepal.³⁰

As has already been stated, the *Vajrāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta is a mine of information pertaining to Buddhist iconography and ritual. Equally important, although apparently not of much antiquarian value, are the "Hodgson Papers" referred to above. If these materials were to be studied together with all possible thoroughness, many enigmatic problems of Buddhist iconography might be solved and new light might be shed on numerous unknown facts. The present paper highlights a few important aspects of the *Vajrāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta and of the Hodgson Papers, so that they may receive due attention from scholars interested in this field of study.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Apart from the other evidence regarding this, it has to be mentioned that the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, has the manuscript (No. G. 3827) of another work of Abhayākaragupta, entitled *Buddhakaṇḍala-Tantra-Tīkṣā*. The final colophon states that it was authored by Abhayākaragupta (*kṛtā. paṇḍitasthavirābhayākaragupta-pādānām iti*) and also, the colophon of the 14th *paṭala* states that it was composed in the 26th year of the reign of Rāmapāla (*rājyābde rāmapālasya pañcaviṃśe 'karoḍ imām*).
2. In the introduction to the *Niṣpannayogīvalī* ed. by B. Bhattacharyya in Gaekwad's Oriental Series (C1X), Baroda, 1949, there is a list of 24 titles authored by Abhayākaragupta (the list is quoted by Bhattacharyya from pp. 88 ff. of Bose's *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*).
3. This point has been discussed in details in Bhattacharyya, D. C. *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources* (New Delhi, 1974) and *Studies in Buddhist Iconography* (New Delhi, 1978).

4. The Ms. No. G. 3855 of the Asiatic Society gives the title in folio 121A as *Vajrāvalīnāma maṇḍalopāyikā*; the Ms. No. G. 4835 has the title; *Vajrāvalīnāma maṇḍalopāyikā*, The Oriental Institute Ms. (No. 13180) refers to the work in its colophon as *Vajrāvalītantra*, The author is indebted to Dr. U. P. Shah for the opportunity to study this last-mentioned Ms.
5. Rāmapāla's reign period is accepted to be between 1084 A. D. and 1130 A. D. For other views see *Studies in Buddhist Iconography* (New Delhi, 1978), pp. 64-65.
6. Asiatic Society Ms. No. G. 3855, folio 23B.
7. *Ibid.*, Folia, 24B, 32B, 30A, 39A, 42B, 43B, 44B, 48B, 54A, 111A, respectively.
8. *Ibid.*, folios 8B, 9B, 10B, 16A, 16B, 98B, 90A, etc.
9. *Ibid.*, folio 89 ff.
10. *Ibid.*, 104B ff.
11. Of these, only 27 are described in Ms. No. G. 3855 according to H. P. Shastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1917), p. 157. But the actual number of the *maṇḍalas* described in it is 30.
12. *Ibid.*, Also, cf. the following expression of the *Sādhanamūlā*, p. 130; *aṣṭāstambhoṣāśobhitāni stambhoṣari (vṛta) valayavajrāvalīvṛtāni madhyaputeṣu pañcāsu* etc.
13. *Niṣpānnayogāvalī*, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1949, p. 1.
14. Asiatic Society Ms. No. G. 4835, fols. 4A-4B.
15. *Ibid.*, folio 15B.
16. For a detailed discussion, see Bhattacharyya, D. C. 'New light on the iconography of Vasudhārā', *Dr. U. P. Shah Felicitation Volume*, shortly to be published from Baroda.
17. *Sādhanamūlā*, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Second edition (Reprint), Barode, 1968, Introduction, p. xci.
18. Ms. No. G. 4835, fols. 12B-13A. Also. in fols. 10A-11A, there are the definitions of standing postures (*padas*).
19. For an exploratory study on this topic, see Bhattacharyya, D. C. 'On Some Buddhist Āsanās', *Chhabi-2, Rai Krishnadasa Felicitation Volume*, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, 1981, pp. 182-186.
20. Ms. G. 4835, fols. 11B-13B.
21. *Ibid.*, fol. 12B.
22. *Ibid.*, fol. 10B.
23. Roerich, G. and Altekar, A. S. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, Patna, 1950, p. 61.
24. Foucher, A, *Etude Sur L' Iconographie Bouddhique de l' Inde d' apres des documents nouveaux*, Pt. II., Paris, 1900, pl. VII, 1.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Mitra, D. *Buddhist Monuments*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 73.
27. These *maṇḍalas* have been quoted in Bhattacharyya, D. C. 'Vajrāvalīnāma-maṇḍalopāyikā of Abhayākaragupta', *Tantric and Taoist Studies. Professor R. E. Stein Felicitation Volume*, due for publication from the University of California, Berkeley, USA.

THE NANDOPĀKHYĀNA, THE NANDAPRABODHANA AND THE BOOK OF SINDBAD

H. C. BHAYANI

Several late Sanskrit versions of an old Indian tale, lost in its original form are available in print, although, they have hardly attracted the scholars' attention they amply deserve. The history and diffusion of that tale, within and outside India, are highly interesting. Besides, they have important implications also for the history of the *Bṛhatkathā*, the *Pañcatantra*, etc. It is intended here to touch a few of the points only,

I

A work titled *Nandopākhyāna* was published in 1968 as no. 92 in the Rajasthan Purātan Granthamālā of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur.¹ It contains three different but related short Sanskrit works: (1) *Nandopākhyāna* (anonymous), (2) *Nandabatrīsī* and (3) *Nandakathā* (or *Nandakathānaka*) of Sahasraṛṣi. The last of these works, viz. the *Nandakathā*, is in verse. It was composed in 1610 A. D. at Siyalkot (now in the Eastern Punjab in Pakistan). Sahasraṛṣi was most probably a Jain monk of the Sthānakavāsīn sect. The first of the above three works, viz., the *Nandopākhyāna*, is in prose and verse. It is undated, but it was composed before 1675 A. D., the date of copying of its manuscript. The second work, viz. the *Nandabatrīsī* ('The Thirty-two Verses about Nanda'), is known from numerous other sources, with a plethora of variants, extending at times to whole verses. The language and style of many of these verses remind us of the late story-works in the so-called Jain Sanskrit, although the rest of the verses may be comparatively early. The *Nandopākhyāna* and the *Nandakathā* incorporate many of these verses. There is evidence enough to believe that at least some of the *Nandabatrīsī* verses derive from an earlier version of the tale, most probably, a prose-cum-verse narrative.

As found in the above three works, the first part of the tale relates to a king who, being attracted by the beauty of his minister's wife, wants to seduce her. He visits her clandestinely at night during the minister's absence but being exhorted by the porrot and the cat, who kept watch, as also by the chaste lady, he regrets his shameful conduct and returns. The minister returns from abroad. He comes to know about the king's visit, but his wife as well as the king assure him that she (i. e. the minister's wife) had remained firm in chastity.

The second part of the tale relates to how the minister, becoming suspicious and apprehensive of being murdered by the king, himself murders the latter secretly. Later on, the secret leaks out through a concealed eyewitness of the crime and the minister is executed by the king's son and successor.

It seems that these two parts were originally independent but later on they got combined into a single tale.

Another published Sanskrit version of the tale of Nanda we find in Subhaśīla Gaṇi's *Pañcasatī-prabodha-sambandha* (also called *Pañcasatī-kathā-prastāva-kośa*), composed in 1465 (ed. by Mṛgendramuni and published in 1968 from Surat). Tale no. 102 (pp. 60-68) is called the tale of the Minister Vairocana about treachery. This is a fuller version of the tale as compared to what we find in the *Nandopākhyāna* and the *Nandakathā*. It has a prologue and a sequel not found in the latter two. It contains all the verses of the *Nandabutrīsī* and several more. The author clearly states that his source was a non-Jain popular (*laukika*) tale.

II

The *Book of Sindbad*, known in several Arabic versions, which are probably derived from a lost Pahlavi version, narrate several tales in support of the unfaithfulness and faithfulness of women.³ In his essay titled, "The Nature of the 'Book of Sindbad'," G. T. Artola has examined³ B. E. Perry's thesis that the *Sindbad* was originally composed in Pahlavi. He has cited substantial evidence in support of the older view of Benfey, Deslongchamps and others that the supposed Pahlavi source of the *Sindbad* was not original, but was based on a lost Sanskrit text. Among other things he has cited striking parallels to five fables of the Iranian *Sindbad* from the tales we find in the written or oral literatures of Thailand and Laos which are of Indian origin. One of the tales discussed is the Leo fable of the *Sindbad*, to which one fable found in an unpublished text of the Leo fable-book titled *Mula Tantai*, presents, as Artola has pointed out, a close parallel. According to Artola, the Lao version may very well represent the earliest formulation of that fable. He has reproduced in his essay the French translation of the Leo fable, titled *Le Perroquet*, which was made by Ph. Phouvong.⁴ The following somewhat abridged and free rendering is based on it.

THE PARROT

The King Paya Kolabakaraja was threatened by the enemy. He ordered his general to go to the frontier and drive back the enemy. The general left, instructing his parrot and the bitch with her puppy to guard the

house against any trouble-maker. One bright night the king left his palace unseen and reached the general's house. When he entered the courtyard the puppy started to bark, but the bitch restrained it saying not to show disrespect to the king. Before entering the house the king took out his shoes. The parrot saw him and perceiving his intention to seduce the beautiful wife of his master, he thought out a stratagem to dissuade him. He narrated to the bitch a story with a riddle to while away the night-time, saying that the riddle was such as could be made out only by a royal person. The story was as follows :

The paddy planted under royal order was surrounded by a fence in order to protect the young sprouts from the nuisance of the birds. To chase away the birds the royal slave had to go into the forest with a crossbow. During his absence a crow ate up all the plants.

The parrot asked the bitch whether she could make out the hidden meaning. The king heard this conversation of the animals and fearing that the parrot would divulge his secret visit, he decided to return and to kill the general when he returns and then take his wife. As he returned in haste he forgot his shoes, which he had left at the entrance and which the lady found the next day. The parrot told her who had come. She sent him to inform the general. The general having won a brilliant victory returned and encamped at a village near the capital, because he was afraid that the king being enamoured of his wife would murder him. He decided to send a message to the king that would convey indirectly to him his knowledge about the king's design on his wife. He sent him a letter saying : " Returning after a brilliant victory, during a halt I had a terrible dream : ' There was a beautiful lake which was the property of a wolf. A lion dwelling in a golden palace in the neighbouring cave went to bathe himself in that lake. But seeing there the wolf and thinking it undignified for a king to bathe in the same lake, he returned '. As this dream troubles me I thought I might share it with you. "

The king got the hidden sense of the message and he sent back the messenger with the reply that the general can return without fear. The general returned. His wife showed him the shoes the king had forgotten. He got the route from his house to the royal palace decorated, and placing the shoes in a palanquin on the back of the sacred elephant, took out a procession. The people applauded, saying that if merely the presence of the royal shoes could win such a brilliant victory, how much more could be achieved by the presence of the king in person in the battle ! Arriving at the palace the general bowed down before the king. Appreciating his services

the king made him his commander-in-chief, and presented him one thousand villages.

III

Artola has convincingly argued for the Indian origin of the five tales from the *Sindbad* discussed by him. But he has not been able to discover early Indian analogues to the tales called LEO (the Laotian parallel to which we have given above) and SIMIA⁵ from the *Sindbad*. The tale of king Nanda and his Minister, however, referred to above, shows beyond any doubt the existence of a Sanskrit tale corresponding to LEO. We have been able to discover numerous versions of this tale or its parts in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, and also in Dravidian and new Indo-Aryan languages like Kannadā, Tamil, Gujarati, Rajasthani etc. A list of these versions, along with some allusions found in other works in Sanskrit, Prakrit etc. is given below with brief remarks. The differences and Interrelationships of these versions are reserved for a separate study.

1. The *Parantapa Jātaka* (*Jātakatṭha-kathā*, No. 416).

The latter part of this tale relates how the king's slave, in collusion with the queen with whom he was in love, murders the king, and how the royal chaplain, who happened to be a hidden eye-witness of the slave's crime, revealed it to the prince when the latter became adult, and consequently the slave was killed by the prince. Thus it is the earliest known version of the second part the *Nandabatrīsī* tales. The two key verses of the tale (*āgamissati me pāpam* etc. and the second verse with the latter half *karissati laisam paṇḍum sāvā sākḥā parantapa*, which is also repeated in verses 3 and 4) are practically the same as verses 24 and 31 of the *Nandabatrīāī* verses, and they are characteristically present in many of the versions based on the *Nandabatrīsī*.

2. The *Nandanaprabodhana* tale from a lost Sanskrit version of the Paisācī *Vaḍḍakadhā* (i.e. *Bṛhatkathā*):

In his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, while treating the topic of the various types of messengers, Bhoja illustrates *sārikā* functioning as a messenger from the *Nandanaprabodhana* in the *Bṛhatkathā*. There the myna named Medhāvinī says, according to Bhoja, the following verse :

kiṁ krandasi nirākrānta, Nandano rāja-taskaraḥ |
amṛte viṣam utpannam, yato rājā tato bhayam ||

(*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, ed. by G.R. Josyer, 197..., p. 908). Raghavan shows that this reference is to a Sanskrit recast of the *Bṛhatkathā*, different from

the three available ones, and possibly it was the same as one written by the Gaṅga king Durvinita of the first half of the sixth century. (*Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, 1963, pp. 839-844).

This reference obviously relates to the first part of the tale as we know it from the *Nandabatrīsī* versions. The cited verse is in the following form in the *Nandabatrīsī* :

tvam̐ kim̐ krandasi mārjāra, rājā Nando na taskaraḥ |
amṛtād viṣam utpannam̐, yato rakṣā tato bhayam ||

The name of the king is Nanda in many of the later versions of the tale, and correspondingly the minister's name is Vararuci (which becomes transformed as Vairocana in modern versions). But the above-noted citation from the *Bṛhatkathā* seems to have Nandana. One suspects that the *Bṛhatkathā* citation is textually ill-preserved. In the *Nandabatrīsī*, the above verse is said to have been spoken by the minister's wife. But according to the *Nandopākhyāna*, it is spoken by the parrot and it is addressed to myna (there the first Pāda reads : *mā krandā tvam̐ tu he Sāri*). The fourth Pāda is *yato rakṣā tato bhayam* in the *Nandabatrīsī* tradition, and it makes much better sense than *yato rājā tato bhayam* of the *Bṛhatkathā* citation. The title of the tale also was possibly *Nandaprabodhana* ('Awakening Nanda's Moral Sense') instead of *Nandanaprodhana*.

Our surmise is clearly corroborated by the fact that in Āmradevasūri's version of the Nanda tale (see below), dated 1133, we have the above-quoted verse addressed by the myna to the cat and there also the reading is *Nando rājā na taskaraḥ* (and otherwise also it corresponds textually to the *Nandabatrīsī* verse), and it is also explained there why the cat took the king for a thief.

3. The Tale of Extremely Greedy king Viśvavasu in the *Tantrapākhyāna* of Vasubhāga :

This is a version corresponding to the latter part of the *Nandabatrīsī* and similar to that which one finds in the *Parantapa Jātaka*. On p. 74 of the Trivandrum edition we find the first key verse (misunderstood by the editor as prose), which is as follows :-

keneyam̐ kampitā śākhā, nareṇa vānareṇa vā |
yadyayam̐ puruṣaḥ sa syāt, taddoṣam̐ kathayisyati ||

It is significant that as against the reading *tadā hi calitā śākhā manusseṇa migena vā* in the *Jātaka* version, we have here *kampitā śākhā nareṇa vānareṇa vā* which reading closely corresponds to that we find in the versions

in the *Nandabatrīsī* tradition. It has the second key verse also which is similarly closer to that which we find in the *Nandabatrīsī* tradition rather than the one in the *Jātaka* version. It is as follows :—

*suvr̥tte padmapatrākṣi, haṁsa-sārusa-gāmini /
hṛdaye mama tiṣṭhantī, śākhā viśvāvasoriva ||*

This is an evidence of the tale having been incorporated some time during its history in the Pañcatantra tradition.

4. The lost Prakrit Version known to the old Kannada *Vaḍḍārādhane* :

The *Vaḍḍārādhane* is a collection of nineteen tales in old Kannada prose written in the first half of the 10th cent. A. D. The tales are based on the nineteen *gāthās* (No. 1539–1557) of the *Bhagavatī Ārādhana*, an early religious text of the Digambara Jainas. There is evidence enough to think that the *Vaḍḍārādhane* was dependent upon several earlier works, one of which was the same Prakrit commentary on the *Bhagavatī Ārādhana* that must have served also Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathā-kośa* (9 A. D.). In the tale of Cāṇakya (No. 18) in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, the first section is unique, as it is absent in the other known versions of that tale. Directly or indirectly it derives from the Sanskrit *Bṛhatkathā* version of the Nanda tale, referred to above. The tale of Cāṇakya recounts how king Padma Nanda's minister Kāpi alias Viśvasena, who was in love with the queen Sundarī, killed the king and later on, having been exposed by a gardener, was punished by the successor king Mahāpadma Nanda. This seems to be a distortion of the *Nandaprabodhana* version. But it is quite significant that this version also has the two characteristic verses of the original tale. They are *yeneyari kampitā śākhā*, etc. and *nīlotpala-dalaśyāmā*, etc.⁸

It is also noteworthy that like Vasubhāga's *Tantropākhyāna* and the Sanskrit *Bṛhatkathā* of Durvīnṭa (quite possibly used by Bhoja), this source also is South Indian.

5. The Prakrit version in the *Manoramā-kahā* :

Manoramā-kahā of Vardhamānasūri is an extensive religious-narrative work in Prakrit composed in 1083–1084 A. D. It has been edited by Rupendrakumar Pagaria and published as the L. D. Series, Ahmedabad, in 1983. In the first Avasara (i. e. chapter) of the *Manoramākahā*, the religious merits and demerits respectively of observing and violating chastity (*Śīla*) are illustrated by means of the tale of Śīlavatī and various other tales in it. In the "emboxed" tale of Śīlasundarī (*Manoramā-kahā*, pp. 89–92), we find a version of the Nanda tale. As this is

the first available full version of the first part of the tale, I give it below in a slightly abridged and somewhat free translation.

Śīlasundarī

Dhanacandra, a merchant of Suśarmapura, went abroad on business, urging his wife Śīlasundarī to be extremely careful regarding her chastity. Once in the spring season, king Candrasekhara, while he was proceeding towards the royal park to enjoy the view of vernal beauty, chanced to see the beautiful face of Śīlasundarī, who was witnessing the royal procession from her house window. The king at once fell in love with her. Advised by a trusted servant, he sent her through him a message requesting a meeting. Śīlasundarī invited him to come to her residence the same night.

The king, dressed gorgeously, arrived at the appointed time at the merchant's house, which Śīlasundarī had decorated for his reception. As the king entered the bed-room, Śīlasundarī got up from the cot and offered him a cushioned seat. But the king occupied the cot, and invited Śīlasundarī, who had sat down on the floor, to sit by his side. She replied, "It does not behove a female jackal to occupy the same seat with a lion." When the king insisted, she narrated the following parable.

In the city of Puṣpakaraṇḍaka, the gardener Kundaketu was a horticultural expert. A merchant placed an order with him for supplying beans out of season. The gardener reared the bean-plants. As the plants grew big, the watchman once informed the gardener that some of the bean-plants were eaten away by somebody in spite of the fact that the hedge was nowhere broken in and there was no sign of anybody's trespass. The gardener himself kept vigilance at night and found out unbelievably that the protective hedge itself was devouring the bean-plants! The gardener exclaimed: "When the protector himself becomes the devourer (or destroyer), who can serve as a refuge? Concluding the parable, she added the bean-plants stood for the subjects, and the hedge represented the king.

Hearing this parable, the king was overwhelmed with shame. He praised Śīlasundarī's steadfastness in chastity, offered apologies, expressed remorse for his behaviour, and said he was retiring to his palace, taking precaution not to be seen by anybody. He left the room and proceeded towards the back-door of the house.

Now the merchant Dhanacandra, who had just returned from abroad, stationed his men on the city precincts, and came to his residence secretly to find out the state of affairs. As he was entering his house through the back-door, he came face to face with the king, who was going out at that moment

through the same door. With a shock, he made a way for the king. The perturbed king walked out hurriedly, when unconsciously his finger-ring, with his name engraved on it, slipped down from the finger. The merchant picked it up.

When the merchant entered the living quarters, he saw that the house was festively decorated, the cot was covered with rich tapestry and Śīlasundarī was well-dressed and adorned. Stunned with astonishment and dejection, he stood before Śīlasundarī. As she welcomed him, he could not detect any sign of perplexion or shame. He felt hatred at the dastardly behaviour of women, and ideas of renouncing the world or punishing Śīlasundarī raced through his mind. But he decided not to act hastily, and demanded an explanation from her. She told exactly what had happened. Dhanacandra said that it was a very serious matter and he would properly investigate. Thereafter he went out to call his men and bring the imported goods. The next day he went to offer presents to the king among which he had also kept the fallen finger-ring. The door-keeper announced Dhanacandra's arrival. When the latter entered in the king's presence, he (i. e. the king) held his face down remorsefully. Dhanacandra offered to the king the presents with the ring arranged on the top.

The king took the ring and wore it on his finger. He asked Dhanacandra about any marvel he possibly came across during his trip. The latter replied that he did see a marvel, not abroad, but in their very city. He saw a lion returning from a pond of clear water, where he had gone to drink. The king understood the veiled allusion and with a view to allay Dhanacandra's suspicion, he said "I also know that incident. You do not know the full truth about it. It was true that the lion entered the pond, tarried there a little, but as his desire was not satisfied he returned thirsty, out of shame and fear." Dhanacandra's suspicion was removed. He returned and honoured Śīlasundarī.

The merchant instead of the minister, the king's accidental glimpse of the merchant's wife, the omission of the guarding animals (parrot and cat), etc. seem to be secondary features. In the Laotian and *Nandabātrīsī* versions, the tell-tale object which the returning king left behind is a pair of shoes and not a ring as in the present version. But corresponding to the instructive and suggestive anecdote of the paddy-stealing crow narrated by the parrot to the bitch in the Lao fable, we have here a similar anecdote of the hedge stealthily eating away the beans, narrated by the minister's wife. The source of this anecdote seems to be the *Nandabātrīsī* verse No. 10, which is narrated by the parrot according to some versions, or by the cat according

to other versions, and which contains the proverb of the fence eating the cucumber (instead of guarding it). That proverb is current in modern Gujarati also. The device of returning the forgotten object to the king through taking out a ceremonial procession is also commonly shared by the Lao version and the present version, and is found in several of the *Nanda-batrīsī* versions. The suggestive 'dream' conveyed by the general to the king in the Lao version finds a correspondence in the present version in the dialogue between the king and the merchant about a lion going to drink water from a pond, but returning without drinking. This feature is also present in the *Nandabatrīsī* versions.

6. The Prakrit Version in the *Ākhyānaka-maṇi-kośa* commentary :

Another Prakrit version of the tale of Nanda is found in Āmradevasūri's commentary on the *Ākhyānakamaṇikośa* of Nemicandrasūri (ed. by Muni Punyavijaya, Prakrit Text Society Series No. 5, 1962). The date of the commentary is 1133 A. D. Among the tales glorifying chastity occurs the Narrative of Rohiṇī (*Rohiṇyākhyānaka* : No. 15, pp. 61-65). This metrical version follows closely in its first part the version found in the *Manoramā-kahā* except that here the usual feature of the pet myna and the cat doing the duty of watchmen is preserved, and there is no parable based on the proverb of the fence swallowing the cucumbers. But the tell-tale detail of the king dropping his finger-ring (or forgetting his shoes) is absent, and the latter part of the tale is patently a secondary modification to serve the didactic glorification of observing chastity. One quite significant point is the occurrence of the same Sanskrit verse, which is cited by Bhoja from the *Bṛhatkathā*. The fact that it occurs here in the midst of a narrative wholly in Prakrit divulges the source from which Āmradevasūri derived this tale.

7. The Old Gujarati and Rajasthani Versions :

There are several Old Gujarati versions of the tale of Nanda and Vairocana. They include the verse versions prepared by Narapati in 1489, by Saṅghakula in 1504, by Vimalakīrti in 1647 and by Śāmala Bhaṭṭa (a non-Jain version) in the 17th century. The Jain versions are closely allied to the version we find with Subhaśīla and contain a few or many of the *Nanda-batrīsī* verses. Śāmala's version is the most extensive of all and is marked by poetic descriptions and dramatizations in the traditional narrative style. Besides this a prose version is known from Early Rajasthani (Marwari). It is anonymous and is called *Vārtā Vairocana Mohata-rī*. Some current folk versions are also available in the oral traditions of Rajasthan, Gujarat, etc.

IV

It will be recognised from this rather sketchy and unsystematic account that the tale of king Nanda and his minister Vararuci had a very long and complex development. It formed a part of the *Bṛhatkathā* tradition, it became incorporated in the Pañcatantra tradition, and it also migrated to ancient Iran and Arabia as is evidenced by the *Book of Sindbad*.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Quite strangely and inexplicably the name of the editor of the works is not given. The general editor of the Series, Phatakṣinha, is also quite silent about the Mss. used, method of editing, etc. I for one know that the editor of the first two texts is Dr. B. J. Sandesara, while the third text was edited by Late Jinavijaya Muni. For some unknown reason the edited texts were published without the introduction or even the names of the actual editors. The work was printed as far back as 1962.
2. W. A. Clouston, *The Book of Sindbad, or, The Story of the King, his Son, the Damsel, and the Seven Vazirs*, 1884.
3. G. T. Artola, *The Banner of Kāmādeva*, Bombay, 1977, pp. 13-43.
4. Artola, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-33.
5. The earliest version of this tale is found in the *Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya* of the Ārya-Mahā-sāṅghika-Lokottaravādin, a Buddhist Sanskrit text of the century (ed. by G. Roth). The *Śukasaptati* also has two versions of this tale. (No. 32 and 43 in the *Textus Semplicior*, ed. R. Schmidt). There are several Modern Indian versions. See Bhayani H. C. 'Some Versions of the tale of Vyāghramārī', *Sambodhi*, II, 1, April 1973, 47-48.
6. *Vaḍḍūrūdhane*, p. 181; *Khadabadi's Study*, p. 204, citation 101 and p. 202, citation no. 75; see also my review of Khadabadi's book, *Sambodhi*, VIII, pp. 178-180.
7. See for example the *Nandabatrīsī* verse no. 18; the *Nandopākhyāna* verses 29, 31; Subhaśīla's version verses 14, 15, 16.
8. See also in this connection H. C. Bhayani, *Śīlasundarī : Nandabatrīsīnū Ek Prācīn Rūpāntar* (in Gujarati), *Śri Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā Traināsika*, 41, 3, July-Sept, 1981, pp. 103-106.

REFLECTIONS ON RELIGION IN THE GĀTHĀSAPTAŚATĪ

NALINEE CHAPEKAR

The *Gāthāsaptasatī* (=GS) is the earliest work in the Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit, originally the dialect of Maharashtra. King Hāla Sātavāhana, the compiler of the Gāthās, belonged to the period between the second century B. C. to the second century A. D. The GS thus gives the picture of the Deccan in the period between the second century B. C. to the second A. D. This is a secular poem and is closely related with the masses. The Gāthās are mainly erotic and love is the principal subject. Naturally there is little scope for references to the religion as such. Yet, significantly quite a few Gāthās depict the religious practices and beliefs of the people. In the GS there are references to the Vedic gods like Agni, Sūrya, Indra, Śiva, Viṣṇu and to the epic gods like Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. However, Vedic gods Indra and Prajāpati are not regarded as important as the epic gods Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Sacrificial ritual was not very popular. There is only one reference to Hotā, the priest, in Gāthā 722.¹ It seems that Śaiva and Bhāgavata cults were popular.

The GS describes Śiva as 'helper of the families in distress' (467). The epithets used for Śiva are 'Pasuvai' (448), 'Hara' (700) and 'Pamahāhiva'. Śiva is so much loved by the people that poets did not feel embarrassment in describing the marriage (69), and love-sports (455) of this god. The spouse of Hara (*hara-vāhu*) also is seen requested to give refuge to the devotee (985). The sect of Kāpālikas is indicated by a reference to a female follower (*kāvāliā*) engaged in the act of besmearing her body with the ashes from a funeral fire (*uddulmārambhu* 408). The Tantra cult does not seem to be prevalent at the times of GS.

Devī-worship or mother-goddess cult prominently expressed in sculpture is not so reflected in the GS. Gori is mentioned as consort of Śiva Haravāhu; and Laccī or Siri appears as the spouse of Viṣṇu (151, 388, 810). Besides these two the only goddess mentioned is Ajjā, who seems to be a rural goddess like Grāmadevatā. A house-holder is seen offering a string of large bells of his dead buffalo to the goddess in the temple (172). This is not a very significant reference to Devī-worship. Devī, as all-powerful, creator of the universe, Mother of all, does not appear in the GS.

1. The numbers of the Gāthās are according to the edition of the *Gāthāsaptasatī* by S. V. Jogalekar.

Gaṇapati, the god with an elephant face, is mentioned in the GS by the terms Gaṇavai and Gaṇāhivai. The mythological story about Gaṇapati drying the ocean by means of the trunk and filling the sky with the submarine fire is referred to :

हेलाकरगभट्टिभजलरिकं साभरं पभासन्तो ।
जभइ अणिगभवडवग्नि भरिभगगणो गणादिवई ॥ 403 ॥

“The Lord of Gaṇas is victorious by laying bare the ocean with its waters quaffed off easily by his trunk and by filling up the sky with the sub-marine fire which could not be subdued.”

In another gāthā (372) the Gaṇavai, being worshipped by an old woman at the foot of a tree, is mentioned :

जो सीसम्मि विहण्णो मज्झ जुभाणेहिं गणवइं भासी ।
तं न्विभ एहिं पणमाणि हभजरे होदि संतुदडा ॥

“I bow down now before the same idol of Gaṇapati, which was placed as a pillow under my head by the young men. O wretched decrepitude be pleased.”

It seems that the idol meant here is a sort of flat stone, carved with figures, which could be used as pillow, if the occasion so demanded. The shape of this idol is not clear from the said verse and doubts are expressed about the identity of this god with the above mentioned Gaṇāhivai. The idol is placed at the foot of the tree. Big temples of Gaṇapati are not mentioned in the text. From this, Gaṇapati seems to be a rural god. It is generally believed that Gaṇapati, son of Ambikā, was introduced into the Hindu pantheon much later i. e. in the period between the end of the fifth and the end of the eighth century.² Again, it has not been yet determined when the God came to have the elephant's head. The reference in the GS is therefore very significant.

The GS belongs to the period not later than the second century A. D. Here Gaṇapati appears in the fully developed form as the trunk - the elephant face also is mentioned. It should be noted here that there is no reference either to Śiva or to Gori in connection with this Gaṇapati in the GS. Further, in the sect of Gāṇapatyas, the worship of Vināyakas was regarded as ancient. Vināyakas were evil spirits and were propitiated before beginning an action for the removal of the obstructions. Here in the GS, Gaṇapati does not appear as malignant spirit, for the woman is said to have used the

2. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, B.O.R.I., Poona, 1929.

idol even as a pillow and is not afraid of him. There is no reference to the worship of Skanda, later on regarded as brother of Gaṇapati.

Solar worship is very ancient in India and is continued till modern times in one or other form. It was current at the time of the GS as even Lord Śiva is described as paying homage to the Sun. Śiva offers twilight oblations (*sañjhāgahia jalāñjli*) to the Sun. (700). At another place Śiva is presented as getting ready for the daily rite of offering water at twilight (*sañjhāsamae jalapūriañjalim*, 448). There is a gāthā full of devotion to the Sun :

पञ्चसागक्ष रञ्जिभदेह पिभालोभ लोभणानन्द ।
अण्णत्त खविभसव्वरि गहभूत्तण दिणवद्द णमो दे ॥ 653 ॥

“ O Sun, the lord of the day, who appears early morning, whose body is red, whose light is dear to all, who delights people's eyes, who passes the night in another sphere and who is an ornament of the horizon, my salutation be to you. ”

In another verse the chariot of the Sun with a banner (*vai-rahā-siharadhaa*) is referred to (34). A youth offering prayers of victory (*jelekāra*) to the Sun with folded hands is also described (332). Thus Sūrya seems to be the popular god in Maharashtra. Here Weber sees the indirect influence of Persia. It is believed that Magas, the sun-worshippers, came to India from Iran and were responsible for the spread of the sun-worship in India. About the construction of the image of the Sun, Varāhamihira, the author of the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* (6th cen. A.D.) states that the body should be covered with stitched coats, the feet and legs of the idols should be enclosed or covered upto the knees, and the body should be dressed in the fashion prevalent in the north (*udīcyaveśān*). This is certainly not Indian but a Persian feature. The sun-images, discovered so far, agree with the above description. So the Persians, the Magi Brahmins, who came from Persia, were held responsible for the spread of Sun-worship in India. Yet, references to Solar worship in the GS do not indicate any Persian influence. The worship of the Sun-image is not at all mentioned in the GS. The gāthās describe the worship of rising and setting Sun in the Nature. And, this sun-worship is definitely current from Vedic times as is clear from the well-known stanza from the *R̥gveda* :

तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥ RV. III. 62. 10

Therefore it will not be correct to see the Persian influence in the solar worship described in the GS.

The people seem to have been well acquainted with story of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa (Somitti). Devotional attitude towards Rāma is described by

of those damsels. Now, this clear mention of Rādhā is very significant. This is regarded as the first reference to Rādhā in the whole ancient literature in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Originally Rādhā did not appear as a divine character in the form of Viṣṇu-śakti. The philosophical application of 'Rādhā-tattva' associated with 'Kṛṣṇa' came very late in the 12th century A. D. Dr. Sashibhusana Dasgupta³ rightly states that in the beginning Rādhā appears in the literature in the popular love-poetry and later on she finds place in the religious and Purāṇa texts. Even the *Baāgavata-Purāṇa*, which describes in detail Kṛṣṇa's love-sports with Gopīs, does not clearly mention Rādhā's name, though 'one Gopī' as the most favourite of Kṛṣṇa has been referred to. Only two or three Purāṇas like *Padma-Purāṇa*, *Matsya-Purāṇa* and the *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa* clearly mention Rādhā by name. Thus in the sectarian literature and Purāṇas 'Rādhā' occurred very late. In the Sanskrit literature Rādhā is mentioned in the *Veṇīsamhāra* and *Dhvanyāloka*, which belong to the eighth century A. D.. Mention of Rādhā in the GS is therefore of unique importance. As the GS reflects the picture of masses it becomes clear that Rādhā was popularly known among the common people before the second century A. D.

The dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu and his relation to Bali are clearly seen in -

वल्लिणो बाभाबन्धे चोज्जं णिउभत्तणं च पञ्चदन्तो ।
सुरसत्थकभाणन्दो वामणरूवो हरी जञ्ज ॥ 406 ॥

"Hari in the form of dwarf, who displays wonder and art in reply in clever words to Bali and who causes delight to the host of gods is victorious."

Another gāthā mentions the third step of Hari, which was lifted towards the sky for want of space on the earth -

अपहुप्पन्तं महिमण्डलम्मि णहसंठिअं चिरं हरिणो ।
तारापुप्फप्पअरञ्चिअं व तइअं पअं णमह ॥ 4 ॥

"Bow down before the third foot of Hari which is not having space to stay on the surface of the earth, remains long in the sky as if it is being worshipped by the multitude of flowers in the form of stars."

A third verse describes Mahumahaṇa (Viṣṇu) extending his dwarf form to the sky by assuming huge proportions. (425). These references clearly indicate author's knowledge regarding the Purāṇic legend of Vāmana-Avatāra

3. *Rādhākā Kramavikāsa* (Hindi). Varanasi, 1956, pp. 100 ff.

of Viṣṇu. The actual composition of the Purāṇas, available at present, took place much later after the seventh century A. D. The Avatāra theory also is assumed to be of late origin. Yet, the stories must be current among people in general. The three steps of Viṣṇu have already been mentioned in the Vedas. Here the GS shows acquaintance with the fully developed story of Viṣṇu in the form of Vāmana, his three steps and King Bali etc. These references are helpful to understand the origin and development of the Avatāra-theory and other Purāṇic legends.

Vedic gods like Indra and Prajāpati do appear in the GS but mainly in their Purāṇic form. Paavai (Prajāpati) or Vidhi is described as creator of the universe, creator of the human beings and as responsible for the union and separation of human beings.

विरहे विसं व विसमा भमभमभा द्दोइ संगमे भद्विअं ।
किं विहिणा समअं विभ द्दोहिं वि पिआ विणिम्मिभभा ॥ 235 ॥

“ In separation she is painful as poison and in union she is very much full of nectar. Has the creator really made her with both these things in equal proportion ? ”

Another gāthā no. 810 refers to Brahman, the son born from the navel-lotus of Viṣṇu (Brahmā nāhikamattha). This form, later on recognised by the Purāṇas, already makes its appearance in the text of the second century A. D. The gāthā 584 refers to the bow of Indra. This gāthā gives the clear picture of Indra as one who breaks the clouds and brings rains :-

मेहमहिसस्स णज्जइ उअरे सुरचावकोडिभिण्णस्स ।
कन्दन्तस्स सविअणं अन्तं व पलम्बए चिज्जू ॥ 584 ॥

“ Lightning is hanging like the intestine coming out from the stomach of the (crying) thundering clouds in the form of a buffalo ‘ Mahiṣa ’, cut by the thunderbolt, the bow of Indra. ”

Here scholars see reference either to war between Indra and Vṛtra or to the killing of ‘ Mahiṣāsura ’ by Devī. Even in the *Mahābhārata*, Indra appears as the god of rains, as is clear from the story of Govardhanagiri. The connection of Indra with rains is already known to common people from very ancient times. Again, the reference to Mahiṣāsura and Devī would not indicate the later date of the text for it has been shown earlier that the Purāṇic ideas are current in the oral tradition from very early times though they are written down in later period. In the gāthā 858 a wooden idol of Indra is mentioned. Here Indra is described as *suranāha* – the king of gods. The custom suggested here is that before the construction of a well, etc. a wooden image of Indra is worshipped.

This wooden image of Indra (858) and a stone idol of Gṅapati (372) are the two references to idol worship. In one more gāthā (194) an idol of a domestic deity (*garadevatā*) in a deserted city (*uvvasianara*) is mentioned as wearing a stale garland. This idol-worship does not seem to be very common.

Buddhists are clearly mentioned in –

कीरमुहसच्छहेहि रेहइ व सुहा पलासकुसुमेहि ।
बुद्धस्स चलणवन्दणपडिइहि व भिक्खुसंघेहि ॥ 308 ॥

“Earth looks splendid with the red flowers of the Palāśa trees which resemble the beaks of parrots as if they were the congregated monks fallen, for worship at the feet of Buddha.”

The gāthā contains an allusion to the yellow or brown robes of the Buddhist priests. According to Weber, this gāthā decisively points out to a time in which the glorification of Buddha had been frequent enough in order to be employed as a popular picture. Here the icon of Buddha is referred to, but other iconographical details are not given. Two other verses may be taken as indicating the Buddhist influence. A hunter is described as putting aside his bow when he sees a couple of deer trying to protect each other from his arrows (601). The influence of the principle of non-violence is seen here. Again, fire from sacrificial altar is compared to the fire burning in a hut (227). It may suggest that the sacrificial religion had become a matter of derision and censure. The epigraphical evidence shows the popularity of Buddhism and the Nasik inscription records that Kaṇha, the second King of Sātavāhana dynasty and predecessor of Queen Nagnikā, appointed a special officer –*samañāṇam mahāmata*– to look after the well-being of the monks residing on the Tiraṅhu Mountain. Various donations from the lay follower of Buddhism are mentioned in various cave inscriptions. However, the inscriptions of Kṣatrapa Nahapāna and his son-in-law Uṣavadāta show that they gave donations to the Brahmins. The Sātavāhanas themselves were Hindus. The text of the GS also does not indicate the strong influence of Buddhism on the society in general. Epigraphical evidence is of a mixed type. The famous Naneghat inscription of Queen Nagnikā pays homage to Vedic deities like Indra, Sūrya, Candra along with the Purāṇic deities like Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa.

Thus both the literary and epigraphical evidence indicate transitional period in the religious thought of the times. Buddhism is not seen very popular and Brahmanism appears to have a full hold over the minds of common people.

The worship of many gods was prevalent. One friend is asking another as to which god among the gods is he himself (*ko si devānam*)

(276). People offered *jayakāras* or prayers of victory to gods, but a regular ritual of worship is not described. Salutations to gods like Rudra, Vāmana, Viṣṇu are mentioned. Oblations to Sūrya are referred to. As the idol worship was not very common, references to temples occur very rarely. A deity of the temple is stated only once where the temple is called Ajjāghara (172). It is probably dedicated to the mother-goddess. One temple is described as being deserted and being in ruined condition, it has become an abode of pigeons (64). One temple provides shelter to travellers where they burn fire of husk to keep cold away. Another shrine is furnished with a yard (*deulacatta*) (190). However, temple, as the centre of the religious and cultural activity, does not occur in the GS. Caves at Ajanta, Bedsa, Karle, Bhaje, Nasik, give the impression of their use as residence of the Bīkṣus. The GS does not mention any such shrine. Perhaps, shrines in the localities were not in practice.

Certain beliefs and customs mentioned in the GS are still prevalent among people. The belief in merits and demerits, rewards of precious deeds and rebirth is mentioned. It is believed that in the next birth one gets the thing meditated upon at the last moments (375). One can very well remember the verse from the *Bhagavadgītā* :

ये यं वाऽपि स्मरन् भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेवरम् ।
तं तमैवैति कौन्तेय सदा तद्भावभावितः ॥ VIII. 6 ॥

These philosophical ideas were rooted in the minds of the people from very ancient times. The custom of pounding corn into powder on some festive days is mentioned (624, 820). This can be compared to the similar custom called in Marathi as 'घाण भरणे' even today practised (in Mahatashtra) in the beginning of marriage and Upanayana ceremony. The jar full of water and mango-leaves is regarded as auspicious. The custom of Satī is stated in the GS by the terms 'Anumaraṇapatthia' (633) and 'Anumaraṇagahiavesā' (449). It seems that women used to adorn themselves before entering the fire with their dead husbands just as they would decorate themselves, while the husbands were living as the words *vehavvamadanam sohaggam jaam* would suggest. This also is an important reference as it throws light on the social conditions of the times.

In this manner the GS is an important text which gives valuable information regarding the social and religious practices as well as mythological aspects of different gods. As the GS reflects the mind of common people, it helps to understand the popularity of different gods and goddesses and thus serves as the important source of religious history.

ALTARS AND PLATFORMS IN ANCIENT INDIA (WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SAMARĀṄGAṄASŪTRADHĀRA)

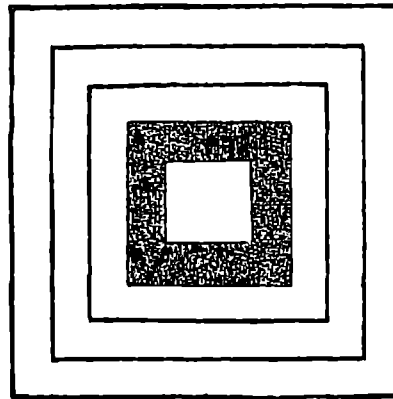
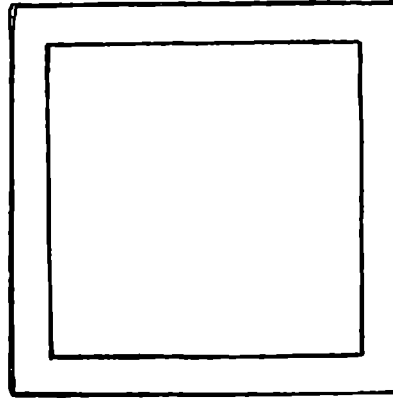
SADASHIV A. DANGE

The *Samarāṅgaṅasūtradhāra* of Bhoja deals with various types of structures; and, being the work of a royal author following the Vedic tradition, it gives attention to the *vedī* or the altar. In a whole chapter (47) the author deals with this construction; but the mention of the *vedī* is not restricted to this chapter alone, as is but natural. The *vedī* has been a very important part of a structure and is mentioned in contexts of important structures. Thus, in the context of the fixing of the peg and the measurement of the place for a structure, (*kīlakasūtrapāta*) which is the very first act at the start of a structure, the construction of a *vedī* is enjoined (37. 19), Here the *vedī* is described as having auspicious marks; it is to be "four-cornered" (*caturaśrā*) and should have four gates (*caturdvārā*). This makes her 'Sabbhadrā' to be noted later. It should be smeared with cowdung. Again, in the context of the *śilānyāsa* (the establishment of the foundation-stone, or the corner-stone),¹ the *vedī* is enjoined to be constructed. Here also the *vedī* is described as *caturaśrā*, and being endowed with a holy jar and sandal-paste-water (35.13 *sagandha-kalaśām caturaśrām prakalpayet*). It should be noted, however, that *vedī* in these cases does not seem to be the fire-altar, though the word has the connotation of the fire-altar at other places. Thus, in the case of the *kīlakasūtrapāta* noted above, the *vedī* is said to be strewn over with rice-grains (*akṣataiḥ supratīṣṭhitām*). In the centre of it a jar is to be placed; and this jar symbolizes Brahmā (37. 20, 24). In essence, this *vedī* is a raised platform, which might also be used to place the fire upon, among other things necessary for sacrifice. Another point to be noted is that in almost all such cases, the *vedī* is said to be *caturaśrā* (see Fig. I). Before we go to examine the other three types of *vedīs* or altars, broadly speaking, it would be in the fitness of things to mark the ancient form of the altar. For this we have to take into account the Vedic Śrauta *vedī*, and compare with it the *yajña-vedī* mentioned by Bhoja, after we note other *vedīs* mentioned by him. First, let us have an idea of the ancient Śrauta *vedī*.

The earliest reference to the *caturaśrā vedī* occurs in the *R̥gveda*, where it is conceived as the woman (as is in keeping with the symbolism of the altar) having four hair-braids (X. 114. 3 *catuskapardā yuvatīḥ*), which

indicates that it had four corners decked with the braid-shaped interwoven cords. The four sides of the altar were of equal length. From the point of magic, the 'four-corner' had gained importance. At one place in the *Rgveda*, it is said that "the four-cornered" (instrument) is more efficacious than the "three-cornered" (I. 152.2 *triraśrim hanti caturaśriḥ*), and the *vajra* of Indra is said to be *caturaśri* (IV. 22. 2). Though more corners came to indicate more power, there is no other indication than "four-corner" or the "hundred-corner" and "thousand-corner". Thus, the *vajra* is said to be "thousand-cornered" (VI. 17. 10). Another interesting symbolism is that the *vedi* is likened to the earth;³ and the earth itself is said to be *caturbhr̥ṣṭi* (X. 58. 3). This would mean that the square-shaped altar represented the earth, and was also symbolic of great potentiality, including totality. This was also the most original shape of the altar; and there is no indication of any other shape in the older Vedic period represented by the *Rgveda*. However, the shape shows modifications in the ritual texts, as in the case of the Śyena-citi, which was of the shape of the hawk.³

I
चतुस्रश्चा (चतुष्कयदी)



समेवला

Fig. I : The Square Altars

In the Vedic symbolism the *vedi* is not always identified with the fire-altar. The fire-altar is a part of the *vedi*, or it stands a bit away from the *vedi*. As noted above, the *vedi* was believed to be a woman; and the fire was her male. This is already indicated by the concept of the *catuṣkapardā yuvatiḥ*. The concept is clearer in the later texts, where the exact shape and place of the *vedi* is described. It is enjoined to be so made that its

"shoulders" (*amsau*) be elevated, facing the *Āhavanīya* fire-altar. The reason given is that "the *vedi* is the woman; and embracing the virile man does the woman lie" (*Śat. Br. I. 2. 5. 16*). To make the identification of

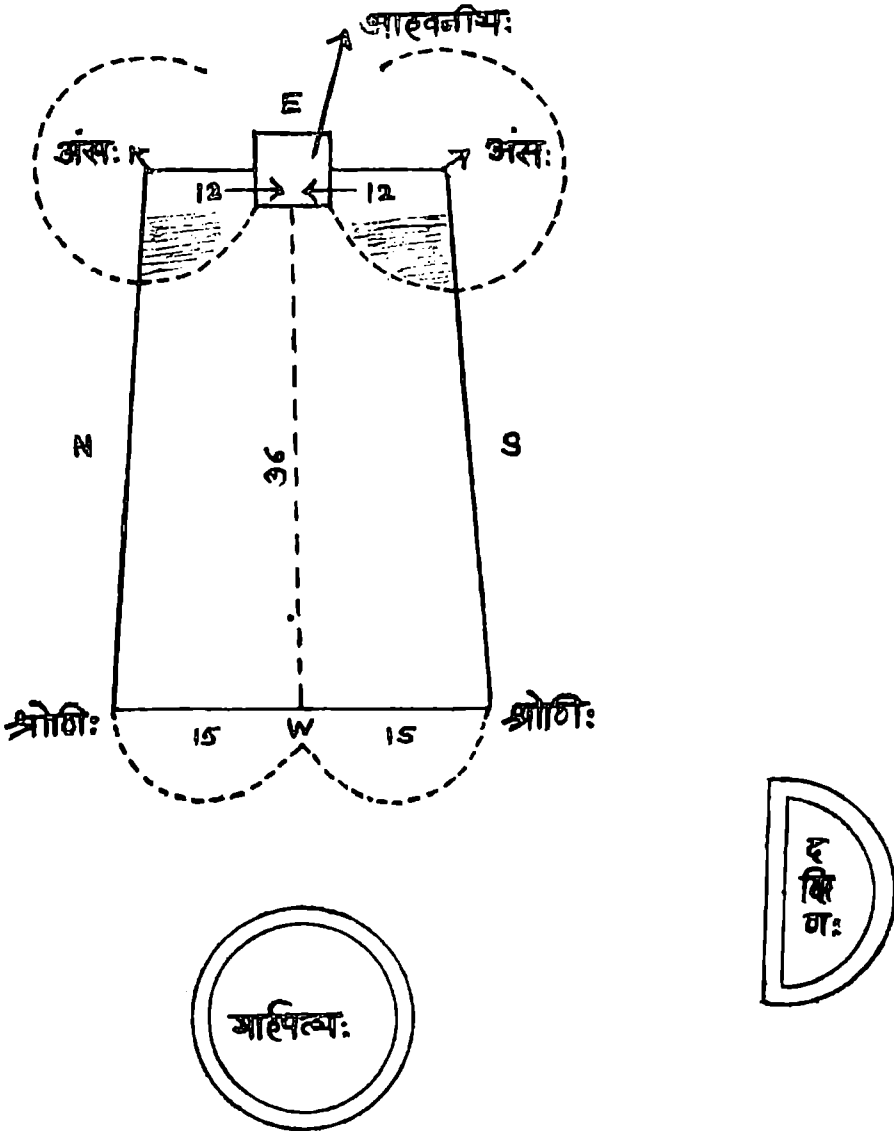


Fig. II : The Veda at the Soma Sacrifice. The adjacent altar at the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa in the west is not shown here, though the other two fires are shown. The *Āhavanīya* has to be inside, Here it is shown roughly. Cut-out lines indicate the embrace position.

the *vedi* with the woman true to life, it is said that the *vedi* is to be strewn over with sacrificial grass, as the woman's private parts are covered (*Ibid.* I. 3. 3. 8).⁴ The position of the Āhavanīya and the *vedi* is thus the embrace of the fire and the altar. If we remember that the earth is the *vedi*, and the Āhavanīya is the heavenly fire (the Sun), the position would indicate the close embrace of the sun and the earth. The suggested feminine nature of the *vedi* and 'her' nudity in the Vedic concept is to be noted; for, it enters the later shape and concept of the *vedi*, and the vagina-like shape of the fire-altars in the Purāṇic texts. The actual measurement of the Vedic altar is as follows: According to the measurement in the *Śatapatha Br.* (III. 5. 1. 2ff), first a main peg is fixed, which is to be three steps from the the main pole of the sacrificial pendal. To the south of this main peg another one is fixed at the distance of fifteen cubits; this new peg marks the southern buttock (*śronī*) of the *vedi*. To the north of the main peg another peg is fixed at the distance of fifteen cubits (*hasta*). This marks the northern buttock. To the opposite point of the main peg, to the east, at the distance of 36 *prakramas*, another main peg (the eastern peg) is fixed. To the south of this new (eastern) peg, at the distance of twelve cubits a peg is to be fixed. This marks the southern shoulder (*aṃsa*) of the *vedi*. Again to the north of the eastern main peg, at the distance of twelve cubits a peg is fixed. This marks the northern shoulder (Fig. II). The whole figure would give the idea that the *vedi* is embracing the Āhavanīya fire-place. The *śronī* (15 + 15 cubits on the West) is broader than the *aṃsau* (two shoulders) that seem to touch the Āhavanīya (on the east) and are narrower (12 + 12 cubits). The reasoning is as follows: "At the back the *vedi* is broader, indeed! 'She is broader at the back, she has spacious buttocks', so do they say about a woman, in praise. As she is spacious at the back, indeed, the one that is spacious at the back is prone to procreate" (*Ibid.* 11).⁵ The idea is not only that the *vedi* is a woman, but also that it is a device for the generation of prosperity, progeny and even the desired result. Offerings in 'her', would 'give birth' to accomplishment.

The measurement of the *vedi* is also said to be four *aratnis* to the west and three to the east, while the length is said to be 96 *anṅulas* (east-west). In a variation, to give a more realistic shape, the sides of the *vedi* are to be made curved inward (Fig. III). This would make 'her' more resemble a young woman, with the narrow waist (*tanu-madhya*, or even *paramāṇu-madhya* and 'sad-asad-samśaya-gocarodari'; (cf. *Naiṣadhīya* II.40; III.41), a detail use by Kālidāsa (*Kumārasambhava*, I. 39 *madhyena sā vedi-vilagna-madhya*). This would indicate that the type of the *vedi* with the in-curved sides was already known upto the 4th century A. D.); and Bhoja mentions

it, as we shall see later. The tradition (cf. *Satyāśāḍha Ś. S. I. 6*) enjoins the *śronī* of the *vedi* to be elevated to the Gārhapatya fire-place. The Āhavaniya is described as *sama-catuśra* (square), with 24 *aṅgulas* from side-to-side. The brim is said to be four *aṅgulas* wide. Both these fire-places, or altars, are enjoined to be sloping to the east or the north. We do note that the Gārhapatya altar is not square, but round; while the Dakṣiṇa fire-altar is of the shape of a winnowing basket (*śurpākāra*) (Fig. II) or bow-shaped, as it is described by others. The Gārhapatya is said to be 27 *aṅgulas* from side-to-side, while the Dakṣiṇa 19 *aṅgulas*. Though there is no clear reasoning for the shape of the Dakṣiṇa fire-place, it appears that the shape is to show the half-moon, as the fire-place is meant for the offerings to the manes; and the rounded fire-place might be confused with the sun-shape. But, this is purely a surmise at the moment.

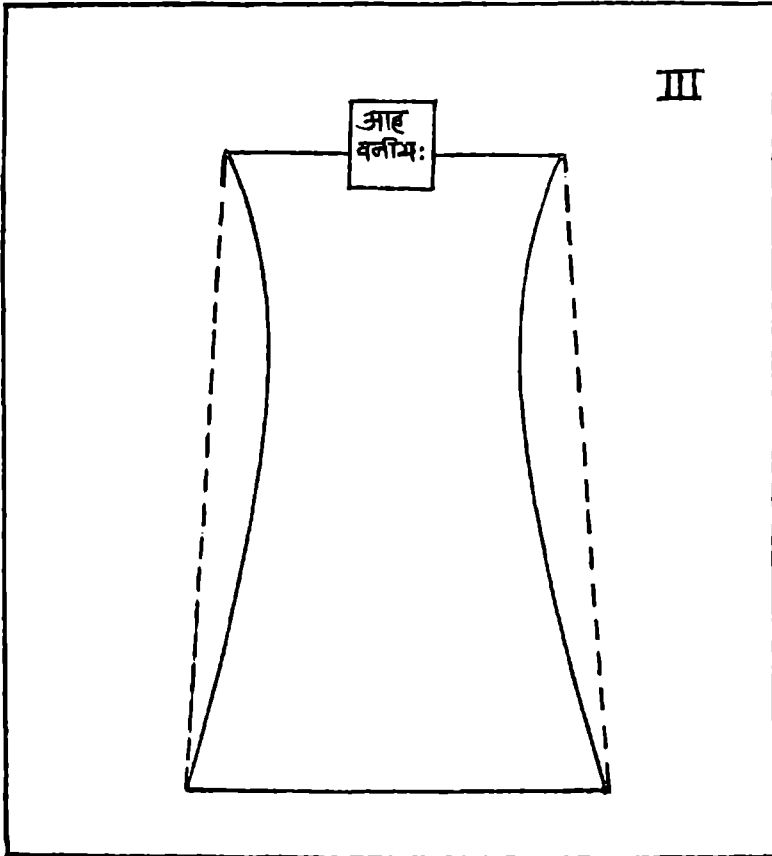


Fig III : Altar at the Darsapūrṇamāsa Sacrifice. Other fires are not shown. The Āhavaniya has to be outside the altar, just touching its eastern side. Here it is shown roughly.

The round shape of the Gārhapatya is to be seen also in the case of other fire-altars such as the Sabhya or the Āvasathya. But this cannot be said to have given rise to the altar called, later, *kuṇḍa*. The prototype of the *kuṇḍa* has to be seen in the Ukhā. The Ukhā is said to be the womb of the fire and, in shape, it is like a big jar without the mouth. At the top of it, and round the opening, there is the design of braided hair-arrangement (Fig. IV), which is the veritable *kaparda*. On the sides of the Ukhā are seen two breasts, just below the braided hair.⁶ This would indicate the Ukhā to be a grown-up and motherly woman. This is the prototype of the later *kuṇḍa*; and, on the mythical side, it is symbol of the womb from which divine births are indicated, one of the finest example being that of the birth of Vasiṣṭha (*RV VII. 33.13 kumbhe retah siṣicatuḥ*; in ritual symbolism the *retas* was the sand.⁷

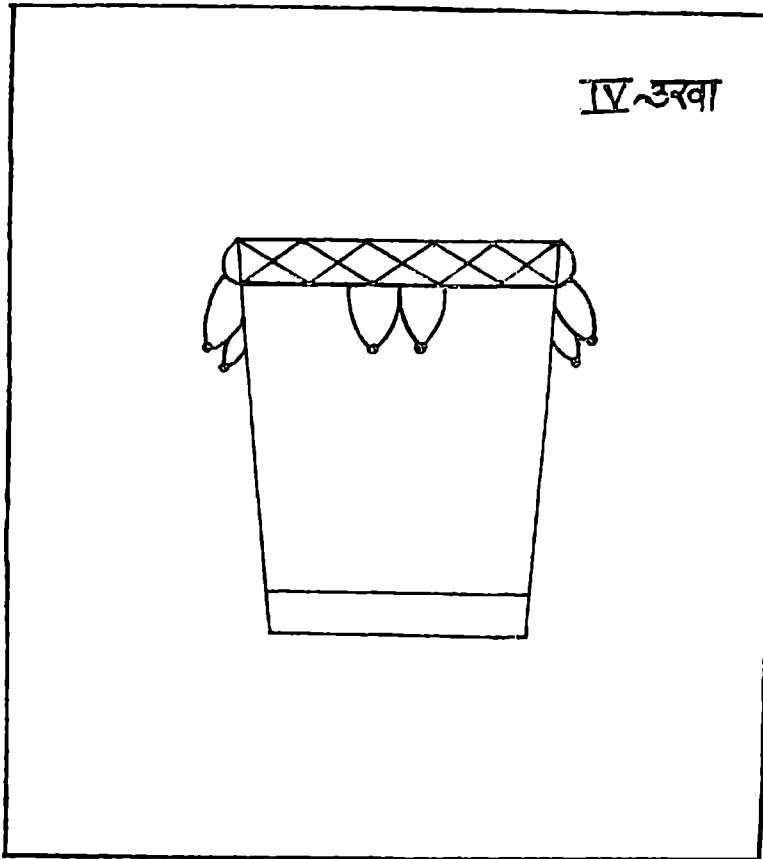


Fig IV : Ukhā with breasts,

As has been said above, the *caturaśrā* is the most popular type of altars from which came other variations. The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* mentions four types of altars (*vedī*), namely: (i) *Caturaśrā*; (ii) *Sabhadrā*; (iii) *Śrīdhari*; and (iv) *Padminī*. They are to be used for different purposes on different occasions such as sacrifice, marriage, installation of the idols of deities, the *Nīrājana* rite and the consecration of kings. The following are the general instructions for the construction of all the altars :

- (i) They should be constructed from bricks that are duly consecrated with suitable *mantras*;
- (ii) All should have rising steps (*mekhalā*);
- (iii) The height of each should be equal to $\frac{1}{3}$ the length of one side; thus, the *Caturaśrā*, which is nine cubits on each side, will have the height of three cubits; the *Sabhadrā*, which has the side measuring eight cubits in every quarter, will have the height of $2\frac{2}{3}$ cubits; the *Śrīdhari*, which has each side of seven cubits, will have the height of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, while the *Padminī*, which is six cubits on each side, will be two cubits high.

More details of each of the altars are as follows :

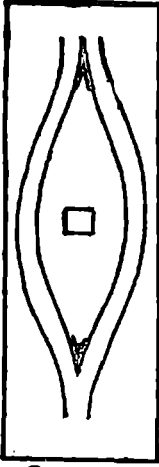
The *Caturaśrā* is a simple altar with four corners. The *Sabhadrā* (also called *Sarvatobhadrā*) is to be decorated with the *bhadra* signs. The *Śrīdhari* is said to have twenty corners (v. 8 *koṇavimśati-samyutā*); and the *Padminī* (called also *Nalinī*) is said to be set in the pattern of a lotus (*Ibid. padma-sainsthāna-dhāriṇī*).

The *Caturaśrā* is to be used at a sacrifice; the *Sabhadrā* is enjoined at the installation of an idol; the *Śrīdhari* is prescribed at marriages, while at such rites as the *Indramaha* or a royal consecration the *Padminī* (*Padmāvatī*) is prescribed. The following details come after the mention of *Padminī* (*Nalinī*); and it is not known clearly if they are to be restricted to this particular altar. They are: it should have faces (turned outward) at the four sides; it should have the steps (*sopāna*) on the four sides; it should have also gates, and should be decorated with the signs of the half-moon.⁸ At the four sides, at the corners, there should be four pillars; at the foot of each pillar there should be a jar filled with water; the jars may be prepared from gold, silver, copper or even clay; and they should have the attractive figures of monkeys (*valgu-vānara-bhūṣitaiḥ*). The ends that are to be fixed in the ground should be smeared with jaggery, honey and clarified butter (vv. 11-14).

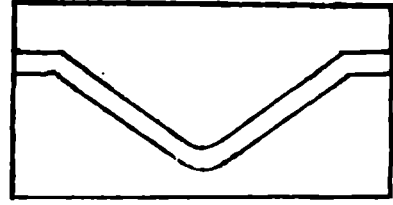
we do not get any further details regarding the *vedis*, nor is it made clear whether the various types of the *vedis* are set in the square; but probability of this being so is great. The Śrīdharī *vedi* is said to have twenty corners; in actual shape it could hardly be differentiated from the round one, because the corners could be rarely visible. The surmise gets strengthened from the fact that, in another context, the pillar named Śrīdhara is prescribed to be round in shape (Ch. 28.33). Four types of pillars are mentioned, namely: Padmaka, Ghaṭapallava, Kubera and Śrīdhara (*Ibid.* 27-33). The Padmaka pillar (*stambha*) is said to be eight-cornered (*aṣṭāśra*), which may indicate that the *vedi* called Padminī was set in a lotus-shape having eight petals.

The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* does not mention other types of altars, though there can be no doubt that other types were current at the time of Bhoja. The reason is that Bhoja's work concerns itself with the more popular and auspicious rituals. The Purāṇa texts, which are chronologically earlier, however, mention the other types, The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* also does not state that the shape of the mouth of the altar should be like the vagina. The Purāṇic records, however, specifically mention it to be so (*Matsya P.* 68.40 *yoni-vaktrā*). The *yoni* is enjoined to be twelve *āṅgulas* in length, and six or seven *āṅgulas* wide; it is also prescribed to be elevated in the middle like the back of a tortoise (*Ibid.* 92.95-123).⁹ The altar is also enjoined to be like the lip of an elephant (*Ibid.* 124), which is itself apt to give the idea of the *yoni*; and it should have a pit in the centre. For the purpose of sorcery the altar is to be triangular (*Ibid.* 123.147). The Padminī type of *vedi* is referred to by the *Śiva P.* (VII. 2.27) which also mentions the round and the *caturaśrā* types. The lotus is referred to here as having eight petals (v. 4 *aṣṭadalāmbujām*). Here, again, there is the *yoni* of the shape of the Aśvattha leaf¹⁰ or that of an elephant. The lotus appears to be an adaptation of the lotus (blue)-leaf referred to in the Vedic context, where the fire is said to have been churned by Atharvan from the *puṣkara* (*RV VI.* 16.13); and the lip of the elephant is only the variant of the lotus-leaf. The *Agni P.* also mentions the shape of the altar as that of the *yoni* (309.14cd *kuṇḍe yonyakṛtau hunet*). Other types of altars mentioned by the *Agin P.* (24.17-18) are *vatuka* variant reading *caṭuka*), *dvyāṅgula*, *vṛtta* and *gopada* (cow-foot). The *Skanda P.* (V. 1.3.58ff) which mentions the round (*vartula*) altar for the rites in respect of Brahmā, says that the one shaped like a bow (*dhanuṣākṛti*) should be made for the rites for Viṣṇu and the square (*catuṣkoṇākṛti*) for Śiva. The bow-shaped altar is the same as the Vedic Dakṣiṇa fire-place. The *Bhaviṣya P.* (Madhyama-khaṇḍa 2-40), which deals with various types of altars, says that the four-cornered be prepared in the rites for the establishment of the idols; it may be used for consecratory rites

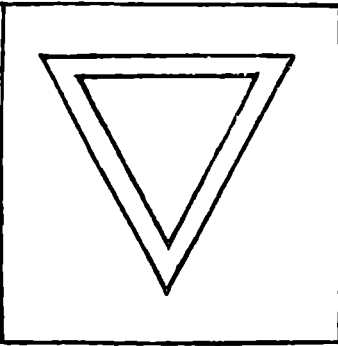
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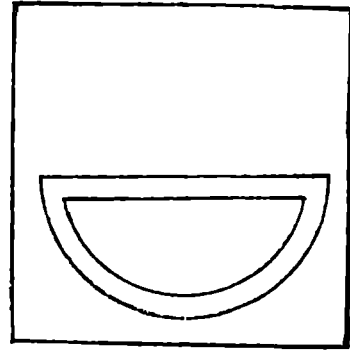
योनिरुपा



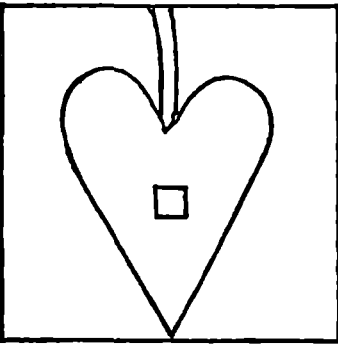
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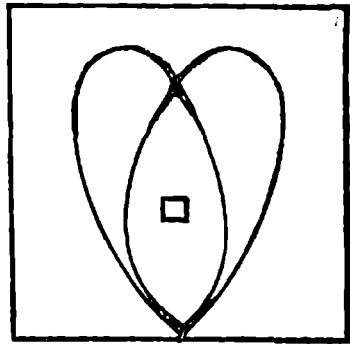
त्रिकोणा



अर्धचन्द्रा



अश्वत्थपर्णा



गोकुर्वत

Fig V : Purāṇic Altars. (Found also in the Atharvaparīśiṣṭa.)

(*Ibid.* 14); that for rites relating to the birth-festivals of gods the altar should be crescent-shaped (*Ibid.* 17) and for the rites regarding the cure of diseases, it should be vagina-shaped (*Ibid.* 18).

If we try to trace the evolution of the shape of altars it seems that the most original one was the *caturaśrā* (square); this is borne out by the Vedic reference to the *catuṣkapardā*, and the shape of the Āhavanīya. Though the greater *vedi* (Mahāvedi) is said to be a woman, the shape is that of a *catuṣkoṇa*, but not exactly a square. The round altar has its prototype in the Ukhā. The triangular one is half of the square. Though the *yoni*-type is a more expressed concept of the *vedi* being the woman, its origin appears to be in the leaf of the blue lotus, which is said to be the birth of the fire-god, as noted above. The lotus-*vedi* (Padminī) of Bhoja, and the Purāṇas, itself is suggested from the *puṣkara*, also the conceptual birth-place of the fire-god; and the elephant-lip, probably, is suggested from the lotus-leaf, which reverts to the Vedic period. It may be noted that the female-*yoni*, the leaf of the lotus and the lip of the elephant are almost the same motif, being similar in shape. The Dakṣiṇa fire-altar is directly represented in the *dhanuṣākṛti* altar of the Purāṇas; and the crescent-shaped altar appears to be only a modification of the same. The altar of the shape of the cow's foot-mark does not seem to have a prototype in the tradition directly. But in this respect a detail from the rite of the purchase of Soma is to be marked. The cow, in exchange of which Soma is to be purchased, is made to walk seven steps to the north. At the seventh step, the foot-print (actually the dust at it) is collected by the Adhvaryu priest in a plate and given to the sacrificer ! He then takes it and places the dust (cow-foot), dividing it into three parts, into the two fire-places, the Āhavanīya, the Gārhapatya; and the third part is given by him to his wife, which she places inside her house. Thus, the cow-foot (*go-pada*) gets associated with the main fire-places. Yet there is no direct evidence for the altar of the shape of the cow-foot in the Vedic tradition. But, we might look to another detail, now from the *Mahābhārata*, where the sages Vālakhilyas are said to fall in a cow-foot mark, which was filled with water (Ādi. 31.9 *gospade samplutodake*). Looking to the nature of the Vālakhilyas, who are the " protectors of the solar orb " (*marīcipah*, *Ibid.* 30. 15 and Nīlakaṇṭha), the " cow-foot " is nothing but the solar orb. The cow-foot altar, then, would be the replica of the solar orb, the aspect of the heavenly fire-place ! And in a more popular usage it merged with the round altar. This concept of the *gospada* and the Vālakhilyas occurs first in the *Suparṇādhvyāya* (I. 2. 3) a text earlier than the *Mahābhārata*.

It would be seen that Bhoja's work leaves away certain types of *vedis* mentioned by the Purāṇas. The probable reason for this we have noted

above. But in addition to the four *vedis* for general rituals (i. e. Caturaśrā. Sabhadrā, Śrīdhari and Padminī), Bhoja refers to the Yajñavedi, as we have mentioned earlier. This he mentions in another context, which is that of the town-planning (Ch. 18). Here he presents instructions about the lay-out of the town or the capital; and he says that when the region for the city is all measured out and sites for the temples for various deities are fixed, the plot for the purpose of sacrifice should be measured to the south-east quarter (45 12, *dīśi dakṣiṇa-pūrvasyām*). The total length of this plot is said to be 36 *prakramās* (with suitable width). The author mentions that the 36 *prakramās* should be east-west. The main structures are : (i) a square (*caturaśra niveśa*). This is to be in the east and should measure 18×18 *āyāmas* ; (this compares with the Āhavaniya fire-place), (ii) to the west of this Caturaśra at some distance, there should be the Yajamāna-kuṭi (hut for the sacrificer); its measure should be 16×16 *āyāmas*; (iii) another *vedi*, which is said to be so arranged that a small cart should pass in between; (iv) the *Uttara-vedi*, to its north ; and (v) the Prāgvamśa, to the north-east of the Yajamāna-kuṭi; for, the head of the sacrifice is said to be in the Prāgvamśa.

The actual measurement of the altar proper is as follows :

Total length; 36 *prakramās* (East-west).

At the head above the Caturaśra : 24 *prakramās*.

At the (back) of the Yajamāna-kuṭi : 31 *prakramās*.

At the middle (i. e. half of the total length) : 18 *prakramās*.

The whole figure would appear to be like the Śrauta *vedi*, with slight differences.¹¹ (Fig. VI) This Yajñavedi, however, seems to be for a special occasion, as for example, for the consecration of a new town.

Now we go to see the various types of platforms.

Platforms are not mentioned separately by Bhoja in his *Samarāṅgi-gaṇasūtradhāra* ; but, they are described as part of temples or palaces, and they can also be taken as types of *vedikās*. Here they are termed *pīṭha*. Broadly, they are divided into three classes, namely *kanīyas* (small), *madhyama* (of the middle size) and *uttama* (the highest size), their height being respectively, 1, $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 parts (Ch. 40). The text mentions five types of *pīṭhas* : (i) Padabandha; (ii) Śrībandha; (iii) Vedibandha; (iv) Pratikrama; (v) Kṣurabandha (or Kṣurakabandhana) (*Ibid*, 61). Of the three broad types, mentioned above, the *uttama* is recommended for the three main gods Viṣṇu Śiva and Brahmā; the *kanīyas* is meant for other gods. Each of the platforms is divided suitably into strips, with various designs carved upon them. The main parts of the *pīṭhas* are ; *khuraka* (hoof),

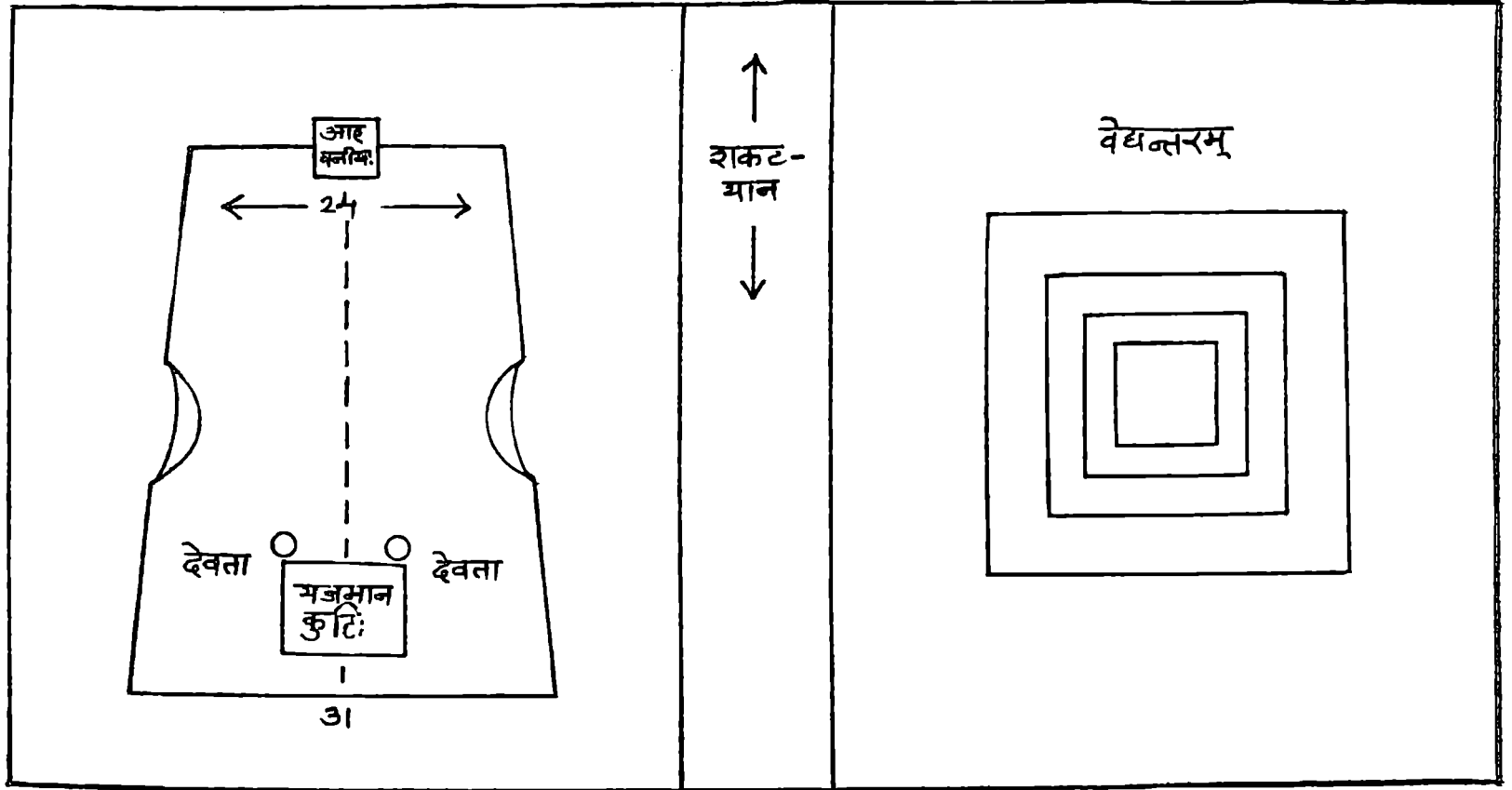


Fig VI : Yajñavedi : Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra.

padmapatrikā (lotus-petals), *kaṇika* (ear of corn), *kumuda* (white lotus) *kaṇīṭha* (neck), *paṭṭikā* (strip), *padma-paṭṭikā* (strip of lotuses), *kapota*, *grāsa* (a piece cut out by the intersection of two circles). The proportion of the strips vary according to the type of the *pīṭha*; and the strips divide the height of a *pīṭha*. Thus, the Padabandha is divided into (or is made up of) twenty strips (or parts). The *khuraka* in it extends upto five parts; the *padmapatrikā* two parts; *kaṇika* one part; *kumuda* goes on upto three parts and so on. The *padmapatrikā* starts leaving the space of two *aṅgulas* from the *khuraka*; the *grāsa* extends to six *aṅgulas* (which, probably, indicates that the space between the intersections of two circles that cut each other at two points is six *aṅgulas*); and it is superimposed by a lotus (*kumuda*), at the upper cutting (*Ibid.* v. 9 *grāsaḥ ṣaḍaṅgulas tasyāḥ kumudam sapta-nirgamam*).

The Śrībandha has 27 divisions, which include, among other figures of decoration, *makara* and the *makara-paṭṭikā*, which are mentioned also in the case of the Vedibandha, which is said to have 19 divisions; the same is the case with the Pratikrama-pīṭha, with slight variations. The Kṣurabandha has 20 divisions. The *kapota* is the last division; and it is superimposed by what is called *Nāsikā*, which is the upper structure (or timber-structure in the case of a building), probably of the shape of nose. The topmost of the *pīṭha* is called *khura-varaṇḍikā*, which is a raised platform with a small parapet.

The Purāṇas mention ten types of platforms, namely: Sthaṇḍila, Vāpī, Yakṣī, Vēdī, Maṇḍala, Pūrṇacandra, Vajra, Padma, Ardhaśaśin, and Trikoṇa (*Matsya P.* 261. 6ff). The Sthaṇḍila is said to be square (*caturaśra*) and is devoid of any step (*mekhalā*). The Vāpī has two *mekhalās*. Vēdī is also square. The Pūrṇacandra has two *mekhalās* and is red in colour. The Vajra has three *mekhalās*, and has attached corner-tops. The Padma has sixteen corners. The Ardhaśaśin is of the shape of a bow; and the Trikoṇa is like the trident (*Ibid.* 6-12). Each of these is associated with different gains (*Ibid.* 15-17).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Samar. S.*, 35. 10-12; the *śilās* are Nandā, Jayā, Bhadrā and Pūrṇā to the main quarters, and Vāsiṣṭhī, Kāśyapī, Bhārgavī and Āṅgirasī to the four sub-quarters.
2. *ṚV I.* 104. 35; *Śat. Br. I.* 2. 5. 9 etc.
3. Some others are Kaṅkacīṭṭ, of the shape of a trough, the chariot-wheel and so on, see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasūtra*, Vol. II-ii, Poona, 1974, p. 1249.

4. योषा वै वेदिः । तामेतद्देवाश्च पर्यासते येचे ब्राह्मणाः शुश्रुवांसोऽनूचानाः । तेष्वेवैनामेतद् पर्यासीनेषु अनग्नां करोति- अनग्नाया एष । तस्माद्दक्षिस्त्वृणानि । ; of. आपस्तंबश्री. सू. IV. 15 भाष्य of कपर्दी.
5. अथ पश्चाद्वरीयसी भवति । “पश्चाद्वरीयसी पृथुश्रोणिः” इति वै योषां प्रशंसन्ति । यद्वै पश्चाद्वरीयसी भवति । पश्चाद्वरीयः प्रजननं करोति ।
6. Uvaṭa on *Vāj. Sam.* XI. 50.
7. *Sat. Br.* VI. 6. 2. 8 for Agni as the male and Ukhā as the woman; for sand= semen, *Ibid.* VII. 1. 1. 44.
8. *Samar. S.* 47. 12 चतुर्मुखा तु कर्तव्या सोपानैश्च चतुर्दिशम् ।
प्रतीहारसमायुक्ता चार्धचन्द्रोपशोभिता ॥
At 37. 19 we have चतुरश्री चतुद्धाराम्..... ।
9. This corresponds to the shape of the vagina of a woman, see *Bhaviṣya P.* *Brahmakhaṇḍa*, 5, 30-31 कूर्मपृष्ठोन्नतः ।
10. This also is the desired characteristic of the woman's organ, *Garuḍa P.* I. 64. 15.
11. Compare figure II and X, and again III and X. Bhoja does not mention the position of the Gārhapatya fire-place and that of the Dakṣiṇa; but, there can be no doubt that the *vedi* had place for them. A point to be noted is that at the entrance of the Yajamāna-kuṭī, Bhoja mentions the place for deities (45. 15 *yajamānakuṭīdvāre devatū, yās ca kīrtitāḥ*), which is not in keeping with the ancient tradition. This has to be taken as a later influence, and a mixture of customs. For Śrauta altars may be seen *Āpastamba Śulba-sūtra*, Ed with Tr. in Eng. by Dr. Satya Prakash and Pt. Rāmsvarup Sharma : Pbd. by the Research Instt. of Ancient Indian Scientific Studies, New Delhi, 1968.

'UŚIJAḤ' IN THE ṚGVEDA*

G. V. DAVANE

The word *uśij* in its various grammatical forms occurs 31 times in the ṚV. Sāyaṇa mostly derives it from the root *vaś* 'to desire' and explains it as *kāmayamāna* i. e. 'desiring, desirerful, zealous'. Sometimes he understands it as *medhāvin* 'intelligent'. The Western scholars like Langlois, Wilson, Ludwig, Grassmann and Griffith follow him. It is Bergaigne,¹ who for the first time, suggests that it could be taken as a proper noun. Oldenberg² supports him in his notes on ṚV II. 31, 6. Geldner,³ in his German translation of the ṚV, takes *uśij* as a proper noun in 23 places. In 2 more places he translates it as a common noun, but in the foot-notes he suggests that it can be taken as a proper noun. Prof. H. D. Velankar's⁴ English translation of Maṇḍalas II, III and VII has been published. In the course of this portion the word *uśij* has occurred 14 times. He understands it as 'an ancient priest'. Prof. Renou⁵ has translated some select portions from the ṚV into French. He always translates it as 'a model priest'. Hence it is interesting to investigate as to what this word signifies in the ṚV.

I have attempted to understand the word individually in every occurrence. Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word is not acceptable for various reasons. Since the scholars coming after Geldner have not accepted it, it is unnecessary to discuss it in details. Yet one can point out a few instances where Sāyaṇa has to strive hard to remain consistent to his explanation. He is often not sure as to which is the substantive qualified by this adjective e. g. I. 60. 2 :

अस्य शासुंरुभयासः सचन्ते ह्विष्मन्त उशिजो ये च मर्ताः ।

First he says, उशिजः कामयमाना देवाः and then यद्वा उशिज इति मेधाविनाम । मेधाविनः स्तोतारः । III. 27. 10. He is not sure whether *uśij* is to be taken in

* This paper was read at the 32nd Session of the AIOC held at Ahmedabad in November 1985.

1. *Vedic Religion*, Vol. I, French (1877), [Translation into English by V. G. Paranjpe, Ārya Saṁskṛti Prakāśana, Poona 4, 1969, pp. 57-59.

2. *Rgveda, Textkritische und Exegetische Noten*, Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1909, pp. 212-213.

3. *Der Rgveda*, Vol. I, Göttingen, 1923. H. O. S. Volumes 33 to 35 Leipzig, 1951.

4. *Hymns from the Rgveda Maṇḍala VII B. V. B.*, 1963, Maṇḍala II, University of Bombay, 1966; Maṇḍala III, University of Bombay, 1968.

5. *Etudes Vediques Panineennes*, Editions E De Boccard, Paris, 1900-60.

active or in passive sense. He says, पुरोडाशादिहविःकामयमानोऽग्निः । 'Agni, desirous of oblations, like puroḍāśa' or कामार्थिभिः काम्यमानः । 'longed for by desireful sacrificers'.

Whenever this word occurs in a clause giving a comparison with *na* as the *upamāvācaka*, Sāyaṇa takes *na* in a quite different manner and faces a difficulty in explaining the clause e. g. II. 4. 5 उशिग्भ्यो नामिमीत् वर्णम् । Sāyaṇa explains: अस्मदीयं रूपं कामयमानेभ्य ऋत्विग्भ्यः स्वसदृशं रूपं निर्मिमीते । 'Agni reveals to the priests his form as they would like it'. Here he understands *na* as 'and' नशब्दश्चार्थे ।

In VII. 10. 2 he explains यज्ञं तन्वाना उशिजो न मन्म । as यज्ञं विस्तारयन्त ऋत्विजो मननीथानि स्तोत्राणि पठन्तीति शेषः । He has to add the word *pathanti* : 'The priests carrying forward the sacrifice (are singing) songs of praise'. He understands *na* as 'now' नेति संप्रत्यये ।

Often his explanation of *uśij* as *kāmayamāna* sounds very unreasonable e. g. III. 15. 3 कृधी नो राये उशिजो यविष्ठ । Here he explains it as अस्मान् धनं कामयमानान् कुरु । 'Make us long for wealth'. As we know the Vedic seers are ever eager for wealth. Angi need not create that longing in them. Sāyaṇa has, therefore, to explain this somehow as अभिलषितधनप्रदानेन प्राप्तकामान् कुरु । 'fulfil our desire by giving us the desired wealth'. While explaining IV. 6.11 : होतारमग्निं मनुषो नि पेटुर्नमस्यन्त उशिजः शंसमायोः । He says आयोर्ननुष्यस्य शंसनीयं होतारं त्वा पूजयन्तः पद्वादिलक्षणं धनं कामयमाना मनुष्या ऋत्विज उपाविशन् । 'The men i. e. priests, desiring wealth in the form of cattle etc. have sat near you honouring you, the praiseworthy invoking priest of the mortals'. When the same line recurs in V. 3. 4 with दशस्यन्तः for नमस्यन्तः, Sāyaṇa takes *uśijaḥ* as a form of Gen. sg. qualifying *āyoh* and explains: "The priests, offering oblations, attend upon you, O Agni, for the sake of the mortal sacrificer, desiring covetable fruit".

He has to explain some portions somehow in order to understand *uśij* as *kāmayamāna* e. g. X. 46. 4 :

मन्द्रं होतारमुशिजो नमोभिः प्राञ्चं यज्ञं नेतारमध्वराणाम् ।
विशामकृण्वन्नरतिं पावकं ह्य्यवाहं दधतो मानुषेषु ॥

He explains: उशिजः कामयमाना ऋत्विजो मनुष्येषु मध्ये होतारमग्निं दधाना विशां यजमानानामर्थाय स्तुतिभिः (सुप्रीतं) कृतवन्तः ।

'The desireful priests placing the invoking priest Agni amidst the mortals rendered him (agreeable) with praises for the sake of the people i. e. sacrificers. He has to take *aratim* as *arthāya* and *viśām* as *yajamānānām*.

Then he attempts alternative explanation as follows: यद्वा विशां प्रजानामरतिमर्थं स्वाग्निं कृतवन्तः । 'They made Agni the lord of the people', now explaining *arati* as 'the lord'.

There are at least 5 places where Sāyaṇa has to add the substantive. *Āṅgirasah* as qualified by *uśijah*, III. 34. 4: इन्द्र उशिग्भिः पृतना जिगाय is explained by him as युद्धं कामयमानैरङ्गिरोभिः सह इन्द्रः परकीयाः सेना जिगाय । 'Indra conquered the inimical forces in company of Āṅgirasas who were desirous of battle'. In IV. 1. 15 ते गोमन्तं ब्रजमुशिजो वि ववुः! *uśijah* is explained as 'desiring Agni' and the pronoun *te* is taken as standing for Āṅgirasah—when the same line recurs in IV. 16. 6. Sāyaṇa explains *uśijah* with *marutaḥ* as 'the desirous Maruts enveloped the cowpen (belonging to Āṅgirasas)'—In VII. 90. 4 गव्यं चिदूर्वमुशिजो वि ववुः । his explanation is — "The desirous Āṅgirasas obtained the wealth in the form of cattle". In X. 104. 4 he takes *uśijah* with *āṅgirasah* and explains it as 'Āṅgirasas, desiring you, O Indra'. In some places *uśijah* and *icchamānāḥ* stand together. Hence Sāyaṇa has difficulty in explaining the trem, e. g. X. 45. 11 त्वया सह द्रविणमिच्छमाना ब्रजं गोमन्तमुशिजो वि ववुः । Here in connection with the same clause ब्रजं गोमन्तमुशिजो वि ववुः he takes 'the Gods' as the subject of वि ववुः and explains उशिजः as मेधाविनः 'intelligent'.

Similarly, in X. 46. 2 गुहा चतन्तमुशिजो नमोभिरिच्छन्तो धीरा भृगवोऽविन्द्वन् । he construes उशिजः with भृगवः, and explains it as कामयमानाः 'longing' and then he has to add (आत्मनः) before इच्छन्तः. 'The wise longing Bhrgus found out Agni, moving secretly in waters, since they desired to have him (as their own)'.

Thus the possibility of taking *uśij* as an adjective meaning 'desirous' is completely ruled out. Now, before discussing as to what the word signifies, let us put together what the *RV* says about *uśijah* :—The mortal Uśijs obey the precepts of Agni (I. 60. 2). Agni is *uśij* i. e. a representative of the Uśijs (I. 60. 4.). Indra protects Uśijs who desire friendship with him (I. 131. 5). (In ancient times) when Agni was polished i. e. decorated by the Uśijs he became agreeable to them (I. 189. 7). Agni had formerly revealed his real form to the Uśijs (II. 4. 5.). The Uśijs found their way through the sacrifice (II. 21. 5). The Uśijs in ancient times offered excellent praise to Agni. The singers now desire to offer similar praise (II. 31. 6). The immortal Uśijs i. e. the ancient ancestors of the present Uśijs ordained three fule-sticks in the fire. One of these was for the mortals, the other two for the neighbouring worlds or the sister-worlds (III. 2. 9). The ancient Uśijs were favoured with excellent wealth by Agni. Hence the present singer says, "For the winning of treasures

make us Uśijs” (III. 15. 3). Indra conquered the inimical forces and won light with the help of the Uśijs (III. 34. 4). The poet Viśvāmitra Gāthina tells the Ṛbhus that his ancestors, the Uśijs, have come to know about the miraculous powers, with the help of which the Ṛbhus have obtained a share in the sacrifice. This they could know through a lot of thinking, through family-ties and through the knowledge of the Sagas (III. 60. 1). With their divine speech the Uśijs have thrown open the cowpen of the cows—Vala myth—(IV. 1. 15; IV. 16. 6; X. 45. 11). After that the waters flowed in ancient times (VII. 90. 4). The Uśijs, the men, have sat beside Agni, the invoking priest (IV. 6. 11; V. 3.4). Agni has carried forward the sacrifice just as the Uśijs extend their thought i. e. their thoughtful songs (VII. 10. 2). The Uśijs, the clans, invoke Agni in the sacrifices (VII. 10. 5). The Uśijs caught hold of fire first (IX. 86. 30). The Uśijs, the Bhṛgus, have found out Agni, hiding in the waters (X. 46. 4). The Uśijs, the connoisseurs of the right ways, praising Indra, stayed in the house of Manu (X. 104. 4).

In the light of the above description of Uśijs I feel certain that Uśij is the name of an ancient family or a small clan well-known for its religious inclinations, for its priestly efficiency and for its mystical powers. *Uśijaḥ* and *manuṣaḥ* are mentioned in apposition in IV. 6. 11; V. 3. 4 and *uśijaḥ* and *viśaḥ* are mentioned together in VII. 10. 5. This proves that the present Uśijs form a well-known family or clan among the mortals. They seem to form a branch of Aṅgirasas, especially of the Pajra-Aṅgirasas (*ṚV* I. 116. 7). As seen above, even Sāyaṇa, who takes *uśij* as an adjective, has to bring in the Aṅgirasa, in connection with the Uśijs in 5 places. Prof. Velankar, who translates *uśijaḥ* as ancient priests has referred *uśijaḥ* to Aṅgirasas in his foot-notes on III. 2. 9. III. 34. 4 and VII. 90. 4. In X. 46. 2 *uśijaḥ* and *bhṛgavaḥ* are standing in apposition. In III. 2. 4 Agni has been described as *bhṛgūñām rātiḥ* ‘a gift of the Bhṛgus’. It has been accepted by all scholars that Bhṛgus and Aṅgirasas form an ancient priestly clan. Sāyaṇa always explains the phrase *pūrve ṛṣayaḥ* as *Bhṛgvaṅgirasaprabhṛtayaḥ*. From very ancient times Bhṛgus and Aṅgirasas have been intimately connected with the cult of fire. Rahurkar⁶ says, “ This can only mean that the illustrious priestly family of the Bhṛgus claimed that their ancestors taught men to produce fire by friction and also initiated them into the proper fire-cult ”. Similarly, the prestigious position of the Angirasas in this regard has been clearly brought out by Shende⁷ in the following words, “ The Aṅgirasas thus form the ancient family of the priests of Agni. They found out Agni, churned him and employed him for the sacrificial purpose. Agni is Aṅgiras or Aṅgiras is from *aṅgāra*, the

6. *The Seers of the Ṛgveda*, Dr. V. G. Rahurkar, University of Poona, 1964, p. 218.

7. *Aṅgirasas in the Vedic Literature*, Dr. N. J. Shende, ABORI, XXXI, p. 121,

burning ember. They must have first started the worship of Agni. This is acknowledged by all seers of the *ṚV* and the Brāhmaṇas". In the same article Shende points out that according to B. G. Tilak Aṅgirasas must have been the ancient sacrificers of the whole Indo-European race.

Following this history of the Bhrgus and the Aṅgirasas I feel that Uśijs formed a small clan belonging to this illustrious priestly clan. Geldner has already explained 25 occurrences of this word, taking *uśij* as a proper noun. I feel the remaining 6 occurrences also can be explained in that light as follows : (1) I. 60. 4 : Agni has been installed in the human clans as the chosen priest among the mortals. He is *uśij* i. e. a representative of the Uśijs, a purifier and a Vasu. (2) I. 189. 7 : O Agni, at the evening time be agreeable to us just as you become agreeable to the Uśijs when they polished i. e. decorated Angi (in ancient times). (3) III. 3. 7 : O Agni, you are *uśij* among the gods very intelligent of the singers. The implication is that Agni is representative of the Uśijs among the gods. Similarly, (4) III. 3. 8 : Agni is *uśij* among the signers (5) III. 11. 2 Agni is immortal *uśij*, implying that Agni is *uśij*; but he is immortal whereas the present Uśijs are mortal. (6) X. 92. 12 : the poet Saryāta Mānava requests Ahirbudhyna ' to listen, even from a distance, to the praise that we Uśijs are offering you'. Here the exact relation between Saryāta and Uśijs cannot be explained. Perhaps *iva* is to be added after *uśijām*.

The fact that *uśij* was the name of an ancient family or a clan is further corroborated by the presence of its secondary derivative *auśija* in the *ṚV*. It has occurred 10 times in the *ṚV*. All scholars have explained it as a proper noun. Only in 3 places Śāyaṇa has somehow explained it as a common noun. In IV. 21. 6 and 7 he explains it as ' a sacrificer' and in V. 4. 6 as the Sun. Kakṣivat, the poet of a few hymns in the *ṚV*, is Auśija (I. 18. 1). The merchant Dīrghaśravas is Auśija (I. 112. 1). The king Ṛjīśvan in the Pipru myth is Auśija (X. 99. 11).

Sāyaṇa,⁸ on the evidence of *Anukramaṇī*, explains *auśija* as a matronymic in the case of Kakṣivat. According to him Kakṣivat's father is Dīrghatamas and his mother is a Sūdra maid servant of the queen of Aṅga. He takes *uśij* as the name of that Sūdra woman. On I. 112.11 Sāyaṇa⁹ says about Dīrghaśravas that *uśij* is the name of wife of Dīrghatamas. Her son, the sage Dīrghaśravas worked as a merchant during the course of a drought. Because of this Auśija has been understood as a matronym by later scholars; but it can be definitely explained as a patronym. In the *ṚV* the seers are rarely designated by their matronyms alone. Kakṣivat is *auśija* because he is a son

8. *Vedārthadīpikā* on I. 110, V. S. M., p. 712.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 080.

or a descendant of Uśij. The evidence provided by Pargiter¹⁰ is very helpful in this regard. It is true that he has mostly depended upon the evidence of the Purāṇas. Yet, he has ably corroborated it with the evidence from the Vedic literature. Since Ṛjīśvan also is called Auśija in *RV* X. 99.11 Pargiter points out that *auśija* must be taken as a patronym. Ṛjīśvan was a son of Bharadvāja Vidathin and had no connection whatsoever with the Śūdra woman. He points out that Uśij, an ancient member of Aṅgiras family, had three sons Ucathya, Bṛhaspati and Samvarta. Dīrghatamas was a son of Ucathya and as such he was an Auśija. Kakṣivat, therefore, is naturally an Auśija. According to Pargiter¹¹ "A man had various patronymics from different ancestors and the choice in poetry was often governed by the metre." He feels that this can explain why Kakṣivat is called Auśija and not Dairghatamasa or Aucathya. Pargiter has further pointed out that the name of the Śūdra woman was Auśnari according to the *Mahābhārata* II. 20. While discussing the genealogy of Bhāradvājas Rahurkar¹² mentions that Bhāradvāja Vidathin was a son of Bṛhaspati and a grandson of Aṅgiras according to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*. Then with the evidence of the Purāṇas he gives a table according to which Uśij, a descendant of Aṅgiras family, had three sons Ucathya, Bṛhaspati and Samvarta. Bṛhaspati had two sons Dīrghatamas and Bharadvāja. Kakṣivat was a son of Māmateya and a grandson of Dīrghatamas, while Ṛjīśvan was a son of Vidathin, and a grandson of Bharadvāja. Thus both Kakṣivat and Ṛjīśvan are Auśijas. According to Pargiter, Auśija is one of the 15 branches of Aṅgiras family in the genealogies given by the Purāṇas. He, therefore, is of the opinion¹³ that "Uśij - (as Śūdra mother of Kakṣivat) - seems to have been invented to explain Auśija through the lack of the historical sense."

All this leads to the proof that the Ṛgvedic seer Kakṣivat was a descendant of the Uśij family, forming a part of the Pajra-Aṅgiras clan. In *RV* 1.116.7 he is called *pajriya* and Sāyaṇa there says पज्रा वा अङ्गिरसः ।

It is interesting to note that the word *uśij* is found in the *Avesta* also in a slightly different form as *usikhsh*. In his paper on 'An Avesta-amulet for contracting friendship' Jivanji Jamshetji Modi¹⁴ has provided very interesting information in this regard. He refers to the following portion

10. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, F. E. Pargiter, 1st edition, 1922, Reprint Motilal Banarsidass, 1902, pp. 160-101.

11. *Ibid.*, p 140.

12. *The Seers of the Ṛgveda*, pp 100-101.

13. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 101.

14. *Anthropological Papers*, Anthropological Society of Bombay, 1011,

from the Gāthās: "O Mazda, I ask this. The Daevas who fight according to their wishes and through whom the Karapans and the Usikhshs have entrusted the cattle to Aeshma Daeva, and through whom the Kavis grew in power, have they ever been good rulers? They did not procure for these (cattle) water or pasture through piety."

Here the Karapana, the Usikhshs and the Kavis form a trio of wicked persons. According to Modi, it corresponds to a similar trio in the Avesta-amulet and a similar one in Ahur Mazda Khodae prayers. He gives the following table —

Avesta-amulet	Kura	Tarvani	Karapan
Gāthās	Kavi	Usikhsh	Karapan
Ahur Mazda Khodae prayer	Kikan	Shastaran	Karapan

Thus Usikhshs of the Gāthā are the same as Tarvanis of the Avesta-amulet and Shastaran (Sg. Shastar) of the Ahur Mazda prayer. Jivanji Modi further points out that according to Zad Sparam¹⁵ Usikhshs and Karapans were two families that were related to Zoraster, but were opposed to his new religion. According to Zad Sparam XV, five Karap brothers and their first cousins Usikhshs have descended from the demon Wrath and a sister of the king Manuskihar. The three family names in the above trios signify moral vices. Kavi means 'mentally blind' i. e. 'unmindful of moral truth'. Karapan or Karafan means 'mentally deaf' i. e. 'unmindful of moral instructions'. Usikhsh or Shastar means 'oppressive, cruel'.

Shende¹⁶ has already said, "The Aṅgirasas seem to be the champions of Deva-worshippers and hence Zarathushtra turned them into archdemons, leading the Daevas". The Uśijs or the Usikhshs, forming a branch of the same family naturally became the enemies of Zoraster.

Thus the word *uśij*, which has been explained as an adjective by Sāyaṇa and the earlier Western scholars, is definitely a proper noun. It can be so explained in all 31 places where it occurs in the *R̥gveda*. From the references to the Uśijs in the *R̥V* it can be said that Uśij was the name of an ancient family or a small clan, belonging to the Pajra branch of the Aṅgirasas. They are expert priests possessing mystic powers. They are intimately connected with the cult of fire. The presence of the secondary derivative from this word, viz. *ausija*, provides strong evidence in this regard. Sāyaṇa's explana-

15. S. B. E., Volume XLVII, p. 143.

16. *ABORI* XXXI, p. 129.

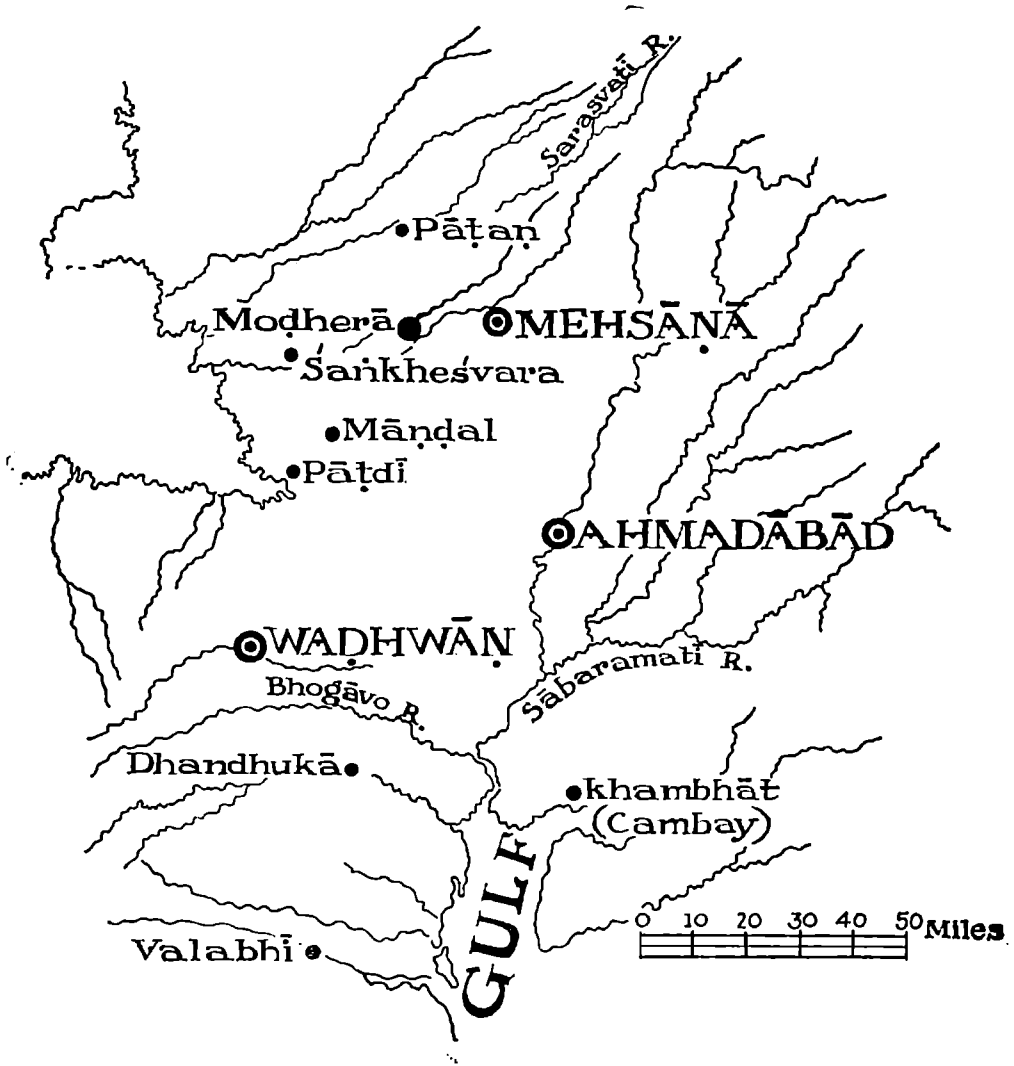
tion of the term as a matronymic of Kakṣivat, on the basis of the story of the Śūdra woman *uśij* occurring in the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, is not at all convincing. The word is a patronymic. This fact finds support from the evidence given by Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* and by V. G. Rahurkar in his *The Seers of the Ṛgveda*. The presence of an ancient family called Uśij in the period of the *Ṛgveda* is further corroborated by the evidence from the *Avesta*. Usikhshs have been mentioned in the *Avesta* and the Gāthās as being inimical to Zarathushtra.

MODHERĀ, MODHA-VAMŚA, MODHA-GACCHA AND MODHA-CAITYAS

M. A. DHAKY

Moḍherā,—ancient Moḍheraka (Sanskrit), Moḍheraga (Prākṛta), Mondher (medieval Persian), Muḍhera and Mohera (Apabharmśa), Moḍherā, Moḍherapura and Moḍhanagara (late Sanskrit), or Moḍheruñ (old Gujarātī),—today is a decaying village situated some 18 miles south of Pāṭaṇ, or Aṇahillapāṭaka; the latter city in the pre-medieval and medieval times was the capital of the Cāpotkaṭa chieftains (c. A. D. 881–942), and, in the medieval period, of the imperial Caulukyās (Solaṅkīs) of Gujarāt (c. A. D. 942–1305). The Moḍherā village nestles on a high artificial knoll whose lowest habitational strata contain bricks of the Kṣatrapa period.¹ The first settlement may, therefore, date back to c. 2nd century A. D., the period predictably when cities like Vaḍnagar (Vṛddhanagara, or Ānandapura or Ānartapura) were founded in Northern Gujarāt. In our own times, Moḍherā is famous for the architectural splendour of its Sun temple of the early Solaṅkī period; but its local history and the significant position it held in the religio-cultural perspective of Gujarāt are somewhat insufficiently investigated.²

The earliest reference to Moḍherā occurs in the *cūrṇi*-commentary (c. late 7th cent. A. D.) on the Śvetāmbara Jaina *āgama Sūtrakṛtāṅga*; there the village figures as 'Moḍheraga' in the Prākṛta, and as 'Bhagavadgrāma' (Helio-ville) in the Sanskrit part of the commentarial phrase.³ The *vr̥ttī* commentary in Sanskrit on the selfsame *āgama* by Śilācārya of Nirvṛttakula (c. third quarter of the 9th cent. A. D.)⁴ gives the Sanskrit form 'Moḍheraka'.⁵ Moḍheraka was the headquarters of a sub-division of the Sārasvata-maṇḍala in early Solaṅkī period; it was then called 'Moḍheraklyā-ardhāṣṭam'⁶ as attested by the copper-plate charter dated S. 1043/A. D. 987 of the Caulukya monarch Mūlarāja I.⁷ In the 12th century the village had continued to be known also as 'Bhagvadgrāma' (in deference to its being a sacred site of 'Bhagvat' i. e. Āditya, or Sun god) as deduced from the reference 'Bhagavaggāma' in the *Deśināmamālā* (c. third quarter of the 12th cent. A. D.) of the illustrious Ācārya Hemacandra of Pūrṇatalla-gaccha.⁸ Rājāśekhara sūri of Rāja-gaccha, in his *Prabandhakośa* (S. 1405/A. D. 1349) addresses Moḍherā as "Moḍherapura-mahāsthāna",⁹ the qualification 'mahāsthāna' being symptomatic of the high prestige of the place as a *tīrtha* in the medieval period. References purporting to the association of king



[Map of northern Gujarat]

Āma (Āmra) of Gopagiri (Gwalior : c. latter half of the 8th cent. A. D.) with Modherā occur both in the late Solāṅki and post-Solāṅki Jaina¹⁰ as well as Brahmanical literature,¹¹ though with differing attitudes towards him.¹²

The present sanctuary (*prāsāda*) of the Sun along with its conjoined closed hall (*gūḍhamanḍapa*) and the moulded platform (*jagatī*) on which the main complex of structures stands, is a building seemingly of S. 1083/ A. D. 1027¹³ and thus of the early years of the Caulukya monarch Bhīmadeva I (A. D. 1022-1066) : Its detached, exceedingly ornate, columnar forehall for

the theatrical purposes (*raṅgamaṇḍapa*) is plausibly an addition of the period of Caulukya Karṇadeva (A. D. 1066-1095), son and successor of Bhīmadeva, as revealed by its style, the inference being supported also by other circumstantial evidence.¹⁴ The ample splendid *kuṇḍa* (tank) in front of the main ensemble was already in existence when Maḥmūd of Gazanā, on his way to Somanātha, encamped at Moḍherā in A. D. 1025 after defeating a 20,000 strong contingent of Gujarat. A few early sculptures uncovered from the surroundings of the temple during recent clearance by the Archaeological Survey of India includes two fragments of an exquisitely carved, tall, and matchingly broad *parikara* (Plates XVIII, A. B.) which, to all seeming, enframed a Sun image of over life size ; stylistically they belong to the beginning of the 10th or even probably to the last quarter of the preceding century.¹⁵ A large image-head from the same collection (Plate XVII, B), with elegant ornamental enrichment on its *kīriṭa* (crown) front, is of the type generally associated with Sūrya in lower Western India ; it is in the same general style as, and material of, the *parikara* fragments and betrays the same level and kind of excellence of carving ; parenthetically, this head may attest to the existence in that area of an earlier Sun foundation, perhaps on the same site as the present edifice of A. D. 1027-1030, since a building, indeed of consequence, did exist when Maḥmūd encamped in Moḍheā.¹⁶

The " Dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa " of the *Skandapurāṇa* (c. 13th and 14th centuries A. D.) casts some light on the sacred surroundings in which Moḍherā is situated. The area was called ' Dharmāraṇya of Moheraka '. The *Purāṇa* also knew the Sun temple and locates it to the west of the village (which is how it is actually found) and the name of the enshrined deity mentioned is ' Bakulārka ' (i. e. Bakulāditya).¹⁷ It likewise refers to the *kuṇḍa* with the appellations ' Tapta-kuṇḍa ' and ' Ravi-kuṇḍa '.¹⁸ Among other shrines in the environs of Moḍherā, the *purāṇa* indirectly refers to the one of Viṣṇu, his handsome and highly finished ancient image (c. mid-late 9th cent. A. D.) was very probably the one represented by the fragment here illustrated as Plate XVII, C.¹⁹ The *purāṇa*, in addition, sings the glory of several images and shrines of different goddesses (where Śrī as Mātangi is the foremost) and some Śaivite temples like Dharmēśvara, Gaṇapati, etc. in and around the Moḍhera locale.

The Sun temple probably was the most ancient among the sacred places in the environs of ancient Moḍherā. However, its more ancient building, as hinted in the foregoing, must be earlier than the present main structure which had begun to be built in A. D. 1027 after the departure of Maḥmūd's armies ; that must have been the one whose cult image was defiled by Maḥmūd. In age, and possibly in sculptural style, the earlier building

might have been either contemporaneous with the sculptured fragments shown here in Plates XVII, B. C. XVIII, A. B., or, plausibly, still older. The Persian poet Farrukhī who accompanied Maḥmūd on his Somanātha expedition, thus writes about this temple²⁰: “(The next place) like Mondher, a place where there was a *huuḍ* (tank), such one (looking) at which the two eyes of thought were indeed dazzled. Such a tank that however I might contemplate, I cannot adequately express its qualities. It bore signs of excellence of the wise people; it gave indication of abundant riches. It was a wide and expansive tank with hundred-thousand acts (of workmanship ? steps ?); around it are a thousand small temples.²¹ In front (of it) is a big temple and in the midst of (i. e. inside) it is an image with the beauty of moon, but with the stature of cypress-tree.”²²

From this early account, the following facts clearly emerge. First, the tank had already come into existence when Maḥmūd briefly stopped in Moḍherā in early A. D. 1025. (Stylistically, however, it cannot be earlier than the first quarter of the 11th cent. A. D. Seemingly it was finished a few months, or at most a few years, before A. D. 1025.) Second, the image in the *sanctum sanctorum* was impressively large (having the “stature of cypress-tree”) and a handsome one (possessing “the beauty of moon”). These remarks assuredly were applied to the image that carried the superb head shown in Plate XVII, B. (In date it clearly seems about a century and a half older than the *kuṇḍa* and the images inside, as well as Farrukhī’s record.) Third, there was a big temple immediately behind the *kuṇḍa*.

The fact that this head is earlier in date than the existing main temple of c. A. D. 1027–1030 is proven by its style, which is Mahā-Gūrjara, differing as it does from the Maru-Gūrjara of the large images of the Sun on the walls, all niched on the *jaṅghā* portion of the *pratiratha*-bays of the *mūlaprāsāda*, shrine proper: (heads, Plates XVII, B, XIX, A, B.). It also clearly antedates the Sun images on the Sun temple at Tusa in Rajasthan (Mahā-Gūrjara style, Medapāṭa school, c. mid-10th cent. A. D.; heads, Plates XIX, C. D.).²³ The Moḍherā head of the Sun under discussion (together with the Viṣṇu-head) is also Mahā-Gūajara in style, but earlier and indeed much superior in quality; it suggests affinities with the sculptural products ranged between Bhinna-māla (Bhillamāla) in Gūrjaradeśa proper and Citor or Citauḍ (Citrakūṭa) in Medapāṭa (Mevāḍ), and still farther east, up to the Uparamāla area.

About the date of the building that was desecrated by Maḥmūd,—its cult image (Plate XVII, B) clearly showing signs of deliberate wreckage,—it can either be the same as that of the image and its *parikara* fragments in

question, namely c. late ninth century, or, it may be still earlier in age, possibly built during the late 6th or early 7th century A. D., this surmise being provoked by the notice in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-cūṛṇi* (c. late 7th cent. A. D.) which refers, as earlier cited, to Bhagavadgrāma, and, by implication to a temple of Bhagavat or Sūrya, existing in that period in the environs of the town. If, what Farrukhī saw, were an ornate building (he does not specifically state though), its ornamentation could have been in the same style as the Sun head (and its large *parikara*-fragments), and hence of the late ninth century: in which case the building must be considered a replacement of the earlier one of the Maitraka period, refurbished as it might have been sometime late in the period of Cāpotkaṭa Vanarāja if not of his immediate successor. Alternatively, the older building of the Maitraka period may have been in continual use till A. D. 1025 and only the original (ancient) cult image may have been replaced. There is, however, no direct or indirect clue on this point at present.

A solid evidence supporting the inference drawn from the *cūṛṇi* for a very early Sun edifice is provided by a large whitish stone head found around the temple site; this apparently had belonged to a Sun image (Plate XVII, A). The head wears an earlier kind of *karaṇḍa* (crown), with neat small curls of hair emerging from beneath the rim as in pre-medieval (Maitraka, late Gupta and post-Gupta) images of the Sun. The slightly squarish but serene face of this image is suffused with transcendence characteristic of the images of the 6th and 7th century. In style, formal configuration, modal perception, and aesthetic sensitivity it radically differs from the later Sun head (Plate XVII, B) as well as its confrère, the Viṣṇu-head (Plate XVII, C), both of which revel in regal splendour and delicate virtuosity. This archaic seeming head (Plate XVII, A) on the other hand is in style and strength of feeling akin to the few sculptures known from Saurāṣṭra of the Maitraka period, from Gop, Dhānk, Akhodar, and Prabhāsa.²⁴ Its ethnic mould as well as physiognomic features, and, above all, its expressiveness seem retrospective, harking back as the image-head does to those few sculptures from Gujarat that are attributed to the late Kṣatrapa period (c. 4th cent. A. D.).²⁵ This head, of course, is not the product of the Kṣatrapa times; it is rather derived from the stylistic continuum of that ancient age. The temple to which this image-head pertained probably was founded in late 6th or early 7th century. It is likely that this building, as is the case of all other Maitraka structures excepting the temple at Gop,²⁶ may have been plain and severe even when it supposedly was large, perhaps *sāndhāra* (with ambulatory) on plan, somewhat like the temple of Bileśvara, or like the Khimeśvara temple No. 1, both in Saurāṣṭra, of the early Maitraka times (c. A. D. 600-625).²⁷

What prompted to replace this early image in c. late 9th century in the Cāpotkaṭa times is hard to find out; whether some Muslim invasion from Sindh, unreported, was responsible, or whether the less ornate character (along with worn out look) of the image was considered outmoded or impropitious in the 9th century and hence deemed fit to be replaced, or the take over by and the religious zeal of, the newly founded Cāpotkaṭa dynasty at Aṇahillapāṭaka inspired it (or all these factors worked in conjunction with each other), we cannot now know. The head, seemingly of calcareous stone, betrays signs of wear due to the daily lustral ceremony conducted for about three centuries, the nose seems to have been deliberately smashed in remoter past, possibly in times before Gazanā's invasion. Alternetively, we may assume that the two Sun heads represent two altogether separate shrines located at different spots in Moḍherā, as a consequence allowing no room to surmise one structure succeeding the other at the same spot. But the "Dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa" speaks of only one Sun temple in the environs of Moḍherā. Hence both the older images possibly had belonged to one and the same temple site, the second succeeding the first.

Moḍherā also was a Jaina sacred place of some consequence. It possessed an ancient temple of Jina Mahāvīra which had attained considerable fame in the medieval period. Jinaprabha sūri of Kharatara gaccha, in his well-known work on the Jaina *tīrthas*, namely the *Kalpaprādīpa* (early 14th cent. A. D.),²⁸ refers to the Jina Vīra of Moḍherā,²⁹ including as he also does this village among the principal sacred sites of that Jina.³⁰ But much before him, Siddhasena sūri *alias* Sādhāraṇāṅka of the Yaśobhadra sūri-gaccha in the Bappabhaṭṭi sūri (spiritual) lineage, in his *Sakala-tīrtha-stotra* (probably before A. D. 1067) includes Moḍherā among the well-known Jaina *tīrthas* of his time.³¹ As recorded in the *Caitya-paripāṭi-stavana* of Saṅgama sūri (c. late 11th or early 12th cent. A. D.),³² the image of Jina Mahāvīra of Moḍherā was seven cubits (*hastas*) high and is said (was then believed) to have been set up by Brahmaśānti Yakṣa.³³ The *Prabandhakośa*, too, notes the legend of the image of Jina Vīra set up by Brahmaśānti.³⁴ The association of Brahmaśānti with Moḍherā is noticed in the concluding benedictory verse of the *Ābū-rāsa* (Apabhraṁśa) of Pralhādāna-putra (S. 1290 / A. D. 1234).³⁵ According to the *Prabhāvaka-carita* of Prabhācandrā-cārya of Rāja-gaccha (S. 1334 / A. D. 1278), Siddhasena sūri, the preceptor of the illustrious Bapabhaṭṭi sūri,³⁶ had visited Moḍherā for paying obeisance to Jina Vīra (where he met the latter who then was a very young boy),³⁷ the period of the visit presumably was some year early in the second quarter of the eighth century. It is likely that the original shrine of Jina Mahāvīra may have been founded some time late in the 6th or 7th century when the

first building of the Sun temple was constructed, or perhaps some time soon after it.

This ancient Jaina temple has disappeared.³⁸ Its *tīrthāvatāra* (shrine-incarnate) existed on Mt. Śatruñjaya in the time of Minister Vastupāla in early 13th century;³⁹ possibly the Śatruñjaya temple was the same shrine of Jina Vīra that is said to have been consecrated by Pādalipta sūri II (c. 7th cent. A. D.), and afterwards known as Mahāvīra of Moḍherapura.⁴⁰ In any case, this fact provides a measure of the esteem in which Jina Mahāvīra of Moḍherā was held in the medieval times in Western India. Perhaps the last memorable notice of Jina Vīra is encountered in the *Prabodha-caityavandana* of Jinaprabodha sūri of Kharatara-gaccha (S. 1331-1341/A. D. 1275-1286).⁴¹ The sūri sings there the glory of "Vīra, the decorator of Mohera (Moḍherā)," after Jina Rṣabha of Śatruñjaya and Neminātha of Ujjayanta-giri, and before Jina Munisuvrata of Bhṛgukaccha and Jina Pārśva of Mathurā.⁴²

Moḍha-vaṁśa

Moḍherā was the fountainhead of two prominent communities, one brahmin and the other *vaiśya* or *vaṇika* (bania), both known as Moḍha, taking the denomination after the town's name. About Moḍha brahmins, the "Dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa" devotes a few chapters, and obviously the whole of that portion in the *Skanda* is an interpolation or a later accretion emanating from the pen of some Moḍha brahmin(s) for extolling the glory of Moḍherā as a brahmanical *tīrtha* as well as of the Moḍha brahmins, and to some extent, also of the Moḍha *vaṇikas*. Many Moḍha *vaṇikas* followed Jainism, of course to the dislike of the *purāṇa* writer.⁴³ References pertaining to the Moḍha community are available in fair abundance from the epigraphical as well as literary sources.

The earliest allusion from literature to the Moḍha-vaṁśa is in the colophon of the Prakrit *Bhuyāṇasundarī-kahā* (Skt. *Bhuvanāsundarī-kathā*) of Vijayasīmha sūri of Nāgendra kula, datable to Ś. S. 975/A. D. 1054.⁴⁴ It refers to Dāṭya seṭṭhi (in current Gujarātī rendering Dāhyā seṭh), Pāsīl (Pārśvila), and Goāicca (Gopālaja? Gopālīka?), all Moḍha *vaṇikas* and Jaina by persuasion. The next two are the colophonic notices, one being at the end of the *Maṇoramā-kahā* (*Manoramā-kathā*) of Vardhamāna sūri (c. A. D. 1100) which refers to the chief tradesman Kapardi of Dhandhukā as "a moon of the Moḍha-caste sky (*Moḍha kul=āmbara-śasī*)"⁴⁵ and the other of Śrāvaka Sadeva (Sahadeva) of Moḍha-vaṁśa recorded at the end of the *Nandīdurga-pada-vṛtti* of Śrī-Candra sūri, dated S. 1226/A. D. 1170.⁴⁶ One more allusion concerning the Jaina tradesman of the Moḍha-

jñāti occurs in the end-note of the manuscript dated S. 1346/A. D. 1290 of the *Sthānāṅga-tīkā* of Abhayadeva sūri.⁴⁷

The earliest, and perhaps the only one so far known, inscriptional notice of Moḍha brahmin is dated S. 1120/A. D. 1064, occurring as it does in the copper-plate charter of Caulukya Bhīmadeva I.⁴⁸ Another reference to a Moḍha (who may be a *vaiśya* but brahmanist) occurs in the charter of Caulukya Bhīmadeva II dated S. 1256/A. D. 1199.⁴⁹

A few among the countless Jaina inscriptions ranging in date from the 11th to the 16th century are due to the pious acts by the Jaina Moḍhas, mainly purporting to the setting up of Jina images in stone and metal. The earliest available is on a brass Jina-image from Ghoghā in Saurāṣṭra, dated to S. 1132/A. D. 1076.⁵⁰ An inscription dated S. 1273/A. D. 1217 from Waḍhawāṇ refers to the donors as belonging to Moḍha-vamśa.⁵¹ One other brass image from Ghoghā set up by a Moḍha-*vaiśya* is dated S. 1296/A. D. 1240.⁵² The Lūṇa-vasahī inscription from Dilwārā (Delvādā, Mt. Ābū) dated S. 1297/A. D. 1241 refers to the parents of Suhaḍādevī, the second wife of the Prāgvāṭa Jaina Minister Tejapāla, as of the Moḍha caste and resident of Pattana (Aṇahilla-pāṭaka).⁵³ A commemorative image of one Āśāka of the Moḍha community had been set up in the Vanarājavihāra of Aṇahilla-pattana in S. 1301/A. D. 1245.⁵⁴ Two late Solāṅkī image inscriptions, dated S. 1331/A. D. 1275,⁵⁵ and S. 1349/A. D. 1293,⁵⁶ have as their donors the members of the Moḍha community. In Cambay (Khambhāt), a Moḍha family refurnished the temple of Jina Pārśvanātha in V. S. 1352/A. D. 1296 in the time of the Vāghelā monarch Sāraṅgadeva.⁵⁷ The post-Vāghelā Jaina Moḍha inscriptions are three from Goghā dated to S. 1359/A. D. 1303, S. 1388/A. D. 1332, and S. 1400/A. D. 1344.⁵⁸ Among the few other inscribed late Jaina Moḍha images are two, of S. 1392/A. D. 1336,⁵⁹ and S. 139+ (i. e. any year between A. D. 1334 and 1343).⁶⁰ Still later Jaina inscriptions reporting this community are dated S. 1414/A. D. 1358,⁶¹ S. 1420/A. D. 1364,⁶² S. 1429/A. D. 1373,⁶³ S. 1581/A. D. 1525,⁶⁴ and S. 1627/A. D. 1571,⁶⁵ the last one is perhaps the latest, and from Rajasthan.

The illustrious Ācārya Hemacandra of Pūrṇatalla-gaccha (A. D. 1095–1175), and Yaśahpāla,—the author of the Sanskrit play the *Moharāja-parājaya* and who also was the minister of the Caulukyian tyrant Ajayapāla (A. D. 1176–1178),—were Moḍha *vaiśya* by caste.⁶⁶ The Jaina poet-friar Bālacandra of Rāja-gaccha, a contemporary of Minister Vāstupāla, was Moḍha brahmin by caste.⁶⁷ In the heydays of the Solāṅkīs several more Jaina Moḍha élite of eminence must have been, and the Jaina Moḍha com-

munity, as gleaned even from the limited surviving evidence we have, was indeed in a flourishing condition.⁶⁹ After the destruction of the most Jaina shrines in Gujarat during the Muslim invasions and occupation period,— among them were the temples and strongholds of the Jaina Moḍhas also,— what is today left is rather a meagre fraction of the total evidence. Several Jaina *vanika* communities including Moḍha, some perhaps *en masse*,⁶⁹ embraced Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of Śrīmad Vallabhācārya (c. end of the 15th cent. A. D.). Excepting a few Moḍha Jaina families who had emigrated to Central India.⁷⁰ almost all Moḍhas today in Gujarat are Vaiṣṇava. From them came the greatest Indian of our times, Mahatma Gandhi.

Moḍha-caityas

The temple of Jina Mahāvīra at Moḍherā apparently was the premier and hence the earliest foundation of the Jaina Moḍha community. One other, indeed an ancient shrine of celebrity, was that of Jina Ariṣṭa-Nemi at Pāṭala or Pāḍala (Pāṭaḍī) near Śaṅkheśvara (not too far from Moḍherā), which, judging from a statement in the *Prabhāvaka-carita*, was in mid 8th century under the management of Siddhasena sūri of Moḍha-gaccha.⁷¹ The *Aṣṭottarī-tīrthamālā-stavana* of Mahendra sūri of Añcala-gaccha (between A. D. 1231 and A. D. 1251)⁷² credits the founding of this temple of Jīvitasvāmi Neminātha to the ‘Lord of Kanauja’, implying perhaps Āma (or rather his predecessor Yaśovarmā⁷³ ?). In S. 1367/A. D. 1311, after visiting Pārśvanātha of Śaṅkheśvara, Jinacandra sūri II of Kharatara-gaccha came with the pilgrim-congregation to Pāṭalā and paid obeisance to the “very ancient *tīrtha* of Neminātha”: (*Tataḥ Pāṭalā-grāme Śrī-Nemināthatīrtham cirakālīnum namaskṛtya... etc.*).⁷⁴ According to the *Samarārāsu* (Gurjara-bhāṣā) of Ambadeva (Āmradeva) sūri of Nirvṛtti-gaccha (S. 1371/A. D. 1315),⁷⁵ after the renovation and reconsecration ceremonies of the great temple of Ādinātha in A. D. 1315 Samarasiṃha, on his way back to Aṇahilla-pāṭaka (along with the large pilgrim-congregation) visited the *tīrthas* of Maṇḍali, Jīvitasvāmi Neminātha of Pāṭalā, and Śaṅkheśvara.⁷⁶ This fact is also recorded in the *Nābhinandana Jina-oddharā-prabandha* of Kakka sūri of Ukeśa-gaccha (S. 1393/A. D. 1337).⁷⁷ Jinaprabha sūri includes Neminātha of Pāṭalānagara in his 84 sites of the highest sanctity,⁷⁸ an evidence of the very high emience of this *tīrtha* and its Nemi's temple in the medieval period. It is clear from these references that, despite devastations by Muslims in the whole of Gujarat between A. D. 1298 and 1313, the temple of Pāṭalā had either escaped destruction or already was reconsecrated when Sādhu Samarasimha (with his father Deśaḷa), and a few years before him the followers of Kharatara-gaccha went to that place. One other notice concerning this

Pāṭalā shrine by a Kharatara-gaccha pilgrim-friar is by Upādhyāya Vinaya-prabha (c. A. D. 1375).⁷⁰ And one of the last notices is inside the *Caitya-paripāṭī* of Jinatilaka sūri of Ratnākara-gaccha (c. late 15th cent A. D.), referring as it does to Nemi at Pāṭala.⁸⁰ (It also alludes to Mahāvīra of Moḍherā). It is likely that the shrine of Neminātha at Pāṭalā was not too far behind in antiquity from that of the Mahāvīra of Moḍheraka.

A third shrine of some consequence founded by the Jaina Moḍhas was at Dhandhukakka (modern Dhandhukā). In the medieval period it was known as 'Moḍha-caitya'⁸¹ and 'Moḍha-vasahikā';⁸² it was in existence in c. A. D. 1094 when Devacandra sūri of Pūrṇatalla-gaccha met his future celebrated disciple, namely the great Hemacandra, who then was a very young boy as mentioned in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Ācārya Merutuṅga of Nāgendra-gaccha (S. 1361/A. D. 1305).⁸³ An earlier notice to this very shrine as 'Moḍha-caitya-gṛha' is encountered in the colophon of the commentary by Āmradeva sūri (S. 1190/A. D. 1134) on the *Ālchyā-naka-maṇi-kośa* of Nemicandra sūri of Bṛhad-gaccha (c. 11th-12th cent. A. D.).⁸⁴ Minister Tejapāla had added to this temple a handsome *raṅga-maṅḍapa* adorned with the figures of *pāñcālikās* (*nāyikās*, or heavenly damsels) as stated in the *Vastupāla-caritra*⁸⁵ (S. 1497/A. D. 1441) of Jina-harṣa gaṇi of Tapagaccha.⁸⁶

A Moḍha-caitya, or Moḍhera-vasahikā, also existed in Aṇahillapura as inferred from a reference in the *Prabhāvaka-carita*⁸⁷ as well as in the *Prabandhakośa*,⁸⁸ to the setting of an image (perhaps painting) of Jina in that *vasatī* by Bappabhaṭṭī sūri (c. 7th-8th cent. A. D.).⁸⁹

One other Moḍha-vasatī existed, it was in Maṅḍali (modern Māṅḍala) in the time of Minister Vastupāla; for, according to the *Vastupāla-caritra*, he (or his brother) had set up the *mūlanāyaka* (cult-image) in that temple.⁹⁰ None of these Moḍha Jaina shrines today survives.⁹¹ With their disappearance, large quantities of records, some of them probably were of considerable significance to the history of the Moḍha community and the Śvetāmbara Jainism in general, have vanished.

Moḍha-gaccha

Inscriptions on two Jaina metal images of c. late tenth century A. D. allude to Moḍha-gaccha,⁹² attesting as they do to the existence of this *gaccha* before that period. Among literary works only the *Prabhāvaka-carita* refers to it.⁹³ There is likewise no information on the monks, nor are known the hagiological lists of the pontiffs, of this *gaccha*. The *gaccha* very probably was of the *caityavāsī* order whose abbots lived in the monasteries attached to the temples under their control. With the destruction of these abbeys were

destroyed all detailed records of major pertinence to this *gaccha*. One solitary notice, referring to the Modha-guru Hariprabha sūri, is recorded in the manuscript of the *Śthānāṅga-tīkā* of Abhayadeva sūri, dated S. 1325/ A. D. 1269.⁶⁴ The *gaccha* is long since extinct, virtually, or definitely, from the date when the Jaina Modhas of Gujarat embraced Vaiṣṇavism.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Late Shri P. P. Pandya and I encountered this evidence when we surveyed the antiquities of Modherā in 1967.
2. Pieces of significant information based on original sources, however, are scattered through various publications in Gujarati. (See here " Other References " appended in sequel).
3. Jabā puṭhe : " Keṇai ko si tumarā? Modherag=āto ato-bhavān? " So bhaṇati : " Nāham Modherag-āto, Bha(ga)vadgrāmād=āyāto " ||
(I have taken this citation from Muni Jambuvijaya, *Suyagadāṅga-sūttāḥ*, Jaina-Āgama-Granthamālā : No. 2 (2), Bombay 1978, " prastāvau " [Gujarati], p. 35, *infra* 3).
4. Silācārya's other two works, namely the *Ācārāṅga-sūtraṭīkā* is dated to S. S. 784 or 798 / A. D. 833 or 877, and the *Caṭupanna-mahāpuruṣa-carigu* to S. 825 / A. D. 869.
5. The commentator cites " Modheraka " as an instance of *ahāra* class of town. (Cf. Bhogilal J. Sandesara, *Jaina-Āgama-Sāhitya-mālā Gujarāt* [Gujarati], Saṁśodhana Granthamālā, No. 8, Gujarat Vidyasabha, Ahmedabad 1952, p. 63).
6. The *arḍhāṣṭam* status for a town might be like a tālukā headquarters of our times.
7. Cf. G. Bühler, " Eleven Landgrants of the Cālukyas of Aṅhīlvaḍ ", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, pp. 191-193.
8. Cf. Hurivallabh Bhayani, " Bhaḡvadgrāma Modherā " (Gujarati) in ' Śabda-parīśilana ' inside *Grantha*, Bombay, January 1965.
9. Ed. Jina Vijaya, Singhi Jaina Series No. 6, Śāntiniketan 1935, " Bappabhaṭṭi-sūri-prabandha ", p. 26.
10. The *Prabhāvaka-carita* and the *Prabandha-koṣa* are the main Jaina sources. The chapter on Bappabhaṭṭi sūri in the *Kahāvālī* of Bhadrēśvara sūri (now lost) (unpublished : c. 11th-12th cent. A. D.) was probably one of the original sources for both the works. One other source was possibly the *Bappabhaṭṭi-sūri-carita* (unpublished), its *ms.* dates S. 1291 / A. D. 1235.
11. The *Skandapurāna* III, " Brāhma-khaṇḍa II " (" Dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa "), Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, S. 1886 / A. D. 1910.
12. The Jaina writers praise Āma as the supporter of Jainism; the " Dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa " condemns him as the one who snatched away the villages from the Modha brahmins, granted as they are said originally to be by Lord Rāmaoandra himself !
13. A short label (masonic) inscription on an upturned stone in the west wall of the secret chamber underneath the sanctum gives this date : (cf. Jas. Burgess, *Antiquities of*

- Northern Gujarat*, ASI (NIS), WI, Vol. IX, reprint, Varanasi 1975, p. 81. (Also see my "Modherā-nā Sūrya-mandira-no Nirmāṇa-kāṇa" (Gujarati), *Pathika*, Vol. 9/10, Aug. 1970; and Vol. 9/11, Sept. 1970).
14. Cf. M. A. Dhaky, "The Date of the Dancing Hall of the Sun Temple, Modhera," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 38 / 1963 (NS), pp. 211-222, Figs. 1-10.
 15. Cf. Harilal Gaudani and Madhusudan Dhaky, "Gujarāt-ni ketalika navī śodhāyell Maitraka, Anu-Maitraka, Mahā-Gurjara aṇe Ādya-Solaṅki-kālin pratimāo" (Gujarati), *Sādhyāya*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 204-206, Figs. 8 & 9.
 16. The building definitely existed before the *kuṇḍa*; for details cf. here footnote no. 22.
 17. The *Skanda-purāṇa*, 13. 80-85; Venkateshwar Press, Bombay V. S. 1966 / A. D. 1910, p. 125.
 18. *Ibid.*, 13.50-56, pp. 127-128.
 19. Recently the State Department of Archaeology, Government of Gujarat, has acquired two more pieces of this *parikara*. Ravi Hajarnis of the selfsame Department has discussed these in an article he recently wrote for the *Sādhyāya*.
 20. The reference to Modherā and its Sun temple and the tank in its front occurs in a *quāsida* figuring in the *Diwān-i-Hakim Farrukhi Sistāni* (ed. Muḥammad Dabir Siyaqi), Teheran H. S. 1335, pp. 66-73. I am grateful to Dr. Z. A. Desai for this information.
 21. Actually, the chapels inside and around the tank were few. Mostly there were image-bearing niches at landing faces, many still in position.
 22. Dr. Desai also provided me the translation of the *quāsida* in question, which I have reproduced here with a very slight modification. I am further grateful to him for this help. Muḥammad Nizim in *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, pp. 216-217, has quoted only two verses, omitting as he did the part particularly in which the Sun image has been admired by Farrukhī.
 23. The Tusa images, though earlier than the Sun images of the present Modherā temple, are rather crude.
 24. I base this statement on personal observations refreshed by the current study of the photographs of these sculptures in the photo-archive of the American Institute of Indian studies, Varanasi.
 25. Cf. M. R. Majumdar (GE), *Historical and Cultural Chronology of Gujarat*, Baroda 1960, pl. XX.
 26. J. M. Nanavati and M. A. Dhaky, "The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temple of Gujarat," *Artibus Asiae*, 'Supplementum XXVI', Aconia, fig. 3.
 27. *Ibid.*, Figs. 15 and 26a.
 28. Ed. Jina Vijaya, *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa*, Part 1, Singhi Jaina Series No. 10, Sāntiniketan 1934.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 19; *Modherāo Virat*, inside "Mathurāpuri-Kalpa".
 30. *Ibid.*, p. 86, inside "Caturāṣṭi-mahātirtha-nāma-saṅgraha-kalpa".
 31. R. M. Shah, "Sakala-tirtha-stotra," *Sambodhi* (Ahmedabad), Vol. 7, Nos. 1-4 (Gujarati section), Vs. 30, p. 99.
 32. I am currently editing this work for the *Sambodhi*.
 33. Modherapura-nivāsī Brahma=opapadena Sāntinī recitaḥ |
Bṛayameva sapta-hastaḥ Sri Virā-Jineśvaro jayati ||

34. ... Modherakapure Brahmasānti-sthāpita-Vir-Jina...*etc.* (Ed. Jina Vijaya Singhi Jaina Series No. 6, Santiniketan 1935, p. 34.)
35. rākhaī jākhu ju āchaī, khedaī rākhaī Brahmasanti Mūḍherāī || — *Ābā-rāsa*, 60'
(Cf. Śrī Pūnyavijaya sūri, *Vastupāla Prafasti-saṅgraha*, Singhi Jaina Series, No. 46, Bombay 1961, p. 108).
- A Modha family from Modhanagara (Modherā) has a surname 'Brahmasānti' from c. S. 1330 / A. D. 1264 on, taken after from an ancestor named after Yakṣa Brahmasānti (presumably of Modherā). (Cf. Pārśva, *Añcala-gaccha Digdarśana* [Gujarati], Bombay, 1968, p. 98, para 443).
- Pt. Ambalal Premoband Shab reports on ancient image of Brahmasānti in Modherā currently worshipped there as Hanumāna (cf. *Jaina Tirtha-Sarva saṅgraha* [Gujarati] Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 70).
36. *Ibid.* Jina Vijaya Muni, Singhi Jaina Series, No. 13, Calcutta 1931, p. 80.
37. Modh=ākhyā-prauḍha-gaccha ... etc. |
..... Śrī Siddhasena ... etc. ... munindras tatra viśrutaḥ ||
..... Modhere Śrī Mahāvīraṁ praṇantuṁ so' nyad āyayau ||
— *Prabhāvaka-carita* 11. 8-9.
38. There exists a modern shrine of Mahāvīra in the heart of the village; however, it is not clear whether it stands on the site of the original building.
39. Ed. Jina Vijaya Muni, *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, Part 1, Singhi Jaina Series, No. 1, "Vastupāla-Tejapāla-prabandha", Śāntiniketan 1933, p. 100.
40. I have discussed the point at some length in my paper "Nīrvāṇakalikā-no Samaya aṇe Āvūṣaṅgika Samasyāo" (Gujarati), currently in press.
41. Cf. H. R. Kapadia, *Government Collections of Manuscripts*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVII, Pt. 3a, Poona 1940, p. 170.
42. *Ibid.*, *gāthā* :
Jayāī sāmiū Risahu Settumji |
Ujjimta pahu Nemi-jigu |
jayāū Viram Mobera-maṅḍaṅu |
Bharava (!!hi ? ccha-hiū) Munisuvvāī |
Mahura-Pāsu duba-dapda-khaṅḍaṅu |
43. The terms used for them are strongly pejorative. The *purāṇa* in fact, and at one other place, denigrates the entire Modha *vaīśya* community by saying that they were created by Kāmadhānu, the celestial cow, and were given as "servants" (*anucaras*) to the Modha brahmins! (Cf. "Dharmāranya" as well as the *Padma-purāṇa* for supplementary information).
44. Ed. Muni Pūnyavijaya, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts in the Śāntinātha Jain Bhandāra, Oambay*, Part 2, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 149, Baroda 1966, p. 364.
45. Com. Muniraj Śrī Pūnyavijayaji, *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts*, Pt. 11, Lalubhai Dalpatbhai Series No. 5, Ahmedabad 1966, p. 362.
46. Ed. Muni Shri Pūnyavijayaji, *New Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts, Jesalmer Collection*, L. D. Institute Series No. 36, Ahmedabad 1972, p. 25.
47. Ed. C. D. Dalal, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandara at Pattan*, Vol. I, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LXXVI, Baroda 1937, p. 201.
48. K. N. Dikshit, "The Pālanpur plates of Cālūkyā Bhīmadeva (V. S. 1120)", *Epigraphic Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 171-173.

49. H. H. Dhruva, "A Copperplate Grant of King Bhimadeva II, Dated V. S. 1256", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, pp. 71-73.
50. Cf. Madhusudan Dhaky and Harishankar Prabhshankar Shastri, "Ghoghā-no Jaina Pratimā Nidhi" (Gujarati), *Śrī Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā Trāimāsika*, Bombay, Jan-March 1966, p. 21.
51. Cf. late Vijayadharmasūri, *Prācīna lekha Saṁgraha*, Pt. 1, Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā, Bhavnagar 1929, p. 9.
52. Dhaky & Shastri, "Ghoghā-no....", p. 21.
53. Cf. Muni Jayantvijayaji, *Ābu* pt. 2, Vijayadharmasūri Jaina Granthamālā, Ujjain, V. S. 1994 / A. D. 1938, Ins. No. 262, p. 113.
54. *Ed.* Jinavijaya, *Prācīna Jaina Lekha Saṁgraha* (Pt. 2), Bhavnagar 1921, Ins. No. 519, p. 321.
55. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 483, p. 309.
56. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 484, p. 310.
57. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 449, p. 180. Also Cf. Narmadasankar Trambakram Bhatt, *Khambhāt-no Prācīna Jaina Itihāsa* (Gujarati), Khambhat V. S. 1996 / A. D. 1940, p. 200.
58. Dhaky & Shastri, *Ghoghā-no....*, p. 21.
59. Vijayadharmasūri, *Prācīna....*, p. 17. The image is from Limbadi (Saurashtra).
60. *Ibid.*, p. 19. The image hails from Wadhawāṇ (Saurashtra).
61. Jayantvijayaji, *Ābu*, pt. 2, p. 543.
62. Jayantvijayaji *Arbudācala-pradaksinā-Jaina-lekha-sandoha* (*Ābu*, pt. 5), Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā, Bhavnagar, V. S. 2005 / A. D. 1949, p. 39. The image is in the Jaina temple, Jirāvālā (Rajasthan).
63. *Ibid.*, p. 124. The image is inside the Jaina temple, Nāṇū (Rajasthan).
64. Cf. Agarchand Nahta & Bhanvarlal Nahta, *Bikaner Jaina lekha saṁgraha*, Calcutta, V. N. 2482 / A. D. 1955, p. 242.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 194. The inscription refers to Vṛddha Modha-śākhā.
66. These facts have been recorded in several books in English and Gujarati on the history of the Cālukyas of Gujarat, based on the *prafastī* of Yaśahpāla in his play, the *Moharāja-parājaya*. (This original source was not available to me).
67. *Ed.* C. D. Dalal, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 7, Baroda 1917, eulogy of Bālacandra sūri at the beginning of the Sanskrit text, pp. 114-116.
68. Unfortunately, the literary works of the Modha friars, monks, abbots and pontiffs are completely lost; this circumstance, then, is very unhelpful in making a correct estimate of the Modha great men of the medieval period.
69. Khedāvāla, Pallivāla, Soratībiya, Māṇḍaliya, Diśāvāla, and a few others. A few families of the Śrīmālī caste and many of the Prāgvāṇa caste, — two most eminent *vaiśya* communities, — also then had embraced Vaiṣṇavism.
70. Jaina Modhas are found in such cities and towns as Bhopal, Sajnagar, etc. The information was given to me by Shri Sagarmal Jain.
71. *Ed.* Jinavijaya Muni, Singhi Jaina Series No. 13, Ahmedabad-Calcutta 1931, p. 80.
72. From the press-copy of this work being critically edited by Pt. Babulal Savchand Sheth at the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. I am indebted to Pt. Shah for the relevant information from this *Tirthamālā*.

73. The temple apparently had existed in the earlier half of the eighth century which is the period not of Āma but his predecessor Yaśovarṇa who was ruler of Gopāgiri as well as Kūnyakubja.
74. *Ed.* Aobarya Jinavijaya Muni, *Kharataragaccha-Bṛhadguroḍvali* (later part, S. 1393 / A. D. 1337), Singhī Jaina Series No. 42, Bombay 1966, p. 63. Jinacandra sūri's successor Jinakuśala sūri visited "Pādai-ālamkāra Śrī-Nemiśvara" in S. 1381 / A. D. 1322 and had composed a psalm in praise of the Jina : (*Ibid.*, p. 79).
75. *Ed.* C. D. Dalal, *Prācīna-Gurjara-Kāvyasaṅgraha*, Baroda 1978.
76. Maṇḍali hoṣī Pādalai namiyāu e
namiyāu e Nemi su Jivatasāmi | —*Samarāraṣu*, 12. 5, (Dalal, p. 37).
77. *Ed.* Pt. Bhagvandas Harakbchand, *Sri Hemacandraśūrya Jaina Granthamālā*, Ahmedabad V. S. 1945 / A. D. 1929, 5. 243-244.
78. *Ed.* Jina Vijaya, *Vividha.*, p. 86.
79. Jiva-svām = iti saṃjñāna bata-mala-pāṭalaṃ Pāṭalāyān gubāyān, etc. | 26'
This *Caitya-paripāṭi-stavana* is being critically edited by me.
80. *Cf.* Muniraja Shri Nynyavijayji, *Jaina Tirtho-no Itihāsa* (Gujarati), *Sri Caritra Smāraka Granthamālā*, No. 39, Ahmedabad 1940, Appendix 2, "Caitya-paripāṭi-stavana", p. 670. The *gāthā* refers to Jina Pārva of Saṅkheśvara and Nemi of Pāṭala : "Saṅkheśari Pāsa Pādolai Nemi | 15".
81. *Cf.* Jinavijaya Muni, "Sri Hemacandra-sūri-carita" in the *Prabhāva*, p. 188. ("Anyadā Modha-caitya = āntaḥ prabhūpām caitya-vandanam |")
Cf. Jinavijaya Muni, *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, p. 83.
83. "..... Sri Devacandrācārya-ṣu Dhaudhukkake
Sri-Modha-vasahikāyān deva-namaśaraṇāya prāpteṣu ... etc.
84. *Ed.* Muni Puṇyavijaya, *Catalogue.*, Baroda 1966, p. 389.
("... Simandhara-Jina-bimbān ramaṇiye Modha-caitya-gr̥he || 20")
85. Sri-Modha-vasatau raṅgamaṇḍapaṃ viśad = āśmabhiḥ |
Tejapālo vyadhān = navyān divya-pāucālik = ānavitam | — *Vastupāla-caritra* 6. 52.
86. *Ed.* Kirtimuni, Ahmedabad S. 1997 / A. D. 1941, p. 87.
87. Sri-Pattau = āntarā Modha-caitya = antar = mlechha-bhaṅgataḥ |
Pūrvam āsit tam aikṣanta tadānīm tatra dhārmikāḥ ||
— *Prabhāva-carita* "Bappabhaṭṭi-sūri-carita", 659, p. 107.
88. Ekam Modhera-vasahikāyān = Anahillapure |
— *Prabandhakosa*, "Bappabhaṭṭi-sūri-prabandha", § 49, p. 41.
89. If these references are reliable, it would imply that an old Jaina temple of the Modhas existed in Anahillapāṭaka even a century before its occupation by the Cāpotkaḷas. There is some sculptural evidence that an early township did exist at the site of Patan in the period before its available historical notices; it, for certain, existed in the middle of the eighth century. (*Vide* my article "Late Gupta Sculptures from Patan Anhilwad-Reviewed", *Bulletin, Museum & Picture Gallery, Baroda*, Vol. XIX, 1966).
90. Aśv = Ādi-Jinendra-sya Maṇḍalyān vasatīm vyadhāt |
Modh = Ārhad-vasatau mālanīyakam ca nyavivīśat ||
— *Vastupāla-caritra* 8. 64. (p. 134)
91. Destruction of the temples in larger towns and cities in Gujarat, it may once more be emphasized, had been too thorough during the fateful Muslim invasion at the end of the 13th century A. D. and the early years of Muslim occupation.



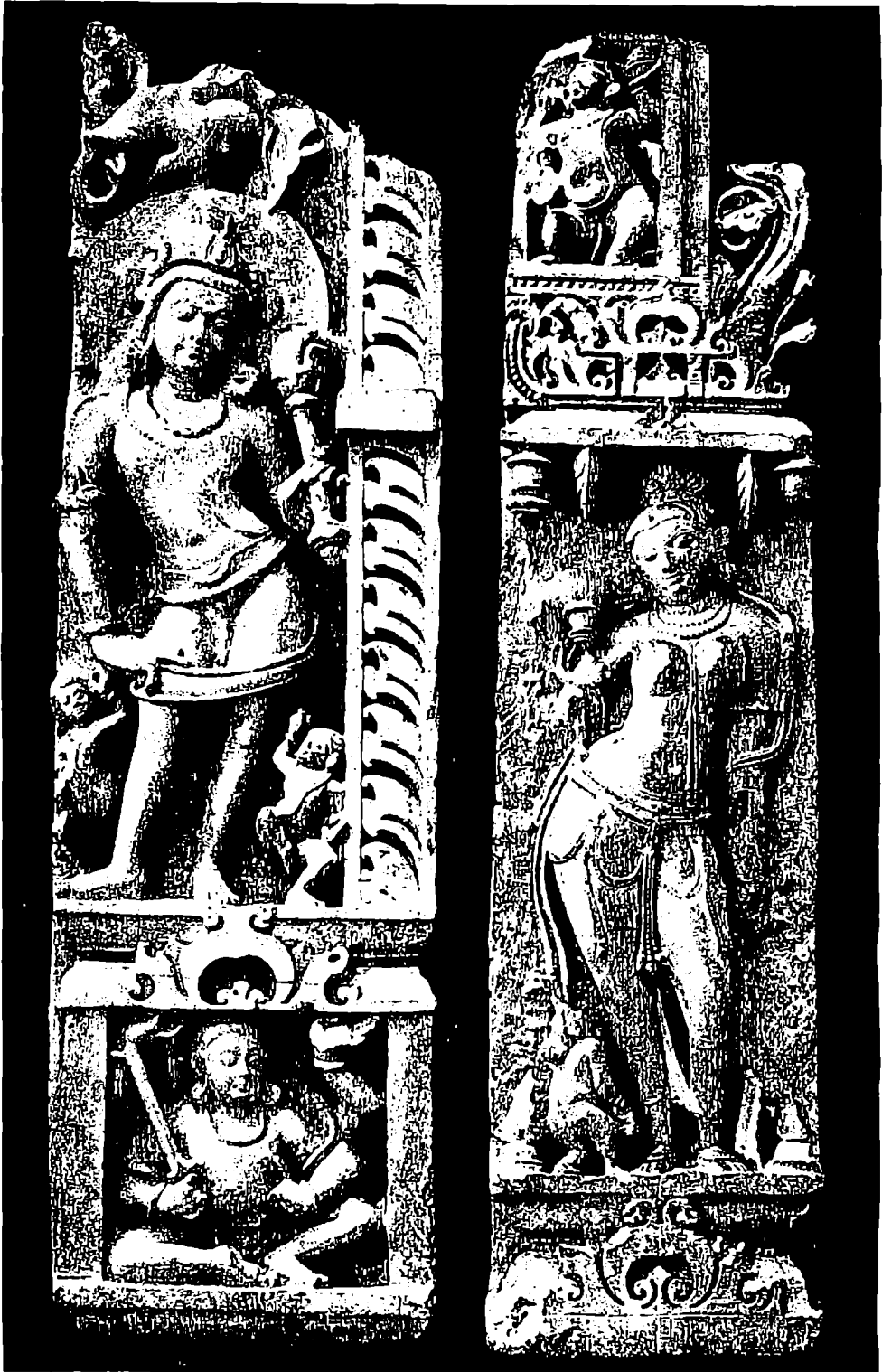
A. Modhera, head, Āditya image,
Saurāṣṭra style, c. 6th-7th
century A. D.



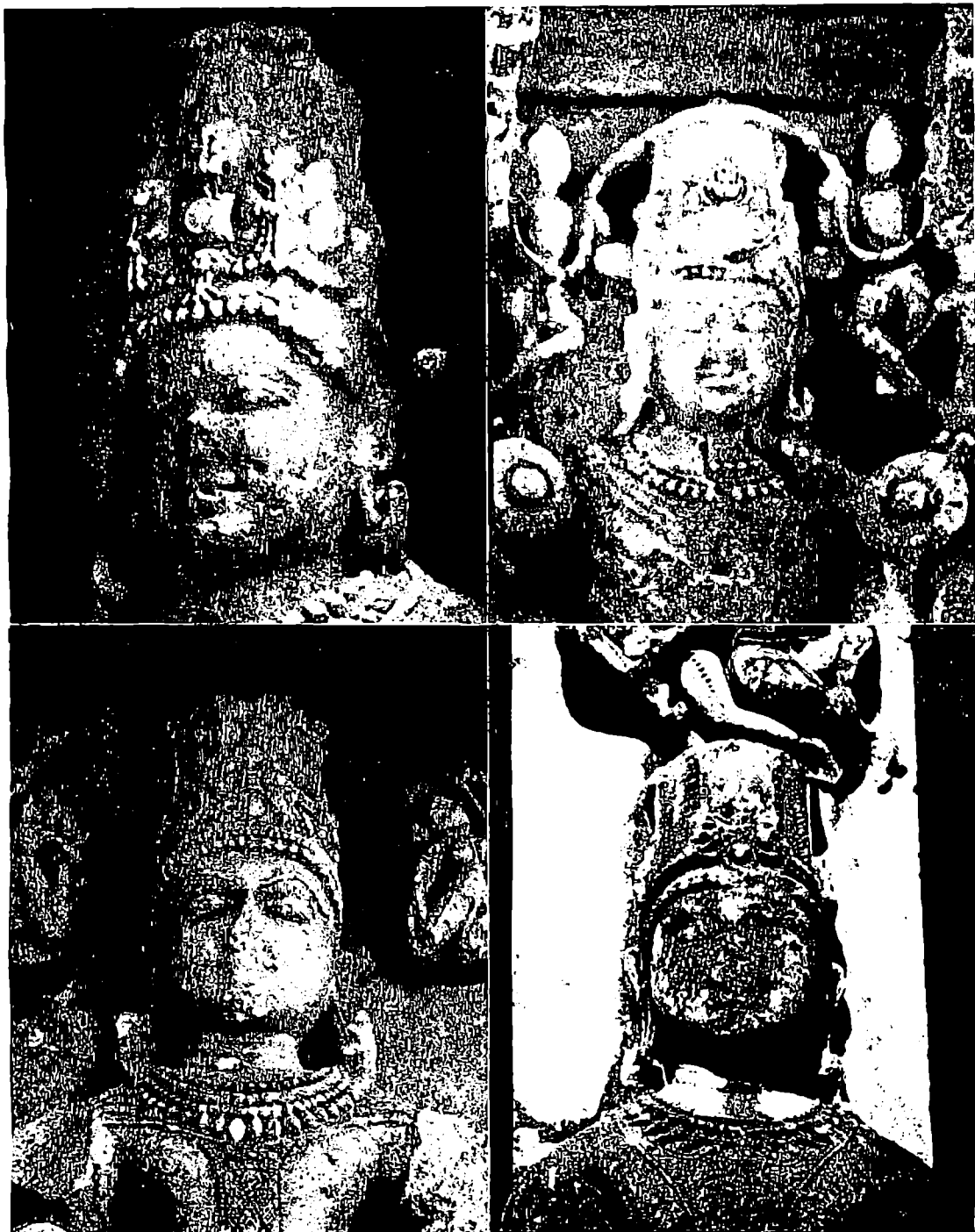
B. Modhera head, Āditya image,
Mahā-Gurjara style, c. late 9th
century A. D.



C.
Modhera, head
with Cāndraprabhā
-nimbus, Viṣṇu
image, Mahā-Gur-
jara style, 9th
century A. D.

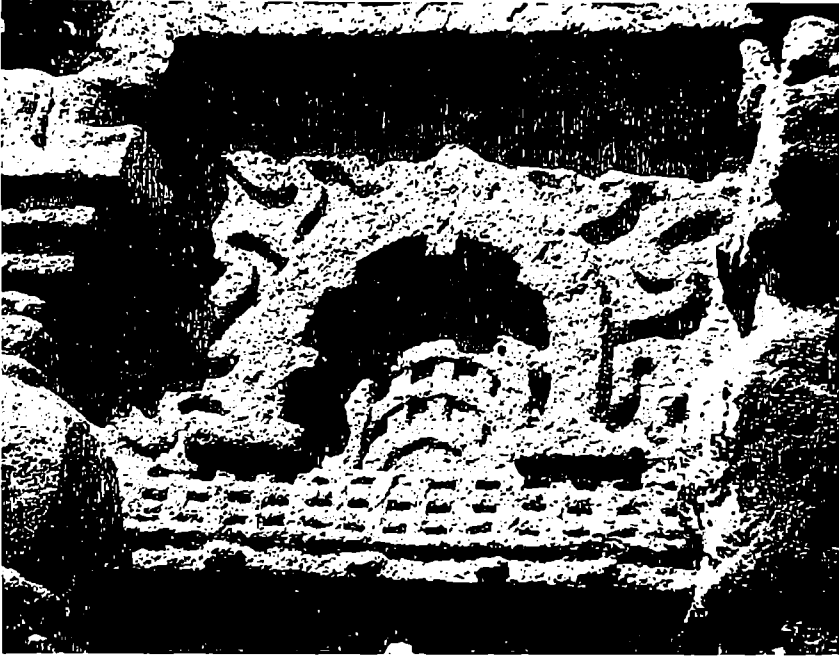


Modhera, Parikara fragments of the Āditya image, Mahā-Gurjara style,
c. late 9th century, A. D.

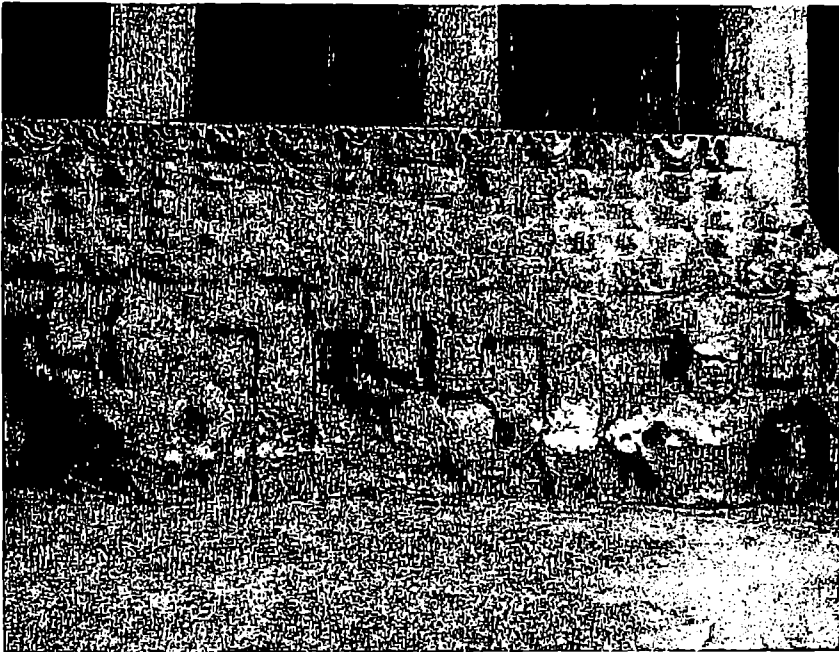


A & B. Modhera, Surya temple, *mūla-prāsāda*, *Janghā*, head and bust of the Ādityas, Maru-Gurjara style, c. A. D. 1027.

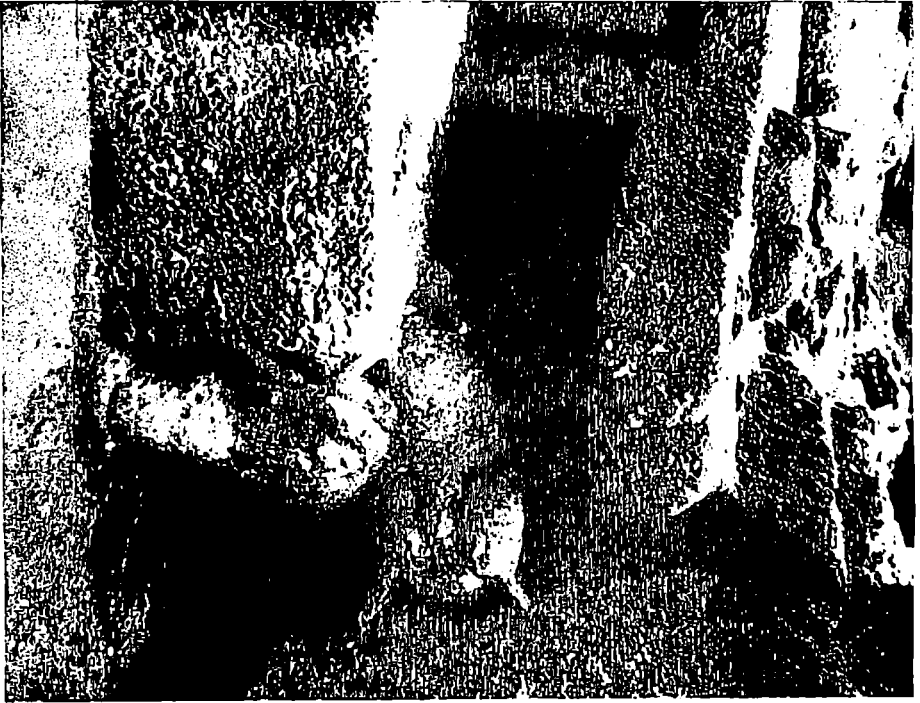
C & D. Tusa (Rajasthan), Sūrya temple, *mūla-prāsāda*, *Janghā*, bust of the Āditya Image, Mahā-Gurjara style, c. mid 10th century A. D.



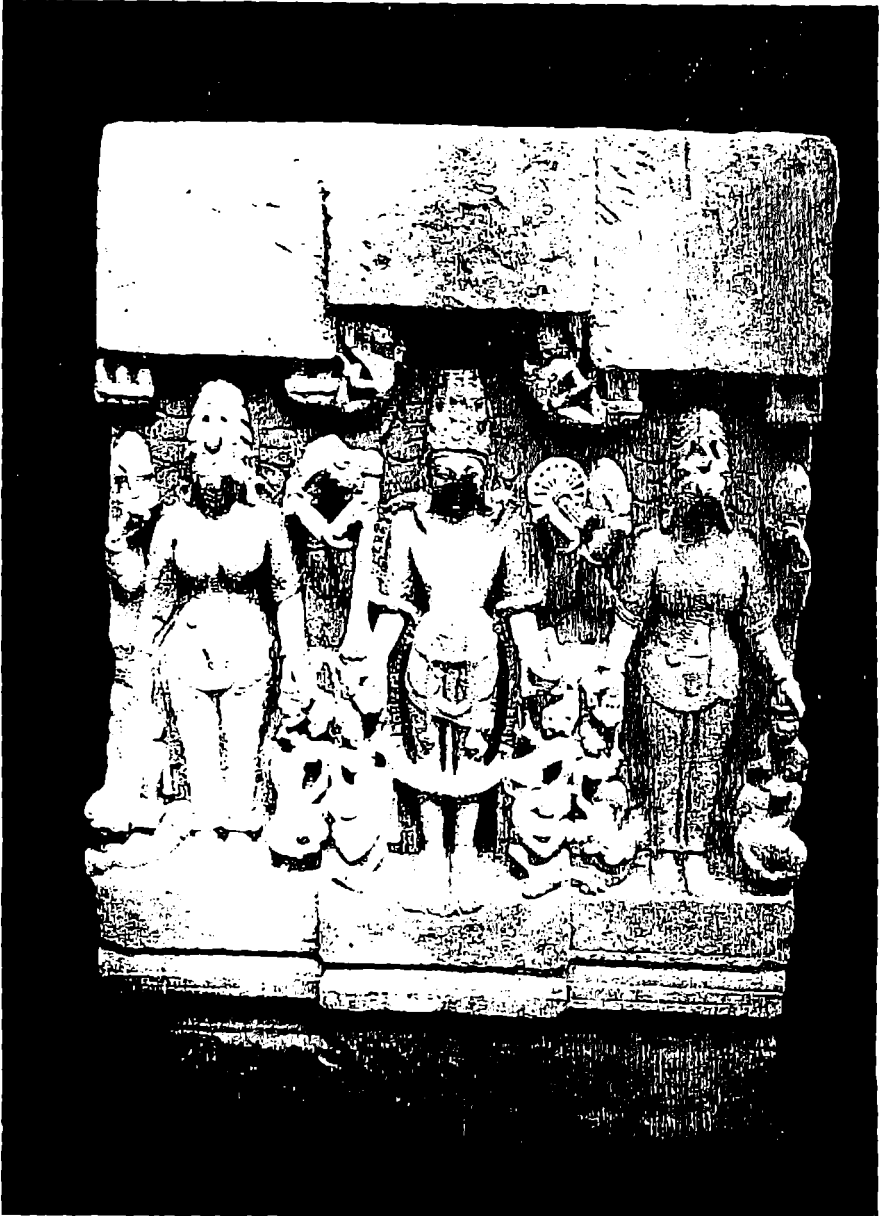
A, Nasik, Caitya Cave XVI, facade carved with triskelion motif.



B. Nasik Cave III, plinth carved with Yaksha figures supporting the superstructure.



A. Nasik Cave XIV,
Centaurs.



Visnu flanked by two Pārvati figures.

92. The first inscription is on the back of the 'Jinatraya' brass image with Jina Pārśva-nātha in the central position. From the inscription it is clear that the Modha-gaccha sprang from the Candra-kula. (Of. Sarabhai Manilal Navab, *The Jaina Tirthas in India and Their Architecture*, Ahmedabad 1944, p. 28 & pl. 16, Fig. 35.) The *gaccha* in the inscription has been read 'Mādha'; possibly an engraver's error.) The second inscription is engraved on the 'Aśka Jina' brass image, here too with Jina Pārśva as the principal figure. It reads: "Om Sri Candra-kule Modha-gacche Ninnata-śrāvaka-sya |" (Of. Umakant P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, Bombay 1959, p. 60, pl. 68.)
93. Modh ākhyā-praudha-gaccha-Sri-vivoḍb ānūḍha-mūḍhataḥ |
Sri Siddhasena ity āsīn muṇindras tatra viśrutāḥ ||
— *Prabhāvaka-carita*, "Bappabhaṭṭi-sūri-carita", 11.8 (p. 80)
94. Dalal, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, Baroda 1937, p. 201.

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1. Umashankar Joshi, *Purāṇo-mūṇ Gujarāt* (Gujarati), Samśodhana Granthamālā Vol. 7, Ahmedabad 1940.
2. Bhogilal J. Sandesara, *Jaina Āgama-sūhitya-mūṇ Gujarāt* (Gujarati), Samśodhana Granthamālā, Vol. 8, Ahmedabad 1952.
3. Rasiklal Chotalal Parikh and Hariprasad Gangashankar Shastri, *Gujarat-ko Rājakiya ane Sūnśkr̥tika Itihāsa*, Vol. I, *Itihāsa-nī Pūva-bhūmika* (Gujarati), Ahmedabad 1972; and Vol. IV, *Solauki-kāla* (Gujarati), Ahmedabad 1970.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Modherā (Ānarta, Northern Gujarāt). Head, Āditya image. Surāṣṭra style, c. 6th-7th cent. A. D.
2. Modherā. Head, Āditya image. Mahā-Gūrjara style, c. late 9th cent. A. D.
3. Modherā. Head with *candra-prabhā*-nimbus, Viṣṇu image. Mahā-Gūrjara style, c. late 9th cent. A. D.
4. Modherā. *Parikara*-fragment of the Āditya image. Mahā-Gūrjara style, c. late 9th cent. A. D.
5. Modherā. *Parikara*-fragment of the Āditya image. c. late 9th cent. A. D.
- 6-7. Modherā. Sūrya temple, *mūla-prūsāda*, *jaṅghā*, heads (and busts) of the Ādityas. Maru-Gūrjara style, c. A. D. 1027.
- 8-9. Tusa (Medapāta, Rājasthān). Sūrya temple, *mūla-prūsāda*, *jaṅghā*, busts of Āditya images. Mahā-Gūrjara style, c. mid 10th cent. A. D.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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NASIK - A YAVANA CENTRE

M. K. DHAVALIKAR

Of all the Buddhist rock-cut sanctuaries of Western India, the Nasik complex is one of the smallest but at the same time one of the most important from the standpoint of the development of rock-cut architecture not only because of the datable epigraphical records in them, but also because of many new elements which are introduced for the first time. However, their position in the evolution of early Buddhist architecture is not properly appreciated possibly because the development of rock-cut *caitya-gr̥has* is generally traced from Bhaja in the 2nd century B.C. to Karla around 100 A.D. and since a vast majority of Nasik caves belong to the 2nd century A.D. they are treated rather in a summary fashion. Nevertheless our analysis of the various architectural features of the Nasik complex shows that it forms a landmark in the development of the rock-cut architecture of Western India, and what is more, this is perhaps the only site where some interesting Grecko-Roman elements are introduced. The innovations introduced in the layout of the cave temples were of crucial importance in shaping the development of the Late Hīnayāna phase of second and third century as also of the Mahāyāna phase of 5th-6th cent. A. D. Much of the art activity at Nasik is evidently to be attributed to the period of Kṣātrapa domination over Maharashtra in the first quarter of the second century A.D., and it was during this period that some new architectural elements, obviously of classical origin, were introduced. The present paper analyses these classical features and their influence in the Late Hīnayāna rock-cut caves of Western India.

The existence of Grecko-Romans, that is the *yavanas*, in Western India has been well attested by their inscriptions in Western Indian Buddhist cave temples, especially at Karla, Nasik and Junnar.¹ They were present in this part of the country right from the days of Aśoka (272-32 B. C.) who is said to have deputed a *yavana* missionary, one Dhammarakhita, to propagate the teachings of the 'Enlightened One'. The excavation of the ancient site at Nasik has yielded fragments of amphorae - wine jars - imported from the Roman empire. Although Junnar, about 150 km. south of Nasik, is sometimes identified with ancient Mīnanagara, the capital of the Western Kṣātrapas,²

1. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1951, 2nd ed., pp. 254-58.

2. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, (Bombay, 1920), pp. 33 and 144-45.

the Kṣatrapa art activity was concentrated mostly at Nasik as the copious epigraphical records amply bear out. The activity was undoubtedly extremely brisk confined as it was to a very short period of about two decades in the beginning of the second century A. D. The occurrence of classical motifs here should be credited to the *yavanas* who must have come here in large numbers, especially for trade, in the wake of the Kṣatrapa invasion, and although there are more *yavana* donors at Karla, the Grecko-Roman elements are mostly to be found at Nasik only which can therefore be described as a *yavana* centre.

Of the Grecko-Roman architectural elements, the most conspicuous is triskelion motif which is present at Nasik (Cave 16, facade) and Junnar (Pl. XX, A)³ as well and nowhere else in the entire range of Western Indian cave temples. Triskelion literally means three arms or branches radiating from the centre. It is a characteristic Greek motif although in composition it is not much different from the *trik* mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* an object with three thorns or pointed ends which was spread on the battlefield to prevent the onslaught of cavalry. It has been found in the excavations at Nasik itself and is dated to the Sātavāhana period.⁴ Be that as it may, the triskelion is taken to be a variant of *svastika* and is supposed to be a solar symbol.⁵ It first appears on the coins of Lycia in Asia Minor about 480 B. C., and also on the coins of Alexander the Great. The Greeks connect it with the cult of Apollo and perhaps that is why it is taken as a Sun symbol. Triskelion silver trappings have been found in the 'Royal Tomb' at Craiova, decorating the bridal of local Tharaco-Gretian prince. The type is Scythian and is dated to circa 3rd or 4th cent. B. C.⁶ It is not difficult to explain its import into Western India by the Śakas. There is every possibility of the motif being carved at both the places by *yavana* artists for there should be little doubt that they were quite active in India and were working for the local rulers as is clear from the evidence in a Tamil

3. The motif occurs in an isolated *cattya* cave which is not known to the scholarly world. It was discovered, or rather rediscovered, by Dr. Suresh V. Jadhav, a research scholar at the Deccan College, Poona. It has been described by him in his *Rock-cut Cave Temples at Junnar - An Integrated study*. (unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Poona), 1980, pp. 120ff.

4. It bears some resemblance with the Roman Caltrop which were used in warfare to obstruct the progress of horses and elephants.

5. See H. D. Sankalia and S. B. Deo, *Report on the Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe*, 1950-51, Poona, 1955, p. 112.

Alfred C. Huddon, *Evolution in Art as illustrated by life-histories of Designs*, London, 1895, pp. 213-14.

6. T. Wilson, *The Swastika*, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 109-110, Figs. 217, 224-226.

poem which describes *yavana* artisans building the palace of an Indian king.⁷

The other motif which is common at both the places is the sphinx. At Nasik it occurs in Cave No. 10 and at Junnar in the Gaṇeśa Leṇi Caitya VI. It should be emphasised that the sphinx is to be seen at only two sites whereas the animal capitals of Achemenid origin are found in several caves in Western India. Cave 10 at Nasik is known as the Nahapāna Vihāra because it contains a number of inscriptions of this ruler one of which incidentally mentions the 42nd year possibly of the Kaniṣka era and can therefore be dated to 120 A. D. Here on one of the porch pillars on its inner face, there are two sphinxes with the body of lion. In the Gaṇeśa Leṇi Caitya VI it has been carved in the hall itself, on the second pillar of the nave on right and left as well. It should be noted that the representations of sphinx are also to be met with at Pitalkhora in Vihāra XIX (on the left hand corner), at Bhaja in Vihāra XIX (on the left hand corner pilaster).⁸ The latter are females as at Junnar. In the great *caitya* at Karla too, there are two examples of female sphinx; they are depicted on the right and left aisles.

This would thus show that this particular motif occurs in Western Indian cave temples from the very beginning, but did not become quite popular as there are only five sites where it occurs. But what is important is that it occurs only in Western Indian caves of the Hīnayāna period and is not to be seen elsewhere in the country. Since it occurs at Bhaja and Pitalkhora, the earliest caves in Western India, the credit of importing this Egyptian motif has to be given to the Greeks who are present in Western India right from Aśoka's times. At Pitalkhora, in addition, there is a sculptured panel showing a *yavana* couple, probably donors.⁹ There were many *yavana* donors at Karla, Nasik and Junnar. The sphinxes at these sites owe their existence to the *yavana* donors and were carved probably by *yavana* artists.

There is yet one more motif which, however, occurs at Nasik only but is such that it cannot be marked out as classical. It consists of atlants. In Nasik Cave 3 – better known as the Gautamīputra Vihāra – on the plinth of the edifice, at the front, are carved corpulent *yakṣa*-like figures supporting the projecting ends of beams as if the load of the entire superstructure rests on their shoulders (Pl. XX, B). This very much recalls to the mind

7. V. Kanakasabhai, *Tamils 1800 years Ago*, Madras, 1950. 2nd ed. p. 26.

8. There were two more sphinxes at Bhaja, but are not to be seen now; they can, however, be seen only in drawings. See Jadhav, *op. cit.*, pp. 158ff.

9. M. N. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, 1959, p. 85, pl. LX, b.

the description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Rāvaṇa's palace which was said to have been supported by demons :

*vahanti yam kuṇḍala-śobhitānanā
mahānasā vyomacarā niśācarā (Rāmāyaṇa, V, 8, 7).*

It was C. Sivaramamurti who first brought this to the notice of scholars.¹⁰ The description is so apt that it would appear to be a purely Indian motif, but there should be little doubt that it is originally a Greek motif. In Greek mythology, atlants are sort of demons who support the earth and are quite commonly depicted in Greek art as supporting super-structures.¹¹ At Nasik, the motif is much Indianized and hence the figures look like the *yakṣas* of Indian tradition, but their earlier representation at Pitalkhora (2nd cent. B. C.) is more illustrative. There they are carved on balusters of the flight of steps leading to the main *caitya*. They are dwarfs and have goblin-like features with curly hair and look more Greek.

Another purely Greek motif is to be seen at Nasik only. In an unfinished and much dilapidated cave, numbered 24, is carved on the eastern end of the architrave a male riding a female centaur (Pl. XXI, A).¹² Such centaurs are of common occurrence in Greek art, and the most famous illustration is the large continuous panel in the Parthenon at Athens depicting "the Rape of the Sabines by Centaurs". Many of these panels are now in the British Museum, London, where they are known as the Elgin Marbles'.

In the same cave and on the same architrave, but on the western end is carved an owl (Pl. XXI, B). The occurrence of owl is shocking to the Indian mind as it is supposed to be inauspicious, but in the Greek art the bird is associated with Athena and some of its finest illustrations are to be seen on the coins of Athens dating back to 5th cent. B. C. Although it was hated by Romans who associated it with death and disaster, the ancient Greek greatly respected it because it was the bird of Athena, the goddess of wisdom, and if one flew over or before Greek soldiers it was a sign of victory. This would suggest that some Greek artist must have been responsible in introducing this motif at Nasik. Incidentally, it must be stated that Cave 24 where these two motifs – the centaur and the owl – occur, was the gift of a Saka.

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10. *Sanskrit Literature and Art – Mirrors of Indian Culture*, MASI 73 (Delhi, 1955), p. 3. He, however, wrongly refers to them as caryatids which are females in Greek mythology.
 11. Oscar Seyffert, *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, (London, 1851), pp. 83-84.
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

The projecting dentils in Caves 17 and 18 have parallels in Greek art. "If we compare the entablature of an Ionic temple with the roof of a Gupta shrine, we may be struck by the resemblance between the bands of cubes toward the top of each... One could argue that the two arise independently or that they in a general way share a common source, for the form first appears in Greek architecture in the Ionic order of Asia Minor, apparently relating in form to Persian versions such as the tomb of Darius of the fifth century B. C."¹³ It is, therefore, not unlikely that the dentils as well as the human heads which occur at Nasik are of classical origin. They later continue to occur in the Gupta temples.

But these motifs are not the only contribution of the *yavanas*; they seem to have contributed much more which is not easily distinguishable. Among other things the quadrangular, flat roofed *caitya* of the Late Hīnayāna period, also appears to be their contribution. An inscriptional record in Cave 18 at Nasik is perhaps most significant from this standpoint. It is carved on the back wall of the verandah. It records that the cave, which was both a *leṇam* (residence of monks) and a *caitya-gṛha* (*caitya* shrine) was the gift of one Indrāgnidatta,¹⁴ son of Dhammadeva, a *yavana* who was a resident of Dattāmitrī.¹⁵ The record further states that it was given to "the monks of all quarters for acquiring merit of his parents for worshipping all Buddhas". The record thus makes it explicit that it was a *caitya-cum-vihāra* which is undoubtedly the earliest example of its kind. But the unfinished nature of the cave and some of its architectural details would suggest that although the donor desired something very specific, the end product was quite different.

Cave 17 at Nasik is situated to the right of Cave 18 which is earlier and the only apsidal *caitya* at the site. A flight of steps on the right leads to cave 17 which, being an unfinished excavation, has not received the attention it merits. It consists of a verandah, a large rectangular hall, four cells on the right, two unfinished cells and a long recessed bench on the

13. Joanna G. Williams, "Dentils and the Question of Wooden Origins for the Gupta Temple", *Kaladarsana - American Studies in the Art of India*, New Delhi, 1981, p. 150.

14. The *Yavanas*, according to some, were wealthy Indian merchants who were Greek citizens. See W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 371-72.

15. Dattāmitrī has been identified with Demetrias, supposed to be named after Demetrius, the Indo-Greek ruler. But there were two Demetrias, one in Arachosia, between Seisten and Ghazni, and the other in Sind (Sindhu-Sauvīra). According to W. W. Tarn, that referred to in the Nasik record was in Sind. See his *Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 2nd edn., 1951, pp. 118-10 and 142.

left. A small flight of steps in between the two pillars of the verandah leads to the cave. The verandah (19.4 wide, 1.9m deep 3.07m high) has two pillars and two pilasters, which have a stepped or pyramidal base with a *ghaṭa* over it, an octagonal shaft, a bell capital, and an *āmalaka* in box above which is a stepped member crowned by animal capitals. The animals are all elephants on which are couples in the Karla tradition. Above this, on the architrave is the typical *vedikā* rail pattern, but even this too does not seem to have been finished because its length is not equal to that of the width of the verandah. A rectangular cell has been carved out in the right end of the verandah.

The large hall has a doorway (3 m. high and 1.47 m. wide) with a square window on either side (1.1 sq. m.) and there is yet another door on the extreme left which may have been carved later. The hall is rectangular (12.80 m. deep and 8.20 m. wide) and has four cells in the right wall of which the first and the last are squarish whereas the two central ones are rectangular. On the left is a long recessed bench in the middle and a cell each at either end, both of which are unfinished. It is likely that there would have been four corresponding cells on this side too, but they could not be excavated because there was no room; they would have destroyed the right wall of the Caitya Cave 18 on the left. Hence the idea of cells was perhaps given up and a long recessed bench was carved out.

In the back wall is a rectangular chamber (4. 40 x 2. 20m) which may have been intended as a shrine. But what is most remarkable is that it has a vestibule formed by two pillars and two pilasters. They have no bases, but have animal capitals on stepped members and their shafts are squarish. This is by far the earliest example of an *antarāla* in the Western Indian rock cut cave temples.

The most important feature of this cave is the inscription in the back wall of the verandah which records that this cave which was both a *leṇam* (residence of monks) and a *caitya-gr̥ha* (*caitya* shrine) and a cistern, was the gift of one Indrāgnidatta, son of Dhammadeva, a *yavana*, a resident of Dattāmitrī (Demetrias). It was given to the monks of all quarters for occupying for the merit of his parents. Thus there is a clear epigraphical evidence to show that this cave, which would have combined a *caitya* and a *vihāra* would have been, if completed, the earliest excavation of its kind.

The cave appears to be an ill-fated excavation inspite of the munificent donation of the *yavana*. Firstly, when the work began, the verandah was complete and the epigraphical record was incised, it was perhaps realized that the hall would have been too narrow. Hence the width of the verandah

was extended eastward. That is why, the entrance doorway is not in alignment with the flight of steps. Later it was observed that no cells could be carved out in the left wall because of the adjoining Caitya Cave 8. In the mean time the work continued inwards and the *antarāla* pillars and the pilasters were carved out. But it is not known why the shrine chamber was not completed. It may perhaps be due to the unsettled political conditions then prevalent. A good number of *yavanas* probably came to Western India in the wake of the Kṣatrapa invasion in the first decade of the second century A. D. There is no doubt that some of them were here right from a very early period from the days of Aśoka, but there was a marked influx in the first and the second century A. D., as is evident from their donations, at Karla, Nasik and Junnar. A Roman merchant's house unearthed at Kolhapur also belongs to the same period.¹⁶ They also came to be represented in the terracottas, a number of which occur at Ter. They must have established well in the first quarter of the second century when Nahapāna had conquered western Maharashtra. There should be little doubt that most of them continued to stay here even after Nahapāna was defeated by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi in 124 A.D. On the basis of stylistic similarities between cave 17 and 10 at Nasik, the former can be dated to about 120 A. D. just following the latter which was completed during the period of Nahapāna's supremacy. But soon after the Śātavāhana established their sovereignty, and during this transitional period Cave 17 could not be completed.

It will thus be clear that Cave 17 marks an important stage in the development of rock-cut architecture of Western India. Although not finished, it was intended as a *caitya-cum-vihāra* as the epigraph explicitly states. Stylistically it can be dated to the period of Nahapāna and may follow closely Cave 10 at Nasik, which is known as the Nahapāna Vihāra and may therefore be placed in the second decade of the first century A. D., but before Cave 3, the Gautamīputra Vihāra. There was probably a heavy influx of foreigners, Grecko-Romans (*yavanas*) and Śakas as the inscriptional records would testify and it is likely that some *yavana* artists were also working at sites like Nasik as the occurrence of classical motifs described earlier would suggest. But so far as Cave 17 is concerned, it is likely that the donor Indrāgnidatta, a *yavana* from Demetirias, would have desired to have a *caitya-cum-vihāra* at Nasik, the like of which were perhaps already existing in his native country. This would lead us to the problem of the origin of quadrangular, flat-roofed *caitya-gṛhas*. It may be noted in this connection that of the *stūpa*

16. Karl Khandalavala, "Brahmapuri", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 7, 1960, pp. 29-75.

shrine types, the quadrangular was the most popular in Gandhāra,¹⁷ and the earliest occurrence of quadrangular *stūpa* shrine with an ante-chamber is met with in the Gṛha-stūpa A 13 of the Kalwan monastery at Taxila.¹⁸ The combination of a *stūpa* shrine within the *vihāra* was present in Gandhāra even in the latter half of the first century A. D. and the credit of its introduction has to be given to Indrāgnidatta, the *yavana* donor of Cave 17.

Cave 17 thus was an ill-fated excavation which could not be finished for reasons unknown to us. It seems to have had an inauspicious beginning. The dimensions had to be changed in the initial stages when the verandah was deepened; cells in the left wall of the hall could not be excavated because of lack of space, and even the shrine chamber could not be completed. A careful examination of the back wall of the vestibule and the unfinished shrine chamber suggests that they wanted to have a flight of steps for which a squarish rock mass was left. Inside the chamber is the flat vertical surface which would lead one to infer that perhaps a panel depicting *stūpa* in relief may have been intended and not one in the round, something similar to that in the Gautamīputra Vihāra (Cave 3) at Nasik itself. The close stylistic similarities between this Cave (17) and the Nahapāna Vihāra (Cave 10) would show that they are almost contemporary, but Cave 17 goes a step further, for it combines a *caitya* and a *vihāra*. As it is, Cave 10 is also of the same class, but the *stūpa* panel in the back wall of its hall was in all probability carved later as it is inset, and must have been done after similar representation in Cave 3 was finished. But one feature - the combination of a *caitya* and a *vihāra* - which the *yavana* donor of Cave 17 introduced unsuccessfully, was carried out in Cave 3. Here the *stūpa* projects out of the panel in the centre of the back wall and was therefore definitely in the original plan of the cave and not an after-thought as in the case of Nahapāna Vihāra (Cave 10).

The foregoing discussion amply brings out into sharp focus the classical elements at Nasik. It is highly likely that they might be the handiwork of some *yavana* craftsmen. The minor motifs like the triskelion do not survive later but others such as the dentils projecting from the architrave find favour with Indian artists and continue to occur later.¹⁹ Yet the most

17. H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, New Delhi, 1966, p. 63.

18. Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. 1, Delhi 1975, Indian reprint, pp. 329; Vol. II pl. 72.

19. Joanna Williams, *Op. cit.*

important *yavana* contribution was the introduction of the concept of *caitya-cum-vihāra* which is further developed at Junnar, Kuda and Mahad between c. 150-250 A. D.²⁰ and its most elaborate examples are to be met with in the Mahāyāna *vihāras* at Ajanta.²¹

20. M. K. Dhavalikar, "Evolution of the Buddhist Rock-cut Shrines of Western India," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 45-46, 1974, pp. 50-61.

21. M. K. Dhavalikar, "The Beginning of the Mahayana Architecture at Ajanta", in M. S. Nagaraja Rao (ed.), *Madhu, Sri M. N. Deshpande Fel. Vol.*, Delhi 1980.

FRESH LIGHT ON AN INSCRIPTION FROM JUNNAR

SHOBHANA GOKHALE

Junnar, which is surrounded by Buddhist rock-cut temples, 80 kms to the north of Poona, is situated on the right bank of the river Kukadi. (N. Lat. 19° 12' and E. Longi. 73° 56'). It lies in a broad flat valley of the Sahyadri ranges and about 2000 feet above the sea-level. It is 40 kms to the east of Nanaghat, the ancient trade-route, through which Junnar was linked with Sopara, Kalyan and Chaul from ancient times. The richness of the rock-cut temples, *vihāras* and inscriptions has proved the importance of Junnar.

The very name Junnar is significant. The etymology of the name is variously interpreted, viz. Junnar-Jīrṇanagara – old city, Junnar – Yajñanagara, the city where many sacrifices were performed. The famous inscription of Nāgaṇikā at Nanaghat records celebrations of many sacrifices.

Bhagvanlal Indrajī and J. Burgess have studied most of the inscriptions of Junnar.¹ They have read the inscriptions and scholarly interpreted them in the pages of the reports of the Archaeological Survey of Western India and the *Bombay Gazetteer*.² But some inscriptions could be read differently with entirely new interpretations. An attempt has been made here to read one of those inscriptions with a new reading and interpretation.

The Junnar caves form four main groups : (1) Manmoda (2) Shivner (3) Tulaja (4) Ganেশa.

The Manmoda caves are 3 kms to the south-west of the town. These caves form three subordinate groups :

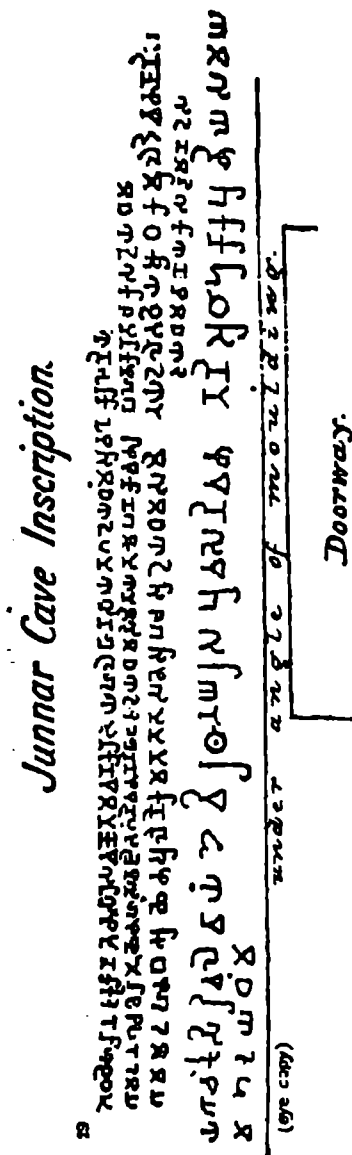
- (1) The Bhīmāshaṅkar caves in the south-east
- (2) The Ambā-Ambikā caves in the north
- (3) The Bhūṭaliṅga caves in the north-west

The present inscription is in Cave No. 26 (old No. 21), which is an unfinished *caitya* in the Ambā-Ambikā group. There are eleven inscriptions in the verandah of this cave, recording different grants made to the monastic establishment but none of them refers to the excavation of the cave.

The present inscription is on the moulding of the entrance of the *caitya*. It consists of four long lines on the rough surface. The letters

are larger in each lower line. As the surface is rough and full of irregular chisel-marks, crossing the letters in the inscription, the reading of the inscription has become extremely difficult.

Burgess³ has given only the photograph of the eye copy of the inscription. Bhagvanlal Indrajī has given his reading of the inscription in the pages of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. During my exploration-work at Junnar, I examined the inscription and found that some new reading could be suggested with a convincing interpretation. The letters are very shallow and hence it is difficult to take estampage.



Junnar Cave Inscription.

Characters : The inscription is engraved in Brāhmī characters of 2nd century A. D. In the marking of medial 'i', 'u', 'e' and looped 'na' and unlooped 'ta', the palaeography of the present record is regular for the period to which it belongs, i. e. 2nd century A. D.

Language : The language of the inscription is corrupt Prakrit and hence no rule of historical linguistics could be satisfactorily applied. The inscription is full of scribal as well as grammatical errors. Instead of *saṅghaṃ* in the last line it is written '*samaḡhamaha*'.

The object of the inscription is to register various gifts made by different donors to the monastic establishment. The inscription is important from various points of view :

- (1) The inscription records the name of the monastery as Gṛdhrahivihāra.
- (2) It refers to the monastic assemblage named Kākaputiyasaṅgha.

(3) The inscription mentions the Sāṃmitīya sect of the Hīnayānas. This is the only reference to the Sāṃmitīya sect in the whole of western Indian caves.

(4) The epigraph has recorded the earliest epigraphical reference to Dāmaṇadeśa. The river Damaṇā, modern Damaṇagaṅgā, is mentioned in the inscription of Nahapāna.⁴

The inscription records the following gifts :

(1) The first gift was by the dyer named Sārasavaṇṇa to the Gṛdhra-vihāra four *hala* land for the sake of a room for drinking water (*pānasālā*).

(2) The second gift is by the guild of goldsmiths of 16 *nivartanas* of land in the village Danagara which was a coarse land with its boundary of grazing land for cattle. The inscription records the word 'khara' for coarse land. The same word occurs in the *Gāthāsaptasatī*⁵ (v. 785).

(3) The third gift to the Sāṃmitīya sect in the village Paṇakavaṇya of half *karṣa* land to meet the expenses of sandals.

(4) The fourth gift is of a village Madahata to the Gṛdhra-vihāra. The artisans of the cave had a five percent share in the meritorious gift.

(5) The fifth gift is by a trader from Dāmaṇadeśa, of eight *nivartanas* of land which was to the east of monastery to the assemblage of Kākaputīyas to meet the expenses of rice and beans.

Localities : Bhagvanlal Indraji identified Danagara with Dhanagaravādī. Paṇakavaṇya is Panasaravādī two miles north of Junnar. He took Kākaputa as a place-name in the vicinity of Junnar whereas it is the name of the *saṅgha*. Dāmaṇadeśa is the island of Damaṇa to the north of Bombay.

Remarks : While studying the inscription at Junnar one has to take into consideration its geographical as well as cultural background. Junnar lies in beautiful natural surroundings, apt for meditative life of monks. It is not far from ports connected with inland market-towns. Junnar occupied an important place on the ancient trade-route from Ujjayinī to Pratiṣṭhāna. Second century reaped the fruit of the discovery of Hippalus of the existence of the monsoon which produced a revolution not only in navigational practices but also in other branches of culture. Junnar which occupied the ideal geographic position was captured not only by transient traders but also by monks for the propagation of 'Dhamma'. The monks hailed from Sānchi region and settled at Junnar. The ancient name of Sānchi region was Kāka. It occurs in the Allahabad⁶ Praśastī of Samudragupta and in the Sanchī

inscription of Candragupta II.⁷ The Junnar inscription records the name of Saṅgha as 'Kākaputiya Saṅgha'. It must be the assemblage of the monks hailed from the Sanchi region.

It is well-known that the votive inscription⁸ on the southern gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sanchi which records the gift of Ānanda, the foreman of the artists of Sātakarṇī, bears testimony to the Sātavāhana occupation in the north. This political advent made a remarkable impact on different branches of culture. The dynamic creative impulse of Sanchi literally percolated through different sources. The Gajalakṣmī panel on the facade of the cave in the Bhūtaliṅga group of Junnar and the Gajalakṣmī motif on the lead-coin⁹ of Sātakarṇī II have a close affinity with the main trend of Sanchi.

The inscription records the name of the monastery as 'Gṛdhravihāra'. The name is interesting and it reminds us of the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain near Rājagṛha which is often referred to in Pāli literature. It is one of the five mountains which surrounded the Rājagṛha town. The Buddha spent much of his time on the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain.

Sāmmittiya sect: The inscription records the gifts to the Sāmmittiya¹⁰ sect of the Hīnayānas. It was one of the most important sects in the time of Aśoka. The Pāli and Sanskrit traditions place the origin of the Sāmmittiyas in the 3rd century B. C. The earliest epigraphical evidence to the existence of this school is furnished by the inscription dated the second century A. D. attesting to the presence of the Sāmmittiyas in Sarnath. Fa-Hien and Yuan Tshang¹² also noted the presence of Sāmmittiya sect. At the time of I'tsing¹³ (A. D. 671-695) Sāmmittiya sect was flourishing in Lāṭa and Sindhu. It was in practice in Magaha. The Ceylonese *Dīpavaṃsa*¹⁴ and *Mahāvāṃsa*¹⁵ refer to Sāmmittiya sect of the Hīnayāna and the prosperous market-town Ujjayinī. From the above discussion it appears that Junnar was not only a halting place of visiting Buddhist monks from north India to Sri-Laṅkā but it was a stronghold of Sāmmittiya sect with great popular appeal in 2nd century A. D.

Bhagvanlal Indrajī's reading :

- 1) Gedha Viharana dāna kāka(pu)teta
Sarasavaṇo nāma vaṇṇakaro iya halāpanasāya
bhoga deyadhama Suvaṇakāra Seniya
- 2) Gāma Danagara khetramha cheta hā⁸
Savajā (ta)⁴ bhagam nivataṇāni be 2
deyadhama Simitāya gāme paṇakavachhare
halāto karo bhātakasa deyadhama

- 3) Gāme Madahatalesu chetasu
Lonikamoto bhāgo Satesu pañcasu
deyadhama simitāya Olānāthiya
ābokā nivataṇāni be
- 4) Deyadhama Vāṇiyikasa Dāmaṇadasa
- 5) Gāme kisiravalavāyam kheta virathana
gharasa puva (pā) se nivataṇāni atha
- 8) 8 kākaputiya samayā
- 6) mhi deyadhama.

Text

- L: 1 Gedha (Gidha) viharana dāna kākatena
Sārasavaṇo nāma vaṇakarasa-ya-hala pānaśa (la)ya
bhoga deyadhama suvarṇakāra seniya
- L: 2 Gāma danagracha kharamu chchetaha savajā
bhagam nivataṇāni 16 deyadhama simitayam
Gāme paṇakavaṇya Pāhenakarātārdhakasa deyadhama.
- L: 3 Gāma Madahatabasu chcheta Praleṇekamoto
bhāgo satesu pachasu deyadhama samitaya
Tetātarthaya Āthakamuladivanaṇāni
- L: 4 deyadhama Vāṇayakasa Damaṇadesa
- L: 5 yagā 'cha. kisiri valevāyam śavirathāna
gharasa Puvase nivataṇāni aṭhā 8
kākaputiya samagha
- L: 6 Maha deyadhama.

Junnar Inscription – Translation

- L 1 The dyer named Sārasavaṇa, a resident of Kāka, made a meritorious gift of 4 *hala* land for the sake of a hall for drinking water (to the Gṛdhraivihāra monastery),
- L 1-2 The guild of goldsmiths made a meritorious gift in the village named Danagara of coarse land together with the grazing land and the king's share of grains.
- L 2 & 3 A meritorious gift of 16 *nivartanas* of land the the Sāmmitiya sect in the village Paṇakavaṇya.
- L. 2 A meritorious gift of half a *karṣa* land for the sake of sandals.

- L. 3 (a) In the meritorious gift of a field in the Madahata village (to the Ḡḍhravihāra) the artisans of cave have five percent share.
- (b) A meritorious gift of oil for lamps to the Sāmmitīya sect for the sake of gaining blessings.
- L. 4 A trader from Dāmaṇadesa made a meritorious gift of 8 *nivartanas* of land to the east of the monastery to the assemblage of Kākaputiyas.

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TWO PROBLEMATIC SCULPTURES OF THE PRATIĪHĀRA PERIOD

N. P. JOSHI

Sculptural art of Central India in between c. 650 to 850 A. D. is no less interesting for the aesthetic and iconographic qualities than that of the earlier periods. Geographically this portion of India occupies an intermediate position between the borders of Rajasthan and Gujarat in the west and Allahabad region in the east. Art in the hilly tracts of Uttar Pradesh and that of some parts in Haryana too shows ample influence of contemporary art of Central India. Many of the Gupta traditions continue to linger on in this period, while some new features gradually creep in. The modelling is smooth and elegant, the figures are graceful and often have powerful expressions. Crowded heavy ornaments and decorative motifs are yet to be added.

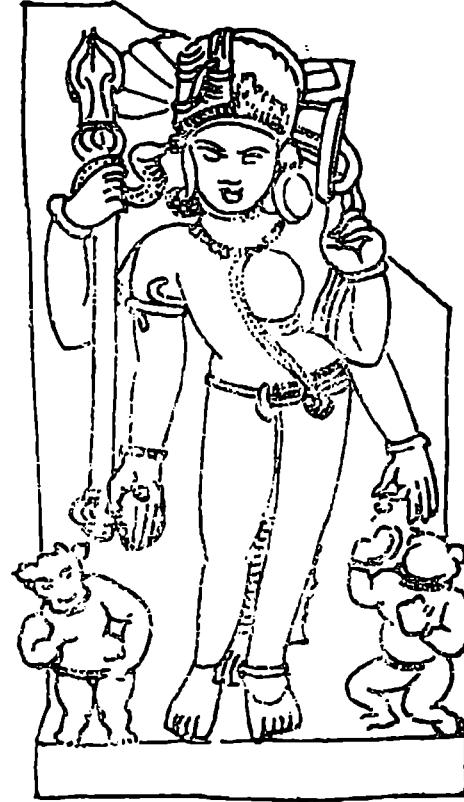
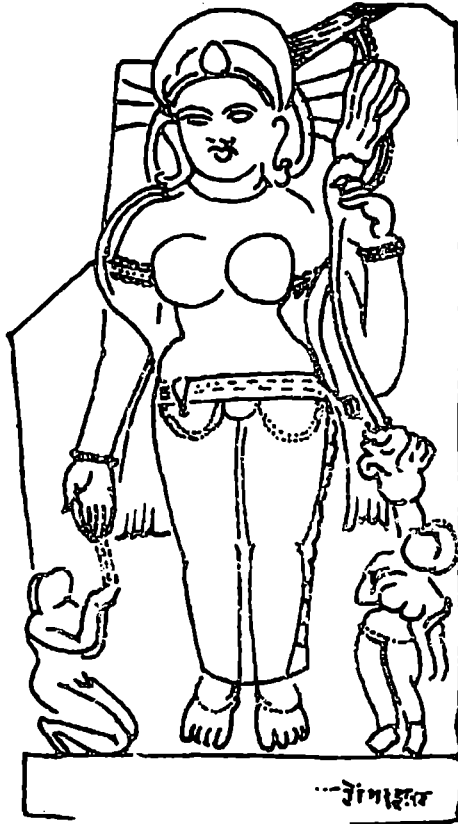
The sculptures of this period in general are beautiful to look at, but at the same time some of them are noteworthy for their iconographical importance as well. In the present paper we intend to discuss two such images, which are graceful but call for special attention from the scholars for their proper identification.

(1) Tārā (?) and Ardhanārīśvara in the Kanauj Museum :¹

The sculpture (Museum Accession No. 79 / 251) is of buff sand stone and 82 cm in height. It has been carved on both sides in bold relief.

On one side there stands a two handed female divinity with diaphanous *sāḍī* and *uttarīya* rolling on both the shoulders. She has a fine *dharmilla* and beautiful ornaments like *mekhalā* and *nūpurās*. She is holding a long stemmed lotus bud (*utpala*) in her upraised left hand, the right remains suspended in *varada* pose. Below this hand appears a naked male figure seated on knees with both hands joined together and placed near the mouth and seems to be drinking some liquid substance oozing from the suspended right hand of the goddess. On the corresponding side below the lotus stem a two-handed female figure is to be seen. She appears to be a *caurī*-bearer with a flywhisk resting on her right shoulder.

The sculpture is in good state of preservation, but the two-lined inscription on the pedestal is totally blurred barring eight letters of the second line, which I have not been able to make out,



(Tārā and Ardhanārīśvara in the Kanauj Museum)

This female deity with *vara* pose and *sanāla utpala* is very near to the Buddhist Tārā, but the substance oozing from her right hand and the kneeling male drinking it needs proper interpretation.

On the back side of Tārā, a four-handed figure of Ardhhanārīśvara is seen standing. He holds *vara* and *triśūla* with snake in his right hands and a mirror and lotus bud in the left. Śiva's half face on the right can be easily marked by the *jaṭā-mukuta* bearing a *Dhattura* flower, crescent and half third eye; while beautiful *dhammilla* decoration of hair on the left represents Pārvatī. Her round mirror is noteworthy. It has a handle shaped like a fine lotus creeper with a small flower attached to it. On Śiva's side his mount Nandi bull appears in anthropomorphic form with raised right hand holding some cloth-like indistinct object. On the corresponding side there appears another Śiva-*gaṇa* with his head raised and looking towards the Lord.

The sculpture is interesting both from the aesthetic and iconographic viewpoints. If the two-handed female divinity on the obverse is taken to be Tārā, her association with Ardhhanārīśvara calls for an explanation.

(2) Viṣṇu in between two Pārvatī figures (Pl. XXII):

While examining the stock of the negatives in the State Museum at Lucknow, I came across a negative of a beautiful Pratibāra sculpture, which shows Viṣṇu standing between two figures of Pārvatī in penance. Exact whereabouts of the sculpture are not known, but it is said to be in Kanauj area.

The panel seems to be complete and not broken from any side. It is in fine state of preservation. Four-handed Viṣṇu is holding *gadā* and *cakra* in his upraised hands and *śankha* in normal left. The normal right remains suspended in *varada* pose, and has a lovely small flower embossed on it. Viṣṇu appears with his usual ornaments. Below his *śankha* there is a male *caurī*-bearer, while on the corresponding side there is the *cāmara-dhārīṇī*. In front of these two figures the donor and his wife appear seated in *namaskāra-mudrā*.

There is a Pārvatī figure on each side of Viṣṇu of equal height and exactly similar to each other. The deity is four-handed holding a laddle and *kuśāṅkura*² in her upraised right and left hands respectively. In her normal left she carries a *ghaṭa* and the normal right is suspended in *varada* pose. Something passing over the thumb and part of the open palm is not distinct, but it does not seem to be an *akṣa-mālā*. She has a beautiful *jaṭā-mukuta*, diaphanous *sāḍī* and *uttariya* rolling on shoulders very much

similar to the Tārā figure described above, but what is noteworthy is the long flat *yogapaṭṭa*³ worn like a *yaññopavīta*, thereby suggesting her ascetic nature. Near Pārvatī's feet appear small figures of the lady attendants, and her mounts the lion and the deer. The lion is seated with left paw upraised, while the deer is busy in licking its hind left leg. Just behind the upraised hands of Pārvatī appear two *agni-kunḍas* symbolising her *pañcāgni-sādhanā*. The two projected platforms serving as *rathikās* on the upper side of the backslab have five Śiva-*līngas*, three on the first and two on the second platform. Absence of *godhā* clearly establishes that the figure is of Pārvatī in penance and not Gaurī.

These figures of Pārvatī are iconographically interesting because of the following features rarely to be seen elsewhere :

- (1) *Yogapaṭṭa* mentioned above.
- (2) The five *līngas* in the upper field of the back slab.

Depiction of the five *līngas* is generally met with in Umā-Maheśvara figures of post-Gupta periods. Actually this seems to be an innovation of the Pratihāra artists. So far known to me no Umā-Maheśvara figure from eastern India with five *līngas* on top has been reported. Perhaps the practice started with the representation of the four *līngas* - one of them is a *mukha-līnga* seen in the Umā-Maheśvara figure from Kāmā (Rajasthan), now in the Bharatpur Museum (Acc. No. 297/67). The *līngas* are four in number and there is a sort of sequence in their representation. In the first two figures *līngābhiṣeka* is being performed by the two devotees, in the third, flowers are being offered and the fourth figure is an *eka-mukha līnga* which seems to suggest that Śiva, being pleased with the worship, is manifesting himself from the *līnga*. Subsequently in other Umā-Maheśvara figures of the same period the number of the *līngas* becomes five (e. g. SML G. 221 of the State Museum, Lucknow) and are seen in a line installed on a platform. The practice continues in Central India in the subsequent periods also.

Appearance of these *pañca-līngas* with Pārvatī figures calls for special attention. Generally Pārvatī in penance is seen holding a Śiva-*līnga* and Gaṇapati in her upraised hands,⁴ but in the present sculpture both of them are absent and have probably been substituted by the five *līngas*.

It is further interesting to note that this trend continued in subsequent centuries also. In this connection a figure of Pārvatī in the Allahabad Museum needs special mention (Acc. No. AM 942).⁵ In this case along with the *pañca-līngas* on the back slab appear Śiva and

Gaṇapati also in the corners. Near the feet of the deity the lion to the right and the deer to the left are to be seen. Of course according to the subsequent trends other figures like several sages offering oblations (*āhūtis*) in the four *agni-kunḍas* also appear on the back slab.

In short the present Pratihāra sculpture under discussion poses a problem because of the association of the two Pārvatī figures with Viṣṇu. This needs further investigation in the fields of art and literature.

REFERENCES

1. I am grateful to Dr. Gopal Krishna Agnihotri, the Founder Curator of the Archaeological Museum, Kanauj, who very kindly allowed me to study and photograph this beautiful sculpture.
2. My friend Shri Krishna Deva, Retd. Officer of the Archaeological Survey of India, suggested this identification in course of our talks on the basis of a verse from *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa, V. 11 : कुचा(शा)ङ्कुरादानपरिक्षताङ्गुलिः ...
3. V. S. Agrawala, *Harṣacarita. Eka Sūmśkrītika Adhyayana* (Hindi), Patna, 1953, p. 15.
4. Bhattasali N. K., *Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, p. 200.

Pārvatī / Gaurī figures from Malwa regions show some other interesting features such as :

- i. Śiva and Gaṇapati flanking the goddess on the lower portion of the back slab,
- ii. Sometimes instead of Gaṇapati there appears Viṣṇu.
- iii. Appearance of Annapūrṇā in the lower field,
- iv. In the top centre on the back slab over the head of the goddess there appear either of the following :

- the sun
- the nine planets
- seven Mothers
- Skanda.

—N. P. Joshi, "Regional Trends in some of the Mediaeval Sculptures of Malwa" *Malwa Through the Ages*, Bhopal, 1981, p. 114.

5. Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, Bombay, Pl. CLXIX,

ALANĀKĀRAS IN VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA

K. KRISHNA MOORTHY

*Namaḥ sarvopajñyaṁ tani
kavīnāṁ cakravartinam |
yasyendu-dhavalaiḥ ślokaish
bhūṣitā bhuvanatrayi ||*

(Kṣemendra, *Rāmāyaṇa-māñjarī*, I. i. 4)

Let us bow down to that emperor of poets; one who is the fount of inspiration for all later writers. His verses, radiant like the moon, have illumined and embellished all the three worlds.

It is a canard of modern 'critical' scholarship that rhetorical figures or *alanākāras* in their endless subdivisions spoiled the spontaneous poetry of classical Sanskrit poets. It is another canard of historical scholarship that their number, so small as four in Bharata, grew into countless numbers later on because of the flair of rhetoricians for hair-splitting subdivision and definition. Many a writer on Poetics observes that the Sanskrit theorists were more deductive than inductive in their rules, as their examples are often times ready-made clichés instead of well-selected citations from master-poets. One has only to read Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* perceptively and keep one's heart open to its elemental feelings and heart-warming expressions taking the form of rounded *alanākāras*, simple as well as complex, to realize the hollowness of the charges alleged. From instances selected at random, I shall proceed to show how Vālmīki's language is vivid and scintillating with apt *alanākāras*, and how they aid the revelation of the intended literary emotions, without attracting attention to themselves. In fact, this is the very core of the *dhvani* theory, which Ānandavardhana admits in so many words to have derived from Vālmīki's practice.

Cf. *Vālmīki-vyāsamukhyāś ca prakhyātā ye kavīśvarāḥ |
tadabhi-prāyabāḥyo 'yaṁ nāsmābhir darśito nayaḥ ||*

(*Dhvanyāloka*, Ed. Krishnamoorthy, Delhi, 1982, p. 164)

I don't think there is any need to dwell on the inseparable relation between the poetic soul of *rasa* and the equally poetic body of *alanākāra*. (Cf. *kāvyaśya lalitocila-sanniveśa-cāruṇaḥ śarirasyevātma* ... Ibid., p. 6.).

Abhinavagupta rightly brings out the fact that *cārutva* or beauty of the 'body' of poetry is brought about only by *alañkāras* and *guṇas* which are integrally related to the inner spirit of *rasa*, *bhāva*, etc. Even his idea of creative genius or *pratibhā* is equally related to the poet's *rasāveśa* on the one hand and *saundarya* of the actual *kāvya* or literary object created on the other :

rasāveśa-vaivaśya-sundara-kāvyanirmāṇakṣamatvam

(*Locana* under I. 6)

If there should be any further doubt about it, it would be dispelled once for all by Ānandavardhana's declaration :

*alañkārantarāṇi hi nirūpyamānadurghatāny api
rasa-samāhitacetasaḥ pratibhānavataḥ kaveḥ
ahaṃpūrvikayā parāpatanti | (Ibid. , p. 58.)*

and also the verse :

*rasavanti hi vastūni sālañkāraṇi kānicit |
ekenaiva prayatnena nirvartyante mahākaveḥ || (Ibid. , p. 60)*

There is no extra effort involved at all on the poetic part in fusing his poetic feelings into the striking modes of *alañkāra* or imagery. For the purposes of this paper I shall not analyse the *rasas* in the examples chosen since my main object is to show that Vālmiki actually *used* most of the major *alañkāras* recognised and defined by early theorists like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin ; and that Kālidāsa was influenced by Vālmiki as much in his use of *alañkāras* as of *rasas*.

The world of poetry invented by Vālmiki's imagination is at once vivid with emotion and pulsating with warm feelings. Even in animate things, birds and beasts become human in their appearance. It is a world in which abstractions become concrete objects endowed with qualities like colour and form. A river, a mountain, a woodland - all participate in the life of the characters. The beauty of human personality is depicted in terms of natural things of beauty. Myths and legends provide spontaneous allusions adding a more than human dimension to the epic heroes. More than all, Vālmiki's figures of speech are incredibly effortless and at the same time exceedingly beautiful. His style is at once simple, smooth and sparkling rising to heights demanded by the variant *rasas* of the epic. What he symbolically suggests is much more captivating - with all their rich associations - than what he apparently states. Almost all the *kavi-samayas* or poetic conventions of later times have their origin in Vālmiki. For this reason also, Vālmiki may be regarded as the father of all Indian poetry. These can now be illustrated with some examples.

Let us take a few similes first of all: 'the noble Sītā was always following Rāma even like his shadow':

pativratā mahābhāgā chāyevānugatā sadā (I. 73. 28)

On seeing the bark garments offered by Kaikeyī, ' Sītā was frightened like a female deer at the sight of a hunter's net.'

saṁprekṣya cīraṁ saṁtrastā pṛṣṭi vāgurāmiva (II. 37. 9)

' As the day advances, the sun begins to scorch people and loses his splendour even like an upstart who has come into wealth by improper means.'

*aviśahyātapo yāvat sūryo nātivirājate |
amārgeṇāgatām lakṣmīm prāpyevānvayavarjitāḥ ||* (III. 8. 8)

' To the brave Hanūmān, as he looked on, the moon rising in the sky radiantly, it seemed as if a swan were gliding in a clear lake.'

*dadarśa candraṁ sa kapipravīraḥ |
poplūyamānam sarasīva haṁsaḥ ||* (V. 2. 58)

Rāma laments at Kiṣkindhā that the breeze blowing across the lotuses and rushing through the thickets of trees delights him because it is like Sītā's breath —

*padmakasarasaṁsṛṣṭo vṛkṣāntaraviniḥṣṭaḥ |
niḥśvāsa ivi Sītāyā vāti vāyur manoramah ||* (III. 1. 72)

' As Rāvaṇa, black as a big heap of black gram, lay on his bed with his breath resounding like a serpent's hiss, he resembled a mighty elephant, asleep on the vast water-bed of Gaṅgā '.

*māṣarāśipratīkāsam niḥśvasantam bhujāṅguvat |
gāṅge mahati toyānte prasuptamiva kuñjaram ||* (V. 10. 28)

That last simile indeed may be deemed as a perfect example of ugliness itself becoming beautiful at the magic touch of the poet's *pratibhā*. The others are vignettes, perfect in their fusion of fancy and feeling.

Equally telling are Vālmiki's metaphors. Here are some :

Sūrpaṅakhā, after her humiliation at the hands of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa comes to Khara and laments: ' Why do you not protect me, seeing me so submerged in a vast ocean of grief, infested with crocodiles of agony and garlanded by wreaths of waves? '

*viśādanakrādhyuṣite paritrāsormimālini |
kīṁ nīṁ na trāyase magnām vipule śokasāgare ||* (III. 21. 12)

When Hanūmān sees the beauty of women in Rāvaṇa's harem this is what he reasons out: "Surely, drunken bees must seek these lotus-faces again and again, as if they were full-blown lotuses" —

*imāni mukhapadmāni niyatāni mattaṣaṭpadāḥ |
ambujānīva phullāni prārthayanti punaḥ punaḥ |
iti cāmanyata śrīmān upapattiyā mahākapiḥ || (V. 9. 38b and 39)*

Here we see how the metaphor 'face-lotus' which becomes a worn out cliché at the hands of later poets still retains its pristine freshness and gets a poetic turn involving a touch of *bhrāntimān* and *anumāna alaṅkāras*.

Similarly, seeing the evil intent of Rāvaṇa, Mārīca counsels him to desist from evil at least for fear of Rāma who is a veritable Yama to wrong-doers, and wronging whom, Rāvaṇa might lose his kingdom, happiness, life and everything dear to him :

*rājyaṃ sukhaṃ ca saṃtyajya jīvitaṃ ceṣṭam ātmanaḥ |
nātyāsādayitum tāta Rāmāntakam ihārhasi || (III. 37. 17)*

For Rāma is a man-lion and lion-hearted, and Sītā, his wife, is dearer to him than life, as she follows him so devotedly :

*tasya sā narasiṃhasya siṃhoraskasya bhāmīni |
prāṇebhyo'pi priyatarā bhāryā nityamanuvratā || (III. 37. 19)*

Here the metaphor is gilded by a touch of what theorists would call *vyatirekālāṅkāra*.

In the same strain, on a later occasion, Hanūmān too counsels the redoubtable Rāvaṇa: "She, whom you take for an ordinary woman called Sītā, is verily the Dreaded Night of Dissolution, and the destroyer of Laṅkā, root and branch. Therefore stop short of drawing tight, round your neck, the noose of death with your own hands in the form of Sītā" —

*yāni Sītetyabhijānāsi yeyāni tiṣṭhati te vaśe |
kālarātriti tāni viddhi sarvalaṅkāvināśinim ||
tadalanī kālāpāśena Sītāvigraharūpiṇā |
svayāni skandhāvasaktena kṣamamātmani cintyatām || (V. 51. 34-35)*

Rāma's pangs of separation from Sītā are most vividly portrayed on more than one occasion by the sage. Thus on the eve of battle, when the armies have crossed the ocean and arrived at the ramparts of Laṅkā, Rāma laments. Reminding us of Kālidāsa's Purūravas, maddened by separation, he says: "O wind, go where my wife is, and after touching her, come and touch me here. Through you, I shall have touched her, just as through

the moon, I shall have seen her. Night and day, my body burns in the fire of love, fed by the fuel of separation, and blazed with the flames of yearning for her." —

vāhi vāta yataḥ kāntā tām spr̥ṣtvā mām api spr̥śa |
tvayi me gātrasaṁsparśaḥ candre dṛṣṭisamāgamah ||
tadvijogendhanavatā taccintāvipularciṣā |
rātriṁdivāni śarīraṁ me dahyate madanāgninā || (VI. 6. 7. and 9)

Not only Purūravas of Kālidāsa, but also his Yakṣa in the *Meghadūta*, are but enlarged versions of Vālmīki's love-lorn hero. One can never understand the heart of Kālidāsa fully, without reading the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The very *kavisamaya* of *madanāgni* owes its origin to Vālmīki.

When Kumbhakarna falls in battle, Rāvaṇa bemoans his loss in these words: "I am now myself dead, since thou, my veritable right arm, hast fallen. Relying on thee, did I lose fear of gods as well as demons." —

idānīm khalv ahaṁ nāsmi yaṣya me dakṣiṇo bhujah |
pātito yaṁ samāśrītya na bibhemi surāsurāt || (VI. 68. 12-13)

Similarly, Lakṣmaṇa is described as Rāma's own dear life, moving outside his body:

Rāghavo bhrātaraṁ dṛṣtvā priyaṁ prāṇaṁ bahiścaram | (VI. 102.9)

In the great battle, when the moon Rāma was almost eclipsed by the overpowering Rāhu of a Rāvaṇa, all the sages and monkeys and Vibhīṣaṇa were in agony:

... *paramurṣayah*
vyathitā vānarendraś ca babhūvuh savibhīṣaṇāḥ |
Rāma-candramasaṁ dṛṣtvā grastaṁ Rāvaṇarāhuṇā || (VI. 103. 28-29)

It is intriguingly interesting to note in this connection how only here Rāma has been metaphorically identified with the moon to provide a telling contrast with Rāhu; and nowhere else in the *Rāmāyaṇa* do we find the cliché "Rāmacandra," which is so common among later writers. That speaks volumes for the perennial freshness of Vālmīki's metaphors.

Utpreksā or 'poetic fancy' is the next *alaṅkāra* which is extensively used throughout the poem and which adds intensity to the shifting moods of the characters. A few may be seen now. Rāvaṇa, fallen on the battlefield, with blood dripping out of his injured body, mangled all over as it was by Rāma's arrows, appears like the *aśoka* tree in full flower:

sa śarair bhinnasarvāṅgo gātraprasrutusoṇitaḥ |
rākṣasendraḥ samūhasthaḥ phullāśoka ivābabhau || (VI. 104.31)

The wind that blows across the Pampā lake at the advent of autumn appears to be causing the trees to dance to the accompanying music of the tipsy cuckoos and, blowing through the caves of the mountain, appears to sing himself.

mattakokilasannādair nartayanniva pādapān |
sailakandaraniṣkrāntaḥ pragīta iva cānilaḥ || (IV. 1. 15)

No less enchanting is the charm of moonlight as fancied by Vālmīki and which is oft-quoted in *alanākāra* works like Appayya Dīkṣita's *Kuvalayānanda* :

pīnaṣṭīva taraṅgāgrair arṇavaḥ phenacandanam |
tad ādāya karair induḥ līmyatīva digāṅganāḥ || (VI. 4. 115)

The ocean seems to grind sandalwood paste in the form of flooding foam with its huge waves; while the rising moon closely seems to take it in his hand and paint the limbs of the damsels of quarters. There is not only a very happy personification and fancy here but also shades of *śleṣa* and *samāśokti* in the poem implied in the word *karaiḥ* meaning both rays and multiple hands. Not even masters of ornate poetry that followed Vālmīki can give any better example for these fresh figures of thought.

In the same context, we have another fancy called by theorists by the name *upameyopamā* where the ocean is compared to the sky and the sky in its turn to the ocean :-

sāgarāṁ cāmbaraprakhyam ambarāṁ sāgaropamam |

In the next line the doubt, viz. which one is the sky and which the ocean, becomes itself another *alanākāra* called *sasandeha* :

sāgarāṁ cāmbarāṁ ceti nirviśeṣam adṛśyata | (VI. 4. 120)

Again, look at this fancy :- 'The ocean seemed to laugh with its flood of foam, and dance with its billows; it rose high with the rising moon and was a mirror of myriad moon-images' :

hasantam iva phenauḥhair nṛtyantam iva cormibhiḥ |
candrodayasamudbhūtaṁ praticandrasamākulam || (VI. 4.114)

The same moon on a wintry and misty night is lack-lustre like the mirror blinded by one's own breath; all his grace has been passed on to the sun then :

ravisamkrāntasaubhāgyaḥ tuṣārāvṛtamaṅḍalaḥ |
niḥśvāsāndha ivādarśaḥ candramā na prakāśate || (III.16. 13)

The *alañkāra* of poetic doubt is again instanced in Rāvaṇa's sweet words when wooing Sītā:- 'Who are you, O gold-complexioned damsel? Embodied bashfulness, or fame, or wealth, or auspiciousness, or beauty, or celestial nymph, or riches, or the goddess of love, choosing to ramble at will?'

... .. *kā tvam kāñcanavarṇābhe*

hrīḥ kīrtiḥ śrīḥ śubhā lakṣmīr apsarā vā śubhānane |

bhūtīr vā tvam varārohe ratīr vā svairacārīṇī ||

(III. 46. 15-16)

A personified metaphor (*samāsokti*) which has inspired a number of later poets too is the following, often praised by our ancient critics :

cañcatcandrakarasparsāsasumuddīpitātārakā |

aho rāgavatī sandhyā jahāti svayam ambaram || (IV. 30. 46)

This is a part of Vālmīki's description of the autumn : " The flushed twilight of evening, with stars twinkling like eye-balls radiating love, touched by the fondling hands or rays of the moon, disrobes herself as it were, overpowered by passion ! "

How nature comes to be humanised with all the feelings and passions of men and women in the hands of the great sage is best instanced here. Inspired by this beauty, later poets have written similar verses in any number which fill our works on poetics. Here are just two samples ;

(i) *anurāgavatī sandhyā divasastatpurassarah |*
aho daivagatiścitrā tāthāpi na samāgamaḥ ||

(ii) *upoḍharāgena vilolatārakam*
tathā gṛhītam śaśinā niśāmukham |
yathā samastam timirāṁśukam tayā
puro'pi rāgād galitam na lakṣitam ||

Incidentally, it might be mentioned that the beauty of both these is analysed by Ānandavardhana himself, our master-critic.

In the same context, we have the same *alañkāra* when the poet depicts the autumnal rivers as new-wed brides. The sands on the banks are slowly allowed sight, even like the charm of the private limbs of shy new-weds during their honeymoon :

darśayanti śarannadyaḥ pulināni śanaḥ śanaḥ |

navasaṅgamasavriḍā jaghanānīva yoṣitaḥ || (IV. 30. 25)

For Vālmīki's power of natural description or *svabhāvokti* which inspired Kālidāsa to write his whole lyric *Ṛtusamhāra*, we might cite this as a typical instance ;-

*varṣodakāpyāyitasādvalāni pravṛttanṛttotsavabarhiṇāni /
vanāni nirvṛṣṭabalāhākāni paśyāparāhṛṣvadhikāni vibhānti //*
(IV. 28. 21)

‘ Look at the woods, where the clouds have rained heavily ! How bright they shine in the afternoons with their green lawns drenched with rain-water and with peacocks starting their dance ! ’

The sunset cannot be perceived by the eye. It has to be inferred by attendant circumstances : birds sinking into their nests, the lotuses closing up, and the *mālatī* blossoming out :

*nīlīyamānair vihagair nimīladbhiś ca pañcakajaiḥ /
vikasantyā ca mālatyā gato 'stam jñāyate raviḥ //* (IV. 28. 52)

Of course, this too is a typical *anumānālanākāra*. But our theorists are more drawn by figures that involve suggestive overtones. Here is a lovely *nidarśanālanākāra*, when Sītā cautions Rāvaṇa how he is inviting trouble for himself by kidnapping her. The impossible is adduced as a factual possibility to drive home the hopelessness of the endeavour. In such illustrations or *nidarśanālanākāras*, the simile will not be explicitly stated, but implicitly suggested :

*mandaram parvataśreṣṭham pāṇinā hartum icchasi /
kālakūṭaviṣam pītvā svastimān gantum icchasi //*
*akṣi sūcyā pramṛjasi jihvayā leḍhi ca kṣuram /
Rāghavasya priyāni bhāryāni yo 'dhigantum tvam icchasi //*
*avasajya śilāni kaṇṭhe samudram tartum icchasi /
sūryācandramasau cobhau pāṇibhyāni hartum icchasi //*
*agnim prajvalitam dṛṣṭvā vastreṇāhartum icchasi /
ayonulkhānām śūlānām madhye caritum icchasi //* (IV. 47. 40 ff)

“ You are desiring to do the impossible. You would fain pluck out the mighty Mandāra mountain with your bare hands, and you think you can drink the deadliest poison and yet remain hale and hearty. You, who dare to think you can possess the great Rāma’s beloved wife, you are gouging out your own eye with a sharp needle, and licking the razor’s sharp blade. You might as well hope to cross the ocean with a stone tied to your neck or to take out with your hands the sun and the moon together. You might as well attempt to carry away blazing fire wrapped in your cloth or try to walk on the iron spikes of spears. ”

Sanskrit readers know how Bhartṛhari’s *Nītiśataka* is replete with such imagery. And this is indeed the pith of all Indian didactic literature.

For an effective and literary use of poetic contrast or *viṣamālaṅkāra*, we can take the episode of Sūrpaṇakhā's courting with Rāma. We see Vālmiki's lighter vein of humour too in this episode. It is a contrast between perfect beauty and ugliness :-

sumukhāṁ durmukhī Rāmaṁ vṛttamadhyaṁ mohodarī |
viśālākṣaṁ virūpākṣī sukeśaṁ tāmramūrdhajā ||
prītirūpaṁ virūpā sā susvaraṁ bhairavasvanā |
taruṇaṁ dāruṇā vṛddhā dakṣiṇaṁ vāmbhāṣiṇī ||
nyāyavṛttaṁ sudurvṛttā priyam apriyadarśanā |
śarīrajasamāviṣṭā rākṣasī vākyam abravīt || (III. 17. 10-13)

“The demoness presented a violent contrast to Rāma in every way, with her forbidding countenance to his most pleasing appearance, her pot-belly to his slender waist, her horrid looks to his wide eyes, her coppery hair to his lovely hair, her ugliness to his charm, her hoarse voice to his sweet tone, her terrific age to his youth, her coarse speech to his courteous words, her evil ways to his ethical conduct and her repulsiveness to his beauty.”

We get similar string of contrasts when Daśaratha, the lusty old king, accosts his young queen Kaikeyī in her chambers on the eve of Rāma's proposed coronation :

apāpaḥ pāpasaṅkalpāṁ dadarśa dharaṇītale |
latām iva viṇiṣkṛtām patitām devatām iva || (II. 10. 24)

‘The sinless old king saw the queen with sinful intent, lying on the bare ground, like a creeper uprooted and like an angel fallen from heaven.’

We may take as an example of *vinokti-alaṅkāra* the following line which describes the anguish of the citizens of Ayodhyā when their dear Rāma is going away from their city :—

candrahīnam ivākāśaṁ toyahīnam ivārṇavam | (II. 48. 18)

“The city of Ayodhyā became lack-lustre even like the sky without the moon, and the ocean without water.”

Among suggestion-based figures of speech, the pride of place goes to *pariyāyokta* or euphemism : The depth of feeling in the speaker is controlled and he expresses himself with deliberate restraint, the words becoming thereby more eloquent and forceful. When Sugrīva forgets his solemn pledge to Rāma conveniently and gives himself over to pleasures of the harem and does nothing to get news of Sītā, Rāma boils with anger and sends a message of warning to Sugrīva through Lakṣmaṇa. He does not

say straightly that he will kill Sugrīva even as he killed Vālin. He says it circumlocutiously in this manner :

*na sa saṅkucitaḥ paṅthāḥ yena Vālī hato gataḥ |
samaye tiṣṭha Sugrīva mā Vālīpathamanvagāḥ || (IV. 30. 81)*

“That broad way by which the slain Vālin went has not shrunk in the least. O Sugrīva, keep your word. Don't you go the way that Vālin went.”

Vālmīki's poetry is as much embellished by what are called *śabdālaṅkāras* as by *arthālaṅkāras*. The verbal effects due to a dexterous use of alliteration, assonance and rhyme are plentifully present in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. We shall content ourselves here with just one or two examples :

This is how the aerial car Puṣpaka is described by the poet when Hanūmān sees it for the first time in Laṅkā :—

*puṣpāhvayaṅ nāma virājamānaṅ
ratnaprabhābhīś ca vighūrṇamānam |
veśmottamānām api coccamānaṅ
mahākapis tatra mahāvīmānam || (V. 7. 11)*

While we have continuous end-rhyme here, the following verse illustrates the beauty of Vālmīki's *prāsa* or iteration, not laboured, but spontaneous. It is a pen picture of Hanūmān, flying high in the sky like a second sun-god, bearing in his hand the mountain-peak of life-giving herbs :

*sa bhāskarād^hvanamanu^prapanna-
staṅ bhāskarā^bbhaṅ śilcharaṅ pragṭhya |
babhau tadā bhāskara⁻sannikāśo
raveḥ samīpe pratibhāskarā^bbhaḥ || (VI. 74. 69)*

It may be so unobtrusive often that it may go unnoticed as in the following line :

śaraśreṣṭhaṅ dhanuḥśreṣṭhe naraśreṣṭho' bhisandadha || (VI. 91. 70)

And finally, there is the unique figure of speech called *ananvaya* which arises when an incomparable thing is said to be similar only to itself. A series of three *ananvayas* is there in the oft-quoted verse —

*gaganāṅ gaganākāraṅ sāgaraḥ sāgaropamaḥ |
Rāma-Rāvaṇayor yuddhaṅ Rāma-Rāvaṇayor iva || (VI. 110. 23-24)*

“The sky is like the sky and nothing else; and the ocean can be compared only to the ocean. Even thus is the fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa,

like the fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa only." I am tempted to add that the *Rāmāyaṇa* too is thus singularly unique, comparable only to itself in the whole range of world literature.

Even the apparently mechanical figure *yathāsaṅkhyā* is already seen colourfully in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The friendship struck between Sugrīva and Rāma caused simultaneously the left eyes to throb of Sītā, Sugrīva and Rāvaṇa, who were respectively like the lotus, gold and fire :—

*Sītā-kapīndra-kṣaṇadācarānām
rājīva-hema-jvalanopamāni |
Sugrīva-Rāma-praṇaya-prasaṅge
vāmāni netrāṇi samam sphuranti ||* (IV. 5. 32)

Indeed *arthāntaranyāsas* or maxims embodying universal truth like *eti jīvantam ānando naram varṣaśatād api* (V. 34. 6; VI. 129.2)— 'Man is bound to experience the highest joy at least once, though delayed up to a hundred years' — occur quite frequently. And so are illustrations or *dṛṣṭāntas* like

*śrūyate ca drumah kaścit cchettavyo vanajīvibhiḥ |
sannikarṣād iṣikābhīr mocitaḥ paramād bhayāt ||* (II. 8. 30)

A tree meant to be cut down by the forest trees had to be spared as it was surrounded by spearlike brambles. This anecdote illustrates the remark that even among insentients, proximity begets friendship — *sannikarṣād ca sauhārdam jāyate sthāvareṣu api*. If taken in itself, the verse becomes an example of *aprasutaprasāmsā*. We have also *lokottis* or familiar maxims like — *na hi nimbād bhavet kṣaudram* (II. 35. 15). ' From bitter neem you cannot have honey; ' *nāgnir agnau pravartate* ' Fire does not burn fire ', and *marañāntāni vairāṇi* ' Enmities cease with death ' (VI. 112. 26), etc.

Finally, we have *nidarśanās* or didactic lessons illustrated by the incidents of the epic, stated aphoristically, such as —

*sarve kṣayāntā nicayāḥ patanāntāḥ samucchrayāḥ |
samyogā viprayogāntāḥ marañāntām ca jīvitam ||* (VII. 52. 11)

' All hoardings end in expenditure; a rise is but a prelude to a fall. Unions end up in partings. And life itself culminates in death. '

And the initial *krauñca*-episode itself which inspires the poet to utter the verse — *mā niṣāda* ... has been understood by critics one and all to be a symbolic outburst of the message of the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself. It is an extremely beautiful example of *anyokti* at its highest level.

Because of the exigencies of time, I have to restrain myself from the temptation of drawing upon more gems 'of the purest ray serene' from this great work of Vālmiki. It has been said rightly by a great writer, Victor Hugo, I believe, that "genius is a promontory which stretches out into the Infinite". It is most true of the *Rāmāyana*. For one master, there will be a hundred imitators, if not impostors. Their number is so large and their claims on our attention so insistent that we, caught up in the whirl of daily routine, are apt to forget the original master himself. When we term everything written in Sanskrit as 'classical' we are debasing that word. In Sanskrit too, real classics are all but rare and quite few. As Ānandavardhana puts it clinchingly :

*īha hi vicitrakavi-paramparāvāhini saṁsāre
dvi-trāḥ mahākavyaḥ sambhavanti |*

'In this infinitely vast realm of world poetry harbouring innumerable and varied poets, only two or three deserve the title of a *mahākavi* or masterly poet.' At the head of these few stands the great sage Vālmiki, the Ādikavi. A real classic is that which is ever new and never gets old. It is ever fresh like the spring and ever enduring like the mighty mountains and rivers of this earth. All that we can say of such a genius as Vālmiki is — "Salutations to you!" Kṣemendra's words echo in our hearts when he gives form to this feeling at the close of his work :

*sa vaḥ punātu Vālmikeḥ sūktāmṛtamahodadhiḥ |
Omkāra iva varṇānām kavīnām prathamō muniḥ ||*

BHOJA'S ŚRĪNGĀRA-PRAKĀŚA : PRAKRIT TEXT RESTORED

V. M. KULKARNI

Pre-Ānandavardhana writers on poetics do not, as a rule, quote Prakrit verses as illustrations. This fact is easily explained if we remember that these early writers on poetics have composed their own verses as examples. It was Ānandavardhana, who for the first time started citing, besides his own, Sanskrit and Prakrit verses from earlier poets as examples : His lead was followed by later writers on poetics. It is, however, Bhoja who stands at the top in citing the highest number of Prakrit verses (over 1650 of them) as illustrations and this statement is, most probably, equally true as regards his Sanskrit illustrations as well. The number of Prakrit verses cited in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharana* (=SK) and *Śrīngāraprakāśa* (=SP) stands at approximately 350 and 1650 respectively. The text of SK is presented more or less accurately but that of SP leaves much to be desired. Especially the text of the Prakrit passages in SP is very carelessly and indifferently presented. The Prakrit text of many verses is, in many places, corrupt or shows small or big gaps and in some cases it is so hopelessly corrupt that it becomes unintelligible. In many cases the exact context from which they are drawn is not known and consequently they remain obscure. As the Prakrit text is carelessly transcribed in the manuscripts, it falls to the editors of these works to present these Prakrit verses as correctly as possible, by tracing them to their sources or by referring to other works on Alāṅkāra, Grammar or Prosody wherever they are quoted. One must concede, however, that in spite of the best of efforts on the part of editors some verses still remain obscure, as their sources are irretrievably lost and they are not cited elsewhere.

Out of these 1650 illustrations about seventy (70) passages are in Apabhraṁśa and Dr. H. C. Bhayani has attempted to restore these passages in three of his excellent papers.¹ The present writer has published ten

1. These papers are :—

- (1) The Apabhraṁśa Passages from Bhoja's *Śrīngāraprakāśa*, I-VIII - *The Journal of Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXV, March-June 1970, Nos. 3-4.
- (2) Apabhraṁśa Passages From Bhoja's *Śrīngāraprakāśa*, IX-XIV - *Vidya : Languages*, Vol. XVIII, January, 1970.
- (3) The Apabhraṁśa Passages From Bhoja's *Śrīngāraprakāśa* XV-XXXVI - *Bulletin of the Chuni Lal Gandhi Vidyabhavan*, August, 1970 No. 20.

papers² restoring or reconstructing the text of a good many Prakrit verses in *SP*. There are still about a hundred and seventy-five Prakrit verses most of which defy restoration or satisfactory reconstruction. The object of this paper is to restore or reconstruct some of these corrupt Prakrit passages :

(1) Tahakamalakkamalacando (?) p. 227

The earlier part of the first half of this gāthā is metrically defective and makes no sense. The emendation, ' tuha kamala-vaṇa-cando ', suggested by me in an earlier paper³ is totally misconceived and highly unsatisfactory. The revised emendation, suggested here below, restores, beyond doubt, the gāthā in its original form :

तुह कम-कमलं कमलं, चंदो चंदमुहि तुज्ज मुहअंदो ।
कमलं उण कमलं चिअ, चंदो चंदो चिअ वराओ ॥
[तव क्रम-कमलं कमलं, चन्द्रः चन्द्रमुखि तव मुखचन्द्रः ।
कमलं पुनः कमलमेव, चन्द्रः चन्द्र एव वराकः ॥]

(2) Uttamānūḍhā mugdhā yathā p. 618

Jāvaṇa utthaṃti vācia-thaṇaā (?)

2. These papers are :-

- (1) " The Śrīngāraprakāśā : Prakrit Text Restored, " - *Journal of Shivaji University*, Kolhapur, Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 2, July 1968.
- (2) *Ibid* : Vol. IV, 1971.
- (3) " Bhoja's Śrīngāraprakāśā (Chapters XV-XXIV) : Prakrit Text Restored ", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Arts No. Vol. XXXIX, No. 75, October, 1970.
- (4) " Bhoja's Śrīngāraprakāśā (Chapters XXV-XXX) : Prakrit Text Restored ", - *Proceedings of the Seminar in Prakrit Studies*, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 1973.
- (5) " Bhoja's Śrīngāraprakāśā (Chapters XXXI-XXXVI) : Prakrit Text Restored ", - *Sambodhi*, Vol. IV, Nos. 3 & 4, 1975-76, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9.
- (6) " Bhoja's Śrīngāraprakāśā : Prakrit Text Restored ", - *Sambodhi*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1-4.
- (7) Bhoja's Śrīngāraprakāśā : Prakrit Text Restored, - *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*.
- (8) " Bhoja's Śrīngāraprakāśā : Prakrit Text Restored ", Volumes 49-50-51 / 1974-75-76 (New Series)
- (9) " Bhoja's Śrīngāraprakāśā : Prakrit Text Restored ", - *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXIX September-December 1979, Nos. 1-2.
- (10) " The Harivijaya of Sarvasena ", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Diamond Jubilee Volume), Poona, 1977-78.

3. Vide f. n. 2 (i) *Supra*

जाव ण उट्टंति वाचिअ(? वलिअ-)धणआ से दुद्ध-गंधिअमुहीए ।
ताव खिअ थुत्थुक्कारिआइ (थुत्थुक्कारिआइं) मअणेण अंगाइ ॥

[यावन्नोत्तिष्ठतः पीनस्तनौ तस्या दुग्धगन्धित(क)मुल्याः (=बालायाः) ।
तावदेव तिरस्कृतानि (? उल्लसितानि) मदनेनाह्वानि ॥]

Note : Hemacandra records in his *Deśisadda-saṅgaha* “बप्प-बलिया
सुहह-पीणा ॥” and explains : बप्पो सुभटः । ‘पिता’ इत्यन्ये । बलिओ पीनः ।

So the reading ‘*balia*’ in place of ‘*vācia*’ perfectly suits the context both in its meaning and the metre. As regards the word ‘*duddhagam-dhiamuha*’ Hemacandra records in the same work (V. 439. p. 168) चाले
विह्लिदिल्लिओ य दुद्धगंधियमुहो चेष ॥ and says दिह्लिदिल्लिओ तथा दुद्ध-गंधियमुहो बालः ।

Pandit Bechardas explains the word as follows :

“जेना मुखमां दूधनी गन्ध छे ते दुग्ध-गन्धिक-मुख के ‘दुग्ध-गन्धित-मुख’
कहेवाय. संस्कृतमां आने मळता ‘क्षीरकण्ठ’ अने ‘स्तनघय’ शब्दो छे.
हिंदीमा बालकने ‘दूधमुंहा बच्चा’ कहे छे.” (Ibid, p. 254, f. n. 4)

(3) Amdoāi bhoiadhūā p. 635

अंदोआइ (? हिंदोलणाइ) भोइअ-धूआ- पीडाइ ।
वज्जंति घर-परोहह-पंग[णभा]एसु तरुणेहिं ॥
[हिन्दोलका ग्रामणी-दुहितृ-जघन- —पीडया ।
बध्यन्ते गृह-पश्चिम-प्रांगणभागेषु तरुणैः ॥

(4) Mā muariparihāsadeara (?) p. 638

मा-मुअरि (? मा मा, मुअ) परिहासं देअर अणाहरणाए वरईए (? अणहोरणा वराईं सा) ।
धीमस्मि (? सीअस्मि) विआसिज्जइ (? वि पासिज्जइ) पुणो वि पासे (तीसे ?) कुणसु छाहिं ॥

[मा मा मुज्ज परिहासं देवर अनावरणा वराकीयम् ।
शीतेऽपि प्रस्त्रियति पुनरपि पार्श्वे (तस्याः ?) कुरु च्छायाम् ॥]

Note : This gāthā is included by Weber in his edition of *Sapta-
Śatakam* (=SS) at serial number 771.

(5-6) Bhoja presents one gāthā twice on two different occasions :
once to illustrate a type of *nāyikā* (p. 638) and once again to illustrate a
type of ‘*pracchanna-anurāga*’, called *upanāgara* (p. 817). The two ver-
sions of the gāthā are reproduced here below, and by comparing them the
gāthā is restored to its original form :

(5) सहि लुक्कविअ-सरीरं णिरिंणोपोतपसिअंठीए ।
अदिट्टए उण्णउ पेच्छिरीए दीसंत थण्णो सि ॥

(6) ... गिलुकविभासई गिरिं गि-वेरंतपेसिअच्छिजुअं ।
अदिदृणडंडणकपेच्छिरीए दीसंत धण्णोसि ॥

The text of the original gāthā might have been as follows :

सहि-लुकविअ-सरीरं गिरिं गि-पेरंत-पेसिअच्छिजुअं ।
अदिदृए उण पेच्छिरीए दीसंत धण्णोसि ॥

[सखीच्छादितशरीरं शिरोऽवगुण्ठन-पर्यन्त-प्रेषिताक्षिबुगम् ।
अदृष्टया पुनः प्रेक्षणशीलया दृश्यमान धन्योऽसि ॥]

(7) isuociesuvipala (?) p. 641

The text of this verse, as printed in *Śrīngāra-Prakāśa*, is reproduced here in full :

..... हसुओच्चिएसु विपल-टे-बहुआए ।
मोहं भमइ पुलइओ सेअलंतगलहत्यो ॥

Now a mere glance at the text of the following gāthā would immediately convince anybody, beyond any shadow of doubt, that the former is only a corruption of the latter. Especially the identity in words, letters, underlined in the text of the two gāthās is very eloquent and significant in this respect.

गहवइसुओच्चिएसु वि फलहीवेंटेसु (वोडेसु) उअइ बहुआए ।
मोहं भमइ पुलइओ विलग-सेअगुली- (अथवा सेअगलंतगुली-) हत्यो ॥
[गृहपतिसुतोषितेष्वपि कर्पासवृन्तेषु (फलेषु) पश्यत वष्वाः ।
मोघं भ्रान्त्यति पुलकितो विलगस्वेदाङ्गुलिः (गलत्स्वेदाङ्गुलीको) हस्तः ॥]

(8) Bhajjānti jāi mauhāi p. 642

The text is obviously corrupt. The gāthā may be restored as follows :

भज्जन्ति जाइ मउआइ संखिओ भरइ ताइ वलआइ ।
गहवइ-धूआ-सिकार-कलरवाअण्णण-सइण्हो ॥
[भज्जन्ति यानि मृदुकानि शाङ्गिको भरति तानि वलयानि ।
गृहपतिदुहितृ-सीत्कारकलरवाकर्णन-सत्तुणः ॥]

(9) Nāvalaahatthogamiṇi (?) p. 644

The earlier part of the second half of this gāthā is corrupt. Tentatively we may restore the gāthā as follows :

णवलअहत्ये गामणि-सुअम्मि कुमरीए गाम-रच्छासु ।
पुणहत्तमसिवभमरीए (? पुणरुत्तं भमिरीए) चुल्लुचुलाअंति अंगाइ ॥
[नवलताहस्ते ग्रामणीसुते कुमार्या ग्राम-रथ्यासु ।
पुनरुत्तं भ्रमणशीलायाः कण्डूयन्तेऽङ्गानि ॥]

(10) Taruṇehi kaam̐tosam̐ p. 647

The text of this gāthā is on the face of it corrupt. Tentatively it may be restored as follows :-

तरुणेहि कभतोसं हसिअं थेरेहि कुणमईहिं (? कभमईहिं) ।
परिणभ-वभावचूलं वोढं कुमरिं णिएऊण ॥
[तरुणैः कृत-तोषं हसितं स्थविरैः कृतमतिभिः ।
परिणतवयस्कवचूडम् ऊढं कुमारीं दण्डा ॥]

(11-12) There are two corrupt versions of the text of one gāthā. These are :

(11) Naanāṇa kiradathanā (?) p. 676

णभणाणकिरदथणारंभिहिति उंजरपद्विरवडं ।
ताइअदिखंतिपतीसावलेलभणं होंततरुणीओ ॥

And (12) Naanāṇa irano mam (?) p. 818

णभणाण इरणो मंभिहिति उज्जुअपहं पवट्टंता ।
इअ सिख्खंतवदं सालो लोभणं होंततरुणीओ ॥

On the basis of these two corrupt versions an attempt may be made to reconstruct the original gāthā as follows :-

णभणाणं हसुवो ण अभिहिति उज्जुअपहं पवट्टंता ।
इअ सिक्खंति एव तैसावल्लोभणं होंत-तरुणीओ ॥
[नयनानामिषवो नाभिघ्नन्ति ऋजुकपथं प्रवर्तमानाः ।
इति शिक्षन्त इव त्र्यंसावल्लोकनं भविष्यत्तरुण्यः ॥]

(13) Bālaa re vamaṇijjasi p. 785

बालअ रे वंचिज्जसि लोलिर(? घोलिर-)महुप्राण-सद्ध(? लद्ध-)पसराओ ।
पुप्फवद्द-मुद्द-चुंबण-हासस(? सहास- / सरहस-)कंठग्गह-सुहाओ ॥
[बालक रे वच्यसे घूर्णनशील-मधु-पान-लब्ध-प्रसरात् ।
पुष्पघती-मुख-कुम्बन-सरभसकण्ठग्रह-सुखात् ॥]

(14) Pia-lamba-ja-sāhuli-pāṇḍarāe p. 799

पिअलंबज (लद्धअ-)साहुलि-पंडराए जहण-भर-मंद-गमणाए ।
अहिधाविऊण चिप्फ (? छिप्फो) पुप्फफलभाए (? पुप्फवट्टंआए) धण्णोसि ॥
[प्रिय-लब्ध-वस्त्र-पाण्डरया जघन-भर-मन्द-गमनया ।
अभिधान्य रपृष्टः पुष्पवतीकया (=पुष्पवत्या) धन्योऽसि ॥]

(15) Darasum̐daramaburullā p. 806

Tentatively the gāthā, which is presented in its corrupt form in the printed text, may be restored as follows :-

दर-सुंदर-महुरूहाविरीए हलंत-थोर-थणिभाए ।
सोत्थभाए सुभाए(? सोज्जभ-सुभाए) [खु] कभो तित्थावास[ओ] जणो सभ्बो ॥

[ईषत्-सुन्दर-मधुरोल्लपनशीलया कम्पमान-स्थूल (अथवा, क्रमपृथुवृत्त-) स्तन्या ।
रजक-सुतया (अथवा, प्रातिवेदिमक-सुतया) खलु कृतः तीर्थावासको जनः सर्वः ॥]

(16) Paṇaa-kkhalanāsamkālūāṇam p. 816

Tentatively we may restore the gāthā as follows :

पणभ-क्खलणा-संकालुआणं लोभाववाज-भीआणं ।
लज्जालुआण कालो [विदुलो] भ गभो णिरवसेसो ॥
[प्रणयस्खलना शङ्काकुलानां लोकापवादभीतानाम् ।
लज्जाशीलानां कालो विफलश्च गतो निरवशेषः ॥]

(17) Nāariāpemma vi aṇṇo p. 819

Tentatively we restore the gāthā as follows :

णाअरिआ-वेम्म-विअण्णो(? विअण्हो) वि (? खिअ) सन्भावमेत्तसाराह ।
कण्हो राहाए ससुम्मुजुआइ (? सममुजुआइ) भरइ खिअ आलं (? रआइं) ॥
[नागरिका-प्रेम-चिन्तुषण एव सद्भाव-मात्र-साराणि ।
कृष्णो राधया सममृजुकानि स्मरत्येव रतानि ॥]

(18) Piāāḍambain dei (?) p. 830

This gāthā is somewhat corrupt. Tentatively, it may be reconstructed as follows :

पिआ भ बिंबं देह [णिअ-] गहवहं पुलअ-सेअ-संवलिआ ।
अज्जेअ तस्स दिट्ठी पडिफलिहिइ एत्थ बिंबम्मि ॥
[प्रिया च बिम्बं ददाति (निज-) गृहपतये पुलक-स्वेद-संवलिता ।
अथैव तस्य इष्टिः प्रतिफलियति अत्र बिम्बे ॥]

(19) Appattadaṃsa uttammarie (?) p. 831

अप्पत्त-दंसउत्तमरीए(? -दंसणुत्तम्मिरीएँ) बालअ तुमम्मि घोलीणे ।
पहपुरओ खिअ सासे (? ताएँ) सिद्धिखंडखंडेहि(?) णीससिअं ॥
[अ-प्राप्त-दर्शनोत्ताम्यन्त्या बालक त्वय्यतिक्रान्ते ।
पति-पुरत एव तथा दासि-खण्ड-खण्डैः (?) निःशसितम् ॥]

(20) Aṃgāi kilāmiijjānti p. 832

अंगगाइ किलामिज्जंति विअभलिज्जंति मुज्जविज्जंति ।
कल्लोलिज्जंति जणस्स विअ (? गिवव) दुल्लह-जणे दिट्ठे ॥
[अङ्गानि क्लाम्यन्ति विह्वलीभवन्ति मोहयन्ते ।
कल्लोलमिति जनस्येव दुर्लभजने इष्टे ॥]

(21) Mā muddhapoḍhachobaa (?) p. 878

This gāthā is highly corrupt. Tentatively, it may be reconstructed as follows :

मा मुद्ध-पोढ छोबभ(?) धोवग-) बालाएँ इमिँ हुरिस-सुभ(?) वरिसधुभ-)
परिल्लं (?) वरिल्लं) ।
विणिअपण(?) विणिअसण-) दंसण-कोउहल्लगहिओ (?) कोउहल्ल-गह-गहिओ)
गहिलि (?) होदि) ॥

[मा मुग्ध प्रौढ धावक-बालाया अस्या वर्ष-धूत-वस्त्रम् ।
विनिचसन-वर्शन-कौतूहल-ग्रह-गृहीतो भव ॥]

(22) Occei jā kusumbham p. 893

ओच्छेह (?) ओच्छेसि) जा कुसुंभं, ताव खिभ पुत्ति फुल्लिआ (?) पुफ्फिआ) उष्वा ।
मग्गेण मुहु वलंती, कल्लाण-परम्परा तुज्झ ॥

[अवचिनोषि यावत् कुसुम्भं तावदेव पुत्रि फुल्लिता (?) पुष्पिता) पूर्वा ।
मार्गेण मुहुर्बलन्ती कल्याण-परम्परा तव ॥]

Cf GSI. 17 (b)

इअ कस्स वि फलह मणोरहारिँ माला पिअभमम्मि ॥
[इति कस्यापि फलति मनोरथानां माला प्रियतमे ॥]

(23) Gahnai maho haliassi (?) p. 895

Tentatively we thus restore the gāthā :

गण्हाइ मणो हलिअस्स (अथवा, गण्हाइ अ णोहलिअस्मि) अडअणा गिअ-पइस्स पअखल्लं ।
दुम्मण-मुहस्स वाणीरमंजरिं देह दिअरस्स ॥

[गृह्णाति मनो हलिकस्य (अथवा, गृह्णाति च 'नवफलिकायाम्') अस्ती निपजते: प्रत्यक्षम् ।
दुर्मनोमुखस्य वानीरमञ्जरीं ददाति देवरस्य ॥]

(24) Camda tumam̐ ṇa gaṇijjasi p. 903

The gāthā, as it stands, is metrically defective. The readings 'maimo' and 'appuḍa' in the first and second half of the gāthā respectively yield no satisfactory sense. Tentatively the gāthā may be reconstructed as follows :

चंद सुमं ण गणिउजसि महमो (?) जाव इमो) [घण-] बहल-पत्रल-च्छायो ।
उब्बूढकण्हपक्खो वास-सहस्सं वडो जिअह ॥

[चन्द्र त्वं न गण्यसे यावद्यं [घन-] बहल-पत्रल-च्छायः ।
उद्भ्यूढ-कृष्णपक्षो वर्षसहस्रं वटो जीवति ॥]

Note : For the idea compare GS (W) 557.

(25) Sabiaṇahaddhāhimuham (?) p. 951

That the text of this verse (which is quite corrupt in its first half) is a corrupt version of *Setubandha* X. 74 would be clear beyond any doubt or dispute if we keep the text of these verses side by side :

सह्मिअणह्नुद्वाहिसुहं धारह्म विसेसअं विअक्खिविउणं ।
जुअहंहिं पळिणिउत्तो अववोह्ज्जह् ससंभमं वूह्जणो ॥ — SP, p. 951

And,

सह्मिअणहन्याहि मुहं दर-रह्म-विसेसअं समक्खेत्तूण ।
जुअहंहिं वळिअविसमं अप्याहिज्जह् ससंभमं वूह्जणो ॥ — *Setu*. X. 74

A comparison of these two texts brings out a few variants. The text may be restored in the light of *Setu* X. 74 as follows :

सह्मिअणहत्थाहि मुहं दर-रह्म-विसेसअं वि अक्खिविउण ।
जुअहंहिं पळिणिउत्तो अववोह्ज्जह् ससंभमं वूह्ज-णो ॥

[सखीजनहस्तान्मुखं दर-रचित-विशेषकमप्याक्षिप्य ।
युवतीभिः प्रतिनिवृत्तोऽवबोध्यते ससंभ्रमं वृतीजनः ॥]

(26) Āma ṇa tuhāvarāho p. 1029

The text of this gāthā is a bit corrupt. It is restored with the help of GS (W) 942 :

आम ण तुहावराहो पिअअ[म] मे लोअणाण इह दोसो ।
माणासहम्मि चहुलेहि वासिओ जेहि [हि]अअम्मि ॥

[आम न तवापराधः प्रियतम, मम लोचनयोरिह दोषः ।
मानासंहने चटुलाभ्यां वासितो याभ्यां हृदये ॥]

(27) Bhiuḍie vāhāro p. 1037

The text of this gāthā is somewhat corrupt. Tentatively, the gāthā may be restored as follows :

भिउडीए वाहारो, अंग-क्खिवणाह् वि सह्मि कीरंति ।
सहसा दिट्ठम्मि पिए, ता पिअसहि सुंदरो माणो ॥

[भुकुट्या व्याहारोऽङ्गक्षेपणान्यपि सखि क्रियन्ते ।
सहसा दृष्टे प्रिये तावत् प्रियसखि सुन्दरो मानः ॥]

(28) Māṇoamāṇoccaīna (?) p. 1044

The text of this gāthā is somewhat corrupt. Tentatively, the gāthā may be restored as follows ;

माणो वामाणो, क्षम माणं पारेद्दि [सद्दि] घरम्भारं ।
पेच्छामु ताव कद्भा, कजावराहो समल्लिभद् ॥

[मानो वामानः त्यज मानं पारय [सखि] गृहभारम् ।
प्रेक्षामहै तावत् कदा कृतापराधः समालीयते ॥]

(29) Ovijjau chaṇadiahe p. 1067

Tentatively, the gāthā may be restored as follows :

ओष्पिज्जउ छणदिअहे सवत्ति-वग्गस्स पहिअ-घरिणीए ।
पविह्जिज्जऊ बहुसो विरह-सिही दीवमिस्सेण ॥

[अप्र्यतां क्षण-दिवसे सपत्नी-वर्गस्य पथिक-गृहिण्या ।
प्रविभज्य बहुशो विरहशिखी दीप-मिषेण ॥]

(30) Jeṇa ṭhiavaliadhavala p. 1103

The text of this gāthā is a bit corrupt. It may be restored thus :

जेण (? जाणु-) द्विअ-विअलिअ-धवल-वलअ-पडिरोहणेकरसिआहिं ।
बाहाहिं कद् णु तुरिज्जद् मामि पहिअ-पुरंवीहिं ॥

[जानु-स्थित-विगलित-धवल-वलय-प्रतिरोधनैकरसिकाभिः ।
बाहाभिः (-बाहुभिः, अथवा बाहुभ्यां) कथं नु त्वर्यते सखि पथिक-पुरन्ध्रीभिः ॥]

(31) Amto humtum dhajjai (?) p. 893

The earlier part of the first half of this gāthā agrees with the corresponding part of GS IV. 73. The second half of the gāthā is considerably corrupt. Tentatively we may reconstruct the gāthā as follows :

अंतोहुन्तं डज्जद् छिंदंते देवरे णद्-करंजं ।
दिअअ [द्विअ-] भअ (? भट्ट-) मणोरहेण विपरं मुहीमुण्हा (? परम्मुद्-सुण्हाए) ॥

[अन्तरभिमुखं दह्यते छिन्दति देवरे नदी-करञ्जम् ।
हृदय-स्थित-भ्रष्ट-मनोरथेन पराङ्मुख-स्तुषायाः ॥]

(32) Gahakallo itti tumam (?) p. 903

This verse is very corrupt. Tentatively, it may be reconstructed as follows :

बहकल्लोल त्ति तुमं हट्टो असईण जद् वि दप्पो सि ।
अअपिसाअ [तुमं] कणगहिअं मा मुद्असु (? मा मुअसु) गहवद्अ ॥

[ग्रहकल्लोल इति त्वमिष्टोऽसतीनां यद्यपि दर्पोऽसि ।
अअ-पिशाच त्वं कण-गृहीतं मा मुञ्च ग्रहपतिम् ॥]

(33) Mā muddha poḍhachobaa (?) p. 878

This gāthā, which is considerably corrupt, may tentatively be reconstructed as follows :

मा मुद्ध पोढ धोवञ्च-बालाएँ इमीएँ हरिस(? वरिस)-सुअ(? धुअ)परिल्लं (? वरिल्लं) ।
विणिअँपण(? विणिअँसण-)दंसण-कोउहल्ल-[गह-]ग्गहिओ गहिलि (? होदि) ॥

[मा मुग्ध प्रौढ-धावक-बालाया अस्या हर्ष(वर्ष-)पूत-वचम् ।
विनिवसन-दर्शन-कौतूहल-ग्रह-गृहीतो भव ॥]

(34) Kācitahapaḍamasamāa (?) p. 905

This gāthā is, no doubt, corrupt and shows some gaps in its second half. On a closer scrutiny it is found to be a corrupt version of *Gāthā-saptaśatī*, III. 9 :

काचि(? ण वि) तह पढम(? पढम-)समागम-सुरअ-सुहे वापिण् (? पाविण्)
वि परिओसो ।

जह बीअ-दिअह-सविलक्ख-लक्खिण् वअण-कमलम्मि ॥

[नापि (नैव) तथा प्रथम-समागम-सुरत-सुखे प्राप्तेऽपि परितोषः ।
यथा द्वितीय-दिवस-सविलक्ष-लक्षिते बदन-कमले ॥] — GS III. 9

(35) Haddhasalilāhaāe p. 1002

This verse, in *Skandhaka metre*, may be restored as follows :

इत्थ-सलिलाहआएँ अवहीरंतीएँ दिण्ण-सहि-संलावं ।
कलहंतरीआएँ च्चिअ अणाहंतीएँ दूमिओ पडिबक्खो ॥

[इस्त-सलिलाहतया अवधीरयन्त्या दत्त-सखी-संलापम् ।
कलहान्तरितयैव अघ्नता दूनितः प्रतिपक्षः ॥]

(36) Rasaa'ijhaakaadhikāra p. 1005

This corrupt gāthā may be restored as follows :

रसअज्झअ-कअ-धिक्कारण-जणिअ-णिअ-कोवाणा (? कोवाए) ।
पुत्तअ वेआरिज्जसि अलिअ-पदुहणएँ (? पदुसणेण) सोण्हाएँ ॥

[प्रातिवेदिमक-कृत-धिक्कारण-जनित-नित्य-कोपया ।
पुत्रक प्रतार्यसे अलीक-प्रदूषणेन स्नुषया ॥]

(37) Jaha jaha tie bhavaṇam p. 1006

This verse, in *Skandhaka metre*, is considerably corrupt. It may tentatively be restored as follows :

जह जह तीएँ भवणं पावइ कअ-दूसहावराह-विलक्खो ।
तह तह से अदिअअरं दिअअँ रुम्मि (दारुणम्मि) संसअम्मि गिसण्णं ॥

[यथा यथा तस्या भवनं प्राप्नोति कृत-दुःसहापराध-विलक्षः ।
तथा तथा तस्याधिकतरं हृदयं दाहणे संशये निषण्णम् ॥]

(38) Dūragaampe ṅiattai (?) p, 1015

This verse, in *Skandhaka* metre, may tentatively be reconstructed as follows :

दूर-गर्भं पि णिअत्तइ दूर-णिअत्तं पुणो पअत्तइ पेम्मं ।
कह होइ परिणामो माणस्स इमो मह ति विमुह्जंति ॥

[दूरगतमपि निवर्तते दूर-निवृत्तं पुनः प्रवर्तते प्रेम ।
कथं भवति परिणामो मानस्यायं ममेति विमुह्यन्ते ॥]

(39) (Sanketāsīr) yathā vā —
Jaha icchā taha ramiam ... (Vol. V, p. 900)

This gāthā, which is considerably corrupt and therefore obscure, may be restored, tentatively of course, as follows :

जह इच्छा तह रमिअं, ण अ गहिआ अज्ज जूवसंगहणे ।
तुह तावि तीर-कुडुंग-खण्णुएहि विडङ्गिस्सं (?) ॥

[यथा इच्छा तथा रमितं न च गृहीताद्य द्यूत-(युव-)संग्रहे ।
तव तापि, तीर-लतामण्डप(-निकुञ्ज-)स्थाणुकैः (स्थाणुकेषु) विधक्ष्यामि ॥]

(40) (Abhisārikā-vṛttānto) yathā vā —
Tahakaha viḍusuraasaham (?) ... (Vol. IV, p. 904)

This gāthā, which is extremely corrupt and therefore obscure, may tentatively be reconstructed as follows :

तह कह वि हु सुरअ-सरहस-पणअ-कअ(? हिअ-)अडअणाएँ जारो जो ।
जह णिअ-डिअं मोत्तुं, तुरिअं सो आणियो रोहं ॥

[तथा कथमपि खलु सुरत-सरभस-प्रणय-हत-असत्या जारोऽहो ।
यथा निजडिअं मुक्त्वा त्वरितं स आनीतो गेहम् (गृहम्) ॥]

(41) (Avinaya-nigūhanaṁ) yathā vā —
Attā dhara ṇevaccham ... (Vol. IV, p. 906)

अत्ता धर णेवच्छं ताहिइ(? ता हअ-)विअरस्स पुत्तअ अवेहि ।
तुह "कम्म-वाव" इत्यादि(? कम्मवावडाएँ तणुइएँ) गलंति वल्लभाइं ॥

[सखि धर नेपथ्यम्, तावद्धत-देवरस्य पुत्रक, अपैहि ।
तव कर्मव्यापृतायास्तन्वङ्गया गलन्ति वल्लयानि ॥]

(42) Alaukikārtham yathā -

... .. ioecheúm /
Occei appaṇe ccia māeaulajjuasa ... // (Vol. IV, p. 919)

This incomplete and corrupt verse is to be identified with the following gāthā from *Gāthā-saptaśatī* as the available portion of the text agrees with the corresponding text of the *Gāthā-saptaśatī* :

ईसालुओ पई से रत्ति महुअ / महुए ण देइ उच्चेलं ।
उच्चेह अप्पण खिअ माए अह-उज्जुअ-सदावो ॥
[ईर्ष्यालुः पतिस्तस्या रात्रिं मधूकं / मधूकानि न ददात्युच्चेतुम् ।
उच्चिनोत्यात्मनैव मातरतिऋजुकस्वभावः ॥] —GS. II. 59.

Note : 'Māe' may be rendered into Sanskrit as 'Sakhi'. Cf. माह-पिउच्छा-सासु-सहीसु अत्ता ... *Deśīśabdasaṅgraha* I. 51.

(43) Kaniṣṭhaviṣayo (māno) yathā -

Aharyāhesamaam (Vol. IV, p. 984)

This corrupt verse is to be identified with the following gāthā :

उवहारिआएँ समअँ, उअ पिहारे कइं (दवं) कुणंतम्मि ।
णव-वहुआएँ सरोसं, सव्व खिअ वच्छआ मुक्का ॥
[दोहनकारिकया (समकं =) समं पश्य गोपालके कथां (नर्म) कुर्वति ।
नववध्वा सरोषं सर्ष एव वत्सका मुक्ताः ॥]
—*Gāhākoso* No. 683; *GS (W)* No. 731

(44) Abhiniveśaḥ yathā -

Ṇa sahiaṇuṇaabhāṇiam (Vol. IV, p. 993)
... .. (Vol. IV, p. 1013)

This verse is again cited (on p. 1013) by Bhoja to illustrate a ('*kaṭhōra*') *upālabhaḥ* : On the basis of these two corrupt passages the verse may be reconstructed as follows :

ण अ सद्धि अणुणअभणिअँ ण देसि पसरं ण होसि मुक्कामरिसा ।
कह आ एकरसं खिअ दूर-विसंवहअ-णिटुरं तुह द्विअअँ ॥
[न च सखि अनुनय-भणितं न ददासि प्रसरं न भवसि मुक्कामर्षा ।
कथम् आः (कथं वा) एकरसमेव दूर-विसंवदित-निष्ठुरं तव हृदयम् ॥]

(45) anuśayah, yathā -

Takkhaṇajaṇia (Vol. IV, p. 994)
... .. (Vol. IV, p. 1209)

This verse is further on (p. 1209) cited by Bhoja to illustrate 'aparādha-smaraṇam'. The verse may be reconstructed on the basis of the text, presented on these two occasions, as follows :

तत्क्षण-जणिभ-पहरिसं संभरिभ-वराह-संग-जुत्ताणुसर्भ ।
तीए गुरुभम्मि संलगं ओणिभत्तम्मि भमरिसे च्चिभ द्विभर्भ ॥

[तत्क्षण-जनित-प्रहर्ष संस्मृतापराधसङ्गयुक्तानुशयम् ।
तस्या गुरुके संलग्नपनिवृत्तेऽमर्ष एव हृदयम् ॥]

Note : The verse is in *Shandhaka* metre and is possibly drawn from *Harivijaya* (now lost).

(46) gūḍhaḥ (mānaḥ), yathā -
Sāhippanti savi (?) (Vol. IV, p. 998)

This gāthā is incomplete and corrupt. In view of the context and general import we are very well justified in identifying it with the following gāthā :

साहिप्यन्ति / वाहिप्यन्ति / वाहिज्जन्ति ण कस्स चि, रोत्तूण णेभ पाभडिज्जन्ति ।
माणविभारा कुलपालिभाएँ हिभए विलावेंति ॥

[कथ्यन्ते (व्याहिष्यन्ते) न कस्यापि हृदित्वा नैव प्रकटीक्रियन्ते ।
मानविकारा / मानविचारा कुलपालिकाया (°बालिकाया) हृदये विलुप्यन्ते (विलीयन्ते) ॥]
— Cf. GS (W). 869

(47) Upadeśālabhano yathā -
... .. vaṇi pijjai (Vol. IV, p. 1004)

This incomplete and corrupt verse may, tentatively, be reconstructed as follows :

[सही-]वभणि(? वभणेण) पिज्जइ ह्वालाहलं विसमसज्जं(? विसमपि असज्जं जं) ।
द्विभभ भवलंब भोरं दिज्जसि माणस्स एत्ताहे ॥
[सखीवचनेन पीयते ह्वालाहलं विषमप्यसद्यं यत् ।
हृदय, भवलम्बस्व धैर्यं दीयसे मानायेदानीम् ॥]

(48) Kāyapavṛttiṃ yathā -
Uṇṇamasu suhaa ca (?) (Vol. IV, p. 1032).

Tentatively, this gāthā may be restored as follows :-

उण्णमसु सुहभ एभ कहउ (? एअं कहेसु) पडिसिद्ध-दहद-द्विभभस्स ।
पसुलिकभ-णिम्मएण(? णिम्ममेण), [भणेण] किं पाभपडणेण ॥

[उच्चम सुभग एतत् कथय प्रतिषिद्ध-दग्ध-हृदयस्य ।
पासुलीकृत-निर्ममेणानेन किं पादपतनेन ॥]

(49) Anudveṣo yathā -

Caṁdo visaasahoarau (Vol. IV, p. 1086)

चंदो विसञ-सहोअरउ को बोछइ अमिअस्स सखि ।
लगती आगे(? अगे) मह जोण्हा वि जालइ जस्स ॥
[चन्द्रो विष-सहोदरः, कः कथयति अमृतस्य सखि ।
लगन्त्यङ्गे मम ज्योत्स्नापि ज्वालयति यस्य ॥]

(50) Ārambho yathā -

Eacciya putti piām (Vol. IV, p. 1091)

एअ खिअ पुत्ति विअं धरंति आउच्छणे मह-(? मुह-)पअत्ता ।
उत्ताणअ-मुह-घोलंत-बाह-विरिमालणो(? विरमालिआ ? विरमाविआ) वाआ ॥
[एत एव पुत्रि प्रियं धरन्ति आप्रच्छने (आपृच्छने) मुख-प्रवृत्ताः ।
उत्तानक-मुख-घूर्णमान-बाष्प-प्रतीक्षिता(? विरामिता) वाताः ॥]

(51) Abhiniveśo yathā -

Pattia mehacāṁdam (?) (Vol. IV, p. 1092)

Tentatively, and taking liberty with the given text, the gāthā may be reconstructed as follows :

पत्तिअ ण मिअो चंदे, सदि सुर-दीघ-सिद्धाएँ उ कज्जलं ।
[हृदं] पढणेण णह-खप्परम्मि दिअसेहिँ संकलिअं ॥
[प्रतीक्षि न मृगश्चन्द्रे, सखि सूर्यदीपशिखायास्तु कज्जलम् ।
हृदं पतनेन नभः खपरे दिवसैः सङ्कलितम् ॥]

(52) Anunāyako yathā -

Viasatteṇa (?) muṇijjai (Vol. IV, p. 1174)

The printed text is quite obscure. Taking some liberty with it the verse may be reconstructed as follows :

विअसंतेण मुणिज्जइ सिस्सिरो अगणवउह (? अगिम-उहलिअ)-णिअच्छाओ ।
कमलमुहेण सुरभिणा आहिअ-मधुमास-संगमो कमलिणीण ॥
[विकसता ज्ञायते शिशिरोऽग्निमोहलितनिजच्छायः ।
कमल-मुखेन सुरभिणा आहित-मधुमास-सङ्गमः कमलिनीनाम् ॥]

This verse, in *Skandhaka* metre, is possibly drawn from Sarvasena's *Harivṛjaya* (now lost).

(53) Priya-praṇāma-vigamana-hetavaḥ priyothāpanāni yathā -

... .. Tie aṇurāpasaria (Vol. IV, p. 1209)

The text, as printed, is somewhat corrupt. From the context and its *Skandhaka* metre it appears that it is drawn from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* (now lost). It may be reconstructed as follows :-

तीर्णे अणुराज-पसरिभ-सुह-पडिवज्झंत-बहुल-पुलउग्मेओ ।
उव्वासिअ-हरिसोकरिसो संदूरोणमिअसपत्तिदिआए ॥
[तस्या अनुराग-प्रसृत-सुख-प्रतिबध्यमान-बहुल-पुलकोद्भेदः ।
उव्वासित-हर्षोत्कर्षः संदूरावनमित-सपत्नीह्वययात् ॥]

(54) Mānāpagamādanurāgavṛddhau sāttvikāvīrbhāvaḥ sveda-romāñco
yathā -
Ṇavariakarāvalambāṇa (Vol IV, p. 1210)

This verse is incomplete and naturally therefore, metrically defective. From the style one would like to hazard a guess that it belongs to Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* (now lost). Taking some liberty with the printed text it may be reconstructed as follows :-

णवरिअ करावलंबण-सुह-पडिवज्झंत-सेअ-पुल [ओग्मेओ] ।
[भामा] ताव ज्ञेअ अकिअ-उव्वरिअ पि पिअअसं अलीणा ॥
[अनन्तरं करावलम्बनसुख-प्रतिबध्यमान-स्वेदपुलकोद्भेदा ।
भामा तावदेवाकृतोर्षेरितमपि प्रियतममालीना (=माश्लिष्टा) ॥]

(55) Iṣṭāvayasyānām mitho-vyavahāraḥ priya-sakhī-vākyaṇi, yathā -
Accāsasamuddhosia (?) (Vol. IV, p. 1219)

The verse, which is quite corrupt, may be reconstructed as follows :

अक्षा (? अत्यक्-)समुग्घोसिअ-दहआगमणे बहुएँ ह्मीएँ ।
पहरिस-णिरुद्ध-कंठ-थणिपण गाढं लवगूढो ॥
[अकस्मात्-समुद्धोषित-दयितागमने वध्वानया ।
प्रहर्ष-निरुद्ध-कण्ठस्तनितेन गाढमुपगूढः ॥]

YAVANA INSCRIPTIONS OF WESTERN INDIA

SAMUEL CLARK LAEUCHLI

The Buddhist caves of Karla and Junnar in western India contain nine votive inscriptions recording gifts of *Yavanas*. These inscriptions have been interpreted in various ways, none of which have been completely satisfactory. It is therefore considered a *desideratum* to take a fresh look at these inscriptions, not individually, but as a unit, because they contain certain features which set them apart from other inscriptions in the western Indian caves. It is especially important to review these inscriptions as they contain the major references to the word *Yavana* in the early Indian epigraphs.

Before proceeding further, a brief discussion of the word *Yavana* is necessary. There are three words, i. e., *Yona*, *Yonaka*, and *Yavana*, which have all been considered to mean "Greek." Pāṇini gives *Yavanī* as the feminine of *Yavana* and the word is therefore attested in Sanskrit prior to the advent of Alexander.¹ The form *Yona* could be the normal Prakrit form of the word, while *Yonaka* would be the same, only with the addition of the very common suffix *-ka*.² The major difficulty with this analysis is that *Yavana/Yona* stems from the Greek *Iones* which should come into old Indo-Aryan as *Yona*, not *Yavana*. In this case the form *Yavana* would be a back building in Sanskrit from the Prakrit *Yona*. *A priori*, this latter process seems the most likely one, although it is not at this stage possible to prove because the date of the word's first use in India cannot be determined, nor can the exact source of the borrowing.³ A further problem arises in the epigraphical usage of these forms, because in the inscriptions the forms do not seem to be interchangeable, nor does the form *Yavana* occur only in Sanskrit inscriptions, but also in Prakrit ones. Although the word *Yona/Yonaka* occurs in the Aśokan edicts,⁴ the Heliodoros pillar,⁵ etc., the form *Yavana* is found only at Junnar, Karla, Nasik, and Junagaḍh in western India, and perhaps in Kharavela's Hāthigumpha Inscription in Orissa.⁶ As will be seen below, *Yavana* and *Yona* do not seem to be used in similar contexts, and may have slightly different meanings. It is therefore important to keep in mind that *Yavana/Yona/Yonaka* are not interchangeable. The following is a list of *Yavana* Inscriptions :

1. *Dhenukākaṭā dhamma-yavanasa*

" Gift of an upright of the *Yavana* from Dhenukākaṭa,"⁷

2. *Dhenukākaṭā yavanasa Sihadhayāna thambho dānaṃ*
“ This pillar is the donation of the *Yavana* Sihadhaya from *Dhenukākaṭa*. ”⁸
3. *Dhenukākaṭā yavanasa Yasavadhanānaṃ thambho dāna*
“ This pillar is the donation of the *Yavana* Yasavadhana from *Dhenukākaṭa*. ”⁹
4. *Dhenukākaṭā Culayakh[a]na yavaṇasa thabho dāna*
“ This pillar is the donation of the *Yavana* Culayakha from *Dhenukākaṭa*. ”¹⁰
5. *Dhenukākaṭā yavanasa Dhamadhayānaṃ thabho dānaṃ*
“ This pillar is the donation of the *Yavana* Dhamadhaya from *Dhenukākaṭa*. ”¹¹
6. *Umehanākaṭā yavanasa Cīṭasagatānaṃ dānaṃ thabho*
“ This pillar is the donation of the *Yavana* Cīṭasagata from *Umehanākaṭa*. ”¹²
7. *Yavanasa Irilasagatāna deyadhama be poḍhiyo*
“ The gift of two cisterns by the *Yavana* Irilasagata. ”¹³
8. *Yavanasa Cīṭasagatānaṃ bhojaṇamaṭapo deyadhama saghe*
“ The gift of a dining hall to the Saṃgha by the *Yavana* Cīṭasagata. ”¹⁴
9. *Yavanasa Caṃdānaṃ gabhadā[ra]*
“ The gift of a facade by the *Yavana* Caṃda. ”¹⁵

The above nine records from Karla and Junnar are the only votive inscriptions of *Yavanas* in the early period.¹⁶ The *caitya* cave at Karla contains six of these while the remaining three¹⁷ are in various locations in the caves surrounding Junnar.¹⁸ Although the readings of these inscriptions are fairly certain, three of them have not been translated correctly (Nos. 6, 7, and 8). Nos. 7 and 8 were read by Bühler as follows :

7. *Yavanasa Irilasa gatāna deyadhama be poḍhiyo*
“ The meritorious gift of two cisterns by the *Yavana* Irila of the Gatā (country). ”¹⁹

and

8. *Yavanasa Cīṭasa Gatānaṃ bhojaṇamaṭapo deyadhama saghe*
“ The meritorious gift of a refectory for the community (Saṃgha)

by the *Yavana Ciṭa* (Caitra) of the Gatas (or of the Gatā country).²⁰

It was argued that *Gatānām* was Sanskrit *Gartānām* standing for *Trigartānām* "of the *Trigartas*," which was thought to be a place in the Punjab.²¹ This explanation, however, was flawed in several ways. First of all, the plural was never explained. Even if the Sanskrit form were *Trigarta*, it would presumably be one place, not several, and should therefore be singular in number. Secondly, the place from which a donor has come is always given in the ablative (4th) case, not the genitive (6th). Although Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji cited the *Prākṛit Prakāśa* to show that the 4th case in Prakrit could be used for the Sanskrit 6th case,²² this usage never occurs in the cave inscriptions and is an unacceptable explanation.

All the above arguments were made moot by the publication of Inscription No. 6.²³ Vats correctly interpreted *-saṅgatāna* as part of the personal name, misreading *Viṭa* for *Ciṭa*. Kosambi, however, (who correctly read *Ciṭa* and considered the donor the same as the one in Inscription No. 8) confused the issue by arguing that *gata* meant "dead" and that these three inscriptions indicated posthumous donations.²⁴ Aside from the improbability of this suggestion (why should these three *Yavanas* be the only posthumous donors in all of the cave inscriptions?), his suggestion is grammatically impossible. How could the plural adjective modify the singular noun? Kosambi writes that "the use of the genitive plural to modify a noun in the genitive singular is seen elsewhere in the Karle inscriptions."²⁵ But there is no case where a plural adjective modifies a singular noun. The only occurrence of the mixing of singular and plural at Karla occurs in the inscriptions using the word "*Yavana*", and there the plural noun is always the name of the donor.²⁶ If we except the three inscriptions in question, whenever the word *Yavana* appears, the name of the donor is in the plural. It would be particularly odd if these inscriptions did *not* give the name in the plural, and to top it off, modified the name in the singular with a plural adjective. We must, therefore, read the names as *Ciṭasaṅgata* and *Irilusaṅgata* respectively.

It is very difficult to find Sanskrit equivalents for *Ciṭasaṅgata* and *Irilusaṅgata*. Very likely, the element *-sa(ṅ)gata* (the *anusvāra* is uncertain) is a name-forming suffix of which *-ṅaka*,²⁷ *-ṅika*,²⁸ *-bhuti*,²⁹ and simple *-ka*³⁰ are prominent examples in the western cave inscriptions. Neither *Ciṭa* nor *Iriḷa* seem to be Sanskritic. Bühler suggested *Caitra* for *Ciṭa* but this is very doubtful. Sanskrit *Caitra* should become Prakrit *Ceta* but never *Ciṭa*. Sanskrit "ai" becomes Prakrit "e". See for example, Sanskrit *caitya* > Prakrit *ceṭiya*, Sanskrit *hairaṅyaka* > Prakrit *heraṅika*.

There is no evidence that dental "t" cerebralizes before an "r". Thus Sanskrit *kṣatrapa* > Prakrit *khatapa* (*khattapa*). Sanskrit *gotra* > Prakrit *gota* (*gotta*).⁸¹ Most likely, the two names have a foreign origin, perhaps either Greek or Iranian. There is no problem, however, with accepting *-saṅgata* as part of a name, even if an Indian etymology is found for *Cīta* and *Iṛīla*. If the suffix is Indian, it would mean "suitable" or "fit for".

Turning now to the complete list of *Yavana* inscriptions, we notice a consistent pattern in their formulation. When the *Yavana*'s place of origin is given, it is the first word in the inscription, in the ablative (4th) case. The next element is the word *Yavana* (except No. 4 where the word *Yavana* and the name are reversed), in the genitive singular (6th case). This is followed by the name of the donor in the genitive plural and finally the object of donation and either the word *dāna* or *deyadhama*. This pattern is firm except for No. 1 which seems to be incomplete.

The word order of these inscriptions is actually that most common in all donative records of the western Indian caves. The fact which makes these *Yavana* inscriptions so remarkable is that the personal name is in the plural. While the point that certain *Yavanas* are mentioned in the plural has already been noticed by Bühler, Indrajī, Senart, etc., it has not previously been understood that *all* the *Yavanas* are referred to in the plural. Furthermore although it has been stated that the plural is the *plural majestis*,⁸² we must wonder why the *Yavanas* were so designated. After all, no other class or ethnic group is so designated. This is obviously a point of great interest.⁸³

The only group of people, other than *Yavanas*, who are mentioned in the plural are religious leaders, mainly *theras*.⁸⁴ The use of the plural with holy men clearly shows that the practice indicates great respect, respect which seems to extend to a position almost more than just to an individual. How then does this tally with the use of the plural for *Yavanas*? It has often been assumed that the *Yavanas* who were donors in these caves were merchants or traders.⁸⁵ However, it is difficult to believe that such great respect was shown to simple merchants. Why have no other merchants been granted a similar honor? Why also do the *Yavanas* never call themselves merchants — many other donors do just that. In fact one is surprised that *none* of the *Yavanas* mentions any occupation whatsoever. One is tempted to wonder if *Yavana* really was merely an ethnic designation. If *Yavana* was an ethnic name, it seems very likely that the *Yavanas* were all in positions of such power and prestige that the term became almost synonymous with a title. Only assuming that they were a group with great political power and influence and that such prestige was implicit in the name *Yavana*, can the use of

the plural be explained. Most probably, the only *Yavanas* that came to western India were those in government service at a fairly high level. It has also been suggested that the *Yavanas* were mercenaries,⁹⁶ and it is equally possible that they were therefore respected for their high military position. This will be discussed further, below.

If we understand that the *Yavanas* were political figures, not just private individuals (i. e., traders or merchants, etc.) then it should be possible to determine the approximate time of their arrival and departure in western India. Let us first consider when the *Yavanas* left the Nasik-Karla-Junnar area. The starting point of such a discussion will obviously be Queen Balaśrī's inscription.⁹⁷ In this inscription Balaśrī states that her son Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi was "*Saka-Yavana-Palhava-nisudana*" (Line 5). Leaving aside the question of the veracity of this statement, we notice that the *Yavanas* are definitely linked with the *Śakas* and *Pahlavas*, both of whom came from the northwest with the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas, who are assumed to have been Iranians if not *Śakas*.⁹⁸ It is known for certain that the area between Karla, Junnar, and Nasik was in the hands of the Kṣatrapa Nahapāna, but that at some point during the reign of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi this territory reverted to Sātavāhana control. There is no evidence of a *Yavana* presence in this region after the Sātavāhanas regained control, and we must assume that the *Yavanas* departed with the defeat of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas. In this connection, we note that there are only *Yavana* donative inscriptions at sites where the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas are known to have ruled. It seems equally likely that the *Yavanas* were not in western India before the advent of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas. In the first place, it seems unlikely that if the *Yavanas* were in position of high power under the Sātavāhanas prior to the advent of the Kṣatrapas, that they should later seem prominent with the Kṣatrapas. More central, however, is the fact that the *Yavanas* in India originally stem from the north-west. Since the Iranians clearly came from the north-west, and since the *Yavanas* came from the same area, they were clearly linked in the mind of Queen Balaśrī with the *Śakas*, and seem to have some official, either governmental or military, function, it seems certain that they came to western India together with the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas and stayed only as long as the Iranians were in power in this region.

In simple terms, if the *Yavanas* were, as is suggested by the use of the plural in the above epigraphs, governmental or military figures of rank, then they must have been connected with a particular dynasty. In the period in question, there is evidence of only two lines of kings in the Karla-Junnar-Nasik region: the Sātavāhanas and the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas. It is almost impossible to argue that the *Yavanas* could have been allied to, or active

under, the Sātavāhanas. Everything, therefore, points to a *Yavana* presence coeval to that of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas.

The precise date of Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa rule in the Deccan is not known. Even the length of time in which they ruled is uncertain. Essentially, the problem hinges on what dating system was used in inscriptions relating to Nahapāna. Some scholars argue very vehemently that Nahapāna used the *Śaka* era of 78 A. D.³⁹ Other scholars argue equally vehemently that Nahapāna's years are regnal years,⁴⁰ and of course it is possible that he used an as yet unknown era, started by one of his predecessors and discontinued after Nahapāna. Since none of these theories are satisfactorily proven, the question cannot be answered conclusively. The fact remains that it is not known when Nahapāna ruled in the Deccan. Even if Nahapāna's years are regnal years, it would not be certain that he ruled over the Deccan for all of his reign. Because Nahapāna's inscriptions contain the dates 41, 42, 45 and 46,⁴¹ it is known that the Kṣatrapas ruled for a minimum of five years. How much longer than five years is at this point an unanswerable question.

Returning to the question of the function of the *Yavanas* during Kṣatrapa rule, we must admit that it cannot be answered conclusively. It is known that certain of Nahapāna's coins had Greek legends,⁴² and this might be thought to indicate Greek mint masters, and perhaps other civil functionaries. The close connection of the *Yavanas* with the *Śakas*, however, seems to point to mercenaries and military figures. It should be pointed out that the functions, military and civil, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. *Yavanas* may have functioned in both capacities. Unfortunately this is the point where one enters the realm of speculation, as all hard evidence is wanting.

The precise meaning of the word *Yavana* at different times is very much in doubt. Particularly the use of the word in Rudradāman's Junagaḍh inscription remains puzzling. Therein it is mentioned that the *Yavana-Rāja* Tuṣaspha repaired a dam (for ?) the Mauryan king Aśoka.⁴³ Tuṣaspha is clearly an Iranian name. One wonders how he could have been called a *Yavana* if the word designated Greeks. It is known that Iranians as well as Greeks, i. e., *Yonas*/*Yonakas* adopted Indian names in India, and this was simply a process of adapting to a new culture. We cannot explain by the same process the notion that a Greek in India would have an Iranian name.⁴⁴ Foreign names in India do seem a fairly reliable guide to ethnic origin. Particularly relevant to this question is the fact that Rudradāman,

as an Iranian in descent, would have been particularly aware of the difference between Iranians and Greeks. In fact, Rudradāman himself had an *amātya* (minister) whom he called a *Pahlava*.⁴⁵ It is uncertain, therefore, that *Yavana* actually is used interchangeable with *Yona* or *Yonaka*. It is commonly assumed that the three forms are interchangeable, and that *Yavana* simply represents the Sanskrit form while *Yona* and *Yonaka* are the Prakrit forms. If such was the case, however, why is the Sanskrit form *Yavana* used in these Prakrit inscriptions? The word *Yonaka* occurs in a Nasik inscription,⁴⁶ and is used very differently from the occurrences of *Yavana* discussed above. It mentions the *Yonaka* *Īdāgnidata*, the *Otaraha* ("native of the northern country").⁴⁷ Worthy of note in this inscription are three things. First of all, *Īdāgnidata* is *not* mentioned in the *plural*. Secondly, he is not a local person, but rather resides in the north. Thirdly, this inscription has occurrences of Sanskritisation, i. e., *ātmanā*, *Īdāgnidata*, etc. and yet *Yonaka* is used. Would not the Sanskrit form be more likely to occur in an inscription with other examples of Sanskritisation? Perhaps *Yavana* and *Yona/Yonaka* came to be used with different meanings in these inscriptions. It seems that in epigraphical sources, *Yona* and *Yonaka* are ethnic designations; while *Yavana* has some other meaning, which we will now discuss.

Most likely *Yona* and *Yavana* were originally different forms of one and the same word meaning "Greek". Which of these two words takes precedence chronologically speaking is, as mentioned above, a disputed point and not of significance to this discussion. After the fall of the Indo-Greek kingdoms in northwestern India, Greeks entered into the services of other dynasties, notably in this instance that of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas. The Greeks' most likely function was as soldiers, i. e., mercenaries. After some time, the term *Yavava* indicated Greeks of high rank, not all ethnic Greeks. By the time of the Junagaḍh rock edict, the term seems to indicate merely a foreigner of high rank, in this case quite likely a military functionary. At what point the word *Yavana* lost its meaning of "Greek" is not known, although it would seem from Queen Balaśri's Nasik inscription that the word still had an ethnic connotation. Therefore, the meaning of the word *Yavana* in the Karla and Junnar inscriptions must be "a high ranking Greek" or perhaps even "Greek mercenary". In the case of the Janagaḍh inscription it probably means simply "foreign military man". This explanation of the diverging history of the forms *Yona/Yonaka* and *Yavana* explains the differences in usage of these words in the western Indian inscriptions.

Dhenukākata :

One of the noticeable features of the *Yavana* inscriptions is that the six records from Karla all indicate the *Yavana's* place of origin while those inscriptions at Junnar do not. Furthermore, all the Kalra *Yavanas*, with one exception, hail from Dhenukākata, a place which has not to date been conclusively located. The discrepancy between Karla and Junnar in this matter offers one possible suggestion as to the location of ancient Dhenukākata.

Turning first to the *Yavana* inscriptions at Junnar, one is faced with the question, why is the place of origin never mentioned in these inscriptions. The most likely explanation is that the *Yavanas* resided in Junnar itself.⁴⁸ Several donors at Junnar have mentioned their places of domicile.⁴⁹ Clearly the *Yavanas* could have done the same. All the *Yavanas* at Karla have stated where they come from, so that it only seems reasonable that the *Yavanas* at Junnar were living there when they made their donations. On the basis of an inscription it is clear that there was a city at the location where the present-day Junnar is situated.⁵⁰ Certain surface remains have been discovered in the area which also suggest Junnar's inhabitation at an early date.⁵¹ Given the large number of rock-cut caves in the surrounding hills, it is likely that Junnar was a large and important city.⁵² Because the *Yavana* donors at Junnar were living in the town, the names of the places of origin would have been superfluous in the inscriptions, and for this reason the names are lacking.

Returning to the Karla donors, we see that they have all given their places of origin. It follows from this that they are unlikely to live in the vicinity of the Karla caves, or else such place names would also have been superfluous. This in itself argues against Kosambi's belief that Dhenukākata was very close to Karla. Kosambi argued that the hamlet of Devghar "at the opposite tip of the horseshoe curve of hills from Karle" was ancient Dhenukākata.⁵³ As primary evidence for this he demonstrates that at the present time there is still a close religious relationship between Devghar and the Karla *cavity*. While this is an interesting argument, it has several problems, not the least of which is the fact that no ancient remains have been found at the site. The time gap between the excavation of the Karla *cavity* and the present day is also too great for his argument to be totally convincing. Given what has been written above concerning the *Yavanas*, it seems unlikely that Dhenukākata was a small and unimportant town. *A priori* a larger city would be a more likely contender. If Dhenukākata had been a large city in the immediate vicinity of Karla, as Kosambi would have it, then

just as at Junnar, the place names of the donors would not have been necessary. What is most likely is that Dhenukākaṭa was some distance away, i. e., not the nearest town. Furthermore, Dhenukākaṭa must have been a large city, or else it would be difficult to explain the presence of not only the *Yavanas*, but also of so many (nine) other donors from Dhenukākaṭa at Karla.

The one city which clearly fits the above conditions for Dhenukākaṭa is Junnar. It has been argued by Bhandarkar that Junnar was the capital of Nahapāna,⁵⁴ and this of course would make it a very likely place of origin for the *Yavana* donors at Karla. Also if one accepts the proposition that the Uṣabhadāta mentioned in LL 1097 is indeed the son-in-law of Nahapāna, it would be quite likely that Uṣabhadāta would hail from Nahapāna's capital. The identification is not, however, very certain. This hypothesis would also explain why there were no donors at Junnar who list Dhenukākaṭa as their place of origin. It seems strange that so many donors at Karla came from Dhenukākaṭa, but none of the donors at Junnar. If one traces the sites at which the name Dhenukākaṭa has been found in western India, i. e., Karla, Shelarwadi,⁵⁵ Kanheri,⁵⁶ and Pitalkhora,⁵⁷ on a map, it is noticeable that Junnar lies close to the geographical centre of this area. Furthermore, no one has been able to find any name in the western cave inscriptions which corresponds to Junnar. It would be very peculiar if no one from Junnar had made any donations anywhere in western India other than Junnar, particularly if Junnar had been at one time the capital city.

Many attempts to discover the ancient name of Junnar have rested solely on the attempt to find a philological antecedent for the modern name Junnar. Most scholars derive the name Junnar from Sanskrit *Jirṇa-nagara* "old-city" and this does seem to be the correct etymology. It has been pointed out, however, that this could not have been the original name of the place - at one time it must not yet have been old.⁵⁸ So clearly at some time Junnar / Jirṇa-nagara must have had a different name. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that the earlier name was in any way connected etymologically to Junnar. Kosambi⁵⁹ identified Junnar with Tagara, rejecting the more commonly accepted (and infinitely preferable) identification Ter=Tagara. His basic argument is this, that

A fundamental point hitherto neglected is that any identification other than with Junnar would lead to the conclusion that the Graeco-Roman traders from whose accounts both the *Periplus* and Ptolemy drew their main information did not see fit to mention the greatest Deccan trade centre of that time.⁶⁰

It seems very likely, however, that Junnar was mentioned in the classical accounts, and this fact would certainly be a blow to Kosambi's argument.

Ptolemy mentions a place by the name of Omenogara which is close to what he calls the Nanaguna river. Naneghat and Gunaghat are both names of passes 25 km to the west of Junnar,⁶¹ and it seems very likely that this Omenogara was indeed Junnar. On the basis of this fact it has been argued that the ancient name for Junnar was Minanagara, cf. the Mlna river which is close to Junnar. This hypothesis is sorely challenged by the occurrence of the place name Umehanākaṭa in the Karla inscriptions, our No. 6. Abstracting the last two syllables, the correspondence *Omeno-Umehanā* is too close to be doubted. Indian "u" is often transliterated "o" in Greek, cf. Pulumavi > Polemois or Candragupta > Sandrocottus. Given the phonetic weakness of the syllable "ha", we have no difficulty in understanding how it dropped out in the transliteration, making *Omeno* and *Umehanā* clearly the same form. The identification of the last two syllables, i. e., *gara=kaṭa*, is then quite likely in this context. The correspondence is further strengthened by the fact that the *Yavana Ciṭasagata* who hails from Umehanākaṭa is very likely the same *Yavana* as the donor at Junnar, and who, as we have shown above, was most probably an inhabitant of Junnar. The identification Umehanākaṭa=Omenogara=Junnar seems beyond doubt and eliminates the consideration Junnar=Minanagara.

The question will obviously now arise, if Umehanākaṭa is Junnar, how can Dhenukākaṭa also be Junnar? The answer lies in the fact that Umehanākaṭa cannot be explained as an Indian name. This is to say, it cannot be derived from any Prakrit or Sanskrit forms. The name furthermore does not seem to be Greek. This leaves the primary options that the name is Dravidian or Iranian. Clearly the latter seems by far the more likely. When ancient Junnar was inhabited by foreigners (Iranians or Greeks) it appears that they gave the town an Iranian name which was written Umehanākaṭa in the Prakrit inscriptions. Particularly if Junnar was Nahapāna's capital, it is understandable that the Iranians would have called the city by an Iranian name. Under these circumstances two names would have been common, the older Indian name, Dhenukākaṭa, and the Iranian name Umehanākaṭa. Ptolemy, in his references to Junnar, had simply given the Iranian name.

In support of this hypothesis we point to the Brahmi inscriptions on Manmodi hill at Junnar, Nos. 21-23, in which "the language is neither Pali nor Sanskrit."⁶² Given the obvious presence of *Sakas* at Junnar, we cannot but suspect that the inscriptions, which are inscribed clearly, are in the

Iranian language, perhaps some form of *śaka*. Worthy of note in this context is that these inscriptions occur side by side, in the same cave, with Prakrit inscriptions. It is not impossible that an Iranian name Junnar would exist and be used side by side with an Indian name.⁶³

Conclusion

Our present investigation of the *Yavana* inscriptions has demonstrated three points. The first is that three of our inscriptions (Nos. 6, 7, and 8) have not been interpreted correctly, and that in each case the element *-sagata* must be considered part of the donor's personal name. Secondly, we have shown that the *Yavanas* of the western Indian cave inscriptions were not mere merchants. Indeed the word *Yavana* was not simply an ethnic designation, but in these cave inscriptions indicated also high governmental rank, either civil or military. This was demonstrated by the invariable use of the plural in the personal name. The third point was that, based on the available evidence, Dhenukākaṣa and Umehanākaṣa seem to have been the Ancient Indian and Iranian names respectively for modern Junnar. This identification would solve not only the problem of the location of Dhenukākaṣa, but would eliminate the apparent lack of reference to Junnar in both Classical and Inscriptional sources.⁶⁴

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Pāṇini, 4. 1. 49.
2. For a discussion of these three words see A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, (Oxford, 1962), pp. 165-169. Also, S. D. Dogra, "Greek or Yavana Donors in Ancient India," in *Purātattva*, no. 8 (1975-76), p. 185, note 1.
3. Even if we follow Dogra, *Ibid.*, and many others, in the theory that the Indian word is borrowed from old Persian *Yauna*, it is difficult to see how such a form could become Indic *Yavana* without an intermediate stage *Yona*.
4. For a discussion of these, see O. Stein "Yavanas in Early Indian Inscriptions," in *Indian Culture*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1935), pp. 343-357.
5. H. Lüders, "A List of Brāhmi Inscriptions From the Earliest Times to About A. D. 400 with the Exception of Those of Aśoka," Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X (1909-10) (Henceforth abbreviated L. L.), no. 869.
6. L. L. 1345. The occurrence of the word *Yavana-rajā* in Line 8 of this inscription is very doubtful. See Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
7. L. L. 1096. This inscription could be translated two ways. *Dharmya* could either be a personal name, or an adjective (Skt. *Dharmya*) meaning "upright," or virtuous." Because the inscription is incomplete, the issue cannot be settled finally. For a

- discussion of this problem see E. Senart, "The Inscriptions in the Caves of Karle," in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VII (1902-03), p. 58.
8. L. L. 1093.
 9. Madho Sarup Vate, "Unpublished Votive Inscriptions in the Chaitya Cave at Karle," in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVIII (1925-26), p. 328.
 10. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 326.
 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 325-26.
 13. L. L. 1154.
 14. L. L. 1182.
 15. L. L. 1156.
 16. For the Nasik votive inscription, L. L. 1140, see below.
 17. Suresh Vasant Jadhav, *Rock-Cut Caves at Junnar: An Integrated Study*, unpublished thesis submitted to the University of Poona, 1980, pp. 358-59, has found a fragmentary inscription containing the word *Yonaka*. Unfortunately, "the letters are intentionally scraped away."
 18. No. 7 is in the Shivneri Eastern group, No. 8 in the Shivneri Southern group, and No. 9 in the *caitya* cave of the Bhut Leni group. *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 340, 344.
 19. Jas. Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. IV (reprint 1975), p. 93.
 20. *Ibid.*, p. 94. Sten Konow, "Goths in Ancient India," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912, pp. 379-385 argued that *gata* was the designation of the Goths. Leaving aside the question of the grammatical improbability of this interpretation, his thesis is very implausible from an historical perspective. There is no record of Goths anywhere near India during this period.
 21. Burgess, *Ibid.*, p. 93, note 4.
 22. Jas. Burgess and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Inscriptions From the Cave Temples of Western India*, (Delhi, 1976 [First edition, 1881] p. 43.
 23. Vate, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-26.
 24. D. D. Kosambi, "Dhenukakata," in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* (New Series), vol. 30, pt. 11, (1955), pp. 66-67. The plate given by Vate, *loc. cit.*, clearly reads *ciṭa*, of. the "ca" in *Yavana*.
 25. Kosambi, *loc. cit.*
 26. L. L. 1089 reads "Therānaṃ bhayanta-Indadevasa". In this case there is clearly a noun in apposition to the personal name, not an adjective. Concerning the use of the plural with *theras*, see below.
 27. L. L. 993, 1033, 1091, 1097, 1139, 1141.
 28. L. L. 1018, 1152, 1176.
 29. L. L. 1012, 1152, 1173.
 30. L. L. 1007, 1020, 1104.
 31. The double consonants are not written in the inscriptions.
 32. Burgess, *A. S. W. I.*, vol. IV, p. 95.

33. O. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 344 ff. writes: "A *pluralis majestatis* would be intelligible with a *Dhadanta*, but hardly with a foreigner." On the basis of this assumption Stein explains all of the plural names as family names drawing examples from several western Indian cave inscriptions. His arguments, however, are very unconvincing. For most of our present inscriptions he must assume that while the family name is present, the personal name is not. He is unable to cite a parallel example anywhere in the Western Cave Inscriptions. Furthermore, when we find both a family name and a personal name, e. g., L. L. 1169 (although it is not quite certain that *Lankudiya* is a family name), the family precedes the personal name rather than follows it. Stein also speculates that in certain cases *Yavana* may even be a personal name. He feels that sometimes *Yavana* means "foreigner," sometimes it is a personal name, and sometimes it is of uncertain meaning. If, however, we reject Stein's basic assumption, that the *pluralis majestatis* could not be used with foreigners, then the rest of his arguments necessarily fall by the wayside.
34. L. L. 1041, 1060, 1110, 1171, 1180.
35. George Woodcock, *The Greeks in India*, (London, 1966), p. 145, tells us: "To these shruvas came Greek marobants, who had adopted — for religious purposes — Indian names which are still to be found inscribed on the walls of the caves, names like Dhenukatata (sic.) and Irila, always prefixed by the word *Yona* which denoted the race of the donors." In fact, the word *Yona* never occurs in these inscriptions. His contention that Dhenukātata is a personal name hardly merits consideration. For the idea of the *Yavanas* as traders see also Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 57, and Narain *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.
36. D. C. Sircar, "Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Inscription of the Time of Abhira Vasuśeṣa, Year 30," *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 34 (1961-62), pp. 197-204. For *Yavanas* as mercenaries in South India see Jean Filliozat, "Intercourse of India with the Roman Empire During the Opening Centuries of the Christian Era," in *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XXVII (1950), p. 38. For Greek mercenaries in the Persian Empire see Edward J. Thomas, "The Question of Zoroastrian Influence on Early Buddhism," in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1930), p. 287, where he quotes Rapson: "We know that the battles of the Persian king were fought, to a very great extent, with the aid of Greek mercenaries, and that Greek officials of all kinds readily found employment both at the imperial court and at the courts of the satraps."
37. L. L. 1123.
38. See Sten Konow, "Dr. Banerji on Sakas and Kuṣāpas," in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XIV (1938), pp. 137-152.
39. See particularly V. V. Mirashi, "The Date of Nahapāna," in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XLII (1965), pp. 111-118.
40. See Karl Khandalawala and Moti Chandra, "The Date of the Karle Chaitya," *Lalit Kala*, nos. 3-4 (1958-57), pp. 11-25. Also A. S. Altekar, "The Date of Nahapāna" in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference, Sixteenth Session*, vol. II (1951), pp. 194-202.
41. Sten Konow, "Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology," in *Journal of Indian History*, vol. 12 (1933), pp. 40-41. Konow argues that the date of the Junnar inscription L. L. 1174 should be read 76, not 46. While this has not been widely accepted, it must be conceded that the symbol representing the number '40' in this inscription is completely unlike the three symbols for 40 in the Nasik inscription L. L. 1133. If Konow is right, then the length of time for Kastrapa rule in the Nasik-Karla-Junnar region

would be at least thirty-five years. The problems arising from Kouow's interpretation, however, would be considerable.

42. H. R. Scott, "The Nasik (Jogalthembhi) Hoard of Nahapāna's Coins," in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XXII (1904-07), pp. 223-224.
43. L. L. 985.
44. Woodcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53 writes: "It has been suggested that Tuṣāspa, does not sound like a Greek name Indianized, and some historians have even contended that Yavana or Yona were epithets applied at this period to foreigners in general... Yavana and Yona in ancient times meant Greek, and nothing but Greek. The suggestion that has been advanced — that the Yonaraja Tuṣāspa was, in fact, an Iranian—is in this context singularly inept, since it was from the Iranians that the Indians borrowed the expressions Yavana and Yona to distinguish the Greeks: it is unlikely that they would apply either of them to the race among whom they originated. Since Tuṣāspa is described as a Yona, we can safely assume that he was, in fact, a Greek, however he acquired his strange name." Dogra, *op. cit.*, p. 86 quotes this passage and seems to support it. Unfortunately, Woodcock, who implies that Tuṣāspa, according to the inscription, might in fact be a Greek name Indianized, does not provide any Greek etymology for it. He simply calls it "strange." The name in fact is clearly an Iranian name. *Av. Aepa* = *Skt. aśva*. Woodcock works on the assumption that *Yavana* / *Yona* both mean the same thing: a Greek. But this is exactly the point of uncertainty. Tuṣāspa is furthermore described as *Yavanarāja*, not *Yonarāja* as Woodcock would have it. We must choose between assuming that *Yavana* always means "Greek" and the possibility that in this inscription Tuṣāspa is Iranian and therefore *Yavana* must mean something other than "Greek." The latter is clearly preferable. See also below. One must further point out that the source of a word's borrowing is irrelevant to later developments in the meaning of that word, because that source will obviously be unknown to later users of the word.
45. L. L. 965, Line 18.
46. L. L. 1140.
47. He is also styled *dantāmitiyaka*, "an inhabitant of Dantāmiti." The precise location of this town is not known. See Burgess, *ASNI*, vol. IV, p. 115.
48. See Jadhav, *op. cit.*, pp. 305 ff. for the same explanation *vis-a-vis* other donors whose place of origin is not mentioned.
49. L. L. 1169, 1177, 1178.
50. L. L. 1152.
51. Jadhav, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.
52. Junnar was the ancient trade route leading over the Naneghat pass. See Kosambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
54. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan* (Bombay, 1928), pp. 33 and 144-45.
55. L. L. 1121.
56. L. L. 1020.
57. M. N. Deshpande, "The Rock-Cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan." in *Ancient India*, no. 15 (1959), p. 76.

58. Henry Cousens, *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908, p. 32. Quoted by Jadhav, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
59. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 54 followed Paudit Bhagwanlal Indrajī, in *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, vol. 18, pt. 3, p. 181.
60. Kosambi, *Ibid.*, p. 54.
61. S. N. Majumdar, ed., *McCrindle's Ancient India described by Ptolemy* (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 45-49.
62. *ASWI*, vol. IV, p. 96.
63. A further relevant point is that the donor, *Ciṭasagata* is the only one among the *Yavanas* whose name is not clearly Indianized.
64. Special thanks are due to Dr. Suresh Vasant Jadhav for many valuable suggestions and helpful ideas for writing this paper.

AN OLD SINHALESE INSCRIPTION FROM ARIKAMEDU*

IRAVATHAM MAHADEVAN

Eighteen Potsherds bearing graffiti consisting of very brief and mostly fragmentary inscriptions in the Brāhmī script were excavated in 1945 by Mortimer Wheeler at Arikamedu (Virampatnam) just South of Pondicherry (Wheeler 1946). The excavations have proved that this site on the East Coast of South India was an important ' Indo-Roman Trading Station ' which flourished during the first two centuries A. D. A few more pottery graffiti with similar Brāhmī inscriptions have also been found at Arikamedu by the French archaeologists who worked on the site both before and after Wheeler's major excavations (Casal 1949). The Arikamedu graffiti, while few in number and insignificant in contents, have nevertheless proved to be of outstanding importance on account of their secure dating in the first two centuries A. D. for the study of the early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (Mahadevan 1971). In an earlier paper I have also identified Arikamedu (Virampatnam) with the old port Vīrai mentioned in the Sangam Tamil Works, e. g. *Akam*, 206 (Mahadevan 1970).

2. One of the graffiti published by Wheeler is in Prākṛt language and written in the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī script of c. First century A. D. (Wheeler 1946 : No. 3). I have published another Prākṛt inscription on a Potsherd found earlier at Arikamedu belonging to the same age but written in Southern Brāhmī characters (Mahadevan 1973). The rest of the Arikamedu graffiti (except a few which are too fragmentary to be read properly) have generally been considered to be in the Tamil language and written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script. I propose in the present paper to identify one of the graffiti found by Wheeler, which has so far been assumed to be in Tamil, as in fact written in Old Sinhalese language and belonging to the same age as the early cave inscriptions of Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

The inscription in question is incised on a potsherd bearing the excavation number AK V-117 and has been published as No. 18 in Wheeler's Report (*Ancient India*, Vol. 2, 1946, Fig. 47, p. 113). The pottery is of coarse fabric (Wheeler 1946 : Type 24, illustrated in Fig. 19) which, according to Wheeler, was the most popular type found in Arikamedu and probably served as a cooking vessel. The sherd was found in the Northern

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Sector of the site to the south of the large building identified as a warehouse. The exact stratigraphy of this sherd is not recorded in the Report, but it is generally stated that all the graffiti belong to the first and the second centuries A. D. (Wheeler 1946: p. 109).

The inscription incised on the sherd is a single word consisting of three characters in the Brāhmī script and appears to be a complete text (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 Arikamedu Graffiti

The earlier reading and interpretation by the team of epigraphists (B. C. Chhabra, N. P. Chakravarti, N. Lakshminarayana Rao and K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar) who edited the section on inscriptions in Wheeler's Report are reproduced below :

18. AK V-117 : Three letters reading *buttā*
 i. e. the Tamil form of *Buddhā*,
 the name of a woman.

This reading is suspect on several counts. Firstly, the term *Buddha* is never found in the feminine gender in the form *buddhā*. Secondly, if the word were in Tamil, one would expect the form *puttā* or *puttai* (cf. *tevatattai* for *Devadattā* in Wheeler 1946: No. 19) rather than the hybrid form *buttā*. Lastly, the third letter at the right end is unlikely to be *tā* as the lower right limb is shorter than the left, while both limbs are generally of the same height in *ta*, and further as the upper right line slants downwards unlike the medial sign for *-ā* which is generally horizontal or occasionally slanting upwards.

The clue to what I now consider to be the correct reading came first from palaeographical considerations mentioned above ruling out the reading *tā* for the last letter. The letter is in fact *śa* written in the linear form most frequently found in the early cave inscriptions of Ceylon. The identification becomes certain when one compares the last letter of this record (Fig. 1) with the first and last letters of the very frequent final word *śagaśa* (Pkt., *Saghasa*, Skt., *Saṅghasya*) occurring in numerous cave inscriptions of Ceylon (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2 Ceylon Cave Inscription

The epigraphists who edited this inscription earlier failed to recognise this letter correctly probably because *śa* is not found in Prākṛt inscriptions (where the palatal sibilant *śa* is replaced by the dental *ṣa*) and the form of the letter in Brāhmī and in the later derivative Indian scripts is generally curved like a horse-shoe unlike the linear form found in Ceylon. (Compare the Table in Sivaramamurti 1952 : Fig 59 for the Indian forms with the Chart in Paranavitana 1970 : opp. to p. xvi for the Old Sinhalese forms of the letter *śa*). The comparison brings out the fact that the last letter of this Arikamedu inscription is in fact *śa* written in the linear style of the early Ceylon cave inscriptions.

The revised reading of the text proposed by me is *bu ta śa*. The reading itself suggests that the language of the text cannot be Tamil and that it is in fact in the Old Sinhalese language. The identification of the language is certain because the revised reading conforms to the regular rules of phonology for ancient Sinhalese epigraphs as formulated by Paranavitana (*Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. I, pp. lxxviii–xciv; *Early Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. xviii–xxxviii). The relevant rules are as follows :

(i) *Loss of aspiration :*

Consonants which are aspirated in Old and Middle IA languages are found without aspiration in Old Sinhalese :

Examples :

<i>abhaya</i>	—	<i>abaya</i>
<i>dhama</i>	—	<i>dama</i>
<i>saḡha</i>	—	<i>śaga</i> (Fig. 2)

(ii) *Shortening of vowels :*

The long vowels of the Old and Middle IA languages are regularly shortened in Old Sinhalese. This change is universal and is in fact the most characteristic feature of the old Sinhalese language.

Examples :

<i>āgata</i>	—	<i>agata</i>
<i>grāmāṇi</i>	—	<i>gamaṇi</i>
<i>saṃḡhāya</i>	—	<i>śagaya</i>

(iii) *Use of palatal for dental sibilant in genitive case-ending :*

The substitution of the dental sibilant *sa* with the palatal sibilant *śa* in genitive case-ending (*-sya* in Skt. and *sa* in Pkt.) is characteristic of the earlier Ceylon Cave inscriptions.

Examples :

<i>saghasa</i>	—	<i>śagaśa</i> (Fig. 2)
<i>putasa</i>	—	<i>putaśa</i>
<i>gaṇasa</i>	—	<i>gaṇaśa</i>

It is also relevant here to notice that in the later Ceylon cave inscriptions, the use of the *śa* in the place of *sa* is generally avoided and the genitive case ending is transformed from *-śa* to *-ha*.

Examples :

<i>putaśa</i>	—	<i>putaha</i>
<i>gutaśa</i>	—	<i>gutaha</i>

Applying the above three rules of phonology, we can equate the Arikamedu text with the corresponding Middle Indian Prākṛt and Sanskrit form as follows :

Old Sinhalese	:	<i>bu ta śa</i>
Middle Indian Prākṛt	:	<i>bhū ta sa</i>
Sanskrit	:	<i>bhū ta sya</i>

Thus the word denotes a personal name *bhūta* in the genitive case (*bhūtasa*) and means (the vessel) of Bhūta.

With this identification, we can recognise the unique contribution of Arikamedu to South Asian epigraphical studies as we find here three or probably four variants of the Brāhmī script used to record three different languages, viz.

Language	Script	Examples
1. Middle Indian Prākṛt	Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī	Wheeler (1946) : No. 3
2. -do-	Southern Brāhmī	Mehadevan (1973) : No. V
3. Tamil	Tamil-Brāhmī	Wheeler (1946) : No. 9 Mahadevan (1973) : No. II
4. Old Sinhalese	Ceylon Brāhmī	Wheeler (1946) : No. 18

When we add to this list the Latin language in the Roman script also found at Arikamedu (Wheeler 1946 : pl. XXIII), we get some idea of the unique importance of Arikamedu as an international trading centre and entrepot in South India around the turn of the Christian Era.

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HOUSES OF THE EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD IN NORTH INDIA : A NEW EVIDENCE

C. MARGABANDHU

Many excavations have been conducted in north India which have revealed plans of the houses with exposed walls in outline and the general lay-out of the township in disconnected details. But in most of the sites the excavations were in the nature of work on a smaller scale to get the cultural sequence as the main aim and hence the information regarding the structures revealed is quite limited in details. They consist of indistinct walls, broken disconnected floor-levels and pit-lines of later levels disturbing the earlier evidence.

Except at a few sites where excavations have been conducted on a horizontal scale not many ancient Historical sites have been excavated to know the total lay-out of the city or town and its neighbourhood for getting basic data of the individual plans of houses or a clear-cut plan of each type with any distinguishing features, change in the alignment situated in the various portions of the habitation in the township.

Some such larger excavations have been carried out at the early Historical towns during the last few decades, which include, to mention the notable sites Bhita, Hastinapura, Kausambi, Pataliputra and Taxila. Though evidence of house-plans have been revealed at these sites during the various periods, but the basic details gathered at a given time period of structural activity, the information was much less to reconstruct the total house-plan and its varied features. What is available is the plan that could be traced out by running walls, broken and patchy floor-levels, hearths, blocked openings, and other fallen debris on the basis of which a reconstruction has to be made of the probable nature of the entire house-plan. The main characteristics that comprise the height of the walls, entrance to the house, the windows on the sides, steps at the main entrance, nature of the kitchen and more than all this, the nature of the roof and ceiling and the materials used are all to be reconstructed for which enough field data is not forthcoming.

An interesting source of information on this aspect has been glimpsed in support from terracotta house models that have been reported in contemporary context from a few early Historical sites of northern India. These

are simple ones prepared from clay, mostly hand-made and are quite typical and characteristic as to suggest the real model existing during the period. They possess individual characteristics since no one model is similar to the other. None of them is mould-made. Those that were found with other features such as male figurines, animals or aquatic creatures indicate that they were perhaps affixed to them separately. What is more significant and equally attractive is the three dimensional effect that has been infused in them by depicting the marginal space distance, frontal and vertical features so much so that to give a real perception of the original living type, then existing.

An attempt has been made to put them together and study the main features depicted in them so as to get the basic information possible that is not available from the excavated evidence. At the same time it has to be emphasised that this evidence is very significant since the features and details represented are quite unusual as to give a three dimensional effect that is not known in other types of antiquities.

Not many models have been found from the sites but the availability of the places of occurrence are settlements which go back to as early as the fourth and the third century B. C. and had prosperous periods of cultural and economic activity upto the end of the Late Historical period (fourth-fifth century A. D.).

The models have been reported at Bhita, Kausambi, Rairh, Rajgir, Sambhar and Sonkh.

Their occurrence indicates a wider geographical spread which includes the main Ganga valley, the Yamuna basin as well as the zone comprising the western portion of the plains, bordering the Aravalli ranges.

These models are small and miniature in size and possess some general features in common which devolve them into a compact group. They are square or rectangular in shape bordered by a raised wall around except the entrance provided with steps and raised parapets on sides. Other features depicted include, main door leading to the interior, window openings, pillars, high walls over which raise the ceiling portion, enclosure walls with sides possessing balconied *chattris* covered above, meant possibly for watch towers. The depiction of the roof is quite characteristic. It is circular or rectangular with sloping sides topped by finials at intervals. The sloping roof does not clearly indicate utility of tiles or thatch, but use of both of them is quite suggestive. Those models with circular roof have a central projection at top decorated generally with a tapering pointed finial, while some of them resemble an inverted lid of a vessel.

All these features of these models add visual information simulating the then existing structures. Apart from the single house models quite a few of them represent group of houses within a broad enclosure surrounded by a high raised wall. The houses are closely connected together with a single main entrance. The size of the houses indicates that possibly more than four to five families lived in such dwelling complexes.

A few models are found with more than one storey in the midst of a cluster of dwellings. The buildings stood on pillars on an extensive area bordered by high raised walls. The approach to the first storey was by steps from inside the house which was clearly shown atleast in one model in which steps could be counted in front view. The whole complex of structures was very well planned since on all sides are found rooms with a single main entrance leading to others inside. This type of house plans suggests a large number of families or a joint family, if not the whole group of a community, living together. In any case the planning of such large houses with sprawling enclosures indicates the economic well-being of the community and the standard of living which was evidently quite prosperous.

Another aspect which has a direct relevance to the problem is of the chronology of the finds themselves. A few are known from stratigraphic levels, but most of them are from surface. In general, many of them are ascribable to the Kuṣāṇa period on the basis of other relative details associated with the finds. However, in relevance to the availability of evidence, the findings from Kuṣāṇa levels add more information of this period in time-scale that could be compared with known details for the earlier and later times also.

Sonkh has yielded house models from chronological horizons both in variety and details. Each model found here is a specific type by itself. The simple type of a house are known from Rairh and Sambhar representing single dwellings. As far as possible the models have been defined and described with relevance to chronology. But it is difficult to clearly indicate a relative time period and hence a general outline of their features has been taken as the main criteria to emphasize their significance.

At Maniyar Math¹ (Pl. XXIII, A), Rajgir, the model was found during clearance of the environs in a circular structure. Along with it was found a number of characteristic terracotta objects and ceramics.

The house model is simple in plan with an enclosed courtyard in front within the walled court. There are traces of a human figure identified. The house has a central opening for going in. It has a gabled roof on top

with a side ridge running all throughout. The roof is capped by finial. A hole near the plinth of the house was possibly intended to fix a flagstaff.

On the basis of other finds it has been ascribed earlier to the Christian era. Sambhar and Rairh have yielded a few models which are simple in plan and are the realistic representations in this group. All the models are of the nature of single dwellings.

At Sambhar² it consists of a miniature rectangular chamber with a gabled roof crowned by finials, large doorways with horizontal lintels in front flanked by high level windows, similar windows in the side walls and pierced lattice ventilators in the back wall. Since it represents a single house model, the side raised wall protecting it is not depicted. The long gabled roof at best indicates that it had two rooms and a verandah at centre. The broad window let in sufficient air and light to the interior.

It is quite interesting to compare the model plan with the excavated remains of structures of this period at Sambhar to know the contemporary planning in general and houses in particular.

Almost all the structures are small dwellings, the largest alone measures 45' by 35' (13 × 10). Many of them are constructed on the usual plan of a central court surrounded by rows of rooms on three or on all four sides and in most cases the walls are thin being equal to the single length of the bricks. The usual material for the construction of the walls are burnt bricks of varying sizes laid in mud mortar. The foundations of houses are built of roughly cut blocks of *jhajjhar* stones available nearby. The floors were made of hard *moraindi* soil upon layers of fine sand, broken burnt crucibles, etc. The same clay was also used for plastering the walls of houses.

L-shaped open spaces in the inner corners of some of the structures could appear to have supported stair-cases with narrow and steep treads. The walls of such houses are stouter being a whole brick-length and width in thickness. As in modern times houses adjoining one another have no common party walls, narrow spaces being left between them for the use of cleaning, sweeping, etc.

The house model reported at Sambhar reflects on the contemporary nature of buildings especially the simple ones which were mostly occupied by the majority of the common people.

Rairh³ has also yielded simple dwellings identical to Sambhar specimens. The building stands on a raised platform with slanting thatched or

tiled roof supported on gabled walls and decorated with finials on the ridge and one or more door ways giving access to the interior of the house. The dwelling is surrounded by a walled-in enclosure. To protect from the summer heat and monsoon winds and rain, sloping shades of the roof all around acted as a safeguard from damaging the structure.

Sonkh⁴ has yielded a few house models that reveal features distinguished by certain characteristics of planning of houses during this period. Stratigraphically they belong to the time-span of the first century B. C. and the first century A. D.

One of them is the best preserved model with all the details clearly shown on a three dimensional relief (Pl. XXIII, D). It consists of four houses, clustering very close with a narrow yard in the centre. Out of them only three houses are fully preserved, while the fourth one is broken. The houses have domed roofs with three conical gables on top uniformly projecting above. The houses are joined in a right angle and encircle a small courtyard. The houses are bounded by a built wall almost equal upto the level of the roof all around. The whole complex has only one entrance which leads through a passage into the court from where the other houses can be entered. The remains of a step in front (partly broken at lower end of base) of the outer entrance show that a staircase led up to it. A tree seems to have grown beside the entrance, traces of its crown are still visible on the roof. Its finding is relatively dated to the middle of the first century B. C.

Another model⁵ though not a typical representation of the house plan but perhaps ritual structure of a votive nature. Some features of the model are quite characteristic and suggest the nature of buildings in larger enclosures. It is aptly called a "Votive tank", situated in an enclosure surrounded by a high-raised wall on all four sides. On this broad area is erected a platform abutting at the side wall centrally distanced which is approached by a flight of steps from the lower area. This platform itself rests on four thick columns (pillars) while the portion abutting the wall gave added strength and support. On the platform rises a structure with three walls and the roof open to the sky. This "floor" is approached by a flight of steps or "ladder" of which four steps are still visible. The front spaces at lower platform and the "first floor" are partly open and the details are not clear since the model is broken. The entire structure is enclosed by a wall all around which resembles the shape of a vessel. This model is datable to the first century B. C.

A simple dwelling with other features lost has also been reported from Sonkh⁶ (Pl. XXIII, B). It is a rare type that is represented in this

model. It consists of a circular structure in plan built over a basal platform with an entrance on one side. It is approached by a flight of steps, the details of which are broken. Its ceiling converges with a conical top, possibly built in bamboo and thatch. It is a single roomed dwelling being a common type that could be compared to the contemporary circular dwelling places. It belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period (c. the first century A. D.).

A model has been reported from Kausambi⁷ (Pl. XXIII, C) similar to the structure known from Sonkh. It is more developed with a larger enclosure comprising features that give credence to the realistic structures of contemporary times. It is hand-modelled, consisting of two circular structures, one smaller and the other bigger with a platform in-between hinging on the posts or pillars of the structures all of which are enclosed on three sides by a high raising wall. The front entrance leads directly to the structures, inside, possibly approached by a flight of steps.

Both of them have circular ceilings topped by a pinnacle. The smaller structure has a top ending in a sharp cone while the larger one has no pinnacle, but ends with a truncated top resembling the shape of an inverted domical lid.

In the larger structure is found a platform occupying the area, rectangular in plan. It looks more of the shape of a bedstead rather than for any other purpose. The platform in-between has over it a trough or an oil lamp.

The functional utility of this complex of structures can be explained in two ways. The pedestal in the larger structure, the oil lamp and the smaller one suggest some religious use of them as a shrine or possibly were small resting places of the *parṇaśālā* type, nearby a shrine. What is more significant is the visual representation of a circular structure built of thatch and bamboo with a single entrance – a dwelling type of a simple nature best suited for a small family or individuals.

On the basis of contemporary evidence this model is dated to the first-second century A. D.

Bhita⁸ has yielded a terracotta model prepared in the shape of a dish. The inner portion is enclosed by a raised wall around, with an entrance on one side. Inside are found seated seven human figures in a ring with a slightly concave shallow pedestal or tablet at centre. On the pedestal was found a stone catapult or sling ball. The figures are very roughly shaped and are much mutilated.

The nature of the structure inside the enclosure is rather difficult to clearly visualise. But the details of the figures, the pedestal and the whole open front indicate that it resembles the shape of a house-hold 'shrine' in miniature form. Moreover, the court-yard in front, along with other features, tends to reveal that the 'shrine' was open to the sky and probably covered by some perishable materials. On the basis of contemporary evidence it is ascribed to the fourth century A. D.

In a study of this nature based on miniature models it is interesting to visualise certain characteristics that are common to them. All of them are hand-modelled and depict the details of the outer walls including the structures conforming to some basic standard pattern of measurements having some proportionate scale value. This is clearly observed in regard to the main entrance, the height of the walls, the windows, the ceiling as well as the roof. In other words it suggests that they have been prepared by expert craftsman with a bearing over the actual existing types and hence any deviation of them from the original is likely to be clearly distinguished from the normal ones.

Directly arising out of this premise, another aspect of their synchronous nature is also to be emphasized. Many of them were stratigraphically dated in the first and the second century A. D. co-eval to the Kuṣāṇa period. This was a fairly prosperous period with a settled political life and economic prosperity that was revealed by increasing expansion of urban life and the planning and construction of house-buildings on a larger scale. It was one of the reasons that can be suggested by the finding of house-models specifically during this period.

On the basis of the available evidence of the models, four types of house plans could be visualised. They devolve into the following groups :

1. House with rectangular plan of smaller and medium dimensions with one or more entrances and a sloping roof which was covered over by thatch or tiles with a pinnacle on top to hold them.
2. Circular small structure with an entrance on one side covered over by sloping circular ceiling possibly made of bamboo and thatch.
3. Cluster of houses, together enclosed by a clear-cut boundary wall.
4. Double-storied house.

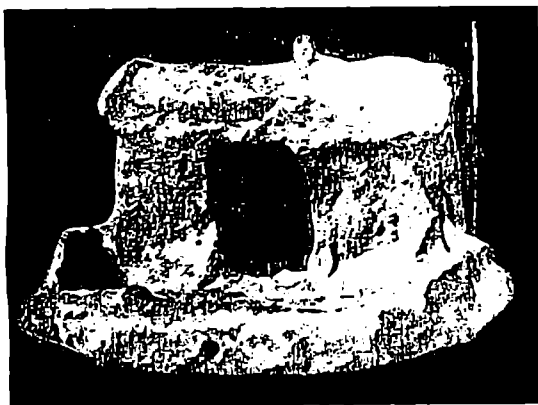
These types are mostly representative in nature and form into a pattern; it is not impossible that they reveal the visual nature of the known plans of houses of the times,

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ILLUSTRATIONS

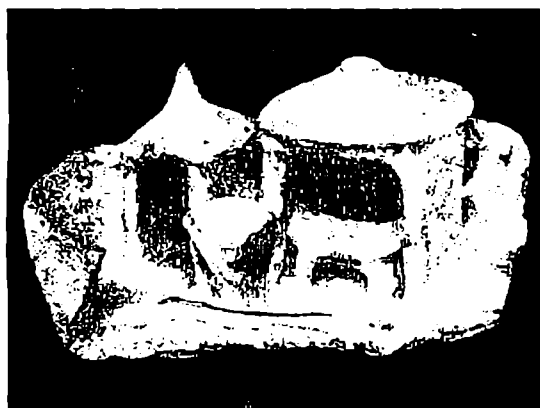
- PL. XXIII A. Maniyar Math : Terracotta house model.
 PL. XXIII B. Sonkh : Terracotta house model.
 PL. XXIII C. Kausambi : house model.
 PL. XXIII D. Sonkh : Terracotta house model.



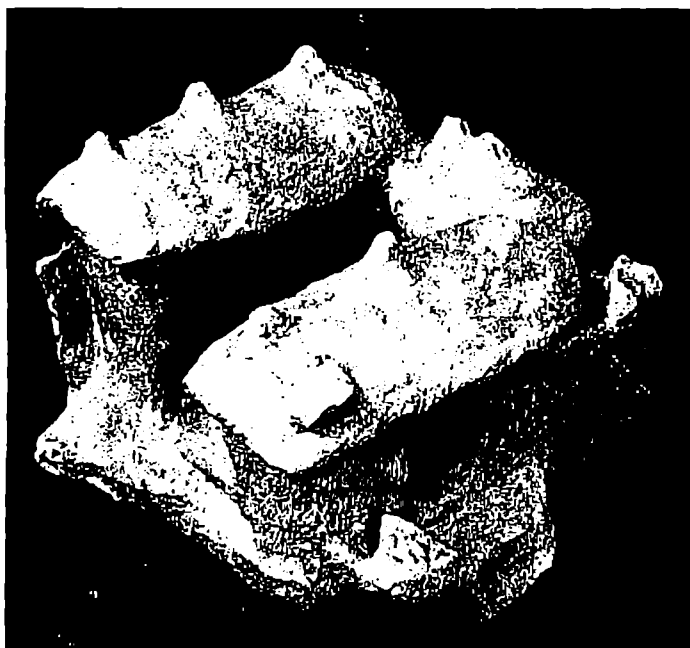
A. Maniyar Math, terracotta house model.



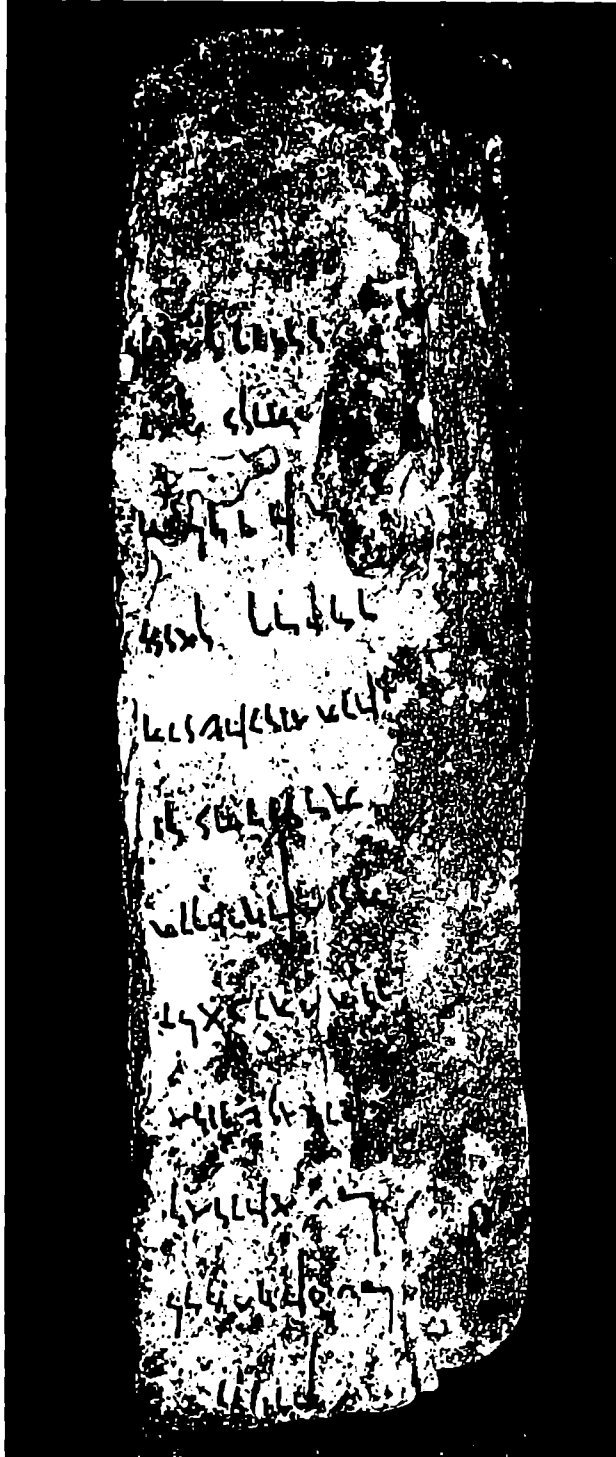
P. Sonkh, terracotta house model.



C. Kausambi, terracotta house model.



D. Sonkh, terracotta house model.



An inscription in Aramaic engraved on the pillar.

A NOTE ON THE ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION OF PRIYADARŚĪ
(AŚOKA) FROM TAXILA

B. N. MUKHERJEE

In 1914-15 an octagonal pillar of white marble was found built into a wall between two chambers of a building of Block F at Sirkap (Taxila). An inscription in Aramaic is engraved on the pillar¹ (Pl. XXIV).

The top of the pillar is unevenly broken, and the topmost line of the inscription is partly mutilated. Hence it is possible that the present pillar is only the lower part of an original one, which could have borne inscription on its now lost upper part. "There is", however, as John Marshall observed, "no trace of any characters on the face of the column to the left, and it may be assumed from the blank face immediately on the right of the (existing) record that on this side also there was no other letter."² Similarly, the portion of the pillar beneath the last (twelfth) of the existing lines is completely blank. So the record must have ended with the twelfth line.

A comparative study of the length of the existing lines of the inscription indicates effacement of a few letters towards the end of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth lines and in the beginning as well as at the end of the first line. This fact and the above noted possibility of the loss of the upper part of the epigraph may allow us to call the present pillar inscription as a fragmentary record, though there is not much mutilation in its existing part.

A. Cowley and L. D. Barnett, who were among the first writers on the Taxila inscription, attributed it to c. 4th century B. C. and did not find in it any reference to Aśoka (or Priyadarśī).³ In a much later year F. Altheim wanted to see in this record allusions to textual tradition on the *Avesta* in the post-Achaemenid period.⁴

E. Herzfeld was the first scholar to notice the words *mārāna Priyadar ... (sic)* in line no. 9 and the words *li-mārāna Priyadarš* in line no. 12. He considered these expressions as referring to Lord Priyadarśī, i. e. Aśoka, and took the inscription as that of Aśoka.⁵ F. C. Andreas, who also noticed the references to *mr'n Prydrš* ("i. e. lord Priyadarśī), thought that the inscription was issued when Aśoka was a governor (of Taxila). Andreas translated, like A. Cowley, the surviving word in line no. 1 as "memorial".⁶ In the opinion of John Marshall the column was erected "in

honour of " " a high official " (called Romedote) when Aśoka, the " heir-apparent of Bindusāra, was ruling as Viceroy (or Governor) of Taxila and the North-West ".⁷ On the other hand, H. Humbach believes, following up a lead given by E. Benveniste,⁸ that the Taxila inscription is a translation (with a slight abridgement or modification) of a section of the Shahbazgarhi version of Rock Edict IV of King Aśoka.⁹ Humbach apparently believes that all the lines of the existing inscription are partly mutilated.¹⁰

Priyadarśi (i. e. Aśoka) is referred to as *mr'n*, " our lord ", and not only as *mlk'*, " king ", in the Aramaic version of the Shar-i-Kuna edict.¹¹ Hence the reference to Priyadarśi (i. e. Aśoka) in the Taxila inscription as *mr'n* does not necessarily mean that it was written during the time of Aśoka's governorship. On the other hand, there is enough indication that the record was engraved during the reign of Aśoka. The phrase *wl'bwby hww hwptysty* of lines 5 and 6 of this epigraph can be (as we shall see below) translated as " and to his father and the aged good obedience ". In that case, the phrase concerned should at once remind us the expressions " obedience to mother and father " and " obedience to the aged " and similar references in several Prakrit edicts of Aśoka (including RE III, IV, XI and XIII, ME II and PE VII). Hence the inscription concerned can be safely considered as an edict of King Aśoka, issued in or after he had been consecrated for twelve years, when, according to his Prakrit PE VI, he caused (i. e. began to cause) the Edicts of the Law of Piety (Dhammalipis) to be written.

A. Cowley and F. C. Andreas translated line 1 as " memorial ".¹² H. Humbach, following an indication given by Herzfeld,¹³ reads the first line as *wl' (')*. He believes that these letters belong to a word which can be translated as " non-injury ".¹⁴ But the first line of the existing record is too fragmentary to admit of a fair reading and a plausible interpretation. Only a few letters [like *l*, *z*, *w* and *t* (?)] can be read doubtfully.

The second line can be read as *ldmydty'l* or *ldmy dty'l*. Here *l*-denotes ' to ' or ' for ' and ' *l*, as a preposition, signifies " to " or " unto ", or " towards ".¹⁵ H. Humbach compares *dmydty* with Iranian *dāmā dātā*.¹⁶ Here *-dty* can be related to Old Iranian *dāta* or Middle Iranian **dāt*,¹⁷ denoting " law ", and *dmy* - to Old Iranian *dāmay* - or Middle Iranian *dam-*, signifying *inter alia* " creation ".¹⁸ In an Aramaic record the form *dmy* may be looked upon as the construct state masculine plural of *dm* and *dty* may be considered as an abstract noun consisting of *dt* and a suffix.¹⁹ In that case,

dmydty or *dmy dty*, clothed in Aramaic grammar, may mean "the creations of law."²⁰

Lines 3-5 and the first word of line 6 can be read as (l. 3) *ngdwt'* 'l (l. 4) '*rzw šngdwt'* (l. 5) *wl' bwhy hww* (l. 6) *hwptysty*.

According to an earlier interpretation of H. Humbach, *ngdwt'* of line 3 is the transliteration of an Iranian term comprising *na* ("no") *gada* ("injured") and (Iranian suffix) *awatā*.²¹ No doubt, here *n* and *gdw* should better be taken as of Iranian (or at least non-semitic), than of Semitic, origin, since in the latter sense none of these suggests a suitable meaning.²² We can connect *n* with Old Persian *naiy*, Avestan *na-* or even with Sanskrit *na*, all signifying "no" "not". We may relate *gd* to Iranian *gada*, meaning *inter alia* 'harm', 'injury', etc.²³ and can also compare it with Sanskrit *gada* denoting *inter alia* 'sickness'. The expression *ngdwt'* with (Aramaic) *t'* (indicating a determined state feminine singular ending) can then mean "the non-injury".

In line 4 '*rzw* can be related to Old Iranian *arəjay*, meaning "worthy of" or "deserving (of)".²⁴ The particle *š-* of *šngdwt'* may signify *inter alia* "that which" in 'Imperial' Aramaic.²⁵ So '*rzw šngdwt'* may mean "worthy of that which is the non-injury".

In the Aramaic language *wl' bwhy* of line 5 certainly means "and to his father".²⁶ The next word *hww*, however, does not appear to be of Aramaic origin. It may be conveniently related to Iranian *hww* (> **hvai* or **hav* of Avesta *hvōista* "best", "oldest") and may be taken to signify "old" "aged", etc.²⁷

The word *hwptysty* has been convincingly explained to be of Iranian origin (*hūpatiasti*), meaning "good obedience".²⁸ The form of the word appearing in an Aramaic record may pass as a substantive singular.²⁹

It appears that the first sentence of the existing portion of the inscription ends with the word *hwptysty*. We may be permitted to translate it as "for the creations of law unto the non-injury to [creatures] worthy of that which [is] the non-injury and to his father and the aged good obedience." The reference to law [*d(ā)t* - > *d(ā)t(a)* -] in an edict of Aśoka in connection with propagation of non-injury and obedience surely indicates that here the term *d(ā)t* - < *d(ā)t(a)*, "law", stands for his *Dhamma* (*Dharma*), mentioned in his Prakrit edicts. The term *dharmā*, one of the literal meanings of which is "law", is connected in the Prakrit edicts with *inter alia* propagation of the doctrine of non-injury and obedience.

The second word of line 6 can be easily read as *znh*, denoting "this".³⁰ In line 7 the first word is *zk*, signifying "that",³¹ and the second word is *bhwurdh*. Of the latter term, *bhw-* may perhaps be related to Iranian *vohu*, meaning "good" and *-urd-* to Iranian *və r ə d-*, denoting "increase".³² The particle *-h* can indicate a feminine singular noun in absolute state.³³ However, we may also compare *bhw-* with Sanskrit *bahu*, signifying "much", "many", "great", "abundant", etc. and *-urd-* or *-urdh-* with Sanskrit *vṛddhi*, meaning "increase", "growth", etc.³⁴ The expression *znh zk bhwurdh* can now be translated as "this (and) that (i. e. various kinds of practice of *Dāta* or *Law*) [have] good (or many[fold] or much) increase".

In line 8 the first word is *hw*, meaning "that".³⁵ The second word can be read as *nštwn*, denoting 'document'.³⁶ This word is of Persian origin.³⁷ To the same source we may trace *hw* if it is related to Iranian *hu*, meaning "good".³⁸

The next word in line 8 can be deciphered as *zy*. Here it may signify "which".³⁹ The last word of line 8 is *hwt*. It can be explained as the 3rd person singular feminine form of *hwy*, meaning "to exist".⁴⁰

Line 9 is mutilated at the end. Its existing portion can be deciphered as *mr'n prydar (š*)*... .., meaning "our lord Priyadarśi... ..". Line 10 is also partly broken. The remaining portion reads *hlc w t*... .. Here *hlc-* may be taken as a verb, meaning *inter alia* "to die".⁴¹ We can easily consider *w* as signifying 'and'.⁴²

If these interpretations are correct the second part of line 6 and lines 7-10 can be rendered into English as "this document (or [this] good document) exists [until] our lord Priyadarś(ī), dies... ..".

The last two lines can be deciphered as (1. 11) *w'p bnwhy*... (1. 12) *lmr'n prydar(š)*. We can confidently consider *w'p* as consisting of *w*, "and" 'p' "also".⁴³ In *bnwhy* we have *bn*, "son",⁴⁴ and singular pronominal suffix *why* ("his").⁴⁵ So *bnwhy* means "his son". Of the expression *lmr'n*, *l-* means "to" or "belonging to"⁴⁶ and *-mr'n* is the 1st person plural form of *mr*, "lord".⁴⁷ The last word is certainly a transliteration of the name *Priyadarśī*.

In the light of the above discussion we can offer the following reading and translation of the inscription concerned :

Text

- L 1t z . w t (?)
 L 2 *ldmy dty'l*
 L 3 *ngdwt 'l*
 L 4 *'rzw šngdwt'*
 L 5 *wl'bwħy hww*
 L 6 *hwptysty znħ*
 L 7 *zk bhwwrdh*
 L 8 *hw nštwn zy hw t*
 L 9 *mr'n prydr(š*)*
 L 10 *hkk w t
 L 11 w'p bnwħy ...
 L 12 lmr'n prydr(š)*

Translation

(L1 1-6) "...for the creations of Law [D(ā)t(a)], unto the non-injury to [the creatures] worthy of that which [is] the non-injury and to his (i.e. one's own) father and the aged good obedience [.] (L1. 6-7). This [and] that (i.e. various kinds of practice of D(ā)t(a) or Law) [have] good (or many[fold] or much) increase [.] (L1. 8-12). This document (or [this] good document) exists [until] our lord Priyadarśī dies and also [until after] his son belonging to our lord Priyadarśī [.]".

The above reading of the text and its translation and also our observations on the present state of the epigraph clearly show that there is no much mutilation in the existing portion of the record. At least H. Humbach is certainly wrong in taking all the existing lines as partly mutilated.⁴⁸

From the point of view of contents, the epigraph in question can be compared with Aśoka's Prakrit RE IV, found so far at Girnar, Kalsi, Dhauri, Jaugada, Erragudi, Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra. A section of RE IV, marked as 'C' by E. Hultzsch,⁴⁹ refers, like lines 1-6 of our record, to abstention from hurting creatures and (in the majority of the known recensions) to obedience to father and the aged. But section 'C' refers also to other subjects. This section in the Shahbazgarhi edict states that "such as not existed before for many hundred years, now owing to the instruction of King Priyadarśī, Beloved of the Gods, in Dharma, have increased abstention from slaughter of lives, abstention from hurting creatures, respect towards brāhmaṇas and śramaṇas, obedience to mother

and father (and) to the aged". Thus, though the person or persons responsible for drafting the Aramaic record knew the contents of section 'C' of RE IV, he or they selected from available data the subjects which he or they thought could indicate the prevalence of virtuous things "for creations" (i. e. owing to the acts of creating or preaching) of D(ā)t(a) (Dharma) by Priyadarśī.

The statement that "this [and] that (i. e. various kinds of practice of D(ā)t(a)=Dharma) [have] good (or many [fold] or much) increase" (lines 6-7) echoes section 'C' of RE IV, the Shabbazgarhi version of which states that "this and many other kinds of practice of Dharma have increased."

RE IV speaks of *inter alia* promotion of Dharma "for ever" by Priyadarśī (section 'E') and by his sons, grandsons and great grandsons until the end of the aeon (section 'F'). Section F of RE IV indicates that the purpose of writing that edict was to get them (successors or the subjects of Priyadarśī) involved in the promotion of the matter (relating to Dharma). These ideas seem to be partially conveyed by lines 8-12 of the Aramaic record.

Contents of sections marked by Hultsch as A, B, G, H, I and K have not been fully or partly incorporated in the existing portion of the Aramaic inscription. However, since the first line of the existing inscription is badly mutilated and since there could have been in the original record one or more than one line above the present line no. 1, we should not altogether deny the feasibility of the inclusion of the contents of section A or B in the original draft of the Aramaic epigraph. Nevertheless, the available data are strong enough to prove that the Aramaic record is neither a literal nor a free translation of RE IV. It is not even an abridged edition in Aramaic of RE IV, incorporating all the points discussed therein. It seems to incorporate only those points which appeared to be important to the person or persons responsible for drafting it. It may be looked upon as one of the brief (*saṃkṛhita*) edicts referred to in RE XIV.

H. Humbach is thus wrong in thinking that the Taxila inscription "is nothing but a slightly abridged word for word translation of the central passage of Aśoka's Rock Edict IV".⁵⁰ This assumption has wrongly lead him to interpret several words of this record quite arbitrarily.⁵¹

Aśoka's Prakrit inscriptions refer to his edicts as *dhammalipis*. The Aramaic record from Taxila refers to it as *hw nštwn* ("good document") or *nštwn* ("document").

Aśoka's Dharma is alluded to in the Taxila inscription as $D(\bar{a})t(a)$. It is interesting to note that both the terms *dharma* and *dāta* may literally mean "law". In the Shar-i-Kuna Greek edict of Priyadarśī, Aśoka's Dharma is indicated by the word *eu'sebeia*, literally meaning "piety". In the Shar-i-Kuna Aramaic inscription of Priyadarśī the concept of Dharma is indicated by the expression *qsht'*, literally meaning "truth". Piety and truth were, no doubt, two important constituent elements of Aśoka's Dharma.

As noted above, the person or persons responsible for preparing the text of the Taxila edict knew the contents of RE IV. The latter "was caused to be written by king Priyadarśī, Beloved of the Gods, (when he had been) anointed twelve years". So the Taxila edict was written in or after the twelfth (expired) year, counted from the date of Aśoka's consecration.

The upshot of the above discussion is that the Taxila Aramaic inscription was not engraved during the governorship of Aśoka in the Taxila region. It was issued as a brief (*samkhita*) edict of King Priyadarśī Aśoka.

NOTES

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 19. *GBA*, pp. 22, 23 and 29.
 20. *GBA*, pp. 23, 25, 28 and 29.
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 22. *DISO*, pp. 37, 47 and 173.
 23. R. G. Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 192; *AIW*, coll. 488, 1030 and 1033.
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41. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 21 and 69.
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REPRESENTATION OF WEAPONS ON ANCIENT INDIAN COINS

G. N. PANT

Introduction :

Indian numismatists have generally studied coins for solving various tangible problems of political history and only a few have tried to reconstruct the cultural life of the people. An attempt has been made in this paper to describe the weapons depicted on the ancient Indian coins. This study has its own limitations. The evidence gleaned from the coins could easily be corroborated by comparing them with similar representations on contemporary sculptures and paintings or to their reference in contemporary literature.

The strung bow and arrow on the Archer Type of the coins of Candragupta Vikramāditya show the emperor as the unrivalled Bowman; the portrait of a ship with mast on the Sātavāhana coins announces their might on the high seas; the Lion-slayer Type and the Rhinoceros-slayer Type of coins of the Gupta monarchs speak of the vibrant power of the emperor in putting to the sword such powerful beasts. Their Horseman Type of coins show their mastery as cavaliers. The pair of fish and the bow, the royal insignias of the Ceras and the Cālukyas, shown with the Cola lion, reveal the conquest of the Cola emperor over them. The portrait of Kaṇiṣka with a big sword fastened to his belt on the Kuṣāṇa coins illustrates the emperor as a master swordsman. These are only a few illustrations amongst several others which established beyond doubt the importance of coins as a source material.

Bow, Arrow and Quiver :

The depiction of bow and arrow on coins predominates over other weapons. On Punch-marked coins, figures of weapons and tools are exceedingly rare. The bow and arrow either with or without a taurine symbol are found on the obverse of two groups of coins.¹ The bow is of very simple type with curved stave and straight string. It is a common type found on early Andhra coins from Kolhapur.² Variant of 2, class II of the Taxila coins illustrated by Cunningham³ includes a wheel and a bow and arrow. Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings (4th-2nd centuries B. C.) preferred bow and arrow along with other weapons which figure very frequently on their coins. Two types of bows are generally noticeable: simple and complex. The simple bow was perhaps made of bamboo and

the complex one of steel. On the Indo-Greek coins Apollo is shown with the bow either resting on the ground or being held in one of his hands. The king on the coins of Artemidorous⁴ stands in a *vikaṭa* posture while on another coin he is seen in *sampada* position. In the former posture the left leg of the king is advanced and bent from the knee and the right leg is straight while in the latter posture he is standing erect with both legs together. The arrow-heads, both simple and feathered, have been found. They are mostly pointed and barbed. Many specimens of such bows and arrows can be seen on the Indo-Greek coins preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow. The quivers of this period were round, tapering at the bottom, broader at the top and open mouthed. Bows enclosed in a case with pointed bottom and fairly broad top, can be noticed on the coins of Zoilus in the British Museum, London collection.⁵

On the copper coins of Apollodotus, Apollo is seen standing, facing left, holding the bow in his left hand and an arrow in the right.⁶ Similarly, on the copper coins of Zoilus, Apollo is facing right holding an arrow with both hands and a quiver is slung from his back.⁷ The coins of Maues also depict Apollo as an archer.⁸ On the copper coins of Demetrius (c. 200 B. C.), Artemis is shown standing with a bow in left hand and drawing an arrow from the quiver with his right.⁹ Apollo as an archer appears on the reverse of silver coins of Eukratides (c. 175-156 B. C.). Megasthenese and Arrian also corroborate that the bow and arrow were coveted weapons. "The king hunts in the enclosures and shoots arrows from a platform in his chariot. At his side stand two or three armed women. If he hunts in an open ground he shoots from the back of an elephant."¹⁰

On the Andhra coins of Vasiṣṭhiputra (c. 81 A. D.), a crude strung bow with a broad barbed arrow ready for use, has been depicted. An identical bow and arrow is seen on the coins of Gautamīputra of the same family. The coins of Bhumaka (119 A. D.) contain an arrow pointing upwards and a thunderbolt between a pallet.¹¹ On the lead coins of Māṭharīputra Sivalakur (2nd century A. D.) of Andhra dynasty, discovered from Kolhapur, Maharashtra, is seen a bow with the string downwards and fitted with an arrow pointing upwards.¹² On the reverse of the silver coins Nahapāna (c. 119-124 A. D.) of the Kṣaharāta family a broad barbed arrow and on the obverse of still another coin a crudely outlined representation of a primitive semi-circular bow and arrow have been engraved.¹³ Similar type represented in the Udayagiri caves corroborates the evidence of the coins. At Sanchī, the arrows are devoid of barbs,¹⁴

The bows on Gupta coins are of many types.¹⁵ One simple type consists of a curved stave and straight string. In the second type, two semi-circular pieces have been joined by a piece of wood or metal.¹⁶ This joining piece is again of two types: straight¹⁷ and curved.¹⁸ On some grips, rings have been fixed to facilitate easy handling.¹⁹ Specimen with curved grips, having one guard on either side to avoid slipping, are also available.²⁰ There is still another type where the grip recedes inwards thus making three curves in the bow.²¹ In some other varieties of this type the ends of the stave are curved upwards so as to form five curves.²² On a few specimens, the outer ends were segmented to fasten the string tightly and at the same time to beautify it.²³

From the Gupta coins bearing the figures of bow and arrows the modes of shooting could be conjectured. The Gupta archer, as is clear from the postures of human figures using bow and arrow, usually stood firm on the ground in any one of the following positions: with both legs together,²⁴ with the legs wide apart,²⁵ and with the right leg taut and the left bent²⁶ and *vice versa*.²⁷ When not in use the top end of the stave was held either in the left or right hand while the other end rested on the ground with bowstring facing either inward or outward.²⁸ While wielding it the bow was generally held in the left hand and the arrow in the right²⁹ but this position was found reversed on some coins³⁰ which might suggest that the Gupta monarchs could wield the bow with either hand.³¹ Normally, while shooting, bow is held by the left hand. But the *Dhanurveda* mentions that wielding it with either hand is the quality of *dhanurdhara*. Kālidāsa has also mentioned that an expert archer could shoot the arrow with either hand with the same amount of accuracy.³² Gupta kings were ambidextrous.³³

The bow was generally held vertically and almost parallel to the body and the string was pulled upto the ear.³⁴ The bow was neither held horizontal or perpendicular to the body nor was it kept on the ground while being used. Perhaps by this time the old practice of the Mauryan archers had gone into disuse. The bow of the Mauryan archer was of the same length as the archer himself. "This they rest upon the ground and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow having drawn the string far backwards for the shaft used is little short of being three yards long."³⁵ The Gupta bows were shorter than those of the Mauryans and were not operated with the foot.

The arrow had feathers at their lower ends.³⁶ The *Dhanurveda* has recommended the use of bird feathers, especially of peacocks and herons for the swift movement. Kālidāsa also mentions this.³⁷ The points of the arrows were spearhead-shaped, barbed or had two cutting edges.

The arrows were kept in quivers. In most cases the kings have been portrayed facing front or in profile, hence the quiver, which was hung on the back, is not clearly visible. In an Archer Type coin of Candragupta II, the illustration of a quiver is very clear from which the king is drawing an arrow with his right hand.⁸⁹ The quiver is on the ground and several arrows are protruding from it. It is broad in the beginning, elongated and ends in a round knob. A similar quiver is to be found in the wall paintings of Cave oN. 17 of Ajanta.⁹⁰

Spears and Javelins :

Spears and javelins were the most coveted weapons and have been shown on numerous coins. On the obverse of the coins of Āryamitra, the Audambara chief (c. 2nd-1st century B. C.), a male figure is standing to left holding a spear in his right hand.⁴⁰ Similarly, the coins of Bhānumitra also depict a spear.⁴¹ On one of the coins of Āryamitra of Ayodhyā (2nd century B. C.), a bull is shown before a spear, while the coin of Jeṭhamitra (1st cent. B. C.—1st cent. A. D.), contains a spear along with tree in railing and *chowrie* on its reverse.⁴² The spear, here, is very simple consisting of a long wooden or bamboo shaft with a leaf-shaped blade of metal. On the class 2, variety a, of Ujjayini coins, Kārtikeya is standing with a spear in his right hand.⁴³ The spear has been the favourite weapon of Kārtikeya and in several sculptures of later date, he has been portrayed carrying abnormally long weapon.⁴⁴ Six-headed Kārtikeya depicted on the Yaudheya silver coins (variety III), has a leaf-shaped pointed spear in his right hand.⁴⁵ The term '*yaudheya*' has apparently been derived from Sanskrit *yudha* (to fight). The Yaudheyas were renowned spearmen even as early as the time of Pāṇini.⁴⁶

On many of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Parthian coins, kings and deities are represented in the act of thrusting the spears and javelins. On the gold coins of Diodotus (c. 244–230 B.C.) Zeus is portrayed hurling a thunderbolt and to his right is seen a javelin.⁴⁷ Nike on the copper coins of Antimachos holds a spear.⁴⁸ On the reverse of the coins of Eukratides, the Dioscuri is found charging to right with a long lance.⁴⁹ On a coin of Heliokles, Zeus is shown holding a spear in his left hand.⁵⁰ An illustration of spear is available on the obverse of a silver coin of Menander showing the bust of king to left, thrusting with spear.⁵¹ On the silver coin of Azes, the king riding on the horseback is with a couching spear.⁵² A similar couched spear is depicted on a silver coin of Vonones.⁵³ A javelin with fillet is in the right hand of the king figured on the copper coins of Soter Megas.⁵⁴ On the silver coins of Demetrius (c. 200 B. C.), Pallas has it

in his right hand while on the coins of Eukratides (c. 174-150 B. C.) Dioscuri is charging holding long lances.⁵⁵ The Indo-Greek and Indo-Bactrian monarchs preferred mounted warfare as they were their favourite weapons against the short weapons like swords, daggers, etc.

In Sanskrit literature these are known as *bhalla*, *śūla*, *śakti*, etc. The difference between the spear and the javelin is so narrow and their depiction on coins so vague that one is mistaken for the other. Technically, *bhalla* (spear) consists of a long wooden or bamboo shaft with a long and pointed iron blade. The blade is broader at the lower end, double-edged, with or without medial-rib and with a long hollow shank into which the shaft is inserted. It is a thrusting weapon. The *śūla* (javelin) is comparatively thinner, having a wooden shaft and a small leaf-shaped blade of metal with a tang. The tang is inserted into the shaft and tied with metal straps. It could be used for dual purpose of thrusting or hurling. The *śakti* (*barachā*) was completely of iron. Small thin iron shaft was fitted with a pointed blade which was invariably hurled.

Kaniṣka has been portrayed as holding a spear on his coins.⁵⁶ On the reverse of another type of coins of the same monarch, a figure with a hat and plume is seen with a spear.⁵⁷ On the obverse and reverse of many coins of the successive rulers of this dynasty, the spears have been frequently represented. Huviṣka has often been depicted carrying long spear.⁵⁸ The Kuṣāṇa spears and javelins did not undergo any material change and seem to have been adopted from their predecessors.

There has been a big controversy regarding the identification of spears and javelins on the Gupta coins. Smith first identified the so-called 'standard' on the 'Standard Type' coin of Samudragupta as a javelin⁵⁹ but later he called it a spear.⁶⁰ In the left hand of Kārtikeya, on the reverse of the 'Peacock Type' coin of Kumāragupta I, spear is illustrated.⁶¹ Vidya Prakash has classified these spears or javelins into the following five categories :

A. Spear with shaft slightly tapering towards the top and the spear-head representing a long leaf with medial-rib.⁶²

B. Spear with shaft as above, with a ring near the lower end. The head has a pointed end with two corners on either side.⁶³

C. Spear with leaf-shaped blade, medial-rib, blunt point and a ring at the junction of the blade with the shaft.⁶⁴

D. Spear with a broad leaf-shaped blade, narrowed in the middle, medial-rib and ring. Such spears are found in the hands of Kārtikeya and on the Gupta sculptures.⁶⁵

E. Spear with a point resembling an arrow-head and the lower extremes ending in a knob. This spear appears to be a heavy one and was perhaps thrown, as is evident from the knob on the other end intended to balance it in the flight.⁶⁶

These spears and javelins were mostly held with points resting on ground. Some spears have pennons tied in the middle of the shaft.⁶⁷ Kālidāsa has described them in the *Raghuvamśa*. Similar representations can be seen in the several contemporary sculptures⁶⁸ and in the painting at Ajanta.

Sword :

Surprisingly enough the sword, which has played a very prominent role in ancient Indian warfare, has been depicted very rarely on coins. On the Punch-marked coins it is not represented. Among the Tribal coins, discovered at Puri, we find crude figures of a king standing facing with head to left and holding a sceptre in his left hand.⁶⁹ This type is similar to the one found on the obverse of Kuṣāṇa coins.⁷⁰ On Indo-Greek, Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Parthian coins a sword is seen but very rarely. On the reverse of a silver coin of Heliokles, the last king of Bactria (c. 156-140 B. C.), Zeus standing and holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and long sceptre in his left.⁷¹ Similarly, on the coins of Antialkidas, the colleague and successor of Lysias, king of Punjab (c. 145 B. C.), Zeus is seen with a long sceptre in the left hand.⁷² Of the several Indo-Greek coins preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow, not a single coin has a sword or a sceptre on it.

On the South Indian Pandyan coins, sceptre has often been depicted together with a trident, flag, dagger, etc.⁷³ Similarly, on the Vijayanagar coin a sceptre is represented.⁷⁴

Kaniṣka was an adept in the use of a sword. On one gold coin he is standing to right making an offering at an altar with his right hand while in the left he holds a spear. The sword is suspended from his left side.⁷⁵ In the famous stone sculpture of 'Headless Kaniṣka' displayed in the Mathura Museum, Mathura, a long double-edged sword is carved. On the reverse of another gold coin of the same ruler, a figure is shown with a hat and plumes while the sword is hanging on his left side.⁷⁶ This weapon is also found on the coins of the subsequent Kuṣāṇa rulers. For example, on the reverse of a gold coin of Huiṣka, a figure is seated on snakes with a sword

in his right hand.⁷⁷ The sword here is double-edged with sufficiently broad point. The hilt is plain and without quillon or pommel.

The Gupta coins have several types of swords figured on them. The 'Horseman Type', the 'Chatra Type' the 'Cakravikrama Type' and the 'Rhinoceros-slayer Type' coins contain several illustrations of this weapon. On the same analogy one type of coin has been designated as the 'Swordsman Type'. In the first variety, is found a long and straight blade with triangular-shaped pointed end. The pommel is short, round and simple, the quillon is rectangular with lines on it and the blade is plain. It is without a scabbard and, in all probability, was used as a thrusting weapon.⁷⁸ In the second variety, the swords are straight with plain and pointed blades. The lower end has a cut on its right. The quillon is crescent-shaped which served the purpose of a grip as well. The pommel is short and round. These are also without scabbards, and like earlier swords were found suitable as thrusting weapons.⁷⁹ The third variety of swords are double-edged and straight and look like a *khāṇḍā*. The pommel is round, grip plain but the quillon is shaped like a human eye. The blade is broader at the upper and the lower ends but thinner in the centre. It is encased in a decorated scabbard. These types of swords served the double purpose of cutting and thrusting.⁸⁰ The swords of the fourth variety were used exclusively for cutting purposes. Round pommel, plain grip, rectangular quillon and sharply curved blade with pointed end bring it closer to the *shamshir* of later date.⁸¹ It has a decorated scabbard. We also find some short and double-edged swords with pommels and grips. The 'fuller' runs through them. Their blunt points suggest that these were perhaps cutting weapons.

The swords were kept in the embellished sheaths and hung either on the left or the right side of the warrior.⁸² The Allahabad Pillar inscription gives a long list of the weapons, which inflicted wounds on Samudragupta's body, and the sword is one of them.⁸³ Kumāragupta I, in an inscription on one of his coins, described himself as a master of swordsman.⁸⁴ The sculptures at Deogarh, the paintings at Ajanta and the works of Kālidāsa bear testimony to the general types of swords illustrated on the Gupta coins.

Dagger :

Like the swords, the dagger was also not frequently represented on ancient Indian coins. On the Punch-marked and Tribal coins it is altogether missing. The Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Bactrians never liked this short weapon; hence it has not been shown on their coins. In South India, its importance, of course, was realised and on the obverse of many of the Pandyan coins the dagger has been depicted.⁸⁵ Similarly, on the Vijayanagara

coins a dagger is seen.⁸⁰ On the Gupta coins, these are very rarely illustrated. Only on the 'Elephant-rider Lion-slayer Type' coin of Kumāragupta I, the king has been portrayed holding a dagger in his right hand. The dagger was used in the time of emergency and when the target was very close, and in the present scene the lion, seems to have attacked suddenly and the king had to use the dagger in self-defence. Similar double-edged dagger has been carved in one of the stone sculptures in the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi, showing a warrior mounted on a leogryph, The dagger is suspended from his waist.⁸⁷

Battle-axe :

The battle-axe consists of a short wooden shaft with a crescent-shaped blade attached to it on the side near the top end. On the Audumbara coins, the battle-axe is attached with the trident of Śiva.⁸⁸ On one anonymous coin of *circa* 2nd century A. D. , Śiva is standing facing left holding a trident with axe with shaft in his right hand.⁸⁹ Similar tridents with axe have been found on the reverse of the silver coins of Dharghoṣa and Vimaki.⁹⁰ It is again shown on the copper coins of Jayadāman, son of Caṣṭana (c. 124-150 A. D.).⁹¹ Samudragupta, in his 'Battle-axe Type' coin, holds a battle-axe in his left hand. The shaft is of the same height as the king. The hemispherical blade is attached to the middle of the shaft. Two knobs, one at the either extreme end of the shaft, are visible.⁹² The shape of the blade differs in several other coins of the same variety. The circular legend on the obverse of this type describes that "Wielding the battle-axe of Kṛṣṇa, conqueror of (till then) unconquered kings, is victorious". The inscription reveals that it was a deadly weapon and could create havoc when used in war, but this weapon gradually fell into disuse and ultimately became out-dated. This and a few more types of battle-axe can be viewed in the wall paintings at Ajanta.

Mace :

Mace was an important weapon used in the Mahābhārata war. According to Kauṭilya, it could also be hurled at the enemy, but usually it was used as a weapon for smashing. Though not very popular, yet it has been depicted on many a coin. On the reverse of Rajuvala, class III, variety a, coins (c. 40-20 B. C.),⁹³ Hercules is standing to left with right hand out and club or mace in his arm. A club or mace over the shoulder has been shown on the obverse of a square coin of Lysias.⁹⁴ Knotted club is seen on the reverse of the square copper coins of Menander.⁹⁵ On the copper coin, variety 12, of Hermalus, a club is found resting on the ground.⁹⁶ Hercules, with club on his left shoulder, is portrayed on the coins of Spalahores and

Vononos on the obverse,⁹⁷ while on the copper coins of Kadaphises I, this weapon is in his right hand.⁹⁸ A knotted club is available on the gold coins of Kadaphises II also.⁹⁹ Club was the favourite weapon of Heracles. On the Indo-Greek coins it appears as a tapering rod, heavy at the bottom and attached with spiked knots. It is usually held by its top and the lower mace-end rests on the ground. On a few coins it appears resting over the arms of the deity with top shaft end downwards.¹⁰⁰ On other coins it figures independently.

The mace has been depicted on the 'Cakravikrama Type' of coins of Candragupta II. Here, it has been shown as an attribute in the left hand of *Cakrapuruṣa* (i. e., the personification of *Sudarśana Cakra* of Viṣṇu).¹⁰¹ The mace is simple, consisting of a short rod or shaft, mounted with thick globular knob at the end.

Though the club has often been depicted on the sculptures and paintings of later date, its utility as a weapon of war was gradually diminishing and with the advent of the Arabs its use in the battlefield had almost become extinct.

Trident :

It was essentially a weapon not of war but one which could be used in times of exigency, but owing to its association with Śaivism, it has often found place on the ancient Indian coins. Trident with axe has already been referred to. It was commonly known as *triśūla* (three-pronged blade). The countermark trident is seen on the obverse of the coins of Bṛhaspatimitra II (1st-2nd cent. B. C.) of Kauśāmbī.¹⁰² Similarly, on the obverse of the coins of Dhanadeva and Agnimitra (1st cent. B. C.) the trident is visible.¹⁰³ Śiva with trident is found on the silver coins of class III, variety a, of Yaudheya coins.¹⁰⁴ On Pandyan coins it is seen with other weapons¹⁰⁵ and on the obverse of Cola coins along with bow.¹⁰⁶

The trident consists of a long staff with a three-pronged blade at the top. The shape of the shaft varied on Indo-Greek coins. In some, like those on the coins of Demetrius,¹⁰⁷ the prongs are straight and plain and in others the side prongs are curved while the central one is leaf-shaped, as evidenced on the coins of Antimachus.¹⁰⁸

The Gupta monarchs were Vaiṣṇavites; hence the trident does not appear on their coins but its illustration can be seen in contemporary sculptures.

Goad :

Strictly it was not a weapon of war but has been very closely associated with elephant-corps as a useful aid to goad the elephant. It was called *ankuṣa* (i. e., control). It consists of a short shaft with a leaf-shaped pointed blade on one side and a curved prong on the other, both of metal. On the reverse of the coins of Gomitra II (c. 200 B. C.) of Mathura, three elephant-goats have been depicted.¹⁰⁹ Similar illustrations have been found on the coins of Brahmamitra, Sūryamitra, Viṣṇumitra, Puruṣadatta, Balabhūti and Rāmadatta of the same dynasty.¹¹⁰ Fine examples of the elephant-goats of this period can be perceived on the Śuṅga sculptures in the National Museum, New Delhi.

The goad is also perceptible on the 'Elephant-rider Type' coins of Kumāragupta I. The king himself is driving the elephant with the goad in his right hand.¹¹¹ The goad resembles the modern one. The elephant-goad has not undergone any significant change during these hundreds of years. In later varieties it has been profusely decorated; ivory was also used for its shaft.

Thunderbolt :

It is a mythical weapon and is usually associated with Indra. On the coins of Rajuvala (c. 40-20 B. C.), Class I, variety a, Pallas is seen standing left, holding in left hand Aegis and hurling thunderbolt with his right.¹¹² It was the favourite weapon of Zeus and Pallas. Zeus, standing to left and hurling thunderbolt, is seen on the gold coins of Diodotus (c. 245-230 B. C.).¹¹³ Two varieties, simple and winged, of thunderbolt (also called *vajra*) are noticed. The first again presents two sub-types: one with straight prong and the other with curved prong. Winged thunderbolt is depicted on the reverse of the copper coins of Demetrius II (c. 200 B. C.).¹¹⁴ Thunderbolt along with shield is seen on the reverse of the silver coins of Menander.¹¹⁵ On the coins of Bhumaka (119 A. D.) and Nabpāna of the Kṣaharāta family thunderbolt is available.¹¹⁶

The weapon was held by the middle but sometimes it rested over the shoulder. During use it was hurled either by rising it above the shoulder or just above the waist.

Cakra (Discus) :

It is represented only on the coins of Menander¹¹⁷ where it resembles a spoked wheel, the ends of which are slightly protruding. It is a mythical weapon and is one of the attributes of Viṣṇu.

Noose :

The noose or *pāśa* has been shown only in the hands of deities as their attribute and was never used in actual warfare. The coins depict it as a long rope with a knotted end and a large loop in the middle.¹¹⁹ On some coins the loop is at one end.¹¹⁹ *Pāśa* was made of hemp, flax, *māñju*, grass, *bhāñga* (*Crotalaria Juneca*) or *snāyu*, etc., and was ten cubits long. The loop on one end was one cubit in diameter.

Helmet :

Ancient Indian warriors knew how to protect themselves and Kauṭilya gives a complete list of armour for protection from head to foot. Indo-Greek kings have been portrayed as helmeted warriors on their coins. On the obverse of silver coin of Sophytes (c. 305 B. C.) helmeted head of the king to right is seen.¹²⁰ The helmet is adorned with a wreath of leaves on it. There is also a cheek-piece and a plume attached. On the slope of the neck are the letters 'MN'. The helmet of the king on the obverse of silver coin of Eukratides has an ear and horn of bull and a plume.¹²¹ Flat helmet is seen on the obverse of a silver coin of Antialkidas.¹²² On the obverse of the square copper coins of Agathokleia and Strato a queen has been shown wearing a helmet.¹²³ Helmeted head of Athene with long curls is perceptible on the obverse of silver coins of Menander.¹²⁴ Helmet could not be traced on Gupta coins.

Shield :

Shield was used for defence. On the Indo-Greek coins it appears usually in the hands of goddess Pallas and sometimes with Zeus. Pallas with shield is seen on the reverse of the coin of Menander¹²⁵ and Zeus holding shield on the coins of Agathocles. It is mostly round but on variety 14 of Menander's coin it has a peculiar shape with Medussa's head. The shield was made either of leather or metal. Often these have beautiful devices in the centre. It is seen over the left arm or hung from behind. In a few cases it has been figured independently.

Shield appears on the 'Apratigha Type' of Kumāragupta I in the left hand of the male figure standing on the extreme left in the group.¹²⁶ The shape is not clear but it appears to be rectangular and held vertically.

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119. *Numismatic Chronicle* (1910), pl. XIV, fig. 5; John Allan (1937), *op. cit.*, pl. VII and Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
120. C. J. Rodgers, *op. cit.*, p. 1, No. 1, V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
121. C. J. Rodgers, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
126. A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI.

RĀMAKṚṢṆA'S NALAVILĀSA AND THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

M. D. PARADKAR

The *Mahābhārata* has proved to be the most fruitful source of inspiration to the literary artists in India. It is rightly said in case of *Mahābhārata* :

सर्वेषां कविमुख्यानामुपजीव्यो भविष्यति ।
पर्जन्य इव भूतानामक्षयो भारतद्रुमः ॥

The *Nalavilāsa* of Rāmakṛṣṇa (13th cent. A. D.) is no exception to this rule. This drama evidently deals with the story of king Nala narrated in the third book of the *Mahābhārata*. Although it is true that the author was indebted to the author of the Nala story in the *Mahābhārata*, he has added some events and is responsible for creating some characters with the intention of dramatising the story.

The main scene of the first act of the play presents the king conversing with Vidūṣaka and his friend Kalaham̐sa about the dream that the king experienced. The details about the dream and its interpretation by the astrologer are suggestive of auspicious things to follow in spite of some obstacles in the way. The quarrel between the Kāpālika and the Vidūṣaka followed by the sudden discovery of a letter conveying a message to king Citrasena as well as that of a small portrait of a young maiden wearing a necklace resembling the pearl-necklace worn by the king in his dream is intended to give the king an opportunity to look at the portrait of the beautiful heroine. Readers of the *Mahābhārata* easily come to know that this is a diversion from the original story where the swan acts as Nala's love-messenger to Damayantī. The praise of Nala and Damayantī in the words स्वं चापि रत्नं नारीणां नरेषु च नलो वरः (वनपर्व - 53. 30) as well as the import of words viz :

तस्याः समीपे तु नलं प्रशंससुः कुतूहलात् ।
नैषधस्य समीपे च दमयन्तीं पुनः पुनः ॥ (वनपर्व - 53. 16)

are substituted here (in the play) by the portrait. In fact, Act I can be said to be the creation of the dramatist. Act II presents Kalaham̐sa and Makarikā who return from Vidarbha. Makarikā narrates the events that took place in Vidarbha. Makarikā's statement that she tried to see Damayantī under the pretext of serving her and did not miss any opportunity of extolling the handsome personality as well as the valour of king Nala,

can be said to be an elaboration of the *Mahābhārata* verse : Vanaparva 53. 16 quoted above. In the play Kalahansa speaks of getting access to the harem as the physician due to Damayanti's illness. The expression अस्वस्थ-शरीरा दमयन्तीति प्रघोषं विधाय (नलविलास - 2. p. 20)¹ can be said to be an abridgement of the Vanaparva passage beginning with ततश्चिन्तापरा दीना विवर्णवदना कृशा and ending with 'न नक्तं न दिवा शेते हाहेति रूदती पुनः'. Kalahansa shows the portrait of the king to Damayanti and succeeds in alleviating the suffering of Damayanti. Makarika's comment viz. 'देवी प्रतिकृत्या सह निरूप्यते न पुनर्मूर्खरूपेण' (Act II, p. 21) on the portrait of Nala seems to be originated in the Vanaparva verse :

त्वं चापि रत्नं नारीणां नरेषु च नलो वरः ।
विशिष्टाया विशिष्टेन सङ्गमो गुणवान्भवेत् ॥

The prophesy of Ghoraghoṇa that Damayanti would marry Citrasena is followed by Damayanti's reaction (reported by Kalahansa) : 'यदि निषधाधिपतिर्लम्ब्यस्तनीं कथमप्यनुकूलयति तदा पुनरपि सा तातं कदा ब्रह्मजिज्ञासयति, मां च निषधाधिपतये दापयति' (Act II, p. 23). This seems to be introduced by the dramatist to show Damayanti's love for Nala. This has its origin in the *Mahābhārata* verse :

यदि त्वं भजमानो मां प्रत्याख्यास्यसि मानद ।
विषमार्गिं जलं रज्जुमास्थास्य तव कारणात् ॥

In act III the talk between Mukula and Kurandaka informs the audience about the banishment of Ghoraghoṇa by king Bhīma who finds him to be spy on investigating the incident of the portrait of Damayanti brought by Niṣadha. The scene in the Kāmāyatana Maṇḍapa in this act is intended to offer the lovers an opportunity of expressing their feelings with the help of a written script. This device is not a novel one for the readers acquainted with the plays of Kālidāsa. In fact Vidūṣka's trick to detain the heroine in this play reminds one of a similar trick employed by Vidūṣaka in Act II of the *Mālavikāgnimitram*.

The scene in Act IV is laid in the court of king Bhīma who appears in a happy mood as Lambastani has foretold that Damayanti will marry the king of Niṣadhas. The king of Niṣadhas is received with great respect. Damayanti accompanied by her brother Mādhavasena enters the *maṇḍapa*. Mādhavasena provides his sister with detailed descriptions of the kings who have congregated in the *maṇḍapa*. Damayanti, however, chooses Nala as her life-partner and puts the garland round his neck. Herein we find a diversion from the original *Mahābhārata* episode of Damayanti's *svayamvara*. In the original, Nala approaches Damayanti as the messenger of Gods,

he seeks to persuade Damayantī to accept one of Gods as her life-partner. Gods even try to baffle and mislead Damayantī at the time of *svayamvara* by appearing facsimiles of Nala. Damayantī, nevertheless, succeeds in winning the favour of Gods which enables her to identify the prince of her heart. The play, however, seems to have omitted these details that are found in the *Mahābhārata*.

Act V opens with the soliloquy of Kalahāṃsa expressing his sorrow for the sad plight of Nala after having staked his kingdom as well as the beloved in the game of dice with Kubera. Here is also a deviation from the original. In the *Mahābhārata* Nala possessed by the demon Kali plays dice with his brother Puṣkara. *Mahābhārata* reads :

ततो गतेषु देवेषु कलिर्द्वीपरमब्रवीत् ।
... .. भ्रंशयिष्यामि त्वं राज्याङ्ग भेभ्या सह रंस्यते ॥

Further the *Mahābhārata* observes :

स समाविष्य च नलं समीपं पुष्करस्य च ।
गत्वा पुष्करमाहेदमेहि दीव्य नलेन वै ॥

It is evident that the demon Kali as well as Puṣkara do not appear at all in the play. Kāpālīka Ghoraghoṇa here substitutes the demon Kali. Kalahāṃsa's grief² at the exile of Nala who turned a deaf ear to the priests and his subjects is based on the expressive words in the

ततः पौरजनाः सर्वे मन्त्रिभिः सह भारत ।
राजानं द्रष्टुमागच्छन्निवारयितुमातुरम्
.....आदिष्टः कलिना राजा नाभ्यभाषत किञ्चन ॥

After having suffered a loss in the game of dice, Nala solicits Damayantī to go to Vidarbha so that she is free from the hardships to come. Damayantī, however, gives a staunch refusal to do so and expresses her resolve to share Nala's lot in the words :

सहितावेव गच्छाव विदर्भान् यदि मन्यसे (वनपर्व - 62. 35)

These details that are found in the original *Mahābhārata* story have been retained in the play where Nala and Damayantī together take their way to Vidarbha. On their way to Vidarbha Damayantī feels exhausted and needs rest. They make a halt and Nala goes out in order to fetch water. He meets an ascetic who dissuades him from going to Vidarbha because it will be an act undignified for Nala.³ This instance in the play can be traced back to the *Mahābhārata* story where, instead of being advised, Nala himself decides not to go to Vidarbha in such a deplorable plight. If Damayantī of *Mahābhārata* poses a straight question to Nala: "If, O

Lord, you do not want to abandon me here in the forest, what is the reason of showing me the way to Vidarbha?'" Damayanti in the play expresses a doubt to herself in the words: "Luckless, indeed, am I, does my husband's speaking thus indicate his intention to forsake me?"⁵ The dramatist has omitted the incident in the original where birds snatch away the garment of Nala. The heroine of the play puts her own garment on him so that he does not abandon her. This modifies the original so far as the reason of एकवस्त्रसंहितावत् मानाचितस्ततः (वनपर्व-62. 4-6) is concerned. such a modification may have sprung from the demands and limitations of the stage. At last Nala abandons Damayanti by tearing the garment into two - this is found both in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in the play. Nala's suffering in abandoning Damayanti, while she is asleep, receives an elaborate expression at the hands of the dramatist. The echo of the *Mahābhārata* words सेयमद्य सभामध्ये शेते भूमावनाथवत् is, however, quite clear in the play.

Act VI opens with the soliloquy of Nala giving vent to his distress. He instantly becomes aware of his transformation into a cook that has been brought about by his father under the guise of a snake. In the *Mahābhārata* story Karkoṭaka, the snake, brings about Nala's transformation.⁶ This is an act of gratitude because Nala had formerly saved the snake from the conflagration. The dramatist seems to have introduced the supernatural element into the original story.

The dramatist retains the name Bāhuka that Nala assumes after being transformed into a cook. There is one minor change viz. the name of the king of Ayodhyā being changed from Ṛtuparṇa to Dadhiparṇa. In the *Mahābhārata* and also in the play Bāhuka is proficient in various arts, well-versed in Aśvavidyā, an excellent cook and much appreciated by the king. The mimic play 'Nalānveṣaṇa' in this act not only provides information about the events that have already taken place but also gives vent to Nala's pent up feelings while he witnesses the play as a spectator. Nala's spontaneous exclamation :

कूरचक्रवर्ती नलोऽस्मि, योऽहमकाण्डे देवीमेकाकिनीं
गहने वने निर्लज्जः सन्त्यजामि..... (Act VI, p. 73)

almost shocks the king who immediately asks Nala to disclose his true identity. Nala tries to convince the king saying that his impression must be illusive because he is overwhelmed. The king admits this readily. In the original a similar conversation takes place between Nala and Vārṣneya, the charioteer of the king. It is the charioteer who doubts Bāhuka, the cook, to be Nala because he finds Bāhuka as scholarly and skilful as Nala. The charioteer in the original story and the King in the play both dismiss their

doubt taking into account the uninviting appearance of Bāhuka as against that of Nala. However, the change introduced by the dramatist is appreciable because it reflects Nala's loyalty and his presence of mind. Among the latter events in the mimic play is the one where Damayantī offers herself to a lion's cub so as to put an end to her painful life. It, however, goes away whereupon the king remarks : ध्रुवमयं मृगारिरेतस्याः पतिव्रताप्रभावेण प्रतिहतः (Act VI, p. 75).

In the *Mahābhārata* story one finds a hunter trying to seduce Damayantī and later on being burnt by the power of her chastity. The playwright here has highlighted not only Damayantī's chastity but through her death-wish her suffering too. The hunter being burnt includes the supernatural whereas the lion cub refusing to touch Damayanī sounds pretty natural. Besides, if the hunter was later on burnt due to Damayantī's "पतिव्रताप्रभाव" if such was the might of her chastity, how could he try to seduce her earlier — the play leaves no scope for such a contradiction. Act VI closes with the words of the messenger from Vidarbha expecting King Dadhiparṇa to attend Damayantī's *svayamvara*. But to cross the distance of hundred *yojanas* within a single night was beyond the imagination of the king — भद्र शतयोजन-प्रमाणमध्वानं किमेकयैव त्रियामया घयं लङ्घयितुमलम्भूष्णवः। These words originate in

यदि सम्भावनीयं ते गच्छ शीघ्रमरिंदम ।
सूर्योदये द्वितीयं सा भर्तारं वरयिष्यते ॥ (वनपर्व 70. 25-26)

as well as न ह्येकाह्वा शतं गन्ता त्वामृतेऽन्यः पुमानिह (वनपर्व 76. 36). The words of Bāhuka 'देव ! मा भैषीः अहं ते सर्वं समञ्जसमाधास्यामि ' are an echo of the words in *Mahābhārata* that speak of Nala's self-confidence :

प्रतिजानामि ते वाक्यं गमिष्यामि नराधिप ।
एकाह्वा पुरुषग्याघ्न विदर्भनगरीं नृप । (वनपर्व 71. 10)

Act VII presents the king accompanied by Bāhuka on his way to attend Damayantī's *svayamvara*. However, on reaching the city of Kuṇḍina the king realises that the news about *svayamvara* is false because the inhabitants of the city are mourning Damayantī's decision to ascend funeral pyre. The dramatist has introduced a change in the original. In the *Mahābhārata* story it is Damayantī herself who dispatches to the King the message regarding her own *svayamvara*. She does so on purpose after having been informed by a Brahmin of Nala's being in service of Ṛtuparṇa. This is an evidence of Damayantī's resourcefulness. The play, however, only declares that the news of Damayantī's *svayamvara* was just a rumour.

Nala in the *Mahābhārata* is endowed with mastery in *Aśvavidyā*, whereas the author of the play adds to Nala's credit the skill in *Sūryapākā*.

The addition deserves a compliment. When Damayantī comes to know of the cook in service of Ṛtuparna being skilled in Sūryapāka⁸ she assumes him to be no one other than her lord because Nala was the only person possessing the skill in Sūryapāka. To verify her presumption only she sends the messenger with the false intimation of her *svayamvara*.

The dramatist has made no reference to the demon Kali whereas in the original Nala attempts at the game of dice only because of being possessed by Kali. The dramatist has skilfully removed the supernatural element by bringing in Lambodara instead of the demon Kali. Lambodara, like Kali, wishes to marry Damayantī and plays villain throughout. Lambodara is a spy employed by Nala's rival, Citrasena. The substitution of Kali by Lambodara gives a realistic touch to the events. Besides, Nala in the *Mahābhārata* is at the mercy and in the possession of demons and gods, whereas Nala in the play confronts an opponent in a human form.

The seventh act of the play is an invention of the author. However, the funeral pyre episode presents a difficulty as far as staging of the play is concerned. Moreover, it violates the dramatic conventions also.

The seventh act has one more lacuna in it – viz. Bāhuka asks the King to rest under a tree and then the course of the events that follow makes his return impossible. The king is kept in wait eternally, it seems.

The play seems to have excluded Gāthāgāna and thereby escaped an additional Viṣkambhaka. The play, on the whole, seems to have been written with an awareness of the limitations imposed by the stage. The dramatist constantly tries to keep away from the supernatural and thereby makes the play more natural and human – i. e. the omission of the incident of the swan acting as a love messenger, the episode of gods assuming the form of Nala being deleted. The mimic play speaks of the author's dramatic insight. Within the rigid frame of the conventions of Sanskrit drama the author of *Nalavilāsa* has indeed evoked a lively play based on love theme.

NOTES

1. The quotations that are given below are from *Nalavilāsa* Edited by G. K. Shirgaokar and Lalchandra B. Gandhi, Published by Central Library, Baroda, in 1926 and the *Mahābhārata*, Vols. I to IV, published by S. N. Joshi, Chitrasala Press, 1926.
2. किं तु पुरोहितप्रभृति पौरलोकः शोकाकुल -धूतकर्ष -
निवारणाय प्रवृत्तः सकलराज्यदमयन्तीपणेन दीव्यता देवेन
समावधीरितस्तदपि न सतां चेतश्चमत्कारकारि । (*Nala* V. p. 55)

3. अष्टराज्यस्य भवतः श्वशुरकुलगमनमपत्रपावहं मे त्रपाकारि प्रतिभाति । (*Nala* V. p. 61)
4. ...यदि मां त्वं महाराज न विहातुमिहेच्छसि ।
तत्किमर्थं विदर्भाणां पन्थाः समुपदिश्यते ? (*MBh. Vana* 61. 23, 32)
5. हा हृदग्निं मंदभाक्षणी ! किं मं परिचहदुकामो अज्जउत्तो, जं एवं जपेदि ? (*Nala* V. p. 62)
6. ततः कार्कोटको नामः सान्त्वयन्नलमग्रवीत् ।
मया तेऽन्तर्हितं रूपं न त्वां विधुर्जना इति ॥ (*MBh. Vana* 66. 14-20, 23)
7. यथाऽहं नैषधादन्यं मनसाऽपि न चिन्तये ।
तथाऽहं पततां क्षुद्रः परासुर्युगजीवनः ।
व्यसुः पपात मेदिन्यामग्निदग्ध इव द्रुमः ॥ (*MBh. Vana* 63. 33-39)
8. तदो कमेण इध समागदाप मप सुणिदं जधा - 'दधिवन्नस्स स्वगारो स्वरियवागं करेदि ।'
तदो मप चितियं 'अज्जउत्तं विणा न अन्नो स्वरियवागविज्जं जाणादि ।' (*Nala* VII p. 86)

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH KONKAN (From the earliest times till 1191 A. D.)

N. N. PATEL

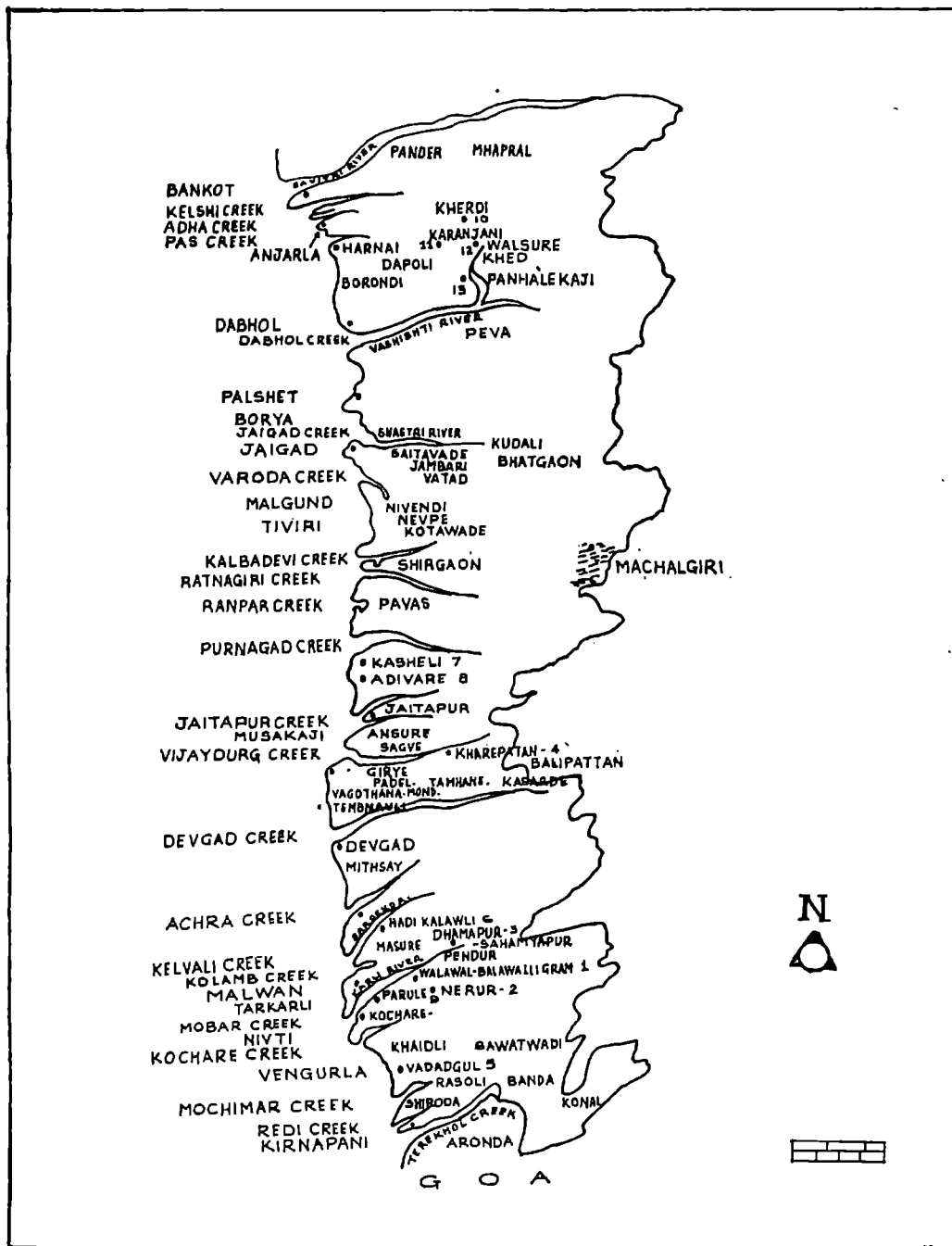
It becomes incumbent to explain the precise delimitations of the canvas in a subject-matter like the present one. I shall, therefore, have to first define and delimit Konkan and then to give the exact point on land at which Konkan gets divided into North Konkan and South Konkan. I know that the more erudite ones must have turned their tongue in the cheek and they are right because despite several comprehensive and cursory efforts in the past by scholars like A. K. Nairne and P. V. Kane, the precise definition and delimitation of Konkan are still a desideratum. Even so, the conclusions given below are generally accepted as tenable in scholastic circles.

1. Konkan extends from the latitude of Daman on the north to that of Terekhol on the South.¹
2. Aparānta denoted the Konkan coast and it comprised the territory north of Banavasi and south of modern Surat, or in other words from modern Surat to Karwar.²
3. The term Konkan came in vogue around 5th century A. D. and applied to the northern part of Aparānta of the scriptures.³
4. The term Aparānta of the scriptures applied to the entire expanse of the West Coast of India.⁴

The term Aparānta applied to the land⁵ in remote ancient period. The term Konkan applied variously to land⁶ and people⁷ on its coming into vogue in 5th or 6th century A. D.

The terms "Aparānta" and "Konkan" have so to say played a game of hide and seek to their researchers. I say this because Aparānta denoted the whole of the West Coast and thereby included the later day Konkan, whereas Konkan in course of time came to include Aparānta when Aparānta itself came to be restricted to North Konkan.⁸ This will show that once Aparānta was the genus and Konkan the species and vice versa.

This inference appeals more than any other. A serious hurdle, however, for this inference is that Aparānta is shown to denote North Konkan in the days of Aśoka and later by several eminent sources.⁹ What these eminent authorities meant to say was that Aśoka ruled over that part of Aparānta



(Map of the South Konkan)

which is present day North Konkan and not that the present day North Konkan is co-terminus with the erstwhile Aparānta.

I have drawn the following conclusions in regard to the definitions and delimitations of Konkan after applying my mind to various authorities aided by my personal field observations in a larger portion of the present day Konkan.

1. Konkan has derived its name from Kuṅkaṇā the name by which the wife of Jamadagni and mother of Paraśurāma is referred to in the scriptures.
2. The whole of the west coast of India was called Aparānta in the ancient days when the location of people was indicated by giving general direction as "in the west, in the north, etc."¹⁰
3. The nomenclature Aparānta came to be replaced by the term Konkaṇa in the post-Mauryan period and applied to the same area and it was synonymous with Paraśurāmakṣetra or Sapta Konkan.¹¹
4. As human activity gained momentum, Aparānta adopted different names for its various parts which came to be distinctly known thereafter by those names ultimately relegating its original title "Aparānta" into oblivion.¹²
5. The area between Daman to the north and that of Terekhol to the South came to be called Konkan retaining the name of its regional parental name.

It is now to be seen as to where it gets divided into North and South. Some contradictory delimitations gleaned from reliable historians are quoted as a preliminary premise.

1. Konkan is divided into North and South at the point of Bombay.¹³
2. Kalyan creek is the point at which Konkan is halved into North Konkan and South Konkan.¹⁴
3. It is Nagothane which divides Konkan into North Konkan and South Konkan.¹⁵
4. It is river Kundalika which is the dividing point between North Konkan and South Konkan.¹⁶
5. Lastly it is Savitri river which formed a boundary between North Konkan and South Konkan.¹⁷
6. The demarcation at Savitri river is recognised while discussing the origin of Khots (Landlords) in Konkan.¹⁸

Savitri river as a dividing line is the most acceptable conclusion as this division has been recognized from the times of Śilāhāras onwards, if not earlier. I quote a few eminent authorities in support of river Savitri as a dividing line.

- (a) Dr. V. V. Mirashi uses the same delimitation while discussing the history of south Konkan Śilāhāras. The period referred to is 808 A. D. and 1008 A. D.¹⁹
- (b) Hoysāla Ballālas of Dvārasamundra in Mysore are said to have extended their domain over South Konkan. The period referred to is A. D. 1050-1310.²⁰
Vijayanagar power is said to have extended upto Raigad which is a little to the north trans-Savitri. Here the period referred to is the beginning of 14th century.²¹
- (c) Around 1489 A. D. Konkan was divided with Savitri as a central point and the territory north of it called Nizamshahi-Tal Konkan and territory south of it called Bijapuri-Tal-Konkan.²²

I have also accepted this delimitation of south Konkan in my article "Pack Bullocks, the Major Means of South Konkan from 17th to 19th century A. D."²³ I continue to adopt the same for this paper also.

It is now time that we leave this arena which is rather more of conjecture and confine ourselves to concrete proofs that go to show the exact position of South Konkan in various periods. I have adopted the principles of Historical Geography as enunciated by E. A. Freeman.²⁴ These are :

- (a) drawing up the map of the country with which we are concerned as it appeared after each of the different changes which they have gone through ;
- (b) pointing out the historical causes which have led to the changes on the map; and
- (c) ultimately revealing the meaning of any geographical name at any particular time.

I have endeavoured to get hold of whatever concrete proofs, numismatic and inscriptional, that I have found in works of eminent authorities on the subject. I give them below as my supporting submissions.

On numismatic side, there is only one find and that is of ten coins of the period of 1088 A. D. when Narapati sovereigns ruled over Warangal. The legend on these coins shows that these were minted when Rudra Deva Narapati, sovereign of Warangal, was a ruler. Nine

of these ten coins are shaped in Jaina style and the remaining one is in a Śaivite style. On one side of the coins is embossed lion with the words *Balya Sri* written below it in Telagu script and on their other side the term *Ludder Deva* is inscribed. This appears to be an obvious mistake for *Rudra Deva*. This is the solitary numismatic find on the subject although it is of a period subsequent to some of the inscriptional evidences with us. These coins were found at village Hewli in South Konkan district. There is no proof of the kings of the said dynasty to have ruled over Konkan at this time.²⁵

These coins perhaps prove that there was commercial intercourse between Konkan and Warangal. The location of the place where these coins were found is shown in the map given on a subsequent page along with other places mentioned in Nerur plates.²⁶

The first of the Nerur plates is issued in 700-1 A. D., the second one in 710-11 A. D. and the third one does not bear any date.²⁷ These three copperplates refer to villages in the Southern tip of South Konkan. In order to facilitate the readers to draw inferences for themselves and also to enable them to judge the inferences drawn by this contributor, the text of the relevant portions of the inscription, its transliteration and translation are given below. The first of the Nerur plates appears to be the direct and earliest inscriptional evidence so far available on South Konkan. Its period is 700-1 A. D. This copperplate refers to *Iridige Viṣaya*, an administrative unit of those days which was equivalent to the present district of Ratnagiri in Maharashtra State inclusive of the erstwhile Sawantwadi State.²⁸

The first Nerur plate is issued by Western Cālukya King Vijayāditya Satyaśrī in the year 700-1 A. D. At this period the Western Cālukyas ruled from Kalyāni. The translation of the relevant portion of this copperplate with its transliteration is reproduced below :

“ Be it known to you ! Six hundred and twenty-two of the Śaka years having expired, and the fourth year of our increasing and victorious reign being current, and (our) victorious camp being located at the city of Rasenanagara on the day of the full moon of the month Āṣāḍha, the village Nerur situated between the villages of Ballavalligrāma village in the (?) Iridige district has been given by us, etc. ”²⁹

29. Vija [yāditya - Sa] tyāśraya - pṛthivīvallabha mahārāj - ādhirāja - parameśwarābha -

30. ttarakas=sarvān - eva [m=ajapaya -] ti [10] viditam=astu vo=smābhir = dvā vimśaty Uttaraṣaṭ =chateṣu Śaka varṣe.

31. śv=atiteṣu pravardhamāna - vijaya-rājya-samvatsare caturthe vṛta (rṭta) ma ne Rasena - nagara -
32. m-adhivasati vijaya - shandhavare Aṣāḍa (dha) paurṇamāsyām Nāndeya - vijñapaṇḍya Va (?) tsa (?)
33. sagotra (tra) sya (ya) Revasvāmī - dīkṣita pautrāya Janna-svāminah putrāya dāsa svāmine Iridi (? di) ge (? pe)
34. viṣaye Vili (? hi) ge (? bhe -) naditata - sthaḥ Balavalligrāma Sahamyapura - grāmyor mmadhya - sthaḥ Neru
35. r-nnam grāmas =sa bhogas =sarvva - badha (dha) - parihāro dattaḥ (11) Tad =agambhīr =asmad - vānisayair =anyaiś =ca rāja.³⁰

The object of this inscription is to grant the village Neruragrāma (present village Nerur Tarf Haveli, Census Code No. 43-1971, Taluka Kudal, District Ratnagiri) to a brahmin by name Devasvami whose gotra was Vatsa. Its location as given in this copperplate shows that it lay between Balavalligrāma (present Walawal Census Code No. 42, Taluka Kudal, District Ratnagiri) and Sahamyapura (present Dhamapur, as now identified by the present contributor, is the present village of Dhāmāpura, Census Code No. 57-1971 in Taluka Malwan, District Ratnagiri). The village Balavalligrāma is identified with the present Bālāval by James Fleet while editing this impeccable evidence. Fleet has not, however, identified Sahammapura of this inscription. I have worked as Deputy Collector on probation in Malwan taluka of district Ratnagiri in the year 1968, when my official duties warranted not only visits to villages but the inspection of fields therein. I had an opportunity on one such occasion to come upon a huge lake (Dhamapur lake with Bhagvati temple on its Southern tip), in the revenue limits of village Dhamapur and it is with this village of Dhamapur that I identify Sahammapura of this copperplate. The relevant portion of this inscription reproduced above with its transliteration and its translation in English shows that the village Neruragrāma as well as the villages Balavalligrāma and Sahamyapura or Dhāmāpura were on the banks of the river " Vilige ". It says on the banks and not on the same bank. The villages Neruragrāma and Balavalligrāma are on the southern bank of this river and Sahamyapura or Dhāmāpura on the northern bank of the river " Vilige ". This also leads to another identification and it is of the river " Vilige " with the present river Karli which after passing through Balavalligrāma on the south bank and Sahamyapura or Dhāmāpura on the north bank and several other villages meets the sea at Deobag (Census Code No. 59 Taluka Malwan) facing the famous port of Sindhudurg erected by Shivaji.

The second of the Nerur plates viz. plate No. LXXVIII (issued in the year 710-11 A. D.) mentions the village Hikulambha lying between Kumara and Pura villages all three from Iridige viṣaya in the Mahāsaptama are neither identified by J. M. Fleet nor by the present humble writer. This copper-plate also relates to the grant of village Hikulambha to eight Brāhmaṇas who were well acquainted with the Vedas and Vedāngas.

The third of the Nerur plates viz. plate No. LXXIX (which does not give the year of its issue) mentions the village of Malavur but gives no delimitations of the village nor does it refer to Iridige viṣaya or to Mahāsaptama. This undated copperplate also is an inscription giving the village Malavur to Sarvāditya Dīkṣita of Kauṇḍinya gotra and the sons of Bammāṇḍasvami in recognition of his studies in Vedas and Vedāngas. Since the place-names are not identified I have not given the transliteration of the relevant texts thereof.

According to the tenets of the historical geography that we have adopted we will have to give a map of South Konkan as a starting point. Since the earliest concrete evidence so far available on the subject is the first of the Nerur plates of 700-1 A. D. this will be the first map of South Konkan as it appeared in the days of Western Cālukyas. This map, I would say, will also be for the vast yet unexplored period earlier to that of 704-5 A. D. An attempt, therefore, is made to incorporate in it whatever data is available from the history of the neighbouring kingdoms which have had direct or indirect bearing on South Konkan.

The inscriptional evidence next to that of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi is that of the 'Śilāhāras of the South Konkan, earlier the vassals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who established their kingdom and ruled from Malkhed on extirpating the Western Cālukyas. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, as is well known, were themselves the vassals of the Western Cālukyas but as it frequently happens in Indian history vassals often aspire to become kings vanquishing their immediate masters.

The first copperplate of the Śilāhāras of South Konkan so far available is issued in the year 988 A. D. (Śaka 910 or dated 18-10-988) by King Avasara, the Second.⁹¹

The object of this copperplate known as Pattan̄kudi Tāmrapaṭa is to appease the King Avasara (895-920 Śaka) by offering him 40 *dināras* at the time of Avasara's Pādapūjā (worship of the foot of a revered person). This Pādapūjā was performed by Nagarasreṣṭhī and Ādityavarma so as to retain their hereditary rights in Kiñjala and Pulice villages. The villages of Kiñjala

and Pulice are not conclusively identified as there are three villages having Kiñjala as its name in Khed and Sangameshwar talukas of the present Ratnagiri district, and is not readily identifiable amongst the present names of villages in Ratnagiri district. This copperplate, however, gives us a valuable information in that the alleged capital of the South Konkan Śilāhāras viz. Baliftana or Khārepāṭaṇ in Ratnagiri district was founded by Dhammicara the second, King of the South Konkan Śilāhāras, who ruled from 785 A. D. to 820 A. D.³²

The second copperplate of the South Konkan Śilāhāras is issued in the reign of Rattarāja (955-1024 Śāke) announcing the grant of Kuṣmāṇḍī, Asanavīra and Vadaṅgula villages to his preceptor for the upkeep of the temple of Aveśvara and for the maintenance of the hermits and pupils coming to that temple. This copperplate also appears to have been issued from Khārepāṭaṇ. This is also known as Rattarāja's Khārepāṭaṇ copperplate. This copperplate is issued in the Śāke year 930 and in A. D. 1008 (22-5-1008).³⁴ The villages Kuṣmāṇḍī and Asanavīra are not identified by Dr. Mirashi whereas he holds Vadaṅgula to be present Vengurle.

The third and the last of the copperplates of the South Konkan Śilāhāras so far discovered is also issued by Rattarāja in the year Śāka 932 and A. D. 1010 (24-12-1010) from Khārepāṭaṇ. This copperplate is also referred to as Rattarāja's Balipattan (Khārepāṭaṇ) copperplate. The object of this copperplate is to announce the grant of Vaiṅgaṇa-Kṣetra (the soil giving summer and rain-crops) from the village Kalvala (the present village of Hadi which is to this date referred to as Hadi-Kalawāl); this village is now situated in Malvan taluka of Ratnagiri district. (Census Code No. 27, Taluka Malwan). This village is granted to Sankamaica a pious Brāhmaṇa. This copperplate also mentions the grant of an areca-nut garden from the village Palaure to the same person.³⁵ To my mind, this Palaure appears to be the present village of Parule in the present Vengurla taluka of Ratnagiri district (Census Code No. 1 Taluka Vengurla), which has numerous areca-nut gardens on the sea-side.

It will thus be clear that all the three copperplates issued by the South Konkan Śilāhāras were found at Khārepāṭaṇ which gives credence to the fact that these were issued from Khārepāṭaṇ proper that being the seat of power. These copperplates do not mention the administrative unit called "Viṣaya" although these copperplates mention villages from far and wide ranges such as Kalvāla and Vadaṅgula in the extreme south and Kiñjala which lies to the extreme north even if Kiñjala is held to be from Sangameshwar taluka. This shows that all the region over which the South Konkan

Śilāhāras ruled was centrally administered. The placements of these villages also give us the expanse of the domain of the South Konkan Śilāhāras, viz. from the northern bank of Terekhol approximately to the course of Savitri river which now divides Ratnagiri district on the northern tip from Kolaba recently renamed as Raigad.⁸⁶ This calls for a second map giving the area ruled by South Konkan Śilāhāras.

Next in sequence come the two copperplates issued by the Śilāhāras of North Konkan in the years Śaka 1016 and A. D. 1095 (9-1-1095) and Śaka 1061 and A. D. 1139 (9-12-1139) by Anantadeva the first and Vikramāditya respectively. The first of the two copperplates was issued from Khārepāṭaṅ and the second from Panhala (the present Panhale-Kazi village from Dapoli taluka, District Ratnagiri Census Code No. 125 where the Director of Maharashtra Archives has excavated a few caves in the years 1972-73 with the said copperplate as the clue). The third inscription of this period is on a pillar installed at Chiplun in which it was announced by Mallikārjuna, the North Konkan Śilāhāras King that he has appointed Sūpacā as the Daṇḍādhīpati (administartor) of Panalece-nagara or of Praṇālaka-viṣaya. The date of this engraving is Śaka 1078 and A. D. 1156 (24-4-1156). It will be clear from the first date of North Konkan Śilāhāra inscription issued by Anantadeva in A. D. 1095 that somewhere in early 11th century the South Konkan Śilāhāras came to an end and the North Konkan Śilāhāras came in occupation of Khārepāṭaṅ. Subsequently around A. D. 1139 they appear to have established Panhale as the new Viṣaya headquarters for the administrative convenience in ruling their territory extending from Puri to Khārepāṭaṅ.⁸⁷

The copperplate issued by Anantadeva the first announces exemption to Mahāpradhāna Bhamanaḥḍī and Dhanabhakoṇḍī of Khārepāṭaṅ from taxes whenever they happen to visit the ports of Sthānaka, Nāgapura and Śūrpāraka whereas the copperplate issued by Vikramāditya announces the grant of Kherdi (the present village of Kherdi in Dapoli taluka - Census Code No. 35) from Praṇālaka Viṣaya to Rudrabhaṭṭopādhyāya the priest. This gives us adequate material for a third map for the reign of North Konkan Śilāhāras over South Konkan. The next copperplate which relates to South Konkan is issued by the King Bhoja, the Second of the Kolhapur branch of the Śilāhāras in the year 'Śaka 1113 and A. D. 1191 (27-6-1191) announcing therein the grant of village Kasheli situated in Attavira viṣaya for the maintenance of the twelve Brahmins. The villages Kasheli and Attavira are the present villages of Kasheli and Adivare. (Census Code No. 91. Taluka Rajapur).⁸⁸ It will be observed that there are quite a few

villages which have retained their names despite Kherdi an interval of several centuries such as Neruragrāma and now Kasheli.

Incidentally, it may be stated that each of the Śīlāhāra branches established its own headquarters of the viṣaya viz. Khārepāṭaṅ, Praṇālaka and Attavir. Praṇālaka was convenient to the North Konkan Śīlāhāras being closer to Puri and Attavir to Padmanāla Durga that is the present fort of Panhale near Kolhapur city being closer to the territory ruled by Kolhapur Śīlāhāras.

The last of the Śīlāhāra document which has a bearing on the South Konkan is the deed of land grant from village Kutapur and one silver coin from each of the villages in that region in favour of Govinda Bhaṭṭavardhana on the occasion of the eclipse of the Sun. The village Kutapur is not identified by Dr. Mirashi who only says that since both Kasheli and Kutapur copperplates were found with the same Brahmin Kutapur also must have been situated in Rajapur taluka. This copperplate, however, mentions that the village "Kutapur" is situated between the two rivers having their source in "Manchalgiri" and "Marichgiri" the Sahyadri mountain ranges. The Kutapur copperplate was also issued by Bhojarāja the Second in Śaka 1113 i. e. A. D. 1191 (18-12-1191).

This narration brings to an end the inscriptional evidence on South Konkan so far available from the annals of the western Cālukya and the three known branches of the Śīlāhāras who were the vassals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who ruled from Malkhed.

REFERENCES

1. Rev. A. K. Nairne's "History of Konkan." This forms first part of Vol. I. Part II of the *Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, Bombay, 1894. This extent of Konkan is given in the very opening sentence of his Introduction to his "History of Konkan." Daman and Terokhol even now nearly form boundaries between Maharashtra and Gujarat and likewise between Maharashtra and the Union Territory of Goa respectively.
2. "Notes on the Ancient History and Geography of the Konkani", by P. V. Kane.
3. *Uttara Konkṇacā Prācīna Itihāsa* (in Marathi), P. B. Joshi, Bombay, 1926, the opening chapter.
4. *Mahārāstriya Jñānakōṣa* edited by T. S. Ketkar, Poona 1924. The term Aparānta herein is said to have denoted Aparā=West, anta=end or those who inhabited on the west.
5. *Ibid.*

6. (i) The term "Konkan" is said to have been derived from the Canarese word "Konkau" meaning uneven ground. See "The Konkan and the konkani language" Dr. P. V. Chavan, 1924, pt. I, p. 2d.
- (ii) *Ibid.* The term "Konkan" is said to have been derived from the Persian words 'Koh' meaning mountain and 'Kund' meaning ditch; Koh Kund corrupted into Konkan.
7. (i) *Ibid.* (p. 6) कोंग + वन = कोंगवन corrupted into Konkan meaning thereby the forest tract of land inhabited by the aboriginal tribes, known as Kongs.
- (ii) *Afoka*, D. R. Bhandarkar, 1932, Ch. II, p. 34.
8. *Early History of the Deccan*, R. G. Bhandarkar. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part-II, p. 134.

This will also show that in the days of Mauryas and earlier the term Konkan was not coined yet. This part of the coast is referred to as Aparānta in the contemporary evidence. Two such references are cited below :

(i) Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*.

षोडशद्रोणं जाङ्गलानां वर्षप्रमाणमध्यधमानूपानां देशवापानामर्धत्रयोदशामकानां त्रयोविंशतिरवन्तिनामितमपरान्तानां द्वैमन्यानां च कुल्यावापानां च कालतः । II 24. 5.

(ii) *Afoka and his inscriptions* by B. M. Barua, 1946, pp. 75-76.

9. a) *Afoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, R. Thapar.
- b) *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, B. C. Law, p. 13.
- c) *Gupta Empire*, R. Mookerji, 1930, p. 6.
- d) *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 646.
10. *Ethnography of Ancient India*, Robert Shafer, 1954, pp. 63-62.
11. *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, 1890, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 282-83, fn. 5.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *History of Marathas*, J. Grant Duff.
14. *Maharashtra State Gazetteers*, Pt. I, Ch. I, 1967, p. 2. This chapter is contributed by H. D. Sanklia.
15. *History of Gujarat*, Commissariat.
16. *History of Dakshinatyā Sarasvat*, V. N. Kudva, Ch. II, p. 19. This source extends the limits of South Konkan from Kundalika or Roha river in the north to river Gangavati to the South.
17. *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. II, Ed. H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, Ch. X, p. 21. At its mouth, river Savitri is known as river Bankot.
18. *Government Selections* No. CXXXIV—New Series, compiled by E. T. Candy 1873, Part-I, p. 2.
19. शिलाहार राजवंशाचा इतिहास आणि कोरीव लेख, by Dr. V. V. Mirashi 1974, page 42 and a map facing it.
20. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. X, 1880, Ch. VII, p. 193.
21. *Ibid.* p. 193, fn. 8.

22. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Irfan Habib, Ch. I., p. 9 fn. and *Jervis Konkan 1840*, p. 4.
23. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, P. V. Kane Commemoration Volume, Vols. 52-53, 1977-78.
24. *Historical Geography of Europe*, by E. A. Freeman, 1953, Ch. I.
25. *JBBRAS*, Vol. II, Note II.
26. These copperplates are eight in number and are first worked upon by Major Le-Grant Jacob and discussed in *JBBRAS* Vol. III, Pt. II. Of these plates No. II, IV, V. and VII are further elaborated upon by J. F. Fleet in *I. A.* Vol. VII. Plate Nos. I, III, VI and VIII are unfortunately undated, though, however villages Kuṇḍivāṭaka (Modern Kuṇḍe in Kudal taluka of Ratnagiri district) and Kocuraka (Modern Kochara in Vengurla taluka of Ratnagiri district) are mentioned in Plate Nos. I, III, VI and VIII. Kuṇḍivāṭaka is given as a grant to Priyasvāmi by Maṅgaleśa and Kocuraka is referred to while discussing the grant of Thikān Vakutāknecha with water and a salt marsh in Kocuraka by Vijitayamahadani to Gosvāmi.
27. *I. A.* Vol. IX, p. 125; Nerur plates edited by J. F. Fleet. These three Nerur plates are Plate Nos. LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXIX.
28. *The Dynasties of the Kanarese District*, J. F. Fleet, pp. 282-3, *The Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 1806, vol. I, pt. II. fn. 5. It will not be out of place here to mention that this very source exhaustively discusses the denotation of the term Konkan. The conclusions drawn therein are :

- (1) The term Konkan applied to the whole strip of land lying between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea.
- (2) In ancient times the same vast expanse of a coast was said to have seven divisions enumerated in the following verse.

*Karaṭam ca Varāṭam ca Varāṭam Konkanam tathā /
Hanyagam Tauranam caiva Keralam ceti sapatakam //*

The Konkanam referred to in this verse is identified by J. F. Fleet as the districts of Ratnagiri and Thana. The revenue district of Kolaba (recently renamed as Raigad) was formed as late as 1879 A. D. and hence is not relevant for our present purposes. The present district of Ratnagiri or South Konkan therefore comes to mean the territory called *Iridige Viṣaya* in the inscriptional evidence of the early Cālukya days (Nerur plates for instance) which lay between the Konkan nine hundred or Goa of the Kadamba princes to the South and Konkan fourteen hundred or the North Konkan extending from Chaul to the northern limit of Thana district to the north, with the Arabian sea to the west and the Western ghats to the east.

(3) In conclusion J. F. Fleet has said that the seven divisions enumerated in the above verse pretty closely correspond with (a) Travancore and Cochin (b) Malabar (c) South Kanara (d) North Kanara (e) Goa (f) Ratnagiri (g) Kolaba, Thana and Surat.

29. *I. A.* Vol. IX, p. 125. Plate No. LXXVII.
30. *Ibid.*
31. V. V. Mirashi, *Śilāhara Rājavalīśācī Itihāsa Āṇi Koriva Lekha*, 1974, p. 216.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-34.

35. V. V. Mirashi, the map facing page 43.
 36. S. G. Tulpule, Pune University 1963, p. 56, Inscription No. 10.
 37. *The Konkan*, A. K. Nairne, Bombay, 1875, p. 19.
 38. V. V. Mirashi, 1974, pp. 328-339.

The total number of villages, rivers, hills (inclusive of both the identified and unidentified) referred to in the inscriptional and numismatic evidence of South Konkan (based on only the Indian sources) used in this article.

Villages :

- (1) Nerurgram (2) Baldwalligram (3) Sahamyapura.
 (Copperplate of Cālukyas-700-1 A. D).
- (4) Hikulamba (5) Kumar (6) Pur.
 (Copperplate Cālukyas of - 710 - 11 A. D).
- (7) Malavur (Copperplate of Cālukyas - Undated).
- (8) Balipattan (9) Kinjal (10) Pulis.
 (Copperplate of South Konkan Śilāhāras - 988 A. D).
- (11) Kushmandi (12) Asanveer (13) Vadangal (14) Karparnigram
 (15) Garahan (16) Stamangoron.
 (Copperplate of South Konkan Śilāhāras - 1008 A. D).
- (17) Manigram (18) Yaparvat (19) Sachandakapithha (20) Devalaxmi
 (21) Sayapalli.
 (Copperplate of South Konkan Śilāhāras - 1000 A. D).
- (22) Kalwal (23) Palause.
 (Copperplate of South Konkan Śilāhāras - 1010 A. D).
- (24) Hewli (Numismatic evidence of 1088 A. D).
- (25) Balipattan (Copperplate of North Konkan Śilāhāraa - 1094 A. D).
- (26) Khaireli (27) Karanjanigram (28) Talsargram (29) Hadriathhar
 gram (30) Uchhapgram.
 (Copperplate of North Konkan Śilāhāras - 1139 A. D).
- (31) Praṇālaka (Pillar inscribed on - found at Chiplun of North Konkan
 Śilāhāras - 1156 A. D).

(32) Kasheli (33) Attavir (Copperplate of Kolhapur Śilāhāras 1191 A. D).

(34) Kutapur (Copperplate of Kolhapur Śilāhāras – 1191 A. D).

Rivers :

(1) Vilige river (Copperplate of Cālukyas – 700-1 A. D).

(2) Kel Nadi (3) Ketkinadi (Copperplate of North Konkan Śilāhāras 1139 A. D).

(4) A river issuing from Manchalgiri (5) A river named Ganga issuing from Marichgiri – both merging into the sea. These two rivers are mentioned while describing the situation of the village Kutapur referred to at Serial No. 34 just above.

(Copperplate of Kolhapur Śilāhāras – 1191 A. D).

Hills :

(i) Bhargdeo Teledi (Copperplate of South Konkan Śilāhāras – 1008 A. D).

(i) Machalgiri (ii) Marichgiri

(Copperplate of Kolhapur Śilāhāras – 1191 A. D).

Villages : Rivers and Hills identified.

(Shown by Green, Blue and Black dots respectively).

(1) Balawalligoam	=	बालावल
(2) Nerurgoam	=	नेरूर तर्फ कर्यात
(3) Sahamyapura	=	धामापूर (This alone is my humble attempt of identification)
(4) Balipattan	=	खारेपाटण
(5) Vadongul	=	वेंगुलें
(6) Kalwal	=	Hadi, हडी-कालावली
(7) Kasheli	=	कशेली
(8) Attavir	=	आडिवरें
(9) Palaure	=	परुळे
(10) Khairdi	=	खैरडी
(11) Karanjanigram	=	करंजाणी
(12) Talsurgram	=	तालसुरे
(13) Prahale	=	पन्हाळे काशी

Rivers (Only one is identified by me.)

(i) Vilige river = कर्लीनदी Natural borders between Malwan and Kudal Talukas.

Hills :

(i) माचाळगीरी = माचाळ नावाची राजापूर तालुक्याचे अती पूर्वेस असलेली उंच टेकडी.

WORDS AND IMAGE IN REFERENCE TO TECHNIQUE IN INDIAN ART

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The problem of data retrieval in respect of techniques in ancient Indian art-process is beset with many problems. In the first place, the details preserved in ancient texts are often not verifiable, and when subjected to actual tests, they do not stand scrutiny. The metallurgical process described in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is a case in point.¹ Quite often, the lack of verifiability of the items of information stems from the fact that the term used in connection have undergone changes in their meaning, or even a whole range of an alternative, popular terminology got developed among the practitioners:² a terminology which often does not co-relate with the ancient textual sources. This tends to seemingly dichotomise words and their imports instead of synthesising them. In the situation, the reconstruction of techniques of ancient craftsmen may necessarily require a two-fold investigation namely: (a) technological examination wherever this may be possible or applicable, and (b) analogy of the present day craft tradition that has survived.³ A number of alternate possibilities that are likely to emerge from such exercise may have to be culturally explained within the moulds of the "literate" and "oral" traditions. All the same, this exercise may also require analysis of the crucial *terms* regarding 'techniques' in a historical perspective particularly in respect of their "usages", notwithstanding the fact that their origins may have melted and fused with antiquity itself. For interpretations, we may have to begin at the very beginning and traverse back and forth in time, tying ourselves with the passages where such words may be occurring and revealing themselves in different imports.

"Technique" *per se* is differently understood and conveyed in different contexts. Even so, it does not seem to have been limited to merely "artificing" in its primary sense. Ancient texts are replete with usages of terms where work of art is understood as a *rūpa* (form) contrived into a structure even as it represents technical aplomb. The idea may be conveyed better with the aid of the *nirvacana* style of the *niruktas* in order to bring out the significance of key words and their meanings both covert and overt.⁴ The crucial words and roots enumerated here consist of *citra*, *rūpa*, *kāru* and *śilpa* which are nouns and "piś", "han" and "kris" which are roots. These are significant because they are contextual to art activity whether in stone or metal or in wood, terracotta and paintings. These words and their

implications may be understood in reference to their etymology and usages. For instance, see the *R̥gveda* (X. 191. 1)

Viṣṇuryoniṁ kalpayatu Tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi pīṁṣatu |
āsincantu Prajāpatir-dhātā garbhaṁ dadhātu te ||

The roots *pīṁś* and *sic* occur here in association of “carving” or “fashioning” of an object as well as with the process of procreation.⁵ The development of foetus in the womb is likened to the formation of an image (in the mould). The idea is repeated in the *Mahābhārata* (XIV. 18. 8) as follows :

yathā hi lauhaniṣyando niṣikto bimbavigrahaṁ |
upūti tadvajjānīhi garbhe jīvapraveśanaṁ ||

“You should know that (the assumption of human form [*bimba*]) by a *jīva* entering into a womb is like the transformation of liquid copper into an image when poured (in the mould).” The *Caraka-saṁhitā* is more graphic in its description of the same theme :- *jarāyujānām aṇḍajānām ca prāṇinām ete grabhakarā bhāvā yām yām yonimāpadyante tasyām tasyām yonau tathā tathā rūpā bhavanti; yathā kanaka-rajata-trupu-sisakāny āsiṅcyamānāni teṣu teṣu madhucchiṣṭa-vigraheṣu tāni tāni yadā manuṣya-bimbam āpadyante, tathā manuṣyavigraheṇa jāyante.*

The development of foetus in the womb and formation of image in a mould are compared inalienably here. *Pīṁśa* is from the root *piś*, “to fashion”, and is also comparable to old Persian *ni-piś* “to write”; Latin *pingere*, “to embroider”, or “to paint”; Lithuanian *piesti* “to sketch”, and Greek *poikelos*, “to colour”. The root *piś* actually occurs in the *R̥gveda* in this sense; see, for instance: *Camasān āpīṁṣat*: “he fashioned a drinking vessel”. Likewise, the root *sic*, “to pour”, is connected with the casting of object, which sense is conveyed many times where the forms of this root occur in the Vedic texts. For instance, the *Atharvaveda* (XI. 10-12) mentions the casting of thunderbolt by Bṛhaspati (of Aṅgiras race). The root *sic* independently or with prefixes notably “*nī*” and “*ā*” indicates “casting”. Hence *siktha*, *sikthaka* and Pali *sitthaka*: all variants of *sikta*, a past participle of root *sic*- which came to denote a bee-wax mould. Eventually, the word travelled into Syrian and Aramaic languages where it became a regular term for “mould” (to manufacture coins) and ultimately returned home after a millennium in the form known as *sikkā* (i. e. coin).

Connotation of the other words may similarly be explained underscoring their implications pertaining to technique. The roots *karṣ* “to drag” or “to furrow”; the root *han*, “to strike”; the root *rup*, “to break, to pierce”,

or "to scratch", and the root *likh*, "to draw, to scratch". are the cases in point. Their aesthetic associations, coupled with the aspects of technique, cannot but be emphasised. See for instance, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*⁶ which reads : *Sattvānām karṣaṇārthāya raṅgaiścitraṃ vikalpyate*, i, e. "variegation in colour was introduced into *citra* for the "drawing" (*karṣaṇārthāya*) of the *sattva*, "essence". The context and the use of the word *karṣa* in reference to *citra* "painting" and *raṅga* "variegation", is significant. It is asserted here that *citra* does not exist either on *paṭa* or *bhitti* ; colour stays not in the *pātra* or *bhājana* ; *citra* on the other hand rests indeed in waves of *citta* (or *manas*). The full verse is quoted here as follows⁷ :

udadheryathā taraṅgā hi darpaṇe supine yathā |
dr̥śyanti yugapatkāle tathā cittaṃ svagocare || 115

.....
raṅge na vidyate citraṃ na bhūmau na ca bhājane |
sattvānām karṣaṇārthāya raṅgaiścitraṃ vikalpyate || 118

We pass on to the root *han* now, yet another key word of significance regarding technique. The semantic development of the root *han* with prefix "ā" (i. e. *āhan*) is crucial to the understanding of the point of "imprinting" the design. Significantly, an old Persian inscription refers to the *ājata* (moulded) brick. *Ājata* which is a participle of "ā" + root "jan" is same as "ā" + root "han" which forms into participle *āhata*. The word *āhana* occurs in the *Ṛgveda* in association of the process of creating forms and procreating a child. See, the *Ṛgveda* (V. 42. 18) which refers to *āhana* creating form (*rūpa*) in the womb of daughter – *āhanā duhitur vakṣaṇāsu rūpābhināno*; the word *vakṣaṇa* means "womb" as in " *garbhamatā sudhitaṃ vakṣaṇāsu* (*RV. X. 27. 16*). Here, *āhana* clearly stands for a receptacle where content develops : a womb where foetus assumes form. The analogy of "womb and mould" in association of the word *āhana* signifies the concept of mould, and following its import it may be said that "wherever in the *Ṛgveda* the word *āhata* is used in the context of fashioning an object, it may signify moulded or cast object."⁸

We pass on to *rūpa* now, a word of limitless aesthetic significance. The word *rūpa* is derived from root *rup*, "to break", "to pierce" or "to scratch". Karl Brugmann enumerates its cognates in Indo-Germanic language.⁹ In the *Ṛgveda*, the word retains the old association "tearing" or "breaking" even as the text sometimes instils in it a new meaning of a "design" or "form". Sometimes, *rūpa* also occurs in collocation of root *mi* "to kill" (*Ṛgveda* I. 33. 31; I. 95. 8; V. 42. 13 etc.) where killing merely consists in "scratching", "carving" or "beating into shape". But in many other *Ṛgvedic* verses association of *rūpa* with killing is totally absent

and it signifies "shining form". For instance the *R̥gveda* I. 95. 8 refers to the "shining form" (*teṣāṃ rūpaṃ*) of a big-bellied pot (*budhna*) where burnishing of the pot may be intended. Yet another meaning of *rūpa* in the sense of "charming" is connected with the root *rup*, "to charm". The concept of *rūpa* is "transformed", but everytime while qualifying a sculpture, or a painting or a wood-work or metal work, *rūpa* is only *bhāva-rūpa* comprehended in terms of *pratīti*, *anubhāva*, *chāyā*, *rāga*, *āsakti*, *kāma* in as subtle a form as "moon is reflected in water - *jale candramasaṃ yathā*. The simile is used in the *Aparājita Pṛicchā*¹⁰ but its antiquity is Vedic. We will return to it later.

Keeping ourself to explaining techniques and processes in art, we pass on to another set of words closely interconnected, namely *takṣ*, *takṣan* and *tatakṣa*, all in relation to *kāru*. Of these words, *kāru* is derived from the root *kri*. "to make" or "to fashion". The root *takṣ*, "to make" or "to fashion", is similarly explained. The derivatives from these roots are used in a wide context of "artificing" and the process involves both the wisdom and skill of actions and wisdom and skill of ideas.¹¹ Thus, the *R̥gveda* I. 130. 6 has it as follows - *aham taṣṭeva vandhuraṃ paryakāmi hṛdā matim*, or *RV* (X. 119. 5): "I have composed this song as a carpenter makes a chariot", or the *R̥gveda* (V. 2. 11) *rathaṃ na dhīraṃ svāpa atakṣam* or the *R̥gveda* (V. 3. 38) *abhitaṣṭena dīdhāya manīṣām*, meaning "brightening up the song the way carpenter makes a piece of wood shine: by scraping it". At one place, Ghoṣā, the only female poet of the Vedas, says (*RV*. X. 39. 14) "Oh Aśvins, I have composed this song for thee in the way in which Bhṛguṣ fashion the chariot." This analogy identifies the Bhṛguṣ, a Vedic tribe, with the Ṛbhuṣ who also made chariots and are seen obtaining divine status. The Ṛbhuṣ were great artificers described as *suhastāḥ* "deft-handed". Ṛbhuṣ, on their part, learned their skill from Tvaṣṭṛ who was the greatest craftsman of Vedic imagination.¹²

The word Tvaṣṭṛ is derived from a rare root *tvakṣ*, identical in meaning with the common root *takṣ* and, by contexts, Tvaṣṭṛ appears to mean "Fashioner" or "Artificer". The same verb *takṣ*, "to fashion", is generally used in reference to the manual skill of the Ṛbhuṣ as to that of Tvaṣṭṛ. Tvaṣṭṛ is described as a skilful workman (*RV*. I. 85. 9; III. 54. 12): he makes crafty contrivances (*RV*. X. 5. 3-9), fashions the *vajra* of Indra, or sharpens the iron-axe of Brahmaṇaspati; forms a new cup for Asuras and gods. He is *suhasta*, *supāṇi* and *sugabhasti*, all the terms referring to the dexterity of hand.¹³ References, here adduced, are significant, for they refer to working on wood from which sculptural art and its techniques of working were eventually derived. When this transformation happened the *vardhakī*

came to be known as *śaila-varḍhaki* and *dāru-karma* was transformed into *śaila-karma*.

We now pass on to the word *citra* to be able to briefly emphasise not only its etymology and semantics, but also the concept which they signify besides interpreting the aspects of manual techniques suggested in it.

The word *citra* is derived from the root *cit*, "to become visible, obvious, manifest, to stand out", and the word is specially significant in view of its implications in regard to *pratimā* or *pratimā lakṣaṇa*; says the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* :¹³

citrasūtram na jānāli yas tu samyannarādhipa |
pratimālakṣaṇaṁ vettum na śakyaṁ tena karhicit ||

In the textual tradition *citra* is a *pralīkṛti*, "image", made of any of the media like terracotta, stone, wood, metal, or painting. The different early usages of the term convey its four different etymological connotations consisting in a chronological order, of *ālekha*, *saśalīkaraṇa* (variegated), *pralāśana* (effulgence), and *sambodha*, "identity". In addition, Yāska explains *citra* as *cayana* or *pūjanīya*, "worshipful". *Citra* signifies all or one of these implications depending on its usage. For instance: "*idaṁ śreṣṭhaṁ jyotiṣā jyoti rāgāccitrapraketa aṇiṣṭa bimba*", *R̥gveda* (I. 113.1). Uṣas is born of light, hence she is *citra-praketa* : *praketa* here means "intrinsic glow" and *citra* is "effulgence". *Citra* also qualifies Arka (Sun) or *dhī*, "light bearing image". In these contexts, as in many other, *citra* is primarily explained as an "effulgent glow" which is moving rather than stationary. But let the discussion of *citra* rest here for the time being. We will return to it later.

III

We made a remark in the beginning that the key-words defining techniques seem now to be part of the antiquity, having melted and fused with antiquity itself. And after having made that remark, we proceeded to briefly discuss the origins, etymology and semantics of some of these words. This was done on purpose to emphasise that intrinsic content of the words exemplifies techniques. Technology must have been, and in fact it was, in an incipient stage, whether in the Bronze age going back to the 2700 B. C. or at the beginning of Iron Age (c. 1000 B. C. onwards). The technological achievement involved manufacture of copper or iron tools in which chisels, useful for carving, occur from the Chalcolithic time.¹⁴ In the early historical time (c. 4th century B. C.) chisels assumed different shapes, and included those with rectangular and square sections. This is also time when chisel

finds mention in literature. For instance, the root *ṭaki* is mentioned in the *Dhātupāṭha* of Pāṇini and is elaborately commented upon by Grammarians like Kṣīrasvāmin and others. In the Sanskrit literature and Apabhramśa it occurs in a number of meanings, the most important being 'chisel' or an implement for breaking stone, cutting trees, an instrument for punching coins, a die, a weight and a coin.¹⁵ Hegde, who has carried out metallographic examinations and hardness tests on metal samples including chisels, has shown that these samples had enormous strength to cut rock, and fashion as stupendous and magnificent monuments as the Kailāsa at Ellora.¹⁶ The tools depended, as Hegde says, on "painstaking and laborious smithing techniques", which continued to exist till the advent of the British here.¹⁷ Studies, like the one carried out by Hegde immensely help in explaining the technological experiments and skill, and the bearing they have on the aspects of techniques in relation to Indian art, particularly sculpture and architecture.

IV

Even as we try to understand aspects of technique in Indian art through whatever kind of investigation, a word of caution may seem necessary. In Indian definition of art whether in its restricted or wider sense, technique does not seem to have always been treated as "consequential". It was in fact taken for granted, as far as its manual part was concerned. Time and again ancient texts on aesthetics emphasise symbolism of images in terms of "experience" (*pratīti*) *bhāva*, *anubhāva*, *chāyā* and *sahakāra*. This point is significant because it is consistent and conspicuous by its repeated occurrence. *Rūpa* is not the material form but *bhāvarūpa*. In the *Aparājīta Pīṭhā* (p. 224) we have :

paśyanti bhāvarūpaiś ca jale candramasam yathā |
tadvaccitramayaṁ sarvaṁ paśyanti brahmanādinah ||

This means that *rūpa* is reflected in *citra* as moon is reflected in water.

The import here rests on implication, not so much on skill; and the "water-moon" simile is both comprehensive and persistent, for what is reflected in *citra* is limitless and yet encompassing the three *lokas*, the *cara*, the *acara*, gods, angels, titans, or whatever is stationary and whatever that moves, trees, creepers, seas, mountains, continents, in fact everything and anything imaginable or perceived; hence :

viśvam viśvāvatāraś ca tvanādyantaś ca sambhavet |
ādicitramayaṁ sarvaṁ paśyanti brahmanādinah ||

Despite encompassing *viśva*, 'world', or *viśvāvatāra*, *citra* is but a reflection of the *citramūla*. The idea is subtly conveyed in the *citrasūtra* of *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, as follows :—

ataḥ paraṁ pravakṣyāmi citrasūtraṁ tavānagha |
Urvaśi-srjataṁ pūrvam citrasūtraṁ nṛpātmaja ||
Nārāyaṇena muninā lokānāṁ hitakāmyayā |
(prāptānāṁ) vañcanārthāya devastrīṇāṁ mahānagha ||
sahakāra-rasaṁ gṛhya urvyā cakre varastriyām |
citreṇa sā tato jātā rūpayuktā varāpsarā ||

The passage distinguishes between *citramūla* and *citra* and explains the origin of *citra* with the help of the metaphors of *Urvaśi* and *Apsarā*. It says that, 'for the fulfilment of the fantasy (*pravañcanā*) of the *Surasundarī* (*devastrīṇāṁ*) and for the welfare of *loka*, the sage *Nārāyaṇa* created *Urvaśi* in the form of *citrasūtra*. This he did by drawing a profile of women with the juice of mangoes which profile turned into *apsarā*, fully endowed with *rūpa* (*citreṇa sā tato jātā rūpayuktā varāpsarā*).

Apsarā and *Urvaśi* both represent the same simile of beauty reflected in the manner of " *jale candramasaṁ yathā* ". *Urvaśi* is *citrasūtra* here, while *Apsarā* is only *citra*, they both typify light (*jyoti*) incarnated in a distinct corporeality whether in words or in image. This "incarnated light" is the *citramūla* while *citra* alone in its more mundane and worldly form is a *prati-bimba* of "light incarnate". One is *ādarśa*, "ideal", and the other is *chāyā*: " *ādarśa pratirūpaḥ chāyāyām dvitīyuh* ", all explained in reference to the catch phrase— " *jale candramasaṁ yathā* ", which is the same as — *apsutvā Somam*: "Soma in the Apsa" in the *Rgveda* (IX. 79. 4), or as in a Tibetan legend of the first figure of the Buddha drawn by artists from his reflection in water.¹⁸ The story is repeated in the *Avadāna* of *Rudrāyaṇa*, where the Buddha is said to have cast his image on a *paṭa* and asked the artist to colour it— " *chāyā utsṛṣṭā uktāśca raṅgairiḥ pūrayat* ".

Or see what *Utpala* says :

nirupadānasambhāramabhittāveva tanvate |
jagaccitraṁ namastasmai kalānāthāya śūline ||
 (*Kāvya prakāśa*, IV. 57, p. 150)

The verse extols *Śiva*, the master-craftsman, who by the dint of his excellence creates a *citra* of the *jagat* "universe", without the aid of any *upādāna*, (and merely by *chāyā*),

In these verses, as in others, it is not the technique, but the reflection of *rūpa* in terms of its *chāyā*, which is supposed to endow the work of art the quality of art. The idea is emphasised time and again by Kuntaka, Rudra, Rūpa Goswamy, Viśvanātha and Abhinavagupta. Kuntaka says : *Chāyāmātramañīkṛtāśmasu mañeraśmatvamevicitāni*²¹ i. e. *chāyā* is the attribute whose presence turns a mere stone into a *mañi*. Kuntaka does not stop there. He picks up a whole range of aesthetic experience right from the point of its revelation in a corner of the *citra*; to its inspired transportation achieved by its rendering into a work of art. In this total process, emphasis is not on technique but on experience, and its transformation into a material form. Experience involves a revelation in the *citta*; revelation stems from *pratibhā*; *chāyā* lies not in technique but in *pratibhā*. According to Abhinavagupta, the "effulgent light" symbolising *bhāva* is *chāyā*, and its introduction in the material object (in any medium) creates *rūpa* (form) so that *chāyā* also symbolises materialisation of beauty that stems in heart out of the *kāma* of subconscious : *pratīyamānabhāvacchāyā antarmadanodbhava-hṛdaya-saundarya-rūpā*.....²²

Thus, applied to such elevating psyche of *rūpa*, *citra* and *chāyā*, the levels of technique applicable to art have to find other avenues of enquiry and in concluding this paper, we may briefly dwell upon these.

V

Ancient aestheticians postulate technique at their conceptual level focal to the creative process. In this, the manual skill is taken for granted. Their discussions cover ideational ground and relate to the *pratibhā* of artist. Thereby, techniques are described as consisting of *anusandhāna*, *anukaraṇa* and *anyathākaraṇa*, which are supposed to be basic to the modes of projecting what is intended for communication. These relate in equal measure to artist who 'creates' and to the *sāmājika* who appreciates or witnesses. A whole range of "cultural consciousness" is involved in these profound concepts and they depend on the dexterity of mind and experience.

According to Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, *anusandhāna* relates to rendering of the quality or role of *sthāyī bhāva* (or in other words-*mūlaprakṛti*) into someone (or something) which may create the impression (*pratīti*) of *mūla-prakṛti* without being it.²³ It is necessary to understand here, that such impression is not conveyed by *bhrama*. As Mammaṭa says, it is the *anusandhāna* of *tadrūpatā*, or in other words "simulation of identity" where "identity is different from impositions."²⁴ Such impression of identity between the *mūlaprakṛti* and its mundane counterpart works at two levels: In the artist

it stems from his skill, training and experience, and in the *sāmājika*, "witness", it stems from his empathy (*sahṛdayatā*).

In regard to creative process, Śāṅkuka regards *anukarṇa* as following *anusandhāna* : *vibhāvādāya kāvyabalāt anusandhīyate*.²⁵ *Anukarṇa* is not merely an "emulation", on the other hand, it is the suggestion which transports. Abhinavagupta defines *anukarṇa* in terms of *anuvyavasāya*.²⁶ Bharata and Śāṅkuka explain it as *vyāpāra* (function) of the creative artist which leads to *rasāsvāda*.²⁷ That *anukarṇa* is not merely a copy is explained by Śāṅkuka through the metaphor of "*citraturaga-nyāya*" which means that the painting of a horse in a frame creates impression of the horse's presence there even if the real horse is missing and we know it. The identity (*pratīti*) following from such a situation is substantive even if it might not be defined by such conventional means of cognition as *samyak*, *mithyā*, *samśaya* and *sādṛśya*. Hence, in *anukarṇa*, the artist creates the likeness of a form, even as he breaks the barriers of conventional means of identity whereby the form so created may convey the *pratīti* 'cognition' of the presence of the real, without it being there. Thus, it represents a resurgence of the object.

The third element of the technique in art process lies in *anyathākarṇa* which relates to "adding" further into the 'gross', what may not at all exist in reality. The concept of *anyathākarṇa* legitimises "interpolation", and gives it a perch of respectability. Ānandavardhana and others have stressed this point time and again; see, for instance, the *Dhvanyāloka* (*Third Udyota*) : *bhāvān acetanānapi celanavaccetanān acetanavat, vyavahārayati yatheṣṭān sukaviḥ kāvye svatantratayā*; or the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* : *yad yad sādhu na citre syāt kṛīyate tat tad anyathā*. Similarly, artist and poet are regarded as capable of presenting universe in a different manner than it exists whereby *atathāsthita* is converted into *tathāsthita*.²⁸

The three *vyāpāra* 'techniques' are discussed in details by ancient aestheticians in relation to *kāvya*, *nāṭya* and *citra*. That explains the interdependence of art forms as also the fact that in so doing, artist shows his freedom whereby he transcends even the *vidhātā* 'creator'. The *Dhvanyāloka* puts it as :

*apāre kāvyasaṁsāre kavirekaḥ Prajāpatiḥ |
yathāsmāi rocate viśvam tathedaṁ parivartate ||*

REFERENCES

Note : This paper was presented in the Seminar on "Technique in Indian Art" held under the joint auspices of the Sarabhai Foundation and Association of the Indian Art Historians, at Ahmedabad in January-February 1982.

1. Cf. Adhya, G. L. (1966) *Early Indian Economics*, Bombay, Appendix C, pp. 187-188; "A Few points on Metallurgy as found in the *Aṛiṣaśāstra*". The analysis and comparisons and conclusions are based on the tests carried out by F. R. Curry of Imperial College of Science and Technology.
2. Cf., Bose, N. K. (1932) *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, Calcutta. The terminology for the architectural parts of the temple, surviving among the practitioners and its counterparts in canons are not easily established. The recent study on the Orissan temples underscores this again; see, Boner, Sarma and Das (1972) *New light on the Sun Temple of Konark, Varanasi*.
3. Allchin (1933) *The Neolithic Cattle-Keeper of South India*, p. 88.
4. Cf. Pathak, V. S. (1976) "Bhāratīya Darśana ke prasaṅga meṅ rūpa ki Vyākhyā" (in Hindi) *Dr. Raj Bali Pandey Smṛti Grantha*. Kulanidhi Prakashan, Deoriya, p. 333.
5. Pathak, V. S. (1981) *Presidential Address (to the 68th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India, Pune)*, p. 12.
6. *Lankāvātara Sūtra*, II, 115-118, Nalanda, 1963, p. 22.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Pathak, V. S. (1981), p. 13.
9. Brugmann, K. *The Comparative Grammar of Indo-Germanic Languages*, Vol. I, p. 208.
10. *Aparājita Pṛcchā*, p. 224.
11. Cf. Chattopadhyaya D. P. (1976) "Sources of Indian Idealism", in *History and Society : Essays in Honour of Professor Niharranjan Ray*, Calcutta, pp. 260-268.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Khaṇḍa III, Adhyāya 2, Verses 2-8.
14. Cf. Hegde, K. T. M. (1981) "Scientific Basis and Technology of Ancient Indian Copper and Iron Metallurgy" *Indian Journal of History of Science*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1981. pp. 191, 197-200.
15. Pathak, V. S. (1981), p. 13.
16. Hegde, K. T. M. (1981), p. 199.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Cf. Pathak, V. S. (1976), p. 335.
19. *Ibid.* pp. 335-341.
20. *Ibid.* quoting *Dīvyāvādāna* (Rudrayānāvādāna) XXXVII, p. 446.
21. Quoted anonymously in the *Kāvya prakāśa* p. 304; in *Vakroktijivita* 18.
22. Cf. Pathak, V. S. (1976), p. 341, quoting Abhinavagupta.

23. Cf. also Mishra, H. R. (1964), *The Theory of Rasa in Sanskrit Drama*, Chbatarpur, pp. 214 ff.
24. Cf. below, note no. 25, *Kāvyaṅkāśa*.
25. Cf. "Sāṅkuka Prakaraṇa" in the *Abhinavabhāratī* G. O. S.; also *Kāvyaṅkāśa* B. O. R. I. 1933 : rāma evāyam ayameva rāma iti na rāmo' yamityauuttara-Kālikebadhe rāmo 'yam iti rāmaḥ syādvā na vā ayam iti rāmesadṛṣṭo 'yam iti ca samyāñmithyā pratitibhyo vilakṣaṇāya citraturagādinyāyena rāmo 'yam iti pratipatyā grāhye tate ityādīkāvyānusandhānabalāt eikṣābhyāsa nivartita-śvakārya-prakaṣaṇena ca naṣṭa-naiva prakāśitaib ...".
26. Cf. *Abhinavabhāratī*, G. O. S., I, pp. 36-37.
27. Cf. Mishra, H. R. (1964), pp. 221-222
28. Cf. Ānandavardhana in *Dhvanyāloka* (Third Udyota) :
 अतद्वद्विष्ये वि तद्वसद्विष्ये न्व द्विअममि जा विणेसेइ ।
 अत्यविसेसे सा जअइ विकडकइगोअरा वाणी ॥

JARĀSANDHA - A STUDY OF FOLKLORE MOTIF IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

N. B. PATIL

The birth of Jarāsandha is attributed to a fruit (mango) which dropped from a tree, in the lap of Caṇḍakauśika. Caṇḍakauśika gave it to the king, who in his turn, gave it to his two queens. The story as it occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, Sabbā Parva, 17 is as follows :—

There was a king by name Bṛhadratha, who ruled over Magadha. He had an army of three *akṣauhīṇīs*. He was handsome and brave. His body always showed the traces of sacrificial consecration and he, therefore, looked like Indra. He had the sun's lustre. When angry, he was like Yama. He had Kubera's wealth within. As the rays of the sun envelop the entire earth, so his good qualities spread all over the world. He married the twin beautiful sisters – daughters of Kāśīrāja. He promised equal love to both of them. The king resembled an elephant sitting between two female elephants. The king was past his youth and in spite of a life of conjugal happiness, he did not beget a son from either of his wives. He had performed a number of *putrakāmeṣṭi* sacrifices, but to no purpose. Then once he heard that an ascetic viz. Caṇḍakauśika, son of the great *brahmacārī* Kakṣivant Gautama, was sitting below a mango tree, near his capital. So Bṛhadratha went to him with both his wives and offered him all those things which ascetics need. The sage was pleased and asked the king to seek a boon.

The king said, " What boon should I ask, when I have decided to go into the forest? I have no need even of the kingdom as I have no issue. Hearing this, Caṇḍakauśika was disturbed and he sat for meditation below the same mango tree. Even though there was no breeze, a mango fell on his thigh. The sage picked it up and held it near his bosom. He charged it with a *mantra*. He then gave it to the king. He said that the mango would give him a son.¹ The king bowed to the sage and went home. He gave the mango to both of his wives, as he loved them equally. Both the queens divided the mango in two equal parts and ate the pieces. Having eaten the mango, both the queens conceived. The king was very happy to know that both the queens were in the family way. After some months, the queens delivered. But they delivered two halves of a child, each having one eye, one arm, one leg, etc. Seeing these abnormal children both the queens were terribly frightened and ashamed. Both of them were unhappy and they

decided to throw away those two abnormal children. Their maids wrapped both the parts, as they would, an aborted foetus, went out of the harem and threw the packages on the crossroads. A *rākṣasī* by name Jarā, who subsisted on blood and flesh opened the packages and saw these human pieces and in order to carry them conveniently, placed them together. As soon as she palced them together, a complete human child emerged. The child was so heavy, that the old *rākṣasī* could not carry it. The child put its red wrist in the mouth and cried loudly. Its cry resembled the roaring of a water-bearing cloud. Hearing the noise, the king along with other men came there. Both the queens whose breasts were now heavy with milk also went there. Seeing the king, the *rākṣasī* thought, that it was not good on her part to kill the king's child as she herself was residing in his domain. She assumed human form and said to the king, "Oh Bṛhadratha, take back this son of yours, which I give to you. Your wives have given birth to this child on account of the boon of the Brahmin sage. The maids of the harem abandoned him. But I protected him. Both the daughters of Kāśīrāja thereafter, took the child and suckled him. The king Bṛhadratha was very happy and he asked the *rākṣasī*, who had assumed now a golden human form, who she was.

Jarā said that she was a *rākṣasī* who could assume any form at her will. As she was worshipped in the king's palace, she continued to stay there and she wanted to do a good turn to the king. When she saw both the parts of the king's child, she united them and as providence would have it the total child emerged. It was all the good fortune of the king and she was just an instrument in God's hand. So saying, she disappeared.³ The king took the child, went home and performed all necessary rituals of child birth. He ordered performance of the festival of the *rākṣasī* in his kingdom. He named the son as Jarāsandha after the *rākṣasī*.

Jarāsandha means joined by Jarā. The child grew as the fire grows with oblations in form and in strength. After a few years the sage Caṇḍakauśika again visited the domain of the king. The king went to see him along with his two wives and the son and worshipped him. The sage was pleased and said to the king that he foresaw a great future for the son. The son would be surpassing all the kings in valour. Even if gods darted weapons at him he would not be hurt. He would shine like the sun and would render all the crowned kings pale. Even kings who had strong forces would ruin themselves like moths in the fire. He would take away the riches and glory of all the kings even as an ocean would take away all the rivers. Just as the earth holds all things, great and small and good and evil, so also this king would hold all the four *varṇas*. He would himself see the god Saṅkara,

the Rudra, who is the death of Tripura. So saying, the sage merged in other thoughts and hinted that the king should leave him. The king returned to the capital and soon enthroned his son. He then left for the forests with his wives. Jarāsandha did conquer many kings during the life time of Bṛhadratha.

Motif Analysis

In this story we find a mixture of folk-lore motifs. The motif of the birth from a fruit is obtained quite commonly. The germ behind the motif is of the tree-spirit, and the oldest tale is from the Egyptian lore. In the tale of Baḥa there, the soul is said to be in blossoms and in trees.³ Likewise the Egyptian god Osiris is a tree spirit and his body is hidden in a tree.⁴ There is another subtle similarity between Osiris and king Jarāsandha. Both are said to be born of two mothers, with the difference that in the case of Jarāsandha, the mothers are human beings, imbibing the tree-spirit in the form of the mango. The mango stands here for the male seed. The story of Osiris is of zoomorphic origin. Osiris is said to be the child of two cows, In one of the temple-chants, he is praised as follows :—

The bull begotten of the two cows,
Isis and Nepthis,
He, the progeny of two cows.⁵

The birth of Jarāsandha thus reverts to the motif of vegetation spirit, brought in use to extol the human here. Such other instances, on the Hindu mythical side, are those of Viṣṇu, Tulasī; a plant gets married to Viṣṇu (or Kṛṣṇa who is incarnation of Viṣṇu) ritually on the second day of the bright half of the Kārtika month.

Another aspect of the tree or fruit motif in the symbolism of procreation is to be found in the Gṛhyasūtras, when at the *Pūnsavana* ritual the husband presses into the nostrils of the wife, the juice of the *vaṭa* leaves having two tiny fruits on it. The fruits here indicate the testicles, and the juice is the semen. In some cases instead of sprouts with a pair of fruits, we have a grain of barley. In yet another variant of the ritual, the wife has to eat two beans and a grain of barley or mustard.⁶

In this connection, it may also be noted that there obtains a regular belief about the tree marriages, one such being between two Pippala trees, the margosa or neem tree being the witness.⁷ In Nepal, there is a practice of ritually marrying the mango tree (female) with the well in the field. This is said to ensure rich harvest.⁸ The fruit motif is also traceable in customs in South India, particularly in Maharashtra where a coconut is

given ceremoniously to all those who are supposed to receive good luck. It is given to a woman when a son is desired. Another variant of this custom is the mutual giving of fruits and grains by women at such festivals as *makara sanīkrānti*. The gift (called *vāṇa* in Marathi) is invariably taken in the flowing end of a saree (called *padar* in Marathi). The tree having been thought to have the soul came to be identified with a human being. Hence it is that, the plantain tree is also married in certain parts of India. The fruit of a tree, then, would be believed to have the miraculous power of 'seeding'.

The motif of the mango or rather that of the fruit may be compared with that in the famous tale of Gokarṇa and Dhundhumārīn from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The story goes that a brahmin named Ātmadeva had no issue. He worshipped gods, and performed many sacrifices. Once he and his wife, Dhundhulī were passing through a forest and met a mendicant. They told him about their grief. He told them plainly that they could not have progeny; but ultimately having compassion on them, gave a fruit (species is not mentioned).⁹ It was to be eaten by the wife. But the wife did not have any faith in the mendicant. After going home, she gave it to her cow. In the course of time, the cow delivered a male human being. Its ears, however, resembled cow's. He was hence called Gokarṇa.

The two parts of Jarāsandha's body coming to life when joined is also an interesting folk-lore motif and is traceable elsewhere.¹⁰ According to the ancient Egyptain belief, rendered in a myth, the serpent called Deathless comes to life even when it is cut and its pieces are buried. The pieces are therefore buried separately. Similar motif is seen in this tale of Jarāsandha when Bhīma kills him and is ultimately asked by Kṛṣṇa to throw the parts in opposite directions.¹¹

The motif analysis given above is scanty. But all the same, it would indicate the lines of further research in the folk-lore elements of the great epic. Such a study would go a long way in integrating the world folk-lore and literature.

REFERENCES

1. Mbh : II (Sabhā). Chapt. 17-5/30.
The sage thereafter bade the king follow the religion of the king, viz. the protection of the subjects. He asked him to perform sacrifices for Indra with some and enter the fourth *āśrama* only when his son would be on the throne. He gave eight boons to the king's son.

2. Sabbā 18. 2 ff.
3. Donald Mackenzie-*Egyptian Myth and Legend*, pp. 49-50, 55.
4. *Ibid.*, p. xxvii; also pp. 19-21.
5. Donald Mackenzie, *op. cit.* p. xxxii, quoted from James Teukle Dennis. *The Burden of Isis*.
6. S. A. Dange, *Hindu Dharmus āni Tattvājñāna*, (Marathi) Pune, 1971. p. 211. See also, *Āśva Gr. Sū.* I-13-2, *Hiranyakefi Gr. Sū.* II. 2-5 ; *Gobhila Gr. Sū.* II. 6. 2 f.
7. Mackenzie "Tree and Serpent worship" *Indian Antiquary*, IV, (1875) p. 6.
8. Shri Bhavani Bhikshu "Kuva aur amrai" in *Rashtrabharati* (Hindi). Wardha. Sept. 1967. This marriage takes place on the full moon day of the month of Vaisākha.
9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Māhātmya Khaṇḍa, IV. 16. 65.
10. Donald Mackenzie, *Myths of China and Japan*, London, pp. 78, 119, 120.
11. Sabbā, 24. 7 ff.

A UNIQUE WOODEN IDOL OF THE BUDDHIST GODDESS TĀRĀ FROM THE KANHERI CAVES

H. D. SANKALIA

On the occasion of the centenary of the discovery of the eight small bronze Buddha figures from the Stūpa at Sopara near Bombay by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, scholars would welcome the discovery of a wooden idol (PL. XXV) by the late Dr. M. G. Dikshit in front of cave No. XXXI at Kanheri.¹

I have no knowledge when Dr. Dikshit found the image, and where it is today. It is described by Dr. Dikshit in his unpublished thesis, submitted to the University of Bombay, about 1939-40.

Buddhism in Western India, as elsewhere, presents three main stages of development viz. Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna, and Tantrayānā or Vajrayāna. All the early caves – Bhaja, Bedsa, and even Karla, Kanheri, Nasik, Ajanta, with the Caitya in the principal cave, as the place for daily worship by the Buddhist Saṅgha, are Hīnayāna. In about the 2nd century A. D. with the worship of the Buddha in human form, the figures of the Buddha were introduced, very often after chiselling out the earlier decorative figures.

In the 6th century tremendous developments took place. A whole new Buddhist pantheon was born, with the Dhyāni Buddhas and their consorts.

This was first dealt with at great length by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya,² while Alice Getty³ had slightly earlier written on the gods of Northern Buddhism. N. K. Bhattasali⁴ had illustrated many of these gods and goddesses from the Dacca Museum. Many interesting additions were being made by the excavations at Nalanda. A brief reference to this has been made by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in his fairly exhaustive monograph on the origin and cult of Tārā.⁵

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1. This information as well as the details about the size of the image were kindly supplied by Dr. Kalpana Desai, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
 2. *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958.
 3. *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, reprint, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978.
 4. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, pp. 45-54.
 5. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 20 (1925).

While all this literature was available when I wrote on the University of Nalanda, little was known of the developments in Western India, though as mentioned earlier, Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji had brought to light for the first time the seven Mānuṣa Buddhas and Maitreya,⁶ a clear proof of the introduction of Vajrayāna in the Konkan. Still nothing further was known about the parallel development in other parts of the Deccan, particularly at Kanheri nearby, and Ellora, Ajanta and elsewhere, because the earlier writers like Burgess had either ignored these developments, or they were not fully aware of them.

Hence for nearly 50 years, the Vajrayāna aspect of Ellora remained unknown. During the interregnum, particularly after 1931, all the attention was concentrated on Mohenjodaro and Harappa, and then - after 1944 - on the problem-oriented excavations; so the research on caves receded in the background. Its re-emergence is mainly due to the establishment of regional universities, and fortunately Marathwada University took up a first study of the Caves at Ellora.⁷ Dr. R. S. Gupte, after his general study of the rock-cut caves in 1955, took up a detailed study of the Buddhist iconography, as depicted in the caves at Ellora and the results have been well published.⁸ At the same time Shri R. Sen Gupta had drawn our attention to the Buddhist Litany and Tārā at Ellora.⁹ Gupte has illustrated Tārā, either alone or with goddesses, in plates 10c, 12c, 13a, 15a, 15b. In 15a, Tārā is shown seated in *padmāsana* on a lotus seat with her right palm in *varadamudrā* and the left in *abhaya* and also supporting a lotus stalk. She has worn a broad round necklace, *kuṇḍalas*, and a rich conical *mukuta*. Tārā is shown to the left of Avalokiteśvara and Jambhāla, seated in *lalitāsana* on a large double lotus. Unfortunately her face has been disfigured; she has some resemblance, as far as the bust is concerned, to the wooden image of Tārā.

There is no doubt that Vajrayāna was firmly established in Maharashtra under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their feudatories, viz. the Śilāhāras, and the

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6. "Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padana" *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 15, 1881-82, pp. 273-328.
 7. Here I should mention that I had not only planned but entrusted one of first pupils - Shri Bengeri from Haveri - with a detailed analytical study of the Ellora caves. And we had spent a week in 1939 December there. But later the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad State, did not permit us to go ahead with the project.
 8. Gupte, R. S. *The Iconography of the Buddhist Sculptures (Caves) of Ellora*, Aurangabad, 1964.
 9. *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 5 (1955-57), pp. 12-15, and cites the representations of Tārā at Ajanta Caves II, IV, XVII, Aurangabad Cave VII and Kanheri Cave LXVI.

Later Cālukyas.¹⁰ But we have still to account for the artistic excellence of the wooden Tārā. It very much resembles the Pāla figures from Nalanda,¹¹ for instance, the Bodhisattva and Buddhas from Site No. 1, Nalanda, a famous Buddhist University. According to Hiuen Tsang, a large figure of Tārā was worshipped by kings and ministers for seven days.¹² Naturally numerous figures of Tārā have also been found in the excavations.

Surprisingly we have an inscription from Kanheri, published by Kielhorn as far back as 1884, which records that the Gomin Avighnakara, a devout worshipper of Sugata (Buddha) from Gauḍa country, had got made a hall suitable for meditation during the reign of Amoghavarṣa in Śaka 775 (A. D. 853) and his feudatory Kapardin (II), the Śilāhāra King of Konkan.¹³

Another grant was made by the same king, 24 years later, in Śaka 799 to the Buddhist congregation. What is important from our point of view is that the Gomin Avighnakara had come from Bengal (Gauḍa). Hence it is more than probable that this new meditation-cum-assembly hall at Kanheri was adorned with the wooden figures of Tārā and other divinities of the Vajrayāna pantheon.

The successors of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, viz. the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi, had continued this patronage. Hence we find a record of King Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya VI (A. D. 1076-1126) inscribed in old Kannada beginning with an invocation and ending with the hope of getting her blessings.¹⁴

Hence it is not at all surprising that we have a wooden figure of Tārā from Nalanda or Bihar-Bengal showing the characteristic Pāla grace in her features. Particularly pleasing is the face with the half closed eyes in concentration, and well proportioned bust. To match these, she has worn large *kuṇḍalas* and a conical *mukuta*. All these features are in striking contrast to the Maitreya and seven Buddhas from Sopara nearby, as well as the stone sculptures from Kanheri and Ellora. In fact, the absence of this grace or suavity in the Sopara bronzes had been noted by Dr. Douglas

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10. This has been well brought to light by Shri M. N. Deshpande in his Nagpur Lectures. Vidarbha Mandal, Nagpur. 1981.
 11. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1929-30 (1935)*, Pl. XXXIII, a - b.
 12. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 176.
 13. Inscription No. 15, *Indian Antiquary*, 1884, pp. 134-36. These inscriptions were first published in *Arch. Survey, Western India*, Vol. IV, p. 64, line 5 and p. 70, line 3.
 14. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, pp. 185-90.



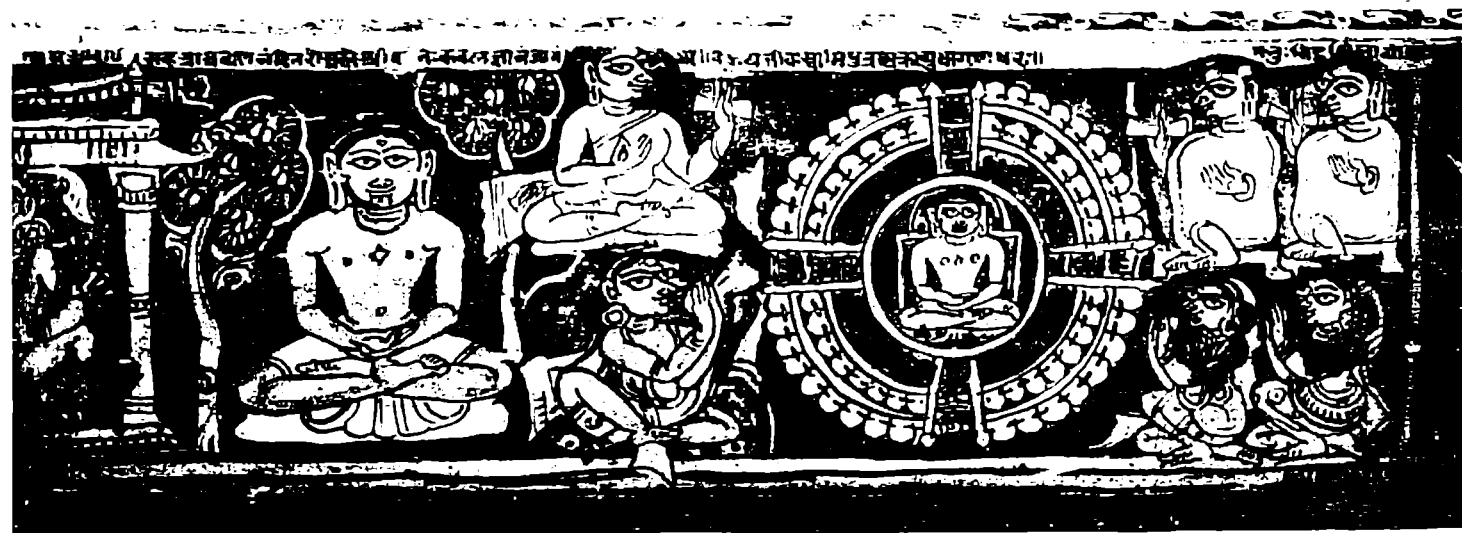
Wooden image of Tārā, Kanheri.



Life of Sāntinātha, Wooden Book Cover, painted at Jalore in 1260 A. D.



Life of Sāntinātha, Wooden Book Cover, Painted at Jalre in 1260 A. D.





A Wooden Book Cover, painted at Jalore in 1280 A. D. Donors and Worshippers, Go Deval (?),
Go Uda, Go Rama (deva) Jayatala, Nebadahi, Ramasiri.



B. Painting from Uttarādhyayana Sūtra with Sukhabodha Vṛtti.
Palm Leaf MS, dated V. S. 1352 (A. D. 1295). Collection :
Cambay Shantinatha Bhandar, Cambay, MS. No. 85.

Barrett.¹⁵ But I am sure he would be glad to see this beautiful wooden image of Tārā.

There is another aspect of this image. Though the wooden image is unique in the whole of Indian figure sculpture, still it affords unimpeachable proof of the one-time existence of wooden architecture, and the repeated observations of all the early writers that the early caves - Bhaja, Bedsa, Karla - are indeed copies of wooden originals.

Readers would be also interested in knowing that most of the earliest Greek idols, and probably many of the earliest Greek sculptural works (6th century B. C.) were made of wood. Since these were made by smoothing or polished by scraping, such sacred wooden divinities of wood were known as "Xoana".¹⁶

15. "A Group of Bronzes from the Deccan" *Lalit Kalā* Nos. 3-4. (1956-57), pp. 38-45.

16. *Expedition*, Vol. 24, No. 3, Spring 1982, p. 6.

TWO PAINTED WOODEN BOOK-COVERS OF A JAINA PALM-LEAF MANUSCRIPT

UMAKANT P. SHAH

Through the kindness of Muni Shri Śllavijayajī I had the opportunity to study two long painted wooden book-covers of a palm-leaf manuscript of *Śrāvaka-Dharma-Prakaraṇu* composed by Ācārya Jineśvara sūri of Kharatara-gaccha, in V. S. 1313=1256 A. D., copied along with its commentary composed by Upādhyāya Lakṣmītilaka gaṇi in V. S. 1317=1260 A. D. The colophon at the end of the comm. in this manuscript is not fully available due to broken palm-leaves but verses nos. 16 and 17 fortunately preserved and deciphered are noteworthy. They tell us that in the Vikrama year 1317 this commentary was completed at Jābālipur (Jalor in Rajasthan) along with a consecration ceremony of a flagstaff (of a Jaina shrine) when king Cāciga was the ruler (of Jābālipur). The great Ācārya Jineśvara sūri (author of the above-noted text) was present at the ceremony. The information about this consecration ceremony is supported by another reference to it found in the *Kharatara-gaccha-bṛhad-Gurvāvali*.¹

After verses 16 and 17 summarised above, the Praśasti contains many more verses giving information about the genealogy of the donors of this manuscript. Their other pious acts also seem to have been noted. But the folios are badly mutilated.

The two long book-covers (Size : 7 cms. × 83 cm. of each cover) of this manuscript are painted on both the sides, thus we have four sides in all giving us continuous narration, beginning from outer side of the upper cover (numbered here as 1a, 1b, etc.), then inside of the same cover (nos. 2a, 2b, etc.), then the inner side of the lower cover (3a, 3b, etc.), and then the outer side of this lower cover (nos. 4a, 4b, etc.). Important events from some of the previous births and the last birth of the sixteenth Jaina Tīrthānkara Sāntinātha are narrated here in a consecutive order (Pls. XXVI-XXIX). For convenience of the reader we have divided the narration into different scenes in different photographs, each photo showing some repetition of the previous scene. Thus the illustrations show 34 scenes in all. The four sides of the two covers were not enough for these scenes and hence the painter had to divide some surfaces into two halves, the upper panel giving one scene and the lower one giving some other scene. The outer side of the top cover, divided by us into six photographs or scenes, is not divided

1. *Kharatara-gaccha-bṛhad-Gurvāvali*, published in the Singh Series (Bombay, 1950), p. 61.

into two panels, thus figures etc. are larger in scenes 1-6, than in scenes 7-29, then again we have scenes 30-34 on 4a-4b, the outer side of the lower cover having bigger figures and full panel.

At the end of this whole narration of events, we find in 4e, scene 34, a painting of the temple of Śāntinātha on mount Suvarṇagiri which is an old name of the hill adjacent to Jalor (and on which Kumārapāla also erected a Jaina shrine). By the side of the miniature representation of the Śāntinātha temple (scene 34) we find miniature paintings of three laymen and three laywomen paying their homage to the deity in the shrine (Pl. XXX, A). All the scenes in these paintings have painted labels giving names of persons and events, either painted above or below them. The names of these male and female devotees given here are :—

GO. Deval (?). GO. Udā. GO. Rāma(deva).
Jayatala. Nehadahl. Rāmasirl.

Obviously these are the donors of the manuscript as well as the painted book-covers. Since the manuscript or the book was completed in Jābālipur (Jalor) and since the shrine of Śāntinātha (with worshippers) is labelled here as *Śrī Jābālipure Suvarṇagirau Śrī Śānter-vidhicaityam*, it is also highly probable that these are the donors not only of the manuscript and its book-covers but also of the consecration ceremony referred to above. The depiction of the Jaina shrine at Jalor along with figures of the donors is significant for us because it shows that the manuscript was written and the book-covers were painted at Jalor itself. The date should be V. S. 1317 (A. D. 1260), the date of completion of the commentary when some temple ceremony also took place. Or, the paintings of the two boards might have been done a few months later, commemorating the events.

It may also be remembered that the text of this manuscript includes a short life of the Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha, along with an account of his previous births, depicted here on these book-covers. The account practically agrees with the one given by Ācārya Hemacandra in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacaritra*, and there are only a few minor changes. But the paintings agree with the account given in this manuscript where the account differs from Hemacandra.

The manuscript with the book-covers is preserved in the collections of Muni Śrī Śilacandraji and his Guru in a Jaina collection at Ahmedabad.

All the paintings are fortunately well-preserved and the colours are bright. The colours used are simple : bright red for background, yellow

generally for body complexion, and shades of blue, green, red, black, pink and white. Paintings are drawn with thick outlines and with the use of angles and curves and by depicting movements of limbs of figures in various postures, a pleasant vivid effect is produced even without shading or perspective.

The style is the style of Western Indian Jaina Miniatures with the farther eye extended in space and so on. This style had provenance over a large area, as is well known from the different finds assignable to periods ranging from at least c. eleventh century A. D. to c. seventeenth century A. D. It is but natural to expect growth of some regional sub-styles during this period. These *paṭṭikās* depicting the various births of Śāntinātha are important from this point of view since they are painted in Marwad, in Jalor in Rajasthan, and can be safely dated in 1260–61 A. D. The paintings show a regional variety in the treatment of faces of males and females. The mouths and lips are narrow and thin and the chin and the mouth recede backwards or inside against the emphasised length of the pointed nose. Somewhat similar type is also seen in the miniatures of the Subāhu-kathā dated 1288 A. D., but the treatment differs from that of the faces in miniatures of the *Śrāvakupratikramanasūtra-cūrṇi* painted in 1260 A. D. near Udaipur in Mevad, Rajasthan. The faces in paintings from Gujarat and Mevad show a thicker lower lip. This proves that there were regional varieties or sub-styles of the main style of Western Indian Miniatures.

These Jalor paintings further remind us of treatment of various incidents in long panels in the undated *Mahāpurāṇa* (in the collections of the Digambara Jaina Naya Mandir, Delhi) which of course is later than our Jalor *paṭṭikās*.

The eyes in these book-covers are of various types: small and round, almond-shaped, fish-like and so on. Lines are thick and swiftly drawn. Trees are stylised as if they are copied from contemporary stone carvings. They have a white border all around the clusters of branches and leaves. Treatment of animals is realistic, especially noteworthy is the running deer in scene 7. Battle depictions in scenes 9 and 10 show that the horses and elephants were covered with a sort of protective armour over the body during fight. The use of such armours seems to have started earlier in India as could be seen from a relief panel from Palitana (Saurashtra), now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, dating from c. eleventh century, published in the *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, Vol. I, special number on Western Indian Art. Such an armour for horses is known as *pākhara* in Gujarat. Open chariots in scene 18 may also be noted.

In one of his previous births, as King Megharatha, Śāntinātha saved the life of a pigeon from a hawk pursuing it, by offering flesh of his own body weighed against the body of the pigeon. This story is the Jaina counterpart of the ancient story of King Sibi. The incident is depicted here in scene 20.

For comparison with this style is illustrated here (Pl. XXX, B) a miniature painting from a palm-leaf manuscript of *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* with Sukhabodhā Vṛtti, painted in V. S. 1352 = A.D. 1295, now preserved in the Śāntinātha Jaina Bhaṇḍāra, Cambay. It seems that this miniature was done in Rajasthan. Paintings of this age, done in Gujarat, at centres like Patan, show some regional variations in the treatment of human figures and in the types of various garments worn by them. Such matters await future detailed investigations.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Plates XXVI to XXX, A :
Wooden Book covers, painted at Jalor in 1280 A. D. Now in the collections of Muni Shri Silacandraji and his Guru in a Jaina collection at Ahmedabad. (Photographs by Ramesh D. Malvania).
2. Plate XXX, B : Painting from *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* with Sukhabodhā Vṛtti, Palm-leaf MS. dated V. S. 1352 = A. D. 1295. Collection : Santinatb Bhandar, Cambay. Ms. No. 85.

SOME MEMORIAL STONES IN BOMBAY

B. V. SHETTI

Memorial stones are found in all parts of India through the ages. However, they are widely distributed in Karnatakā, either singly or in groups. There is hardly a village that does not possess one or more such monuments. This was so because Kannadigas were well-known for their heroism which fact is corroborated by the writings of Hiuen Tsang,¹ Rāja-śekara² and others.

These memorial stones or hero-stones are known as *vīragals* or *vīrakals*, or *vīra-śāsadas* if they commemorated the death of heroes and *satikals* in the case of heroines. They are upright slabs of stone upon the surface of which are horizontal bands of sculpture, sometimes with inscribed bands in between. The lowest band or bands of sculpture usually represents a battle scene in which the hero is shown fighting with his enemies. The next band shows him being carried to paradise after his death, and seated in the elysium surrounded by fair attendants waiting for his commands. The uppermost band contains representations of various objects of worship and symbols of the religion to which he was attached when living. The inscriptions record the death of the hero, which may have taken place in battle, in reclaiming stolen cattle (*go-grahaṇa*), in self-defence against robbers or in protecting his territory or in protecting the honour of his women or in self-immolation. Some even record deliberate suicides.

In the suburbs of Bombay, in the village Eksar, near Borivli, there is a group of six memorial stones³ and there are a number of hero-stones in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay,⁴ most of which come from Karnatakā. Only the important ones are discussed below :

There is an interesting memorial stone (Pl. XXXI, A) from Mantur⁵ (size 150 × 76 cm. Acc. No. 136) in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, which was first published by Henry Cousens. Mantur is a village about six miles to the east of Hubli, in Dharwar District. The upper portion of the stone has a representation of a three-storeyed Dravidian temple or *gopura*, on each storey of which are portions of an old Kannada inscription. Cousens states "The uppermost line tells us that the stone-cutter, Kante, fashioned this stone. The rest of the inscription is decipherable more or less, but it is not easy to make sense of it. There does not

appear to be any other name in it, nor anything to give a clue to its meaning. On either side of the base of the *gopura* is a familiar waterpot such as we have found upon some of the older temples."

"Beneath all this is a group of symbols, the meaning of which is not clear. In the centre is a hand mirror and around it are two conch shells, an elephant, two fishes, a drum, a wheel and a boar. The foot of the stone is carved as a lotus. The mirror may possibly be the crest of a paramount sovereign surrounded by those of neighbouring kings whom he had conquered. The boar was the crest of the Cālukyas, the elephant that of the Cera or Gaṅga kings of Maisur, and the two fishes that of the Pāṇḍyas. The wheel is found on Nepalese inscription tablets."

According to the Jaina tradition the fourteen dreams seen by Triśālā also include *Airāvata* (the elephant of Indra), *Pūrṇakumbha* (the full vase), *matsyayugma* (pair of fish) and *cakra* (disc made of jewels). The Jaina *aṣṭamaṅgalas* (eight auspicious objects) also include *kalaśa* (water-pot), *darpaṇa* (mirror), *matsyayugma*, and *dhvaja* (banner).⁶ These symbols are seen on the memorial stone from Mantur.

The inscription was recently re-read by the office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, whose reading is as below: "The slab was made by *Kalkuṭṭiga* (stone-cutter) Konna and was caused to be made by (name not clear). Contains the epithets like *Kaḍugali-sēvya*, *Sabbha* (*sarva*), *Satyānirāntara* and *ammana vattiga*. Mentions one Gaṅaruppa (Gaṅarūpa) probably the hero in whose memory the stone was set up. Appears to state that some one followed the deceased person in death." Though Cousens dated the inscription to tenth century A. D. it is now dated to about eighth century A. D. on the characters of the letters.

The hero-stone (size 137 × 52.2 cm. Acc. No. S-13)⁷ is divided into five panels (Pl. XXXI, B). The lowermost panel shows a row of four cattle facing right indicating that the hero died in a cattle raid (*go-grahaṇa*). The second and third panels from below depict the fight. The fourth panel from below depicts the hero being carried in a palanquin by four *apsarases*. The top panel depicts the worship of *Śiva-liṅga* and devotees.

The hero-stone (size 110 × 53.5 cm. Acc. No. 143) is divided into four panels (Pl. XXXI, C). The lowermost panel depicts the fight. The second panel shows the cowherds and cattle. The third panel shows dancing and the top panel worship of *Śiva-liṅga*. This hero-stone is now kept in the National Museum, New Delhi.

The hero-stone (size 181 × 93 cm. Acc. No. S. 11)⁸ is divided into four panels (Pl. XXXII, A). In the lower two panels the battle scene is depicted. In the third panel from below the hero is shown dancing with two men and two women between two pilasters. Above is shown the worship of Śiva-*liṅga* and devotees. In the top panel the *kalāśa* is flanked by a stylized lion on either side. This hero-stone comes from Velapur in Sholapur District.

The hero-stone slab (size 98 × 54.8 cm. Acc. No. S. 14)⁹ is divided into three panels (Pl. XXXII, B). In the lower panel the battle-scene is depicted with five soldiers on horse back and two lying dead on the battle field. In the middle panel four women and three men are shown dancing, the men resting their hands on women and the women alternatively holding their hands behind the men. The central figure perhaps represents the hero. In the upper panel stands a man worshipping the Śiva-*liṅga*, while three devotees on the left and two on the right are seated with folded hands.

The hero-stone slab (size 120 × 43 cm. Acc. No. 133)¹⁰ is divided into three panels (Pl. XXXIII, A). In the lower panel the hero is shown equipped with a sword and a shield fighting other soldiers armed with bows, arrows, swords, shields and spears. In the middle panel the hero is seated in a decorated sedan attended by two *apsarases* and musicians. In the upper panel, a bearded priest is performing *pūjā* of the Śiva-*liṅga*. The Nandī, the Sun and the Moon, and a devotee with folded hands are also seen.

The upper right corner is broken.

The inscription in Kannada reads :

1. Śaka-varisam 1204 Neya Vishu-sainva
2. Māgha su. 1 Maṅgala-varad-aṅi
3. d-rāyarājaguru maṅda
4. sameya-cakravartti śrī
5. śrīmad-Isāṅmyadavara maneya Vikara Basaveya-nā
6. vkanu Sogalada baṭeya samaraṅgadalli mū
7. vat-aḷin-oḍane kādi mūṭ āḷa keḍali
8. paṅcaliṅgada pādada samīpadalu Basave
9. nāyakanu vōlagisu-idānu maṅgala mahā śrī śrī

Summary

Dated in Śaka 1204, Viṣṇu, *Māgha-śu.* 1, Tuesday (1282 A. D. January 12), this inscription in Kannada characters and language states that Basavayya-nāyaka reposes near the Pañcaliṅga, after having felled three persons in a battle he fought against thirty persons on the road to Sogala. The deceased hero is described as belonging to the household of Rāyarāja-guru Maṅḍalācārya Samayacakravarti Iśānyadavaru.

Stones or cairns raised in memory of the dead are called *khatrās*, when the stone is a rough unhewn block, and *pāliyās*,¹¹ literally guardians, when the stone is dressed and carved into a figure.

Polished and carved memorial stones are called *pāliyās* guardians, *khambiyās* pillars, or *chirās* grave stones. They are raised in memory of those who have died a violent death, or who have died the death of a martyr, or who when living have been remarkable for holiness or for some other notable trait of character. Sometimes stones are raised in dread of a spirit-possessed man or an exorcist. The spirit of a man who dies a violent death is quieted by having a stone raised for him. Until a stone is raised, such a spirit is likely to attack the bodies or the cattle of the members of its family. These stones are set in an enclosure or under a *pīpal* tree, on the village border near the village reservoir, or on the spot where the person was slain.

There are three inscribed *pāliyā* stones from Gujarat in the Prince of Wales Museum Collection. First stone with Acc. No. 135 (size 96 × 59 cm.) is dated Saṃvat 1828/A. D. 1771 (Pl. XXXII, B), and the second with Acc. No. 138 (size 95 × 49 cm.) is dated Saṃvat 1840/A. D. 1783 and the third with Acc. No. 144 (size 112 × 44.5 cm.) is dated Saṃvat 1982/A. D. 1925.

In the suburbs of Bombay, in Eksar village,¹² about a mile north-west of Borivli station, in a mango orchard, on the west bank of a water pond are a row of six memorial stones carved out of trap rock (Pl. XXXIV, A). All except one which is broken, have their tops carved into large funeral urns with flying figures on either side bringing chaplets and wreaths. The faces of the slabs are divided into panels with figures in bold relief chiselled with great skill. Each stone records the prowess of some warrior who died in a sea or land battle. In each case the story begins with the lowest belt and continues to the top.

Stone I (10' × 3' × 6''): In the lowest belt, on the left, two horsemen armed with swords attack an archer who falls dead, and on the right rises on a cloud, with other dead warriors and attendants, to Śiva's abode. In the second belt on the right two swordsmen run away and leave an archer who

stands facing six men armed with spears and swords. In the third belt the archer is struck from the left by a footman's spear, behind whom are two elephants carrying archers, and below three men with swords and shields. To the right the central figure is borne to heaven in a car along with other figures, perhaps the paradise. The fourth belt is Śiva's abode - Kailāsa. On the fourth belt is the Kailāsa. A man and a woman come to worship a *liṅga*; on the right is a group of heavenly choristers, one dancing, others singing to the accompaniment of music.

Stone II (10' × 3' × 6'') : In the centre of the lowest belt three dead figures lie on the ground. Over the three dead figures three heavenly damsels drop garlands of flowers. On the right are two figures riding elephants—one the chief and the other probably his minister or general. The chief's elephant has rich housings, and a car with a hood. The elephant crushes a man under its foot. In the second belt in the centre is the chief accompanied by his attendants. On the right a horseman fights with the chief. In the third belt, on the left are three elephant riders with goads in their hands. A figure in front fights with two bearded swordsmen. In the fourth belt the scene is in the Kailāsa. On the left is the dead warrior with angels dropping wreaths over him; on the right are heavenly dancers and musicians.

Stone III (10' × 3' × 6'') : In the lowest belt five high-peaked ships with masts advance to battle and archers crowding a raised deck above. (Pl. XXXIV,). In the second belt four ships attack a ship and the crew falling or throwing themselves into sea. An inscription above this carving has completely obliterated. In the third belt on the left three men in heaven worship a *liṅga* ; on the right are heavenly minstrels. In the centre of the fourth panel are Śiva, Pārvatī and other gods.

Stone IV (10' × 3' × 6'') : In the lowest belt eleven ships face a ship crowded with troops armed with spears and shields (pl. XXXIV,). The second belt shows sea battle with crew falling or throwing themselves into the sea. In the third belt nine ships pass along. In the fourth belt the troops have landed and march along. In the fifth belt the troop meet some people. The sixth belt shows *liṅga* worship; on the right is a band of heavenly dancers and players. In the seventh belt the central seated figure is an ascetic or the warrior surrounded by warriors and musicians. In the eighth panel is the shrine of Śiva.

Stone V (6' × 3' × 6'') : In the lowest belt are six vessels with oars and masts : In the second belt six ships from the left and three from the right meet in their fight. Over the central ship heavenly damsels float to

drop garlands on the warriors. The third belt shows *liṅga* worship. In the top belt the chief is holding court in heaven with heavenly damsels saluting him. The traces of eleven-twelfth century inscription are now completely worn out.

Stone VI (4' × 15" × 6"): In the lower belt is a sea fight and in the upper a warrior seated in heaven.

Henry Cousens thought that these stones were probably set up during the time of the Śilāhāras of the northern Konkan in memory of the heroes who fell in some great battle which took place partly upon land and partly on sea. Further he states "There is such an action recorded. We are told that the Yādava king, Mahādeva, led his forces against those of the Śilāhāra king of Thana, Somēśvara, and according to the account of Hemādri, completely subdued him. Mahādeva invaded the Konkan with an army consisting of a large number of elephants. Somēśvara was defeated upon land and is said to have then betaken himself to his ships. There somehow he met with his death, probably by drowning, for it is said that even the sea did not protect him, and that he betook himself to the submarine fire, thinking the fire of Mahādeva's to be more unbearable. The Konkan was thereupon annexed by the Yādavas."¹³

The late Mr. Braz Fernandes was of the opinion that these hero-stones throw light on the battle between the Kadambas and the Śilāhāras. The sea battle may have been fought for the occupation of the port of Sopara.¹⁴

According to late Dr. Altekar,¹⁵ Mahādeva's force was strong in elephants, and since the stone from the sculptures upon it appears to belong to the 12th or 13th century A. D., it is quite possible, as Cousens has suggested, that these stones may be commemorating the heroes who fell in the battle between Somēśvara and Mahādeva.

Dr. Moti Chandra¹⁶ states, as mentioned in the Bānswārā plates dated Śamvat 1076, at the king Bhoja had conquered Konkan before 1019 A. D. From another copper plate dated 1019 A. D. found at Betmā near Indore we come to know about the victory of Bhojadeva over Konkan.

It appears that Bhojadeva reached Sopara from Ujjain via Nasik and Nanaghat. Here he must have fought with the Konkan rulers in which flotillas of both the sides took part. But the victory of king Bhoja was very short lived because a little before 1024 A. D. Jayasimha of Kalyan had defeated Bhojadeva, "the ruler of the seven Konkans",

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4. Photo courtesy : Trustees, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. Of the eight hero-stones from the Prince of Wales Museum Collection discussed here four (Acc. Nos. 135, 136, 138 and S 14) were formerly in the collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
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ILLUSTRATIONS

- XXXI, A Hero-stone. Mantur, Dharwar District, Karnataka. 8th century A. D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- XXXI, B Hero-stone. Karnataka. 12th century A. D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- XXXI, C Hero-stone. Karnataka. 12th century A. D.
National Museum, New Delhi.
- XXXII, A Hero-stone. Karnataka. 12th century A. D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- XXXII, B Hero-stone. Karnataka. 12th century A. D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- XXXIII, A Hero-stone. Karnataka. Dated 1282 A. D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- XXXIII, B Paliya-stone. Gujarat. Dated Śaivvat 1828/1771 A. D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- XXXIV, A General view of Hero-stone. Eksar, Bombay, Maharashtra.
- XXXIV, B, C, D Hero-stones from Eksar, Bombay.



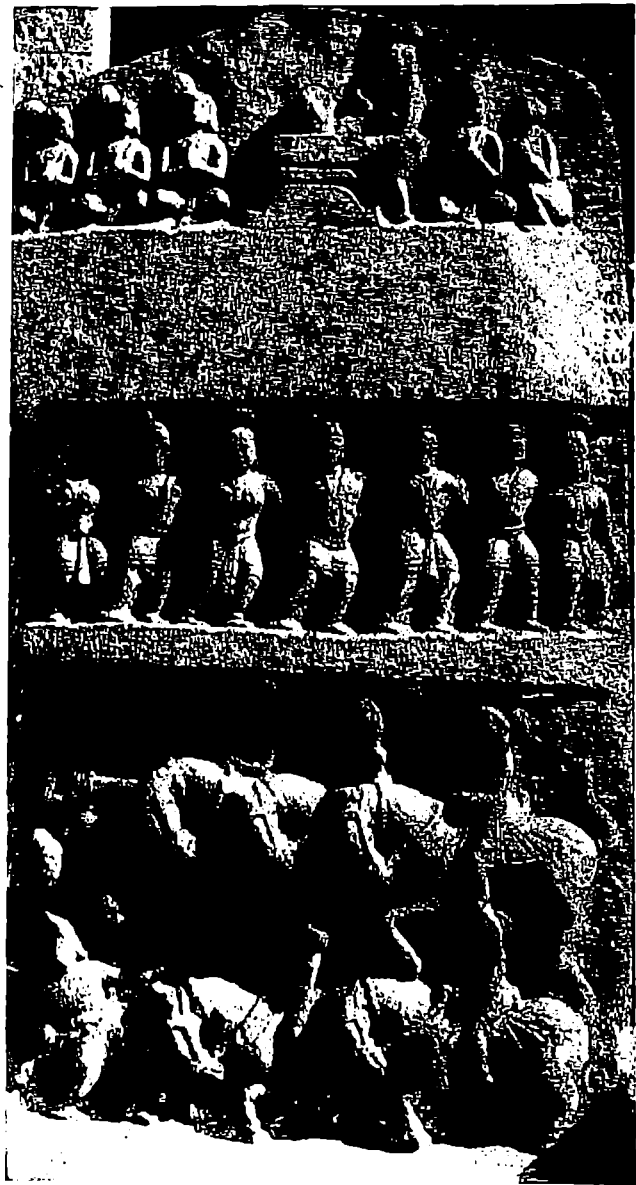
A. Hero-Stone, Mantur, Dharwar District, Karnataka.
8th Century A. D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



C. Hero-Stone, Karnataka, 12th Century A. D.
National Museum, New Delhi.

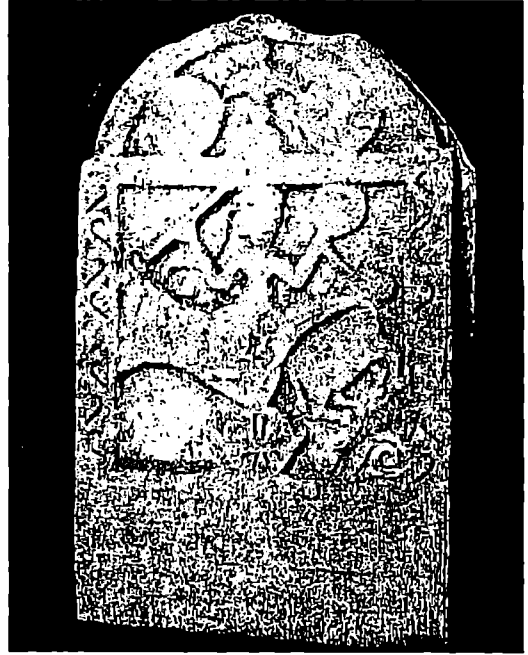


B. Hero-Stone, Karnataka, 12th Century A. D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.





A. Hero-Stone, Karnataka, dated 1282 A. D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



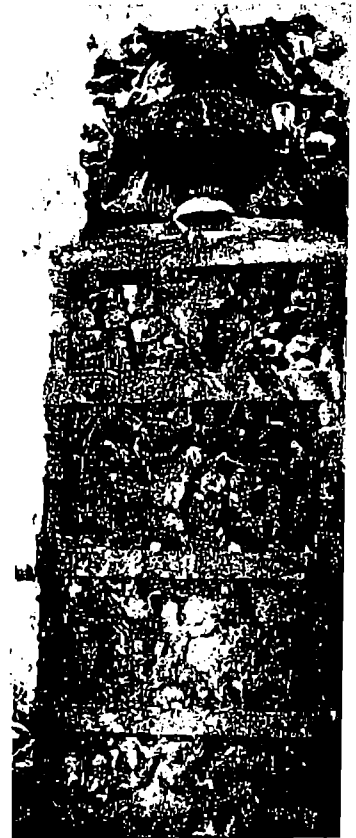
B. Paliya Stone, Gujarat, dated Samvat 1828/1717
A. D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

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Hero-Stones, Karnataka 12th Century A. D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



A. General view of Hero-Stones, Eksar, Bombay.



B, C, D. Hero-Stones from Eksar, Bombay.

ETHNOLOGY OF HŪṆAS IN INDIA-NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

S. V. SOHONI

As known to early history, the Hūṇas were a nomadic community based on a region near North China and South West Mongolia. Their movements westwards brought them into contact with eastern Europe, the Roman Empire in west Asia, Persia and India, during a period of about two hundred years, spread over the 4th, 5th and the 6th centuries A. D. There are definite and clear reports of contemporary observers, both Chinese and Roman, on the physical appearance of the Hūṇas, as they found it. These foreign sources indicate the existence of two broad groups in the Hūṇa population, one being largely Mongolian in looks and built and the other being Caucasian-Turkish.

We have some descriptions of this nomadic community. While taking note of them, sufficient account must be taken of the fact that these remarks of the contemporary writers not only concern themselves with the section of the community with which the observers were immediately confronted but also the position that they reflect the outlook, the culture and the prejudices of the observers themselves.

The reliable parts of historical evidence relevant to these problems can be divided into :

(a) Descriptions by contemporary observers of the Hūṇas in respect of whom they had a reasonable opportunity to say something based on direct contact.

(b) Other contemporary and purely historical material like inscriptions and coins.

(c) Linguistic analysis of proper nouns and other words definitely associated in the language or languages used by the Hūṇas.

The Roman poet, Claudian,¹ gave this account at the time of the downfall of the Roman Empire :

“ These Huns are a tribe who live on the eastern borders of Scythia beyond the frozen Tanais; most infamous of all the children of the North. Hideous to look upon are their faces and loathsome bodies, but indefatigable is their spirit. The chase supplies their food; bread they will not eat. They love to slash their faces and hold it a righteous act to swear

by their murdered parents.... Disorderly, but with incredible swiftness, they often return to fight when little expected."

Jordanus, a Gothic author, supplies a more detailed sketch of the origin, temperament and physical features of this community: "Filimer the Goth king, who invaded Scythia with his tribe found among his people certain evil women who were called Halirunnae. Suspecting these women, he expelled them from the midst of his race and compelled them to wander in solitary exile, far away from his army. There the unclean spirits, who saw them as they wandered through the wilderness, bestowed their embraces upon them and begot this savage race, which dwelt at first in the swamps – a stunted foul and puny tribe, and having no language, scarcely human, bore but slight resemblance to human speech. Such was the origin of the Huns, who came to the country of the Goths..... By the terror of their features, they imparted great fear in those who perhaps they did not really surpass in war. They made their foes flee in horror because their swarthy aspect was fearful and they had a sort of shapeless lump, not a head, with pin holes rather than eyes. Their hardihood is evident in their wild appearance, and they are beings who are cruel to their children on the very day they are born. For they cut the cheeks of the males with a sword so that before they receive the nourishment of milk, they must learn to endure wounds. Hence they grow old beardless; and their young men are without comeliness, because a face furrowed by the sword spoils by its scars the natural beauty of a beard. They are short in stature, alert horsemen, broad shouldered, ready in the use of bow and arrow; and have firm set necks, which are ever erect in pride; though they live in the form of men, they have the cruelty of wild beasts."

Ammianus Marcellius, a Roman author and contemporary of the Sassanian Emperor Shahapur II, who lived in the 4th century A. D. describes a tribe of this community which was living beyond the Maeotic sea: "The cheeks of their children were deeply furrowed with steel, from their very birth, in order that the growth of hair when it appears at the proper time, may be checked by the wrinkled scars. They grow old without beards and without any beauty. Like eunuchs they all have compact limbs, thick necks and are ugly and misshapen. But they are hard in their mode of life. They have no need of fire, nor of savoury food, but eat the roots of the wild plants and the half raw flesh of any kind of animal – which they put between their thighs and the back of their horses and thus warm it a little..... after they have once put their necks into a faded tunic, it is not taken off or changed until by long wear or tear. It gets reduced to rags and falls down bit by bit. They cover their heads with round caps; and protect their hairy

legs with goat skins. Their shoes are not bound with laces and thereby prevent walking with free steps. For this reason, they are not at all adapted to battles on foot but are almost glued to their horses, which are hardy but ugly. From their horses by day and night, every one of that nation buys and sells, eats and drinks and bowed over the narrow neck of his animal, relaxes into sleep. And when deliberation is called for about weighty matters, they all consult on horseback. They are subject to no royal restraint and are content with the disorderly government of their important men. No one in their country ever ploughs a field. They are all without fixed abodes, without hearth or law or settled mode of life, and keep roaming from place to place accompanied with their wagons in which their wives live. In truces, they are faithless and unreliable; like unreasoning beasts they are utterly ignorant of the differences between right and wrong and ambiguous in speech, never bound by any reverence for religion and superstition. They burn with an infinite thirst for gold and they are so fickle and prone to anger that they often quarrel with their allies."

Procopius, writing in the 6th century A. D., gives this account of the Hephthalites: "They are of the Hunnish race and bear the Hunnish name. But they are completely different from the Huns we know. They alone among the Hunnish people have white skins and regular features with big eyes. They are not a wandering people and do not move from one place to another like the general Huns but live under a king and have a constitution of their own to guide administration. Their behaviour towards their neighbours and colleagues is severe and frank and resembles very much the Romans in this respect."

According to the Chinese sources, this community inhabiting Mongolia had 'red hair, green eyes and white faces.'

In one of the Chinese dynastic histories, it was stated that the Hiuengnu had large prominent and extremely hairy noses. In contrast the Turkish race had full and flowing beards, large eyes and prominent noses – in sharp contrast with the flat face of the Mongol and comparatively hairless skin.

The common factor in the description of the Hūṇa migration from the Asiatic steppes towards Eastern and Central Europe and also towards North Afghanistan and Persia, is that they were large bands of horsemen, having known civilized mode of conduct, extremely swift movement, relentless in attack, nomadic in habit carrying their tents and wagons, recognizing no standard authority, blood-thirsty and bent on collecting as much movable items of wealth, especially gold and silver, as they possibly could. It can

easily be imagined that such a community of marauders and adventurers on horseback could never have maintained even a shred of ethnic purity. Racial intermixture must have commenced within a generation of their migrant life. It is impossible now to form any estimate as to what ratio had prevailed between men and women when they first started moving over long distances. It is even more difficult to make any guess, in regard to this proportion, when portions of the original Hūṇa community started settling down in different regions in Asia and Europe. But one may assume that there must have been a carry forward of certain original racial characteristics that became noticeable at some time at least in stray, though prominent, cases; and also that certain social customs continued to be adhered to, on account of a persistent belief in their validity, reinforced by political success of those among them who had observed them for several generations in the past.

When all this is said in regard to a limited number of identifying characteristics, both racial and social, there is little doubt that as the Hūṇa migrations overtook larger and larger distances, cutting across resident social life, language and physical geography of different regions, and so on, the dominant aspect was that of ethnic and cultural varieties and not that of a homogeneous racial group, despite the application of the same label to this mass of humanity by different observers in different climes, countries and periods of history.

The foreign references to the major division in the Hūṇa population have been noticed above.

There is, apparently, a near concensus among scholars of Hūṇa history that Hūṇas in India belonged to at least two distinct racial groups, viz. Śveta Hūṇas and Hāra Hūṇas, who apparently, had a much darker complexion. To this main conclusion is added a supplementary view that the Hūṇas who had attacked Central Europe were different from either of these two sections of that community as had then penetrated into Persia, Afghanistan, Sindh, Kashmir, the Punjab, Rajasthan, parts of Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat. Along with these three main conclusions, a debate has been in progress whether the bulk of the Hūṇa community possessed physical traits of the Mongolian people or were Turks or Turco-Iranians.

Literary descriptions of the appearance of the average Hūṇa or even of a particular Hūṇa ruler is virtually non-existent, so far as Indian literature is concerned. For this reason the reference to the Hūṇa dress in Śyāmilaka's *Pādatāḍitakam* and to the beardless, clean shaven chin and orange-like Hūṇa complexion occurring in Vāmana's *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra Sūtrāṇi* possessed a

unique interest. The former belongs to the post-Gupta period and describes the head-dress of a Hūṇa soldier showing the employment of small white wooden pieces. It is conceded that this description is only of sartorial value and carries no ethnological significance. The second literary account, viz. that by Vāmana, is of much more positive value as it is given by a scholar who was a minister to a king of Kashmir in the 8th century. It is well known that Kashmir continued to be under Hūṇa control for a much longer period than other parts of North Western India, after the main tide of the Hūṇa aggression in the 6th century lost its strength. Vāmana illustrated the *upamā alaṅkāra* of the *kalpita* variety by quoting this remark - '*sadyo muṅḍita-matta-Hūṇa-cibuka-prasparadhi-nāraṅgakam*'. This extremely laconic statement conveys a lot of information about the Hūṇa appearance and at least one part of the Hūṇa anatomy, besides making a sly reference to the Hūṇa addiction to intoxicants. The detail that the chin of an inebriated Hūṇa which had just been shaven competed with an orange informs us, not only about the shape of the chin but also about the Hūṇa complexion, as observed in Kashmir. It is extremely interesting to note that the Hūṇa coinage of the rulers beginning with Toramāṇa illustrates this physical feature. The only other reference to Hūṇa appearance which I have been able to discover, is in a statement of Hiuen Tsang about the reaction of the mother of Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya when the captive Mihirakula was brought before her, viz. that his face was pale and he was handsome in appearance.

As Dr. Aurel Stein³ has pertinently remarked, these peoples were called by a name whose approximate sound was Hūṇa or HieGnu or Hūṇa, etc., precisely because these people had themselves announced their name in that way.

On the subject of ethnology the conclusion drawn by Dr. Aurel Stein broadly remains good even now, although it was recorded about nine decades ago. It would bear an adequate quotation : " In the first place, we must allow further weight to our Chinese authorities, which on the one hand, distinctly call the Ye-Tha, a branch of the great Yur-chi, and on the other hand, constantly insist on the striking resemblance in manners and customs between them and the Tu-Kine or Turks. This observation is all the more important because the Chinese annalist knew quite well that it was the Turks who destroyed the Central Asian power of the Epthalites in the middle of the sixth century. There can thus be no question whatever of the Chinese ever having confused the two peoples.... " Of the Byzantine historians, it might possibly be supposed at a stretch that they, having the European Huns in their mind, employed the name in a generic sense and without

any ethnological ground. Yet even in their case it ought to be remembered that Procopius, the first of them to use the term 'White Hun', lived fully a hundred years after the time of Attila Huns.

"We find the earliest instance of the name Hūṇa in Skandagupta's inscription... — Yaśovarman also uses it ... Finally, the Chinese sources also apply the name Hun to the Ye-Tha or Epthalites, as has been clearly proved by M. Specht...

"We can explain the uniform application of the name Hun to the Epthalites in our Greek Indian and Chinese records alike only by supposing that the designation was current among the nation itself. Once we accept this, the conclusion follows that the Epthalites stood in close ethnological connexion with the European Huns, who make their appearance in history just at the same time. The investigations of the Hungarian savants, especially of those of Prof. Arminius Vambey, have proved that the European Huns belonged to the Turco-Tartar branch of the so called Turanian family. We see them justified in ascribing a like origin also to the White Huns in India.

"This conclusion is philologically confirmed by those few proper names of the White Huns which have as yet been investigated by competent Turcologist scholars. These are the names of Toramāṇa and the same king's dynastic surname Jaūla, which are in inscription recovered in the Punjab Salt Range..... Prof. Kara-Bacek, the distinguished Viennese orientalist has long ago recognised in these names two purely Turkish words."

To what extent is the figure engraved on ancient Indian coinage a faithful drawing of physical features? It is obvious that there are various limitations on the scope left for the engraver in the mint. Firstly, the extreme shortage of space is a big handicap in showing clearly individual particularities. It is conceivable that the drawing of the face in profile, solves a practical problem – it leads to better protection of the details as they are necessarily smaller in number and larger physical relief than those in the frontwise facial engraving. Secondly, the conventional element in dress and ornament had to be repeated : and physical features many times got stereotyped, obstructing accurate delineation, even assuming there was inclination to present it and the requisite artistic skill was available to enable the necessary introduction of detail in the engraving. Thirdly, the face was ordinarily shown in profile and not frontwise. This meant that the artist had to depend on one eye, one ear, and the half of the lower and upper lips and a cross section of the chin with which to attempt to draw distinctive appearance of a face – admittedly, an extremely difficult task. Even the most observant may not be confident of identifying a face by studying only the profile in actual

life; and the difficulties in a similar attempt based on a profile on a coin, can be easily imagined. There was also the feeling that the royal face was better respected if shown in profile. The neck and the expanse of the bust below it, could, however, be indicated more clearly and accurately – because *proportionately*, more space was available for these physical features, and individual variations could be accommodated to a greater extent. In these circumstances, it is a matter of luck if the features of the face and bust shown on a coin happen to be a sound guide to what they were really like.

II

There is sufficient indication that the coin engraver in ancient India was conscious of challenge to his skill posed by the problem of persenting accurate idea of the bust of the ruler within the short space of the plain surface of a circular coin. The photographic quality of the Indo-Bactrian coinage is proved by the reproduction of the broken bridge of his nose on the later coinage of Menander as also by the portraits of Agathocleia showing her at her different ages. This point holds good with reference to the coinage of her son Strato I. Mention may be made of the success of the Kuṣāṇa mint master in showing the imperial appearance as completely as possible and with all regalia deemed necessary to impress the subject populations. The coin engravers took into account the changes caused by age, e. g. the progressive loss of hair on the head of the ruler during successive issues of his coins. We have the rare instance of the beauty and the grace of Empress Dhruvasvāminī being delineated on the unique sense of the transfer of the political power shown on the Śrī-pratāpa/Apratigha coin type of Kumāragupta I. I have analysed the correspondence between Bāṇabhaṭṭa's description of Harṣa when he first saw him and the description of Harṣa's appearance on the unique gold type coin issued by him. The Mogul mints seem to have showed some regard for accuracy: the gold coin of Akbar showing his bust and the coins of Jahangir showing his profile, fairly correspond to their painted portraits.

In this background, the coins of some Hūṇa rulers of North India yield useful information relevant to queries like, (a) whether they had at all preserved any original ethnic traits; (b) whether their features contradicted the widespread reports of their ferocious looks showing cruelty and avarice and so on, (c) another exercise can be to match some contemporary numismatic detail with the admittedly scanty description in literary sources.

There is good reason to hold that the Hūṇa invasion of India had taken place from their base in Afghanistan known as 'Zabulistan'; which

according to Le Strange, was a term applied to 'The whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmand and the Kandhar (i. e. Arghandab) rivers' (vide *The Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, p. 349). There is epigraphic and numismatic evidence to suggest that the early career of Toramāṇa and of his son Mihirgula was associated with Zaistan. Toramāṇa is styled as 'Sāhi Jaubler' in the Kheara inscription.³ On his horseman and Sassanian type silver coinage, this very title occurs as either 'Jahuble or 'Yabale'.⁴ In two short inscriptions from Vruzagan (about midway between the upper waters of the Helmand and the Arghandab in Central Afghanistan), Mihira (Kula) has been referred to as king of Zābul i. e. 'Sāho Zoocdovo', in Hephthalite Greek script.⁵

It is not necessary to assume that the Hūṇas under Toramāṇa and Mihirakula had attacked Indian territories to the east of the Indus river via the Bolan Pass. Very likely, they had used not only the sea route and the access through Baluchistan for that purpose - they might have come by the northern passes as well. It has been found that Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa* refers to a combination of armies drawn from Persia, Sindh, Kuluṭa and Kashmir; and the opposing Indian alliance was formed of the Saurāṣṭra, Rajasthan, Central Malwa and the powers in the Gangetic plains, under the leadership of Magadha. Ultimately, the Hūṇas under Mihirakula were pushed back into Kashmir, which was deemed to be the ancestral domain of Mihirakula by the Gupta Emperor.

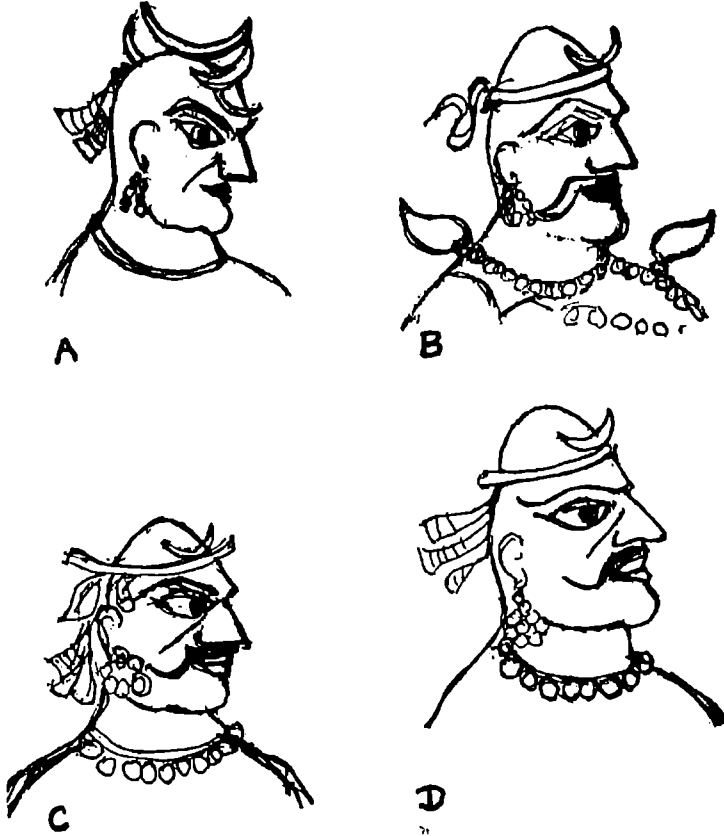
The coinage left behind in the wake of this tide of aggression yields interesting information on the ethnology of the Hūṇa rulers. Curiously enough, the relevant details partly correspond to the description of the Hūṇa physical features found in the writings of the Greek, Roman and Chinese observers.

The most telling Indian observation about Hūṇa features - and perhaps the only one of the kind - was : 'Sadyo munḍita-matta-Hūṇa-cibuka-praspardhi-nāraṅgakam' quoted in Vāmana's *Kāvyaḷaṅkārasūtravṛtti* (c 8th Century A. D.) from an earlier work. For this observation is fully supported by the drawings on the Hūṇa coinage in India.

We have an idea of the severe limitations on the extent of the information as can be extracted from the coins left by the Hūṇas in India. Despite the doubtful element implicit in such data, there is fair certainty that the die-cutter had taken good care to emphasize (i) the tall and prominent nose; (ii) the large eyes, (iii) the thick, and (iv) the beardless face and chin. These details can be illustrated profusely with the help of

the photographs of the plates VII to XI in Cunningham's *Later Indo-Scythians* (London, 1895).

These features cannot be described as belonging to the Mongolian round, hairless and flat face. Nor can they be described as Iranian. They fit in, very obviously, with the Turkish physiognomy.



A. King of Zabul.
C. Shabi Jabula.

B. Shoho=Shahi (Rāja Lakkana Udayāditya)
D. Deva Shahi.

Contemporary accounts of the Hūna outlook towards their enemies in Europe and Asia leave no room for doubt that brutal carnage had marked their conquests. Lie Po noted –

“They have no fields or plough any lands,
But only wastes lie white bones,
Among yellow sands”.

Another Chinese poet, Tsai Yen, wrote in his Song of Distress.

“ They cut and felled and not a man was left,
The sprawling corpses piled up into heaps,
Upon the shafts they hung the heads of men,
And in the carts they loaded up the women. ”

‘ The earth shook ’ - ‘ *Dharā Kampitā* ’, is the only available comment on the early Hūṇa aggression mentioned in any Indian historical record, viz. in the pillar inscription of Skandagupta at Bhitari. Owing to the disappearance of some words in the relevant line dealing with Skandagupta’s confrontation with the Hūṇas, it cannot be definitely asserted that Hūṇa atrocities were thus referred to as responsible for earthen tremors, (as is generally held by scholars of that period) or whether these words were used to praise Skandagupta, keeping in view the loud twangs of that great hero—such a noise of the bow string has been associated with an impact like that of an earthquake in Sanskrit literature. Of individual Hūṇa brutality, there is a detailed description in Kalhaṇa’s *Rājataragṇī* of Mihirakula’s conduct. This is corroborated by Hiuen Tsang as well as by Viśākhadatta (vide his unique Sanskrit drama on Kauṭilya’s statecraft, *Mudrārālcṣasam*). There is also a reference to treachery being practised by a Hūṇa king for capturing the Chitor fort in Rajasthan. But neither brutality nor treachery nor even savagery as element in the psychology of a ruler can at all be called unique in the annals of Indian history.

It is not difficult to imagine that while the common Hūṇa horseman left a progeny, which in the course of time showed ethnic characters sharply different from those of his male ancestors, the ruling circles in the Hūṇa population were likely to be more careful in respect of the choice of their legitimate successors. Accordingly, the ruling line was more likely than not, to exhibit the earlier or continuing ethnic features, allowing for the opportunity as well as need for inter-communal matrimonial alliances, contracted for political reasons.

The coinage of the Hūṇas in India during the full tide of their early aggressive phase, clearly reflects their Turco-Iranian features. Their chins, noses and eyes which are all fairly prominently exhibited in their profiles, yield interesting material for evaluation. The result is to prove that only some of the *original* physical traits of Hūṇas, appear to have been carried forward, till they reached India and occupied some territories in the subcontinent, viz. the thick neck; and that those who issued coinage, apparently, belonged to that section of the community which was styled as, ‘ *Śveta Hūṇa* ’.

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KALIṄGA INVASION OF AŚOKA: CIRCUMSTANCES AND MOTIVES

KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL

The historian's task is not merely the collection of data and its arrangement in chronological order which can at best present a bare skeleton of history without flesh and blood. Therefore to make his account meaningful he must also analyse the material and attempt to answer how and why the happenings took place. This naturally involves a degree of speculation.

That Aśoka conquered Kaliᅅga is an historical fact, but to explain as to why he did so would need speculation. One simple answer would be that he did it with a view to expand his territories, a task which according to ancient texts on polity is one of the essential duties of a king. But then the question arises: why Aśoka chose to invade Kaliᅅga and not the Cola and Pāᅅᅅya kingdoms? A plausible explanation could be in its proximity to the Mauryan capital, Pāᅅaliputra. Because of the closeness it could more effectively create trouble for the Mauryas, and would itself be more vulnerable to the Mauryan forces, as compared to the Cola and Pāᅅᅅya kingdoms. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, has made speculations regarding the circumstances and motives of Aśoka's invasion of Kaliᅅga and it would be worthwhile to mention and examine them. In the *Comprehensive History of India*, Volume II, edited by Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, he writes :

" Why instead of invading the Cola and Pāᅅᅅya countries of south, which his father Bindusāra tried to subdue, he conquered and annexed Kaliᅅga to his empire is not clear. Possibly Kaliᅅga was a thorn in the body politic of his dominions. Āndhra, which lay to the south of Kaliᅅga and comprised *inter alia* the modern Krishna and Godavari districts, was conquered by Bindusāra. Thus on one side of the Maurya kingdom was Cola and on the other Kaliᅅga. According to the Hindu political theory, Kaliᅅga and Cola were the natural enemies of the Maurya power and therefore natural friends of each other. It is not unreasonable to suppose that in Bindusāra's war on Cola and Pāᅅᅅya, Kaliᅅga was an ally of the latter, attacked the Maurya forces from the rear and was thus chiefly instrumental in its ending in failure ".¹

The following points emerge from Prof. Bhandarkar's statement :

1. Kaliᅅga was an independent kingdom during the reign of Bindusāra.

2. (i) Bindusāra conquered the Āndhra country.

(ii) With the conquest of the Āndhra territory, the boundaries of the Maurya empire became contiguous with the Cola and Kaliᅅga states.

3. In accordance with the maxims of Hindu polity, the Colas and Kaliᅅgas, bordering on the Maurya empire, would have been inimical to it, and the two being neighbour's neighbour would have been friendly with each other.

4. (i) Bindusāra attacked the kingdoms of the Colas and Pāᅇᅇyas.

(ii) In the event of that invasion, Kaliᅅga, the natural ally of the two kingdoms came to their help.

(iii) While the Colas and Pāᅇᅇyas faced the invading Maurya army from the front Kaliᅅga attacked it from the rear.

(iv) Bindusāra failed in his attempt to conquer the Cola and Pāᅇᅇya kingdoms.

(v) The attack by Kaliᅅga from the rear was the main cause for the failure of Bindusāra.

5. Aśoka would normally have followed the policy of his father and attacked the Cola and Pāᅇᅇya kingdoms first, but preferred to make Kaliᅅga the target of his invasion as that attack by the state from the rear was responsible for Bindusāra's failure against the Colas and Pāᅇᅇyas.

As Prof. Bhandarkar did not cite any authority in support of his view, K. A. N. Sastri, the editor of the Volume, wrote to the learned savant requesting him to state his authority for his highly speculative reasoning. But Prof. Bhandarkar passed away before he could send reply to the letter.² Be that as it may, we put forth our own views regarding the circumstances of Aśoka's invasion of Kaliᅅga, which differ from those of the learned celebrity.

The basic difference between Prof. Bhandarkar's and our view-points is that while he believes that Kaliᅅga was an independent kingdom during the reign of Bindusāra, we are of the opinion that it formed part of the Mauryan empire during the reign of that ruler. The Purāᅇic testimony clearly shows that Kaliᅅga was conquered by Mahāpadmananda, the founder of the Nanda dynasty.³ The evidence of the Hāthigumphā inscription also supports it. It refers to the inauguration of a canal in Kaliᅅga by a Nanda king, three hundred years before the fifth regnal year of Khāravela,⁴ and also to the bringing back by Khāravela of an image of Jina (i. e. Jaina Tīrthānkara)

which had been carried away by a Nanda ruler.⁵ It would be reasonable to suppose that when Candragupta Maurya supplanted the last Nanda ruler, he became master of all the territory under that Nanda ruler. Further, it would be difficult to believe that Kaliṅga attained independent status during the reign of Candragupta Maurya⁶ or of his son Bindusāra, since both were powerful rulers.⁷ And if Kaliṅga was part of the Mauryan empire during the reign of Bindusāra, it should have been so during the reign of Aśoka too. What then could be the justification for Aśoka's invasion of that region? On this point we offer our speculations as below.

Though Buddhist accounts about Aśoka having killed ninety-nine brothers in a war of succession is a palpable exaggeration, it is a historical fact that there was such a war of succession between the sons of Bindusāra in which Aśoka and Susīma (also named as Sumana) were the main contenders. In such a situation, it could have been difficult for the different Mauryan provinces to remain neutral, more so for Kaliṅga which, as stated above, because of its nearness to the Mauryan capital, was more vulnerable to the Mauryan forces and could pose a greater danger to the Mauryan empire than provinces lying at greater distances from that city. Some Mauryan provinces would have allied with Aśoka while others with his rival Susīma. Kaliṅga, for some reason or the other, cast its lot with Susīma and actively supported him. This might have been done because it was held that Susīma being the eldest had rightful claims to the throne. It is also quite possible that Susīma had matrimonial relation with the head of Kaliṅga province and this could also have been an important factor for his support for Susīma. However to the misfortune of Kaliṅga, Susīma was routed in that war, and Aśoka ascended the throne. But even then Kaliṅga did not accept Aśoka's authority and declared its independence. This enraged Aśoka all the more and he decided to settle accounts with Kaliṅga and teach its head a lesson.

Even after vanquishing Susīma, it was no smooth sailing for Aśoka. He seems to have been faced with administrative and other problems, and who knows, supporters of Susīma might not have fully reconciled with the *fait accompli* and continued creating troubles for Aśoka. The Buddhist texts inform us that even after becoming king it took some years for Aśoka to be finally consecrated. In the eighth year of his reign, he invaded Kaliṅga with all his might in order to punish its chief for his anti-Aśokan pro-Susīma role in the war of succession. Kaliṅga took up the challenge, rallied all its resources and faced the invading army with a do-or-die spirit. Aśoka's information regarding the casualties suffered by the Kaliṅga army in his thirteenth Rock Edict is an eye opener. On lakh persons were killed, one and

half lakh carried away as captive and a large number died due to various other reasons. There might be some exaggeration in this account, yet it has to be accepted that the Kalinga war was one of the bloodiest wars. Kalinga was not only humbled, it was mercilessly crushed. Incidentally this would have served as a terrible warning to other provincial heads, as to what would be their fate if they dared challenge Aśoka's authority. Kalinga was put under the administrative charge of prince-vice-roy stationed at Tosali, as is clear from the separate Kalinga Edict of Aśoka at Dhauli.

Thus in our view Aśoka invaded Kalinga because of its anti-Aśokan role in the war of succession. It was not a cause of conquest of a new territory but a case of bringing a recalcitrant and defiant rebel province back into the fold of the Mauryan empire.

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5. *Ibid.*, p. 217, *Nandarājā uttam ca Kalingā Jinaṃ Sannivesa.*
6. The statement of Pliny that the Kalinga ruler had 80,000 foot soldiers, 1000 horsemen and seven hundred elephants, is taken to be based on Megasthenes' *Indika*, and hence referring to the conditions during the reign of Candragupta Maurya (Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 305). But Pliny might as well be referring to the condition of his own time (1st Century A. D.).
7. We do hear of a revolt in Taxila during the reign of Bindusūra which was quelled by Aśoka, but not in Kalinga.

JYEṢṬHĀ – THE AMBIVALENT GODDESS

HARIDAS SWALI

One of the intriguing deities in the Brahmanical pantheon is a minor goddess called Jyeṣṭhā who received warm worship both from the princely families and the people at large, particularly during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries in territories ruled by the Pallavas, Pāṇdyas and Colas in Tamil Nadu.

Jyeṣṭhā appears in rock-cut shrines and as a *parivāra devatā* in structured temples built under the royal patronage. Shrines dedicated to her worship were exempted from taxation and endowments and grants for maintaining oil lamps in her shrines were granted by royal orders.¹ She was then accepted as a deity who would grant favours to the devotee who worshipped her. Both Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite Āgamas describe her and include her as a *parivāra devatā*, an ancillary goddess. The *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*² prescribed a ritual for her worship. However, Jyeṣṭhā has been called Alakṣmī in the Śrī-Sūkta and some other texts and this shows that her role has shifted from the negative to the positive and vice versa from time to time. Sometimes she shows motherly elegance and is welcome. At other times she is ugly, fearful and inauspicious as the elder sister of Lakṣmī.

The above ambivalent position of Jyeṣṭhā may be due to her being a part of the folk pantheon, as pointed out by K. V. Soundara Rajan while discussing the diminutive bronze image of Aditi or mother-goddess prototype found in the urn burial at Adichanalur in the Pandyan country. Soundara Rajan aptly observes "it should serve as a persuasive index for specific iconic purposes, albeit, at folk level. Its art development might, perhaps, have to be linked with those elements of Tamil sculptural religious art as an indigenous... (such as Jyeṣṭhā)....."³

Jyeṣṭhā as a deity has aroused mixed feelings about herself and has on occasions been accepted as a deity to be consecrated and worshipped and on other occasions to be shunned, as shown by various canonical texts.

The variety of centres of worship cited by various writers on South Indian temple architecture and art shows that according to the Vaikhānasa plans of temple architecture Jyeṣṭhā is allotted the north-west corner in the third *āvāraṇa* and also appears with Gaṇeśa and/or Durgā in Vaiṣṇava shrines.⁴

The *Marīci Saṁhitā*, a Vaikhānasa text, of around the eighth century A. D. describes Jyeṣṭhā as born during the constellation of Jyeṣṭhā and riding in a chariot accompanied by the ass and the crow. This Saṁhitā also allots the north-west corner in the Vimāna of the temple to Jyeṣṭhā.

It is significant that Uttaramerur, a village about 25 km. from Kanchi, is a Pallava foundation of the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla built in *circa* 750 A. D. which, as R. Nagaswamy suggests was laid out according to the Vaikhānasa tradition probably of the *Marīci Saṁhitā*. In the centre of this temple town there is a Sabhāmaṇḍapa (the assembly hall). A Viṣṇu temple is in the west; a Durgā temple in the north; a Śiva temple and a Saptamātā temple in the north-east and "a Jyeṣṭhā in the south". Nagaswamy points out that these structures are not only in these positions today but are also referred to as existing in their respective positions in the inscriptions.⁵

In this connection we may note an inscription dated 28th year of Parantaka Cola (935 A. D.) of the Aṣṭaparivāra Śiva temple in Thiruverambur. In this inscription the main *parivāras* of Śiva were considered eight in number, viz. (1) Vṛṣabha (2) Durgā (3) Saptamātā (4) Gaṇeśa (5) Subrahmaṇya (6) Jyeṣṭhā (7) Viṣṇu and (8) Sūrya. This has been also laid down in the *Rauravāgama*, *Diptāgama*, *Yogajāgama* and *Vīrāgama*, and what is significant is that all of them allot the north-west to Jyeṣṭhā. However, the actual placement of Jyeṣṭhā often differs from the textual guidance.

Thus various texts cited above give a fair indication of the positive aspects of Jyeṣṭhā as a *parivāra devatā* who appears in different shrines along with some of the major benevolent deities of the Brahmanical pantheon, including Viṣṇu himself.

Let us now look at some of the harsh words used by the later texts such as the *Līṅga Purāṇa* about the advent of Jyeṣṭhā as an unwelcome visitor.

The *Līṅga Purāṇa* (I, i, Ch. VI, verses 31-75) gives a list of unwholesome places which the disillusioned sage Duḥsaha could visit with his wife Jyeṣṭhā-Alakṣmī. Included in this rather revealing list are the words (verses 57-61): "It is only the wicked who do not say that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra, the ruler of Devas, are all born by the grace of Rudra. Foolish persons of confounded mind would say that the glow-worm and the sun are on a par. They would say that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra are equal to Lord Śiva. Even if their houses are full and flourishing, enter them without fear

and enjoy yourself along with this lady." Thus the *Liṅga Purāna* skilfully blends a panegyric to Śiva with a gloomy dirge to the non-believer and to Jyeṣṭhā and casts a dark and lingering sectarian shadow over her.

It is interesting that there are a number of sculptures of Jyeṣṭhā strewn all over Tamil land belonging to the glorious period of 8th to 10th centuries and in none of the sculptures she appears as a fearful deity. On the other hand, she is placid in looks with due emphasis on her motherly and earthly aspects and some of her sculptures may even look quite charming (Pl. XXXV).

However, Jyeṣṭhā is a deity with puzzling features. She is shown seated on a *bhadrāsana* or on an ass. Her flag carries the emblem of a crow. There is a broom on her left in some sculptures. All these features make her appear somewhat forbidding. Her son is partly bovine with the face of a calf and with a human body. Her daughter is a fair damsel. There is considerable variation in textual references about her iconography and sometimes Jyeṣṭhā is compared with Śitalā because both have the ass as their means of transport. The crow and the broom are unromantic items connected with daily humdrum life and indicate her lack of glamour. According to Soundara Rajan, the sculptures of Jyeṣṭhā seem to indicate that she may have been inspired by the North Indian Hāritī⁶ who, we may recall, was once an ogress which Jyeṣṭhā was not. Some texts stress her destructive aspects as Alakṣmī who has to depart before Lakṣmī sets her foot in. Other texts consider her as suitably endowed to confer gifts on her devotee. It is in this ambivalence that Jyeṣṭhā is noteworthy.

S. R. Balasubrahmanyam⁷ has illustrated what he calls "one of the best specimens of Jyesthadevi of the early Cola period" where the 'necklaces' fall between her full and firm breasts and reach down to her gently swelling belly. He, however, hastens to add, "This figure has not the usual flabby belly and the pendulous breasts generally associated with deity." In fact, this elegant sculpture is in accordance with the canonical texts which describe Jyeṣṭhā as a well-endowed deity who is the mother of two children and no apologia seems to be necessary while describing it.

Some texts, e. g. the *Aṅsumādbhedāgama*, depict Jyeṣṭhā as a deity with hanging breasts (लम्बमानस्तना). Some texts describe Jyeṣṭhā as a deity with a firm bust line. In the *Kāraṇāgama*⁸ (I, 12, 114 b - 118 a), Jyeṣṭhā is described as - पीनोर्वी पीनगण्डा च पीनस्तनभरोदरी meaning she is endowed with full and plump thighs, broad and expansive cheeks, well rounded breasts and a full belly.



Goddeſs Jyeſthā, ſeated with her ſon, partly bovine, on her right and daughter on her left. Jyeſthā's left hand reſts on the head of a female devotee. Two of her emblems, the crow and the broom, can be ſeen in the background,

However, it would be rare to find a sculpture of Jyeṣṭhā from Tamil Nadu with hanging breasts. The presence of her two children shows that she, like the goddess Ambikā, is free from barrenness and probably also has power to protect children and to grant boons to all mothers and to women falling in the category of Vandhyā (barren) Mṛtavandhyā (one who has lost her child), Kākavandhyā (mother of one child), etc.⁹ The sculptural representation of Jyeṣṭhā possibly indicates the creative forces contained within the motherly framework of her body and her motherly thighs. It is perhaps on the basis of her natural bounty and earthliness that in the later periods Jyeṣṭhā could stage a partial comeback in some regions of India.

We may note that the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, which sets out the ritual for the worship of Jyeṣṭhā, includes homage to Nirṛti who from the Vedic times is considered as a goddess presiding over extinction of life, barrenness and desolation.¹⁰ Elaborate forms of ritual were involved to divert the influence of Nirṛti from one's own region of operation and influence so that the seeds of prosperity once sown would bear succulent fruits of success. In a similar manner elaborate rituals were set out for driving away Alakṣmī. As noted earlier, Jyeṣṭhā was equated with Alakṣmī. The playwright Bhavabhūti (*Uttara-Rāmacarita*, V, 30-31), who lived probably in the 8th century A. D., considered the word Nirṛti as interchangeable with Alakṣmī and stressed the point that when right and pleasant words (*sūnṛta*) are forthcoming Nirṛti would withdraw, paving the way for a better way of life. Nirṛti was invoked during the ritual worship of Jyeṣṭhā perhaps because placating of Nirṛti was considered desirable as was done during the Rājasūya sacrifice. When the sacrificial offering was made to Nirṛti she was besought with the words, "This is thy share, O Nirṛti, O thou mighty one; thou art rich in oblation; free him (the sacrificer) from anxiety or distress (*amhas*)". It was believed that Nirṛti represented the earth's evil aspect while Anumati (Auspiciousness, Goodwill) represented the positive or the fertile aspects of earth. According to Heesterman,¹¹ Nirṛti herself could be the personified representation of the cover of the embryo which needs to be cast off before it becomes dangerous to life. The abode of Nirṛti is the non-fertile part of the land. It seems that it was to avoid any mishap that placating of Nirṛti was considered unavoidable. The association of Nirṛti with her ritual worship was considered relevant when the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* was composed (not later than the 1st century A. D.).

In view of the extreme nature of Nirṛti, her sacrificial worship took place in saline or cleft part of the land, while the worship of Jyeṣṭhā could be held within the sacred precincts of the temple itself. At the same time Jyeṣṭhā with her two children and serene looks was well set in Tamil land

for her worship as a giver of bounty and remover of hardship. Her own motherly representation in sculpture showed lack of barrenness and in this aspect she distinctly differed from Nirṛti.

But it is significant to note that one of the earliest Tamil Vaiṣṇava saints to take adverse notice of Jyeṣṭhā was a South Indian Āḷvār Toṇḍara-ḍippoḍ,¹² who lived in the 9th century at the Viṣṇu shrine of Raṅganātha and his spouse Mahālakṣmī at Śrīraṅgam, near Tiruchirpalli. In a somewhat enthusiastic outburst against Buddhist and Jaina doctrines the saint-poet says, "Those good knowers of the scriptures, will they care to learn or hear Buddhist or Jaina doctrines that teach the false Dharma.....?" In another Tamil verse the saint-poet says, "the disgusted Śramaṇas (Jainas), *muṇḍas* and ill-fated *Inkya*s speak words disrespectful of thee (Viṣṇu), that become insufferable to me....." Referring to Jyeṣṭhā, he says, "..... when there is (Viṣṇu), the rider of Garuḍa (to give everything including liberatio) will any one seek to get riches from the goddess of 'misfortune' (Jyeṣṭhādevi)?"

There was thus a simultaneous and forthright attack on the Buddhists, the Jainas and the deity Jyeṣṭhā who was worshipped and who bestowed favours. Perhaps Jyeṣṭhā had reached a level of popularity as a bestower of riches from which status she needed to be pulled away. If so, her position in the then prevailing Tamil pantheon must have been formidable as shown by T. Gopinath Rao and other scholars. T. Gopinath Rao¹³ points out that at Nangapuram, near Tiruchirpalli where there is a Śiva temple, the Cola princess Arinjigai had an image of Jyeṣṭhā carved. Laying stress on the acceptance of Jyeṣṭhā by the Pāṇḍyas, Gopinath Rao says that about the end of the 8th century a queen of the Pāṇḍyan ruler Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka had a rock shrine of Durgā excavated at Tirupparankunarm with a sculpture of Jyeṣṭhā in high relief. These are instances of the acceptance of Jyeṣṭhā as a deity to be consecrated and worshipped for her ability to do good to the worshipper.

Some Purāṇas, however, give a different view. The *Padma Purāṇa* (Uttara Khaṇḍa) says that this ugly deity was born before Lakṣmī during the churning of the ocean and had a fearful look which forced both the Devas and Dānavas to shun her. Viṣṇu intervened and got her married to Sage Uddālaka with unhappy results. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* also comes down heavily upon her as Jyeṣṭhā-Alakṣmī, the elder sister of Lakṣmī, who was not wanted in the house of devout worshippers. Thus it came to pass that she would receive oblations from women who feared her as Alakṣmī and as a creator of trouble.

The *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva) points out that deities who create calamities (*upadrava*) receive oblations out of fear as creators of obstacles. It says, "In spite of all the glory and greatness one is never adored unless one is capable of creating trouble and mischief. People are so much zealous in worshipping the serpents; but they are callous towards Garuḍa, the killer of serpents." It is well-known that Gaṇeśa was considered the creator of obstacles and was feared as well as loved. In the myths which grew around him he became a lovable deity to be worshipped first as remover of obstacles (*vighnartā*). Gaṇeśa was accepted as a benign Brahmanical deity and continues to be so. Interestingly, Jyeṣṭhādevī seems to have been going through vicissitudes from her role as Alakṣmī to her role as remover of Alakṣmī, and perhaps indirectly as harbinger of Lakṣmī, in some parts of the country. However, in South India where she was once held in considerable esteem she has fallen from grace.

Literary sources, as mentioned earlier, make a clear distinction between the opposite qualities of Lakṣmī and Alakṣmī; Lakṣmī means greatest possible well-being of the devout and Alakṣmī would mean exactly the opposite.

Jyeṣṭhā when placed in the category of Alakṣmī is a symbol of poverty and is to be propitiated so that she does not inflict distress on the devout. On the other hand Lakṣmī is a symbol of prosperity and is adored and worshipped for the choicest gifts she can confer on her devotee. Lakṣmī as an auspicious deity continues to receive homage and worship and is much sought after and her arrival is believed to bring good fortune, success and riches. Her spontaneous departure would however be either a sequel or a precursor to deprivatory change of fortune and material wealth and prosperity.

It is interesting that Lakṣmī enjoying a supreme status shifted, on her own volition, her residence from time to time. In mythology, she has resided at different times in abodes of Indra, Kubera and Bali when each one of them was at the height of power and prosperity.

But Lakṣmī's association with Viṣṇu has been enduring and she appears again and again with Viṣṇu in his different incarnations. Human fascination for Lakṣmī has been unqualified because she is linked with Viṣṇu as bestower of beauty (*surūpatā*), good health (*ārogyam*), and absence of distress (*aśokam*). In a prayer to Viṣṇu the devotee says, "O Viṣṇu, as Lakṣmī does not forsake you, let beauty, good health and absence of misfortune not forsake me" (*Padma Purāṇa*, 5. 21, 22). This prayer makes a gentle reference to the evanescent nature of Lakṣmī and stresses Viṣṇu's

ability to hold her next to his heart and thus jointly answer the prayers of their devotees.

It also appears that goddess Lakṣmī was feared for the distress she would cause by her exit from the life of kings as well as others; this aspect of Lakṣmī was stressed by a minister of the Pallava king Rājasiṃha at the time of his accession to the throne. Sumati, the minister, said “ Like the flame of the fire she even burns and destroys the person who possesses and protects her. It has been proved that the milky ocean has now become free from two poisons – the Kālakūṭa and Lakṣmī. Lakṣmī is considered to be a greater poison than Kālakūṭa, because the latter has spoiled only the neck of one person, Nīlakaṇṭha (Śiva), but Lakṣmī has spoilt many... She hates the devoted, makes others perplexed, life fearful...”¹⁴

Thus the role of Lakṣmī as given of prosperity remained supreme, while her alignments fluctuated with the needs of the times and the valour and power exhibited by her masters, till she found her final place of honour with Viṣṇu. She, unlike, Jyeṣṭhā has never been in wilderness, though when she walks in she creates jubilation and when she walks out she creates a void which she alone can fill.

While the representation of Jyeṣṭhā in sculpture had evolved during an important period of art history from 8th to 10th centuries in Tamil Nadu, and Jyeṣṭhā was held there in high esteem as a bestower of favours, there seems to be absence of sculptural representations of Jyeṣṭhā in the rest of the country during this time.

On the other hand, Śītalā, identified with the deity of small-pox, had sculptural representation in Bengal and parts of Western India during later centuries and it was sometimes assumed that Śītalā who has an ass as a *vāhana* stood for Jyeṣṭhā. However, goddess Śītalā is *digambarā* and moves about unclad and is shown in movement while riding her *vāhana*. In this respect, Śītalā is closer to Kālarātrī, who is also *digambarā* and moves about unclad and is fierce in looks and has the donkey as her *vāhana*¹⁵ (*Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*). Thus Śītalā stands better comparison with Kālarātrī rather than with Jyeṣṭhā who is generally shown as seated static on either an *āsana* like *bhadrāsana* or on the ass along with her two children. In view of this the emphasis placed by J. N. Banerjea (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 383) on the affinity between Jyeṣṭhā and Śītalā to the exclusion of Kālarātrī needs to be reconsidered so that a more exact picture of the affinity, if any, between Jyeṣṭhā and Śītalā becomes available to us.

When Śītalā assumes her role of generating heat in the body through small-pox, she is propitiated with some anxiety to act as "Śītalā", the cooling, pacifying deity who reduces the body heat and thus lessens rigours of the illness of small-pox and protects the sick child from extinction of its life which again was linked with goddess Nirṛti.

The annual worship of Śītalā is prescribed in Western India on the seventh day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August) and there are shrines to Śītalā built, even during the 19th and early 20th centuries, where the child recovering from its sickness is escorted to pay homage to Śītalā who protected it during a critical phase of its life.

As far as Jyeṣṭhā is concerned she is allotted the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada (August-September) and her worship is for removal of barrenness in women and for removal of poverty from men.¹⁶ Later texts like the *Vratarāja* compiled for fixing various dates for ritual worship of various deities, gives due importance to Jyeṣṭhā as a giver of bounty and children and remover of hardship and Alakṣmī. The *Vratarāja* compilation quoting other texts also sets out ritual for worship of Śītalā on the date allotted to her. The Goddess Śītalā as Mariammā is highly venerated in the South while Jyeṣṭhā popularly called Mudevī is excluded from the category of desirable Hindu deities.

There has been an element of ambivalence so far as Jyeṣṭhā is concerned and the *Ajitāgama*¹⁷ goes to the rescue of Jyeṣṭhā when it stresses the benign aspects of Jyeṣṭhā. It assures the devotee that on the completion of the prescribed ritual worship of Jyeṣṭhā, Alakṣmī would withdraw herself and the worshipper would be increasingly blessed with wealth, sons and grandsons.

It is interesting that the Āgamic literature has striven to accord recognition to Jyeṣṭhā as a remover of Alakṣmī and bestower of material wealth and progeny and thus to reinforce the benign aspect of Jyeṣṭhā as the *Ajitāgama* has done with considerable emphasis by including *dhana-dhānya-putra-pauṭrādi* among the comprehensive and cherished gifts of Jyeṣṭhā.

Such a simple, earthly, full-bodied and placid looking deity like Jyeṣṭhā could catch the fancy of the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Cola rulers as well as the humble folk who toiled in the fields and who needed a good harvest, which in turn would bring them prosperity and abundance. In Jyeṣṭhā they, perhaps, found the unmitigated responsiveness they were seeking of driving away inimical forces which thwarted arrival and stability of prosperity and riches. Indeed, this rather heavy set motherly deity did not

show any sign of being fickle like the volatile Lakṣmī whose lasting grace was not easy to gain.

Thus this intriguing minor goddess has been playing a positive role in the Brahmanical pantheon and has from time to time been accepted as fit for worship and propitiation. The contradictions in attitudes towards Jyeṣṭhā go to show that had Jyeṣṭhā not been toppled from the pedestal on which the Pallavas, Pāṇḍyas and Colas had placed her, she would have retained her earthly bountifulness which the all embracing Lakṣmī took over with such eclat. But then Lakṣmī herself is not free from the blemish of being evanescent and even ambivalent in distributing her largess.

NOTES

1. *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, 164/1030-40.
2. *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (ed.) by Shama Sastri, pp. 294-96.
3. K. V. Soundra Rajan, *Art of South India, Tamil Nadu and Kerala* (Sundeep Prakashan, 1978), p. 133.
4. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, Appendix A.
5. R. Nagaswamy, *Tantric Cult of South India* (Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1982) pp. 167-168.
6. K. V. Soundara Rajan, *Glimpses of Culture, Architecture Art and Religion*, 1981, p. 120.
7. S. R. Balasubramanyam, *Four Chola Temples*, p. 27.
8. N. R. Bhatt, (ed.) *Ajitāgama*, Vol. II. Pondichery. Institut Francais D'Indologie, 1967, p. 54. F. N. "Of Kāraṇāgama, I, 12, 114 b - 118 a.
9. *Vratarāja*, Gujarati Printing Press, 1965, pp. 302-303.
10. *R̥gveda*, I. 24. 9; V. 41, 17; VII. 104. 9. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. V. 2. 3. Margaret and James Stutley, *A Dictionary of Hinduism* (Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1977), p. 210.
11. J. C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration* (Mouton & Co., 1967), pp. 14 - 26.
12. K. C. Varadachari, *Āṅgāras of South India* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1970), pp. 88-89.
13. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 390.
14. R. Champakalakshmi, *Vaiṣṇava Iconography* (Orient Longman, 1981), p. 209.
15. T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 359; Appendix C, p. 119.
16. *Vratarāja*, Gujarati Printing Press, 1965, pp. 302-303.
17. N. R. Bhatt, ed. *Ajitāgama*, Vol. II. Pondichery, Institut Francais D'Indologie, 1967, p. 184.

CONTROVERSIES ON SULTANATE AND MUGHAL PAINTING *

(Review Article)

KARL KHANDALAVALA

The author is well known for her work in the British Library, London. The volume deals with important Persian MSS. in the British Library but also refers extensively to other collection. There is also a chapter on Ottoman Turkey which was influenced by Persian paintings, while Persian artists also went to Turkey.

Little survives of the Saljuk period but the style is typified by the Topkapi Library's *Varqa va Gulshāh* (Fig. 2) of c. A. D. 1225 and examples of painted ceramics (Fig. 3). After the sack of Baghdad in A. D. 1238 by the Mongol Hulāgū Khān we observe Chinese influence under the Īlkhānids as seen in the *Jami ' al-tavārikh* MSS. of the early 14th century. Somewhat later is the famous Demotte *Shāhnāma* (Figs. 8 and 9) which gave a new urge to Persian painting at least in northern Iran. The Injus, the Muzaffarids and the Jalayirids followed the Īlkhānids and notable is the *Khamsa* of Khavājū Kirmāml (Col. Pl. I) of A. D. 1396. The author is mistaken in her observation that the Muzaffarid style stamped its mark on Sultanate India since there was no Sultanate painting in India till after A. D. 1451 during Lodi rule in northern India when there was a cultural renaissance. This was after the Edicts of the bigotted Feroz Shāh Tugluq had banned all animate painting and the subsequent devastation of Delhi by Timur in A. D. 1398 from which it never recovered till it regained economic prosperity under the Lodis.

Strangely, the very beginning of Sultanate painting in India which took place under Lodi rule is not referred to by the author. It was not under royal but bourgeois patronage and consisted of the illustration of Persian texts mostly by Indian artists but on a few occasions even by the Persian artists working in India. Indian romances were also illustrated but these were by local Indian painters. The author rides the current wave created by several writers Western writers of attributing certain provincial Persian MSS. of the second quarter of the 15th century to Sultanate India unmindful not only of the historical evidence arising from the Edicts of Feroz Shāh which

**Some Aspects of Sultanate and Mughal Painting, A Consideration of Persian Miniature Painting*, British Library, 1983, By Norah, M, Titley.

negative by necessary implication the existence in his time of illustrated Persian MSS. either imported from Persia or painted by Persian artists in India but also the desolation and poverty of Delhi during Sayyid rule (A. D. 1414-1451) after the invasion of Timur in A. D. 1398 when learned men and divines could hardly keep body and soul together as we learn from contemporary chronicles. Which Persian artist would have come to Delhi during this period? It may be noted that Feroz Shāh's Edicts do refer to figural murals which were ordered to be erased and banned but significantly there is no reference to illustrated MSS. be they from Persia or other foreign centres or painted in India by Persian or other foreign artists. There is however a reference in the Edicts to the destruction of the holy books of the Jains and Hindus which would naturally bring even Jain hieratic illustrated MSS. under the ban if they were discovered. Thus it becomes evident that there could not have been any practice of manuscript illustration of Persian or other texts at the Mamluk, Khalji or Tugluq courts nor import of such MSS. from abroad which in any event were enough and much prized in Persia itself. But calligraphy and illumination of *Korāns* were certainly given royal and aristocratic patronage in Sultanate India, and libraries were maintained under a *kitābdār*. However no chronicle mentions a *kārkhānā* for illustrating MSS. though numerous *kārkhānās* are mentioned. Typical of the inadequate grounds for Sultanate attributions is the argument relating to the *Mohl Shāhnāma* dated A. D. 1438 in the British Library (ac 1403) where there is a fictitious statement in the Preface about a king of Delhi giving refuge and rich gifts to the great Persian poet Firdause. This statement is oddly enough relied on for suggesting that this manuscript was painted in Sultanate India. But surely such a statement establishes nothing, even apart from the fact that it could only be an Iranian invention in Iran itself where Firdause was a national figure to emphasize that even an 'Indian king honoured the great poet unlike his patron Mahmūd of Ghaza from whom he fled. Other grounds for Sultanate attributions to what it seems are really provincial Persian MSS, are founded on calligraphy, a most slippery basis; presence of a yellow pigment without any analysis that it is the Indian *peori* which in fact was not even manufactured in India in the 15th century; and minor details with regard to ornaments and costumes and architecture, etc. all of which can be accounted for in various ways. But such grounds are unsatisfactory and Sultanate attributions on such grounds must be regarded as speculative and all the more so when there must have been a number of Persian manuscripts painted in provincial pockets in Persia for lesser patrons than princes, which no longer exist due to the ravages of time and other causes. They may well have afforded us useful comparative material for coming to conclusions

particularly if they bore inscriptions which were enlightening. In fairness it must be said that the author does seem to realize how speculative Sultanate attributions can be having regard to the *Shāhnāma* (ar 1268) in the British Library dated A. D. 1446 (Fig. 30) which the author says would certainly have been attributed to India but for an inscription establishing it was painted in Mazandaran in Iran. This is the danger we have been emphasizing all along.

Nor is there any basis, since Delhi is ruled out of consideration, to suggest that the so-called Sultanate manuscripts of the second quarter of the 15th century may have been painted by foreign artists in provincial Sultanates. Evidence is entirely lacking for such a proposition.

None of the dispersed folios of the *Khamṣa* of Amīr Khusraw (Fig. 60) have any features indicating affiliation with Gujarat though this provenance has been suggested. It was doubtless painted at Delhi where predominately the verses of the poet were long on the lips of the populace. Its artist may have been a Persian, as suggested by the eminent critic Dr. Anand Krishna, who introduced certain Indian elements into his work. It is close to the *Shāhnāma* of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi,¹ and both these MSS. according to us cannot be prior to A. D. 1460 if not even a little later during the Lodi cultural renaissance. The costumes worn are of the Lodi period as are also the facial types. That the foreign Shāhis of the *Kālakā* story in Jain painting in Gujarat, the painted version of which does not pre-date *circa* A. D. 1350 (the earliest dated example is A. D. 1381),² are based on a Mongol type derived from a Mongol period manuscript. This is all too evident from the face, costumes, top boots and even pigtailed. One such manuscript must have come into the possession of a Gujarat noble and been seen by a Jain school painter through the good offices of his patron, for Jain bankers and merchants often had close commercial connections with several of the Gujarat nobles. Once the type was adopted for the foreign Shāhis it became a permanent feature of all *Kālakā* MSS. till *c.* A. D. 1475 when for the first time contemporary Sultanate costumes were adopted for the Shāhis. But apart from hieratic Jain painting, we have no evidence of an atelier at the Gujarat Sultanate court or patronized by a Gujarat Sultanate noble. Even the sub-Timurid features seen in the decorative panels of the famous *Kalpasūtra-Kālakācaryā* manuscript of the Devasāno Pāḍo must have been influenced by a Persian manuscript in the possession of a Gujarat noble which was seen by the artist of the Devasāno Pāḍo manuscript through the good grace of his obviously wealthy Jain patron. Even at this stage we have no evidence to date of any Sultanate atelier at the Gujarat court,

Apart from Sultanate painting in the Lodi dominion, which was not under royal patronage, as already observed, we find Sultanate court patronage for the first time at the Mandu court with foreign artists working there between A. D. 1490 and 1510 during the reigns of Ghiyāssuddin and Masir Shah in the Turkman and Herati styles, to wit the *Miftāh al-Fuzalā* of the British Library of c. A. D. 1490–1495, the *Nimatnāma* of the India Office Library of c. A. D. 1500, the *Bustān* of the National Museum, New Delhi of A. D. 1502 and the *Azāib al-Sanā* of the British Library of A. D. 1509. These MSS have been referred to in our *New Documents of Indian Painting – A Re-appraisal* and in J. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India*, London, 1982. We have no evidence of any earlier Sultanate court atelier at Mandu and in the absence of such evidence cannot assume, as has been done by the author, that there were foreign painters at the Mandu court even the import of Persian illustrated MSS by the Mandu court has been established though this assumption has also been made by the author. In Bengal we have only the *Sharafnāma* of A. D. 1531–1532 of the British Library (Pl. 32) illustrated for Sultan Nusrat Shah obviously by an itinerant foreign artist as a solitary commission in a mixed Persian cum Turkish provincial idiom. The scribe is pointedly referred to as being in the service of the Sultan but not the artist. Some work in the paintings is even incomplete. Every figure, male and female, is foreign in appearance as also their costumes down to the narrow pointed heeled-boots worn by the men whose oblongish faces are reminiscent of Ottoman painting. Cloud forms are Persian. Some Turkman influence can be seen in architectural forms. A curved projecting eave does not necessitate the influence of the Bengal architecture of Gaur and Padua. Nor does the presence of a cusped arch or brick work or polychrome tiles. All these features can be seen even in Persian painting prior to A. D. 1531 and also thereafter. In fact all such features, along with many others, were the usual stock-in-trade elements of Persian and other foreign artists, though employed in their paintings in many differing ways. There is no distinctive Indian feature in the *Sharafnāma* and as is usual with most writers on Sultanate painting and their Sultanate attributions there is a tendency to see too much in too little. To predicate that there must have been a Sultanate court atelier in Bengal both before and after the *Sharafnāma* merely on the basis of this single manuscript by an itinerant foreign artist, who for one reason or another left the work unfinished, is again making unwarranted assumptions. There is no evidence from Bengal itself or elsewhere either before A. D. 1531 nor thereafter to support such suppositions. The *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* (pl. 53 and Fig. 64) of the British Library is plainly a Persian manuscript with not a single Indian feature and unlike the *Sharafnāma* does not even bear an authentic inscription to

suggest any Sultanate provenance. Accordingly the suggestion that it is Sultanate Bengal is difficult to comprehend as is the suggestion that it may have been painted in the Deccan. Even the more than dubious inscription of the 19th century says it was *brought* by Sultan Alā al-Dīn Iskandar Shah while Nusrat Shah's father was Husayn Shah. The presence of a squirrel with a striped tail is of little avail for such striped squirrels are not exclusive to India. In fact the painter was surely not a naturalist and just painted a squirrel with stripes which are common enough with most squirrels.

In the Deccan the earliest Persian cum Turkish influence is no earlier than A. D. 1565-1566. The possibility of new evidence coming to light with regard to the Sultanate period prior to the Lodi renaissance always exists and could compel an alternation of viewpoints if such MSS are dated or bear inscriptions indicating provenance. Till then we have adopted the methodology of adhering to the available evidence though considerations of style cannot altogether be avoided. But the subjective element in the analysis of style plays an important role and can often lead to considerable differences of opinion. For instance with regard to the *Shāhnāma* of A. D. 1446 from Mayandaran (Fig. 30) the author could have regarded it as painted in India but for the inscription, while to us the clumsy elephant, typical of Persian painters in Persia, would rule out an Indian provenance. This is inevitable. Assumptions and deductions however are usually arbitrary processes. Hopefully time may resolve at least some of the differences in viewpoints that exist today on the highly controversial subject of Sultanate painting.

In the Chapter on Mughal painting the author follows the former dating of c. A. D. 1562 for the *Hamza-nāma* but there is now incontrovertible documentary evidence that it was commenced late in A. D. 1566 or early in A. D. 1567 and that Mir Sayyad Ali did not leave India for Mecca till early in A. D. 1574 - after supervising the *Hamza-nāma* for seven years. Wisely and discreetly the author makes no mention of the *Tuti-nāma* of the Cleveland museum beyond saying that the name of the artist Sarrwan appears on a folio therein. But this is obviously a later addition for the *Tuti-nāma* is not an Akbari manuscript nor is it early being a provincial Mughal production of c. A. D. 1580 as several eminent critics have convincingly established beyond any manner of doubt. The attribution of the *Gulistān* of the British Library of A. D. 1567-1568 (col. pl. 54) to the Mughal court of Akbar is not possible to accept. It was written in Bukhara by the scribe of the Sultan and its six original miniatures were painted beyond all doubt in Bukhara by the artist Shāhm Muddhabib who was never known to have come to India. B. W. Robinson has

rightly opined that the *Gulistān* was painted in Bukhara. Akbar who is shown in two paintings is a veritable caricature and the long narrow *jāmas* with four extended points seen in these two miniatures are quite unlike the short and full Akbari *jāmas* with four extended points. Obviously the artist had never seen Akbar nor been to his court but had tried to visualize certain descriptions expressly conveyed to him for these two miniatures. The tenor of the inscriptions which appears on these two miniatures indicates that they could never have been penned at Akbar's court. Their manner of fulsome praise establishes that they were got written, no doubt out of diplomatic considerations, by Abd Allah ibn Iskander Khān Uzbek, the ruler of Bukhara who alone could have presented this manuscript to Akbar. Significantly the Uzbek party's rebellion in India against Akbar by Khān Zaman had been suppressed in A. D. 1567. The author has suggested that the manuscript with folios unpainted was brought to India by the artist Shahm – when, why and with whose permission and in what circumstances remains unexplained – and that the six illustrations therein which are in a pure Bukhara style were then painted at Akbar's court. The suggestion is too far fetched to bear scrutiny. So also the suggestion that Shahm came to India is without any basis. Not a single chronicler mentions him though he was the royal artist of the Sultan of Bukhara. As regards the resemblance between a couple of faces in the *Gulistān* with a couple of faces in the *Anvār-i-Suhaylī* of the School of Oriental Studies, London, painted at least two years later in A. D. 1570 is a circumstance capable of the easiest possible explanation without necessitating Shahm's presence in India. Since the *Gulistān* was in Akbar's library, a painter could have borrowed facial types from it. Moreover, there is not a single painting made in India which bears Shahm's characteristic signature or even an attribution to him. In one of Shahm's paintings the clumsy elephant is typically Persian and it is difficult to believe that if Shahm had even been at Akbar's court he would have perpetrated such an elephant. The theory of any Bukhara artists working at Akbar's court has no foundation whatever. We know the names of all the foreign artists who worked at Akbar's court. It may also be pointed out that Abd al-Samad was never in Shah Tahmasp's atelier and that he was specifically appointed as master of the Fatehpur Sikri mint so that despite his preference he could keep on supervising the *Hamza* project till its completion in A. D. 1582. To say he was given administrative duties partly because Akbar preferred a more robust approach than Abd al-Samad's. Persian style of painting is contrary to what the chronicler Abu'l-Fazal has stated about this artist.

Not a single chronicler, Persian or Indian, has mentioned Abd al-Samad as ever having worked in Shah Tahmasp's atelier and a miniature merely attributed to him by Cary Welch in the *The Tahmasp Shāhnāma* is distant from his well known style.

With regard to the sub-Imperial manuscript of the *Zafarnāma* dated A. D. 1600-1601 it would be hazardous to ascribe it to Ahmedabad under the patronage of Mirzā Aziz Kokā as done by the author, for the name of the place where it was painted is not known nor is the name of the scribe given. It could well belong to the atelier of the Khān Khanān. It is strikingly in the late Akbari style of painting and it is very likely to be the work of some artists from Akbar's atelier who had joined the famed library of the Khān Khanān when their services were not essential to the Imperial studio at the end of the 16th century just five years before Akbar's death. The quality of work in several folios is just as good as that of the Imperial studio as for instance "Timur greeting his son" (Col. Pl. 41). There is no Bukhara influence in it though the author seems to think otherwise. With regard to the manuscript of the *Khāvarānnāma* dated A. D. 1686 and ascribed to Multan, while the date of the text may well not be questionable it is indeed most difficult to believe that this type of painting (Col. pl. 42) with its short, squat figures, large oversize heads set on the body without any lion neck, stumpy looking horses, a lion very much of the late 18th century and landscape that has no parallel in the Aurangzeb period could belong to the date of text itself written it appears in A. D. 1686. The spaces for paintings must have been left blank, a usual practice and painted at a much later date in the late 18th century. Obviously late Persian painting has also influenced the Multan artist along with 18th century elements in Indian miniature painting seen so strikingly in late Kashmiri MSS.

But though the author is on unsure grounds in several respects so far as Sultanate and Mughal painting is concerned, her account of the development of Persian and Turkish painting is admirably lucid and penetrating. Complications of style in Persian painting due to constant invasions and shifting of centres of production, which at times are apt to confuse one's approach to stylistic variations and amalgamations, are presented with such remarkable clarity that the changing picture is simplified. It is of much interest to students of Deccani painting to follow the author's account of a fusion that took place of the Turkman style and that of the Shiraz Safavid atelier for it throws much light on Golconda painting under the Qutb Shahi dynasty and leads to a better understanding of what was happening at Golconda when the *Sindbādnāma* of the India Office was painted in c. A. D. 1575 no doubt in Ibrahim Qutb Shah's atelier and the *Anvār-i-Suhaylī* of

the Victoria and Albert Museum was painted in A. D. 1582 at the commencement of the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. The author's account also throws light on how Shiraz conventions affected even the still later *Kulliyāt* of this ruler of c. A. D. 1590 which is one of the treasures of the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. The study of Persian painting is of high importance to students of Indian miniature painting.

The author takes us from the Chinese influence under the Ilkhāns to the Jalayirids Sultan Ahmad's studios at Tabriz and Baghdad with a clear differentiation of the earlier Jalayirid style and that of the great *Divān* of Khawja Kirmānī dated A. D. 1396 of the British Library painted by Junayd for Sultan Ahmad. With the Jalayirids, as Dr. Titley remarks, we have the beginnings of the true Persian style, with its influence on the studios of Shiraz and Herat, under Iskandar Sultan a grandson of Timur and Shabrukh, the son of Timur, respectively. How paradoxical it is that the arts attained a high degree of excellence under Timur's successors despite Timur's devastating invasions of Iran. Shiraz in its long history of manuscript illustration, particularly after the Turkman invasions and the fusion of Turkman style with that of the Safavids commencing with Shah Ismāil in A. D. 1506, was producing commercial MSS. Some of these earlier commercial MSS were no doubt imported into a Lodi dominion in the second half of the 15th century and into the Deccan after about A. D. 1550. Of their import to Mandu and Bengal we have no evidence as already stated but some sub-Timurid MSS. must have come to Gujarat prior to c. A. D. 1475. Such commercial MSS. also went to Turkey and via Turkey some Turkish influences also came to India.

It may be noted in passing that the petal border seen in the Inju *Shāhnāma* of the Topkapi in Istanbul dated A. D. 1331 could not have been the influence for somewhat similar borders in several Jain *paṭṭīs* (painted wooden manuscript covers) since these date from the time of the famous Jain scholast Jinadatta Sūri in the first half of the 12th century A. D.

How provincial the peculiar Inju style of Shiraz in the first half of the 14th century and even the Muzaffarid style which superceded it after A. D. 1353, appear as against the high quality of painting at Tabriz such as the great Demotte *Shāhnāma* of c. A. D. 1330 or the earlier Ilkhanid *Jāmi 'al-tawārīkh* of Edenburgh dated A. D. 1306-7 or the Topkapi *Shāhnāma* paintings (Fig. 11) which the author validly suggests may have been made for Sultan Uvays in c. A. D. 1370, or even the "small *Shāhnāma*" such as Fig. 10 which along with the author we would incline to give a Tabriz origin.

While the Muzaffarid style is indeed interesting with peculiarities of its own as seen in the Topkapi *Shāhnāma* of A. D. 1371 (Fig. 16) it did not come to India, though the author thinks otherwise. But its peculiar hillock forms (Fig. 18) may have lingered on in provincial work in Faro, for as late as the early 17th century such hillocks are seen in some Golconda miniatures. The great period of Herat so well known is dealt with at some length but in relation to Indian miniature painting what is of much interest is the author's lucid assessment of the Turkman school both under the Black Sheep leader Pir Būdāq at Shiraz and Baghdad and till the end of the 15th century after the White Sheep tribe overcame the Black Sheep. A rather confused state of affairs with regard to stylistic intermingling is clarified and a valid distinction drawn between the metropolitan Turkman style (Col. Pls. 5, 6 and 7) and the more commercial style (Fig. 31) of the late 15th century which found its way to India at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century at Mandu through Persian painters and later into the Deccan in the second half of the 16th century. Of absorbing interest is also the Chapter on Shiraz painting in the 16th century in particular the *Kulliyāt of Sadī* in the British Library dated A. D. 1566 (Col. pl. 14) and the *Khanisa* of Nizāmī of the India Office Library of early 16th century (Fig. 41) both of which throw light on Deccan painting.

The volume is indispensable to studies of both Persian and Indian miniature painting.

REFERENCES

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Narinder Nath and Karl Khandalavala - *An Age of Splendour and Marg* - Vol. XXXV, Col. pl.
2. Karl Khandalavala etc. *Miniature Paintings* from the Moti Chand Khajanchi collection, *Lalit Kala*, 1980, Figs. 1-4.

REVIEWS

KARPĀSA IN PREHISTORIC INDIA: A CHRONOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL CLUE, by K. D. SETHNA, Biblia Impex Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1981, pp. 203, Rs. 70/-.

Traditional Indologists will have mixed feelings when confronted with this book. Utilising the discovery of cotton seeds dating from the fifth millennium, found near the Bolan Pass; noting the existence of traces of cotton cloth at several Indus Valley Civilization sites and closely examining the occurrence of the word *karpāsa* in Sanskrit literature, the author has come to a startling conclusion.

He maintains that since *karpāsa* does not occur in the *Ṛgveda* nor in the three later Vedas, but the word appears very much later, for the first time, in the *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, (which is older than the other Sūtras), all this literature should be dated before the Indus civilization, between 3500 and 2500 B. C. The book hinges around this premise and also the word *karpāsa*. He further shows that the Ṛgvedic Aryans were possibly the original inhabitants of north-western and northern India whence they moved towards the Gangetic lowlands which became Āryāvarta; and their earlier habitat was taken over by the Harappans. These Harppans were the Mlecchas of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* or the Meluhhans of Sumeria.

Sethna's arguments are logical; his reasoning sound; and his theory all the more startling since he is not an archaeologist, though he does possess a deep knowledge of archaeology, of Sanskrit literature and south Indian languages.

He is not a fanatical traditionalist; he does not blatantly ignore the edifice which modern historians have painstakingly built of India's past. He has considered the corpus of contemporary literature on the date of the Vedas and the Indus Valley Civilization before pointing out its weaknesses. His conclusions will gladden the hearts of many who have believed that the Vedas are not as late as 1500 B. C., but are extremely old.

The book is well written though the place names in the map on p. 97 are indistinct.

K. D. Sethna's views deserve to be seriously considered; they could be the starting point of a whole new field of research in the problem of dating the *Ṛgveda* and the Indus Valley Civilization.

Owen C. Kail

THE CHĀNDOGYA UPANIṢAD AND THE BRAHMASŪTRAS OF BĀDARĀYAṆA : (A Comparative Study), by S. M. BHATKHANDE, University of Bombay, 1982, pp. xvi, 272. Rs. 75/-.

Dr. Bhatkhande's book is a very good contribution to the Vedānta literature. The book, which was originally his thesis for the degree of Ph. D., submitted to the University of Bombay, has been written with a definite purpose. It aims at a critical examination of the opinion voiced by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in his Basu Mallik Lectures delivered in December 1925. As regards the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa Dr. Belvalkar's main conclusions can be summarised as follows :—

- (1) Formerly every Vedic śākhā might be having its own Brahmasūtra. The present *Brahmasūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa must be originally 'the *Chāndogya Brahmasūtra*'.
- (2) Jaimini, the author of the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, must have written a *Śārīraka-sūtra*, based on the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, and it must have been incorporated in the present *Brahmasūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa.
- (3) The present *Brahmasūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa has undergone two radical overhauls, once when 'the Prātiśākhīya Brahmasūtra' was enlarged into 'a Sarvaśākhīya Brahmasūtra'; and once again when a lot of later controversial material like the Tarka-pāda (II ii) was interpolated into it.

This opinion held by the profound scholar and veteran Vedantist of the old generation had already raised doubts in the minds of a few scholars like M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane. Dr. Bhatkhande got an inspiration to attempt a critical investigation of this problem from his teacher, late Dr. T. G. Mainkar and under the able guidance of Dr. Mainkar he has given us a very critical, careful and thorough exposition of this problem.

He has examined the matter very scrupulously by a comparative study of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* and the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa in Chapter III. The tables provided at the end of this chapter bear ample testimony to the fact that the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* is not the only source of the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa. Even a cursory glance at Table No. 5 gives sufficient proof to this effect.

Dr. Bhatkhande leads his readers to this conclusion very logically and systematically. In Chapter I he has analysed the contents of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*. In Chapter II he has given a similar analytical summary of the contents of the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa. In Chapter III he has clearly

pointed out the Upaniṣadic background of the *Brahmasūtras*, from the point of view of what the Sūtras have to say on the crucial topics of 'Brahman', 'Jagat', 'Mukti' and 'Guṇopasamhāra'.

This enables him to say emphatically – "It is evident from the Sūtras that Bādarāyaṇa primarily intended to attempt a Samanvaya of the teachings of the Upaniṣads and not of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* alone" (p. 223). Thus Dr. Bhatkhande has very ably refuted Dr. Belvalkar's view about the *Chāndogyu Brahmasūtra* forming the original nucleus of the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa. On the hypothesis of the *Chāndogyu Brahmasūtra* Dr. Belvalkar, with his critical acumen, had tried to reconstruct the original form of the *Brahmasūtras*, though he himself was aware that the task was next to impossible. In Chapter IV of his book Dr. Bhatkhande has convincingly refuted this part of Dr. Belvalkar's theory also and he feels that the most of the matter of the sixteen Pādas is a cogent whole.

As a part of his theory Dr. Belvalkar had to enter into the debatable problem about the interrelationship of the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa and the *Bhagavadgītā*. He was of the opinion that the *Brahmasūtras* were earlier than the *Bhagavadgītā*. In the light of this opinion Dr. Bhatkhande has dealt with this problem in Chapter IV. After having advanced quite original arguments in this regard, he remarks about the date of the *Brahmasūtras*: "All this would show roughly the time after the formation of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna Buddhism and an age before the time of Gauḍapāda, when the Sūtras might have been composed." (p. 266)

It is really commendable that while refuting the views of late Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Dr. Bhatkhande has maintained dignity throughout and has never used any objectionable term. As a real scholar Dr. Bhatkhande knows that though one particular view of the veteran scholar and renowned teacher of Vedānta may sound untenable to us now, it by no means undermines the profundity and eminence of Dr. Belvalkar's contribution to Indology. Prof. Max Müller's opinion about 'The age of the Ṛgveda' may not be acceptable to scholars today and yet can one ever deny his greatness as a Vedic scholar and an Indologist?

G. V. Davane

INDIAN NUMISMATICS: by D. D. KOSAMBI, Orient Longman Ltd., New Delhi, 1981, pp. 159 (Cloth Bound). Rs. 85/-.

The term 'numismatics' is normally associated with the study and hobby of collecting coins. The study of coins plays an important role in

archaeology. The archaeologist finds coins useful because they are normally issued by a governing body and hence have official backing. The archaeological value of coins is high because coins are more durable and because they have value they are likely to be preserved in hoards. As a result coins have revealed the existence of cities and even kingdoms that are not mentioned in the ancient literature.

Even when history is known from other sources, coins can be helpful in other ways. Dated coins or those that can be otherwise identified with a particular epoch help the archaeologist to fix the age of the level in which he is digging, to arrive at the chronology of rulers and to establish the dates of events commemorated by certain coins. The designs on the coins reveal something of the society's religion or mythology and reflect the evolution of its art. Often what prominent rulers of ancient times looked like is provided by the portraits on coins.

This kind of information is revealed from coins by the systematic description and classification. A somewhat more complex scientific procedure involves assaying the metallic content of a coinage over a long period to obtain information about the economic history of the society.

D. D. Kosambi was a Professor of Mathematics all through his teaching career and an acknowledged authority on statistical and genetical studies. His conclusions were based not only with statistical findings but also aided with an impressive mass of literary data, and latest research on coins, Indian and non-Indian. Kosambi personally examined more than 12,000 coins during the twenty-six years (1941-1966) studying different hoards of punch-marked coins and also elaborating the methods of his scientific study.

Kosambi's mathematical approach goes beyond the scientific procedures described above. The basic theory known as 'the homogeneous random process' recently developed by Hemmy applies to numerous phenomena. As applied to numismatics, the theory touches several factors relating to the weight of coins.

When a coin is put into circulation, it loses a tiny amount of weight whenever it is involved in a transaction. Mechanical abrasion removes a bit of the coin, and the metal is also subjected to the chemical action of various kind, including the acid produced by the glands of human skin. In short, the coin loses weight by wear. The net effect of all the variations in weight, from both minting and wear, can be dealt with by the mathematical theory of the homogeneous random process. Kosambi

found out that "the decrease in the average weight and the increase in the variation are each strictly proportional to the length of time the coinage has been in circulation."

However, certain conditions have to be met if these mathematical principles are to be applied correctly. The coins must have been minted accurately enough to show only a slight initial variation in weight. Secondly, the circulation of the coins must have been normal enough to have the proper effect. Finally, number of coins should be fairly large and should be from a common hoard. It is necessary that such a hoard be reasonably well preserved and free of encrustations.

Kosambi probed into the significance of the symbols on punch-marked coins by wading through a vast mass of literary texts. He assumed that the reverse marks on punch-marked coins were put by traders or traders' guilds and that the greater the number of reverse marks the less the weight. He calculated the interval between two reverse marks to have been of twelve years' duration. This helped determining the period of a circulation of a coin in the given group. His theory of absorption rate of coins states that coins tend gradually to disappear in the process of circulation and this rate of absorption is proportional to the number of coins in circulation.

Kosambi showed that the traders persisted and continued to use the very accurate weights of Indus Culture even after the destruction of Mohenjodaro. The king stepped in at a much later date as issuing authority whose marks were to guarantee fineness and weight. Kosambi revealed the stability of Taxilan economy for two hundred years suggested by regularity of circulation. He pointed out that the later Magadhan conquest of Taxila strangled the long established trade and thus brought about its ruin.

What is remarkable is that even without the aid of stratigraphy Kosambi's method alone brought his dating close to the possible range within which punch-marked coins were minted and circulated.

Unfortunately, so far there has been no follow-up of Kosambi's approach in numismatic studies.

The essays in this volume have been arranged in the chronological order of their publication. The twelve articles reprinted here appeared earlier in *Current Science*, *New Indian Antiquary*, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, and *Scientific American*.

The book is illustrated with a number of useful charts and tables. However, the title of the book is misleading as it is not a general book on

coins but deals only with punch-marked coins. Similarly the illustration on the dust jacket is not relevant as it is the reverse of the coin of a Kuṣāṇa king, Vāsudeva. The blame for this should go to the publisher and not to the author.

Compilation of articles in the present volume should prove a great help to the study of punch-marked coins. I am sure historians, archaeologists, mathematicians and above all numismatists will find this volume indispensable.

B. V. Shetti

ELEPHANTA : THE CAVE OF SHIVA : PHOTOGRAPHS by CARMEL BERKSON ; ESSAYS by WENDY DONIGER O' FLAHERTY, GEORGE MICHELL AND CARMEL BERKSON, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1983, pp. xvii, 49 ; 77 plates, cloth \$. 45. 50, Paper \$. 24. 25.

This book is really a collection of 75 photographs taken by Carmel Berkson in the great cave temple of Elephanta; the text is a corollary. Carmel Berkson, a sculptor and photographer of Indian monuments, in her essay, *The Historical Context and Evolution of Style at Elephanta*, furnishes her own views of the meaning and style of the sculptures. She is a great photographer, with an eye, sensitive to detail, and a mastery of the technique of time exposure and the use of telescopic and wide angle lenses. Her bibliographic survey which extends to eight pages covers almost every work written on Elephanta, though Wendy O' Flaherty is of the opinion that this is remarkably little.

Ms. Berkson's theory, which she substantiates by her photographs, is that light entering the cave temple from three directions, causes a nuanced transition from light to dark, and to light again, it also changes from moment to moment and with the seasons; it also reveals, alters, conceals, combines and separates the details and images of the sculptures. This is true. Visitors to Elephanta are generally disappointed with the Rāvaṇa under Kailāsa panel, for hardly any detail is visible, the sculpture being badly damaged. They are even more disappointed with their photographs; yet Ms Berkson's pictures reveal considerable details : Śiva's features and headdress, and the dvārapālas become visible.

Her photographs unveil much that the eye does not see, such as 'details hidden behind other things, or blocked by pillars, or too high up, or obscured in shadow' (p. xiii).

She contends that the transition in style from relief to three dimensional sculpture (incorporated in a concave, chamber-like environment), was a new scheme of organising space, volume and depth ; that this synthesis of free-standing sculpture, shrine and wall was an important contribution to the history of Indian art (p. 7).

The sequence of panels with regard to development in depth, commencing with the relatively flat and frontal carving of the Gaṅgādhara to the final denouement in the Eternal Śiva, as she calls the Maheśa-mūrti, and the *līngam* sanctuary (p. 7), may however not be acceptable to many. In some panels she notices two distinct tendencies placed side by side in the same frame. Certain figures with apparently hardly any depth from a frontal view, change radically from other perspectives, as in the Androgyne panel (Ardhanārīśvara), seen from the threshold of the adjacent cell. The sculptor has excavated deep into the rock, thereby releasing a three-dimensional figure on the male side of Śiva; the outstanding head, hump and forequarters of Nandī; and the shapely arms of Śiva, one behind the other (p. 8). Carmel Berkson considers this three-dimensional technique to be a turning point, and a rare moment in the history of art, which is hardly ever seen (p. 8). The Elephanta sculptures are therefore free-standing, with a bas-relief conception; though attached to the wall, they seem to be detached from it.

She goes one step further (illustrated by her photographs) that though some of the panel figures appear to be stationary and independent of one another, each of these figures performs different functions simultaneously, and each figure can take its place in a group, which itself is non-static (p. 9). A single figure may unite with an adjacent one to form an independent group; or the very same figure can be seen in conjunction with another on its opposite side, as for instance in the Kalyāṇa-sundara where Pārvatī is seen with her father, or as a partner of Śiva; or stands independently; or the three figures can be seen as a group. What seems to be a static situation becomes a diorama, so to say, of shifting forms.

Ms. Berkson maintains that the Naṭarāja panel has only one perfect view, which is from a point to the left of the nearest pillar. From this position, the apparent detachment from the background is seen to the best advantage, as the head, headdress and body in its angularity are viewed in a three-quarter turn (p. 12).

Linear time according to the essayist is expressed in episodes as in the Gaṅgādhara and the Andhakāsuravadha; cyclical time in the Naṭarāja; and eternal time in the face of Tatpuruṣa (p. 14). One may ask, what do the faces of Aghora and Vāmadeva express ?

In the second essay, *The Architecture of Elephanta: An Interpretation*, George Michell who is an architect and a well-known authority on Hindu temple architecture, analyses the architecture and layout of the cave, and concludes that it is a *maṇḍala*-like image of Śiva's mountain retreat; even the structure of the Universe itself (p. 17). He maintains that the symmetrical plan of this temple is of great significance. Two axes pass through the centre aligned with the cardinal points; two concentric circles (whose diameters are the proportion of 1 : 2) with their centres at the intersection of these axes, determine the position of the *liṅgam* on the east-west axis, and the triune image of Mahādeva on the north-south axis. In this manner the two important focal points of the cave, the *liṅgam* and the Maheśa-mūrti are geometrically related. The columns creating the aisles, the sanctuary, the stepped walls and the entrances are laid out on squares within the circumference of the larger circle. There are 37 squares, symmetrically grouped in rows of 3, 5 and 7 in both directions; the square which encloses the sanctuary sets the position of the others. Related to the two focal points are the rituals of movement in the temple, expressed as the two axes leading to the *liṅgam* and the image of Śiva. These axes, in George Michell's opinion, are the most original feature of the architectural layout. The seven drawings which illustrate this theory show that the geometry of the plan is actually a sacred *maṇḍala*, providing the interior space with a cosmic dimension, through the medium of sacred mathematics (p. 21).

The nine panels form a series, describing the mysterious nature of the god to whom the cave is dedicated. They are divided into four groups - the panels facing each other at the north, east and west entrances, and the three panels in the south wall. The images of the Great Ascetic and the Great Dancer which flank the northern entrance is no accidental pairing; they are the two most vividly contrasting images of Śiva, powerful and paradoxical, ever to have been created by Indian artists (p. 23). Though opposites, they are actually identical, they are focussed in different directions, emphasising the unity underlying the different forms of the god. In the panels on either side of the eastern portal (originally the principal entrance) the artist has depicted Śiva's mountain retreat, Kailāsa, identified with the mountain in which the Elephanta cave is carved, which the devotee has now reached and entered. On either side of the western entrance are panels depicting Śiva impaling Andhaka and the nuptials of Śiva and Pārvatī, once again the opposing aspects of the great god, on the south wall, male and female aspects of Śiva themselves in a number of complex iconographic forms,

The architecture of Elephanta, in Michell's opinion betrays an emphasis on duality (p. 25) - the east-west axis leading to the *lingam* is that of devotion, whereas the southward progress has a distinctly theatrical effect dominated by the great triune image of Siva.

The cave temple is the world of sacred icons of the multitude of aspects and manifestations of Śiva (p. 25). The walls and the ceiling are undecorated, only the columns are carved, thus giving the carved panels their full impact. These panels are deeply carved, strongly framed and positioned well back from the walls, in their own space. Inside each frame cosmic scenes take place - forceful gestures of the larger-than-life figures which crowd the compositions, and the clearly mythical nature of the scenes express a celestial drama. The figures fly or dance through the air, sit on the mountain top, but they all display their admiration for Śiva, acknowledging him as the supreme principle of the universe. In fact Śiva and Pārvatī are the king and queen of the universe.

George Michell is inclined to believe that at Elephanta, an attempt was made to connect the royal patron of the cave and his queen (or queens) with the cosmic royal family of Śiva and Pārvatī (p. 26). Throughout history kings have patronised temples, endowed them, supported them and maintained the resident priests. It was an effective method by which the ruler established political control and the legitimacy of his rule. It also ensured that his rule was divinely sanctioned and protected. He avers that in no other temple are the theatrical and the royal qualities of the sculpture more obvious, and that the double axial system of the temple suggests a division of devotion, and of other rituals one of which was to accommodate a royal ritual within the temple and the ceremonies associated with it.

The third essay, Wendy Doniger O' Flaherty's *The Myths Depicted at Elephanta*, by comparison with Michell's authoritative piece and Carmel Berkson's extraordinary photographs and her own interpretation, is disappointing. She seems to be obsessed with her theory of thresholds and *dvārapālas*.

The passage from the profane world into sacred space, is likened by Wendy O' Flaherty, to the crossing of a threshold, which is a difficult and dangerous transition for the crosser and for the guardian of the threshold, the *dvārapāla*. She narrates the episodes of Rāma, Agni, Gaṇeśa, Paraśurāma, Bhṛgu, Viśvaksena, Ilā and Rāvaṇa in support of her theory.

Her interpretation of the Rāvaṇa under Kailāsa panel is a variant of the theme of crossing dangerous thresholds; also, the Mahāyogi panel, for

the gods who wish to interrupt Śiva in his long trance on Kailasa, have to cross a threshold to do so. Thresholds figure again as the borderline between the temple market and the temple proper (in Elephanta it is the end of stalls which line the steps which terminate at the great temple).

Dvārapālas, where they appear in sculpture, are not necessarily the guardians of a god's privacy; they are seldom ferocious and belligerent, they are part of the god's (or king's) retinue, and their main function is to stand at the entrance to the sanctum sanctorum - they are a sort of status symbol and a necessary ornamental adjunct to the sculpture. They remind the visitor or devotee that he is about to enter a sacred place.

Many of Ms O'Flaherty's descriptions of Śiva's actions and activities are offensive and in bad taste. Her references to Śiva's 'notorious philandering' (p. 28); 'his ability to make love for several centuries without ceasing or letting his seed fall' (p. 28); 'his persistent adulteries' (p. 34), are, to say the least, indelicate. In the Gaṅgādhara, (although she quotes from a text that Pārvatī's pose should look uneasy), she sees a forced quality in the goddess' posture and sweepingly concludes that Pārvatī regards this act of 'cosmic soteriology as simple bare-faced adultery' (p. 33). The Andhakāsuravadha panel is summed up as 'the Oedipal content of this myth is blatant' (p. 35).

In her threshold theory she refers to Ādi's intention of killing Śiva by mutilating him through sexual contact (p. 28). Other things apart, this could have been omitted; and in her interpretation of the Kalyāṇasundara panel, her reference to a text (not cited) that during the marriage ceremony, Brahmā was 'so intoxicated by Pārvatī's beauty, that she spilled his seed on the ground' (p. 33), is not only coarse and vulgar, but has no relevance to the sculpture.

Possibly the only mild remark in her essay, with reference to the Ardhanārīśvara is, 'in order to prevent Śiva from carrying on with other women, Pārvatī made him join his body to hers' (p. 35).

Her inrerpretation of the Naṭarāja panel, includes coarse and unnecessary detail, Śiva's encounter in the Tāragam forest. All of us who are acquainted with this episode, are familiar with the details, which have been described with elegance by greater authorities than Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty. Was it therefore necessary to describe the god as 'a handsome stark-naked beggar with an erect phallus; that the ṛṣis cursed him to be castrated for seducing their wives, as a result his phallus fell to the ground' (p. 36), all of which is irrelevant to the myth of the Lord of Dance.

These coarse and vulgar allusions to and descriptions of Śiva strike a discordant note in a book which is otherwise a welcome addition to the literature on Elephanta. They could hurt the feelings of the many people who visit the temple with devotion and humility. Her 'mythological insights' could also mislead other visitors who would expect to see sculpture similar to that at Khajuraho, Konarak and Modhera. The artists who created the panels in Śiva's cave showed great restraint; so have the many writers, great and small, who have described Elephanta in the past. But if this is Ms O'Flaherty's attempt, as she says in the Introduction, 'to present some of the mythological insights and theological attitudes, that may have been in the minds of the sculptors many centuries ago' (p. xiii), she has ignominiously failed; all she has succeeded in doing is to enhance her reputation as an erotomaniac.

Owen C. Kail

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE MOROPANT COLLECTION IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY; Volume 1, compiled by USHA R. BHISE, Bombay University Library, Bombay, 1981, pp. XV, 307, xxiv, - Rs. 45 /- .

Like the two previous catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Library of the University of Bombay, published by the University earlier, this catalogue also has been edited very laboriously and carefully. It gives detailed information about every aspect of each manuscript, the nature, extent, size, contents, author, scribe and date.

The manuscripts containing Moropant's own Sanskrit compositions are very few like :

Āryāmuktāmālā (2891), *Kāśīkṣetrasthaprārthanā* (300), *Mantra-rāmāyana* (377), *Muktāmālā* (380) and *Śaṅkara-stotra* (447). Most of the manuscripts are copies of portions from well-known Sanskrit works.

In this catalogue the manuscripts have been divided in 4 parts. Part I contains 53 manuscripts giving portions from works in the Vedic literature. The manuscripts containing less known works like *Nirālabopaniṣad* (40,41), *Rāmopaniṣad* (45) are worthy of notice.

Among 73 manuscripts pertaining to Dharmaśāstra and Smṛti literature a few deserve notice, since they deal with the books and topics, not much known e. g. *Karmavipāka* of Mailugi (59), *Sihālīprayoga* of

Nārāyaṇa (77), Rāmāyaṇa-pārāyaṇa-vidhi (108), Vaiṣṇaveya-vidhi (111, 112). The manuscripts of works in Purāṇa literature are mostly dealing with the well known Purāṇas.

As many as 62 manuscripts pertain to the Tantra-literature. One full manuscript (No. 255) gives detailed information about the various ' Yantras. '

In the last part of the manuscripts, dealing with Kāvya and Nāṭakas, we mostly find portions from well-known poetic and dramatic compositions in classical Sanskrit literature.

The manuscripts have been copied by Moropant himself, by his son Raghunath and a few by other scribes. The collection bears testimony to the keen interest, which Moropant and his family have taken in various branches of Sanskrit learning. The collection will be useful to those who want to know more about Moropant and his family.

The manuscripts dealing with less known and unpublished texts in Sanskrit literature, indicated above, will provide good field for research-workers in Sanskrit. The two indices at the end, one of the works and the other of the authors, will serve useful purpose of ready reference.

G. V. Davane

ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA : by SRINIVASA AYYA SRINIVASAN, Studien Zur Indologie Und Iranistik, Monographie I; Dr. Inge Wezler, Verlag Für Orientalische Fachpublikationen; Reinbek, 1980. Price not given.

Regarding the origin or composition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the generally accepted view is that the work is written by one man, namely Bharata, and that it is substantially homogeneous and that although it contains accretions they have not damaged the original texture beyond recognition. The central purpose of Sri Srinivasan's essay under review is " to show that the famous VIth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* on the *rasa* concept as also the sections in the work dealing with the drama forms called *nāṭaka* and *prakaraṇa* are made up of highly heterogeneous materials borrowed from sundry sources and put together with no change but such as does not affect their substantial disparateness ; that this heterogeneousness is irreducible; and that we have every reason to conclude that these disparate materials are not later accretions to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* known to us." In other words, the

purpose of the essay is "to show that these parts of the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* are compilatory in their composition". The author briefly discusses the modern views on the composition or development of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* expressed by Madame Nitti-Dolci, Alsdorf and Warder. He speaks approvingly of Madame Nitti Dolci's and Alsdorf's short but pregnant remarks but disparagingly of Warder's 'scarcely controlled speculation' and passes judgment over his theory : "Surely this is a travesty of research" (p. 82, note 22 (4-3)). The author's study covers only a part of the mammoth *Nāṭyaśāstra*; on the basis of this study he makes "an attempt at formulating principles that should be useful for diagnosing the composition not only of further parts of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself but also of other works".

The essay under review, no doubt, attests to the author's great scholarship, industry and critical ability; but it does not succeed in firmly establishing the compilatory nature of the parts of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. His remarks and observations, both in the essay proper (p. 3 to p. 76) and the Notes to elucidate the earlier discussions (p. 76 to p. 139), are more often than not extremely vague, indefinite, purely tentative and of provisional character and naturally their value and importance is greatly diminished. To illustrate the point attention may be drawn to the following observation of the author : " *If this view is correct, then Perhaps it is more natural, however, to take ... and in spite of ... : one does very often get the impression that 'tathaiva' is used 'pādapūraṅārtham', though this requires study.* The author himself is conscious of the tentative nature of his present essay : "In the case of the present essay, one may sceptically ask if anything remains after deducting uncertain evidence and correspondingly tentative conclusions" (p, 62). His discussions about variants, and interpretations of the passages from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are useful for a better understanding of the text concerned. At some places, however, one finds it difficult to agree with him : P. 49 (13. 3) " ... the only element conceived to constitute the Heroic Mood is martial valour, whereas at 13. 1 this *rasa* includes alms-giving... and it includes heroism with regard to *dharma* - an idea not clear to me...". Daṇḍin (*Kāvyaḍarśa* II. v 284) seems to illustrate the three kinds of *vīra*. Hemacandra cites their examples as follows :

तत्र धर्मवीरो नागानन्दे जीमूतवाहनस्य । दानवीरः परशुराम-बलिप्रभृतीनाम् । युद्धवीरो
वीरचरिते रामस्य ।

p. 57 (14. 19. 1, 14. 19. 2, 14. 19. 3) : The author's way of improving the text as '*na viṣayebhyo' viparivṛtṭyā*' in the sentence 'tatra sarvarasānām śāntaprāya evāsvādo na viṣayebhyo 'viparivṛtṭyā' is ingenious no doubt but the reading preserved in *Kalpalatāviveka* (p. 313, 1-2) would seem to be the genuine one :

विषय-विपरिवृत्त्याऽन्तर्मुखतालाभेन सर्वरसानां शान्तप्राय एवास्वादः केवलं वासनान्तरोपहितं हि वक्ष्यते ।

p. 70 (15. 10. 3, 15. 10. 5) : “whole seminal idea (?) (and) plot (?) are original (?)” It passes one’s comprehension why the author of the present essay ignores the explanation of ‘ utpannabījavastu ’ as ‘ pūrvasiddhe bījam vastu ca yatra tāḍḍsamapi tat ’ given by Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī* (Vol. II, p. 430) and reproduced by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṅnuśāsana* (p. 435).

P. 116 : ‘ dhIram ’ iti mantharam kṛtvā ’ īṣat-tvanirvāhaḥ (the act of *smīta* should be performed delayingly and then, when it is performed, it should be only suggested, as it were : is this what Abhinavagupta means ?)”. Certainly not. What Abhinavagupta intends to convey would be at once clear if we read the concerned sentence from *Abhinavabhāratī* as follows :

धीरमिति मन्यरं कृत्वा । ईपत्वं निवार्याह – विकसितैरिति ।

(Note the difference between the two expressions ‘ *Īṣad vikasitair gaṇḍaiḥ* ’ and ‘ *gaṇḍair vikasitair* ’ used in defining ‘ *smīta* ’ and ‘ *hasita* ’ respectively). This reading ‘ *Īṣatvam nivāryāha* ’ finds strong support in Hemacandra’s paraphrase ‘ *smitasya īṣattāyām vyapagatāyām hasitam* ’ (*Kāvyaṅnuśāsana*, Viveka p. 115, l. 25).

P. 117 : “ ‘ *Kālāgam* ’ of (VII) I am unable to explain, nor its variant *kalāgam*, if this latter is at all a serious reading ”.

Abhinavagupta explains *Kālāgam* as ‘ *Kālaucitam* ’. The *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* (p. 148) uses ‘ *samaya-prāptam* ’ with reference to ‘ *vīhasitam* ’ (and *anavasara-prāptam* with reference to ‘ *apahasitam* ’). These explanations of *kālāgata* seem to be quite satisfactory. ‘ *Kālāgam* ’ is, of course, a corrupt reading.

P. 132 Note : 78 (15, 11, 4)”. “Abhinavagupta speaks of the *prakaraṇa* being *saptavidha*, and later on he says : *ekavimśatiḥ prakaraṇe bhedaḥ*. I do not understand the arithmetic involved ”.

The following passage from *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (p. 104) enables one to understand easily the arithmetic involved :

... उक्तलक्षणं प्रकरणं सप्तभेदम् । इतो नायकः । फलं मुख्यसाध्यम् । वस्तु-फल-सायका उपायाः । एतेषामेक-द्वि-त्रिविधानेन सप्तभेदं प्रकरणम् । तत्र नेतुः प्रकल्पने तदितरयोश्चाकल्पने एको भङ्गः । एवं फल-वस्तुनोरपि । एवमेककल्पाविधाने त्रयो भङ्गाः । तथा नायक-फलयोर्नायकवस्तुनोः फलवस्तुनोर्वा कल्पने शेषस्यैकस्य चाकल्पने त्रयो द्विकभङ्गकाः । नायक-फल-वस्तुनां त्रयाणां समुद्दितानामपि कल्पने एको भङ्गः । एवं सर्वमीलनेन सप्तधाप्रकरणम् इति । ... शुद्धसङ्कीर्णभेद-त्रयरूपं सप्तभेदं प्रकरणम्, तस्मादेकविंशतिधा अप्यद एतत् प्रकरणम् ।

In spite of these and such other imperfections the present essay is a valuable contribution to the textual study of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and scholars interested in the subject are bound to benefit by its study.

V. M. Kulkarni

SANSKRIT NĀṬAKO MEN PRATINĀYAKA : THE ANTAGONIST IN SANSKRIT DRAMA (Hindi) by ABHAY MITRA, Ashu Prakashan, Allahabad, 1981, pp, 14, 368, Rs. 65 / - .

Dr. Abhay Mītra, the author of this book, is already known to lovers of Sanskrit through his *bhāvānuvāda* of *Meghadūta* in Hindi published in the year 1979. The present study of *pratīnāyaka*, the anti-hero in Sanskrit dramas, happens to be his thesis for the degree of D. Phil. of the University of Allahabad, now presented in a book form. The author has presented his study in 8 chapters. Chapter 1 is intended to present a review of the source and development of *pratīnāyaka* dealing with figures of Vedic gods, like Indra and Varuṇa and their 'enemies' like Vṛtra, Śambara etc. Granting that this study is illuminating, it is difficult to accept its relevance to dramatic literature which, according to Bharata, is primarily concerned with *lokavṛtta*. The fact that enmity springs from a sense of rivalry, hate, ambition etc. cannot be gainsaid, but the question is of presenting this material through the art-form namely drama. In chapter 2, the author has rightly examined the theoretical material in Sanskrit poetics regarding *pratīnāyaka* and chapters 5, 6 and 7 exhaustively deal with this *pratīnāyaka* in the whole range of classical Sanskrit dramas based on *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa-legend, historical and folk tales. The author has carefully examined the Sanskrit theory of dramatic construction in chapter 3 and has ably dealt with the five *avasthās*, *artha-prakṛtis*, *sandhis* as well as dramatic patterns like *Dīma* (p. 160), *Vyāyoga* (p. 161), *Samavakāra* (p. 162) not excluding of course *rasa* in chapter 4. One cannot help saying that all this is only remotely connected with the study of anti-hero. This remark is all the more true of chapter 8, where the author has attempted to compare the *pratīnāyaka* of Sanskrit with the villain in Western tragedy. Comparisons between Cāṇakya and Rākṣasa of the *Mudrārāksasa* and Brutus and Caesar of *Julius Caesar* (pages 336, 397) are to say the least, odious and cannot prove the superiority or inferiority on one and the other as conceptions of characters in the two dramas are moulded by the cultural ethos of the people and the values of life accepted by the dramatists, and the difference between these two dramatists in this matter is too obvious to be ignored.

The author has rightly pointed out that the philosophical doctrines and the cultural and social background of Sanskrit dramatists have led to the idealisation of the hero (p. 142 and elsewhere) making the *pratināyaka* an anti-hero representing the forces of opposition that temporarily thwart the hero's intended achievement. This has resulted into the *pratināyakas* represented by mythological or *purāṇic* figures like Rāvaṇa, Kamīsa or the social character like Śakāra.

The author has also shown that Bharata has not referred to the *pratināyaka* (p. 71) and that the definition of *pratināyaka* given by the author of *Daśarūpaka*, viz. ' लुब्धः धोरोद्धतस्तब्धः पापकृद् व्यसनी रिपुः ' is not fully applicable in the context of Sanskrit dramas (p. 78). It is evident that characteristics enlisted by this author as well as Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra, Hemacandra, and Bhoja do not tally with the actual portrayals of the *pratināyaka* by dramatists. Daṇḍin was the first theorist who stated that the status of anti-hero is expected to ultimately heighten the glory of the hero. All this makes the second chapter extremely interesting for the discerning readers.

The same can certainly be said about the chapters 5, 6 as well as 7 where the author's analysis indicates fresh approach as well as the discerning eye of a critical reader. As the question of the *pratināyaka* is essentially linked up with the *nāyaka*, the author will admit that there is room for difference of opinion in case of unconventional dramas of Bhāsa as well as plays like *Mudrārākṣasa* and *Veṅīsamhāra*. Nevertheless, the author must be given the credit for making out a case for Bharata as the hero of Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka*. Nevertheless, the author's argument regarding Ghaṭotkaca as the hero and Bhīma as anti-hero in *Madhyamavyāyoga* is unconvincing. The same can be said regarding the status of Śakāra traceable to *Śākuntala* (i. e. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*). It is possible to argue that the relationship of the superintendent with the king may have been suggested by Śūdraka's play itself.

The present volume unfortunately suffers from repetitions. The topics such as *rasa-virodha*, *sandhis*, are discussed twice or thrice. The same can be said about the treatment given to Śakāra's character. Repetition of quotations could have been avoided. This volume is also disfigured by misprints like भूरिसः for भूरिशः (p. 25), करक for करके (p. 287 l. 19). These misprints are seen not only in Sanskrit and English quotations, but are found also on a single page (e. g. p. 287).

This does not detract the merit of the volume as this happens to be the first attempt, in my opinion, to theoretically and comprehensively

discuss the problem of the *partināyaka*. Hence the author has certainly made a useful contribution to the study of dramatic theory and character.

M. D. Paradkar

THE KURMA-PURĀNA: Parts I and II.: ANCIENT INDIAN TRADITION AND MYTHOLOGY, Vols. 20 and 21, translated and annotated by GANESH VASUDEO TAGARE and edited by J. L. SHASTRI, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1982, pt. 1, pp. xlvi, 336 and pt. 2, pp. xiii, 632. Price not given.

Volume 20, Part I

The Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, has already published a critical text of the *Kūrma-Purāṇa*, translation and annotations by Shri Anand Swarup Gupta, in the year 1971. In 1982, in the series of Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology started by Motilal Banarsidass, Volumes 20, 21, Parts I and II contain English Translation and annotations by Dr. Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare. Volume 20, Part I contains chapters 1-53 (Pūrvārḍha) and Volume 21, Part II contains chapters 1-46 (Uttārārḍha).

According to the editor, the present translation is based on the standard edition of the Veṅkaṭeśvar Press, Bombay.

In the Preface to both the volumes the editor has given a brief descriptive note on the miscellaneous topics which are dealt with in them indicating their encyclopaedic character. He has further pointed out some special features of Dr. Tagare's translation and annotations.

In the *Introduction* the author has discussed (1) The Title - *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (=KP), (2) The Rank and Extent of the KP, (3) The *Kūrma* as a *Mahā-Purāṇa*, (4) The KP and the *Nārada-Purāṇa*, (5) Religious Sects in the KP, (6) Philosophy in the KP, (7) "Pāsūpatism" of the KP. (8) Dharmaśāstra in the KP, (9) The date of the KP. All these aspects of the KP have been fully and critically discussed to make the study of the *Purāṇa* complete. The *Introduction* thus gives a full exposition of the contents of the KP, and throws light on the various religious philosophical ideas presented by the KP.

The *Introduction* is followed by *English Translation and Annotations*. In the translation Dr. Tagare has indicated the verse numbers but in the Varanasi edition verse numbers are not indicated. He has also taken note of variations in readings in other editions of the KP, discussed them and stated his reasons for accepting a particular reading. Normally translators

do not translate the epithets of gods and goddesses; but in this work the author has translated the epithets of the goddess at KP I. 12. Simple language and clarity may also be noted.

The important part of this work is constituted by the scholarly and valuable annotations given in the footnotes. The author has explored all the relevant works in explaining and criticising the KP. Relevant passages from other Purāṇas have been quoted and philosophical ideas which are common to several other Purāṇas are explained. This will give an insight into the philosophy of the Purāṇas and indicate how in certain respects the Purāṇas are bound together by common ideology. Variations in the mythological legends in the different Purāṇas are pointed out. (pp. 54, 136, 147, 149, 150, 166, 170 etc.). The annotator has examined the views of other scholars and commentators also, while stating his views (pp. 56, 57, 130, 303, 308 etc.).

The author has given a comparative table of verses to show how the KP and the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* are close textually (pp. 142, 156). While commenting on Viṣṇu's epithet "Trivikrama", the author remarks, "The legend of Bali and Vāmana which developed out of this is not creditable to Viṣṇu despite the defence of Purāṇa-writers as is found in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* 8. 15. 1-23, *Brahma Purāṇa* 73. 1-69, *Padma Purāṇa* 1. 30. 1-203. By his generosity and truthfulness, Bali proved to be higher in stature than the great Viṣṇu, a pigmy Vāmana as he came to be called aptly (p. 166). This criticism of Vāmana is quite significant and indicates an impartial outlook of a scholar who refuses to be guided by sectarian eulogy whatsoever.

At KP I. 22. 40 (p. 194) he has rightly pointed the tolerant attitude and an attempt to amalgamate the Vedic and Purāṇic deities, and also the evolution of Hinduism from Vedism and transition towards all comprehensive Purāṇic religion.

In the KP, side by side we come across passages glorifying Viṣṇu and Śiva. From this account, scholars like S. K. De and R. C. Hazra have come to the conclusion that the KP was originally a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, a work of the Pāñcarātra-system, but later on it was Pāśupatized. Dr. Tagarc, however, feels that such side by side eulogy of Viṣṇu and Śiva or identification of Viṣṇu with Śiva is meant to establish "*samanvaya*" between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism (p. 198). It may be pointed out here that yet he does not totally rule out the possibility of Pāśupatization in the KP. He holds that the Purāṇas being a literature of growth, additions, modifications, interpolations, etc. have taken place before their final redactions. So it is not improbable that Pāśupatas tried to insert the glory of their god in the KP (p. xlii).

Presuming this possibility, he remarks that if at all some attempt had been made at the Pāśupatization of this Purāṇa, it was superficial and perfunctory (p. 224).

At KP I. 26 the origin and importance of *līṅga*-worship is discussed. Here the KP identifies a *līṅga* with a column of fire, and the annotator has rightly said that this is an attempt to emphasize the sacrificial origin of Śiva-*līṅga* (p. 225). It may be stated here that *līṅga*-worship is not of Aryan origin (Cf. Rv. VII. 21. 5; Bhandarkar, R. G. - *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 115). When the sectarian Purāṇas were composed, nothing prevented their authors from imagining and interpreting religious practices, beliefs and ideas so as to suit their purpose. Accordingly, to glorify *līṅga*-worship the KP identified *līṅga* with fire. In its attempt to exalt *līṅga*-worship the KP goes further and identifies *līṅga* with Supreme Brahman, KP I. 26. 100.

The author has profusely quoted from *The Geography of the Purāṇas* by Prof. S. M. Ali, to throw light on the geography in the KP.

Volume 21, Part II

This Volume contains translation of the second half of the KP, annotations thereon and an Index. The topics contained in this are miscellaneous such as the Pāśupata Yoga, the Vibhūti Yoga, the Yoga of Īśvara as the means of crossing the ocean of worldly existence, religion, ethics, philosophy, etc.

First eleven chapters of this part of the KP contain Īśvaragītā – the song of Īśvara i. e. Śiva. It resembles the *Bhagavadgītā*. Dr. Tagare has indicated the parallelism between the *Bhagavadgītā* and Īśvaragītā in the annotations. The entire discourse by Śiva and Vyāsa reveals Pāśupata interpolation. R. C. Hazra has indicated in his book, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, that these are Pāśupata documents pure and simple (p. 62). Here in this context Dr. Tagare seems to agree with R. C. Hazra (pp. 340, 364, 366).

Though the author has followed Venkaṭeśvar Ed., he has pointed out the flaws in the text of this edition and his disapproval of it. (pp. 380, 381).

Approach of the author is scholarly; he has traced the origin of the data found in the KP. Thus at KP II. 12, he has pointed out that KP II has incorporated practically the whole of its twelfth chapter dealing with the deities of celibate students from *Auśanasa Smṛti* Chapter I; throwing further light on this matter he states that the KP had the status of a Smṛti and many

verses from this chapter are quoted as authority in respectable works on Dharmaśāstra like *Smṛti Candrikā*, *Caturvarga Cintāmani*, *Vīramitrodaya*, *Nirṇaya Sindhu* and others. While annotating Dharmaśāstra topics, material has been thoroughly examined and explained. Relevant works on Dharmaśāstra have been referred to. Thus it will be observed that the exhaustive annotations form a very useful part of this work. They are a valuable contribution of the author. At the end of Volume 21 there is an *Index*. This Index will be found useful, because it is not only an index of words but also a dictionary of words occurring in the KP. In the Abbreviations, I could come across one error which though small is very obvious : HD History of Dharma Śāstra by P. V. Kane, G. O. S. (for B. O. R. I.).

The entire work proves the amount of trouble that Dr. Tagare has taken to make the study of the KP complete to the best of his ability. Dr. Tagare deserves congratulations for presenting this valuable work to the students of Indology.

—Jaya Chemburkar

INDIAN SOCIETY, RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY (A STUDY OF THE BRAHMAVAIVARTAPURĀṆA) : by ANANTRAY J. RAWAL, D. K. Publications, Delhi, 1982, pp. ix, 360. Rs. 150/-, S. 30-00.

According to its Preface, the present work is a Ph. D. thesis written by Dr. Anantray J. Rawal. The author has analysed the contents of the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* (= BVP) under four heads, viz. (1) Society, (2) Religion, (3) Philosophy, and (4) Mythology. In the Introduction, he has discussed the problem of the original BVP and the extant BVP, and has pointed out that the extant BVP is different or the enlarged one and not the same as described in various works. According to him it might originally be a work of Brahmā cult before seventh or eighth century A. D., but after tenth century A. D., when Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-worship became popular, the original BVP underwent change and was enlarged and revised.

After examining the works of the different scholars for fixing up the date of the BVP, the author has come to the conclusion that the date of the BVP is between 1400 A. D. and 1600 A. D. On the basis of the internal evidence, the author has shown that the home of the BVP is Bengal.

In explaining the title “ Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa ”, the present author has only restated the explanation given in the Purāṇa itself. A Purāṇa

known as Brahmakaivarta is available in S. India. The author is not able to throw any light on whether these two Purāṇas are identical or whether they are different.

After mentioning the ten characteristics mentioned in the BVP, the author states the three categories of the Purāṇas, viz. Sāttvika, Rājasa, and Tāmasa. The BVP is said to belong to Rājasa category, and it is also said to belong to the class of Purāṇas which underwent two general revisions.

In Second chapter, we get a statement of various aspects of social life: (1) Varṇa System (2) Āśrama System (3) Slavery (4) Marriage (5) Family (6) Position of Women. All these topics come under the purview of Dharmaśāstra. According to Dr. R. C. Hazra, tradition demanded that the Purāṇas would be re-edited with changes in society so that their importance as works of authority might not decrease. Besides, Dr. Rawal also opines that the original BVP underwent change and was revised. Under these circumstances, after the statement of the topics pertaining to Dharmaśāstra, a few relevant comments on these topics by the author would have been appreciated.

The third chapter gives a picture of socio-economic life on the basis of food, drink, dress, ornaments, sports, pastimes, art, architecture, customs, conventions, beliefs, superstitions, etc. incidentally referred to in the BVP.

In the fourth chapter (section I) the author describes in brief worship of the following gods and goddesses and reward of worship. The deities are: Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Dharma, Sūrya, Durgā, Rādhā, Sarasvatī, Vasundharā, Tulasī, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī, Svadhā, Svāhā Dakṣiṇā, Ṣaṣṭhi, Maṅgalacaṇḍī, Manasā, Surabhī. It may be remarked here that the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa is an important aspect of Vaiṣṇavism, and secondly it is a further development of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti or Gopālakṛṣṇa cult expounded in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* where Rādhā is absent. This being the case, the author should have dealt with this topic elaborately and given us his observations on this development. Similarly, instead of giving a mere list of Stotras, Kavacas, Dhyānas, Mantras, Bijamantras, he should have explained these terms and shown their significance in the practice of devotion. His approach appears to be superficial.

The section II of the fourth chapter gives a brief account of the Sāṅkhya system incorporated in the BVP to explain the process by which the world is evolved. The rest of this section is devoted to a brief explanation of various philosophical concepts such as Māyā, Kāla, Brahman, Saṃsāra, Jīva, Deha, Dehī, Creation, Dissolution, Brahmāṇḍa, Goloka, Kailāsa,

Bhakti, Doctrine of Grace, Emancipation, Haṭha-Yoga practised by Nātha-yogins.

The BVP consists of four Khaṇḍas : (1) Brahma-Khaṇḍa, (2) Prakṛti-Khaṇḍa, (3) Gaṇapati-Khaṇḍa, and (4) Kṛṣṇa-Khaṇḍa. Naturally here we get account of Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, and Kṛṣṇa, but also for the first time we get an elaborate account of Rādhā, such as Her birth, childhood, marriage, Her relation to Kṛṣṇa, Her Divinity, etc. not obtained from other Purāṇas except the *Padma Purāṇa* which contains a very brief account. In addition to these deities, there are incidental accounts of other gods and goddesses. In the fifth chapter mythology is presented in the form of a statement of these accounts. The account of Rādhā is useful.

At the end there are five appendices giving (1) A brief summary of the BVP, (2) Geographical and Ethnic Data, (3) Flora and Fauna in the BVP, (4) A list of Stotras, Mantras, Kavacas, Dhyānas and Bījamantras, and (5) Editions and translations of the BVP, and Bibliography and an Index.

Not a single chapter contains a conclusion or at least a few concluding remarks at the end; similarly at the end of the work also there is no conclusion. Author has taken pains to examine a good number of works of other writers and has profusely quoted from them. But there seems to be a very little attempt on his part at commenting on, and interpreting the data collected. And last but not the least, it may be humbly pointed out that more care should have been taken to ensure correct English. However, this being the first attempt, Dr. Rawal deserves congratulations. The work can serve the purpose of ready reference for a research student.

—*Jaya Chemburkar*

THE EPIC BEAUTIFUL : AN ENGLISH VERSE RENDERING OF THE SUNDARA KĀṆḌA OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA OF VĀLMĪKI
by K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1983, pp. xii, 512, Rs. 60/- .

Of the two national epics, Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* has " a greater simplicity of plan, a more delicate ideal temperament and a finer glow of poetic warmth and colour ". It is an *ādi-kāvya* with exquisite human story; it is a parable of the expansion of Aryan hegemony; it is a didactic dramatisation of the conflict of Light and Darkness; it is a *pramāṇa* to point out paths leading to the highest *puruṣārtha*. Thus its varied fascinating facets cannot be reduced to a formal formula.

Of the seven Kāṇḍas of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Sundara Kāṇḍa has been regarded by some scholars as the nucleus of the whole epic architecture. It is believed that "Sītā in the Aśoka Grove is the sanctum sanctorum of the vastly structured *Rāmāyaṇa* temple, and Vālmīki should have felt that this Sītāyana ... this 'bija-kāṇḍa' according to *Agastya Saṁhitā* must be sung first before he could indite the rest of the magnificent poem" (p. 16). Leaving this problem of the order of composition of the Kāṇḍas, it is patent to all that the Sundara Kāṇḍa has enjoyed universal appeal like the *Bhagavad-gītā*. This Kāṇḍa itself is regarded as "an epic in its own sovereign right, with the necessary concord of parts, the appurtenances appropriate to a heroic tale and the feel of unity in its massive strength and completeness in its variegated richness." (p. 19). The Sundara Kāṇḍa is so called as it has the *śabda-artha-saundaryā*, the nine Sentiments, Rāma - Hanumat - Sītā - Saundaryā, etc. It has an appeal for everyone - poet, philosopher, soldier, young, old or even a child.

The Sundara Kāṇḍa comprises 68 cantos containing about 3,000 *ślokas*. Prof. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar has divided these cantos into seven books viz. Passage to Līṅkā (1-277), Search for Sītā (278-651), Sītā and Rāvaṇa (652-996), Sītā's Darkest Night and Dawn (997-1235), Sītā and Hunūmān (1236-1746), Havoc in Laṅkā (1747-2310) and Return to Rāma (2311-2823). The *ślokas* have been translated into 10-7-10-7 unrhymed quatrains with a general Śloka - quatrain equivalence. The translator has generally followed the Dharmalaya edition which contains 2885 *ślokas* in the Sundara Kāṇḍa. An English translation into verse of Bāla - Kāṇḍa, Canto 1-3 forms the Prologue and that of *Ādityahṛdayam* and the Coronation of Rāma and Sītā from the Yuddha-Kāṇḍa forms the Epilogue. The translator has refrained from inversions, archaisms and the so-called 'poeticisms' or poetic diction. Often the sense overflows the quatrain mould to avoid excessive metrical monotony. The 'Notes and Comments' (pp. 481-512) are brief. The Introduction (pp. 1-35) deals with topics like the epic tradition, the universality of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the beauty of Sundara Kāṇḍa.

The language is lucid and the translation does help us to experience a faint echo of the beauty of The Epic Beautiful. Prof. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar deserves our hearty congratulations for making available this beautiful Kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in eloquent and appealing English verses.

— S. A. Upadhyaya

**LA RELIGION DES MALABARS :— TESSIER DE QUÉRALAY ET
LA CONTRIBUTION DES MISSIONNAIRES EUROPÉENS A LA**

NAISSANCE DE L' INDIANISME by GITA DHARAMPAL,
Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire, Switzerland, 1982, pp. 351.
Price not given.

Gita Dharampal's doctoral thesis on the Religion of the Malabars and the contribution of European missionaries to the birth of Indianism is characterised by a high standard of scholarship. This work is mainly a detailed study of Tessier de Quéralay's treatise on the religion of the Malabars. This rich and varied document bears witness to the profound interest of European missionaries in India.

Tessier de Quéralay was the proctor of Pondicherry in charge of the Paris Society of Foreign Missions from 1699 to 1720. His treatise was written for the ecclesiastical authorities in Europe and was to provide the necessary orientation for missionary activity in the future. He describes the social and religious practices of the Tamilian Brahmins at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Till the middle of the eighteenth century in European literature as well as in the writings of missionaries the term "malabar" applied to the indigenous population of the whole of South India.

The author has pointed out that Tessier's work is rich with information for indologists and linguists. It is also an important document on colonial history. According to Gita Dharampal, Tessier has grasped the essential aspects of the Tamilian socio-religious order. Particularly interesting is the section in which the various ceremonies and rituals of marriage are described. The Christian doctrine serves as an ultimate point of reference in describing the religion of the Malabars. Tessier's views are sometimes prejudiced. For example, about marriage he observes: "By creating Eve from the rib of Adam, God created the institution of marriage for the procreation of the human race. But according to the *pirāmaṅar* i. e. (the Brahmins), it is their Gods themselves who set the example to human beings by marrying each other. Thus by indulging in carnal pleasures they lose their divine status" (p. 66). Tessier has described a world dominated by idol worship and superstition. This justified the activities of the missionaries and proved the need for the conversion of this entire people to the Christian faith.

The author has made a comprehensive and systematic study of Tessier's text and compared it with accounts left by other missionaries. The various approaches and attitudes of missionaries provide interesting insights into Europe's understanding of India at the beginning of the modern era. She has also studied the repercussions of political and cultural changes in Europe on missionary activity in India. She has thus placed Tessier's document in its historical context. The author deserves praise for her presentation

of the text, the judicious selection of excerpts and for supplying a lucid and erudite commentary as well.

This work, written in impeccable French, is a significant contribution to Indology and deserves to be more widely distributed. An English translation of the book would be welcomed by scholars.

Mangala R. Sirdeshpande

SHAILOPANISHAD : THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT, rendered in Sanskrit verse with English text, 2nd Edn. by L. V. DESHPANDE, Sri Maiji C. Ramankutty Nair for the Universal Mai-ism Trust, Bombay, 1983, pp. 77. Rs. 10/-.

Jesus Christ's *Sermon on the Mount* like the *Gītā* is accepted to be a universal discourse and has become a part of the heritage of humanity. Rendering this into happy Sanskrit was a responsible task. Shri L. V. Deshpande, already known to Sanskritists, as a scholar as well as a poet, has done a commendable job by rendering this book in felicitous Sanskrit. The simplicity and elegance of the original have been finely retained. Lines such as ' अहो यूयं प्रमोदध्वं निर्भरं नन्दताधुना ' or ' किमर्थं कुरूपे चिन्तां वस्त्रप्रावरणे तथा ' do not sound like translations at all. Similarly renderings like यतो यन्नास्ति चित्तं ते चित्तं तत्रैव वर्तते have the quality of a quote. Index of Sanskrit verses given at the end speaks of the carefulness of the author. As Sanskrit is the fountain source of India's life and culture, this scholarly rendering of the *Sermon on the Mount* in Sanskrit will prove to be a cementing factor in the integration of India and the world. Shri L. V. Deshpande, therefore, deserves to be complimented for this laudable effort.

M. D. Paradkar

SONGS OF TAGORE rendered into English by ARUNA CHAKRAVATI, Vaitalik, Bombay, N. D. Price not given.

This is an exquisite publication which must be read even if it is not for sale. Only a limited edition has been published, but a copy has been presented to the Library of The Asiatic Society of Bombay. There are a hundred select songs, which took two years to translate meticulously, many for the first time. Referring to Aruna Chakravarti, this is what the noted Tagore scholar, Krishna Kripalani, Chairman, National Book Trust, has to say in his Introduction-- " Being a Bengali by birth, she has a sensitive understanding of the original texts of the songs, and having been trained to sing

Rabindra Sangeet, she has succeeded in selecting those which are evocative to the mind and pleasing to the ear. She is a teacher of English literature in a Delhi College and her proficiency in the use of the English language has ensured that her translations are both faithful and elegant: a no mean achievement. It is to be hoped that this publication of one hundred select songs of Tagore, giving the original Bengali text in Devanagari script on one page and its English rendering on the page opposite, will be welcomed as a boon by Indian and non-Indian listeners, who have no access to the original language of the poet, but enjoy listening to his songs and would like to understand what the song says."

Tagore was a poet-composer, and used to say that his songs would outlive his poems, which has come true by the increasing popularity of Rabindra Sangeet, both in India and abroad. "I feel as if music wells up from within some unconscious depth of my mind, that is why it has a certain completeness." The songs chosen are much loved and often sung... they have been grouped in five categories... Love Songs, Devotional Songs, Songs of the Motherland, Songs of the Seasons, and other Songs. They often touch on the quest of the unattainable. As Krishna Kripalani has explained, Tagore's poetry is rich with music and his music no less rich with poetry. To appreciate his music, one must understand the poetry of the words, for Tagore was matchless in the way he matched words, tune and mood.

A. K. Banerjee

NĪLAKAṆṬHAVIRACITAH BHATṬĀRKAH (*Arkamādhuri Tikā-saivalītaḥ*) Edited by Shri Ananta Tryambak Pingle, Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetham, Prayag, 1980, pp. 126. Price not stated.

It is very encouraging to note that the study of Mīmāṃsā is receiving a wider attention of scholars in the last decade. Present volume viz. *Bhaṭṭārka* has been an important work on Mīmāṃsā written by Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa neglected so far even by scholars. The Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha of Prayag has done a distinct service to the lovers of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā by publishing this work on the basis of the single Manuscript in its possession.

Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa, the author of this work (17th century A. D.) has been a luminary in the field of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. His work, *Bhagavanta-bhāskara*, written with the intentions of framing a course of study particularly suitable to his intimate pupil Bhagawant Deva of Bundelkanda has become

famous in the field of Mīmāṃsā. Mayūkhas of this book have become independent treatises on important Mīmāṃsā subjects like *vyavahāra*, *ācāra*, *pratiṣṭhā* etc. A study of the principles of Mīmāṃsā in these Mayūkhas was already undertaken by Dr. S. G. Moghe in his thesis presented to the University of Bombay in the year 1967. At that time much was not known about other works like *Vādodyata*, *Vidhivāda* and *Bhaṭṭārka* attributed to this versatile and prolific writer on Mīmāṃsā. The present volume fulfils this need and therefore serves an important purpose.

Bhaṭṭārka as the very name suggests is a 'flash of light on the Bhaṭṭa school'. Students of Mīmāṃsā already know that 7th Century A. D. became the best period for Mīmāṃsā with the advent of Prabhākara Miśra and Kumārīla Bhaṭṭa who became the founders of two schools in Mīmāṃsā viz. Gurumata and Bhaṭṭamata due to their divergent views on the essence of Mīmāṃsā-śāstra. Nīlakaṇṭha wrote *Bhaṭṭārka* with a view to evaluate the Bhaṭṭa views on the categories (*padārthas*) and present them with some modification based on his own thought. It is significant to note that Nīlakaṇṭha accepts Śakti as an independent category and adds Saṃkhyā, Viśayatā and Vaiśiṣṭya in his list of categories. In fact Nīlakaṇṭha not only differs from the Vaiśeṣikas but also indicates his difference of opinion from the followers of his school namely Bhaṭṭa school.

The editor, Dr. Anant Tryambak Pingle, has neatly presented the text of *Bhaṭṭārka* with the introduction of Prameyapadārthādhikāra, Bhāvatvādhikāra, Bhāvaprakārādhikāra and has further elaborated the subject in three main chapters namely Dravyādhikāra, Guṇādhikāra and Karmādyādhikāra. After having presented the text, the learned editor has proceeded to present his commentary i. e. *Arkamādhurīvyākhyā* wherein reflects the originality of Nīlakaṇṭha in presenting his views on categories. His introductory remarks at the beginning of his commentary on Śaktyādhikāra of *Bhaṭṭārka* (p. 110) are extremely interesting and instructive. The words of the learned commentator viz.

प्रतियोगिताख्यपदार्थान्तरमभ्युपगच्छतां नवनैयायिकानां मतं पूर्वपक्षत्वेनोपन्यस्यति प्रतियोगितापीति । यो यस्याभावः स तस्य प्रतियोगीति नियमेन अभावनिरूपितप्रतियोगिता प्रतियोगिनी घटे वर्तते । (p. 119, lines 1-2)

speak of the pointedness as well as fluency of language. The editor deserves compliments from all lovers of Pūrvamīmāṃsā for presenting this edition of *Bhaṭṭārka* along with his commentary known as *Arkamādhurī*. The Introduction to this volume by Dr. C. D. Bijelwan, the Principal of the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Guruvayoor (Kerala), briefly discusses all important points connected with the contribution of Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of

Bhattārka. Scholars will be awaiting the English translation and critique of this valuable work intended to be published (Introduction p. 8) by G. N. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha.

M. D. Paradkar

PURABHILEKH-PURATATVA, Journal of the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Vol. 1 No. 1, July-December 1983, Editor Dr. P. P. Shirodkar, Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Panaji, Goa, 1983, pp. 141 and 12 plates. Rs. 15-00.

This journal, which seems to be an extension of a Newsletter published by the same directorate, holds a promise of many interesting and informative articles on the history and culture of Goa, Daman and Diu.

The first feature entitled *Luso-British Relations (Documents)*, is a transcription of 43 documents exchanged between the officials in Goa and in Rio de Janeiro (where the Portuguese royal family fled prior to the French invasion of their country), the Governor General of the East India Company at Fort William, Calcutta, and his envoy in Panaji. They cover the period 1793 to 1816 and describe, *inter alia* Portuguese fears of Tippu Sultan's alliance with the French, his plans to occupy Goa, Napoleon's intention to conquer Egypt and to invade Goa and Bombay. From 1799 to 1813 the British occupied Goa. In the beginning they were welcomed and admired for their discipline. Col. Clarke was even nominated as the major-general of all Portuguese and British forces in Goa and its dependencies. Soon their presence became irksome and towards the end of their stay they were accused of selling gunpowder, hardware and arms at very low rates to villagers, and of having damaged a convent in Daman and some buildings in Marmagao and Aguada. Customs duties were also imposed on articles brought by the British into Goa.

To those who do not know Portuguese, the verbatim reproduction of these documents which extend to nearly 70 pages of the journal, makes heavy reading. The summaries in English, though brief, are useful.

The second feature, consisting of two photographs entitled *Portuguese Palaeography*, shows the sort of shorthand used by the Portuguese in their official documents. The third, *Modi (Marathi) Script*, reproduced in Devanagari, with summaries in English, refers to grievances, real or imaginary, reported by local rulers and dignitaries to the officials in Goa.

The fourth is a rambling account of the Portuguese in Chaul. Included are rather unnecessary fiscal details and a list (in Portuguese) of the arms and armament in the fortress.

The next, *Prince Shah Alam in Bicholim (Goa)*, describes the attempts of the Mughal to win the friendship of the Portuguese, so that his troops and materials could pass unhindered through Goa, in his campaign against the Marathas. The Goa government had no alternative to these overtures, as they were interested in preserving their *Estado da India* at any cost. An interesting highlight of this article is the state of military unpreparedness in Goa: palanquins were preferred to horses; the clergy outnumbered the troops; and soldiers arriving in the metropolis were coerced to join the religious orders. To crown it all, Jesuit priests diverted the funds received for the many forts and garrisons under their control, for other purposes.

A more appropriate title for the sixth article, would be *The Lothal Museum*, for it describes the contents of only 14 of the show cases or cabinets in the site museum at Lothal. Much of the article refers to the organisation of the Archaeological Survey of India, the location of its museums, and S. R. Rao's excavations in Lothal. Since Lothal has nothing in common with the art, archaeology, architecture, archives, and history of Goa to which *Purābhilekh-Purātatva* is devoted, this article could have been omitted.

The last account, *British Cemetery in Goa*, consists of a sketch of the period when the British occupied Goa, and a word-for-word reproduction of the inscriptions on the graves of 15 men and women, none of whom played any notable role in the political and economic history of Goa. The grave-inscriptions, however, cover the period 1808 to 1912.

The rest of the journal consists of a review of Dr. P. P. Gaitonde's book *Portuguese Pioneers in India: Spotlight on Medicine*; details of Indian and foreign scholars and students who availed of the facilities in the Goa Archives; News and Notes; and a note on an inscription in the Kannada script on the New Pillory in Old Goa. (A pillory is really a wooden frame supported by an upright post or pillar, with holes through which the head and hands were put, as a punishment. This pillar was probably used as a whipping post, and not as a pillory). Personally I am inclined to disagree with the conclusion that this "inscription throws new light on the pillar architecture of ancient Goa."

Proof correction and editing could be improved, and many of the Portuguese terms and expressions should be rendered in English. However

Purābhilekh-Purātatva is a fine journal; it will improve with age; and the articles and documents on Portuguese relations with the British and the Mughals, the Modi-Marathi section, and on Chaul, taken together, furnish an intimate glimpse of little-known incidents and events in the history of Goa.

O. C. Kail

MEGHADŪTA BHĀVANUVĀDA (HINDI PADYĀTMAKA)
with original Sanskrit Text by ABHAY MITRA, Raja Book Depot,
Allahabad, 1979, pp. 95, Rs. 20/-.

Meghadūtam of Kālidāsa has given rise to a tradition of *dūta-kāvya*s in Sanskrit as well as languages both Indian and non-Indian; it still remains unsurpassed as a masterpiece of its kind purely for its poetry and richness of *bhāvas*. It is no wonder, therefore, that Dr. Abhaya Mitra has expressed his feeling of difference at every step in translating this beautiful poem in Hindi. Nevertheless, the author has done his job very creditably. Translations of verses 8, 17 in Pūrvamegha as well as verses 11, 25 in Uttaramegha can be cited as telling illustrations of the author's power of expression. The essay written by the author with the title यक्षकी चाटुकारिता has been rightly acclaimed by Dr. Adyaprasad Mishra, the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University. Surely this Bhāvānuvāda does more than merely translating the verses from the unforgettable poem.

At times, however, the *anuvāda* fails to happily translate the *bhāva*. Thus the words विरही कितना पीड़ित होगा यक्ष वियोगी मन (p. 3 v. 3) do miss the import of generalisation in the famous couplet मेघालोके भवति सुखिनोऽप्यन्याथावृत्तिचेतः । कण्ठाश्लेषप्रणयिनि जने किं पुनर्दूरसंस्थे । The deservedly famous line याञ्चा मोघा वरमधिगुणे नाधमे लब्धकामा is tamely translated as गुणियोंसे निष्फल याञ्चा भी श्रेयस्कर कहलाती है' (p. 5 v. 6). Is not the significance of नाधमे लब्धकाम totally lost in this translation? The positive tone in सूर्यापाये न खलु कमलं पुण्यति खामभिख्यान is missing in 'क्या सूर्यकान्तिके बिना कभी हो पाता कमलोंका विकास?' (p. 59 v. 9). The poetic significance of the vocative चण्डि is verse 43 in Uttaramegha can hardly be conveyed by 'सुन्दरि' in Hindi (p. 75 v. 43).

Not only the indexes of verses, Hindi translation, other translations of *Meghadūta*, Sanskrit commentaries are given, but a list of translators of *Meghadūta* in different Indian languages (both in prose and verse) including foreign languages is also added. This speaks well of the carefulness of the author in enhancing the utility of Bhāvānuvāda. The name of the Late

Hazariprasad Dvivedi the author of मेघदूत - एक पुरानी कहानी ought to have appeared among the commentators of *Meghadūta*. Number of translations of *Meghadūta* in Marathi do not figure in this list. The geographical places occurring in the *Meghadūta* given at the end also deserve mention. The author has not failed to bring together gnomic sayings in this excellent poem. Errata covering a page, however, disfigures the neatness of the volume. On the whole, Dr. Abhaya Mitra deserves compliments from Hindi-knowing Sanskrit lovers for presenting this Bhāvānuvāda of *Meghadūta*.

M. D. Paradkar

RŪPA PRATIRŪPA: ALICE BONER COMMEMORATION
VOLUME Ed. by BETTINA BÄUMER, Biblia Impex Pvt, Ltd.
New Delhi, 1982, pp. viii + 207, illustrated with photographs and
line-drawings, Rs. 180/-.

This volume is a tribute to the rich memory of the Swiss scholar and artist whose insight and perceptions have contributed towards a deeper understanding of ancient Indian art. Since 1936 until almost the end of her life in 1981 she lived silently and creatively on the bank of the Ganga at Varanasi searching the essence of Indian art. Her contribution lies not only in her volumes on the Orissan Śilpa texts but also in her intuitive discovery of the internal dynamics of the principles of composition in Indian sculpture. The present volume is edited by Bettina Bäumer who continues to work on the foundation laid down by Alice Boner towards understanding the sacred and traditional art of India through philosophical and scriptural studies, exploring the *Rūpa Pratirūpa*, "the two poles of the creative tension between metaphysics and art, archetype and image."

Scholars who have contributed to the volume cover a wide range of subjects in which Alice Boner was interested from the theoretical background of Indian art to its actual manifestations in sculpture, architecture, painting and its relation to music. Alfred Würfel and Alain Daniélou write on her life and work.

Exploring the ideational background and principle of form in the Indian arts, Kapila Vatsyayan examines the imagery of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. Contrary to the commonly held view that the Indian world-view is otherworldly she points out that "senses and sense perceptions play an all important role, both in themselves and as vehicles of communicating the "formless" and beyond form (*arūpa*) and (*pararūpa*)". Bettina Bäumer concentrates on the basic concept of Puruṣa and the origin of form discussing

the relationship of the Puruṣa as the immanent principle of everything, with the origin of form, the creation of art. Quoting from the *Vāstusūtra Upaniṣad* and other texts she traces the steps to creation from the unmanifest to manifest and suggests the continuity from the cosmogonic role of the Puruṣa in the Vedas up to the later theories in the Sāstras of the different arts.

Stella Kramrisch's article, adapted from her renowned book, the *Presence of Śiva*, on the antelope and its mythological significance in the concept and iconography of Śiva Paśupati is enlightening. Sivaramamurti writes on the concept of Viśvarūpa (Cosmic form), its anthropomorphic and zoomorphic (e. g. Varāha) forms, and gives a rare version of it in his interpretation of a sculpture of *Kalaśa* from Nepal. Lama Angarika Govinda suggests the possible origin of the Buddhist *maṇḍala* from the Stūpa as the centre of worship surrounded by a circumambulation path along with the four gates in the cardinal directions marking the four great events in the Buddha's life. The Centre was occupied by the Universal Buddha in the Dharmacakramudrā. Later this arrangement was substituted by the five Dhyānī Buddhas in meditation.

The profusely illustrated article on style in the Cave Temples by Carmel Bergson is stimulating and raises significant questions on style analysis while she focuses on the two Caves No. 21 and 14 of Ellora. With sensitivity and feelings she examines the sculptural panels of these caves from the point of view of axial orientation, interaction of space and volume, proportion and measure, sun light in different days of the year, the treatment of time, *rasas* and other criteria for style which will benefit students of art history. Anand Krishna contributes an article on the Gupta style sculpture from the city of Banaras which helps in bringing at one place some less known sculptures of what may be called the Varanasi school of sculpture from this great town and pilgrimage centre of the ancient period.

M. A. Dhaky's analytical and comprehensive article on the Praṇāla (chute for lustral water) in Indian, South-Asian and South-East Asian sacred architecture enriches this volume presenting the varieties of *praṇāla* in different regional schools of temple art and their historical development and providing substantial textual references and illustrations. Thomas Donaldson who specializes in Orissan art writes on the Manasā cult in Orissa and suggests the prevalence of two iconographic forms : one represents her with a vase in hand, while the other which evolved by the 9th century A. D., possibly influenced by the emerging popularity of Sapta Mātṛkā cult, depicts her as Jaratkāru with her son Āstika. George Michell writes on his favourite subject of Vijayanagara exploring the relationship between the kings and gods

through the actual structural remains and their positioning in the ground plan and layout of this medieval town. He focuses on the royal centre as the meeting of the world of men and the world of gods (temples) and examines the Throne Platform, its sculptural and architectural features and the three phases of its construction.

There are interesting articles on the subtle subject of representation of the *rāgas* in pictures, poems, and numbers by Alain Daniélou, and on the *Rāgamālā* iconographies in the Pahari tradition by B. N. Goswamy. Writing lucidly Goswamy points out some corruptions and false etymologies in the iconographies of the *Rāgamālās* and literal interpretations of names bearing no connection with the musical modes, e. g. "Todi" features a spinning wheel and "Asavari" becomes a pregnant lady due to local translations and usage. Eberhard Fischer draws attention to introduction of shading in the middle of the 20th century in paintings from Orissa and suggests its possible source of influence from the less known murals of Orissa itself or the earlier art of Western and Central India. Heinze Mode writing on the European reactions to Indian art lists some publications and objects missed by Partha Mitter in his famous book. Georgette Boner writes on theatrical art in Greek, Christian, Japanese and Indian traditions. Sadasiva Rath Sarma informs us on a living tradition of *Silpa* in Orissa by illustrating the making of *Satyanārāyaṇa* image. Though brief, his note provides a significant information that the *sthapatis* perform the ritual of *pañjara* (compositional diagram) before carving out the block of stone, and that the *sthapatis* consult Pandits about the *dhyāna* of the *pūjā* image.

The rich quality of the articles compensates for the poor printing and weak binding of the book. Covering a wide compass and interdisciplinary fields they pay homage to the multifaceted personality of Alice Boner.

Devangana Desai

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

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**TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS**

अ	a	औ	au	ः	ṭha	ध	bha
आ	ā	क	ka	ख	ḍa	म	ma
इ	.....	i	ख	.....	kha	ढ	.....	ḍha	य	.....	ya
ई	.....	ī	ग	.....	ga	ण	.....	ṇa	र	.....	ra
उ	.....	u	घ	.....	yha	त्	.....	ta	ल	.....	la
ऊ	.....	ū	ङ	.....	ṅa	थ	.....	tha	व	.....	va
ऋ	.....	ṛ	च	.....	ca	द	.....	da	श	.....	śa
ॠ	.....	ṛ	छ	.....	cha	ध	.....	dha	ष	.....	ṣa
ऌ	.....	ḷ	ज	.....	ja	न	.....	na	स	.....	sa
ॡ	.....	e	झ	.....	jha	प	.....	pa	ह	.....	ha
ए	.....	ai	ञ	.....	ña	फ	.....	pha	ळ	.....	ḷa
ओ	.....	o	ट	.....	ṭa	ब	.....	ba			
		(Anusvāra)			m̄	×		(Jihvāmūliya)			h̄
		(Anunāsika)			m̄	⌋		(Upadhmnīya)			h̄
		(Visarga)			h̄	ˆ		(Avagraha)			,

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS**

ARABIC

ا	.....	a	|	z	.....	ق	.....	q	|	.....	i or e
ب	.....	b	|	s	.....	ك	.....	k	|	.....	u or o
ت	.....	t	|	sh	.....	ل	.....	l	|	.....	ā
ث	.....	th	|	ʃ	.....	م	.....	m	|	.....	i, e
ج	j		d	ن	n		ū, ō
ح	h		t	و	w		ai, ay
خ	kh		ʔ	ح	h		au, aw
د	d		ʔ	ي	y		silent t h
ذ	dh		gh	ع	
ر	r		f	ا	a		

PERSIAN

چ	p		ch	ج	zh		g
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