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Editors
**K. P. JOG
V. M. KULKARNI**

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EDITORIAL

We feel happy to present to our readers this (combined) Volume 60-61 for 1985-86, though very late. Our predecessor Dr. Smt. Devangana Desai had assured the readers (in 1986) that there would not be further delay in the publication of the Journal. It was, nevertheless, beyond her control and also beyond the control of her successors to have the Journal published in good time; circumstances had somehow made things difficult ! Hence we offer no excuses for the delay; we offer only our sincere apologies.

We do hope that this combined issue will soon be followed by the next issue, since the matter for the same is ready for the Press and, within a few months, it will go for printing. We do hope to see a day, in some very early future, when there will not be any back-log in the publication of our Journal.

We are thankful to Dr. Smt. Vinaya Kshirsagar of Deccan College, Pune for proof-reading and to Shri More for various services towards the preparation of the Journal and, lastly and yet importantly, to Smt. and Shri Barve, their sons and workers at the Ved Vidya Mudranalaya for ably printing this issue of the Journal in a very short-time (and at a very short notice).

Finally, we earnestly request our readers and scholars to continue to contribute to our Journal as before.

August 1991

K. P. JOG
V. M. KULKARNI

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Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji - A Tribute

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR

There are born in every country a few individuals, who by their dedication to a chosen field of work, versatility and healthy attitude to life make their marks on the sands of time which are not washed away even after decades.

Such a personality is Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, a profound scholar, a foremost linguist, a student of literature and languages, both Eastern and Western, a voluminous writer and, above all, a very engaging pleasant personality.

He was born on 26th November 1890. This is his centenary year and it would not be inappropriate if a small note is written on his work, which may be a source of inspiration for workers in the field of linguistics and languages.

Dr. Chatterji is rightly regarded as a doyen of Indian Linguistics. In him we find a deep student of ancient languages like IE, Avesta, Sanskrit, and Prakrit. He was acquainted with the principles and techniques of modern Linguistics and knew a number of Indian languages well.

In the words of Sir Radhakrishnan, he was 'one of the most fertile minds of our times'. He had the advantage of studying in the University of London and Sorbonne, Paris. His training in Phonetics under Prof. Daniel Jones gave him a sound basis for his linguistic studies. His *magnum opus* 'Origin and Development of Bengali Language' in two volumes has been a path-finder for many such studies on different Indian languages. Undoubtedly he had before him the model laid down for Marathi by Jules Bloch. It contained a very detailed analysis of Phonetics, Morphology and grammar of Bengali language and a scholarly introduction dealing with Indo-European, Indo-Aryan, Dardic and Iranian languages. The book dealt with Bengali language in detail, tracing the development of the language from old Bengali to modern through its middle stage. In spite of some repetition which he himself admits, the book is a fund of information which is of great value. The contribution of Dravidian to Aryan Linguistics also finds a place here.

The development of Aryan speech in India has been a subject of detailed study through many papers and monographs including the book 'Indo-Aryan and Hindi'. The Nature, Development and History of Hindi language has been his concern. His views on Khari Boli have brought a scientific objective attitude to the problem of Hindi. This was badly needed. Prof. Chatterji elaborated the three stages of the Aryan speech in India - the old Indo-Aryan, the middle Indo-Aryan and the new Indo-Aryan and added some further classification. His division of middle Indo-Aryan into early, transitional, second and late M.I.A. is a case in point.

Dravidian languages have also been a subject of his study. He has written on the origin of Dravidian language, arguing that the Dravidians came from the mediteranian and first settled in Sind. Dravidian influence on Aryan culture and ideas is now recognised and in this he has no small role to play. Mention may be made of his paper "Old Tamil, Ancient Tamil and Primitive Dravidian" and his book 'Dravidian', published by Annamalai University. His deep interest in and his writings on different language-families like Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Burman, in addition to Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, have emphasised the composite character of Indian people in which different races and cultures have merged. It is interesting to note that Dr. Chatterji has written on a number of topics, removed from his special field 'Street names in the Vernacular', 'the music school of Vishnupur', 'the cab-man' are a few of them.

Dr. Chatterji travelled widely and travelled with an enquiring mind. He emphasised the need for studying the impact of Indian contact on S.E. Asia and Indonesia. His work 'Dvipamaya Bharat', appreciated by Dr. Ravindranath Tagore, illustrates this. The range of his wide interests is reflected in his works like Africanism, the African personality, India and China - ancient contacts, Iranianism etc.

He was a very popular and inspiring teacher. He was a post-graduate teacher for over 30 years in various language-departments and the amazing range of subjects he taught speaks eloquently of his wide range of scholarship. The subjects include old and middle English Texts, Greek, Gothic, in addition of course to Sanskrit and Prakrit.

He was a prolific writer in English, Bengali and Hindi. More than 20 books, more than 200 articles and papers, miscellaneous articles numbering 100 and more indicate the phenomenal contribution he has made to knowledge.

He had an endearing personality. He was an engaging conversationalist and, in his company, hours would pass unnoticed. He loved man with all his imperfections and mixed freely with all - high and low, educated and uneducated. He had friends all over and was connected with a large number of associations and scientific institutions in India and abroad. He was a member of oriental institutions in Warsaw, Oslo, Paris, New Haven (U.S.A.). He had the unique distinction of being the Chairman of the Bengal Legislative Council for 13 years continuously. In 1964, he was appointed National Professor of Humanities by Govt. of India. The Govt. of India had recognised his contribution by awarding him Padma Bhushan in 1955 and Padma Vibhushana in 1963.



Discovery Through Restoration

(Discovery of hitherto unknown works
through restoration of corrupt passages on Sanskrit Poetics)

KANE MEMORIAL LECTURE FOR 1990

V. M. KULKARNI

At the very outset I express my gratefulness to the authorities of the Asiatic Society of Bombay and the MM Dr. P.V Kane Research Institute for the honour they have done me by inviting me to deliver this year's Kane Memorial Lecture.

Before I commence my lecture, it is only appropriate that I pay tributes to the sacred memory of MM Dr.P.V.Kane. He was a modern *Ṛṣi* who had devoted almost his whole life to the study of Sanskrit learning and research. Admittedly, he was a great *ālamkārika* and *dharmā-śāstracārya* of this century. Future generations will remember him with gratitude for his contributions to knowledge, especially, his *History of Sanskrit Poetics* and *History of Dharmāśāstra* running into five (in fact, six) huge volumes. The Central Government of India conferred on him, in recognition of his invaluable services in the fields of Indology, the highest title of Bharata Ratna.

With this humble tribute I now turn to the subject of my lecture, or more appropriately my talk : *Discovery Through Restoration*.

I began my work on the emendation of the texts way back in 1960. It was a lucky accident, I should think. Professor R. C. Parikh, Director, B. J. Institute of learning and Research, Ahmedabad gave me a copy of his latest publication - his edition of *Kāvya prakāśa*, the speciality of which was that, it contained the hitherto unpublished *Samketa* commentary of Someśvara Bhaṭṭa. He also asked me whether I would write a review of it. I glanced through it but soon enough I had to prepare myself for a long spell of hard work. The *Samketa* commentary contained a number of question marks : much of its text was corrupt. I thought that I should take it on myself to set the passages right. But how ? This question did not frighten me. I thought out a plan: I could get the original texts from where the writer of the *Samketa* commentary could possibly have drawn his material by looking up the books on the topics to which the passages in the *Samketa* referred - these books comprised: Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Abhinavagupta's commentary on it Nāṭyavedavivṛti*, better known as *Abhinavabhāratī*, Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka* with Dhanika's commentary *Avaloka*, on it, Vāmana's *Kāvyaālamkārasutrāṇi*, Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaālamkāra* with Namisādhu's *Ṭippana* on it, Ānandavaradhana's *Dhvanyāloka* with Abhinavagupta's *Locana* commentary on it, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyanīlāmāsā*, Mukulabhaṭṭa's *Abhidhāvṛttimātrkā*, Mahimabhaṭṭa's

Vyaktiviveka and Ruyyaka's *Alamkārasarvasva* with Jayaratha's commentary called *Vimarśinī*.

So began a big hunt and the subsequent comparative study of the text in the *Samketa* and the original versions that were located in some of the source books mentioned above.

Scores and scores of passages, small and large were common between the *Samketa* commentary on the one hand and the above source works on the other. The comparative tables facilitated the task of restoring the corrupt passages to their original form; and they also revealed how the commentator very often bodily lifted the passages from his sources, at times adopted them and occasionally combined passages of different authorities or of the same authority found at different places in that work. I then wrote a review article and gave it to Prof. Parikh for pre-view—later it was published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda in 1961.

This is how I set up an anti-corruption Bureau which is still functioning.

Prof. Parikh was obviously impressed, for, within a couple of weeks, he invited me to join him as co-editor in bringing out a second revised edition of Ācārya Hemacandra's voluminous work, *Kāvyañuśāsana*. I availed of this opportunity, carefully went through almost all the sources of Hemacandra, recorded all significant variants from these sources in the foot-notes and traced a large number of illustrations to their primary or secondary sources. This edition has been welcomed by scholars as a standard edition.

Now, Sanskrit *alamkārikas* (poeticians) quote as illustrations, with a view to explaining various points of Poetics, passages in verse or prose from Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa works. A number of works from which they cited illustrations are no longer extant. Consequently, the learned editors, when confronted with corrupt readings or passages, in the absence of the source books, contented themselves by planting question marks (in brackets) immediately after the corrupt readings, or showing missing portions - lacunae - small or big gaps by three dots or simply reproducing the corrupt passages as found in the manuscripts — the jumbling of verses or groups of verses as mere prose passages. They, as a rule, added Sanskrit *chāyā* below the Prakrit (or Apbhraṃśa) passage. In some cases it is noticed that the *chāyā* did not agree with the Prakrit text, often partly and on occasions wholly. In the foot-notes the editors simply remarked *durbodha* or *aspaṣṭa* or *aviśadā iyaṃ gāthā*, and thus express their helplessness in rendering the Prakrit *gāthā* intelligible. Owing to want of sufficient knowledge of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa languages, some perpetrated ludicrous blunders while translating these verses into English or modern Indian languages. The following noteworthy works, either texts-books or commentaries, are disfigured by corrupt readings and passages :

Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharat's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, called *Nāṭyavedavivṛti* but better known as *Abhinavabhāratī* (*A.Bh*) and his commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* called *Locana*, Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-Jīvita* Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* with the commentaries of Ratneśvara and Jagaddhara, Someśvara's commentary *Samketa* on Mammata's *Kāvya prakāśa*, Ruyyaka's *Sāhitya-Mīmāṃsā* and *Alaṅkārasarvasva* with the commentary of Jayaratha, called *Vimarśinī*, and Śobhākaramitra's *Alaṅkāra-Ratnākara* (*Ratnākara*).

If the text, whether Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhraṁśa, is not restored to its original form, the verse remains obscure and the very purpose of explaining or making clear by examples the points of Poetics is defeated.

Of all the works, the *ADh-*, the *Vakrokti-jīvita*, the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* with its commentaries, the *Sāhitya Mīmāṃsā*, the *Vimarśinī*, and the *Ratnākara* pose a real challenge to one's critical ability, scholarship, patience and industry, for a very large majority of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa passages are presented in these works in a very corrupt and confounding form - some of them are indeed corrupt beyond recognition.

I think it is the duty of modern research scholars to present the text of the corrupt passages in their correct or original form. These corrupt passages from works on *Alaṅkāra* haunted me all along. I decided to do my best to restore them to their correct form. During several years past I endeavoured to restore the corrupt passages in the above works. In restoring many corrupt readings and passages the following three works have rendered invaluable services: Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*, Ramacandra and Guṇacandra's *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and Ambāprasāda's *Kalpalatāviveka*. The authors of these three works have freely drawn on *A-Bh.*, *Dhvanyālokalocana*, *Vakrokti-Jīvita*, *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, etc. Hemacandra has preserved in tact the ideas and the language of some of the long sections from *Abhinavabhāratī* on the key chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Rasādhyāya* (Ch.VI), the *Bhāvādhyāya* (Ch.VII), the *Daśarūpakavidhāna* (Ch.XVIII) and the *Saṁdhyādhyāya* (Ch. XIX) by incorporating them in their original form without abridging them or paraphrasing them in his own language. Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra too have freely used *Abhinavabhāratī* on almost every page in the course of their treatment of the various dramatic topics. Ambāprasāda too has incorporated many long passages from the *Dhvanyāloka*, the *Locana* commentary on it and the *Abhinavabhāratī* (on Ch.VI. and Ch.VII) in his *Kalpalatāviveka*. These works are of supreme importance, especially from the point of view of restoring corrupt passages and readings because their authors had access to more reliable or correct manuscripts than we now possess. We may consider here, by way of example, the case of *Abhinavabhāratī*. Its text has been badly preserved in its available manuscripts. The first editor of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* along

with the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*, Ramakrishna Kavi, remarked : “---even if Abhinavagupta were to descend from Heaven and see the MSS. it would not be easy for him to restore his original text.”¹

With the help of the above texts which preserve sentences, paragraphs and sometimes even long sections of the original text of the *A.Bh.* I wrote and published a series of articles entitled “*Abhinavabhāratī : Text Restored*”.

I also wrote and published a number of papers restoring scores and scores of corrupt Prakrit verses from *Alamkāra* works, disfigured by corrupt passages, that are mentioned above. -

In restoring the corrupt verses/passages through my own experience I evolved the following principles of emendation :

- (i) First of all, to hunt the source of the corrupt passage. If the source is traced the emendation becomes universally acceptable.
- (ii) If the source is irretrievably lost, to try to find if the passage under consideration is cited in any other work on Poetics or Metrics or Grammar.
- (iii) If it is not so traced, to try to find if the verse in question is included in a later anthology, or any other poetic work by way of quotation.
- (iv) If by chance the corrupt verse is found quoted at two or more places in one and the same work, to reconstruct it by comparing the corrupt texts at the different places.
- (v) If no internal or external evidence be available, to take into consideration the immediate context and emend the text in consonance with the metre and the general or overall purport.
- (vi) To take into consideration parallel ideas found in other works in Sanskrit or Prakrit and emend the text accordingly.
- (vii) To take special care that the emended text is as far as possible very akin to the printed letters or words in the corrupt verse/passage.
- (viii) Failing all these alternatives, to emend the text, to use one’s (creative) imagination (*pratibhā*) keeping in mind the immediate and the larger context, the metre and the tenor of the concerned verse.
- (ix) To take particular care that the proposed emendation keeps arbitrariness to the minimum.
- (x) To consult, wherever possible, the manuscripts on which the printed text is based; if the editor of the printed text has read a word or quarter of a verse or part of it wrongly, the consulting of manuscripts may help one

to recover the correct reading.

For my work of restoration, however, I consulted printed editions only. I felt the need of consulting manuscripts only in the case of *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. I understand a new edition of Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* with V. Raghavan's own Sanskrit commentary is published in the Harvard Oriental Series. On a perusal of this edition we would know how far the editor has succeeded in restoring the corrupt verses and passages, both in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa.

I would have liked to discuss in detail a few corrupt passages and their restoration by me. Being afraid of boring you with such a discussion, I thought of drawing your attention to two of my works which embody these restored verses and passages : (i) *Studies In Sanskrit Sāhitya Śāstra*, and (ii) *Prakrit Verses In Sanskrit Works on Poetics* in two volumes, Vol.I : Text and Vol.II : Translation (with Introduction, Glossary and Notes). This evening I discuss, rather refer in a general way to, just a few of them to give you some idea.

I am fully aware that the subject of restoration of corrupt passages and readings is dry, dull, tedious and patience-wearing. But even in this work when you trace after a long search the original source of a corrupt passage or reading you feel thrilled. This thrill, this joy is the greatest reward the hard work involved fetches. When the work leads you to the discovery of an invaluable text or a portion of it, hitherto believed to have been lost, for example, the *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Bhāvādhyāya* (Nāṭyaśāstra Ch.VII.) or helps you to shed new light on an epoch-making work like Sarvśena's *Harivijaya*, which has been irretrievably lost, your joy is all the greater. It is like landing on the source of the Nile.

1) In the course of his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaśālikāra* (XI.36) Namisādhu observes :

अत्र च वास्तवादीनां चतुर्णामपि ये सहोक्त्यादयः प्रमेदा उक्तास्ते बाहुल्यतो न पुनरेतावन्त एव । उक्तं च -

न ह्यद्यु इताणअवही नयने दीसंति कहवि पुणरुक्ता ।

जे वि सनापियआणं अत्था वा सुकड्वाणीए ॥

ततो यावन्तो हृदयावर्जका अर्थप्रकारास्तावन्तोऽलंकाराः ।

Now, the Prakrit *gāthā*, as presented here by the editor of the printed text, is on the face of it corrupt, and hardly yields any satisfactory sense.

Namisādhu asserts here that the sub-varieties, the *Sahokti śālikāra*, etc., of the four main varieties *vāstava*, *aupamya*, *atīśaya* and *śleṣa*, that are dealt with in the text, are only illustrative and not exhaustive. In support of this statement he has cited the Prakrit *gāthā*. But the *gāthā* is quite corrupt. In the course of search for its source, we find Ānandavardhana, the greatest Sanskrit critic, citing it from his own poetic work, *Viśama-bāṇa-līlā*, towards

the end of his *Dhvanyāloka* :

दर्शितमेव चैतद्विषमबाणलीलायाम्
ण अ ताण घड्ड्ह ओही ण अ ते दीसंति कहवि पुणरुत्ता ।
जे विग्ममा मिआणं अत्था वा सुकड्ह-वाणीणं ।
[न च तेषां घटतेऽवधिः न च ते दृश्यन्ते कथमपि पुनरुक्ताः ।
ये विग्रमाः प्रियाणामर्था वा सुकवि-वाणीनाम् ॥]

- *Dhvanyāloka* (IV.7) *Vṛtī*

Translation : "There is no end to the flirtatious ways of the beloved and similarly no end of variations in the expression of good poets; there can be no repetition in either."

Namisādhū concludes : ततो यावन्तो हृदयावर्जका अर्थप्रकारास्तावन्तोऽलंकाराः ।

(There are as many *alankāras*, figures of speech, as there are charming ideas.)

2) In his *Dhvanyāloka* (I.16) Ānandavardhana categorically states : Words which signify by popular usage meanings other than their etymological meanings (as, for example, the word *lāvanya* - its etymological or original meaning is saltiness, from *lavāṇa* meaning salt - whereas by common usage it signifies 'loveliness' or 'beauty') do not become instances of suggestion - *dhvani*.

In the course of his commentary on this *Kārikā* Abhinavagupta cites the following passage:

ननु 'देवडिति लुणाहि पलुत्रम्मिगमिज्वालवणुज्वलं गुनरिफेल्परण्य' (!)

Rāmasāraka in his *Bālapriyā* commentary (*Prandhalocanaṭippantī*) remarks : पुस्तके दृश्यमानाया 'देवडित्यादिगाथाया ग्रन्थेषु तत्र तत्राक्षरभेदा दृश्यन्ते । अतश्चास्याः स्वरूपं छायां च निश्चेतुं न शक्नोमि । सहृदया निश्चिन्वन्तु - p.147.

The text of the passage given above from the *Locana* is highly corrupt. It is also cited in the *Abhinavabhāratī* (Ch.VI., p-305, GOS edn. 1956) there too the text is very corrupt. Appendix I (p. 383) to that Volume I of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives the readings in the manuscript of the *Dhvanyāloka* which too are very corrupt. The second half of this verse is correctly preserved in Someśvara's *Saṁketa* (p.24). The *Kalpalatāvivēka* of Ambāprasāda, however, for the first time gives us the text in its correct form :

दीवडि तेलु णाहि पलु द्रम्मि (? द्रम्मु) गमिट्ठा (? गविट्ठा) ।
लावणुज्जलंगु घरि ढोलु पड्ढठा ॥
[दीपके तैलं नास्ति पलं (पलमात्रं), द्रम्मं गवेषितम् ।
लावण्योज्ज्वलाङ्गो गृहे प्रियतमः प्रविष्टः ॥]

(Note : द्रम्मु-द्रम्म (a drachama, a word derived from the Greek drachama) is the Marathi 'dāma', cf. 'damadi' too. *Pala* is a measure for fluid. '*Pala*' may be compared with 'Paḷi' in Marathi).

Translation : There was not a drop of oil in the lamp, nor could I find even a farthing in the house. Exactly at this time came in my lover, his body resplendent with its beauty.

The suggested meaning here is : The bright and beautiful face of the lover gave light to (the room, or rather) brightened all the quarters. So there was no need of a lamp.

3. Ānandavardhana holds the view that the literal meaning and the suggested meaning are apprehended almost simultaneously - if the suggested meaning be *rasa* or *bhāva* or *rasābhāsa*, *bhāvabhāsa*, etc., and if it shines with prominence then we have the very soul of suggestion (*Dhvanyāloka* II.3, *ṛtī*).

Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* on this *Kārikā* observes : in some cases the two conjoined transitory emotions (*bhāva-saṁdhi*) become the object of relish. As an example he quotes the verse :

असुरसुम्भि आइं मुहु कम्बिउ जेण ।
अमिअरसघोण्ठाणं पडिजाणित तेण ॥

The *Bālapriyā* commentary gives its Sanskrit *chāyā* as follows :

ईर्ष्याश्रुशोमिताया मुखं चुम्बितं येन ।
अमृतरसनिरणानां तृप्तिर्जाता तेन ॥

This *chāyā* gives the overall meaning all right. The earlier part of the first half of the (Apabhraṁśa) text is very corrupt. It needs to be corrected keeping in view the reading असुरसुम्भियाए (cited as *pratikā* in *Kalpalataviveka* (p. 127, l. 17) and the following statement in Hemacandra's *Deśīśabdasamgraha* (p. 55) :

असुम्भिय-असुरसुम्भिया य रुद्धगलरुष्णम्भि ।
(असुम्भियं तथा असुरसुम्भियं रुद्धगलं रोदनम् ।)

We may, therefore, restore the Apabhraṁśa passage as follows :

असुरसुम्भियाए मुहु चुम्बित जेण ।
अमिअरसघोण्ठाणं पडिजाणित तेण ॥
रुद्धगलं रुद्धत्या मुखं चुम्बितं येन ।
अमृतरसगण्डूषाणां परिजातं तेन ॥

Translation :- He alone has tasted nectar – even a mouthful of it – who has kissed the mouth of his sweetheart when she could not weep aloud, being choked with tears.

4. The *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Ch XXII verse 210)² has the following corrupt passage :

अत्र तु वृद्धपशुव्यो (पशवो ?) वदन्ति –
मासपसूआ... (षण्) मास गड्ढिणी एकदिअहज्जरमुहे...।

The editor in a footnote adds: अपूर्णा चास्पृष्टार्थेयं गाथा कोकोक्वचनस्य मूलं स्यात्। यथा -

रङ्गादिश्रान्तदेहा चिरविरहवती मासमात्रप्रसूता
गर्भालस्या च नव्यज्वरयुततनुका त्यक्तमानप्रसन्ना।

स्नाता पुष्पावसाने नवरतिसमये मेघकाले वसन्ते

प्रायः संपन्नरागा मृगशिशुनयना स्वल्पसाध्या रते स्यात्॥ - अनङ्करङ्ग ४.३६

The reading 'वृद्धपशुव्यो (पशवो?) is very doubtful. The corrupt *gāthā* मासप्रसूता etc; is, however, to be identified with the following *gāthā* from Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasāli* (III.59):

(बहोः कालात् पूर्णघनदानेन तोषयन्तं घनिकमुजङ्गं प्रति कामशास्त्ररहस्योपदेशेन निजनिर्मायतां सूचयन्ती
सहैव नर्तनकर्मीणां स्वदुहितरं प्रति तं सामिलाषं कुर्वती च वृद्धा वेश्यामाता आह -)

मासप्रसूतं छम्मासगब्धिणिं एकदिअहजरिअं च।

रंगुत्तिण्णं च पिअं पुत्तअ कामंतओ होहि॥

(मासप्रसूतां षण्मासगर्भिणीमेकदिवसज्वरितां च।

रङ्गोत्तीर्णां च प्रियां पुत्रक कामयमानो भव॥)

Translation : O, dear boy, direct your sexual/lustful desire towards the woman, who has given birth to her child a month back, or who has been pregnant for six months, or who has had fever for one day, or who has finished her dance or performance on the stage.

5. Bhoja asserts in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa* (Ch.I.123):

यदा तीव्रप्रयत्नेन संयोगादेरगौरवम्।

न च्छन्दोमङ्ग इत्याहुस्तदा दोषाय सूरयः॥

Ratnśvara in his commentary on this *Kārikā* quotes the following two lines :

धवलाई गलेत्ति छवलेहि अणञ्जणसामलेहि गिसालआए।

णक्खत्तकुसुमाई णहअलाओ ओसरइ॥ p. 121

These two lines, though printed in the form of a verse, do not yield any consistent meaning. The point under discussion is : under a particular circumstance *chando-bhaṅga* (offending against metre) ceases to be a flaw. As the topic falls under prosody, I thought it wise to consult Hemacandra's *Chandonuśāsana* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1961, edn.). To my delight, I found Hemacandra citing the following two *gāthās* with the introductory remark :

पदान्ते वर्तमानौ एकार-ओकारौ प्राकृतभाषायां वा ह्रस्वौ भवतः । यथा -

पद्मसगयवरुम्मूलिआएँ उड्डीण-ससि-पिहंगाए ।

धवलाई गलंति निसालयाएँ नक्खत्त-कुसुमाई ॥

उअ पोमरायमरगयसंवलिआ णहयलाओँ ओअरइ (v. l. ओसरइ) ।

णहसिरिकंठमट्ट व्य कंडिआ कीररिछोली ॥

[प्रत्युषगजवरोन्मलितायाः उड्डीन-शशि-विहंगायाः ।

धवलानि गलन्ति निसालतायाः नक्षत्र-कुसुमानि ॥

पश्य पद्मराग-मरकत-संवलिता नमस्तलादवतरति ।
नमःश्रीकण्ठघ्नैव कण्ठिका शुक्पङ्क्तिः ॥]

The words, underlined in the corrupt passage, are common to the two *gāthās* cited above. So from the mixing up of different verses we can easily identify these two *gāthās* that were intended by Ratneśvara as illustrations. The first verse occurs in *Līlāvatī* (verse 1091). The second verse occurs in the *Gāthāsaptasati* (l. 75). Still, however, the two *padas* "धवलेहि अणंजण सामलेहि" from the medley passage remain unaccounted for or untraced. When we turn to *Svayambhūcchandaḥ*, another work on prosody, the whole problem of this jumbled text is solved. Svayambhū cites three verses to illustrate three different rules of Prakrit Prosody :

(i) हिआरो बिन्दुजुओ पआवसाणम्मि लहू । छइल्लाण जहा -
[हिकारो बिन्दुयुतः पदावसाने लघुः । विदग्धानां यथा -]
धवलेहि अणंजणसामलेहि पेरंत-तणुअ-तणुएहि ।
[धवलाभ्यामनञ्जणश्यामलाभ्यां पर्यन्ततनुकतनुकैः ।
(निद्रायते उपेन्द्रो गतनिद्राभ्यामक्षिभ्याम् ॥)] - गाथादिविधि १-२

(ii) एआरो सुद्धो पआवसाणम्मि लहू । वम्मउत्तस्य जहा -
[एकारः शुद्धः पदावसाने लघुः । वर्मपुत्रस्य यथा -]
पच्चूस-गअवर... (as cited above)

(iii) ओआरो सुद्धो पआवसाणम्मि लहू अ । पालित्तस्स जहा -
[ओकारः शुद्धः पदावसाने लघुश्च । पादलित्तस्य यथा -]
उअ पोम्मराअमरगअ (as cited above).

Ratneśvara's text may be written as follows : "धवलेहि अणंजणसामलेहि", "धवलाइं गलंति णिसालआएँ णक्खवत्तकुमुमाई", and "णहंअलाओ ओअरइ/ओसरइ."

These three *gāthās* may be translated as follows :-

(i) Upendra (Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu) is sleepy, his sparkling eyes, (naturally) dark even without collyrium, are drooping drowsily like the half closed eyes of an elephant.

(ii) At the daybreak, a mighty elephant uprooted the Night-creeper, the Moon-bird flew off and the white constellations, the flowers, dropped (in panic).

(iii) Lo, behold, there comes down from the firmament a line of parrots, as if a necklace with rubies and emeralds has dropped from the neck of the Sky Beauty.

6. Kuntaka cites in his *Vakroktijīvita* a Prakrit passage as an example of suggested *Utpreṣkā*. The text of this passage is highly corrupt and it is given as running prose :

प्रवाण चल विञ्चु य दुलिअं राइआसु खनअन्ति मे अआसो उवाण उरुलिसद्वयमि हिळिआसुक जिल्लइ विरहए । (?)

Dr. H. C. Bhayani, in his paper³, has suggested the following reconstruction :

पवणेण चलं विञ्जु-चडुल्लिअं
राइआसु पुलअंति मेहअं ।
सोऊण अ ओरल्लिसहअं
महिलिआसु कलिज्जइविरहओ (?)

The Sanskrit *chāyā* :

पवनेन चलं विद्युत्-प्रज्वलित-पूलकं रात्रिषु पश्यन्ति मेघम् ।
श्रुत्वा च दीर्घगम्भीर-गर्जित-शब्दं महिलासु कल्प्यते विरहः ॥

Kalpalatāviveka (p. 75), however, seems to have preserved the original text :

चेत्तुआण चलविञ्जुचडुल्लियं
राइआसु पलयंति मेहया ।
सोउआण ओरल्लिसहयं
महिलियाण का जियइ विरहए ॥
[गृहीत्वा चल-विद्युत्-प्रदीपं रात्रिषु प्रलोकयन्ति मेघाः ।
श्रुत्वा (दीर्घगम्भीर) मेघध्वनिं स्त्रीणां का जीवति विरहे ॥

[Note : It is creditable to Dr. Bhayani that his reconstruction hits upon quite a few words in the original.]

Translation : With the help of the lamp of tremulous lightning the clouds see during the nights if any of the ladies separated from their beloveds will continue to live even after hearing the loud thundering noise.

7) In *Śṅgrāraprakāśa* (Vol. III p. 800), Bhoja cites a Prakrit *gāthā* as an example of *gīta-nimittaḥ nimittakānuagaḥ*. Its text is somewhat corrupt :

केणा वि अज्ज गोसे कप्पिवणे वल्लहं म्हरंतेण ।
अंहमअणसराहअ हिअअवणप्फोडणं गीअं ॥

I reconstructed the text as follows :-

केणावि अज्ज गोसे कप्पिवणे (? अंबवणे) वल्लहं भरंतेण ।
दूसह-मअण-सराहअ-हिअअ-वण-फोडणं गीअं ॥
[केनापि अद्य प्रभाते आप्रवने वल्लमं स्मरता ।
दुःसह-मदन-शराहत-हृदय-व्रण-स्फोटनं गीतम् ॥]

After the text was printed I realised that the second half of the *gāthā* is metrically defective. I should have read either 'हिअअ-व्वण' or 'वण-प्फोडणं'. But my two emendations of कप्पिवणे to अंबवणे and अहं to दूसह were quite arbitrary. But when the translation was being printed, by chance I came across the original *gāthā* :

अज्ज सहि केण गोसे कं पि मणे वल्लहं भरंतेण (पा.मे. म्हरंतेण) ।
अन्हं मअणसराहअ-हिअअ-व्वणफोडणं (पा.मे. हिअअ-वण-प्फोडणं) गीअं ॥
[अद्य सखि केन प्रभाते कामपि मन्ये वल्लमां स्मरता ।

अस्माकं मदनशराहत-हृदय-व्रण-स्फोटनं गीतम् ॥]

– Gāthāsaptasatī IV. 81

Translation : Early this morning, my friend, some one sang a song remembering, methinks, his sweetheart and that tore up all the wounds caused to my heart by Madana's arrows.

The method of comparative study that I followed for restoration of the corrupt readings and passages in the works on Sanskrit Poetics paid rich dividends. It led to the discovery of (i) almost the whole of *Abhinavabhāratī*, on Ch. VII, the *Bhāvādhyāya* which was believed till yesterday to have been lost, and (ii) considerable portion off Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* which also was believed to have been lost altogether.

Let us first take up for discussion the discovery of (i) *Abhinavabhāratī* (Ch. VII). Abhinavagupta is the greatest name in Sanskrit literary criticism. His two famous commentaries, one, *Abhinavabhāratī* on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and two, *Locana* on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*, are regarded as their Bible or more appropriately the Vedas by most of his successors and even modern scholars working in the field of Sanskrit Poetics and Aesthetics.

Of all the chapters in the voluminous *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the most important are the sixth (on *rasa*), the seventh (on *bhāva*), the eighteenth (on *daśarūpa*) and the nineteenth (on *saṁdhis*). The *Abhinavabhāratī* on these chapters too is equally important. The loss of *Abhinavabhāratī* Ch. VII was naturally very much felt by all scholars working in the field of Poetics and Aesthetics. To wit : Dr. J. L. Masson and Prof. M. V. Patwardhan observe in their recent work *Śāntarasa and Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Aesthetics* (1969) :

“All of the seventh chapter of the *Abhinavabhāratī* but the very beginning has been lost, which is a great misfortune, since Abhinava refers to it frequently. It must have been a large and important section of the *A.Bh.*” (p. 120, f.n.2)

I wrote two papers : (i) 'Abhinavabhāratī Ch. VII Recovered'? and (ii) 'Hemacandra on Sāttvikabhāvas'. In the first paper I have instituted a detailed comparison between the *Kāvyañuśāsana* of Hemacandra and the *Kalpalatāvivēka* and also between the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra and the *Kalpalatāvivēka*. These comparisons lead us to the obvious inference that the authors of these works draw on a common source and to a further inference that their common source could not have been anything else than the *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Bhāvādhyāya* (*Nāṭyaśāstra* Ch. VII). Further, the authors of *Kāvyañuśāsana* and *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* do not reproduce the definitions of the forty-nine *bhāvas*, as they are found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but adopt them and that they do not *fully* borrow the comments in the *Abhinavabhāratī* on them

but pick up only such phrases and significant lines from them as they think to be useful for a clear exposition. On the other hand, the author of the *Kalpalatāviveka* reproduces *verbatim* the definitions of the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas* in the same order as found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and also he gives fuller comments which agree in parts with the corresponding portion in the *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. From this fact we may draw a further inference that these fuller passages, presenting comments on the thirty-three *vyabhicāribhāvas*, found in the *Kalpalatāviveka* represent the original portion of the *Abhinavabhāratī*. That the author of the *Kalpalatāviveka* borrows this long, whole section from the *Abhinavabhāratī* should not surprise us if we remembered that elsewhere too in his work he has borrowed long sections from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Abhinavabhāratī* and from the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Locana* commentary on it.

This conclusion finds strong support in the similarity of language, style, diction and the method of exposition found in this portion and the rest of the *Abhinavabhāratī*. If this portion of the commentary from the *Kalpalatāviveka* were to be printed as the *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Bhāvādhyāya* no one would ever have dreamt of doubting its genuineness. So complete, so perfect is the similarity, even identity. In addition, I have shown how the promised discussion of *nirveda* referred to in the treatment of the *Śāntarasa* (Ch. VI) is found in this portion of the *Kalpalatāviveka*. On the basis of all these arguments I have established that the *Kalpalatāviveka* (pp. 286-303) preserves a major portion of the *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Bhāvādhyāya*.

In another paper, "Hemacandra on *Sāttvikabhāvas*", I have shown how Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* (pp. 144-147) has preserved the section of *Sāttvikabhāvas* (dealing with the theoretical aspect of the *Sāttvikabhāvas* and citing verses to illustrate each and everyone of them) from the *Abhinavabhāratī* Ch VII. This portion on *Sāttvikabhāvas* and the long section on the thirty three *vyabhicāribhāvas* preserved in the *Kalpalatāviveka* together preserve most of the *Abhinavabhāratī* on *Bhāvādhyāya*. Abhinavagupta is a *Sahṛdaya Śīromāṇī*. The select examples from first-rate poetic works like *Sctubandha*, *Śākuntala*, *Raghuvamśa*, *Amaruśataka*, etc. I have not been able to trace three of the examples to their source. I quote here one of them :

आश्लेषे प्रथमं क्रमाद्य जिते हृद्येऽधरस्यार्पणे
केलिद्यूतविधौ पणं प्रियमते कान्तां पुनः पृच्छति ।
सान्तर्हासनिरुद्धसंभृतरसोद्भेदस्फुरद्गण्डया
तूर्ष्णीं शारविशारणाय निहितः स्वेदाम्बुगर्भः कः ॥

[Perspiration (*sveda*) due to the infusion (of *tejas*) into the water-dominated element of the vital force is exemplified in the following stanza :]

At a game of dice with which they amused themselves she first wagered

a close embrace which her lover won. The second was a kiss of her nether lip which also he won. Now when he asked what the third wager would be, perspiration broke on her hand as he prepared to throw the dice; her cheeks quivered as the rush of passion filled her bosom and her mouth tightened in suppressed smile.

Only four verses from Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharana* were, according to Raghavan,⁴ identifiable as Sarvasena's from his *Harivijaya*, now lost. In the course of restoration I noticed that, at least forty verses, some of them are repetitions, are definitely identifiable and nearly a century of verses as probably identifiable as Sarvasena's from his *Harivijaya*.

Leaving aside probably identifiable verses and piecing together all the available items of knowledge from the identifiable verses and taking into account the discussions by critics, viz, Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka, Abhinavagupta, Bhoja and Hemacandra, we get a good deal of information about the theme of Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*, its structure, language, style and poetic merits and its place in artistic epics :

The *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena (4th century A.D.)

The Title : The title means 'The Victory of Hari (- Kṛṣṇa)'. The object of Hari in the present epic is to carry off the Celestial Pārijāta tree from Indra's heaven. He marched against Indra with a view to securing the desired object - the Pārijāta tree, the rise of the hero in the form of the conquest of the enemy (Indra) who himself surrendered and allowed him to carry the Pārijāta tree for Satyabhāmā.

The Contents of the theme : Hari offers the Pārijāta *mañjarī* (given to him by Nārada who had brought it from Indra's heavenly Nandana garden) to his beloved Rukmiṇī. Although Satyabhāmā and the other wives of Hari (Jāmbavatī, etc.) were hurt, Satyabhāmā alone showed her anger and jealousy - her feelings reflected her deep and abiding love for Hari. The rays of the moon, blended with the lustre of the sparkling Kaustubha gem, which should normally have increased her joy, actually aggravated her agony and made it just unbearable (because of Hari's offence - who offered the heavenly *Pārijāta mañjarī* to Rukmiṇī but called on her empty-handed). When Hari met her, she sarcastically remarked : You have favoured Rukmiṇī with a bunch of Pārijāta flowers from Heaven and me with your kind visit. Both your women should be satisfied with the equally distributed favours." Hari replied : "You are hurt, I know, because I gave the celestial Pārijāta flowers to Rukmiṇī. But if I were to bring back the very flowers to gratify you it wouldn't be in keeping with my love for you, my delicate one, not with my offence. I will soon get you the celestial Pārijāta tree itself, its leaves moist with spray of the rut of Airāvata, its flowers along with the bees greedily sucking

their nectar of their honey." At this Satyabhāmā's heart was overpowered with joy. And owing to the excitement thus caused, tears gathered in her eyes, and in spite of her attempts to suppress them, they still rolled down and fell on the back of Hari who was lying prostrate at her feet". Hari then appeased whatever little anger still was there in her heart by his conciliatory gesture, viz., falling prostrate at her feet - the feet of his beloved Satyabhāmā whose heart was still half-closed against him." "Her face promises to beam out any time now - the shades of displeasure are receding, a glow of joy is gradually spreading and the mixture of the two contrasting moods is increasing the beauty of her face."

Now when Hari marched against Indra in order to secure the celestial Pārijāta tree, Satyabhāmā, although she had seen (known) his valour, was distressed at the great calamity she feared out of great love for him, and felt extremely anxious. Satyabhāmā was increasingly full of regret for having brought about separation from Hari and blamed herself for it.

"As the night advanced Hari, who has been separated from his beloved, saw the moon rising high in the sky as an impending calamity and as the god of love threatening with his bow".

The next day Hari first sent his charioteer Satyaka (or Sātyaki) as envoy to Indra. Satyaka addressed Indra in these words : "You prize friendship with Hari, O Indra, and yet you are reluctant to part with Pārijāta, the jewel (i.e. best) among trees. Give up this show of naivety and honour the desire of the Yādavas". Indra rejected Satyaka's advice. [Hari then fought with Indra. (Fearing total rout, Indra surrendered and allowed Hari to take the Pārijāta tree with him to the Earth.)].

Hari achieved what Satyabhāmā had desired and came back home safe and sound. " 'Here he comes' - this announcement of her maids Satyabhāmā only heard but, even though he was close to her, she didn't see him as her eyes were dimmed by tears". "At the sight of Hari, Satyabhāmā's heart leaped with joy, and her eyes, filled to the brim with happiness wandered all over with pleasure; both joy and happiness spread on her face - an expression of unique grace". Satyabhāmā's eyes, tremulous like a swarm of black bees, although her heart was enchanted by the fragrance of flowers, first rested on her beloved Hari and only then on that celestial Pārijāta tree. "Look here at this your own excellent tree"- when her dear husband uttered these words, indicative of his profound love for her, immense satisfaction found free scope and spread over her whole body." That very residence of hers (i.e. of Satyabhāmā) with the celestial Pārijāta tree planted at its entrance, and full of the decorative arrangement of its flowers, and with attendants plunged in joy, now looked quite different - exceptionally and uniquely beautiful." "With a view to giving his beloved, Satyabhāmā, the rapture of sexual union far exceeding wildest

of her desires, Hari, with a smile on his face and with both of his hands holding his *mukuta* (crown) in its place, fell at her feet."

Rukmiṇī felt highly flattered by her dear husband's visit to her which quite thrilled her and gave immense pleasure although she had reason to feel displeased with him who still showed on him the signs of dalliance with her rival (Satyabhāmā).

Besides the valuable information collected above from the clearly identifiable *Skandhakas* as Sarvasena's from his *Harivijaya*, Bhoja⁷ and, following him, Hemacandra⁸ give us a good deal of information about the contents of Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* : It was marked by the word '*Utsāha*' (energy) occurring at the end of each *āśvāsaka* (chapter) and indicating the intention of the author (*svābhīrāya*). It contained descriptions of a city, seasons, the sunset, the hero, his mount (*garutmat* = *Garuḍa*), his envoy to Indra (Satyaka), Sātyaki's visit to Indra (for securing the Pārijāta tree peacefully), his march against Indra for carrying off the Pārijāta tree, his victory over his enemy (Indra, the king of the gods) who is forced to surrender after a great fight, a drinking party (*madhu-pāna*) in a literary club (*goṣṭhī-grha*), the removal of Satyabhāmā's jealous anger (by securing for her the Pārijāta tree from the Nandana garden after defeating him in the fierce fight.)

Its Structure or Technique : From the point of view of form, Sarvasena's epic is written throughout in one metre called *Skandhaka* consisting of two equal halves of thirty-two(32) (12+20) *mātrās*. Its older name is *āryāgīti*. The work is divided into *āśvāsakas* (and not into *sargas* as in the Sanskrit *Mahākāvya*).

Its Language : According to Bhoja, the *Setubandha* etc. are composed in pure Prakrit. Hemacandra follows Bhoja : the *Setubandha*, etc., are composed in Prakrit. This Prakrit *bhāṣā* is later known as Māhārāṣṭrī.

Its Style : Kuntaka, the author of the *Vakroktijīvita* chooses Sarvasena along with Kālidāsa, as representative of the *Sukumāra mārga* (delicate style), which is natural, fresh, simple in its scantily adorned beauty, dominated by emotion, and spontaneously lyrical. This *Sukumārā mārga* is nothing but the old *Vaidarbhī* style.⁷

Its literary evaluation : From discussions by the critics, Ānadavardhana (and Abhinavagupta), Kuntaka, Bhoja and Hemacandra, we see that Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* was an epoch - making work. As a classical Prakrit (Māhārāṣṭrī *mahākāvya*) it was long famous. As Kālidāsa's plays eclipsed Bhāsa's plays, even so, it would seem, Pravarasena's *Setubandha* eclipsed Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*.

Hemacandra criticises Sarvasena for inserting a disproportionated lengthy

description of the ocean out of his inordinate love for composing alliterative (*galitaka*) verses, and that too in a situation of *Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra* - when Hari is marching against Indra to secure the celestial Pārijāta tree with a view to placating Satyabhāmā's jealous anger. Daṇḍin in his *Avantisundarī* (verse 12 at the beginning) refers to King Sarvasena and his epic poem *Harivijaya*. This reference must have been made out of admiration, no doubt.

Ānandavardhana admires Sarvasena, along with Kālidāsa, for effecting changes in the story adopted from the *Itihāsas* to suit the intended *rasa*⁸. Abhinavagupta adds in his *Locana* commentary that the incidents of the wedding of Aja, etc., described in the epic, *Raghuvamśa*, were invented by Kālidāsa which were not found in the *Itihāsas*; and the emotive motivation of placating the jealous anger of Satyabhāmā by securing the Pārijāta tree from Indra's garden, and centring the entire story round the rivalry of the two wives of Hari - Satyabhāmā and Rukmiṇī - was invented by Sarvasena in his *Harivijaya*, although not found in the *Itihāsas*.⁹

This change in the emphasis is poetically effective; it makes the poem humanly appealing and emotionally rich. Ānandavardhana's remark about Sarvasena's originality and genius with specific reference to this motif - *kāntānunayanāṅgatvena pārijātaharaṇādi*, as explained by Abhinavagupta, shows how he discusses the whole epic from the standpoint of how the author deals with the *rasa*, which constitutes the very life - forms the very essence - of the epic.

This then is a brief account of my work of restoration of many corrupt readings, verses and passages from the works on Sanskrit Poetics, and of the discovery of invaluable portions of *Abhinavabhāratī* of Abhinavagupta and *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena through restoration.

I have done. I thank you all for giving me a patient hearing.

NOTES

1. Cf. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni with the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*, Chs. I-VII, edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, 2nd edn, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1956, p. 63.
2. उचिते वासके स्त्रीमाणामृतुकालेऽपि वा नृपैः ।
द्वेष्याणामथवेष्टानां कार्यं चैवोपसर्पणम् ॥ - *Nāṭyaśāstra* XXII. 10
3. Restoration of the text of some corrupt... citations.. in Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvta*, Journal, Asiatic Soccity of Bombay, Volumes 52-53, 1981, P. 53.
4. Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* by Dr. V. Raghavan, Punarvasu, 7 Sri Krishnapuram Street, Madras - 14, P. 825. See also : Indian Kāvya Literature, Volume Three, A. K. Warder, The Early Medieval Period, Motilal Banarasidass,

Delhi 1977, PP. 62-63.

5. Mahārāja Bhojarāja's *Śṅgāraprakāśa*, Second Volume, ed. by the Yatirāja Swamy of Melcote and G.R. Josyer, Mysore-4, 1963, pp. 474-476.
6. *Kāvyanuśāsana* of Ācārya Hemacandra, ed. by R. C. Parikh and V. M. Kulkarni, Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1964, pp.458-462.
7. एवं सहजसौकुमार्यसुभागानि कालिदाससर्वसेनादीनां काव्यानि वृश्यन्ते । - Dharwād edn.p.66.
8. इतिवृत्तवशायातां कथञ्चिद् रसाननुगुणां स्थितिं त्यक्त्वा पुनरुत्प्रेक्ष्याप्यन्तरामीष्टरसोचितकथोन्नयो विधेयः। यथा कालिदासप्रबन्धेषु । यथा च सर्वसेनविरचिते हरिविजये । - ध्वन्यालोक वृत्ति (३.११), पृ-३३५-३३६.
9. रघुवंशे अजादीनां राज्ञां विवाहादिवर्णनं नेतिहासेषु निरूपितम् । हरिविजये कान्तानुनयनाङ्गत्वेन पारिजातहरणादि निरूपितमितिहासेष्ववृष्टमपि । - लोचन, पृ ३३५.



That is an *Alamkāra* which beautifies the Main *Rasa*

P. N. VIRKAR

That the word *alamkāra* has been derived from the root *alamkṛ* (to beautify) and that an *alamkāra* is something that beautifies had been accepted even by the earliest *alamkārikas*. 'Employing words which have a different expressed sense (from that intended to be conveyed)' is what, according to Bhāmaha, signified by the word *alamkāra*. ' *anayā vakroktayā artho vibhāvvyate*², he says. He does not, however, make clear the meaning of *artha*, the *alamkārya*. Daṇḍin says that an *alamkāra* beautifies *Kāvya. kāvyasobhākarān dharmān alamkāraṇ pracakṣate*³ are his words. Vāmana, too, speaks of *alamkāras* as *tadatiśayanetaḥ*.⁴ It will thus be seen that the ancients are but vaguely aware of the *alamkārya*, that is, of that which exactly is to be adorned by the *alamkāra*.

It was Ānandavardhana who for the first time expressly spoke of the *alamkārya*. At the end of his *Vṛtti* on the 5th *Kārikā* of the second Uddyota of the *Dhvanyāloka*

यः पुनरङ्गी रसो भावो वा सर्वाकारमलङ्कार्यः, स ध्वनेरात्मैति !

The very next, i.e., the 6th *Kārikā* is :-

तमर्थमवलम्बन्ते येऽङ्गिनं ते गुणाः स्मृताः ।
अङ्गाश्रितास्त्वलङ्कारा मन्तव्याः कटकदिवत् ॥

The word *tam artham* are explained in the *Vṛtti* as *tam artham rasādilakṣaṇam aṅginam santam*. Following Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa defines *alamkaras* as -

उपकुर्वन्ति तं सन्तं येऽङ्गद्वारेण जातुचित् !
हारादिवदलङ्कारास्तेऽनुप्रासोपमादयः !

The *Vṛtti* explains the words *tam santam* as *mukhyam rasam sambhavinam*. *Upamā*, says Jagannātha, becomes an *alamkāra* only if it is *vākyaṛthopaskāraka*,⁶ i.e. only when it beautifies the main sense, viz., the *vyatya* sense which is the soul of poetry.

The 16th *Kārikā* of the 2nd Uddyota of the *Dhvanyāloka* runs as -

रसाक्षिप्ततया यस्य बन्धः शक्यक्रियो भवेत् ।
अपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्यः सोऽलङ्कारो ध्वनौ मतः ॥

The main *rasa* is, according to Ānandavardhana, the *alamkārya*. When the poet, he tells us in the *Vṛtti*, is all absorbed in delineating the main *rasa*, that which enters his composition automatically, i. e., even without his own knowledge, is a true *alamkāra*. If a poet happens to cast a glance at his poem after he has composed it, he himself must experience a surprise. 'How has this *alamkāra* appeared in my poem ? I had not the least intention

to deliberately insert it !' is what the poet should say to himself.

In this article I intend to give a few illustrations of how the *Upamās* and *Utprekṣās* employed by Kālidāsa stand out mainly because they enhance the beauty of the sentiment the poet desires to delineate.

The following is the 23rd verse in *Raghuvamśa*, Canto XIII :-

सेषा स्थली यत्र विचिन्वता त्वां भ्रष्टं मया नूपुरमेकमुर्व्याम् ।
अदृश्यत त्वच्चरणारविन्दविश्लेषदुःखादिव बद्धमौनम् ॥

Having completed 14 years of staying out in the forest, Rāma is returning to Ayodhyā by the Puṣpaka Vimāna, with Sītā. On his way he is pointing out to her those spots which remind him of some striking previous incidents. In the present verse he shows to her a place where he happened to see one of Sītā's anklets that had dropped down on the ground. 'This is the spot where I chanced to see an anklet fallen on the ground, while I was engaged in searching for you', says he. This is a statement of an experience just ordinary, and only this much can be stated by anyone. But Rāma saw that the anklet had been lying without making any sound whatsoever. He had formerly been accustomed to see it only as worn by Sītā and always emitting a jingling sound. But now, in complete contrast to what he was wont to experience, he found the anklet observing dead silence. That contrast stirred the poetic genius of Kālidāsa and an *Utprekṣā* flashed before his mind. If a person of our acquaintance who is always fond of talking is, though once in a while, found not to be uttering a word, we wonder what has gone wrong to make him observe silence, all of a sudden. Kālidāsa imagines the possible cause of the anklet's silence. To be absorbed in deep sorrow can be a reason making even a talkative person wordless. Kālidāsa chooses that very reason out of the so many possible ones, simply because he knows that it is Rāma who is speaking. When Rāma saw that anklet, he was merged in an ocean of sorrow, as he was at a loss to know where his Sītā could have been carried away. So it was but natural for him to think that Sītā's anklet also must have been equally sorry and that sorrow, too, must have been due to its having been separated from Sītā's lotus-like foot. That is how this *Utprekṣā* serves to nourish the main sentiment, viz., the sorrow of Rāma.

In course of time, the Puṣpaka Vimāna comes close to Ayodhyā. The river Sarayū is within sight. Beyond that lies Ayodhyā, Rāma's motherland ! He is all joy and affection for Sarayū. The feelings of Rāma break into a sudden outburst.

सेयं मदीया जननीव तेन मान्येन राज्ञा सरयूर्वियुक्ता ।
दूरे वसन्तं शिशिरानलैर्मा तरङ्गहस्तैरुपगृह्णीति ७ ॥

Even though he is in the Vimāna, he feels that he is, as it were, actually

experiencing the cool breeze blowing towards him from the stream of Sarayū. Here again, an apt *Upamā* and an *Utprekṣā* are at the service of *Kālidāsa*. 'I had been far away from Sarayū for a very long time.' 'She', says Rāma, 'is embracing me like a mother, as it were, with her waves, nay, arms.' These *Upamā* and *Utprekṣā* add great beauty, of course, to the feelings (*Bhāvas*) of affection and joy that Rāma had been full of at that moment.

So many verses in the fourteenth Canto of the *Raghuvamśa* are replete with such *Upamās* and *Utprekṣās*. Immediately on arriving in Ayodhyā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa meet their mothers, Kausalyā and Sumitrā in a garden on the outskirts of the city. The mothers had so far been shedding hot tears of grief, of course because their husband was no more and because their sons had been far away for so long a time. At the sight of their sons, however, cool tears of joy replaced the hot tears of grief. *Kālidāsa* tells this by an uncommonly great *Upamā*. The two mothers had been shedding hot tears and those tears were set aside by the new flow of cool tears of joy. To think of a simile very appropriately describing this was not the work of an ordinary poet. *Kālidāsa* says :

आनन्दजः शोकजमश्रु बाष्पस्तयोरशीतं शिशिरो विभेद ।
गङ्गासरय्वोर्जलमुष्णतप्तं हिमाद्रिनिस्स्यन्द इवावतीर्णः ।

'The cool tears of joy set aside their hot tears of grief just as the cool stream of melted snow flowing down from the peaks of the Himālaya mountain enters the waters of Gaṅgā and Sarayū, heated by the Sun's rays in Summer.'

Comparison of the mothers with Gaṅgā and Sarayū suggests most powerfully that Kausalyā and Sumitrā were springs of pure and divine motherly love.

In course of time Rāma gets crowned. A few months later, queen Sītā is pregnant and expresses a longing to pay a visit to the penance groves on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Rāma assures her of the fulfilment of her desire with all his heart.

Immediately thereafter, however, he gets to the terrace on the top of his palace to enjoy a view of how the city of Ayodhyā was happy and prosperous under his rule. His spy arrives there at that very time and most reluctantly tells him that people did not approve of the acceptance of Sītā by Rāma - of Sītā who had stayed for several months in Rāvaṇa's house.

Rāma thinks that there is no go for him but to abandon her, his life, though she had been innocent. He takes Lakṣmaṇa into his confidence and orders him to inform Sītā that Rāma is fulfilling her wish and has agreed to send her to the penance groves. 'Take Sītā under that pretext to the banks of Gaṅgā and leave her there', says Rāma.

Lakṣmaṇa has but to obey. He and Sītā start on their journey in a chariot.

Sītā is all joy and Lakṣmaṇa is absorbed in deep sorrow. Now Kālidāsa has to tell us that they drew near the river Gaṅgā. This simple fact can be communicated by any Tom, Dick and Harry. A Pandit may make an attempt to describe bombastically the great Gaṅgā - its divine power to destroy sins, the beautiful sight it presents at different spots and so on. But Kālidāsa is one with the situation he is describing. Poor, innocent Sītā is being unjustly punished - that is the only thing he has in view. His imagination works and he comes out with an extra-ordinary *Utprekṣā*. He says :

गुरोर्नियोगाद्वनितां वनान्ते साध्वीं सुमित्रातनयो विहास्यन् ।
अवार्यतेवोत्थितवीचिहस्तैर्जट्नोर्दुहित्रा स्थितया पुरस्तात् १॥

'Lakṣmaṇa was going to abandon the chaste lady as he was commanded to do so by his elder brother. Gaṅgā stood before him and he was forbidden by her, as it were, with her hands in the form of waves, raised.'

To remember first the rising waves of the Gaṅgā, then to think of her waves to be her arms and further to imagine that Gaṅgā was raising those arms to ask Lakṣmaṇa to go back is a height that can be attained only by the greatest of poets, like Kālidāsa. The *Utprekṣā* serves admirably the object of rousing deep sympathy for Sītā and a feeling of righteous indignation against the punishment that was unjustly being inflicted on her.

Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā then sit in a boat and cross the river. When they draw somewhere near the penance grove of Vālmīki, Lakṣmaṇa who has been observing silence all along hitherto, suddenly bursts out and flings away towards her the awfully cruel command of Rāma. Severely hit, as it were, by that unexpected blow, Sītā swoons and falls on the ground. It is no less a poet than Kālidāsa that has to describe this incident and an exceptionally powerful *Upamā* is at once at his beck and call. The verse runs thus :

ततोऽ भिषङ्गानिलविप्रविद्धा प्रमृश्यमानामरणप्रसूना ।
स्वमूर्तिलामप्रकृतिं धरित्रीं लतेव सीता सहसा जगाम १०॥

'Then Sītā fell suddenly on the ground. She fell like a helpless creeper. She was struck by the storm-like injustice that was done to her. Her flowerlike ornaments dropped down when she fell. She fell on the earth which had given her birth.'

'Sītā fell down like a creeper' is the *Upamā* here. That *Upamā* is gradually worked upon by the imagination of Kālidāsa. One of the possible causes of the fall of a creeper is the blowing of violent wind. When a flowery creeper falls, its flowers naturally drop down. Similarly the ornaments of Sītā also dropped down.

The real beauty of this *Upamā*, is, however, not embodied in the description made so far. Just as a creeper springs up from the ground, i. e., from the

Earth, Sītā also was born of the Earth. So, like a creeper, Sītā fell down on the Earth that had given her birth.

Now what has this part of the *Upamā* to suggest ? Sītā rushed to her mother for shelter. Whom, save her mother, could she cling to when she had been abandoned by her husband ? It is when this suggested sense appears before our mind's eye that the beauty of the main *rasa*, *Karuṇa*, is revealed.

Only one more incident will be cited, to keep within the limits of this paper. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki does not say that the Earth gave shelter to her daughter at the time when she fell on her lap. So Kālidāsa's mind begins to guess a possible cause. Sītā had clung to her mother with the fullest confidence that she alone would not neglect her at such a bitter moment. But even the mother did not at all respond to Sītā's confident approach to her for shelter; How on Earth could it be ? Kālidāsa explains how the unexpected came to pass.

इक्ष्वाकुवंशप्रभवः कथं त्वां त्यजेदकस्मात् पतिरार्यवृत्तः ।
इति क्षितिः संशयितेव तस्यै ददौ प्रवेशं जननी न तावत् ११॥

The Earth did not admit Sītā inside herself at that very moment because, even though the Earth had been Sītā's mother, she grew suspicious of her daughter, as it were. What could be the suspicion haunting the mother ? 'How can your husband forsake you without adequate reason ? Your husband has been born of the noble Ikṣvāku race and his own behaviour is an example of noble behaviour ?' were, thinks Kālidāsa, the doubts the mother had been entertaining.

This *Hetūtprekṣā*, wherein the cause of the non-acceptance of Sītā by her mother has been imagined by the poet, raises the reader's sympathy for Sītā to the highest peak.

An example or two of *alamkāras* satisfying the requirements of the definition but not at all deserving the epithet *alamkāra*, simply because they either do not serve to heighten the beauty of the main sentiment or because they even spoil it, will not be out of place. A glance at them will substantially help us to appreciate the beauty of Kālidāsa's *alamkāras* all the more.

अकुण्ठोत्कण्ठया पूर्णमाकण्ठं कलकण्ठि माम् ।
कम्बुकण्ठयाः क्षणं कण्ठे कुरु, कण्ठातिमुद्धर १२॥

In this stanza, a Nāyaka is asking a female messenger of sweet voice to secure for him an embrace of the Nāyikā. The sentiment is supposed to be that of love, but the *Anuprāsa* of the harsh letter *th* serves only to damage the delicacy of the sentiment.

Now see the following line :

वह्निस्फुलिङ्ग इव मानुरयं चकास्ति १३

'This Sun is shining like a spark of fire.'

Here the *Upamā* does nothing but harm to the feeling of respect for the Sun, because a spark of fire with which the Sun is compared is infinitely small as compared to the enormous expanse of the Sun.

These are examples cited by Mammaṭa as faulty. But many examples out of even those given by *Ālaṅkārikas* to illustrate figures do not serve to lend beauty so powerfully to the main sentiment as Kālidāsa's *alankāras* do. To cite only two illustrations for example :

कमलेव मतिर्मतिरिव कमला तनुरिव विभा विभेव तनुः ।
धरणीव घृतिर्घृतिरिव धरणी सततं विमाति बत यस्य¹⁴॥

'The intellect of this king always shines like his wealth and his wealth, like his intellect. His splendour shines like his body and his body, like his splendour. His courage shines like the Earth and the Earth, like his courage.'

To quote, then, the very first example of *Upamā* given by Viśvanātha :

सौरममम्भोरुहवन्मुखस्य, कुम्भाविव स्तनौ पीनौ ।
हृदयं मदयति वदनं तव, शरदिन्दुर्यथा बाले¹⁵ ॥

'The fragrance, O young girl, of your mouth is like that of a lotus. Your breasts are as plump as jars and your face makes my heart mad as the autumnal moon does.'

It would be most appropriate to conclude this paper with the following remarks made by Abhinavagupta while commenting on the 5th *Kārikā* of the 2nd Uddyota of the *Dhvanyāloka*. That will best bring out the significance of the 16th *Kārikā* of the same Uddyota, quoted at the beginning of this paper, Abhinavagupta says :

अचेतनं शवशरीरं कुण्डलाद्युपेतमपि न भाति, अलङ्कार्यस्यामावात् ।
यतिशरीरं कटकादियुक्तं हास्यावहं भवति, अलङ्कार्यस्यानौचित्यात्¹⁶ ॥

'A dead body, though bearing ear-ornaments etc. doesn't at all appear attractive, because, in the dead body, the *alankārya*, i. e., the object to be adorned by the ornaments (the Ātman), is absent. If, on the other hand, bracelets etc. are put on the body of a hermit, they do not at all win the approval of the spectator, simply because the body of a hermit is not a fit object for ornaments.'

Notes

1. *vakrābhidheya-śabdokti* is the definition given by Bhāmaha. I prefer to solve this compound as वक्रम् अभिधेयं येषां ते वक्राभिधेयाः (शब्दाः) and वक्राभिधेयशब्दानामुक्तिः । It is something like पर्यायोक्त (*Kāvyaalankāra*, I - 36)

2. Ibid. II. 85.
3. *Kāvyaḍarṣa*. II. I.
4. *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra Sūtra Vṛtti* III. 1. 1-2.
5. *Kāvyaṗrakāṣa*, Jhalkikar edition, VIII - 67; p. 465.
6. *Rasaḡaṅgādhara*, Kāvyaṡālā edition, p. 204.
7. *Raḡhuvamṣa* XIII - 63.
8. Ibid. XIV, 3.
9. Ibid. 14-51.
10. Ibid. XIV - 54.
11. Ibid. XIV - 55.
12. *Kāvyaṗrakāṣa*, Jhalkikar edition, p. 327.
13. Ibid. p. 773.
14. Ibid. p. 584.
15. *Sāhityaḍarṗaṅa* X, after the first quarter of *Kārikā*.
16. *Dhavanyāloka*, Kasi edition, p. 197-198, *Locana*.



The Concept of *Aucitya*

R. LAKSHMI

In this paper I have attempted to present an understanding of the concept *aucitya* based on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*.

The word '*aucitya*' is derived from '*ucita*' which means suitable or proper and '*aucitya*' could be translated as 'suitability or propriety'. It is a concept which figures explicitly in many of the later works of Alarṅkāra Śāstra. Alarṅkāra Śāstra presents a long tradition of speculation on the nature of Kāvya which does not denote poetry alone; it denotes literature in general.

As an aesthetic category (concept) *aucitya* is simple enough. *Aucitya* is *aucitya* of artistic devices; i.e. in art, here literature; there is no room for artistic devices, say, figures of speech, except insofar as they are subservient to or are instrumental to the artistic goal which according to these thinkers is suggestion or evocation of *rasa*.

On my part, however, I have sought to present the concept on the same lines as Ānanda does in the *Dhvanyāloka*; i.e. in terms of the concept *dhvani*. I shall, therefore, dwell at some length on the concept *dhvani*. I shall also draw out what I see as implications of these concepts (*dhvani* and *aucitya*) for the larger task of Alarṅkāra Śāstra.

The paper falls into three sections :

Sec.I presents the task of Alarṅkāra Śāstra and a brief outline of a specimen theory against the background of which Ānanda's contribution could be considered.

Sec.II presents the concepts *dhvani* and *aucitya*

Sec.III analyses Ānanda's contribution to; and its implications for, Alarṅkāra Śāstra.

I

Alarṅkāra-Śāstra can be viewed as beginning with the fact that there are some cases of linguistic discourse or linguistic expression which are *sahṛdayāhlādakāraka*, i.e. they delight the perceptive or sympathetic reader or listener.

This is Kāvya.¹

That is, Alarṅkāra-Śāstra begins with the following premises :

1. Kāvya is *śabdārtha-sāhitya*, i.e. *sāhitya* or togetherness of word and meaning a mark of all linguistic discourse.

2. It evokes pleasure and delight in some people, the *sahṛdayas*.

At least one of the tasks of *Alaṅkāra Śāstra*, if not the main one, is to identify the distinguishing feature of *Kāvya*, specifically that which distinguishes *Kāvya* from other linguistic discourse.² The *Dhvanyāloka* also seeks to do this and Ānanda's claim is that it is *dhvani* which is essential to *Kāvya*, marking it out from other linguistic discourse.

Ānanda's contribution can best be assessed against the background of the theory that this distinguishing feature is *vicchitti* or strikingness of expression. *Kāvya* is *vakrokti* or linguistic expression which is out of the ordinary, unusual. If, on seeing a beautiful woman, ordinary mortals would say something pedantic, the poet would perhaps be apt to employ metaphor and the like and say something like '*candramukhi*'. And metaphor is only one of a large number of such devices which are called *alaṅkāras*. Much of the *Alaṅkāra Śāstra*, as the name itself suggests, is a detailed and minute study of the various *alaṅkāras*.

So, *Kāvya* is linguistic expression, essentially characterised by an out-of-the-ordinaryness.³

But the thesis that its being *vakrokti* is what distinguishes *Kāvya* from other linguistic discourse presents difficulties.

1. The problem of *Svabhāvokti* :

If all *Kāvya* is *vakrokti* or linguistic expression which employs *alaṅkāra* and the like, how about *Kāvya* which, at least apparently, exhibits no such *vakratva* ?

There were different solutions to this problem, but what is important and interesting is the raising of the issue itself. After 'locating' the essence of *Kāvya* in *vakrokti*, to talk of *Kāvya* which does not exhibit it indicates that the primary criterion of distinction between *Kāvya* and other linguistic discourse is the *sahṛdaya*'s *āhlāda* or state of delight.

(I have, for the purpose of this paper, assumed that this *āhlāda* is a unique state - *sui generis*, so to say).

2. The other problem which the thesis has to face is as follows; there are cases of say, strained metaphor or alliteration, which, far from yielding pleasure, leave the sensitive reader pained. So *vakrokti* in itself does not yield aesthetic pleasure.

Apart from these, the thesis suggests a misleading picture of poetic creation; it is not as if the poet seizes upon an idea and then works out a new and novel way of saying it.

(I have not attempted to present the position or theory of any one

Alamkāra-Śāstrin. I have only tried to outline a theory which is representative of the many theories which proceed on the assumption that there must be something common to all *Kāvya* apart from their being a source of a unique delight, some characteristic to which presumably can be traced the delight they afford, whether it be *alamkāra*, *guṇa* or *vakrokti*.)

II

In what follows I present an understanding of *dhvani* and *aucitya*, drawing mainly on *Dhvanyāloka* and Mammaṭa's *Kāvya prakāśa*.

dhvani is explicable in terms of *vyañjanā* or *vyañjakatva* which a *śabda-vyāpāra*, the other two *śabda-vyāpāras* being *vācakatva* and *gunavṛtti*. To explicate *dhvani* one should therefore begin with the concept of *śabda-vyāpāra* (henceforth 'SV').

'SV' has been translated as 'verbal function'. This seems unhappy ; for one thing, on following the thought of these thinkers on this matter, it appears fairly obvious that they are not talking of the functions of language, whatever else they may be talking of. Besides, according to these thinkers, depending on their other philosophical persuasions, there are only one, two or three 'SV.'s If 'SV.' is understood as verbal or linguistic function, it is far from clear how and in what sense there are 2 or 3 and only 2 or 3 such functions.

'SV.' could be seen as a response to the question of the possibility of linguistic communication. How is it possible for a string of sounds or sequence of marks to convey some meaning ? (In what follows, whatever is said of spoken language is to be understood as applying to written language too.)

The movement is from meaning communicated by language to the conditions for its possibility. 'SV' is not a response to a demand for a theory of meaning though it has very much to do with meaning. It does not seek to define meaning but to explain meaning. That is, one begins with the fact of linguistic communication or meaning communicated by language and raises the question of its possibility.

vācakatva : So, how does 'There is a cat on the mat' or 'The village is on the banks of the Ganges' communicate a specific meaning to some people ? The fact is that it does. The answer would simply be that there is an actual agreement between these people on the meanings of words, on syntax etc.⁴

The question of this agreement is itself another issue. 'Agreement' is perhaps an unhappy word here for it usually carries with it the idea that the agreement was entered into by some set of people and I do not wish to imply this. I only point to the actual agreeing itself.⁵

There is thus a literal sense or *vācyārtha* to every utterance - what is

called *śabdasya svārthaviṣaya*. And, when this is the meaning communicated, it is said that the 'SV' *vācakatva* operates, making possible the communication of the *vācyārtha*.

vācakatva is the realm of the rule. It is the rule which makes possible the literal sense or *vācyārtha* or *mukhyārtha*. *vācyārtha* is the denoted (meaning) and *vācakatva* is capacity for denoting - literally denotation.

But the texture of language is richer and more complex than it would be if linguistic communication were rule-bound and only so, i.e. if only the literal sense could be communicated. To talk of other 'SV' is an acknowledgement of this complexity and richness. The other 'SV's Ānanda talks of are *guṇavṛtti* or *lakṣaṇā* and *vyañjakatva*.

guṇavṛtti or *lakṣaṇā*.

This has been translated as metaphor or indication. The stock example which is used here is : *gaṅgāyāṁ ghoṣaḥ* 'There is a village on the Ganges'.

The literal sense of the utterance is that there is a village on the Ganges, i.e. on the stream or the waters of the river Ganges, since the denotation or *vācyārtha* of '*gaṅgā*' is the stream of the river. But this is not the meaning communicated; what the utterance means is that there is a village on the banks of the Ganges which is not the *vācyārtha* or the literal sense : it is called *lakṣyārtha* and is explained by evoking the 'SV' *lakṣaṇā*.

'*lakṣaṇā*' here refers to the set of three conditions which makes possible the *lakṣyārtha* or indicated meaning. They are :

- 1) *mukhyārthabādha*,
- 2) *tadyoga*, and
- 3) *prayojana*.⁶

These can be seen as response to three questions which may be raised in the context of a non-literal meaning communicated :

i) Why is the literal sense not understood as the meaning of the utterance in such cases ? Why is not the meaning communicated by *gaṅgāyāṁ ghoṣaḥ* (when it is uttered in a serious speech context) its literal sense, i.e. that there is a village on (the stream of) the Ganges ? The answer is : *mukhyārthabādha*. The *mukhyārtha* or literal sense is *bādhitā* or vitiated by some absurdity of sense or impossibility for the state of affairs described by the utterance to obtain. It is not possible for a village to be on the stream of the Ganges.

ii) What delimits the non-literal sense so understood? That is, though the meaning understood is not the literal sense or the *vācyārtha* and therefore not what the rule dictates, it is not arbitrary. A specific, unambiguous meaning

is communicated and the question is 'what delimits it ?' *Tadyoga* is the answer, i.e. there is some connection (of some other meaning) with the *mukhyārtha*. In the example, the *lakṣyārtha* of *gaṅgā* i.e. *gaṅgātata* or the banks of the Ganges, is associated with the *mukhyārtha* i.e. the stream of the river, the association being *sāmīpya* or nearness.

iii) Why is a non-literal mode of communication adopted? Why say *gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ* when what is meant is *gaṅgātate ghoṣaḥ* ? Why not say *gaṅgātate ghoṣaḥ* ?

The answer is that the speaker has a *prayojana* or intention. In the case of someone saying *gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ* the intention could be to suggest the coolness and sanctity of the village which is more effectively achieved by the utterance *gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ* than by *gaṅgātate ghoṣaḥ*. All metaphorical expression has some intention behind it, which the context alone can reveal and it is on the basis of this (revelation) that the *lakṣyārtha* or indicated meaning is arrived at.

This intention, which is also communicated by the utterance, is itself not part of the *lakṣyārtha*, but is designated as *vyangyārtha* 'suggested meaning', in translation. The third 'SV' *vyañjakatva* explains it, i.e. its possibility. Now, what is the rationale for speaking of another 'SV' ? Why can't the communication of the *prayojanāmsā* or intention be explained by *lakṣaṇā* ? Why speak of another 'SV' i.e. *vyañjakatva* ?

Ānanda's most convincing argument here is that the above is only one kind of suggestion. That is to say the cases where there is some absurdity or patent falsehood in the utterance to resolve which there is need for interpretation which involves reference to the intention of the speaker constitutes only one kind of suggestion. Communication of the intention in such cases could be sought to be explained by *lakṣaṇā*. But then this won't cover those instances where no absurdity vitiates the literal sense, where there is no *mukhyārthabādha*, and yet a non-literal sense is communicated.

I shall explicate this with an example. An utterance like 'I normally have tea at 3 o'clock' has a clear literal sense.

But consider a situation where someone is a guest and it is nearing 3 o'clock and he mentions this to his host : the meaning of the utterance, as meant and as understood, if the host is sensitive enough, is surely not just that the guest normally has tea at 3'o clock. The intention behind the utterance is to suggest that tea be served.

An example from Ānandavardhana will make this clearer. He has taken it from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* where there is a description of a conversation between some elders about Pārvaī's marriage. The poet introduces a line

here : *līlakamalapatrāṇi gaṇayāmāsa pārvaṭ* whose literal sense is that Pārvaṭ counted the petals of a toy-lotus.

Now it would surely be terrible defeat of the poetic purpose if this is understood literally. The poet means to suggest her bashfulness and a seasoned reader understands it as such.

Suggestion of meaning demands some *sahṛdayatva*. It is only the *sahṛdaya* or the sympathetic and perceptive reader (etc.) to whom such meaning is communicated. This is especially so when it comes to the communication of the artistic intention of delineating some *rasa*.

Thus, *vyāṅgyārtha* is different from both *mukhyārtha* and *vācyārtha* and is explained by another 'SV', *vyāñjakatva*. *vyāṅgyārtha* or the suggested meaning is always the intention of the speaker or author.

The concept *dhvani* can now be formulated. Ānanda says : '*vyāṅgyaprādhānye dhvaniḥ*'. Any utterance (or linguistic discourse) which communicates a suggested meaning, which meaning, has *prādhānya* or predominance over the literal meaning is, *dhvani*. *dhvani* is linguistic discourse where the intention behind it predomintes over the literal sense.

When we speak of intentions behind utterances there is need for a distinction.

i) An utterance like 'His name is Kṛṣṇa' is conventionally associated with the intention of giving the information that his name is Kṛṣṇa. So also 'What is the time now ?' is conventionally associated with the intention of knowing what the time now is.

In most cases, if not all, there is a conventional association between a form of utterance and an intention. There is agreement - so to say. But this is by the rule, and communication of this comes under the purview of *vācakatva*.⁹ *vācakatva* explains the communication of both the literal sense and this conventionally associated intention. This intention, when communicated, is not *vyāṅgyārtha*.

ii) Communication of *vyāṅgyārtha* cannot be explained by any conventional association. The *vyāṅgyārtha* could be seen as the load of the utterance - how it is loaded, if it is loaded, and this is something which context alone can reveal. The utterance 'I have tea at 3 o'clock' might have behind it the intention of merely describing one's tea habits or one's activities at 3 o'clock (these are conventionally associated with the sentence).

But given the context, very inadequately described above, it is a loaded utterance. This load is *vyāṅgyārtha*.

What makes communication of this possible? There are no general conditions : the context has to be appropriate, the timing of the utterance,

what precedes it and what follows it, the tone of the voice or a punctuation mark and a host of other factors. This is *aucitya*. There are no rules, no conventions and yet an unambiguous and unarbitrary non-literal meaning is communicated. The only delimiting condition is *aucitya*.

In the example from Kālidāsa it is evident how the communication of the suggested meaning by the line 'She counted the petals of the toy-lotus' is possible because of various factors unique to the situation. One can see, for example, how the meaning suggested by the sentence, as it occurs there, may not be suggested by it at all. Suppose the conversation between the elders had been about something more neutral than her marriage - the sentence would probably not suggest the meaning it does in the context of the poem, i.e. *Kumarāsambhava*. Or, suppose after this sentence, whose literal sense is a description of Pārvatī's behaviour, there follow descriptions of everyone else who happens to be around, the sentence may not communicate the suggested meaning it does in the original context. Subtler alterations may make a difference to the possibility of communication of the suggested sense.

III

Ānanda's claim in the *Dhvanyāloka* is that it is *dhvani* which is the *raison d'être* of Kāvya¹⁰ and this is his answer to the general concern of Alankāra Śāstra which is to demarcate Kāvya or literature from other linguistic discourse.

The essence of Kāvya is that it exhibits *vyangyaprādhānyatā* i.e. in Kāvya the *vyangyārtha* predominates over the *vācyārtha*.

But the claim that this is the distinguishing feature of Kāvya is simply false. For an utterance like 'I normally have tea at 3 o'clock.' could be an instance of *dhvani*'; i.e. given the appropriate context, the utterance could communicate a suggested meaning which predominates over the literal sense.

Ordinarily linguistic discourse abounds with such instances; a sarcastic utterance could be *dhvani*.

dhvani, therefore is not what distinguishes Kāvya from other linguistic discourse - unless one specifies it as *rasa-dhvani*.

According to Ānanda, suggestion is of three kinds of things - there could be suggestion of an idea (*vastu*) or of a figure of speech (*alankāra*) or of *rasa*.

It could be plausibly maintained that what distinguished Kāvya from other linguistic discourse is that it suggests *rasa*. That is to say, the literal sense of Kāvya is subordinate to the suggested *rasa*. And *rasa* can only be suggested, there can be no literal description of it. It is in the suggestion of *rasa* that the essence of Kāvya lies.

What then is the place of *alamkāras* etc. ? They are admitted only insofar as they are *ucita* from the point of view of the suggestion of *rasa*. Their use should be governed by considerations of *aucitya*.

If suggestion of meaning is dependent on the context and if every element in the context makes a difference to its possibility and if Kāvya is all about suggestion of *rasa*, when every element of the Kāvya, every word, every metaphor, every structuring has to be geared to this end. Everything has to be *ucita* for the purpose of suggestion of *rasa*.

The concept *aucitya* throws into sharp focus the distinction between art and skill. A merely skilful use of an *alamkāra* or any other device is not poetry; it is only the proper or *ucita* use of these, only when they are geared towards and fulfil the artistic intention of suggesting *rasa* that they are of any artistic worth.

Now what is the criterion for deciding whether or not an *alamkāra*, is *ucita* or appropriate ? The answer is : if it conduces to the suggestion (of *rasa* or whatever) then it is appropriate. There is simply no external criterion. It was thought, for example, that in depicting the *vīra-rasa* long compounds have to be employed. It was a kind of rule. Ānanda rejects all such attempts to lay down rules, the following of which would 'result' in Kāvya, so to say. And the concept *aucitya* demands such a rejection. *aucitya* is the governing principle and there are no rules for the *ucita* or proper use of these poetical devices. The appropriate device comes spontaneously or without special effort (*apṛthagyatna*)² to the *pratibhāvat* or genius. And no generalisation or rule can be derived from this simply because the *alamkāra* or whatever the device is - is appropriate in the context which is the whole poem or literary piece. *aucitya* is the principle of harmony between the parts of a literary work. Each part works in harmony with others and the whole is the condition for the possibility of suggestion of *rasa*. No one part can be abstracted and glorified as a general virtue for all literary attempts to take into account and follow.

I now turn to the implications which *dhvani* and *aucitya* have for the larger task of *Alamkāra-Śāstra*. As mentioned in the beginning, there are two premises for this discipline :

i) Kāvya is *śabdārthasāhitya* or the unity of word and sense. This is true of all linguistic discourse.

ii) Kāvya yields delight to the perceptive reader.

Now, given the task of identifying the distinguishing character of Kāvya, there are, corresponding to these two premises, two possible avenues. One is to look for it in the *śabdārthasāhitya*, i.e. to proceed on the assumption that there is something in the 'bodies' of all literary pieces - something common

to all of them - which distinguishes them from non-literary linguistic discourse. One such theory is embodied in the claim that Kāvya is *vakroktī*.

The other avenue is to locate the distinguishing feature of Kāvya in the delight it affords itself. That is, to hold that Kāvya is distinct from other linguistic discourse in that it is the source of delight of a particular kind. This would have been the position of Ānanda, had he clearly recognised that it is not *dhvani*, but specifically *rasa-dhvani*, which is the essence of Kāvya, for, according to the *rasa* theorists, *rasa* is identical with the delight Kāvya affords.

And with the concept of *aucitya*, a stronger claim is made, for it denies that there is anything which can be identified as the essential characteristic of Kāvya apart from the fact that it delights. Certain devices may, as a matter of fact, be found in most literature, but this is not essential to it.

Given the concepts *dhvani* and *aucitya*, one could argue as follows :

What is essential to Kāvya is that it yields delight or is the source of *rasa*. *rasa* can only be suggested, i.e. it comes within the province of *vyañjakatva*. And in *vyañjakatva* there is no conventional association, or association by rule, between the suggested and what suggests. Each instance of suggestion is unique and the communication of the suggested meaning is made possible by the whole context and the *aucitya* or appropriateness of each element in it.

So also there is no conventional association between *rasa* and the Kāvya which suggests it - there is no rule which makes possible the suggestion and none can be derived either. Suggestion of *rasa* is possible because of the *aucitya* of each element of the Kāvya - the whole Kāvya. In this sense, each Kāvya is unique and it is therefore to proceed on a mistaken assumption to look for some distinguishing characteristic of all Kāvya apart from the fact that they suggest *rasa*, i.e. that they delight.

Notes and References.

1. Jagannātha Paṇḍita in his *Rasagaṅgādhara* says : *ramaṇīlyārthapra-
tipādakaśabdaḥ kāvyam*.
2. E.g. : *tasmin viśeṣyatāvachedakam taditarabhedabuddhau sādhanam
tallakṣaṇam ... nirūpyate : Rasagaṅgādhara*.
3. *gato 'stam arko bhātīnduḥ yānu vāsāya pakṣīnaḥ /
ity evamādi kiṁ kāvyam vārtām enam pracakṣate //*

The first line is denied *kāvya* because it is a perfectly ordinaly mode of expression.

4. Mammaṭa in his *Kāvya* says : *sākṣāt samketitam yo 'rtham*

abhidhatte sa vācakaḥ.

saṁketa, however, does not denote merely the actual agreement, but also the origin of the agreement which is an issue I don't go into here.

5. The word *samaya* could serve well.
6. Mammaṭa speaks of *prayojana* or *rūḍha*. *rūḍha* would be involved in cases where a once-metaphorical expression is now an established usage. E.g.; the expression, 'the foot of the hill' in English has now an established usage, though clearly, at one time, it was metaphorical. Mammaṭa uses the example of the word *kuśala*. But I do not consider this (*rūḍha lakṣaṇā*) here, because, if there is usage and agreement about the meaning of an expression, then *vācakatva* explains the communication of such meaning.
7. The two kinds of suggestion are called *avivakṣitavācya* and *vivakṣitānyaparavācya*. In the first, the literal sense is not intended, while in the second it is.
8. 'artho guṇīkṛtātmā guṇīkṛtābhidheyaḥ śabdo vā yatārthāntaram abhivyanakti sa dhvanir iti... vyaṅgyaprādhānye hi dhvaniḥ. *Dhvanyāloka* (I.13).
9. *tat tu vācakatvān nābhidyate. Dhvanyāloka* (III, 330).
10. *kāvyaśyātma dhnvaniḥ. Dhvanyaloka* (I, 1).
11. Both the example and the point that we encounter : *dhvani* in ordinary, non-literary, linguistic discourse too emerged in a discussion I had with Dr. J. N. Chubb.
12. *raśakṣiptatayā yasya bandhaḥ śakyakriyo bhavet aprthagyatnanirvartyaḥ so 'lankāro dhvanau matah. Dhvanyāloka* (II, 16).



Sun-worship in the Āraṇyakas

INDU DESIPANDE

Necessity of heat for the life and growth must have established the faith that “the sun is the Soul of all that moves and stands” (RV I. 115.1). Hence the Sun-worship, as a form of religion, has continued since ancient times. In the *R̥gVeda* (=RV) the number of hymns, devoted to the Sun, are comparatively less. But it appears that the deity has gradually grown in importance in the later period. This paper is an attempt to observe the Sun-worship as it occurs in the *Āraṇyakas*(=Ārs).

In relation to the Sun one has to take into account the three concepts, namely, the Sūrya, the Savitr̥ and the Āditya. The terms Sūrya and Savitr̥ denote the same deity (RV IV. 14.2). The Sūrya represents the concrete orb of the Sun while the Savitr̥ is the divine power of the Sun personified.¹ Among the Ādityas, in the RV (I.50.11; I.115.1), Mitra is identified with Sūrya. In the post-Vedic literature the Ādityas are regularly the twelve Sun-gods.²

The Sun in the earlier texts :

In the RV various gods such as Indra, Indra-Viṣṇu, Indra-Soma, Indra-Varuṇa are said to have produced the Sun (II.12.7; VII.99.4; VI. 72.2; VII. 82.3). He is conceived as a bird (x.177.1-2). He is also compared with a flying eagle(VII.63.5). In the cosmological speculations of the RV the Sun is regarded as an important agent of generation. He is called the soul of all that moves and stands. Thus, “Even in the RV itself the conception of the Sun makes great onward strides as the most prominent symbol of the ultimate force at work in the universe.”³

In the Brāhmaṇas (*Brs*), the treatises on the “Science of Sacrifice”, “Sacrifice is not only an imitation of the phenomena, but the phenomena themselves are regarded as a sacrifice.”⁵ The sun becomes the sacrificial post, and the earth, the altar; or, the Sun acts even as a sacrifice (*Aitareya Br.*V.28). Nevertheless, in the *Brs*, we find learned theological statements of a highly scholastic nature, such as, *udyann u khalu vā ādityaḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni praṇayati tasmād enam prāṇa ity āckṣate. prāṇe hāsya sampratī hutam bhavati ya evaṁ vidvān udite juhōti (Aitareya Br. V. 3.1).*

The Sun in the Āraṇyakas :

Having observed the Sun as a controller of mundane events, the Ārs fixed him as a symbol to meditate upon. As a result, the *Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Br* (=JUB), an Ār of the *Sāmaveda*, conceives the Sun as a primeval being, thus as, ‘The universe in the beginning was he who burns here’ (JUB II.2.1.1), or, ‘This universe in the beginning was this space here. What that space is that is the Sun’, etc., (op. cit. 1.8.1.1-2). The Sun rises from the immortal,

he goes about after the immortal, and stands firm in the immortal. Its limits of the mortal and the immortal are the ocean of the wind (ibid). It is also said that the Sun, taking off the splendour, the grasp, the vitality, the virility of all beings, went upward (II. 2.1.1). Another concept is that the Sun seizes Marīci from beyond the world. The full development of it is Kāla. Thus the Sun is the prime source of the year, seasons, months, fortnights, etc. (*Taittirīya-Ār* I.2.1). Marīci is the soul of waters. Learned men desire to reach the place of Marīci. It is also named as the wife of the Sun (ibid. III.9). The Sun's five-axled wheel moves among the watery clouds in the sky. He is the promotor of the waters and the protector of the world. The lightening resorts to the Sun. He is the final death (*param mṛtyuḥ*) (ibid. I.8.4). The eight appellations of the Sun are, Ārogya, Bhrāja, Paṭara, Pataṅga, Svamāra, Jyotiṣmat, Vibhāsa and Kāśyapa.⁶ The eight Suns shine in the sky for the benefit of the world. The Sun Kāśyapa observes everything from the mountain Meru. He never departs from it. The seven Suns get lustre from Kāśyapa. They kill the sinners in the mid-region of the heaven and the earth. The Suns, namely, Bhrāja, Paṭara, and Pataṅga emit lustre on the downward region of Meru and enlighten these worlds. The remaining Suns shine in the region above Meru, hence the non-appearance of them. About the Ādityas, the *Taittirīya Ār.* I.13.3 says that they are the eight sons of Aditi. Their appellations are Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛ, Aryamā, Arīṣa, Bhaga, Indra and Vivasvat. The night is impregnated with the rays of the Āditya. The white Āditya is her son (ibid. I.9). The personifications of Āditya are Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Maruts, Ṛbhus, Viśvedevas, Savitṛ, etc. (ibid. I.15). Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Maruts, Ṛbhus, Viśvedevas are the deities of the different seasons. The Ādityas wear multicoloured garments (ibid. I.3-6). They forgive the faults committed even against the gods. They protect the sacrifice, offsprings and the sacrifice's body (ibid. I.27).

Sacrifice to the Sun :

The Ārs are esoteric texts attached to the Brāhmaṇas and consist of the rites not dealt with in the Brāhmaṇas. They contain the sacrifices, such as, the Mahāvratā, the Pravargya, as well as some minor ritualistic items, namely, the Saṁdhyā, the Pañcamāhayajñas, etc.

The *Aitareya-Ār* (= AĀr.) I : V, and the *Śāṅkhāyana-Ār* (= Śāṅ-Ār.) I:II describe the Mahāvratā rite. It is a rite performed on the last day but one in the Gavāmayana Sattrā. *go* means the Sun's rays or days also.^{7B} The Mantras and formulas used in the rite are mostly addressed to the solar phenomena, and to the deities prevailing in the solar group, such as, *atraiva tiṣṭhann ādityam upatiṣṭheta* (Śāṅ Ār. I.5); *arcanti arkam devatā svarkā* (AĀr.V.2-7); *ādityās tvā jāgatena* (ibid. V.1.4); *suparno 'si garutmān* (ibid V-1-2); *sūrya ivāpratidhṛṣyas sūryo nakṣtrair* (ibid. V-19); *arko'si* (Śāṅ Ār. I.7)... The deities to whom the Mantras are addressed are Agni, Savitṛ, Viśvedevas, Aśvins, Uṣas,

Pūṣan, Mitrāvaruṇau, etc.

In the rite the bird's shape is ascribed to the litany, to the Mahaduktha, as also to the altar, and to the sacred fire. The bird-shape ascribed to the fire is, *pratyatmukhas tiṣṭhan agneḥ śira upatiṣṭhate namas te gāyatrāya yat te śiraḥ; udanmukhaḥ pakṣam --- namas te rāthantarāya yas te dakṣiṇaḥ pakṣaḥ...* (AĀr V.1.2) etc. The bird-shape ascribed to the litany is *grīvāḥ yasyedam ā rajas tujo ---, śiro gāyatram indram id gāthino bṛhat ..., vijavaḥ sutas te soma* (ibid. V) Now the bird is undoubtedly the Sun-bird, for, it is addressed in the ritual by the word *garutman*⁸ (=winged). In the Rv in various passages (X.177.1; II.5.47; I.191; VII.63.5), the Sun is conceived as a bird traversing space.

When performing the ritual, the Hotṛ sits on a swing and recites the litany (AĀr V.1.3; ŚānĀr I.6,7). The swing represents the Sun (RV VII.,87.5). The manner in which the Hotṛ ascends and at the end descends from the swing is significant. The text reads as follows : *purastāt pratyāñcam preñkham adhirohed etasya rūpeṇa ya eṣa tapati purastādd hy eṣa imān lokāñ pratyāñcam adhirohati ...* (AĀr I.2.4), *prāñ avarohet prāg vai devaretā samprajāyate* (ibid. I.2.5; see also V.3.2). A warrior pierces a skin (ibid. V.1.5) in the rite. White round skin is a mark of the Sun.⁹ The Hotṛ worships the Sun, saying, *ehy evā idam madhu. tīvrasutam pibā*. An earth-drum is beaten and several other musical instruments are played in the rite. KERN thinks, "These noises may have been to drive away evil demons and to protect at once the Sun and the performance of the rite from their onslaught."¹⁰ At the end of the rite, the seats of the swing, used for the Hotṛ, are burnt. This burning of the seats points to an original Sun-spell.¹¹

The TĀr I-II consists of the description of the Āruṇaketukacayana. In the Cayana rite the construction of the fire-altar in five layers takes place. It requires bricks of several shapes. Every brick is to be placed with the recitation of a mantra. In this rite one has to dig the sacrificial altar at the height of one's knee, has to pour ankle-deep water into it, and then spread over it lotus-leaves, stalks and flowers. Then he has to put a golden ornament or a disk, and to the south of that, a golden image of man. (Ibid I.22.8-9). KERN says, "In the piling of the altar the symbolism is carried out in the form of the golden disc, symbol of the Sun, which is placed over the lotus, and over which again is placed the golden image of a man, above whom lie in the first, third and fifth layers of the pile, the three naturally perforated bricks, representing the three worlds through which the sacrificer must rise to the Sun."¹² The mantras are addressed to Sūrya, Aśvins, Ādityas etc.,

There also occurs the Pravargya sacrifice in the TĀr. IV-V. The Pravargya is a sacrificial rite ancillary and preliminary to the Agniṣṭoma. It consists mainly of the offering of *gharma* to the Aśvins, Vāyu, Indra, Savitṛ, etc. A special

kind of earthen vessel, called Mahāvīra is got prepared and heated by means of fire kindled round it. Clarified butter is then poured into it and when butter begins to boil, milk of a cow and of a she-goat are poured into it. The mixture is called *gharma*.¹³ In the procedure of the performance, the Adhvaryu takes up the shovel with the formula, *devasya tvā savituh prasave aśvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām*; while preparing the Mahāvīra it is said, *na pravargyam cādityam cāntareyāt* (TĀr IV.2), when taking the bamboo, *tejo vai veṇus tejaḥ pravargyah*; While depositing the pot on the sands, *sūryasya harasā śrāya* (ibid. IV.3); While baking the Mahāvīra, *arciṣe tvā, śociṣe tvā, jyotiṣe tvā, tapase tvā*, while taking the Mahāvīra *devas tvā savitodvapatu*. (ibid. IV.3); While looking at the Mahāvīra, *sūryasya tvā cakṣuṣa 'nivikṣe* (ibid. V.4.7), while sprinkling the Mahāvīra, *sūryasya harase tvā* (ibid. IV.3). The Adhvaryu anoints the Mahāvīra with *devasya tvā savitā madhvānaktu*. When Mahāvīra is surrounded by char-coals the TĀr says, *śiro vā etad yajñasya yat pravargyah asau khalu vā ādityaḥ pravargyah* (ibid. V.4.7). The priests look at the Mahāvīra saying, *saṁ agnir agnīnā gata saṁ devena savitrā saṁ sūryeṇa rocate* (ibid. IV.7.1); *saṁ devo devena savitrā yatīṣṭa saṁ sūryeṇārukta*. When milking the cow the Adhvaryu addresses it, *aśvibhyām pinvasva*, *pūṣṇe pinvasva*; addressing the boiling *gharma*, *svāhā tvā sūryasya raśmaye vṛṣṭivanaye, sūryasya tapas tapa* (ibid. IV.8). The offering of *gharma* is accompanied by the formula, *svāhākṛtasya gharṁasya madhoḥ pibatam aśvinā ----- aśvinā gharmam pāta hārdivānam*. (ibid. IV.9). At the end of the rite when setting off the Pravargya-utensils, it is said, *puro vā paścād vodvāsayet, purastād vā etaj jyotir udeti, tat paścān nimrocati* (ibid. V.10.6).

Thus this sacrifice is to the Sun. In the rite while the performance is going on, the Mahāvīra is placed on the *pravṛñjanīya* mound on a silver plate and the priest anoints it with butter. Van BUTTENEN¹⁴ considers this to be similar to the anointing of an iconic god and the rite seems to him a kind of Pūjā. KASHIKAR¹⁵ discards this view and says that 'the anointing together or around would serve the purpose of keeping the fire flaming'. KETHI¹⁶ correctly says that the rite is a Sun-spell which is directly indicated by the formulas used therein. He adds : "that the pot covered with a golden plate is nothing else than a symbol of the fire or the Sun, so too, is the pot which glows, and the milk, which in its whiteness is a Sun-symbol." OLDENBERG¹⁷ has also put forward the theory that the Pravargya, as a whole, is meant to intensify the Sun; so that it may stand the onslaught by the rains that may come in the rainy season. Thus, it is accepted that the Pravargya was intended as a rite to intensify the Sun.

Similarly, the *Samdhyā*, a minor rite in the TĀr II.2, is in the worship of the Sun. The word *samdhyā* implies the offering of water to the Sun in the morning, and in the evening with the Savitṛ mantra in the Gāyatrī metre. It is believed that meditating upon the rising and the setting Sun and

doing obeisance to him by going from left to right serves to obtain all bliss, for this Āditya is *brahman*. The water concentrated with Savitr̥ mantra becomes as strong as the thunderbolt and drives away the evil spirits fighting with the Sun.

In the Pañcamahāyajñas (TĀr II.10), i.e., the five great sacrifices, which are performed daily by the householder, *devayajña* is the one in which the sacrificer daily offers fuel-sticks to Agni. "Agni was also light in general, and more especially the light of the Sun, whether in the morning, or at noon, or in the evening."¹⁸

Heterogenous form of the Sun-worship :

Allusions to a diverse form of Sun-worship are also present in the Ārs. In this, macrocosm and microcosm came into close contact. The Sāman-singer conceives that the *ṛc* and the *sāman* assuming the form of apirāj bring forth the Sun. (JUB I.17.2.8). The Sun's five stages and the five divisions of a *sāman* are identical. The Sun at the time when it is not yet risen is the *hīmkāra*; half-risen is the *prastāva*; at the time when the cows are driven together is the *ādi*; at noon is the *Udgitha*, in the afternoon is the *pratihāra*; at the time when it turns red towards sunset, is the *upadrava*; at the time when it sets, is the *nidhana* (ibid. I.3.2). The evolution of the universe is from the Sun. He exists in the beginning of the universe (ibid. I.9-10). He is seven-rayed, virile, powerful. The seven rays, consisting of speech, mind, sight, hearing, breath, vital spirit, and food respectively, are located in these creatures, whosoever speaks, thinks, sees, hears, breathes, possesses vital spirit, and eats; he does those activities by the rays of the Sun, consisting of these powers respectively. The ray, comprising sight, is the Sun himself.¹⁹ The ray consisting of vital spirits is Lord (*Īśāna*) by name. The number seven of the Sun's rays must have become the evolutionary source of the seven Suns in the TĀr.

The seven Suns are also conceived as the seven priests or the seven breaths located in the head.²⁰ The Sun is described as possessed of three-fold forms, namely, *śukla*, *kṛṣṇa*, and *puruṣa*. The form called *śukla* is identical with speech, *ṛc*. Agni *Kṛṣṇa* is identical with waters, food, mind, *yajus*. *Puruṣa*²¹ in the Āditya is breath, that is the *sāman*, that is *brahman*, that is immortal (JUB I.8.1). There are also enumerated the four *puruṣas*. (AĀr III.2.3; Sāñ Ār VIII.3) viz *śarīrapuruṣaḥ*, *chandaḥpuruṣaḥ*, *vedapuruṣaḥ*, *mahāpuruṣaḥ*; this is also named as *atipuruṣaḥ* (= superior person)²² The *mahāpuruṣa* (the great person) is the *samvatsara* (= the year). Its essence is the Sun. (AĀr III.2.3, Sāñ Ār VIII.3) The *Bahvṛcas* consider him in the great hymn, the Adhvaryus in the fire, the Chandogas in the Mahāvratā rite. They see him in this earth, in heaven, in the air, in the ether, in the waters, in plants, in trees, in the moon, in the constellations, and in all beings. They call him *brahman*.

Conclusion :

Thus the Ārs worship the Sun with full gratitude towards its power and usefulness. They also present a symbolic form of the Sun-worship to the extent that they consider the cosmic principle, the Sun, the universal, as well as the individual soul, as one and the same. These concepts may have forerunners in the earlier literature but they concentrate on the Sun only as a deity of worship. This reminds us of what Shri Aurobindo says : "Sūrya means the illumined or the luminous, as also the illumined thinker is called *sūri*. Luminous vision and luminous creation are the two functions of Sūrya. He is Sūrya the creator and he is Sūrya the revealing vision, the all-seer."²³ The Ārs also induce one to realise that the revealing vision and he himself are one and the same.

References

1. Macdonell, A.A. *Vedic Mythology*, Varanasi, 1963, p.33-34.
2. RV. 50.11; see also *Vedic Mythology*, p.44.
3. Bloomfield, M. *The Religion of the Veda*, Delhi, 1972, p.86.
4. Winternitz M. *History of Sanskrit literature* 1977. Vol.I. p.188.
5. Bergaigne A. *Vedic Religion*. Vol. I. Introduction. Translated by V.G. Paranjape, Poona, 1969. p.XIV.
6. These nomenclatures seem to be the qualitative names of the Sun. They do not occur in the Vedas or the *Brāhmaṇas*. Multiplicity of the Sun is stressed in the T. Ār. I.7.6. According to Sāyaṇa, Ārogya is the Sun whom we observe shining in the sky.
7. Aitareya - Br.IV. 17. *gavām ayancna yanti gāvo vā ādityā ādityānām eva tad ayancna yanti.*
8. Keith, A.B. Śān Ār. Delhi, 1975, p.77,78.
9. *Kāthaka-Saṁhitā*. XXXIV. 5 *śvetam carma parimaṇḍalam, syād ādityasya rūpam.*
10. Keith, A.B. Śān-Ār, Delhi, 1975, pp.77-78. .
11. Keith, A.B. AĀr, Oxford, 1909, p.299, f.n.21.
12. Keith, A.B. *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*. Vol. 32, London, 1925, pp.354-355.
13. Ibid. see also. *The History of Dharmaśāstra*, Kane, P.V. Vol. I, Pune, 1941, pp.1147 ff.
14. *The Pravargya*, Poona, 1968.

15. Kashikar, C.G. "Apropos of the Pravargya". CASS Studies No.1. Pune, 1973, pp.1-10.
16. Keith, A.B. *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*. Vol.32, London, 1925, p.333.
17. Oldenberg, H. *Religion Des Veda*, 1894, pp.447ff.
18. Max Muller, F. *The Vedas*, Calcutta, 1956, p.69.
19. JUB. I.9.1 *tad yat tac cakṣur ādityaḥ* The affinity between eye and the Sun is recognised; cf. ṚV. X.16.3; X.90.13; X.158.3-5.
20. TĀr. I.7. ṚV. II.12-12 reference to the seven rays of the Sun.
21. *puruṣa* here means the essence. See also Dasgupta S. *History of Indian Philosophy* Vol.I Delhi, 1975, p.32. "The word '*puruṣa*', no doubt, occurs frequently in the Upaniṣads, but the sense and the association that come along with it are widely different from that of the *puruṣa* of the Puruṣasūkta of the ṚV."
22. JUB. I.8.1-2. *ya aditya so 'tipuruṣaḥ*.
23. *On the Veda*. Pondicherry, 1964, p.468.



Brāhmanised Pāśupata Sect in the *Kūrma Purāna*¹

JAYA CIEMBURKAR

1. The Purāṇas were the custodians of the Varṇāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas. The different sects like the Pāśupatas, Lokāyatikas, the Kāpālikas and the religious systems like Jainism and Buddhism created an atmosphere which did not in an orthodox way conform to the Vedic or Brāhmanical ideas.² Being opposed to the Vedic tradition, they were called heretics.

2. The condition of Brāhmanism having become very insecure, an attempt seems to have been made by the Smārtas (Vaiṣṇavas) and the Śaivas to preach Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism which would conform to Brāhmanic ideas and to establish the Varṇāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas.³ Such an attempt is seen in the *Kūrma Purāna* (KP)⁴ in respect of the Nākuliśa Pāśupata Sect.

3. In this paper is presented a study of the Brāhmanised Pāśupata Sect in the KP .

4. Before examining the Pāśupata Sect in the KP, a brief survey of the non-Vedic Pāśupata Sect will not be out of place. The following survey is based on the *Pāśupatasūtra* (PS) with *Pañcārthabhāṣya* of Kauṇḍinya.⁵

5. PĀŚUPATA SECT

Lord Pāśupati is believed to have incarnated and taught a Brāhmaṇa named Kuśika. His teachings are believed to have taken the form of the present Sūtras. Nakuliśa who is believed to be the last incarnation of Śiva, is stated to be the founder of the Pāśupata Sect,⁶ because of his great contribution to the cause of revitalising Pāśupatism.⁷

6. PAÑCĀRTHAS

The Pāśupata Śaivas maintain five categories, viz. (i) *Kāraṇa* the cause; (ii) *Kārya* the effect; (iii) *Yoga* the *jīva*'s communion with the Lord; (iv) *Vidhi* ritualistic practices; (v) *Duḥkhānta* end of the miseries. These are called Pañcārthas in this system (*prameyāḥ kāryakāraṇādayaḥ pañca padārthāḥ*).⁸

7. KĀRAṆA (THE CAUSE)

The Pāśupatas regard God as the cause of the world. He is Pati because He is the Lord of the Souls (*atra paśūnām patiḥ paśupatiḥ*).⁹ He is the Lord because He creates and projects the Paśus (Souls) by His all-pervading power which cannot be surpassed by them.¹⁰ He is the ruler of Prakṛti and its effects.

8. KĀRYA (EFFECT)

Kārya is the effect, that is the entire universe created by Paśupati, who is the cause. *Kārya* is of three kinds, viz. (1) *Vidyā* (cognition etc or knowledge),

(2) Kalā (organs or the means of cognition) (3) Paśus (Souls). The three types of *Kārya* are created, preserved and destroyed by the Lord.¹¹

9. Kalās are of two kinds, viz. effects and causes.¹² The effect is again of ten kinds, viz. the five subtle elements and the five gross elements. The causes are eleven organs including mind, *buddhi* and ego.¹³ It will be observed here that the twenty three Sāmkhya elements have been described here as Kalās. These Kalās are the Pāśas of Paśu (*pāśā nāma kāryakāraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ tābhīḥ baddhāḥ sanniruddhāḥ*).¹⁴

10. PAŚU (SOUL)

According to Kauṇḍinya, Paśus (Souls) are of two types, viz. impure and pure (*kāryakāraṇāñjanāḥ nirāñjanāḥ*).¹⁵ The souls related to bodies and sense-organs are impure. The souls devoid of them are pure.¹⁶ The bondage of the soul consists in its lack of supernatural divine powers, or in the concealment of God's causal power or independence. Kauṇḍinya explains the word *paśu* as *paśyanāt pāśanāc ca paśavaḥ, tatra pāśā nāma kāryakāraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ* i.e. individual souls are bound because they are fettered by effects and sense-organs; they perceive effects and are attached to them, and are thus fettered by them to embodied life.' Though the Paśus are all-pervasive and are of the nature of consciousness, they perceive only their bodies and not beyond (*yasmād vibhutve 'pi citsamavetatve 'pi ca śarīramātram eva paśyanty upalabhanī ca na bahirdhāni*).¹⁸ The Lord protects them and, therefore, He is called Paśupati (*āpti pāti ca tān paśun itya nṭh patir bhavati*).¹⁹

11. YOGA

Yoga is the union of the soul with God (*atmśvarasamyogo yogaḥ*)²⁰ through the conceptual faculty (*cittadvāreṇa*).²¹ It is taught to one who is detached from the worldly life. *Yoga* is of two types : (i) consisting in action, i.e. muttering syllables and formulas etc., (ii) consisting in cessation of action, i.e. full realisation and unflinching devotion to Maheśvara, according to Vasudevashastri Abhyankar.²²

12. VIDHI

According to Kauṇḍinya, *Yoga* can be attained by *Vidhi*. *Vidhi* is an action which is believed to generate virtue or merit (*dharmārthasādhakavyāpāro vidhiḥ*),²³ according to Sāyaṇa-Madhava. *Vidhi* is of two types, viz. (1) principal and (2) subsidiary. Of these the *principal Vidhi* is the direct means of merit, a religious exercise called *caryā*; *caryā* is of two types (1) a vow and (2) *dvāras*, i.e. actions.²⁴ A vow consists of (1) bathing with ashes, lying in ashes, and (2) offerings of six types, viz. (1) laughter, (2) song, (3) dance, (4) muttering of *dam*, (5) adoration, (6) *japa* (PS.I.8). Kauṇḍinya remarks that all these vows should be practised secretly (*snānahasitādayaś ca gūḍhāḥ*

kartavyāḥ).²⁵ *dvāras* consist of *Krāthana*, i.e. one should pretend to be asleep while awake (PS III.12), *Spandana* i.e. one should tremble (PS III.13), *manṭana* i.e. one should walk limping (PS III.14), *śṛṅgāraṇa* i.e. one should practise wooing on seeing a young pretty girl (PS III.15), *avṛtakarāṇa* i.e. indulge in censurable actions (PS III.16) and *avṛtadbhāṣaṇa*, i.e. one should talk non-sense (PS III.17). The *Subsidiary Vidhi* consists in subsequent purificatory ablution for putting an end to the sense of unfitness arising from begging, living on broken food (*ucchiṣṭa*) etc. An aspirant should rebathe, hold *nirmālya* flowers used in the worship of the Lord (PS I.4-6).²⁶

13. The above mentioned actions, viz. *krāthana* etc are said to be *dvāras* (doors) to the acquisition of merit, according to Kauṇḍinya.²⁷ A Śaiva ascetic has to dispense with external marks such as bathing with ashes, wearing garlands used in worship or wearing a single garment etc (PS III.1), so that he is not recognised as an ascetic and would be disregarded in the society (PS III.3). He would court abuses from all (PS III.5). This disgrace would give him a double benefit of getting all sins purged out (PS III.6) and gaining merits of those by whom he is abused (PS III.7,8). Hence the actions like *krāthana* etc are called *dvāras* (doors through which merit comes). The aspirant, thus insulted or abused or taken as an outcaste in the society but remaining firm in these practices gets well established in the sphere of asceticism, surrendering himself to Paśupati, according to Kauṇḍinya.²⁸

14. Pāśupata Sect does not allow devotion to other gods (*nānyabhaktistu śankare* PS II.20). God Śiva alone is to be worshipped. Wearing a single cloth to cover one's nudity or wearing no cloth at all in order to practise non-possession, not seeing human urine and stool, not talking to women and Śūdras in order to avoid loss of knowledge, penances etc. acquired from the scriptures are prescribed. If an ascetic is compelled to talk to women or Śūdras in a village, he should atone for it by touching ashes and not water by practising breath control and muttering Raudrī Gāyatrī (PS I.14-17 and Kauṇḍinya). Kauṇḍinya remarks that the specific mention of Raudrī Gāyatrī prohibits Vedic Gāyatrī.²⁹ A Śaiva ascetic has to stay in a vacant house or a cave (PS V.9), a cremation ground (PS V.30) and practise begging(PS.V.14).

15. It may be stated here that the Śūdras were not admissable for initiation. Unlike other religions, blind, deaf, dumb and diseased people and sinners were also not allowed to take up initiation.

16. DUḤKHĀNTA

Duḥkhānta is the final deliverance or liberation according to the Pāśupata system. Liberation according to this system is absolute cessation of pain and acquisition of omniscience and omnipotence of God through the grace of God (PS V.40,42).

17. This is the sum and substance of the Pāśupata Sect.

18. COMMENTS ON THE PĀŚUPATA SECT

The brief scrutiny of the Pāśupata Sect above shows that it differs greatly from the Brāhmanical religion. There are a number of traits in this system which prove that this system was non-Vedic, e.g. this system does not allow the worship of other gods and manes. Vedic Gāyatrī is not allowed. The Sūtras contain very little metaphysical speculation, but they deal with ritualistic practices elaborately; besides, these practices are non-Brāhmanical. Nowhere the performance of the *varṇāśramadharmas* is prescribed for a Pāśupata. There is no mention of the Karma-theory and transmigration. Lingā worship which is so common with the Śaivas and also temple worship have no scope here. Emphasis here is on *Yoga* rather than knowledge. Non-mention of the female counter-part of Śiva, viz Śakti or Devī is also conspicuous. Except the non-eligibility of a Śūdra for initiation and emphasis on the meditation on *Om*, all other practices are non-Brāhmanic. The system shows the influence of Buddhism, and Tantric mysticism.

19. The processes prescribed in this system are fantastic and wild; because Rudra-Śiva was the god of open fields and wild and awful regions, away from the habitations of men, and worshipped by aberrant or irregular people. This character of the worshiper did impress on the mode of worship for propitiating Śiva.³⁰

20. The Kāpālikas and the Kālamukhas were the sub-sects of the Pāśupata system. They believed in horrible practices like (1) eating food in a skull, (2) besmearing the body with the ashes of a dead body, (3) eating the ashes, (4) holding a club, and (5) keeping a pot of wine etc. These two sub-sects were Tantric; they did not follow the caste rules strictly.³¹

21. Because of its non-Brāhmanic character, this system was criticised by several authorities who were adherents of Vedic culture. Bādarāyaṇa in his Vedānta Sūtras has criticised the Pāśupata system, so also Śaṅkara in his Bhāṣya on the Vedānta Sūtras (Cf. Ved.Sut.II.2.37-41). Rāmānujācārya also has condemned the Pāśupatas as being *vedaviruddha* (Śrībhāṣya II.2.35-36). Similarly, a number of Purāṇas e.g. *Varāha Purāṇa* (70.14, 36, 41), *Padma Purāṇa* VI.263.24, 25, 32, 33, *Devī Bhāgavata* VII. 39.26-31 *Kūrma Purāṇa* I.12.261-263, II 16.17-19, 24-26 have also criticised this system as being non-Brāhmanic.

22. THE KP AND THE PĀŚUPATA SECT

In the course of the religious renaissance conducted by the Purāṇas an attempt seems to have been made to wipe out the non-Brāhmanic elements from the Hindu Religion. An examination of the Pāśupata Sect presented in

the KP confirms this view.

23. The KP II is devoted to the presentation of the Pāśupata Sect on altogether different lines. The non-Brāhmanic Pāśupatas described above have been referred to as the Vāma Pāśupatas and their scriptures as deluding. The KP has completely modified the Pāśupata system by incorporating Śrauta and Smārta beliefs and practices into it, *vedaviruddha* element is condemned and criticised.

24. BRĀHMANISED PĀŚUPATA SECT IN THE KP

A scrutiny of the Brāhmanised Pāśupata Sect in the KP II shows the following features :

(1) KNOWLEDGE OF THE VEDAS

Unlike in the Vāma Pāśupata Sect, for a follower of the Brāhmanised Pāśupata Sect the study of the Vedas is necessary. The sage Śvetāśvatara is said to have imparted to Suśīla, the grand-son of Pṛithu Vainya divine knowledge and observances which embodied the essence of the entire Vedas which liberate the *Paśus* from bondage (KP I.13.37b, 38a). Vedasāra is described as *sarvapāpopaśamana*, i.e. the destroyer of all the sins and bestower of liberation of the soul (KP I.13.47a). We are further told that not an iota of virtue resides in the man who is excluded from the Vedas (KP I.15.109). Therefore, for protecting these sinners excluded from the Vedas and deluding them, Rudra is said to have produced magical treatises. These were Kāpāla, Nākula, Vāma, Bhairava, Pañcarātra, Pāśupata and others (KP I.15.109-114). Here, the Pāśupatas are described as *vedabāhyas*, i.e. excluded from the Vedas, and their scriptures are said to be deluding (*mohaśāstrāṇi*). *This Vāma Pāśupata Sect is declared as not fit for following (vāmam pāśupatam asevyam etat kathitaṁ vedabāhyam... KP II.37.145, 146)*. Śiva condemns the Vāma Pāśupata Sect and its teachings : For emphasising the importance of the Vedas, Śiva is described as being *vedamūrti*, an embodiment of the Vedas and we are further told that His real nature can be known from the Veda alone and not from other Śāstras (KP II.37.147). In various ways, the KP II has tried to maintain the glory and the authority of the Vedas, e.g. (1) Śiva is made to declare Himself as the destroyer of the enemies of the Vedas (KP II.4.16b); (2) the four Vedas are made to declare Śiva as the Supreme Reality (KP II.31.13-16); (3) a study of the Vedas is prescribed for a Pāśupata (KP II.37.142); (4) similarly, for worshipping Śiva Vedic injunctions and Vedic mantras are recommended (KP II.37.88, 89, 105); (5) the modified form of Pāśupata Sect is described as the most mysterious and the subtle essence of the Vedas and created by Śivā for salvation (KP II.37.14). All the above mentioned statements obviously aim at maintaining the authority of the Vedas in the modified Pāśupata Sect.

(2) PHILOSOPHY

The *PS* contain very little metaphysical discussion. But while presenting the Pāśupata Sect in a sublime form the KP has discussed at length the philosophical aspect of this Sect.

KP II.1-11 contain the *Īśvaragītā* (ĪG) (*iti śrīkūrmapurāṇe uparivibhāge Īśvaragītāsuetc.*) which contains philosophical discourses on the nature of God, Soul and the World.³² The philosophical ideas here resemble those in the *Bhagavadgītā*. A good deal of ĪG is a mere *verbatim* reproduction of the teachings of the *Bhagavadgītā*. The purpose of the whole philosophical narration is to present the Pāśupata Sect in a sublime form and make it acceptable to the cultured society which revered the Brāhmanic culture. Therefore, when the Pāśupata Sect was being released from the *vāmācāras*, a need was probably felt to endow it with a sound philosophical base. For this purpose, the KP has availed itself of the famous philosophy of the *Bhagavadgītā*. The popularity of the *Bhagavadgītā* seems to have inspired the author to incorporate it in the Śaiva Sect also. Besides, Śiva and Viṣṇu have been repeatedly described here as identical and hence the metaphysical ideas from the Vaiṣṇavite *Bhagavadgītā* could be transferred to the Śaiva Pāśupata Sect without any difficulty.

The three principles of the Pāśupatas viz. Pati, Paśu and Pāśa have been explained without giving up their original connotations. Īśvara i.e. Śiva imparts this highest knowledge to the sages (KP II.1.39, 40, 41, 53). According to the ĪG³³ all the souls are called Paśus and Īśvara who is their Lord is called Paśupati (KP II.7.18). He binds the Paśus with the fetters of Māyā as a sport, and the knowers of the Vedas knew Him to be the only liberator of the Paśus (KP II.7.19). None can liberate them from the fetters of Māyā except Him (KP II.7.20). In the *Vibhūtiyoga* of the ĪG, Īśvara says that of all the fetters He is Māyā (*pāśānam asmy aham māyā KP II.7.16a*). Thus having identified Māyā with Pāśa, He further explains the concept of Pāśa. According to Him, the twenty-four principles of the Sāṃkhya, Māyā, Karman, Guṇas and the miseries are the fetters of Paśupati for the Paśus (*caturviṃśati tattvāni māyā karma guṇā ity etc pāśāṅ paśupatḥ kleśāś ca paśubandhanāṅ* (KP II.7.21)).³⁴ Similarly *dharma* and *adharmā* are also two fetters. All actions, if surrendered to Īśvara, never lead to bondage but to emancipation (KP II.28). *Avidyā* (ignorance), *Asmitā* (ego), *Rāga* (attachment), *Dveśa* (repulsion), *Abhiniveśa* (longing) are called miseries and these are the fetters which bind the soul to the worldly life (KP II.7.29). These fetters are said to originate from Māyā (KP II.7.30a). Māyā is unmanifest and stays in Īśvara as His power (KP II.7.30), Māyā is Mūla-Prakṛti and Pradhāna. Establishing the non-duality of the three principles, viz. Paśupati, Paśu and Pāśa, the KP II.31 and 32 say that the Eternal God of gods is Mūla-Prakṛti or Pradhāna and Puruṣa and the products, viz. Mahat etc. He is the bondage, He is cause of bondage. He himself is

Pāśa and Paśu.

It will be observed here that the Sāṅkhya system is availed of here for explaining the concept of Pāśa or the fetters. The PS also describes the Sāṅkhya principles as Kalās which are Pāśas of the Paśu (*pāśā nāma kāryakāraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ*).³⁵ Here the products of Prakṛti are said to be the Pāśās, of the soul; in the *Bhagavadgītā* the *Guṇas* of Prakṛti are said to cause bondage of the soul (*sattvaṁ rajas tama iti guṇāḥ prakṛti-sambhavāḥ nibadhnanti dche dchinam avyayam XIV.5*). Saṁsāra or the worldly existence is the bondage of the soul, and the world being the product of Prakṛti, Prakṛti is rightly described as the Pāśa.

In the ĪG, Īśvara i.e. Pati is described in the manner of the Upaniṣadic Brahman, as Kṛṣṇa is in the *Gītā*.

The ĪG gives a brief account of the creation of the universe, according to which Īśvara is the Father and Mūlamāyā His womb. He casts the seed (of creation) in Her and the universe is born (*mama yonir mahad brahma tatra garbhaṁ dadhāny aham mūlam māyābhīdhānam tu tato jātam idaṁ jagat KP II.8.3, 7*). It may be pointed out here that the Vāma Pāśupata Sect has described the Paśu i.e. the soul as born or produced, an effect (*kārya*). But surprisingly enough the ĪG has described the soul as born along with the products of Prakṛti (*pradhānam puruṣe hy ātmā mahadbhūtādir eva ca tanmātrāṇi mahābhūtānīndriyāṇi ca jajñire KP II.8.4*) - an idea opposed to the Vedānta philosophy. Probably the KP did not want to change the fundamental philosophical idea of the Pāśupatas. KP II.9, 10 describe how Īśvara pervades the world and how the various forces in nature function because of Īśvara. The object of this brief description of the creation of the universe, appears to trace the creatorship of Īśvara which is necessary in a Purāṇic religion of devotion. The purpose of the ĪG is to expound the knowledge of Reality.

(3) YOGA

In the worship of Śiva, *Yoga* has a prominent place. One of the epithets of Śiva is Mahāyogin or Yogīn. Practice of *Yoga* became popular with the worshippers of other gods as well. The *Bhagavadgītā* has described Dhyānayoga (BG VI.11-15; VIII.51,52). The ĪG has described *Yoga* at KP. 11.11. The ĪG mentions *Yoga* of two types, viz. (1) *abhāva-yoga* and (2) *mahāyoga* (*yogas tu dvividho jñeyo hy abhāvāḥ prathamō mataḥ aparas tu mahāyogaḥ sarvayogottamottamaḥ KP II.11.5*). The *Yoga* in which one contemplates on one's self as void and without the shadow of anything else is called *abhāvayoga* which enables one visualize the self (KP II.11.6). And the *Yoga* in which one realizes the self as eternal bliss, identical with Īśvara is called *mahāyoga* (KP II.11.7). KP II.11 discusses the eight-fold *Yoga* of Patañjali. One should meditate upon the Supreme Principle, identify oneself with Maheśvara and

see Īśvara in oneself (KP II.11.65, 66). This is said to be the Pāsupata Yoga meant for the liberation of the Paśus from the fetters (of Māyā). This is the essence of all the Vedānta (KP.II.11-67). This is said to be the secret of all the secrets; it leads to the absorption of the devotee unto Him (KP II.11.68). According to the Īśvargītā *yoga* is a means to an absorption into Īśvara (*matsāyujyopapadakam*); but, according to the PS, *Yoga* is union with Paśupati (*atrātmeśvarasamyogaḥ yogaḥ*). ĪG has defined *Yoga* as *māyā ekacittāyogo vṛtṭyantaranirodhataḥ* (KP II.11.12a), i.e. exclusive concentration on Īśvara by the restriction of all other fluctuations of the mind. This is only a paraphrase of Patañjali's definition of *Yoga* viz. "*yogaś cittavṛtṭinirodhaḥ*" (i.e. *Yoga* is the restriction of the fluctuations of the mind). For the concentration of the mind *japa* of *praṇava* or *śatarudriya* or *gāyatrī* is recommended (KP II.11.99, 100; 18.24, 25).

Yoga is a discipline for the mind and it is very essential in a spiritual pursuit, where the mind plays a very important role. Mind is the cause of bondage and also the cause of liberation. If through *Yoga* it is controlled and concentrated on Īśvara, the soul can be released from bondage.

(4) VARṆĀŚRAMADHARMAS

After the conclusion of the ĪG begins the *Vyāsagīta* which narrates the duties of the *varṇas* and *āśramas* (KP II.12-33). The purpose of the *Vyāsagīta*³⁶ is obviously to incorporate the *Varṇaśramadharmas*³⁷ which were totally neglected in the Vāma Pāśupata Sect. The discourses pertain to Saṁdhyā, Gāyatrī, duties of a Brahmacārin and a Gṛhastha, Sadācāra, Decision about edibles and non-edibles, Rules about taking food, Śrāddha ceremonies, Agnihotra, Pañca mahāyajñas, Vaiśvadeva, Charity, Duties of hermits and ascetics, Expiations etc. etc. The *japa* of Gāyatrī Mantra, the mother of the Vedas, (with Omkāra and *Vyāhṛtis*) is recommended. This Gāyatrī is the Vedic Gayatri and not the Raudrī Gāyatrī prescribed for the Vāma Pāśupatas.³⁸ Similarly a *japa* of Vaidika mantras and Śatarudriya and Atharvaśiraṣ is also prescribed (KP II.18, 75, 76). Thus reverence is shown to the Śrauta and Smārta religion and its sanctity is maintained.

(5) WORSHIP OF ŚIVA

(a) KNOWLEDGE

The Vāma Pāśupatas believed in *Yoga* and various obscene and fantastic ritualistic practices as methods of worshipping Paśupati. Knowledge and devotion had no place in their teachings. Therefore, in the process of sublimation of the Pāśupata Sect, it was essential to replace these old methods. So, in the KP, through Śiva it is established that *Yoga* alone is not enough to worship Śiva; *Yoga* with knowledge leads to the emancipation of the soul. Mere *Yoga* is only labour; and hence knowledge of Īśvara is essential. Of all the means

of worship, knowledge is said to be more superior than others (KP II.37,125,126,128-130, 137). Śiva recommends the practice of *Yoga* for a learned man who is devoted to the study of the Vedas (*vedābhyāsarato vidvān dhyāyeta paśupatiṁ śivam* KP II.37.142). According to Śiva, this method of worship is correct and therefore it is to be established (KP II. 37.148). It may be mentioned here that, like the *Bhagavadgītā*, the KP also has used the word *Sāṅkhya* in the sense of knowledge.

Thus by giving the highest place to knowledge in propitiating Śiva, the crude and ugly element is eliminated and the Pāśupata Sect is placed on a higher pedestal.

(b) DEVOTION

Like knowledge, devotion also had no significance in the Vāma Pāśupata Sect. But in the modified Pāśupata Sect a place has been given to devotion (KP II.34.37, 74, 35.3, 4,56, 57; 37.139, 149). The *Bhagavadgītā* describes devotees of four categories. The *Bhagāvata Purāṇa* mentions three categories of devotees. The KP also describes three categories, viz. Sāttvika, Rājasa and Tāmasa. Like *Yoga*, devotion also needs knowledge. The Purāṇas were the advocates of devotion. Therefore, when the sublimation of the Pāśupata Sect was undertaken, incorporation of devotion was inevitable.

(6) OTHER FEATURES

(1) Besmearing the body with ashes which is a characteristic of the Pāśupatas is retained by the KP also. But the KP recommends ashes from the Agnihotra (KP II.11.65, 66) and not from the cremation ground as was the practice of the Vāma Pāśupatas. (2) The obscene, vulgar gestures and actions of the Vāma Pāśupatas have been condemned (KP II.16.59, 60-63, 65, 76, 92). (3) Repeatedly the identity of Śiva and Viṣṇu is emphasised as against the only worship of Śiva in the PS. (4) The PS does not mention Devī or Śakti, but the KP mentions Devī or Śakti of Īśvara (KP II.37.161). The significance of this is probably due to the fact that the Vāma Pāśupata was mostly a sect of the ascetics staying in solitary places (PS V.9, 30), but the Brāhmanised Pāśupata Sect is for people including householders who stay in their homes and worship Śiva along with their family members (*pūjayadhvaṁ sapatnikāḥ sadāram putrasamyutāḥ* KP II. 37.88; *samāhitāḥ pūjayadhvaṁ saputrāḥ saha*.....KP II.37.90). Such people would appreciate the idea of their deity being accompanied by His spouse; secondly, Īśvara has been described as the Father and Prakṛti or Śakti as the Mother of the universe (*yoni*). Thirdly, in the religion of devotion, there is always an emotional appeal to the devotee by presenting God with His spouse, the Divine parents of the Universe. Hence the KP has mentioned Devī. (5) Liberal attitude resembling the one in the *Bhagavadgītā* is seen here; the Śūdras are also allowed to worship Śiva with devotion (KP II.4.1).³⁸ (6) Unlike in the Vāma Pāśupata

Sect, *Linga* being looked upon as a symbol of Śiva; its worship is also prescribed (KP II.11.92, 94, 97,98). (7) The highest emancipation is *Sāyujya* i.e. complete union or identification with Śiva (KP II.10.11).³⁹

25. CONCLUSION

The Bhāgavatadharmā preached by the *Bhagavadgītā* and the Purāṇas was becoming popular among the lay worshippers. It was therefore necessary to change the crude form of Śaiva Pāśupata Sect to suit the needs of the society. The foregoing discussion will show that the KP, which is a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, has modified the Vāma Pāśupata Sect⁴⁰ in the light of the Bhagavadgītā (preferably) and the Smṛti works and given it (Pāśupata Sect) a Brāhmaṇic garb, maintaining thereby the authority of the Vedas, the sanctity of the Smārtadharmas, and thus elevating the Pāśupata Sect to the pedestal of sublimity.

FOOTNOTES

1. Kūrma Purāṇa with English Translation; All India Kashiraj Trust; Varanasi; 1972.
2. Hazra, R.C., Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p.204; Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1975.
3. Hazra, Op. Cit. p.213; Cf. also Choudhary, "Radhakrishna; Heretical Sects in the Purāṇas," A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXXVII, pp.237,255,257; Pune, 1956.
4. KP is hereafter for Kūrma Purāṇa
5. *Pāśupatasūtram* with Pañcārthabhāṣya of Kauṇḍinya, ed. by Ananthakrishna Sastri. The Oriental Manuscripts Library of the University of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1940.
6. Bhandarkar, R. G. *Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*; pp.116-121; Indological Book House; Varanasi, 1965.
7. Chakraborti, Haripad; *Pāśupata Sūtram*; pp.12-13; Academic Publishers; Calcutta 9; 1970.
8. *Pāśupatasūtram*, ed. by Sastri, p.7; also Cf. *Sarvadarśansamgraha*, ed. by Vasudevashastri Abhyankar; p.75; The Bhandarkar Oriental Reserach Institute, Poona, 1951.
9. PS (= *Pāśupatasūtram*), ed. by Sastri, pp.4-5
10. Ibid, p.5
11. Ibid, p.56
12. Ibid, p.74
13. Ibid, p.74

14. Ibid, p.5
15. Ibid, p.5
16. *Sarvadarśansamgraha*, Op. Cit. p.168.
17. PS ed. by Sastri, p.5; Cf. also Sinha, Jadunath, *Schools of Śaivism*, p.88; Sinha Publishing House Pvt.Ltd.; Calcutta, 1970.
18. PS ed. by Sastri, p.5
19. Ibid, p.5.
20. Ibid, p.6.
21. *Sarvadarśansamgraha*, Op. Cit. p.169.
22. Ibid, p.169. It may be stated here that according to Patañjali *Yoga* means the suppression of the mental modes by withdrawing the mind from all objects. (*yogaś cittavṛtinirodhaḥ*) but according to the PS, *Yoga* is the union of a Soul with God through trance or complete absorption of the mind in Him. - Cf. Sinha, Jadunath, *Schools of Śaivism*, p.88.
23. *Sarvadarśansamgraha*, Op. Cit. p.169.
24. Ibid, p.169.
25. PS, ed. by Sastri, p.94.
26. Cf. also *Sarvadarśansamgraha*, Op. Cit. p.170.
27. PS, ed. by Sastri, p.95.
28. PS, ed. by Sastri, p.88.
29. PS, ed. by Sastri, p.39.
30. Bhandarkar, R.G.; Op. Cit. p.124.
31. Chakraborti, Haripad; Op. Cit. p.18.
32. "Commentaries have been written on the *Īśvaragītā* by Vijnānābhikṣu, Yajñeśvarasurī and Bhāsurānanda"; Cf. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* Part I, p.xxiii; ed. Anand Swarup Gupta; All India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, 1972.
33. *ĪG* = *Īśvaragītā*
34. Cf. also KP II.8.14.
35. Cf. PS. ed by Sastri, p.5.
36. The KP does not mention the name of the *Vyāsagītā* in its 'Anukramaṇikā' in II.44, but it simply narrates the chapters as '*gītāḥ.....varṇāśramāṇām ācārāḥ....* etc. at KP II.44.113, 114. These *ācāras* were sung by Vyāsa and hence the discourses can be called *Vyāsagītā*. Cf. The KP; All India

Kashiraj Trust, p.xxiv; 1971.

37. "Smṛti chapters (KP II.12-33) which constitute the Vyāsagītā are nothing but the *Uśanas Saṁhitā* with a few additional chapters". Hazra, R.C.; Op. Cit. p.64, foot-note 132.
38. Vide 14 above.
38. Cf. PS I.13 ed. by Sastri.
39. Cf. PS.V.33 ed. by Sastri.
40. Cf. Hazra, R.C.; Op. Cit. p.58.

Cf. also Tagare, G.V.; *The Kūrma Purāṇa (Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology)*, pp.xiii and 224; Motilal Banarsidass, Varanasi, 1981.



Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita

S. G. MOGHE

Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, the celebrated author of the digest entitled *Smṛtimuktāphala* appears to have been completely neglected in the *History of Dharma Śāstra* by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane. This is possibly due to the fact that, at the time when the first volume of the *History of Dharma Śāstra* was published in the year 1930, the digest *Smṛtimuktāphala* was not published in printed form.

Prof. Kuppaswāmi Śāstrī of Madras in his review on the *History of Dharma Śāstra* Vol. I pointed out that M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane had ignored Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, the author of the *Smṛtimuktāphala* and Vaidika Śārvabhauma, the southern writers on Dharma-Śāstra.

In spite of this review at the hands of a competent author, MM. Dr. P. V. Kane did not write a chapter on the digest *Smṛtimuktāphala* particularly when he brought out the revised and enlarged edition of the *History of Dharma Śāstra* Vol. I in two parts. This might have happened on account of the old age of MM. Dr. Kane or that he might not have thought it fit to incorporate this author in his *magnum opus*. Hence an attempt is made in this article to throw some light on this neglected author.

It may be remarked at the very outset that Dr. Kane has not totally neglected this author Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita in all his volumes of *History of Dharma Śāstra*. In fact, in the *History of Dharma Śāstra* Vols. II and IV, he has made some incidental references to this his digest work. But these references cannot be treated as adequate and complete so as to do him justice in the development of the history of Dharmaśāstra.

This voluminous digest is published in different parts by J. R. Gharpure. The first part dealing with the Varṇāśramadharmā is published in the year 1937. The second part discusses the Āhnikā section of the Dharmaśāstra and is published in the year 1938. The third part of the digest expounds Aśauca section of the Dharmaśāstra and is published in the year 1939. The fourth part dealing with the Śrāddha aspect is published in the year 1940. The fifth and sixth parts explaining Kāla-kāṇḍa and Prāyaścitta - Kāṇḍa are also published in the year 1940. In all, these six volumes cover 944 printed pages and, at the end, the index of the Smṛti works, commentaries and digest - works quoted by the author of the *Smṛtimuktāphala* is given by the editor.

It may be pointed out here that some other parts of this voluminous digest have not so far seen the light of the day. Dr. Kane in his *History of Dharma Śāstra* Vol. I Part II on p. 1133 points out that Saṁskartṭkrama dealing with the Saṁskāra aspect of Dharmaśāstra is also written by our author.

He further adds on Page 1045 that Vaidyanātha also seems to have written on the Dāyabhāga aspect of Dharmaśāstra. He has also not mentioned the places where the manuscripts of these other parts of the digest are deposited. Hence we have to depend mainly upon the parts which are published so far for getting a correct picture about the position of our author in the domain of Dharmaśāstra literature.

As regards the personal history of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, we are not fortunate enough to have any detailed account. The introductory verses of his works, *Śrāddha Kāṇḍa* p. 549 and *Prāyaścitta Kāṇḍa* p. 859, inform us that he was born in the family³ of Vādhūla. He also appears to have been a devotee⁴ of Rāma, since, in his two works, particularly the two mentioned above, he has shown his unflinching devotion towards this favourite deity. Besides the above information, no further detail is available to us in respect of his family.

The author of the *Smṛtimuktāphala* has quoted very profusely the Smṛti dicta available to him. He has also quoted Haradatta, the commentator of the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* and *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, Devaṅṇabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Smṛticandrikā*, Sudaraśanācārya, Parāśara-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa. The special feature of his works is that he has quoted many Upaniṣadic works like *Amṛtabindūpaniṣad* pp.193, 195, *Vāsudevopaniṣad* p.292, *Cakropaniṣad* p.299, *Paramahamsopaniṣad* pp.186,193, *Kālāgnirudropaniṣad* p.301, *Bhṛgūpaniṣad* p.416, *Śikṣopaniṣad* p.73, *Subālopaniṣad* p.195. Most of these *Upaniṣads* are known to us only by name and also have no place in the collection of 108 Upaniṣads published by the Nimaya Sagar Press, Bombay. It would be interesting and even instructive to study such unknown Upaniṣads.

The importance of the digest *Smṛtimuktāphala* can also be emphasised from an altogether different angle. Our author has quoted Sāyaṇa, the celebrated commentator of the *Rg-Veda* under the heading 'Sāyaṇīya or Sudhānidhi p.699 or Smṛtisāra-Sudhānidhi p.583. If, however, the places where Sāyaṇīya is written, are examined, then one comes to know that the verses mostly pertain to the Śrāddha aspect of Dharmaśāstra. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane in his *History of Dharma Śāstra* Vol.I Part II p.1145 remarks that in the *Nirṇaya-Sindhu*, Kamalākaraḥṭṭa quotes from the work of Sāyaṇa. These are probably references to the *Prāyaścitta-Sudhānidhi*. Even Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy has pointed out in his critical edition of the *Subhāṣita Sudhānidhi* on p.14 that Sāyaṇa appears to have written *Prāyaścitta Sūdhānidhi*. Even though these remarks of these two above mentioned scholars are correct, it is yet possible to disagree with them on the point that *Prāyaścitta Sudhānidhi* is the only work on the Dharmaśāstra from the pen of Sāyaṇa. In fact, a reference to the work *Smṛti-Sāra-Sudhānidhi* and the verses quoted as Sāyaṇa's under the heading Sāyaṇīyam on p. 753, 717, 466, 665, 695, 807, 775, 684 etc. clearly indicate that these verses have bearing on the Śrāddha aspect of Dharmaśāstra. Hence

it would be more correct to state that Sāyaṇa has also written another work *Smṛti-Sāra-Sudhānidhi* from which the verses dealing with the Śrāddha aspect of Dharmaśāstra might have been quoted by our author. If this is correct, then it would throw a new light on the work of Sāyaṇa, i.e. *Smṛti-Sāra-Sudhānidhi*. A study of this new work of Sāyaṇa would then be a further area of research.

The special importance of the digest can be emphasised also from still another angle. Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita has profusely quoted from *Varadarājya* on pages 99, 327, 524, 622, 614, 492, 128, 129 and 494. The *History of Dharma Śāstra* Vol.I Part II informs us about Varajarāja as the author of *Vyavahāra-Nirṇaya*. Now, if we closely examine the contents of the verses quoted from *Varadarājya*, it becomes quite clear that these verses pertain to the aspect of Dharmaśāstra other than the Vyavahāra. Now the question arises whether Dharmaśāstra literature knows any other writer on Dharmaśāstra who is different from the author of *Vyavahāranirṇaya*. This itself can become a further topic for research.

The utility of the digest *Smṛtimuktāphala* is supreme also in fixing the date of Govindasvāmī, the commentator of the *Baudhāyana Dharmaśūtra*. Both Dr. Bühler and MM. Dr. Kane are not sure about the date of Govindasvāmī. Dr. Bühler treats him to be a modern commentator. Dr. Kane, however, treats him to be a very late writer. In short, both these scholars have not expressed any decided opinion on the date of Govindasvāmī. The present author will point out in an article 'Date of Govindasvāmī' that Govindasvāmī is to be placed between 1650 and 1690 A. D., since he is quoted by Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, the author of the *Smṛtimuktāphala*.

Dr.Kane has shown the importance⁵ of the digest *Smṛtimuktāphala* particularly in the southern part of India. The Smārta Brāhmaṇas of Madras follow the *Smṛtimuktāphala* of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita as a manual of Śrāddha.

From the digest *Smṛtimuktāphala*, one gathers the impression that this digest appears to be the performance of a pedestrian, whose importance lies only in quoting the Smṛti dicta available to him. From the point of view of interpretation, however, our author has not anything significant to contribute. Also he has not thrown any new thought on the development of the Dharmaśāstra, as is the case with Vijāneśvara, Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, Nilakaṇṭha and others.

In the domain of the application of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā doctrines to the Dharma-Śāstra, our author is of very little use. He has, for instance, employed *Paryudāsa* pp. 275, 709, 846, *Vikalpa* pp. 683, 737, *Chattri Nyāya* p. 711, *Apūrvamante śyāt* p. 579, *Sarvaśākhāpratyaya Nyāya* p. 577, *Pratinidhi Nyāya* p. 26, *Virodhādhikaraṇa Nyāya* p.7, *Apūrvavidhi* p.27, *Parisamkhyā* p.27, *Punarvacana* p.27, *Vyavasthā* p.816, *Upalakṣaṇa* p. 277. It is worth our while to point out that he has quoted Jaimini at few places. e.g. pp.167, 301,

398, 506, 844, etc.. If all these places are properly examined, then one would come to the pointed conclusion that he has mostly quoted the Smṛti of Jaimini and it is only at one place⁶ that he has quoted Jaimini's *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra*.

It should be noted that our author has completely disappointed his readers on the point of the interpretation of the Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī Vrata and Jayantī. This is an important place of the Dharmaśāstra where any curious reader would hope to find some interesting Mīmāṃsā observations, but our author passes over such places in silence. For the fuller discussion and the Mīmāṃsā discussions of several authors on this aspect, attention of the readers may be drawn to the *History of Dharma Śāstra*⁷ of MM. Dr. Kane.

Though it is in an admitted fact that our author has no originality to claim in the matter of interpretation, yet it must be shown that, at some places, he is not a servile imitator of his predecessors. He has shown boldness in his disagreement⁸ with Vijñāneśvara, the accredited master of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. At one place, however, Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita clearly points out that, if the interpretation offered by Vijñāneśvara is accepted, then it would come in direct conflict⁹ with the Smṛti text. Hence, on the basis of the textual authority, our author has rejected outright the opinion of Vijñāneśvara, the author of the *Mitākṣarā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. Incidentally, it must be mentioned here that on some debatable points, our author gives expression to the diametrically opposed views of the writers on Dharmaśāstra; but fails to give his considered opinion in that respect. For the elucidation of this point, attention of the readers may be drawn to the *Smṛtimuktāphala* pp.659-660. Here he quotes in details Vijñāneśvara's discussion in the *Mitākṣarā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, particularly on the Pārvaṇa and Ekoddiṣṭa modes of Śrāddha. After this lengthy discussion, he also refers to the view-points of other writers⁹ on Dharmaśāstra with the expressions *īti anyaiḥ* and *aparaiḥ*. It is rather surprising that our author does not give us his casting opinion in favour of any of the views quoted.

As regards the probable date of our author, it is possible to state that this can be settled with the help of some reliable evidence. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol.I Part II p.815 casually remarks¹¹ that he seems to have flourished some time about or after 1700 A.D. This seems to be a vague statement. We have to consider both the external and internal evidence to settle the date of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita. As regards the external evidence, it may be pointed out that the digest *Smṛtimuktāphala* is not at all quoted by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (1612 A.D.), the author of the *Nirṇayasindhu*. Nilakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa (1600-1660 A.D.) never makes a mention of the works of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, in the course of his discussion in all the twelve Mayūkhās. This helps us to fix the lower limit of the work of

our author. He does not seem to have flourished before 1660 A.D. So far as the internal evidence is concerned, Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita has quoted in his *Smṛtimuktāphala* Haradatta (1150 A.D. to 1300 A.D.) the commentator of the Āpastarība and Gautama Dharma Sūtras, Parāśara-Mādhava¹⁰ (1330 A.D. to 1385 A.D.) and Sāyaṇācārya¹¹ (1316-1387 A.D.), the commentator of the vast vedic literature. This helps us to admit that our author seems to have flourished after the 14th Century A.D. In this respect, the help rendered by the colophon of the manuscripts can hardly be denied. At the end of the Āhnika- Kāṇḍa, however, it is stated in the foot-note on page 476 that this part is copied by Śaṅkara Nārāyaṇa of Yavaneśvara in Śaka 1768, i.e. 1846 A.D. At the end of the Aśauca-Kāṇḍa on p. 548, it is stated that the copying of this book is completed in Śaka 1765, i.e. 1843 A.D. The copying of the Śrāddha-Kāṇḍa¹², however, is completed in Śaka 1764, i.e. 1842 A.D. While the fifth¹³ part is copied in Śaka 1767, i.e. 1845 A.D. The sixth part, however, does not furnish any information as such. From this, it is evident that the work seems to have been copied from 1842 A.D. to 1846 A.D. Here it is reasonable to imagine that the work might have been completed by the author long before it is being copied by scribe. In addition to this, the work might have come into the hands of a scribe, after the same had received some reputation in the southern part of India. If, however, a margin of about 100 years may be imagined for the actual writing of this work, then the author would have to be placed in Śaka 1664, i.e. 1742 A.D. This hypothesis is further confirmed also by the fact that he is not quoted by Kamalākaraḥṭṭa, Mitramiśra, Nīlakaṇṭha and others who belong to the first half of the 17th century A.D. Besides, Bālarāmbhaṭṭa Pāyagaṇḍe (1730-1820 A.D. according to MM. Dr. P. V. Kane) who belongs to the northern part of India, has not quoted this author of the southern part. Possibly the reputation of our author might not have reached the northern part of India. Moreover, Kāśnātha Upādhyāya (1805-1806 A.D.), the author of the *Dharma-Sindhu*, who composed the same in 1790-91 A.D., has not taken any note of the author and this digest work possibly because he has no independent view to advocate. This becomes particularly important from our point of view, that is to say, in the 18th and 19th century, our digest work has not received any popularity as such. From this, it would be clear that our author seems to have flourished between 1700 and 1750 A.D. in the southern part of India. However, Dr. Kane, places him in the end of 17th century A.D.

From the foregoing discussion, it would be correct to state that our author Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita appears to be a puny figure in the employment of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā doctrines, has no independent views to contribute to the development of Dharmaśāstra and has not enjoyed an honourable position in the later Dharmaśāstra literature.

NOTES

1. *J.O.R.* Vol. V. 1931, pp.232-234.
2. *History of Dharma Śāstra*, Vol.II, Part I, pp.197n, 199n, 319, 320, 438n, 443n, 462, 501, 522n, 585, 631n, 643, 647n, 669n. Vol.IV pp.189, 22n, 29, 60n, 67, 90n, 94, 95n, 101, 107, 148, 164n, 220, 240, 268n, 269 etc.
3. वैद्यनाथाध्वरी नाम दासो वाघूलवंशजः । वर्णाश्रमधर्मकाण्ड P.1
4. श्रीरामचंद्रचरणद्वयपद्मकोशान्मा यातु मे चपलमानसचंचरीकः । *ibid* p.1
Also read अत्रिरामपदाब्जेन वैद्यनाथविपश्चिता । श्राद्धकाण्ड p. 549,
and श्रीरामचरणाम्मोजलीनमानसषट्पदः । प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड p. 859.
5. *History of Dharma Śāstra*, Vol. IV, p.486.
6. चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः । quoted in वर्णाश्रमधर्मकाण्ड p.167.
7. *History of Dharma Śāstra* Vol.V,Part.I, pp.132 and 138.
8. एतद्विज्ञानेश्वरेणोक्तं ----- इत्यादिपूर्वोक्तबहुस्मृतिविरोधात् शिष्टाचारविरोधाच्चोपेक्षणीम् । श्राद्धकाण्ड p. 656.
9. *Smṛtimuktāphala*, श्राद्धकाण्ड p. 660
10. *History of Dharma Śāstra* Vol. I. part II. p. 790.
11. *Subhāṣitasudhānidhi* ed. by K. Krishnamoorthy p. 2.
12. *Smṛtimuktāphala*, श्राद्धकाण्ड p. 823.
13. *Ibid*, कालकाण्ड 858.



Text-Critical Problems of Haradatta's *Pada Mañjarī*, A Commentary on *Kāśikā*

M. S. BIJAT

The *Kāśikā* is the earliest running commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Regarding the personality of the author of the *Kāśikā* commentary, very little is known. Traditionally it has been ascribed to Vāmana and Jayāditya. Regarding the exact contribution of these authors, the controversy still exists. The authors of the *Kāśikā* commentary have diligently utilised the *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa* although they never actually mention it. The *Kāśikā* still remains a practical manual to Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* adhering to the order of rules as given by him but it is not always consistent. The earliest commentary entitled *Kāśikā-Vivarāṇa-Pañcikā-Nyāsa* or simply *Nyāsa* on the *Kāśikā*, is the work of Jinendrabuddhi who possibly lived in the eighth Century A. D. There is yet another prolific commentary entitled *Pada Mañjarī* (abbrev. Pm.) on it by Haradatta who flourished in the twelfth Century A. D.

The *editio princeps* of Pm. was brought out by Pandit Damodar Śāstri Bharadvaj in the *Pandit Magazine*, Vols. X-XXI (New Series) published from Banaras in the years 1888-1899. The same work was later reprinted by E. J. Lazarus & Co. in two Vols. Vol. I (1895) and Vol. II (1898). Pandit Bharadvaj states in his introduction in Sanskrit that the text of Pm. was edited on the basis of one complete *ms* bristling with inaccurate readings etc. which were set aright by him with the help of the *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti* and other works. The next edition of the *Kāśikā* with the commentaries *Nyāsa* and Pm. was brought out by Swami Dvārikādas Śāstri and Kalikāprasād Shukla in 1964-1965. The editors have taken their task rather lightly believing that a neat "press-copy" of the early edition of Pm. is a substitute for "critical edition". The recent edition of Pm.¹ is a definite improvement over earlier editions since most of the citations have been traced back to the sources. As far as the text of Pm. is concerned, the editor has chosen to follow the lead of earlier editions imitating even palpable errors in the exemplar. I cannot help drawing attention to the fact that the text of Pm. has not in these three editions - however valuable these editions may be otherwise - received that critical care and attention, which it undoubtedly deserves. For years I have been content to regard the printed text of Pm. allowing for some misprints as trustworthy. Lately I have become suspicious and having compared such parts of Kaiyaṭa's commentary entitled *Pradīpa* on the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali where the text of Pm. is apparently corrupt I cannot help observing the fact that the latter is to a great extent indebted to the former in exegetical matters and that wrong readings have in succession crept from one edition into another. For the present I confine myself to the corrupt passages of Pm. which are in need of emendations in the light of the earlier remarks, reserving for a future

occasion a similar treatment to a large number of citations which are changed beyond recognition.

I. पूर्ववत्सनः (१.३.६२) इत्यत्रापि न प्रकृतिगतं निमित्तं डित्वादि सन्नन्तेऽतिदिश्यते किंतु प्रकृतिगतमेवतत् सना व्यवधानेऽप्यात्मनेपदनिमित्तमिति । एतावता निमित्तातिदेशवाचोऽप्युक्तिः ॥

Pm. on Pān 1.1.56 (p.62)

All the three editions read *vāco'yuktiḥ* (with an Avagraha-sign). The discussion is about the extension or transference (*Ātidesā*) of the Ātmanepada terminations applicable to the root-stem with the indicatory mark *Ṇ* to the Desiderative-stem of the self-same root. This discussion cannot be set aside as (*a*)*yuktiḥ*, i.e. want of confirmity to correct principle. Hence the text must be restored to *nimitātidesāvācoyuktiḥ* as one word and this reading is corroborated by Pm. on Pān 1.3.62 (p.148) where a similar discussion occurs.

II गोत्वाश्चत्वे सामान्ये । निःसाम्यानि सामान्यानीत्यत्र भिन्नेष्वभिन्नप्रत्ययहेतुत्वं तावेतावित्यादौ परोक्षत्वप्रत्यक्षत्वादिकम् ॥

(Pm. on Pān 1.2.64 (p.123)

All the three editions read *niḥsāmyāni*. The Vaiśeṣikas do not admit the existance of a Universal subsuming under another Universal, say *Mahāsāmānya* or *Sattāsāmānya*. The latter view is accepted by Vaiyākaraṇas. Read : यथा गवाश्वव्यक्तगोरभावे शशविषाणादावप्युत्तरपदार्थद्वारकः सामान्ययोगः सामान्यं जातिः स्त्रीत्वं स्त्रीता पुंस्त्वं पुंस्तेत्यादौ सामान्येऽपि सामान्यान्तरस्य सद्भावः । यथा गोत्वादौ सत्तासामान्यस्य । न ह्यस्माकं वैशेषिकाणामिव निःसामान्यानि सामान्यानि ॥

Pm. on Pān 4.1.3 (p.558).

In the light of this passage, the text must be restored to *niḥsāmānyāni*.

III यथा पुंवदस्यास्तनावित्यभावातिदेशस्तद्धत् ॥

Pm. on Pān 1.2.66 (p.125).

All the three editions read *puṁvad asyās tanau*. Even though the expression is apparently intelligible, the construction is yet wrong. The expression would be crystal-clear if dental sibilant or better a *visarga* is inserted between *asyā* (ṣ or ḥ) *stanau*. The *mss.* are full of such instances which are justifiable according to *kharpāre śari vā visargalopo vaktavyaḥ* (vide SK, Vār on Pān 8.3.36).

IV तानारोहयति महामात्र इति । गत्यर्थत्वाच्च रुहेः हस्तिपकानां कर्मसंज्ञा । यद्येवं कर्मान्तरसम्भवादेवात्र न भविष्यति । नैतदेवम् । अस्तीत्यत्राणो कर्मणो हस्तिनो णावपि कर्मत्वेन्तन्वयः ॥

Pm. on Pān 1.3.67 (p.153)

All the three editions read *astītyatra* meaning "in (the word) *asti*" which is obviously incorrect. The tentative rendering of the above : "The superintendent of elephants causes them (i.e. elephant riders) to mount. Since in causal the elephant riders, i.e. agents of the primitive verb, are put in the accusative

case, still there would not be the possibility of another object. It is not so. There is a possibility here of the object, elephant, of the primitive verb being construed as object in the causal also." The above rendering implies the emendation of *astīyatra* to *asty atra*.

V अस्य गौरिति नाम, अयं गौरिति च प्रतीतिवेषो मिद्यते ।

Pm. on Pān 1.4.21 (p.171)

All the three editions read *prattivīṣaḥ*. This expression occurs in the course of the discussion as to how the external object (*artha*) is tinged with the form of the word due to the non-different super-imposition of the latter on the former. In the present context we expect a word, say, *prattivīṣeṣaḥ* for better understanding of the above passage.

VI यद्यपि क्रियाभावशब्दयोरभिन्न एवास्य । तथा च "यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम्" (२.३.३७) इति क्रियापि गृह्यते । "लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः" (३.२.१२६) "कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः (३.१.८७) इति वाचोऽपि ॥

Pm. on Pān 3.1.87 (p.397)

All the three editions read *vāco 'pi* which is obviously a corrupt reading for *bhāvo 'pi*. The discussion is about the inter-changeability of the terms *Kriyā* and *Bhāva*.

VII अर्थ चार्थनिश्चयाभावे नावगृह्णन्ति, यथा हरिव इति ।

किं हरिशब्द इकारान्त उत हरिच्छब्द तकारान्त इति संदेहात् ॥

Pm. on Pān 3.1.109 (p.409)

All the three editions read *yathā hariva iti* which is obviously corrupt reading for *yathā haridru iti*. Haradatta analyses it as ending either in *i* or in *t* which would not be possible had the original reading been *harivaḥ*. That Haradatta is indebted to Kaiyaṭa is amply clear from the latter's *Mahābhāṣya pradīpa* on Pān 3.1.109 : तथा च यन्तार्थनिश्चयामावः तत्रावग्रहो न क्रियते... हरिद्वरित्यत्र किं हरिशब्द इकारान्तः । अथ हरित्-शब्दस्तकारान्त इति संदेहात् ॥

VIII पिबद्यै इति । यको बहुलं छन्दसि (?) इति लुकि पिबादेशः । मादयद्यै इति । यकः प्रसङ्गे व्यत्ययेन शप् ॥

Pm. on Pān 3.4.9 (p.520)

The text is hopelessly corrupt. While in Pān 3.4.9, the suffix *śadhyai* precedes - *śadhayain*, the order of these suffixes and illustrations are reversed in the *Kāśikā* and Pm. Since these suffixes are added to the root in the sense of action (*Bhāva*) and are further characterised by Ś, the infix *Yak* (vide Pān 3.1.67) which is enjoined at first is later on rejected in favour of *Śap* (vide Pān 3.1.68) as a result of the Vedic rule *vyatyayo bahulam* (Pan 3.1.85) and them stem *piba-* is substituted for the root *pā* (vide Pān 7.3.18). The text must be suitably emended in the light of the interpretation suggested.

IX न नु प्रयोजनानुवर्ति प्रमाणं, ततश्चेन्नोपः प्राप्नोति कर्तव्य एवायम् । यतेदेषोम्यः इति त्यदाद्यत्वं, अस्य वापीयमिति यस्येति लोपः ॥

Pm. on Pān 3.4.60 (p.533)

All the three editions read *yat tad etebhyaḥ iti tyadādyatvam*. The edition of the recent edition of Pm. had traced the citation but to Pān 5.2.39 and added a foot-note with an asterisk stating that the Sūtra enjoins the suffix *-vatup* and not the suffix *-a*. He has misunderstood the indeclinable particle *iti* which in this context means *ity atra* "here, in this" *Scil. Sūtra-nirdeśe*. In the expression *yattadetebyah* the suffix *-a* has been affixed to the base according to Pān 7.2.102. Read :- यत्तदेतेम्यः परिमाणे (५.२.३९) इति निर्देशोऽत्र लिङ्गम् । भवति हि तत्र त्यदाद्यत्वकरणानुकरणस्य प्रकृतिवत्त्वं *Tattvabodhini* on SK *ajanta-puṁliṅga* bases ending in ऋ.

X अपर आह - "उगितइच" (४.१.६) इति योऽयं चशब्दः सोऽञ्चतेर्लुप्तनकारस्याकरणम् । विभक्तेश्च "सुपां सुलुक् (७.१.३९) इति लुक् ॥

Pm. on Pān 4.1.6 (p.561).

All the three editions read *luptanakārasyaākaraṇam* which is obviously corrupt. Haradatta has extracted the above passage without acknowledgement from Kaiyaṭa's commentary entitled *Pradīpa* on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pān 4.1.6. The concerned portion of the text may be emended as follows : *so'ñcater luptākāranakārasyaānukaraṇam*.

XI पुगन्तलघूपघ गुणात् पूर्वमूढ क्रियत इति । अन्तरङ्गत्वादिति । वक्ष्यमाणो हेतुरिहाव्यपक्रष्टव्यः ॥

Pm. on Pān 6.4.19 (p.392)

All the three editions read *hetur ihāvyapakraṣṭavyaḥ*. The tentative rendering of the sentence is as follows : "here the reason to be related hereafter, i.e. 'due to *Antaraṅga*' must not be removed." Considering the trend of the discussion we ought to read : *hetur ihāpy apakraṣṭavyaḥ* and the rendering of the sentence would be as follows : "the reason to be related hereafter (in the *Kāśikā*) viz. 'due to *Antaraṅga*' is also anticipated here (*apa - kṛṣ*) here". The technical sense of *Apakraṣa* is very much in evidence here and hence the emendation proposed above.

XII यद्येवं तनु कुरु अत्र न प्राप्नोति । इकार एवात्र प्रत्ययो न तदन्तः ।

अत्रापि तदन्तः । कथम् । व्यपदेशिवद्भावात् ॥

Pm. on Pān 6.4.106 (p.429)

All the editions read *ikāra* which is obviously corrupt. The discussion centres on the alternative constructions of the terms *utah* and *pratyayāt* both of which are put in ablative case in Pān 6.4.106. Hence the reading ought to be *ukāraḥ*. The verses in Pm. *l.c.* are borrowed from Kaiyaṭa's commentary entitled *Pradīpa* on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pān 6.4.106. The indebtedness of Haradatta

to Kaiyaṭa is all-embracing. Many more instances can be likewise adduced to show the indebtedness of Pm. to *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa.

XIII किमिदानीं पञ्चमीनिर्देशेष्वस्यानुयोग एव । नेत्याह । पञ्चमीनिर्देशेष्वपीति ॥

All the editions read *asyānuyoga eva*. The word *Anuyoga* meaning 'question, enquiry etc.' does not suit the content. Possibly the intended reading is *asyānupayoga eva*. The rendering in such a case is as follows : "Is there no use of this (*asya Scil sūtrasya viz. Uttarapadasya*, Pān 7.3.10) in (the rules) exhibiting the ablative case."

From the foregoing it would be amply clear that the text of the Pm. must be subjected to a very thorough critical examination and the dross in the form of corrupt readings, citations must be purged before it is made a subject of study for the History of Sanskrit Grammar.



Some Textual readings in *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* *

K. P. JOG

The discovery of manuscripts (in 1912 A. D.) of two important Sanskrit works marked a great advance in the field of Sanskrit studies. These two works were (i) the so-called *Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra* and (ii) the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Both these works reveal (almost) the earliest form of classical Sanskrit, be it in prose and/or verse. Again, while the first work revealed a variety of dramatic form and thus revealed the glorious beginning of artistic pursuit of ancient Indian writers, the second revealed a vigorous form of scientific writing and thought which pertained to actualities in life and pointed to a master mind that dominated (or, it might not be exaggeration to assert, has continued to dominate) India's political life. Be this so, the interest of the latter work for a student of Sanskrit language lies in its linguistic peculiarities as also in its vocabulary which has an incomparable richness. This richness (let me at once observe) consists in the numerous technical terms and the rare words that became unintelligible even to the few scribes who were aware of the importance of the work and cared to copy the same from possibly some scanty material available to them. It is fortunate therefore that these scribes have preserved for us this early important work together with some commentaries whose writers attempted to throw light on most of the obscure or forgotten technical terms of a 'Vanished epoch'.

At this point, it is necessary just to refer to the stupendous efforts which modern scholars have made to ascertain the period when the *Arthaśāstra* was written as also to KANGLE'S cautious, careful and therefore reliable suggestion in that behalf, viz. the work could have been written in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. Also let us recall the massive critical studies of the moderns who dealt with various aspects of this work and attempted to edit, translate and interpret it satisfactorily.

However, despite the commentarial literature and the valuable work of the editors and/or translators of the *Arthaśāstra*, there have remained quite a few difficulties in understanding some words or sentences from the text which reveal themselves in the numerous textual readings noted by the editors and translators. Again, these variant readings, let me add, involve, on some occasions, problems of textual criticism and interpretation. Therefore, I propose to discuss here only two of them (this, for want of time) and thereby seek to clarify my remark. In the course of my discussion, I shall quote the text and the variants from KANGLE'S edn. I should add that I have not been able to verify only those variants which are from the commentaries *Jayamaṅgalā* and *Bhāṣāvyaṅkyāna*.

To turn to the variants. I begin with one that pertains to the meaning

of a word.

Artha (for *Arthaśāstra*) 2.3.14 reads :

दण्डान्तरा द्विदण्डान्तरा वा चर्याः कारयेत्, अग्राद्धे देशे प्रघावनिकं निष्क्रिद्वारं च ।

The word निष्क्रिद्वारम् is read in one Grantha ms. as निष्कुर and in another as निष्कर, in two Malyalam mss. as निष्कुर and in one Malyalam ms. as निष्कर, in the Malyalam commentary *Bhāṣāvyākhyāna* as निष्कुरह.

It is easily understandable that the variants निष्कुर, निष्कर, and निष्कुर seem to point to some one exemplar of early days and to the scribes' confounding the text for want of a clear understanding of the Artha text. Also it is clear that these variants do not make any sense !

One of the two other variant readings, viz. निष्कुरह has to be given some thought, first since it is recorded by lexicons as an equivalent of निष्कुर, meaning 'hollow in a tree', and, secondly it is explained by T. GANAPATI SHASTRI who seems to follow the commentary *Bhāṣāvyākhyāna* as : निष्कुरहद्वारं च कोटरविवरं च प्राकारबहिर्वर्ति प्रतिपक्षचेष्टितगूढदर्शनार्थम् ।

That is to say, the king should establish outside the rampart of the fortress an observation-post in the hollow of a tree. However, this meaning does not seem to be likely as seen from Arth 13.4.12 where also the word निष्क्रि occurs but without the variant निष्कुर ! And, significantly enough, GANAPATI SHASTRI himself does read this word there. Nor does he record this word in the list of important words in the Artha which he has given in Appendix II of his edn. of the Artha.

Already MEYER has emended the variant readings in Artha 2.3.12 and also those in Artha 13.4.12 to निष्क्रि and KANGLE has adopted this emendation. But, while KANGLE did so, he could derive help from Yogghama's commentary *Nitinirṇṇi* which has fortuitously lent support to MEYER's conjecture of a proper reading. I should quote here Yogghama with a little prolixity in order that the full significance of the reading निष्क्रि is well understood. Yogghama writes :

- (a) गोमूत्रिकाकाराः पुरुषप्रमाणमुण्डप्राकारेण अग्राद्धे परेषां निष्क्रिद्वारनिर्गत्य परिखारक्षार्थं प्रघावन्ति योधा अस्याम्--- (b) देवपथस्य अधस्तात् प्राकारकुक्षिप्रदेशेषु निष्क्रिद्वारम् निष्कीर्यन्ते बहिःपरिखारक्षार्थं योधा येन तदारोहणावतरणार्थं कृतं तिर्यक्प्राकारबाह्यमित्तिषु स्वल्पतरसोपानं कालायसवृढकपाटम्--- जातावेकवचनम् । (c) वक्ष्यति च दुर्गलम्भोपाये निष्क्रिद्वारदुपनिष्कृत्य दुर्गस्थान् घातयेदिति ।

(a) explains the notion of प्रघावनिका. It is 'a run-way protected by a small zig-zag wall of the height of a man, expanding from the *prākāra* to the big moat, intended as a cover for the fighters'. (b) explains the notion and therefore the use of निष्क्रिद्वार which is 'a small exit-door made of iron at the end of a stair-case leading down from the *devapatha* in the outer wall of the rampart;

through this door soldiers come out into the *pradhāvanikā* for the protection of the moat.'

The (c) part of Yogghama's comment has a certain significance to which I shall turn a bit later after I invite attention to Artha 13.4.12 and GANAPATI SHASTRI'S comment on this word in it. The passage runs thus : निष्क्रादुपनिष्कृत्यांश्च प्रहरेयुः । and all the Grantha and Malyalam mss. read निष्क्रात् whereas the Telugu transcript (following it, the Panjab edn. also) reads निष्क्रुरात्. It may be said that the ms. tradition, with the exception of the ms. used by GANAPATI SHASTRI is consistent in recording an understood and understandable reading. The ms. used by GANAPATI SHASTRI agrees with other Malyalam mss. here and offers an explanation of the word to which it is now necessary to turn. GANAPATI SHASTRI states two alternatives thus :

निन्दितकरणात् कम्पादित्यर्थः । अथवा करः शुष्ण निरायतः करः यस्य स निष्करः प्रसारितकरः अर्थात् करिणं तथामूतं विघायेति त्यब्लोपे पञ्चमी । दुष्करादिति पाठेऽपि कम्पादित्यर्थः । निष्क्रादित्युकारमध्यस्तु मृग्यार्थः पाठः ।

Thus he would understand the passage either as 'by means of a trick' or 'by making an elephant put forth its trunk'. As to this latter explanation, one can entirely agree with KANGLE who observes that it is 'quite fanciful'. KANGLE has merely noted the first explanation and made no observation on it; however, his translation of the passage : "Dragging out (soldiers) from the run-way exit, they should strike with horses" and his reference to MEYER'S emendation (in the text) and his remark : "*niṣkarād* is read as in 2.3.14" very clearly indicate his disapproval of GANAPATI SHASTRI'S first explanation.

It is at this juncture that I should invite attention to the (c) part of Yogghama's comment which is noted earlier. Yogghama is seen to be quoting a later passage which points to Artha 13.4.12 thus : निष्क्रादुपनिष्कृत्य दुर्गस्थान् घातयेत् (इति) ।

Now KANGLE'S translation and also his note on it point to even his ignoring Yogghama's reading of the passage. This involves problem of textual criticism. The passage, as read by KANGLE already ignores a variant दुष्क्रात् which is recorded by GANAPATI SHASTRI and offers some difficulty of interpretation : one cannot satisfactorily understand दुष्क्रादुपनिष्कृत्य even if one were to paraphrase it as कम्पाद् उपनिष्कृत्य. Then KANGLE'S note on the passage अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः "the *ca* and the plural of the verb seem due to repetition from 13.2.20" also shows that he pays no heed to Yogghama's words : उपनिष्कृत्य दुर्गस्थान् घातयेत् इति where इति marks the completion of the Sūtra. Unfortunately, there is no way to know if Yogghama ever read the words अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः which seem to have been read by the entire ms. tradition. I, for one, feel that he might not have read them. I think that Yogghama's reading निष्क्रादुपनिष्कृत्य in the place of (what might be called) the laterly accepted निष्क्रादुपनिष्कृत्य points

to the early or ancient age for the Artha. In that early age, there did prevail in Sanskrit writing the tendency of yet earlier (possibly even late Vedic) period to play on words as in गायन्ति त्वा गायत्रिणोऽर्चन्त्यर्कमकिणः (Rv. 1.10.1) अवोचाम् --- वचः (Rv. 1.78.5) etc. It is very much likely therefore that the Artha used a noun and an absolutive from just one root *kr* with *nis* and not from two different roots *kr* - and *kr̥ṣ* - with the (same) prefix *nis*.

I should point out here that the word निष्किर can be derived from the root *kr* with *nis* in accordance with Pāṇini's Sūtra : 3.1.135 : इगुपघञाप्रिक्रिः कः and one might draw support from some grammatical tradition noted in *Tattvabodhini* on the *Siddhāntakaumudī* 2897 on this Sūtra : इह सूत्रे उपसर्ग इति केचिदनुवर्तयन्ति (though) तद् बहुनामसंमतम् [I bracket mine].

Incidentally I should mention, though not useful for understanding the passage from the Artha, the earlier positing of a word निष्किर which gave rise to another word निष्किरीय which occurs at *Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brahmaṇa* 12.5.14 in the sense of 'one belonging to a Brahmanical school of the name निष्किर' the commentator Sāyaṇa records that निष्किर is the name of a tree !

It is better then to understand निष्किर in the sense of 'one who scatters, i.e. a scatterer and then निष्किरद्वार of Artha. 2.3.14, abbreviated as निष्किर at Artha 13.4.12, can be taken as a (postern-) door for scatterers, i.e. the soldiers who would scatter away on purpose (as shown by Yogghama's commentary in निष्कीर्यन्ते which should be निष्किरन्ति 1). This should serve a useful purpose at Artha 13.4.12 in the way Yogghama has read it. I would like to put one in the mind of the context of Artha Sūtras 13.4.9 ff. which speak of the activity of a conquering king who lays a siege around an enemy's fort, particularly centred on its rampart. Sūtra 11 in this context reads बहुलास्त्रं यन्त्रैर्घातयेत् They should destroy with machines what is guarded by many sentries. Then follows the Sūtra as read by Yogghama निष्किरादुपनिष्कृत्य दुर्गस्थान् घातयेत् 'he should destroy those who are in the fort, having dragged (them) out near (unto his own men) from the run-way for the scattering (or escaping) men (of the enemy).

It may be pointed out that there does not really result any difference even if उपनिष्कृत्य is replaced by उपनिष्कृत्य; all that can be said is the latter reading seems to be a kind of simplification by the scribes of the earlier (possibly understandable ?) reading.

Further, I feel that the words अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः which, as KANGLE has pointed out, can be a repetition from Artha 13.2.20 whose preceding Sūtra ends with the words घातयेत्. It may be conjectured, I wonder if that is really fruitful, that, as in Artha 13.2.20 the words अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः follow the verb हन्युः (realized to घातयेत्), in Artha 13.4.12 also the words अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः might have followed the words दुर्गस्थान् घातयेत्, as read by Yogghama. This should be some explanation

of the occurrence of अक्षयः प्रहरेयुः in all the mss. I still cannot but feel the need of these words in Artha 13.2.20 which express the necessity of presenting a scene of the enemy king's death in the horses' stampede after having effected his murder; in Artha 13.4.12, there is no such purpose at all !

Earlier, I have mentioned the temporal nearness of the Artha and Vedic literature. I should adduce here one more instance to substantiate my position. Again, this instance involves a bit of difficult reading in the text, both in respect of the Sūtra-style and of an obscure (or fallen-in-disuse) meaning. For my purpose, I have to quote the Artha passage at some suitable length. It occurs as Sūtras 13.4.2-5 :

जनपदं यथानिविष्टममयं स्थापयेत् । २ । उत्थितमनुग्रहपरिहाराम्नां निवेशयेत् अन्यत्रापसरतः । ३ । संग्रामादन्यस्यां भूमौ निवेशयेत्, एकस्यां वा वासयेत् । ४ । न ह्यजनो जनपदो राज्यमजनपदं वा भवतीति कौटिल्यः । ५ ।

These Sūtras occur in the section of the Artha about a king's work of laying siege to a fort (of an enemy). The word संग्रामात् in Sūtra 4 is an emendation, suggested by MEYER and accepted by KANGLE, for संग्रामम् in the ms. tradition, with the sole exception of the ms. used by GANAPATI SHASTRI reading समग्रम् instead. Most of the editors of the Artha are unanimous in construing the sentences of the Sūtras in the way KANGLE has done, but the translators do not agree in doing so. Thus MEYER construes अन्यत्रापसरतः संग्रामादन्यस्यां भूमौ निवेशयेत् and translates thus : those who have run away from other places should be settled in a place where there is going to be no battle'; but there is, as KANGLE rightly points out, a need for changing अन्यत्र to अन्यतः. There is no support for this emendation in ms. tradition and, further, the translations of both SHAMASHASTRI (though not convincing !) and KANGLE (nearer to the author's intention) rule out any scope for it. Now SHAMASASTRI translates Sūtras 3-5 as: "when it is in rebellion, it is to be pacified by bestowing rewards and remitting taxes, unless the conquerer means to quit it. Or he may select his battle fields in a remote part of the enemy's territory, far from the populous centres." SHAMASASTRI's translation seems to miss the author's intention in more ways than one. In the first instance, उत्थितम् in Sūtra 3, does not really refer to a people in rebellion against a conqueror but it refers to a people who resided in what was earlier the enemy's territory and who had then risen against this conqueror. This people is now, after the conquest of the conqueror, to be pacified. Secondly, there is not sufficient reason to indicate the conqueror's intention to leave the conquered country, as understood by SHAMASASTRI for that goes against the style of the Artha in respect of the use of अन्यत्र for prescribing an exception to an earlier prescription. The import of the stylistic use of अन्यत्र is well brought out by KANGLE who translates Sūtras 3 and 4

thus : "He should induce those, who have risen, to settle down through favours and exemptions, excepting those who go away. He should settle them on land away from the battlefield or make them stay in one region." I shall speak about this translation a little after I make an observation on SHAMASASTRI'S translation of Sūtra 4 which conveys the Artha prescription for the conqueror for selecting his battlefields in the enemy's territory. But this is entirely far from what could be intended, since Sūtras 3 and 5 would be separated by Sūtra 4 of some parenthetic character. But this is not all. The connection between संग्रामम् (as read by him) and the root *vis'* (causal) with *ni* as understood by SHAMASASTRI is completely unlikely and also the words एकस्यां वा निवेशयत् do not appear to be properly understood. Where is there in these words any reference to populous centres ?

Now, to turn to KANGLE'S translation and annotation to it. It seems that he is not *wholly* sure of the way he has construed the Sūtras, for he writes in his note : "It is possible to construe *anyatra apasarataḥ* with the sentence संग्रामादन्यस्यां भूमि---, i.e. those who move away from their lands should be settled in a place where there is going to be no battle." KANGLE observes that "the idea of the sentence संग्रामाद्--- seems to be that the people who are to be settled should be settled where there is going to be no battle." I feel KANGLE experienced discomfort in not accepting the ms. reading संग्रामम् and in rejecting MEYER'S emendation. He is certainly right in discarding GANAPATI SHASTRI'S reading समग्रम् and his paraphrase of it अधिकम् in the sense of 'those over the above (the number engaged in agriculture, *utthita*)', Indeed this paraphrase is, as KANGLE observes, highly problematical.

Let me now express my disagreement with both MEYER and KANGLE who have proposed the emendation of संग्रामम् to संग्रामात् because, as I said earlier, the Artha seems to have retained here a certain feature of early Vedic style in respect of economy of expression and also the meaning of the word. The feature to which I would draw attention was well brought out by VELANKAR about some twenty years back. He named it as Principle of Word-Economy (*śabda-lāghava*). It consisted in dropping some obviously needed and easily understood word (or phrase) when it had to be repeated for conveying a complete meaning and, in doing so, there was used what was apparently some other difficult word (or phrase). I cite here one example from VELANKAR'S comment in this regard. It is on Ṛgveda 3.6.5 (last quarter) त्वं नेता वृषभ चर्षणीनाम्; he observes *vṛṣabha* the voc. stands also for the (accented) nominative form, which is then to be construed with the genitive. For this, he draws attention to Ṛgveda 6.1.8 where वृषभं चर्षणीनाम् occurs. I should clarify my point by rewording the relevant part of the Sūtras thus : अन्यत्र अपसरतः संग्रामात् संग्रामम् अन्यस्यां निवेशयेत् -- and translating the same as : 'excepting' the host (of people) that is going away. (Or rather) he should settle that (every such) host of people

(scattering it) in different places or in some one place (fixed by him)'. It is necessary to point out here how I understand the word संग्राम. I take it in the sense of a host or assemblage or gathering (of people)'. This is a sense of the word in Atharvaveda hymns, at two places, viz. 4.24.7 : यः संग्रामान् नयति सं युधे वशी (and this is alternatively read in TS 4.7.15.2 = Mai 5.3.16.5 as यः संग्रामं नयति सं वशी युधे and 12.1.56 (the well-known भूमिसूक्त) ये ग्रामा यदरण्यं या समा अधि भूम्याम् । ये संग्रामाः समितयस्तेषु चारुं वदेम ते ॥ It is this sense that is retained in the Artha since it is needless to point out (i) the Atharvaveda presents a very late phase of Vedic language that was not very far removed from the period of the composition of the Artha, and (ii) it (i.e. the Atharvaveda) deals with such topics as are properly the topics of the Artha, particularly those pertaining to a king, his territory etc.

My proposed translation indicates to hosts of people who might be going away (from their earlier territory), for I believe it is necessary to understand संग्रामम् as जातौ एकवचनम् 'expressive of numerous hosts or gatherings of people'. This is warranted by the use of the plural form अन्येषु, One might easily recall here a line from Kālidāsa (even of later time).

यक्षश्चक्रे जनकत्नयास्नानपुष्पोदकेषु
स्निग्धच्छायातरुषु वसतिं रामगिर्याश्रमेषु ॥

Let me not forget to mention GANAPATI SHASTRI'S commentary on his reading समग्रम् viz, अधिकम् अन्यस्यां भिन्नभिन्नायां भूमौ -- एकस्यां वा कारयेत् - which hints at this thought and which, I feel, might show that possibly KANGLE'S construe of समग्रम् with उत्थितम् in the sense of उत्थितादधिकम् is not likely to bring out the intention of the commentator.

Incidentally I must not fail to observe one more significant point in respect of GANAPATI SHASTRI'S comment अधिकम् --- वासयेत् (which I have just quoted). GANAPATI SHASTRI has further added एकस्यां वेत्यपि पाठः and that indicates the omission of वासयेत्. Such an omission, one might argue, could not be impossible inasmuch as the Artha adopts a cryptic style and therefore easily expected the reader to understand the repetition of निवेशयेत् which has occurred in the preceding alternative. One need not go far to seek for an example of this; one notices it in Artha. 13.3.45 : तेषां गृहपतिकव्यञ्जनाः काष्ठतृणधान्यपण्यशकटैः प्रहरणावरणान्यमिहरेयुः देवध्वजप्रतिमामिर्व ।

Let me not be taken to be seeing too much of Vedic peculiarities in this passage of the Artha. If I observe that this possible dropping of वासयेत् is similar to what one notices in a number of Vedic passages which use a verb just once, i.e. in one part of them and intend its repetition in another part (if not in more parts). I should adduce just one example of a verse in the R̥gveda. R̥gveda. 3.26.4 reads : प्र यन्तु वाजास्तविषीभिस्प्रयः which is to be understood with repetition of प्र यन्तु as प्र यन्तु वाजाः (प्र यन्तु) तविषीभिस्प्रयः ।

I should like to argue, therefore, that some earlier reading(s) noted in the commentary(ies) could be given a little more attention.

So far, I have tried to underline the linguistic similarities between the Artha and earlier Vedic literature. In doing this, I have derived help from commentaries which helped clarification of obscure words and passages, in respect of meaning and construction. Also, I have noted *en passant* how yet further readings noticeable in the commentaries keep on demanding attention of scholars. However, there still remain a number of passages from the Artha where the meanings of words and the ideas of its author are obscure. I merely indicate a difficulty in understanding the phrase चतुःशालमध्यर्धान्तरं साणिकं (कुमारीपुरम्) at Artha 2.3.32 with its variant चतुःशालमध्यर्धान्तराणी(or णिकं) --- Here one has to decide (i) if and how अध्यर्धान्तरम् can be understood as an adjective of चतुःशालम्, (ii) the meaning of आणि or अणि (in साणिक also), and (iii) the proper structure intended.

* Paper read at the Seminar on Kauṭīlyā Arthaśāstra at Dr. Harisimha Gaur Viśvavidyālaya, Sagar (1981).

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Epigraphs and Agrarian Features in Coastal Karnataka and Hinterland A. D. 1600-1763

K. G. VASANTILAMADILAYA

Introduction :

This paper seeks to highlight the usefulness of epigraphical sources for the reconstruction of agrarian history of coastal Karnataka and its hinterland between the years 1600 and 1763 A.D. The inscriptions of these years are mainly copper plates and these concern with land transactions mainly donation of lands, the sale deed, mortgage, and *Kraya Dāna Patra* (gift after purchase). All these are recorded in Kannada language and the same script. Before studying these inscriptions, two points have to be noticed. First, compared to the previous century, the epigraphs concerning our topic of study are less in number. Secondly, it is from the inscriptions from Shimoga and Chikkamangalur districts that enlighten us on some interesting features of agrarian practices that prevailed in coastal Karnataka. The paper is divided into two divisions; *Inscriptions of the seventeenth century* and *Inscriptions between 1700 - 1763 A.D.*

Inscriptions 1600 - 1700 A.D.

The inscriptions of the seventeenth century are useful to understand the nature of different land tenures namely, *Umbali* (subsistence grants applicable to individuals) *Uṭṭāra* (land grants for specific purposes, it could be sold and purchased, see CHITNIS K. N. *Keladi polity* 113), *Adhikāra Dāna patra* (conversion of donation into possession with right of sale exchange and charity), *Aramaneyya Bhūmis* (crown lands) and their disposal, *Bālike Dāna* (life subsistence of landed property), *Mulasadana patti* (original deed in the form of writing), the tenancy pattern namely *Mula Gēṇi*, *Chal Gēṇi* (permanent and temporary rents), *Mara Gēṇi* (lease on trees), the tenants' obligations, the revenue structures in these patterns of land holdings, the agrarian policy of the Keladi rulers and other local chiefs in Kanara and intensive process of land formation. Besides these, the epigraphs refer to agrarian losses (*Nashtas*) caused by natural calamities and how these were overcome by the policy of the Keladi rulers. The distinction between essential (*Ghadasina saraku*) and non essential agricultural products are mentioned in these inscriptions. All these are helpful to understand the agrarian features. In support of the above points, the following epigraphs are worthy of noticing. An unpublished and noticed copper-plate, dated Śaka 1529 (1606 A. D.), deposited in the Kotekeri Basadi (Mulki), informs us of the classification of lands on the basis of topography and peculiarities of the region, sowing capacity of seeds in the fields and their values and the prevalence of *Honna Baddi* (interest in terms of gold coin) collected by the religious institution from the cultivators and different measures of weights of rice and other liquids which prevailed in that region. (See Plate No.1).

K. G. VASANTHAMADHAVA

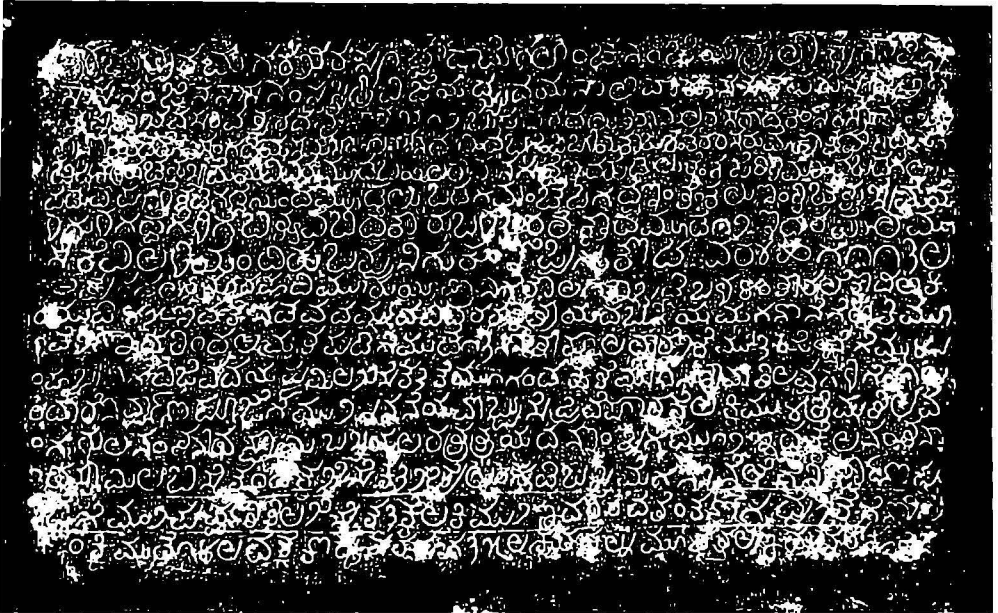


Plate No. 1 Copper Plate - Koli Kcu Basadi Malla SK dalid Saka 1529

The revenue features namely *Prāku Rekha* (land bestowed on former assessment), *Sudha Rekha* (net assessment) *Sistu* (standard land assessment which was introduced by Keladi Sivappa Nayaka) *Birāḍa* (additional land tax, it was levied at the rate of 1 Hana or 2 per Gadyanas of original rent) and *Durga Bhattādaya* (paddy income derived from Durga) and *Devasthana megate* (surplus income derived from the temple) etc are known from the inscriptions which concern with land grants to the Mahatina Mathas at Anandapur, Bārakūr, and Kōtēśvara. These are dated A.D. 1601, 1624, 1665 and 1668. The inscription dated Śaka 1506 (A.D.1674), found in the Mallera Matha at Gangoli (S.K.), confirms the above tax structures.¹

The Venur inscriptions dated Śaka 1526 and 1544, (A.D. 1604 and 1622) tell us of the following agrarian features such as peculiar names of paddy fields and their products in terms of *Mudis*, the fixation of *Geṇis* paid by the tenants, the role of the *Settigāras* and *Elames* in the execution of land grants and different varieties of *Mudis* such as *Lckkada Mudis* and *Bija Mudis* etc prevailed in the region.² The nature of *Uttāras*, the land value fixation, different patterns of landholders namely *Mula* (original) *Mulada Kula* (original cultivator) *Mulada Balu* etc and different types of *Mudis* are known to us from the Udupi inscriptions dated Śaka 1536 (A. D. 1613).³

The agrarian losses known as *Nashtas* and how the government overcame these and the agrarian policy of the Keladi rulers are revealed from the study of inscriptions which deal with the grants to the Mahatina Mathas at Bārakūr Chaudikoppa and Basrur.⁴ It is interesting to note that these *Nashtas* mentioned in the epigraphical sources have been confirmed by other indigenous sources namely *Kadatas* found in the temples at Koteśvara and Kollur.

The nature of tenancy system, *pālu* and *Guttige*, their values in terms of revenue income, different taxes paid by the cultivators in the Bilige region are gleaned from the Siddapur Vighnesvara temple's inscription. The inscription date is Śaka 1557 (A.D.1635). Further, the same epigraph refers to the land-holdings of different individuals and their value and denomination of coinages in relation to the agrarian system and the rental value of leased lands.⁵

One of the Kollur copper plate inscriptions dated Śaka 1564 (A.D.1641) informs us of the different types of cultivable lands such as *Tota* (garden) *Makki* and *Kara Gadde* (wet paddy fields), value of such lands in terms of revenue income, the revenue patterns and the rental value of leased lands cultivated by tenants.⁶

The nature of *Mulasadana patti*, how these were granted, the *Umbalis* of Devadigas, the role of Kartharu, Halaru, *Settigāras* in the execution of *Mulasadana patti* in Basrur are known from an epigraph dated Śaka 1563 (A.D.1641). The same epigraph states that the lands right was confirmed after

taking money from the original holder (*Artha Parichedavagi Tegedu Konda Mulasthala*).⁷

The Heddari Koppa inscription dated in the same year enlightens us on the following points. These are the procedures followed in the *Krayadana* (gift by sale) the privileges of the receiver, and the value of lands in terms sowing capacity of seeds.⁸

Sasana of Bilige Ghante Odeyar dated Śaka 1565 (A.D. 1643) has value for the study of agrarian patterns in the Bilige region. These features are land grant procedures, the tenancy cultivation and the obligations of the tenants towards the land controlling units, different types of lands and their peculiar classification, the value of land in terms of revenue income, and the cultivation of different crops.⁹

The nature of *Dharmasasana patti* (donation in the form of writing, charity deed), the procedures followed in granting it, the demarcation of such lands on the basis of topography and individual holdings, the rent and value of such lands cultivated by tenants, the lands value in terms of paddy produced, their revenue income and government's attitudes towards the agriculturists are culled from two copper plate inscriptions dated Śaka 1565 and 1566 (A.D. 1643 and 1644) preserved in the collectorate office Mangalore.¹⁰

Two epigraphs, dated Śaka 1587 and 1589 (A.D. 1665 and 1667) give an idea about *Manya* (exemption of taxes on land) *Svāstī* (donation of property or estate) and *Krayadāna patra* as popular forms of land grants in the Ghat region of North Kanara. The same inscriptions mention the Value of these in terms of revenue income. *The Atinamanya* (grant of freedom from bullock tax) to the Matha is recorded in the inscriptions¹¹

The sale deed procedures of lands, their value in terms of revenue and sowing capacity of seeds in the region of south of Mangalore are revealed from the study of a copper plate, dated Śaka 1597 (A.D. 1675).¹² Similarly, another copper plate from Suralu (S. K.), dated Śaka 1613 (A. D. 1691) is useful to know fertility of different types of lands, the rental value of the lands cultivated by the tenants and peculiar pattern of the classification of lands in the region.¹³

A host of inscriptions notice distinction between essential articles of agricultural products and general agricultural products, the essential agricultural products (Ghadasina Saraku) as known from inscriptions were pepper, tassels, silk, cocoonut kernel, wood and dry cocoonut, For these articles, the customs had to be paid whether they were carried for the Mathas or other institutions. Non-essential articles of agricultural products are rice, paddy, Ragi, oil, Jaggery etc.¹⁴

A few inscriptions from Sringeri Matha, dated 1624, 1656, 1691 A.D. speak of discontent of tenants from the Mangaluru and Karkala regions. The tenants cultivated lands without paying rents to the authority of the Matha. Then the Keladi Nayakas intervened and settled disputes between the tenants and the authorities of the Matha.¹⁵

III. Inscriptions 1700 - 1763.

The availability of other source material namely paper documents and Kadatas in considerable number have reduced the quantity of epigraphical sources for the agrarian study in the eighteenth century. However, available inscriptions still refer to some of the agrarian features. These are land market system, new agrarian taxes, rapid progress of land formation, the rental value of the tenancy cultivated lands, the land transaction procedures etc. In support of this, the following epigraphs are worthy of consideration. An epigraph dated Śaka 1624 (A.D. 1702) states that land assessment in the Ghat region, adjacent to South Kanara district, was 18 *Gadyanas* per one plough. The coinages in relation to agricultural system were Varahas, Hana (1/10 Varahas) and Bele.¹⁶

The prevalence of revenue such as *Sistu*, (original assessment) *Totada sistu* (land revenue assessed in terms of money of garden) *Nashtas*, *Dāsoha* (cess levied at the rate of one visa per *Gadyana* of the standard assessment for maintaining charitable institutions to feed hungry people) surplus income from temple are gleaned from the grant of Virakata Matha built on the river bank of Sita. It was dated 1719 A.D. The study of the same inscriptions reveals that some times the people possessing lands applied to the king for the purchase of adjoining lands so that their estates might become enlarged and sufficient, a request which was readily granted. According to the same inscription one Kempina Marideva applied to the king to grant adjoining land so that he could increase the fertility of the land. Thereupon Keladi Somsckhara Nayaka sold it in 1719 A.D. as an *uttāra* for 594 Varahas and one *darana* (1/4 Varaha).¹⁷

The Suralu copper plate dated Śaka 1647, (A.D. 1729) notes the nature of *Bhusvasti patti* (donation of landed property in the form of writing), the procedures of its conversion into *Dharmasasana*, different varieties of paddy fields, their value in terms of *koilu* (1/10 acre) and demarcation of the *Bhusvasti*.¹⁸

The values of lands in terms of Varaha *Gadyana*. Honnu (1/2 Varaha) Mupa (3/4 Hana) and Bele (1/8 Hanas) are known from the Chandrasekharapura grant dated Sowmya Śaka 1652 (1729 A.D.) It says the land value as follows "A field belonging to *Svasti* of God Sankaradeva of Kumvale village had sowing capacity of seed 5 *Khandugas* (unit of measurement of land based upon sowing capacity) the produce was taken as 25 of the paddy value 1/2 Varahas *Gadde*

Beja Kh 5 kke Bhatta Kh 29 kke ga 2 // 0 Biradadinda 3. 3/4 Hanas". The increase in the year *Khara Samvatsara* (A. D. 1709) was 1/2 Varaha and 1. 3/4 Hanas. The whole *Svasti* was fixed 195 Varahas 6 Hanas Mupa Ga and Bele. The same epigraph informs us of different patterns of holdings, *Umbali*, *Uttāra*, the *Marageṇi* system (lease of trees for tenants) and their value, the agricultural products produced there, and their prices, forests wealth of government and intensive drive for land formation.¹⁹

A copper plate inscription from Mudabidre, dated Śaka 1671 (A. D. 1750) highlights on revenue systems such as *Sistu* and additional *sistu* and their payments in terms of Varahas, the prevalence of *Geṇi* of the lands and their value and tenancy and *Kāttu Guṭṭu*. Further, the study of the same inscriptions suggests that the local chiefs took interest in the improvement of lands which had fallen into disuse.²⁰

IV. Conclusions :

The epigraphical study reveals the following points :

- i. Individual land holdings increased with subsequent decline of joint or collective land holdings.
- ii. Private property in land was recognised by the government.
- iii. There were different systems in determining the value of lands which resulted in periodical revision of land revenue.
- iv. There are increasing drives to convert paddy fields into garden land. The cultivation of commercial crops namely coconut, pepper, Arecanut etc. gained prominence. Similarly, land formation was in full swing.
- v. There were different types of land tenures and lines of succession to landed property. Lease lands were valued in terms of the produce and in terms of revenue.
- vi. All kinds of land transactions were recorded by the government and these were kept in the state archives.

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20. *ARSIE* 1940-41 App A No 12, See text, *Quarterly Journal Mythic Society* (Bangalore, Lx x v No.1, 1984) pp.48-9.

Note

This Copper plate concerned with Land grant of one Sankarasa, belonging to Bogimpi balli to differend basadis at Hosangadi and surrounding areas. This grant was executed with the consent of local chief Kimnikka Samanta and *Samasta Halaru* of Hosangadi.



***Avyayārṇava* of Jayabhaṭṭāraka - A Note**

SIDDHARTII Y. WAKANKAR

The *Avyayārṇava* of Jayabhaṭṭāraka is a lexicon dealing with the homonymous indeclinables, as is clearly mentioned by the author in the third verse.¹ It is divided into three chapters, termed as the *tarāṅgas*. The author openly admits in the third verse that the *Śabdārṇava*, also known as the *Siddha Śabdārṇava* (of Sahajakṛti - 17th cen.)² is the source of his lexicon. This lexicon consists of 124 Anuṣṭubh verses. The author says that his purpose in composing this lexicon is to explain clearly the *Nānārthaka Avyayas*³. With this brief introduction, the author starts the treatment of the *Avyayas* from the fourth verse.

THE AUTHOR :

The very first verse⁴ informs us that the author Jayabhaṭṭāraka is an ardent devotee of the Lord Maheśvara. The colophon⁵ throws much light on the erudition of the author. He understands the nuances or subtleties of the entire vocabulary. He is a polyglot. He is an excellent poet and has the distinctive credit of possessing the powers to conquer the world. One of his adjectives, viz. *Kavirāja* may be taken to mean: (1) Best among the poets - *kavīnām kaviṣu vā rājā* and (2) Poet -King- *kaviś ca asau rājā ca*. In the absence of any further information pertaining to the biographical account of the author, it is very difficult to have or to draw a clear picture of his personality.

MSS. MATERIAL :

The *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol.I, Revised Edition, p.431 supplies information regarding the two places where the MSS of this rare work are deposited : (1) The Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras. It has two MSS Nos. D.1596 and D.1597. Both are in Telugu script. (My friend from Madras, Prof. Dr. V. L. Sethuraman, kindly supplied me a Devanagarī transcript of these Telugu MSS with the assistance of Pt. S. N. Bhaskara and the Curator of the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras and promptly sent it to me. I sincerely acknowledge their debt and thank them for their courtesy. Prof. Sethuraman also informs me, after collating both the MSS. with the help of Pt. S. N. Bhaskara, that there is no difference at all between the two MSS., viz. D. 1596 and D. 1597. Further he opines that D. 1596 is *verbatim* a copy of D. 1597.

(2) William Taylor mentions on p.128 and p.374 of his *Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental MSS In the Govt. Library*, Vol.II, Madras, 1860 as follows : p. 128- 26. No.850. Seven lexicons or dictionaries.

1. *Avyayavarṇka ślokaś.*

By. Jaya Bhaṭṭāruca, 3 *tarāṅgas* or waves of the sea of words, complete. It contains indeclinable words.

p.374- 9. No. 612. Fourteen sections.

1) *Avyaya Arṇavam, Ślokas.*

By *Bhaṭṭa Kavi.*

1-3 *taraṅgam*, that is three "waves in the sea of indeclinables". A list of particles with their meanings.

No further information such as the beginning, end, colophon, etc. is furnished by Taylor. Similarly, the date of the MSS also remains unknown.

LANGUAGE :

The most striking feature of the language of this lexicon is that the word *Avyaya* is used in masculine gender⁽⁶⁾ as against the generally accepted tradition of the Sanskrit grammarians. At least five words, viz. *cakkaḍāram*, *uñcavālam*, *gaḍakhaṭṭam*, *illā* and *śtabāḍam* (occurring in verses 118, 122, 123, 10 and 124 respectively) suggest that the author rightly claims to have the knowledge of many languages (or dialects), since these words do not seem to be purely Sanskrit. At a few places in the MSS., there are some orthographical inaccuracies, possibly scribal errors.

DATE :

The fact that this lexicon clearly mentions the *Śabdārṇava* or the *Siddha Śabdārṇava* (which was composed by Sahajakīrti in about 1630 A.D. (see n.no.2) shows that it must have been composed in the latter half of the 17th century or afterwards. No further concrete observation can be made in the absence (rather unavailability) of other solid proofs.

REFERENCES:

1. *śabdārṇavāntarāsaktā ye 'vyayāḥ syur manoharāḥ / nānārthakās tān evādyā kurve 'tra bahuvishputam //3//.*
2. "We may, therefore, assign the period about A.D.1630 to his (that is of Sahajakīrti) lexicon and other works." p.161 of the unpublished Thesis titled *The History of Sanskrit Lexicography*, of Dr. M. M. Patkar, submitted to the Bombay University in 1948.
3. Cf. *nānārthakāstān evādyā* etc. in note 1 above
4. *maheśvarapadambhojavilasadbhṛṅgamānasah / jayabhaṭṭāraḥ śrīnān sa karoty avyayārṇavam //1//.*
5. *iti śrīmatasamastāśabdāntaraṅgavid vicitrabhūṣaṇarthabhūṣaṇabhūpālā-khīlasamsevyam āpādāravindajagadvijayaprabhāvavirājītajayabhaṭṭakavirā-javiracite 'vyayārṇave prathamā tarāṅgaḥ.*
6. Verse three quoted above in note 1 above

[I express my gratitude to the Editor of *Svādhyāya*, Baroda, for kindly permitting me to base this English note on my Gujarati article published in *Svādhyāya*, Dīpotsavi (Nov.1982) Issue. Vol. XX. No.1.]



The Aesopic Constituents of the *Gutha Pana Jātaka*

MERLIN PERIS

The Jātaka numbered 227 in the Jātaka Book is the *Gutha-Pana Jātaka*, or, as it translates, *The Dung-Beetle Birth*. It was, according to the *paccuppannavatthu* thereof, narrated by the Buddha when he was at Jetavana, about a monk, who assaulted and then defecated upon the face of a lout, who was in the habit of humiliating young men and novices, who came to collect their ticket-meals at a particular village. By and bye the incident reached the ears of the Brotherhood. One day one of them was saying to another at the Hall of Truth, "Friend, I hear Brother so-and-so shat upon the face of that loafer and left him." When it happened that the Buddha overheard him and wanted to know what it was that they were talking about. Then, upon learning of the affair, the Master observed, "Brethren, this is not the first time that this brother attacked the man with his ordure; he did the same thing before" — and went on to narrate 'the story of the past' as follows :

Once upon a time those citizens of the kingdoms of Anga and Magadha, who were travelling from one land to the other, used to stay in a house on the marches of the two kingdoms, and there they drank liquor and ate the flesh of fishes, and early in the morning they yoked their carts and went away. At the time when they came a certain dung-beetle, led by the odour of dung, came to the place where they had drunken, and saw some liquor shed upon the ground, and for thirst he drank it and returned to his lump of dung intoxicated. When he climbed upon it, the moist dung gave way a little. "The world cannot bear my weight !" he bawled out. At that very instant a maddened Elephant came to the spot, and smelling the dung went back in disgust. The Beetle saw it. "Yon creature," he thought, "is afraid of me and see how he runs away ! I must fight with him !" and so he challenged him in the first stanza :-

"Well matched ! for we are heroes both: here let us issue try.

Turn back, turn back, friend Elephant ! Why would you fear and fly ?

Let Magadha and Anga see how great our bravery !"

The Elephant listened, and heard the voice; he turned back towards the Beetle, and said the second stanza, by way of rebuke :-

"With foot or tusks or trunk to kill you I refuse;
Since dung's your love, it's dung that I will use."

And so, dropping a great piece of dung upon him, and making water, he killed him then and there; and scampered into the forest trumpeting.

When this discourse was ended, the Master identified the Birth :- "In

those days this lout was the dung-beetle, the Brother in question was the elephant, and I was the tree sprite, who saw it all from that clump of trees.''¹

I am not here concerned with *paccuppannavatthu* of this Buddhist story, except incidentally. As for the Jātaka proper, which the Buddha unfolds within it, I wish to show that, as with a number of other Jātakas, it has been conceived out of Aesopic motifs - here out of an amalgam of at least two such - and to relate these motifs to their respective Greek fables.

Jātakas of this mode appear to have been composed for the most part in the three-quarters of a century, which lie between the advent of Alexander and the Greeks in India and the construction of the Bharhut and Sanchi Stūpas, the reliefs on the rails of which include a few examples. Conversely, no Jātaka imitative of a Greek motif is known to me to exist among the Jātakas demonstrably older than these, which are found in the canonical books and were surely those which are found in the canonical books and were surely those which were first designated as 'Jātakam' in accordance with the ninefold classification of Buddhist literature. As is further observed by Rhys Davids,² in none of them is the Buddha identified with an animal, or even with an ordinary human being.

Brief though it be, the *Gutha-Pana Jātaka* is a curious and lively piece of literature, with verse and dialogue interspersing the prose narrative. The grandiose delusions of a drunken dung-beetle, who measures the world from his pat of dung, the mock-heroism of this minuscule creature, who challenges a giant beast to combat, and the apt, if contemptuous manner in which he is summarily disposed of, is within proportions the best of burlesque. The story is told with wit and economy, and the only elaboration the author has allowed himself is a description of how the liquor happened to be around, on which the beetle got himself drunk; the parties in that house, where travellers from Anga and Magadha broke journey; perhaps to a degree the beetle's challenge to the elephant.

Both *paccuppannavatthu* and *attavatthu* (or 'story of the past: i.e. the Jātaka proper), are presumed to be true; the *samodana* clinches the one to the other on the basis of the fundamental Buddhist doctrine of rebirth and the Buddha's reputed power of recollecting the past births of both himself and others. Despite this, however, the Jātakas do not demand the credence due to a recounting of the truth, but in their very formulation seek no more than parable-like to impart Buddhist values or Buddhist morals. Sometimes, far from this they are narrated purely for amusement and are often enough amoral, if not downright immoral.

This quality of poetic invention is not restricted to the Jātakas alone; it undoubtedly extends to the 'story of the present life', the *paccuppannavatthu*,

as well. I have not the least doubt that this is the case with both Jātaka and *paccuppannavatthu* of our interest and concern here, the story of the defecating monk and the deserving lout being invented to give occasion for the narration of the equally invented fable of the dung-beetle and the elephant. The Master's narration of a Jātaka "when at Jetavana" and about an anonymous or named but obscure, or even well-known monk or other personality is as much an intellectual cliché of the *paccuppannavatthu* as the phrase "In days gone by, when Brahmadata was ruling in Benares" is in the Jātaka itself; and as the truth itself goes, one is no nearer to it than the other.

Of course this is not to doubt that the Buddha had frequent and telling recourse to stories of this sort as a mode of teaching, just as Jesus used the parable and Aesop his fable. But even if those early Jātakas, which make their appearance in the Nikāyas, may have issued from the Master himself, as some of the Aesopia certainly did from Aesop, the mass of stories of that wondrous compendium, the *Jātakatthavaṇṇana*, are palpably the creation of numerous monks of the order in that mode, much as the vast majority of the fables hung on the name of Aesop are the creation of later authors *a la* Aesop.

The *Gutha-Pana Jātaka* imitates in the broad two Aesopic fable motifs, though within these two themselves there are detectable reminiscences of details from other fables as well. The first of these motifs tells of a puny or weak creature, who from some experience is deluded into the belief that he is more powerful than some naturally bigger and fiercer animal, challenges him to a fight and is made short work of. The second of the motifs is in fact a partially inverted form of the first; for here the puny or weak creature comes by his delusion of superiority, not from something that he mistakes of himself, but of the bigger and fiercer animal. Seeing the latter flee from his presence, though due to some other reason, the creature fools himself into the notion that he is running away from him and thus pursues him and challenges him to a fight - likewise to be made short work of.

In the *Gutha-Pana Jātaka* both these motifs involve a dung-beetle (*gutha-pana*) and an elephant - because of the superimposition of the one motif on the other, the same dung-beetle and the same elephant. In the first the beetle climbs upon a pat of moist dung, which gives way slightly under him; he thinks he is tremendously heavy (and huge ?) and that the world (for him tragi-comically his pat of dung) cannot hold him up; and so he makes bold to do battle with an elephant - no doubt, with a disastrous result. (The detail of his drunkenness, which is artistically built up, is not quite necessary, though it does serve to explain the creature's greater susceptibility to self-deception as well as his bout of Dutch courage.)

The motif is to be found in the Greek in Aesop's fable of The Wolf

and the Lion :³

A wolf, roaming in a desolate place at sunset, saw his elongated shadow and said to himself, "Do I fear the lion, when I am so huge - a hundred feet long ? Will I not easily be king of all the beasts ?" But as the wolf was talking big in this way, a powerful lion seized him and began to devour him. Thereupon, though all too late, the wolf realized the truth and cried, "It's nothing but my delusion that is the cause of my misery !"

Admittedly it is a wolf here, not a dung-beetle; but characters are among the variables, if the distinctive frame of the motif stands. The dung-beetle and the moist lump of dung, which replace the wolf and his shadow in the desert, perhaps also derive from another of Aesop's fables, this time *The Two Dung-Beetles*;⁴ here one dung-beetle apologises to another for not having brought him a portion of the dung on which he himself had fattened in a certain island, because, being moist, it could be consumed on the spot but hardly transported. The substitution of a diminutive flying insect instead of any other creature in the Jātaka here as the rival of the elephant is necessitated by the fact that the rest of the Jātaka draws on Aesopic fables involving gnats and (directly or at one or more removes) elephants, and - as I shall suggest later - is also possibly a rejoinder to one of these Greek stories.

The detail of the dung giving way under the beetle and the beetle being led to think himself ponderous looks back to the Aesopic fable of *The Gnat and the Bull*,⁵ in which a gnat (kṓvwvr), thinking himself distressingly heavy, is snubbed by a bull, and which, in my translation of the fable elsewhere, I had thought appropriate to entitle *A Weighty Gnat*.⁶

A gnat settled on the horn of a bull and sat there for a long time. Then, when he was about to fly away, he asked the bull whether he liked him to get off him. To which the bull replied, "I didn't know it when you came; nor would I know it if you go away".

The same fable appears in Babrius⁷ with the gnat's presumption of weightiness made quite explicit. For the gnat tells the bull there, "If I'm weighing down your neck and bending it, I'll go away and sit on the poplar tree yonder by the river"; to which the bull replies, "It doesn't matter to me whether you stay or go; I wasn't even aware of your coming !"

So, then, we have here in Aesop a gnat who thinks just the same of his weighiness as the dung-beetle of the *Gutha-Pana Jātaka*; the former imagines so from sitting on the horn of a bull, the latter from sitting on the soft and yielding surface of his pat of moist dung. But what if the bull of that fable were somewhere to be found to have been an elephant ?

In fact this is just what the beast was in that very ancient prototype

of the fable, which was discovered among the proverbs and fables of the Wisdom Books of the Semitic Orient. These Oriental Wisdom Books, written in cuneiform script on clay tablets, preserve a literary tradition, which comes down from Old Babylonian times (c.1800 B.C.) to the fall of the Assyrian empire (end 7th century B.C.) and include the *Book of Achiqar*.⁸ Researches conducted into the Sumerian texts in more recent times have brought to light many proverbs and fables which may have the closest bearing on the early history of the Aesopic fable in the Near East.⁹ This very fable is a case in point, if its motif is compared with the Greek, which makes its presence in the Augustana manuscript collection of the fables of Aesop, and is rendered in the fable given above.

When the gnat had settled on the elephant, he said, "Brother, have I been a burden to you ? (If so), I will go away, over there by the pond". Said the elephant to the gnat, "I was not aware that you had settled on me. What are you anyhow ? And if you have left, I didn't notice your departure either."

According to the colophon to the fable, it was copied in 716 B.C. from an older original. This is not, however, an extant version of the *Book of Achiqar*. As for Babrius' version of the fable corresponding to it not only in substance but even in wording down to matters of detail, Ebeling¹⁰ says one may speak of it as a "translation of a Babylonian original into Greek or at least a paraphrase". This is not surprising, for Babrius knew enough about the Semitic material for himself to advance an opinion of such an origin for the Greek fable¹¹ It is true that the fable of *The Gnat and the Bull* in the Augustana collection omits noteworthy details, which Babrius has in common with the Babylonian version. But that is because the old Aesopic fable was a rehandling by the great fabulist, or whomsoever, in which case also the bull had been substituted for the less familiar (to the Greeks) elephant. It is noteworthy that Babrius himself, even when he keeps close (as Ebeling observes) to the Babylonian, still has bull in place of elephant, thus evidencing his awareness of the existence already of the old Aesopic rendering of the fable. And when a change is introduced in Greece - as we find in a paraphrase of the fable in Phaedrus - it is to a camel, not to an elephant, even though, by this time, the beast was quite familiar both to the Greeks and the Romans.¹²

Elephants were not unknown in the Near East before the first millenium B.C. (till the 9th century B.C. at least it was Syria which provided the Mycenaean with their ivory) and so the beast of the Babylonian fable here need not have found his way into it from India - or even from Africa. Conversely, despite the presence of the elephant in this Babylonian original and the greater proximity of this civilization to India, I do not think the Jātaka derives from the Near Eastern source rather than from the Greek. If it did, it must be exceptional in the light of the great mass of Aesopic material that is found

in the Jātakas and cannot be accounted for in the same way. The restoration of the elephant, or, to be more precise, the re-substitution of the elephant for the bull in India, a land which knew and admired the greater size and strength of the beast (and in a context in which it is the elephant who gets the better in the encounter with the minute creature), is in my opinion a matter of coincidence - a coincidence that can, however, be explained.

The second motif, of which the *Gutha-Pana Jātaka* is constituted, has three elements. A big and formidable animal flees from some trivial thing, which he somehow fears or has an aversion for. A lesser creature misapprehends this as out of fear for him and foolishly pursues or challenges that animal. Inevitably he is mauled or killed out of hand.

The Jātaka here links the one motif with the other through the common factor of the dung. While it served in the first motif to give the beetle his grandiose delusion, when it subsided under his weight, it serves in the latter to effect the same by sending the elephant in full retreat without (in the eyes of the beetle) any evident reason (except, of course, fear of him !). He therefore challenges the elephant, who immediately drops a turd on him and kills him in the most contemptuous manner, and (as far as a dung-beetle is concerned) not without poetic justice.

The relevant Aesopic fable here is the fable of *The Ass and the Lion*,¹³ which is a variant of the fable of *The Ass, the Cock and the Lion*¹⁴ read together with the fable of *The Gnat and the Lion*.¹⁵ The former narrates as follows :

Once a cock was feeding in the company of an ass, when a lion attacked the ass. Thereupon the cock crowed, and the lion (for they say that lions fear the crowing of cocks) turned tail and fled. The ass, thinking that it was him the lion feared, straightaway went in pursuit of the beast. But when the ass had pursued him beyond the reach of the cock's crowing, the lion turned round and ate him up. Then, in the throes of death the ass cried, "What a wretch am I - and why did I take to battle ?"

In *The Gnat and the Lion* it is a gnat who attacks the lion, and with the further difference that he succeeds. Thereafter, like the elephant in the Jātaka, he blows his trumpet and flies away - only to get enmeshed in a spider's web, and lion-vanquisher though he was, becomes victim of that even punier creature.

If in the fable of *The Ass and the Lion* we were to substitute gnat (or beetle) for ass, elephant for lion, and the smell of dung for the crowing of the cock, the parallel would be evident between the Greek fable and the second of the motifs of the Indian Jātaka. The revulsion or fear on the part of a mighty beast, which makes him flee; the misapprehension on the part

of the weak or tiny creature, which makes him challenge him; the crushing defeat the bigger animal administers on the lesser - all these are present in the fable as in the Jātaka.

There is however, a more interesting fable in Aesop, which not only establishes the parallel between lion and cock on the one hand and elephant and gnat on the other, but shows both lion and elephant in a humiliating light as being mortally afraid of cock and gnat respectively. This is the fable of *The Lion, Prometheus and the Elephant*,¹⁶ which I shall give here in full.

A lion kept blaming Prometheus continually. It was true, he said, that this god had made him big and handsome, armed his jaws with teeth and fortified his feet with claws and made him more powerful than other animals. "But" he said, "such as I am, I am afraid of cocks". "Why do you blame me without reason?" asked Prometheus. "You have everything I could give, every advantage I was able to create, It is your own spirit that has this one weakness". So the lion wept, blaming himself for his cowardice, and finally wished to put an end to his life. But when he was in this frame of mind, he happened to meet an elephant, So he greeted him and stopped to talk with him. And then he observed that the elephant kept flapping his ears. "What is the matter with you?" the lion asked. "Can't you keep your ears still for a moment?" At that time a gnat was flying around the elephant's head. "Do you see that tiny buzzing creature?" the elephant said. "If he gets into the passage of my ear, it's all over with me". Thereupon the lion said to himself, "Why must I want to die, being so big and better off than an elephant? And a cock is surely something more to be reckoned with than a gnat"

The appearance of an elephant with a gnat here in a Greek fable is notable in view of the facts that (1) even when the combination was found in the Babylonian fable mentioned above, its corresponding Greek version had substituted a bull for the elephant, and (2) there reappears here a similar, if not the same, duo as in the *Gutha-Pana Jātaka*. I cannot help thinking that both the Greek fables imitative of the Babylonian (of a gnat who has illusions of weightiness) and this fable, which mentions an actual fear of gnat by elephant, have been at the back of the Jātaka-author's mind when he composed his story of the dung-beetle, who thought himself mighty enough to challenge an elephant to battle.

Evidence that the detail of the gnat's buzzing at the ear of an elephant to the beast's detriment, found in this Greek fable, was not unknown in India (even if not present in the Jātakas) comes to us with the story of 'The Duel between Elephant and Sparrow' in the first book of the *Pañcatantra*. Vishnusharman's innovativeness is, however, twice over at the expense of the giant-killer gnat of the Greek fable; the role of the diminutive creature, who

threatens the elephant, is taken over by a sparrow, while the actual killing of the beast is shared by the gnat with two others, a woodpercker and a frog. In fact the elephant is presented as liking the gnat's buzzing around his ear rather than dreading it; it puts him to sleep !

What is of course strikingly different in the *Jātaka* as against the Greek fable is that the elephant, far from conceding victory or even respect for the dung-beetle, destroys him devastatingly any disgracefully - and without the least effort. So much so that in the *Gutha-Pana Jātaka* we may have an Indian rejoinder, inspired by Indian love and respect for the elephant, to the humiliation the elephant had undergone in the Greek fable from the gnat - or whatever. Indeed, the treatment the creature receives goes beyond even the indifference, shown to him by the elephant of the Babylonian fable, to sheer contempt and insult. For, this tiny insect of the elephant's fear in Greek story is shown to be so far beneath the respect of the elephant in India that he is finished off, "not with (the elephant's) foot or tusks or trunk" but with his rear end !

Despite the Buddha's sense of humour, anyone will realize that the elephant's behaviour in this instance is hardly the sort of thing that he expected his followers to emulate - even if one of them did, and commendably. At best we may have here, in the *Gutha-Pana Jātaka*, a warning against the kind of self-conceit displayed by the dung-beetle - though, I fear, that does not seem to be the point the *Jātaka* is out to make. There is something held up for admiration rather, and that is the manner in which the elephant disposed of the beetle. Obviously, then, this may not be good Buddhist *Jātaka*; but it certainly is good Aesopic fable, applauding, as that genre of fable does, success in life rather than virtue, vengeance rather than justice, and might rather than right. The elephant's behaviour is abominable but admirable - and this sort of thing, I think, is something of old-world fable that has made its way into the *Jātakas* out of the authors' love of story.

No wonder then that the Buddha himself as the Bodhisatta plays no active role in the drama of this *Jātaka* and is merely an observer - a tree-sprite, who saw the episode from his tree in the clump of trees, into which the elephant made his exit from the scene.

The role of a non-participant observer is played by the Bodhisatta in a number of *Jātakas*, many of which are adopted from Aesopic fables out of sheer dramatic interest, even when they sit awkwardly in the context of Buddhist ethics. If they retain a lesson, it is often enough the old-world lesson of the original fable-motif and may be 'good' advice for success in living, but not necessarily specifically for Buddhist life. Thus Rhys Davids¹⁷ observes the non-involvement of the Bodhisatta in the action of the *Sihacamma Jātaka* (No. 189), a *Jātaka* which has a distinct Greek antecedent in Aesop's fable

of *The Ass in the Lion-Skin*.¹⁸ To these could be added many others with Greek parallels, like the *Kaka Jātaka* (No. 146 = Aesop: *The Hungry Dogs*), the *Gaṅgeyya Jātaka* (No. 205 = Aesop : *The Ape and Zeus*), the *Kacchapa Jātaka* (No. 215 = Aesop: *The Tortoise and the Eagle*) and the *Jambu-Khadaka* and *Anta Jātaka* (Nos. 294 and 295 = Aesop: *The Crow and the Fox*), in which the Bhodisatta stands outside the happenings as an observer, usually a tree-sprite (*rukka - devatā*) or a sea-sprite (*samudda - devatā*), and a host of others, like the *Rukkhadhamma Jātaka* (No. 74 = Aesop *The Children of the Farmer*), the *Akalaravi Jātaka* (No. 119 = Aesop : *The Robbers and the Cock*), the *Suvannahamsa Jātaka* (No. 136 = Aesop : *The Gold-Bearing Goose*), the *Sigāla Jātaka* (No. 148 = Aesop : *The Fox with the Distended Stomach*) and the *Vaka Jātaka* (No.300 = Aesop : *The Fox and the Grapes*), in which the Bodhisatta is drawn into the plot quite artificially and simply identified with the best of the characters therein.

NOTES

1. For the Pali see V. Fausboll ed. *The Jātaka* vol.II reprint London (1963) p.209-212. For the English translation by W. H. D. Rouse see E. B. Cowell ed. *The Jātaka* vol.II. London (1957) p.147-148. It is this translation which I have adopted here, except for the last couplet in verse, which Rouse has rendered in Latin and I have put into English myself.
2. *Buddhist India* 6th ed. Calcutta (1955 ch.XI. 'The Jātaka Book' p.108 and 114-115. But see *Vin.Pit*.IV.5-6, where the Buddha identifies himself with the bull, Nandivisala (cf. *Nandivisala Jātaka* (No.28). Parts of this text could however be of varying antiquity.
3. H380, C409, P260.
4. H185, C149.
5. H235, C189, P137, Hs140.
6. Merlin Peris and D.P. Ponnampereuma transl.(into English and Sinhala) *Aesop Fables* Colombo (1978) p.11. fable 7.
7. Fable 84.
8. See B. E. Perry, Babrius and Phaedrus (Loeb ed.) London (1965) introd. p. xxviii.
9. See E. Gordon 'A New Look at the Wisdom of Sumer and Akkad' *Bibliotheca Orientalis* vol. XVII (1960) P.122-152.
10. E. Ebeling *Die Babylonische Fabel und ihre Bedeutung für die Literaturgeschichte (Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft. Bd. II. Heft 2)* Leipzig (1927) p.50.

11. See Babrius ii. vs. 1-3. Addressing the son of King Alexander he says "Fable was the invention of the Syrians of old who lived in the days of Ninus and Belus". See Perry *op.cit* p.xlix on this. Josephus thinks this Alexander was the grandson of Herodes, King of the Jews, and married Iotape, daughter of Antiochus, King of Commagene (the northern province of Syria). Alexander abandoned Jewish customs and turned to Greek ways of living. It is therefore natural that he had a Greek teacher for his son. Alexander was of Semitic blood and was surrounded by Syrians, some of whom undoubtedly knew more about Assyrian and Babylonian literature than was known to the Greeks in general. Thus, it must be from an oriental than Greek source that Babrius learned about early fable-history and proclaimed it to honour his patron's people and their culture. It is the generally accepted view that Babrius himself lived in Syria or nearby Asia Minor. This is suggested by fable 59, in which he speaks of knowing the Arabs very well from personal experience, and by the other allusions in the fables.
12. Romulus iv. 18. In the change from bull to camel, Phaedrus (or his source) may be acknowledging the origin of the story in lands now familiar with the camel - but no less unfamiliar with the elephant as Greece itself. Another paraphrase, possibly also of Phaedrus (and preserved in the 11th century *codex Ademari* - 36) tells the story of a gnat who challenges a bull to a contest in strength and then ridicules him for having accepted it - and thereby acknowledged the gnat his equal : The story goes on to moralize that if the bull had been mindful of his own powerful neck and shoulders, he would have despised his shameful opponent and these would have been an occasion for the gnat's vain glory. The fable surely builds itself out of the motif of the Aesopic fable of *The Gnat and the Bull*. (Note the emphasis on the strength of the bull's neck and shoulders, which the gnat there thought he was wearying when he sat on the bull's horn.)
13. H325b.
14. H323. Here the ass gets his false confidence from thinking that, if the lion feared the cock so much, he must himself be a more formidable foe.
15. H234, C188, P255, Hs267.
16. H261, C210, P259, Hs292.
17. Buddhist Birth Stories vol.I. London (1880) intr. p. ixii. He thinks stories of this group may be older than most of the others, but confesses that the materials were insufficient at the time of his writing to put forward this theory as otherwise than a mere conjecture. Rhys-Davids of course

thought that the Western stories were borrowed from the Buddhist ones (*op.cit.* p.iii) and therefore that stories that showed evidence of having been drawn into a Buddhist context in this manner were older Indian fables always.

18. See Rhys-Davids *op.cit.* p.vii. On the variants of this fable in Greece, its transition to India and the transformations it underwent there, see my article on 'The Ass in the Lion-skin' in *The Sri Lanka Journal of Humanities* vol. VII. nos. 1 & 2 (1881) p. 29-60.



Importance of the Espionage System in Kauṭilya*

MEENAL PARANJPE

The last two years have been really eventful where world history is concerned. The more we examine these events carefully, the more do we realise the importance of espionage system as a most essential arm of governmental machinery. Even if we see the events that took place in India, the above mentioned fact emerges again and again.

The necessity of the operation Blue Star, assassination of Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, busting of the spy rackets of Coomar Narain and Ram Swaroop, besides these, terrorist activities like explosion in Kanishka, transistor bombs, etc suggest the dire need for improvement in the espionage network in our country.

World events were of no less importance. Walker spy ring that was busted in U.S.A, assassination of Mr. Olaf Palme, the Prime Minister of Sweden, liquidation of peace ship by French spy masters in Newzealand's water which opposed testing of Nuclear bomb and increasing terrorist activities demand more and more from the intelligence agencies of the world.

The mass modern espionage or espionage networks that we see today in the world were mainly developed during and after world war II. But interestingly enough, our ancient thinkers never ignored such facts. In fact they have given utmost importance to this particular organ of governmental machinery. The brief history of development of the espionage system is as follows :

Regarding Indian history, the first references are found in *R̥gveda*, Saramā, the bitch of the gods was sent by Indra to find the treasure of cows carried away by the Paṇis.¹ In *Atharvaveda*, Varuṇa was said to have a number of spies who were thousand-eyed and who went forth hither thither. So it can be said that the idea of espionage was not new. We find that in Vedic period they were mainly used for military purposes, or to find out stolen valuables. But, from these references, the exact system and functions of espionage cannot be judged. Probably they did not have such developed espionage system. Only individual spies were sent to gather immediately the required information.

Two great epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* are full of references regarding spies. e.g. in *Rāmāyaṇa* Śūrpankhā tells Rāvaṇa the necessity and the importance of the spies in the following words. "Since kings are informed by their spies as to what is taking place abroad; they (spies) are said to be farsighted (*dīrghacakus*)". There are also number of references in *Āraṇya*, *Yuddha*, *Kiṣkindhā* and *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*. The following quote from *Mahābhārata* indicates the utmost importance given to the espionage system and secrecy of the counsel for the proper running of the state "A kingdom is said to have its roots in spies and secret agents and its strength is said to lie in secret counsels

of the Policy." This point is stressed again and again in Ādi, Sabhā, Śānti and Droṇa Parva.

But, in all these discussions on the espionage in various works, the most important is the espionage system as described and advised by Kauṭilya.

The difference between Kauṭilya's and other works is that it is for the first time we find an espionage network fully discussed. It is also for the first time that we come across the classification and categorisation of the various spies and their functions. Also, it is for the first time that, various espionage institutions are discussed, and their relationship among themselves and with individual spies are also clearly described as well.

Classification of espionage system : in *Arthasāstra* is as follows : Kauṭilya first suggests *Samsthopatti* or the establishment of the institutions and organisations for the purpose of espionage. Kauṭilya has made two basic divisions :

- A) stationed spying institutions and
- B) moving individual spies.⁶

A) The classification of stationed spying institutions

I) **Kāpaṭika** : Though it literally means disguised or the one who is cunning⁷ Kauṭilya describes a Kāpaṭika as cunning, bold, and expert in finding secret of others.⁸ Besides, this Kāpaṭika was a student (*chātra*) who was working as a spy.⁹ Even though a Kāpaṭika was an individual spy, Kauṭilya included him in institution because he was stationed in one place, most probably a teaching institution.

II) **Udāsthita** : The one who had fallen from Sanyāsāśrama was called Udāsthita.¹⁰ But still he was supposed to be intelligent and of good character.¹¹ He was supposed to establish a business centre with the help or the money provided by the minister in charge of espionage on the land given to him by the state. After establishing a proper trade centre (either farming, husbandry or merchandise) he was supposed to take care of *parivrājakas* by providing them food and shelter. Thus from these people he was supposed to find out the ones who were interested in doing such work and then recruit them and tell them to work for the king and relay all the important information to that centre. These spies in turn recruited others from their faiths.¹²

III. **Gṛhapatikavyañjana** : A farmer who had no means of living was employed by the king and was given capital to establish a farming centre at a given place. Again he was supposed to have some qualifications as Udāsthita regarding individual ability and character. He was supposed to employ people in this farming and again recruit spies from the people coming in his contact. Thus, he was a spy in disguise of Gṛhastha.¹³

In the same manner, Vaidehakavyaṅjana was a merchant who established a trade centre. And lastly Tapovyaṅjana was he who established himself as a Siddha and his disciples worked as spies.¹⁴

The following was the classification of the individual spies : 1. Sattrin, 2. Tīkṣṇa, 3. Rasada, 4. Bhikṣukī, and other female spies.

1. **Sattrin** : These were moving individual spies, appointed by and responsible to the king only. Mostly, these were close relatives or acquaintances of the king himself. They were posted especially to keep an eye on the important officials, Mantrins, Antapāla, Aṭavimukhya. It seems they were good at disguising themselves and appeared very much trustworthy. Their main function was to relay all the available information to the stationed institutions.¹⁵

2. **Tīkṣṇa** : These individual spies were the ones who did not care for their lives and were very brave and well versed in the art of fighting. They were also ready to take any risk. They were often appointed in the households of officers as servants.¹⁶

3. **Rasada** : The people who were ruthless, devoid of any feelings and cruel and they were the ones who used poison to kill unwanted persons.

4. **Bhikṣukī** : These deserve special attention as they establish the fact of different types of women spies. Till this reference, hardly anything seems to be mentioned in history regarding women spies. This particular category also shows that even women from upper castes used to work as spies. Bhikṣukī was generally a *parivrājikā* Brāhmaṇa widow who was interested in permanent employment. She was supposed to be from a good background, bold natured and brave. Generally a good observer and sweet tongued, she had to secure entry in the inner or private chambers of the wives of high officials. She was honoured and respected.¹⁷

5. **Other Female Spies** : Besides Bhikṣukī, there were many other female spies who worked as dancing girls, maid servants, singers, actresses and Gopikā. These were also good observers and possessed sharp intellect.¹⁸

No reference of *Viśakanyā* is found in Arthaśāstra. There are also references which indicate use of code language.¹⁹

The information arriving from three different sources was advised to be trustworthy.²⁰ If spies gave wrong information, they were removed from their jobs. Thus, it can be seen that, with this network, the espionage institutions run by stationed spies served as the main link between an individual spy and the person in charge of the espionage department. Because of these institutions, identity of the actual spy-master and connection between him and other spies remained a secret; just as it is expected in modern times. These institutions also served as façade or presentable front and therefore a meeting

place for the spies and a place where they could relay the information just as in modern times spies have what they call safe houses or drops or walk inns.²¹ It can be noted here how Kauṭilya covered each and every class of the then existing society. The spies were not only appointed on the state-officials but also on enemy officials holding important posts.

In Arthaśāstra, the Ambassador also played an important role as a spy-master. Even though there was not a custom of sending an ambassador permanently to other countries, he served as a contact for spies in these countries; and double agents were recruited by him as well. He was supposed to find out defence arrangements and weak spots of those countries. Therefore, Kauṭilya advises also to keep an eye on the envoys who have come from other countries.²²

The description of this network in Arthaśāstra indicates a full-fledged espionage department functioning inside and outside the state.

The importance of Kauṭilya lies in the fact that it is for the first time that we get full description of the espionage network in the history of mankind. The brief history of other countries is a pointer to this fact.

The Chinese author Sun-tzu (500 B.C.) described the spying system to some extent in the book of war. But, compared to Kauṭilya, it appears as the beginning of an organised network. No reference is found regarding espionage institutions or complex operations of espionage network.²³ Sun-tzu described the power of spies as wonderful, but his description of a village, the inner spies, the converted spies, the dead and the living spies is limited and the basic function is military rather than anything else.²⁴

2. Another example is of Gengiz Khan who used spies for his military gains. He owed his success to his spies who went ahead disguised as merchants and got the information about the place he planned to attack. His able spy-masters were Chope and Sutaï.²⁵

3. The first organised espionage system in the West came into being during the reign of Elizabeth I, around 1569. The spy-master was Sir Francis Welshingham.²⁶

4. In France, first espionage network was organised by Cardinal Richelieu who helped to concentrate power in the hands of the Bourbons.²⁷

5. By the end of the 17th century, the famous author of Robinson Crusoe, Daniel Defoe, modernised English espionage network by following his footsteps.²⁸

6. Frederik the great of Prussia was the one who brought this system in Germany.

7. Peter the great of Russia followed his footsteps.

However, the architect of the mass espionage in modern times was Wilhem Sticber of Prunia who was followed by Himmler, Chief of the dreaded Gestapo.

In Russia, after the 1917 October the O.G.P.U. and finally the K.G.B. emerged out of Czecks. In U.S.A., the C.I.A. grew out of war time office of strategic services O.S.S.²⁹ It was set up as late as in 1947 by an act of the Congress.²⁹

This brief history shows that, all over the world, importance given to, espionage system and its development is mainly the product of recent times. Whereas, amazingly, Kauṭilya not only appeared to have realised its importance much more earlier but also utilised it to the fullest extent.

There is a tremendous time lag-between Kauṭilya's and modern times. There are fantastic scientific and technological advancements in our times. But, amazingly, most of the functions that Kauṭilya listed are the same as we have today.

1. First of all, Thus : Kauṭilya is the first person who distinguished between a) Internal and b) External spying system.³⁰

a) Internal spying not only included watch on important officials but also following important functions : i) It is noted that for the first time in the world history we come across anti-corruption functions. This acted as checks and cross-checks on the administrative machinery which is absolutely necessary even of this day.

ii) Just as we had the C.I.D.in India, the Scotland Yard in U.K., F.B.I. in U.S.A. to investigate criminals and anti-social elements, we find the same function in *Kaṇṭaka nirmūlana* as a full chapter.³¹

iii) Thirdly, another important function of espionage network was to keep an eye on merchants who deceived the state and the customer either by trying to avoid octroi or by giving undervaluation of the goods, creating false scarcity of goods, or by using false weights or by selling adulterated or cheaper quality goods for the price of higher quality.³² Today, we have different departments which look into these matters.

iv) Spies were also used to root out terrorist and other anti-state elements.³³

v) Use of spies in situational tests before appointing *amātyas* is still novel and can be of practical application even today.

B) External Espionaye System.

In the external espionage, the following are the functions given in the *Arthaśāstra* :

i) To have the fullest possible information about the enemy's important

officials.

ii) It was important to get a proper and realistic picture of the enemy's strength and weaknesses.

iii) Major strategy in the enemy country was to create dissention among the enemy officials, important people, the king and his other colleagues.³⁵

iv) If the enemy was powerful and could not be defeated on the battlefield, spies were the best weapons who weakened that state by sabotaging.³⁶

v) The description in the *Arthashastra* about double agents in the enemy country seems to be just as what is in vogue in modern times.

vi) It is for the first time in history that we come across the description and use of women spies.

The different facts mentioned above speak volumes regarding the significance and importance of Kauṭilya's espionage system. This again proves that we learn history not only to learn what took place, where and when, but we should discover certain basic principles which stand the test of time and should be practically applied even now. Here it can be seen that Kauṭilya had tremendous foresight to recognise the importance of proper espionage network and he also had a practical mind to utilize it to the fullest extent by conceiving specialized functions much ahead of his times. His methods were ancient but the principles underlying them are still topical and can be applied to any land in all times.

NOTES :

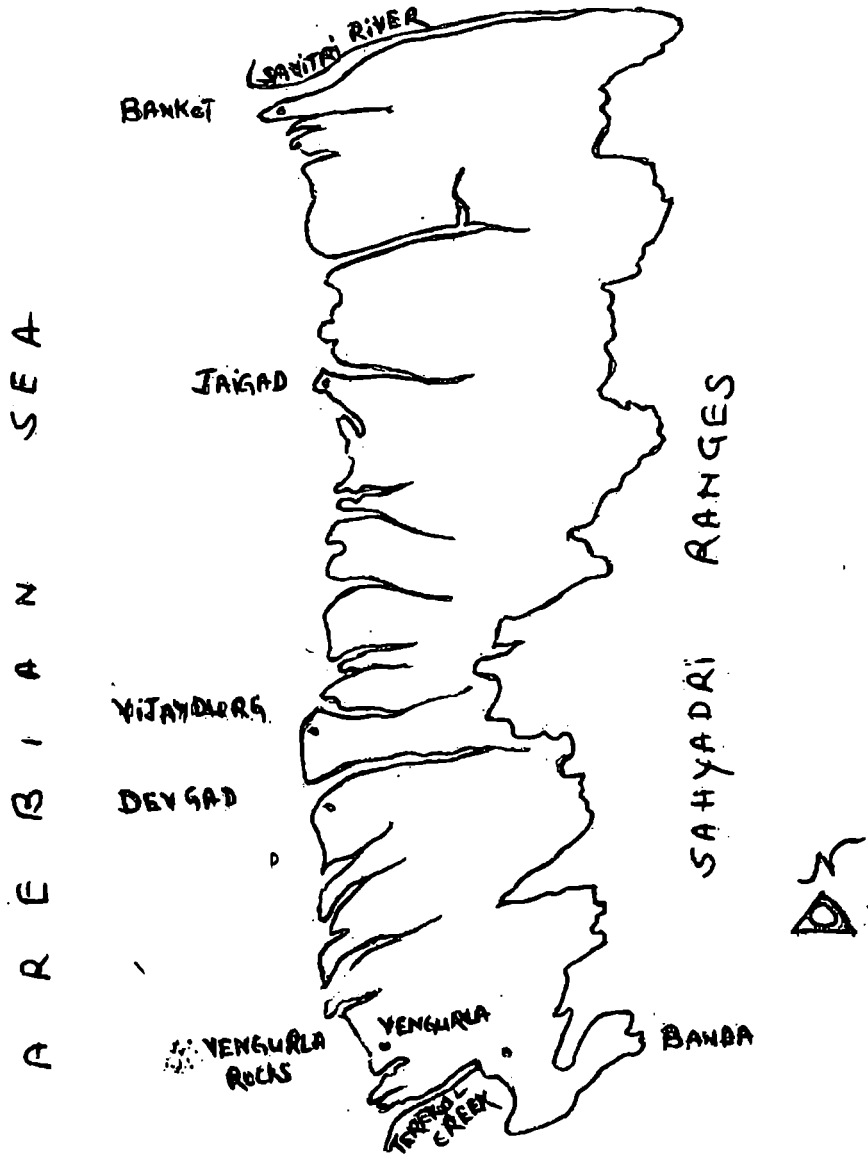
* Paper read at AIOC XXXIII, Calcutta, 25.10.86 (History section).

1. RV. X 108-2-4.
2. Other ref. in RV. are : IV iv.3, 1.62.3, 1.72, 8.2.-24-6-7.
3. AV. iv.16.4.
4. Rām. Araṇya ch.33
5. Śānti Parva 83.
6. A.S. 1.11.
7. Sans. Hindi-English dictionary P. 144.
8. A.S. 1.11.2.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid. 1.11.3.
11. Ibid. 1.11.4.
12. A.S. 1.11.5-8.

13. Ibid. I.II.12.16.
14. Ibid. I.II.15.23.
15. Ibid. 2.25.12-15.
16. Ibid. 1.12.
17. Ibid. 1.12.4,9,10.
18. Ibid. 1.12-13.
19. Ibid. 1.12.11.
20. First such ref.is Rāmāyaṇa Āyodhyā. Then A.S. 1.12.15.
21. The secret world of spies, Evening News, K. Narayan, 27-2-85.
22. A.S. 1.16.24-26,33, 1.16.35.
23. Book of war P.71, Tr. by Capt. E.F. Calthrop.
24. Ibid.
25. The world's greatest spies and spy masters, Board & Bluddell, p.8.
26. Ibid. p. 9.
27. Secret world of spies, cited above.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. A.S.4.4.
31. Ibid. 4.5,4.6,4.7.
32. Ibid. 4.2.
33. Ibid. 5.1.
34. Ibid. 1.16.24-26 & 9.6.53-55.
35. Ibid. 7.13 & 7.14 9.6 & 11.1, 12.1, 12.3.
36. Ibid. 12.5, 13.1 & 13.2, 13.3.



SOUTH - KONKAN



**Ancient and Medieval Foreign Travellers
(Except Arab Traders/Geographers)
on
South Konkan
(circa A. D. 60 to 1499)**

N. N. PATEL

Ariake is the term which the two eminent Greeks (i) Ptolemy, a cartographer-geographer¹ (ii) the anonymous author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*,² applied to the country which includes Konkan. And Konkan extends from the latitude of Daman on the north to that of Terekhol on the South.³ It is generally agreed that Konkan gets divided as North Konkan and South Konkan with Savitree river as a dividing line.⁴ Savitree river has its source in old Mahabaleshwar village, it being one of the Panch Gaṅgās or five streams. Its total course is of fifty miles. During its course, it passes through Mahabaleshwar and further mountainous tract and lands near Poladpur and further flows with Mahad, Dasgaon, Mahapral, Pandheri, Nigadi, Veshwi and Bankot on its banks. At Bankot it merges into the 'Arabian sea'.⁵ If Savitree river is the natural boundary of the South Konkan to its north, Terekhol river is its natural boundary to its south.⁶ The eastern and western boundaries of South Konkan are the ranges of Sahyadri mountain and the Arabian Sea respectively. This delimitation specifies our canvas depicted in the map appended to this article.

South Konkan, our canvas, must unpretentiously be admitted to be one of the obscurest regions of India during the course of India's written history. It is often mentioned in history that Konkan never was an independent kingdom at any time.⁷ It had always been a vassal of one or the other kingdom up the Ghats.

Ariake is identified with "आर्यक" a people referred to with "चेर्य" people by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsamhitā* in Śloka No. 15, Adhyāya No. 14. I quote Śloka No. 15.

तुम्बवनकार्मणेयकन्याम्योदधितापसाधमा ऋषिकाः ।
काञ्चीमरुचीपट्टनचेर्यर्यकसिंहला ऋषमाः ॥ १५ ॥

The period of *Bṛhatsamhitā* is A. D. 505.

Ptolemy wrote his "Treatise on geography" from Alexandria; and it contains a chapter giving the 'Description of India within the Ganges. The date ascribed to Ptolemy is about A. D. 150.⁸ The 'Periplus' is an account written from around Alexandria by an unknown author and the period ascribed to it is variously calculated from 66 A. D. to 240 A. D.⁹ These two foreign authorities have referred to *Ariake* and both have said that this part of the western coast is infested with piracy.¹¹ Ptolemy places *Ariake* between Larika¹¹

(Corresponding with *Lāṭa*, the Sanskrit term applied to the territory of Gujarat and the northern parts of Konkan) and *Limyrike* (to be more correct *Damurike*) which is stated by him to begin with *Naoura*. *Naoura* is identified with *Honavar* by *McCrinkle* and with *Manglur* by *Yule*.¹²

Ptolemy divides *Ariake*, or Maratha county into three parts -

- (a) *Ariake* proper or the Bombay-Deccan;
- (b) *Sadans Ariake* or the North Konkan;
- (c) *Pirate Ariake* or the South Konkan.

While discussing this subject-matter, Ptolemy has referred to the following place-names:

1. Sopara - Sopara-village in the present Thane district.
2. Nasik - Near the Sahyadris, obviously the present Nasik City in Maharashtra.
3. Paithan - A town near Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra State.
4. Tagar - Now identified with Ter village in Osmanabad district of Maharashtra State.
5. Symulla
6. Nilizegyns
7. Hippokura
8. Balcptna
9. Mandagora
10. Isle of Heptanesia
11. Byzanteian
12. Khersonesos
13. Armogara
14. Isle of Peperine
15. Nitra

Another eminent editor of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, *William Vincent*, has assigned the following limits to *Ariake*:¹³

“*Ariake* extends from *Bardez* or *Goa* to the *Tapti* river which expanse is also said to be the limits of the area in which *Marathi* language is spoken as per *Orme*.”

While discussing *Ariake*, the *Periplus* has mentioned the following place-names :

- 1) Sopara (Ouppara);
- 2) Kalyan (Kallieend);
- 3) Chaul (Semulla);
- 4) Palpattan or Pal near Mahad (Palaipatmae);
- 5) Mandagora
- 6) Melizeigard
- 7) Byzantion
- 8) Toparon
- 9) Tyrannosboas (Three grouped islands).
- 10) Khersonesos
- 11) Isle of Leuke
- 12) Naura,

It is the Periplus which has, of all the sources that describe the ports and inland places on the western coast of India and its inland, given enough space to the ports on the coast falling within precincts of South Konkan. It is my endeavour to identify precisely the place names given by Periplus (and Ptolemy where place-names synonymous to Periplus are adopted by him) with the present names. There are about seven names of ports and islands mentioned in the Periplus by its as yet unknown author which are on the coastline of South Konkan. These seven place-names are as given below :

- (1) Mandagora,
- (2) Palaipatmai,
- (3) Melizeigara,
- (4) Buzantian,
- (5) Toparon,
- (6) Turannosboas,
- (7) Sesikrienai.

Of these seven names; Ptolemy refers to the following five in the sequence given to these places in the Periplus -

- (1) Milizegyris
- (2) Baltipatna
- (3) Mandagora

(4) Isle of Hepatanesia

(the name given by Ptolemy for Sesekreienai, per Mc Crindle.)

(5) Byzanteion.

This shows that our canvas as detailed by the Periplus extends from Mandagora to Sesekreienai. The Periplus, is also the source in the galaxy of sources like (1) Strabo (2) Pliny (3) Arrian (4) Ptolemy, which is business-like in its narrations and plain in its description and sequence of places so far as the present subject is concerned. It will, therefore, be apt to prevail on it in greater details.

It is well-known that the three eminent Historians who have edited the Periplus are -

- (1) William Vincent;
- (2) McCrindle; and
- (3) Schoff.

At the outset, therefore, it will be pertinent to give the identifications assigned to the said seven place-names found in the Periplus, by these editors :

Place-name in Periplus	Identification W. Vincent	assigned by McCrindle	Schoff
Mandagora	Not attempted	Rajapur (Danda Rajapur)	
Palaipatmae	Not attempted	Bankut	
Melizeigard	Jaygadh or Side Jaygadh	Silent on the identification of Melizeigara.	
Buzantion	Not attempted	Vijaydrug or Eswantgadh	
Toparon	Not attempted	Devagadh	
Turannosboas	Not attempted	Banda or Tirakal river	
Sesekreienai	Burnt islands or Vingorla rocks	Vingorla Rocks	

The term Mandagora, though sounds akin to Mandangad, a taluq H. Qs. in Ratnagiri district with a fort in its close vicinity, cannot be said to be Ptolemy's Mandagora for the following reasons :

1) Even today, inspite of its being a taluq H. Qs., it is an obscure place with no antiquities worth the name.

2) Neither in recent times nor in the olden days has Mandangad been said to be a place producing marketable commodities required by the foreign traders, nor did it have any rich rulers who were in a position to buy goods fetched by the foreign traders.

3) Mandangad is much inland as far as 16 miles from the seashore at Bankut. It is only in the early 20th century that it is connected with Bankut itself by a made road. It is also 6 to 7 miles to the south of Savitree, as the crow-flies.

Mandagora can be identified, however, with Bagmandala or Kolmandala villages trans-Savitree facing Bankut for the following reasons :

- (i) These two villages which are now in Raigad district are right on the main seashore.
- (ii) These contain the ruins of a village called Mandan.
- (iii) MM. P. V. Kane also has suggested that these two villages can be identified with the place referred to as Mandagora by the Periplus. The other six places, viz.

- (1) Palaipatnai,
- (2) Melizeigara,
- (3) Buzantion,
- (4) Toparon, and
- (5) Sesekreiendi

are not so close in texture to the present place-names of the ports which are said to be ancient ones on this sea-board as Mandagora is to the Mandan, a deserted habitation referred to above.

Melizeigara is the place name which is remotely akin to Jaygad. Particularly the later portion of Melizeigara that is "zeigara". Zeigara is akin to Jazira, an Arabic word meaning an island. The author of the Periplus was residing on the banks of the Red Sea and is bound to be influenced by the Arabic words.

Since Palaipatipai lies between Mandagora and Melizeigara it has to

be Dabhol because between Bankut and Jaygad there is no place other than Dabhol which is ancient.

The other ancient travellers known to the whole world, with reference to the ancient and early medieval periods, are Hiuen-Tsang, Marco Polo, Ibn-Batuta, Abd-er-Razzal, Nicolo Conti, Nikitin and Hiernonino Di Santo Stefano. None of them except Nikitin had touched this coast. It will, however, be interesting to go briefly through their itinerary on the western coast and see how each one of them (except Nikitin) has skirted the *Ariake's* southern half. Most of them came to Calicut straight from Cambay.

HIUEN-TSANG stayed in India for 15 years. He left his country for India in A. D. 629 via Central Asia & Hindukash to China by way of Kabul in A. D. 645. The two giants who then ruled over North and South of India respectively were Shri Harsha of Kanauj and Palahesi II of Vatapi.

Hiuen-Tsang entered, while coming from Dravida country towards north, into a jungle, infested by troops of murderous highway men, passing an isolated city and a small town and after a journey of about 2000 Li he reached the Kung-Kin (or Kun)-na-pu-lo country. He describes the country as having a fertile soil yielding good crops, with a hot climate; its inhabitants were of swarthy complexion and had rude rough ways, but they were fond of intellectual and moral requirements.

Leaving the country of Kung-Kin (or Kunj-na-pu-lo country), Hicun-Tsang entered in the north-westerly direction a great forest-wilderness ravaged by beasts and harmed by banded robbers and travelling 2400 or 2500 Li he came to the No-ha-la-ch'a (or) country.

MARCO POLO, a Venetian set sails for his long journey to the East in 1266 A. D. Marco Polo visited Thana and has said that it is a busy centre of commerce and merchant-shopping. He says that piracy is indulged party with the connivance of the King which act he has called shameful. Thana exported buckram, cotton and leather goods and imported gold, silver, brass etc.

(The Travels of Marco Polo, translated by Ronald Latham. The Folio Society, London-MCMLXVIII.)

IBN-BATTUTA (1304-1369). His full name was Shaikh Abu Abdulla Muhammad Ibn-Battata. He came to India when Muhammad Tughluq was the emperor of Hindustan. The full name of Ibn-Battuta's Rehla or travels is "Tuhfat us-nuzzar fi Ghasaib-al-Amsar wa Ajaib-al-Assar (An excellent book for the readers regarding the wonder of Cities, and the Marvels of Travels). Ibn-Battuta was a native of Tangier. He left Tangier on his Odyssey at the age of 21. It

was after eight years long arduous travail through North Africa, Asia Minor, Constantinople, Arabia and Persia that he reached the Indus on 12-9-1339. Thereafter, he proceeded to Sind, Multan and arrived at Delhi on 20-3-1334. He won immediate royal favour and patronage and was appointed Chief Justice of Delhi.

Ibn-Battuta, during the course of a long stay tour extensively over a large territory of the Indian sub-continent, while he was on his tour to the western India, he set sails from Quga (Gogo, in Kathiawar, a large town with big bazaars) for the island of Sandabur (Goa) on which there are thirty-six (36) villages. This voyage he covered in three days.

1) The voyage of Abd-er-Razzak, ambassador from Shah Rukh of Samargand to Bidjanagar.

A. H. 845 - A. D. 1442

“Around May 1442 Abd-er-Razzak embarked a vessel at Ormuz (P.13) and after a voyage of eighteen days and as many nights, his vessel cast anchor in the port of Calicut.”

“On his way back Abd-er-Razzak set voyage from the port of Honawer to Ormuz which journey took sixty-five days.”

The difference of 49 days for more or less the same length of journey appears to be on account of a hurricane and the intense heat that the traveller who they came across in April 1444 and narrates it. The actual journey must have taken place during nights or early mornings and on the afternoons.

The travels of Nicolo Conti (another Venetian) during the early part of the 15th century. “Nicolo Conti reached Cambay within a month from Calacatia, a very noble emporium of the Persians (p. 5 ibidem of the portion relating to Niclo Conti). After 20 days’ journey from Cambay he arrived at two cities on the sea-shore (i) Pacamuria and (ii) Helly. From here he went to the great city of Bizenegalia, situated near very steep mountains and about 300 miles inland off Pacamania and Helly.” (p.6. ibidem).

Before departing to Venice, his native country, Nicolo sailed from Calicut straight to Cambay in 15 days and returned to Calicut once again. Cambay, he says, is near to the sea and is 12 miles in circuit and abounds in spike, nard, lac, indigo, and myrobalans and silles.” (page 20, Ibidem).

Afaby Nikitin of Tver/Present Kalinin Nikit in boarded Tava at Hormuz and via Noshant, Degh (?) and, sailing across the Indian sea Nikitin entered Indian coast at Kuzrat (Gujrat) and banked at Cambay and proceeded further to Chivil (page 8 ibidem) (Chacul, a flourishing seaport before the Portuguese conquest, thirty miles south-east of Bombay. This was a place of considerable note during the Bahamene dynasty of the Deccan. Hamilton’s Indian Gaz.)

The voyage from Hormuz to Chivil took six weeks. After completing his Indian trade and mission he came to (page 30 *ibidem*), Dabul, his last station in India. At Dabul he arrived from Suresh T. Surah he arrived from Kynarias. From Dabul he left for Hormus. Chivil and Dabul is 6 days' sailing. Nikitin has described Dabul as given below. Dabyl (Dabul) is also a very extensive seaport (page 20 *ibidem*) where many horses are brought from Mysore, Rabast (Arabia), Khorassan, Turkestan and Neghastan. It takes a month to walk by land from this place to Beder and to Karbargha.

Dabul (page 19 *ibidem*) is the last seaport in Hindostan belonging to the Mussalmans. From Dabul to Colecot (Calicut) is 25 days' journey.

Dabul (page 30 *ibid*) is a port to the vast Indian sea. It is a very large town, the great meeting-place for all nations living along the coast of India and of Ethiopia.

R. H. Major's India in 15th Century.

The Travels of Athanasius Nikitin of Twer (1471-1474). A recent work of Afanasy Nikitin says that the years of Nikitin's study in India lasted from 1471 to 1474. It also says that previously it was accepted to have lasted from 1469 to 1472. This work published in Russia and based on new research has described the route of Nikitin on the western coast as under.

"After his arrival by sea in the port of Cambay the Russian traveller went to Chaul, Pali Umri, Junnar, lived for a long time in Bidar, visited Parvata and then returned home via Gulbagra, Koilkonda, Kallur, Aland, and Dabhol."

(page 25 of the *Image of India* by G. Bongard-Levin and A. Vigin. 1984).

Travels of Hieronimo Di Santo Stefano, of written in Tripoli (Syrian on 1-9-1499.) Genovese.

He and Hieronimo Adorno started for India from Cairo and came to *Cariz* after 15 days and found a good port called *Cane*. Then, travelling on land, came to Cosir (Cosseir) after seven days. Cosir is a port of the Red sea. Here they embarked on a ship - *En route*; they halted at very fine but uninhabited ports and after 25 days arrived at a port called *Mazna* (Massawa). After 25 days' sail from *Mazna*, they came to Adem, the city of Moors. Adem (Adam ?). They sailed from Adem and for 25 days saw no land but then, after seeing several islands, did not touch at them. Continuing the voyage for ten days more, they arrived at the great city called Calicut. From here they went to Ceylon, Ceromandal, Pegu, Ara, Suchatra Maldires to Cambay after facing deadly disasters to the ship and its inmates. From Cambay Hieronimo reached Ormuz after 60 days' sail. From there he went to Shiraz. Ispahan, Kasar, Sultanich and finally to Tauns. Thence to Aleppo.

(R. H. Major's India in 15th Century.)

Notes :

1. Page 540, Appendix VI, to Vol. I Part I of the Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency (History of Gujarat), 1896.
2. Page 112 of the Periplus edited by J. W. McCrindle, 1879, McCrindle has discussed *Ariake* on page 113 under footnote 41. Discussing *Ariake*, McCrindle places *Ariake* between Larike (which comprehends the peninsula of Gujarat, Barugaza and the parts adjacent) and Dimurike which commences at Naoura (either Honavar or Komta, page 130, *ibidem*).
3. Introduction to the "History of Konkan," by Rev. A. L. Nairne, Vol. I Part II of the Bombay Presidecy Gazetteer, 1894.
4. Page 42 of "शिलाहार राजवंशाचा इतिहास व कोरीव लेख" by V. V. Mirashi.
5. Page 6, ch. 1, Vol. X, Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, edited by J Campbell, 1880.
6. Savitree river separates South Konkan from the present Raigad district and Terekhol river separates South Konkan from Goa. Goa is recogized as a separate country from ancient times by names like Sindabur, Gohurashtra, Taprobane, Gopika Dvilpa etc.
7. A. K. Nairne in his introduction (page xii) to his "The Konkan" Vol. I Part II, 1896 says the following. "Thus, though the Konkan has never been more than a province of some inland kingdom, it has many famous associations."
8. P. 1, Ch. I Vol. I Part II, A. K. Nairne's 'Konkan'.
9. *Ibid*, The dates variously assigned to the Periplus by certain eminent authorities are given below :
 - (a) McCrindle - A. D. 80-9; p. 102 Vol. I of the Early History of the Deccan, edited by G. Yazdani (1960).
 - (b) Kennedy - A. D. 70 (*ibid*)
 - (c) Schoff A. D. 60 (*ibid*)
 - (d) Dr. H. C. Ghosh - A. D. 90.
10. Page 387 of the Periplus edited by W. Vincent.
11. Of the Periplus edited by J. W. McCrindle, London, 1879.
12. P. 130 of the Periplus edited by J. W. McCrindle, London, 1879.
13. (i) The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea edited by William Vincent, D. D. Book IV, Part-VIII, page 379, printed by A strahan, printer's street, for T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies in the Strand, London, 1800.
 - (ii) The Coast between Bombay and Goa is agreed to be the land of pirates" (*vide* page 1 of Nairne's Konkan, Bombay Presidency Gazetteer,

Vol. I. Pt. II, 1896).

(iii) Part VIII of the Periplus edited by W. Vincent, London, 1800 also ascribes the same limits to the Pirate Coast.

(iv) *Ariake* is the Maratha-speaking country and the Marathas are still called *Are* by the Kanarese of Kaladgi and North Kanara." *Ariake* is situated between Larike/South Gujarat and Lymurike or Tamil country (page 138 of Bombay Presidency Kolaba Dist. Gazetteer, Vol.)

I have functioned as a Deputy Collector in Ratnagiri district for over six years (during my official tours) and I have a respectable family whose surname is recorded on page 124 of the Bombay Presidency Ratnagiri Vol X. 1880, and that "They supplied the former pirate chiefs with most of their fighting men."

* Al-Biruni (973-1048 A. D.) came to India with Muhammad of Ghazna. Al-Biruni whose full name was abu al-Raihan Muhammad Ahmad al-Biruni was an Arabic author of Persian origin. Al-Biruni's Indica (Kitab-ul-Hind-Book of India) does't contain any description of our subject-matter.

India in the 15 th century A. D. R. ct. major, London, Hakluyt Society M. Iccc. Ivii. 1857 A. D.

R. H. Major's India in 15th Century.



Jaina Śāsana-Devatā in Khajuraho

RATNESH KUMAR VARMA

The term Śāsana-devatā in Jaina iconography is used for Yakṣa and Yakṣī pairs of the Jinas or Tīrthankaras which they attend upon. The idea of associating a Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair with the Jinas developed around 6th cent. A. D.¹ They are supposed to protect and guard the Saṃgha.² As Śāsana-devatās Yakṣa-Yakṣī pairs are always shown close to the Jinas and as a natural corollary they occupy the most exalted position in Jaina pantheon which comes only next to Jinas³. The Yakṣas in Indian tradition are regarded as the presiding spirits over wealth. The Jainas who represent a mercantile class especially endeared themselves to the Yakṣa cult and appropriated them among the class of their Dhunḍhi-devas of highest divinities⁴.

Khajuraho in Chatterpur district of Madhya Pradesh happens to be one of the rich centres of Jaina art. The group of Jaina temples at Khajuraho is known as 'Eastern Group'. The Jaina iconic data are scattered mostly in three Jaina temples, namely the Ādinātha (C. 11th Cent. A.D.), the Pārśvanātha (C. 9th-10th Cent. A.D.) and the Ghaṇṭai (C. 10th Cent. A.D.) and also in the museums and some newly built temples. The sculptures of the site can be dated between A.D. 950 to A.D. 1180. The iconic data of Khajuraho and also at other places in Madhya Pradesh belong to the Digambara sect as evident from the sky-clad figures of the Jinas and also by the rendering of the 16 auspicious dreams, the characteristic feature of the Digambara sect⁵.

According to the Jaina tradition, Yakṣa and Yakṣī should be depicted respectively on the right and left sides of the pedestals of the Jina images. Generally they are shown in the Lalitāsana, though sometimes they are also in the Sthānakamudrā. In art the depiction of the Yakṣīs was more popular which is attested to by the number of their independent figures found at different sites. The three instances of the collective rendering of the 24 Yakṣīs further elaborate the above point⁶. These examples are especially important since we do not encounter with any instance of the collective representation of the 24 Yakṣas.

The early lists of Yakṣa-Yakṣī pairs are found in the Kahāvali (Śvetāmbara), the Tiloypaṇṇatti (Digambara)⁸ and the Pravacanasāroddhāra (Śvet.)⁹. The independent iconography of the Yakṣa-Yakṣī pairs is dealt with for the first time in the Nirvāṇakalikā, the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, the *Pravacanasāroddhāra* commentary of Siddhasena Suri and the *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha*.

Now we shall discuss the iconography of Jaina Śāsana-devatā in Khajuraho as revealed from their independent figures carved on the pedestal of the Jina images (Jina-saṃyukta). In our discussion we shall follow the traditional order

of the Jinas in which R̥ṣabhanātha comes first to delineate the iconography of the Śāsana-devatā in Khajuraho.

The attributes of the Śāsana-devatā in the present paper are reckoned clockwise starting from the lower right hand.

Gomukha Yakṣa (of Jina R̥ṣabhanātha)

The independent figure of Yakṣa is not found in Khajuraho. In Jina-saṃyukta figures he is depicted both with two and four arms. The four-armed figures are more in number. Generally the Yakṣa is now shown with his Vāhana bull. Only in one case (Śāntinātha Museum (S.M.) Khajuraho, (K.8) his Vāhana bull is depicted wherein the Yakṣa in his three surviving hands holds a lotus, a club (?) and mungoose-skin purse. The figure in the Garbhagrha of the Pārśvanātha temple shows the Yakṣa with a *paraśu*, a club and a *mātuliṅga*. The figure in Jardin Museum (J.M.) Khajuraho shows with the Varadamudrā, a *paraśu* and a water pot in his three extant hands. In one of the figures in S.M. (K.6) the Yakṣa shows a snake, a lotus and a money-bag. In six other examples the Yakṣa is two-armed and bears fruit and money-bag.¹⁰

The iconographic features of Gomukha do not conform to the text of any particular sect. The Digambara works conceive Gomukha showing Dharmacakra, bull as a Vāhana and the hands bear a *paraśu*, a fruit, a rosary and the Varadamudrā. The depiction of only the *paraśu* indicates the iconographic characteristic of the Digambara sect. Most of the figures in Khajuraho depict a *paraśu*, the Varadamudrā (Abhayamudrā), money-bag, lotus and fruit (or a water pot) in hands. In fact, the features of the Yakṣa clearly bears the influence of Śiva as is evident by his cow-face bull Vāhana and the attributes like *paraśu* and *pāśa*.

Cakreśvarī Yakṣī (of Jina R̥ṣabhanātha)

There are four independent figures of Cakreśvarī in Khajuraho. Only one figure is six-armed while the others have four arms. In the six armed example (temple 27) the crowned Yakṣī is riding on the Garuḍa and bears the Abhayamudrā, a club, a ring, a disc, a lotus and a conch. Of the four-armed examples two figures bear the Abhayamudrā, a club, a disc and a conch/or a fruit¹². Another figure on the northern wall of Śāntinātha temple shows her with the Varadamudrā, a disc, a disc and a conch.

Cakreśvarī is also depicted on the fasades of Khajuraho temples. On these fasades Cakreśvarī wears four to ten arms and rides on the Garuḍa. Three figures are on the fasades of the Pārśvanātha, the Ghaṇṭāī, and the Ādinātha temples respectively. The figure of the Ghaṇṭāī temple exhibits the eight-armed Yakṣī bears the Varadamudrā, a sword, a club, a disc, a lotus (?), a disc, a bow, a shield, a club and a conch. The six-armed Yakṣī of the temple

No.11 shows the Varadamudrā, a disc, a disc, a disc, a disc and a conch. In six other examples the four-armed Cakreśvarī holds a club, a disc in her upper hands while the lower ones show the Abhayamudrā (or Varada -) and a conch.¹³

In Jina-saṃyukta figures Cakreśvarī is depicted with Rṣabhanātha in 32 images. The general iconography in Jina-saṃyukta figures is revealed by the images of Rṣabhanātha and shows the Yakṣī with a disc, a conch, a club and the Abhayamudrā shown in her four hands. In all the examples Garuḍa is shown as a Vāhana.¹⁴ The Yakṣī is shown with the Abhayamudrā and a disc. In other examples Cakreśvarī is four-armed. In the cell of Pārśvanātha temple the Yakṣī bears the Abhayamudrā, a club, a disc, and a conch.¹⁵ In ten instances Cakreśvarī holds in both the upper hands a disc and in six other examples a club and a disc. The lower hands show the Abhayamudrā (or Varada) and a conch (or fruit or water pot). In the Śāntinātha Museum, however, there is a figure showing Yakṣī of 20 arms, but unfortunately all the hands are broken.

Cakreśvarī represents all the variations made in the iconography of Yakṣī figures from 8th to 12th century. She was the popular Yakṣī and represented with two to twenty arms. Contrary to textual references,¹⁷ club and conch are depicted with Cakreśvarī which probably shows the influence of the regional art. Cakreśvarī distinctly bears the influence of the iconography of the Brāhmanic Vaiṣṇavī. The variety in the form of Cakreśvarī with varying attributes at Khajuraho thus suggests that she was accorded a favoured position and the highest number of the Yakṣīs was carved at the site. Her popularity perhaps also indicates the strong influence of Vaiṣṇavite cult at Khajuraho.

Mahā-Yakṣa and Ajitā Yakṣī (of Jina Ajitanātha).

Both the Yakṣa and Yakṣī are represented only with the image of Ajitanātha but they do not show any distinguishing feature. They are always two-armed. Mahāyakṣa is represented with the Abhayamudrā and a fruit (or water pot) while the Yakṣī shows the Abhayamudra (or a sword) and a fruit (or water pot) in two arms.

Trimukha Yakṣa and Duritari Yakṣī (of Jina Sambhavanātha).

The Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair here also is represented with a water vessel (Kalaśa) and a money-bag (or a *mātulinga*) while the Yakṣī shows the Abhayamudrā and a fruit (or a sword or even a water vessel).

Īśvara Yakṣa and Vajrasṛṅkhilā Yakṣī (of Jina Abhinandanātha).

They are also represented only in the Jina-saṃyukta figures. Īśvara Yakṣa shows here the Abhayamudrā and a fruit (or a water vessel) while the Yakṣī shows the Abhayamudrā and a fruit (or water-vessel).

Tumbaru Yakṣa and Puruṣadattā Yakṣī (of Jina Sumatinātha).

This Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair is represented in the Jina-saṃyukta figures only¹⁸. Tumbaru and Puruṣadattā are likewise represented with the Abhayamudrā and a fruit in their two arms.

Kusuma Yakṣa and Manovegā Yakṣī (of Jina Padamprabha).

The figure of Kusuma Yakṣa plays a truant at Khajuraho while Yakṣī Manovegā is represented by one figure as independent one. The figure shows the four-armed Yakṣī with a long stalked lotus in her surviving hands. On her both the sides, attendant and devotees, figures are also carved. The Yakṣī is standing in *tribhaṅga*, and is accompanied by horse as Vāhana. However, over the shoulders of the Yakṣī, the rendering of two small Jina figures are interesting.¹⁹

Śyāma Yakṣa and Jvālāmālīnī Yakṣī (of Jina Candraprabha).

We do not find the independent figures of the Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair. In Jina-saṃyukta figures, Mātāṅga is two armed and holds the Abhayamudrā (or a fruit) and a money-bag (or a fruit or even a water vessel or the flowers). Yakṣī is also shown with the Abhayamudrā (or a flower) and a fruit (or a water vessel or flowers) to her two arms. However in one case Yakṣī is four armed (Temple No.32), here she holds the Abhayamudrā and a fruit, a lotus and a book.

Garuḍa Yakṣa and Mahāmānasī Yakṣī (of Jina Śāntinātha).

Although Śāntinātha was the popular Jina at the site, as revealed from his huge 10ft image in the Śāntinātha temple and other figures, his Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair is not represented in independent figures. Garuḍa Yakṣa is represented both with two and four arms. The two-armed figures show him with a fruit (or a cup) and a money-bag. The four-armed Garuḍa bears a staff, a lotus, a lotus and fruit. Yakṣī is also represented in two and four arms. The two-armed example shows the Abhayamudrā and a bow (or is kept on the thigh). The four-armed example shows Yakṣī with the Abhayamudrā, a lotus (spiral) lotus book and a water pot.²⁰

Gomedha Yakṣa (of Jina Neminātha).

In Khajuraho, Gomedha is represented with four arms²¹ in the independent figures and two in the Jina-saṃyukta figures. The four-armed Yakṣa bears a lotus in two upper hands while the lower ones have a fruit and a money-bag. The figure of Yakṣa on the pillar near Śāntinātha temple bears the Abhayamudrā, a lotus and a money-bag.

In Jina-saṃyukta figures, the Yakṣa is two-armed and holds a money-bag in the right and the Abhayamudrā in the left hand. Thus the purse has been

an inveriable feature with the Yakṣas.

The traditional figure of Gomedha is not represented in art. The Digambara works visualise Gomedha as *trimukha* and six-armed with a Śakti, flower, the Abhayamudrā, and a staff, a fruit, a *paraśu* and an elephant as Vāhana. However Sarvānbhuti or Kubera is always represented in place of traditional Gomedha. Sarvānbhuti Yakṣa undoubtedly occupies the most favoured position among all the Yakṣas of Khajuraho as well as elsewhere. The popularity of Kubera or Sarvānbhuti invariably holding a purse is suggestive of the popularity of Kubera as a god of wealth among the Jaina community which was basically a mercantile class.

Ambikā Yakṣī (of Neminātha).

A number of independent figures of Ambikā are found in Khajuraho, wherein she is depicted both with two and four arms either in Latitāsana or in Sthānaka along with her son. There are 11 independent figures in all wherein Ambikā is always accompanied by her two sons and is riding a lion carved sitting or standing under a mango tree. The upper hand holds a lotus, a book while the lower ones show a mango-bunch and a child sitting on the lap. However, in the two examples, the child is standing by her side.²¹

The two-armed Ambikā is generally represented in Jina-saṁyukta figures. The lion and her second son is not frequently represented while the two hands carry a child.

In the depiction of Ambikā, the injunctions of the Digambara texts have been followed. In regard to the number of hands and also a lion as his vehicle and a mango-bunch and a child are distinguishing features. However, the Digambara texts referred only to the attributes of two hands. It is only in the Śvetāmbara tradition that the attributes of all the four hands are enunciated.

Ambikā was given a special importance in Khajuraho which is evident from sculptures²³ wherein she is joined by a Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair on the throne just in a manner as shown with Jinas. It may be remarked in passing that whenever the Jainas elevated the position of any of their deity or saint, they made the same equal in status to Jinas and hence the Yakṣa pair or the Śāsana-devatās were associated with it the principal deity to attend upon.

Dharaṇa Yakṣa (of Jina Pārśvanātha).

Dharaṇa Yakṣa is not depicted in independent sculptures in Khajuraho. In the Jina-saṁyukta figures he is represented both of two and four arms and also the canopy of the snake-hoods over heads. The two-armed figures in the Śāntinātha Museum (K 100) bears fruits (?) in hands. The figure of Archaeological Museum Khajuraho(1618) shows her in Namaskāramudrā. The four-armed Yakṣa shows a lotus and a fruit in his surviving hands.²⁴ In another

example, the Yakṣa shows the Abhayamudrā, a Śakti, a snake, and a water vessel²⁵.

The Yakṣa is primarily recognised by the snake-hood. The other iconographic features do not, however, conform to any of the Digambara texts which mention the Yakṣa riding on Kūrma with snakes in the upper hands. And the lower ones show Nāgapāśa and the Varadamudrā. In fact, in the representation of the Yakṣa the attributes lack any particularity.

Padmāvati Yakṣī (of Jina Pārśvanātha)

Padmāvati is represented both in independent and Jina-saṃyukta figures along with snake canopy. There are three instances of independent figures. The figure in the Ādinātha Temple shows her in Lalitamudrā and shows the Abhayamudrā, a *paraśu*, a lotus bud, and a waterpot. However, in the temple No.22, the four-armed Yakṣī is in *tribhāṅga* and her remaining two hands show the Varadamudrā and a lotus. The figure of the depicts seven snake-hoods overhead and a cock as Vāhana. She holds in the three surviving hands the Varadamudrā, a *pāśa* and *aṅkuśa*.²⁶

In Jina-saṃyukta figures, the Yakṣī is represented with the Abhayamudrā, Varada or lotus and a fruit (or a water vessel). In some of the figures, Padmāvati is represented also in four arms. In one of the examples (K 100), snake-hooded Yakṣī shows the Abhayamudrā and a lotus, while, in other example (K 68), she is in Dhyānamudrā and her surviving hands show the Abhayamudrā, a snake and a water vessel.

In some extant textual references were followed, depict while Padmāvati Yakṣī. This concurrence was in regard to the canopy of snake-hoods and also Vāhana (Kukkuṭa), besides, a snake in hand and sometimes even the noose and goad. The Digambara text mention the four-armed Yakṣī with a *pāśa*, a *aṅkuśa*, a lotus and the Varadamudrā or a conch or sword. It is thus apparent that snake was associated both with the Yakṣa and Yakṣī of Pārśvanātha because of its association with Pārśvanātha and their being the lord and queen of snakes which also probably suggests the popularity of snake worship in the masses from the remote past.

Mātāṅga Yakṣa (of Jina Mahāvīra)

In the independent sculpture Mātāṅga is not represented. The Digambara works describe Gaja as Vāhana, the Vardamudrā and a *mātuliṅga* in two arms. In Jina-saṃyukta figures, the Yakṣa is depicted contrary to textual descriptions. At the temple No.2, the four-armed Yakṣa has a lion as Vāhana and holds a money-bag, a spear, a lotus (?) and a staff. On the wall of temple No.21 (K 28), the two-armed Yakṣa is depicted with (Aja) as Vāhana. The right hand of the Yakṣa holds a Śakti, while the left rests on the head

of the 'Aja'. In the Śāntinātha Museum (K 17), a four-armed Yakṣa is mounting on the lion and in three remaining hands he holds a club, a lotus, and a money-bag.

Thus it appears that the iconography of Mātaṅga was not standardised and also the traditional form was not known to the artist. This is exactly the reason why we get varying attributes and also the Vāhana which does not concur with the tradition. Still the rendering of Yakṣa with four hands and varying attributes suggests that an effort was made to assign an independent status to the Yakṣa.

Siddhāyikā Yakṣī (of Jina Mahāvīra)

She is represented both in independent and Jina-saṁyukta figures and also with both two and four arms. The independent image of the Yakṣī is depicted on the facade of temple No.24 where the four-armed Siddhāyikā is in Lalitamudrā and as riding a lion. The Yakṣī bears the Varadamudrā, a *khétaka* and a water vessel.

The Digambara texts mention the Yakṣī as two-armed with the Abhayamudrā (or Varada) or a book or a *veṇṇā* and a *mātullīga*.

The above mentioned examples do not correspond to the textual references considering the attributes of the Yakṣī and her Vāhana. The impact of Mahāmānāsī Mahāvidyā cannot be overruled.

In the Jina-saṁyukta figures she is represented both with two and four hands. In three examples, Siddhāyikā is shown as two-armed and bears the Abhayamudrā and a fruit (or a lotus).²⁷

Thus like Mātaṅga Yakṣa Siddhāyikā was also given an independent status as revealed by the varying attributes and also the mount-lion. However, the figures correspond to the tradition only in respect of lion-mount, since the Digambara works conceive her with two arms and holding the Varadamudrā and a book. On the other hand, our figure invariably showing a disc and a conch distinctly suggests the bearing of Yakṣī Cakreśvarī. Thus the form of the Yakṣī as contrary to the Yakṣa was almost standardised.

It is apparent that the artists were well familiar with the tradition of Śāsana-devatā to be shown with the Jinas. But, at the same time, it appears that the independent form of all the Yakṣa-Yakṣī pairs were not known to them and therefore it is only with Gomukha-Cakreśvarī and Sarvānbhuti-Ambikā that the distinguishing features almost concur with the tradition. The Yakṣa-Yakṣī pairs of Pārśvanātha also show at least some traditional features while the Yakṣa - Yakṣī of Mahāvīra-Mātaṅga and Siddhāyikā suggest that their independent forms were developed. Thus, in all there are four Yakṣa-Yakṣī pairs, namely Gomukha-Cakreśvarī, Gomedha-Ambikā, Dharaṇa-Padmāvatī and

Mātaṅga-Siddhāyikā which show either traditional or distinguishing independent features. The other Yakṣa-Yakṣī figures are almost identical in iconographic details and suggest that neither their traditional nor independent forms were known. In the rendering of the Yakṣa-Yakṣī pairs, the artist also used his experience and vision to break the monotony by changing the order of attributes or even the attribute itself with certain innovations as can be seen especially with the figures of Mātaṅga and Siddhāyikā only.

The Yakṣīs were more popular than Yakṣas and the manifestations of Cakreśvarī, Ambikā Padmāvatī and Siddhāyikā took the form of the important Śāsana-devatā alongwith their respective Yakṣas. In fact the development of iconography of Śāsana-devatā was gradually getting strength and the elements taken in the process paved the way for the Śāsana-devatā concept which became much popular around 11th-12th century.

Footnotes

1. Shah, U.P., "Introduction of Śāsana-devatā in Jaina worship", *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference*, 20th Congress, 1959, pp.141-143.
- 2 (i) *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, 65, 45-45.
- 2 (ii) *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* 4.936.
3. *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* 66.48-44. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* 4. 434-39. Consult Tiwari M.N.P. *Jaina Pratimā Vijnāna*, Varanasi 1981, p.154.
4. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Jaina Iconography*, Delhi 1974, p.66.
5. The Śvetāmbara tradition, however, refers to 14 auspicious dreams.
6. Three instances of collective representations are from Deogarh (Lalitpur, U.P. temple 12, A. D. 862), Barbhuji Cave of Khandagiri (Puri, Orissa 11th century), Patinanadai Temple (Satna, M. P., 11th century).
7. Shah, U.P. "Introduction to Śāsana-devatā in Jaina worship," *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference*, 20th Congress, 1959, pp.14.
8. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* 4. 934-39.
9. *Pravacansāroddhāna* 375.78
10. Local Muscum, Khajuraho, K 40, K 69.
11. Local Muscum, Khajuraho, K 8, 1951.
12. One figure is on the northern wall of the Ādinātha temple.
13. Tiwari, M. N. P. *Jaina Pratimā Vijnāna*, Varanasi, 1981, pp.169.

14. At temple No.22. Cakreśvarī holds a lotus in her right hand; the image of Ādinātha temple also shows a lotus and the figure near Jaina Dharmasālā bears discs in both her upper hands.
15. In the two examples K 79 and 1667 of Archaeological Museum Khajuraho, a disc and a ring are depicted.
16. Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho, No. 940.
17. The four-armed Sarasvatī shows Abhayamudrā, a lotus, a book and a water-pot (consult Tiwari, (M.N.P. *Jaina Pratimā Vijñāna*, Varanasi, 1981, pp.184.
18. Traditional Gomukha is nowhere represented; only Sarvānbhūti Yakṣa is shown in the place of Gomukha.
19. In the figure of local Museum K 42, Ambikā bears a mango-bunch, with books near Jain Dharmasālā (on fasades) and in the image at temple No. 27 upper hands show *ankura* and *pāśa*.
20. Two-armed examples at Khajuraho Museum and the four-armed example is at Śāntinātha temple No.1.
21. Four examples of four-hand figures - from Śāntinātha temple, temple No.32 and two others near Śāntinātha temple (of fasades).
22. At archaeological Museum, Khajuraho 1608 and temple No.27.
23. Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho (1608).
24. Śāntinātha Museum (K 5).
25. Śāntinātha Museum (K 68).
26. The attributes conform to the *Aparājītpriicchā* 221.37.
- 27i. Temple No.4 - Yakṣī bears - a fruit, a disc, a lotus, a conch and Vāhana lion.
- 27ii. Temple No.21 - Vāhana lion, and shows the Varadamudrā, a sword, a disc, and a fruit.
- 27iii. Śāntinātha Museum : K 19 - Vāhana lion and bears a disc (or ring) a lotus and a conch.



Balarāma — the deity of *kṛṣikarman* in Jaina Art

MARUTI NANDAN TIWARI

KAMAL GIRI

Agriculture has been the nucleus of every society and so also the economy since the very beginning of all the civilisations in the world. As is well known, in primeval times different elements of nature with their benevolent and malevolent powers were deified in every civilization of the world. Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, also called Baladeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa and Balabhadra, occupies an exalted position in the Brāhmaṇa pantheon. Different early and late works invariably conceive Balarāma as bearing a *musala* (pestle) and a *hala* (plough), the basic agricultural implements, which distinctly suggest his intimate association with fertility and agriculture. As an incarnation of Śeṣa or Ananta or Dharādharma also Balarāma represents primeval waters and fertility.¹

The *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira prescribes only the plough for Balarāma but the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (c. 5th-6th century A. D.) mentions both *hala* and *musala* in his hands. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* describing Balarāma as an incarnation of Śeṣa, provides him with a canopy of serpent-hoods. The four-armed Balarāma, according to this work, holds a lotus and a pestle in his right hands and a plough and a conch in the corresponding left ones.² The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* further mentions that Balarāma or Balabhadra should be worshipped by those who desire to achieve success in agriculture (कृषिकर्मप्रसिद्धये - 118.13). Parāśara in his work on agriculture, *Kṛṣisamgraha*, also writes that a farmer should at the start of ploughing remember Rāma (Balarāma) alongwith Vāsava (Indra), Vyāsa, Pṛthu, and Parāśara.³

On the basis of the passages found in the Pāli work *Niddesa* (a commentary on the *Sūttanipāta*), the *Arthaśāstra* (of Kauṭilya) and the *Mahābhāṣya* (of Patañjali) the antiquity of the worship of Balarāma goes at least to c. 4th century B. C.⁴ On some of the Pañca-marked coins from Mathurā, attributable to the Mauryan period, P. L. Gupta has noticed the figures of Balarāma holding a *musala* and a *hala* respectively in his right and left hands.⁵ The epigraphic record from Ghosūṅḍī (a village in Rajasthan) and coins of Agathocles (c. 180-6th B.C.) and also the sculptures from Tumain (Gwalior), Janasūtī (near Mathurā) and Varanasi (Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi) reveal that the worship of Balarāma was very much popular in about the 2nd century B. C. These figures provided with snake canopy overhead depict two-armed Balarāma with a plough and a pestle (or a mace) in his two hands. Thus it may be said that since the Śunga period, Balarāma was associated with two basic agricultural implements, *hala* and *musala*. During the Kuṣāṇa period, the iconography of Balarāma further developed and he was represented both as two-armed and four-armed. The four-armed figures of Balarāma during the Gupta period also carried,

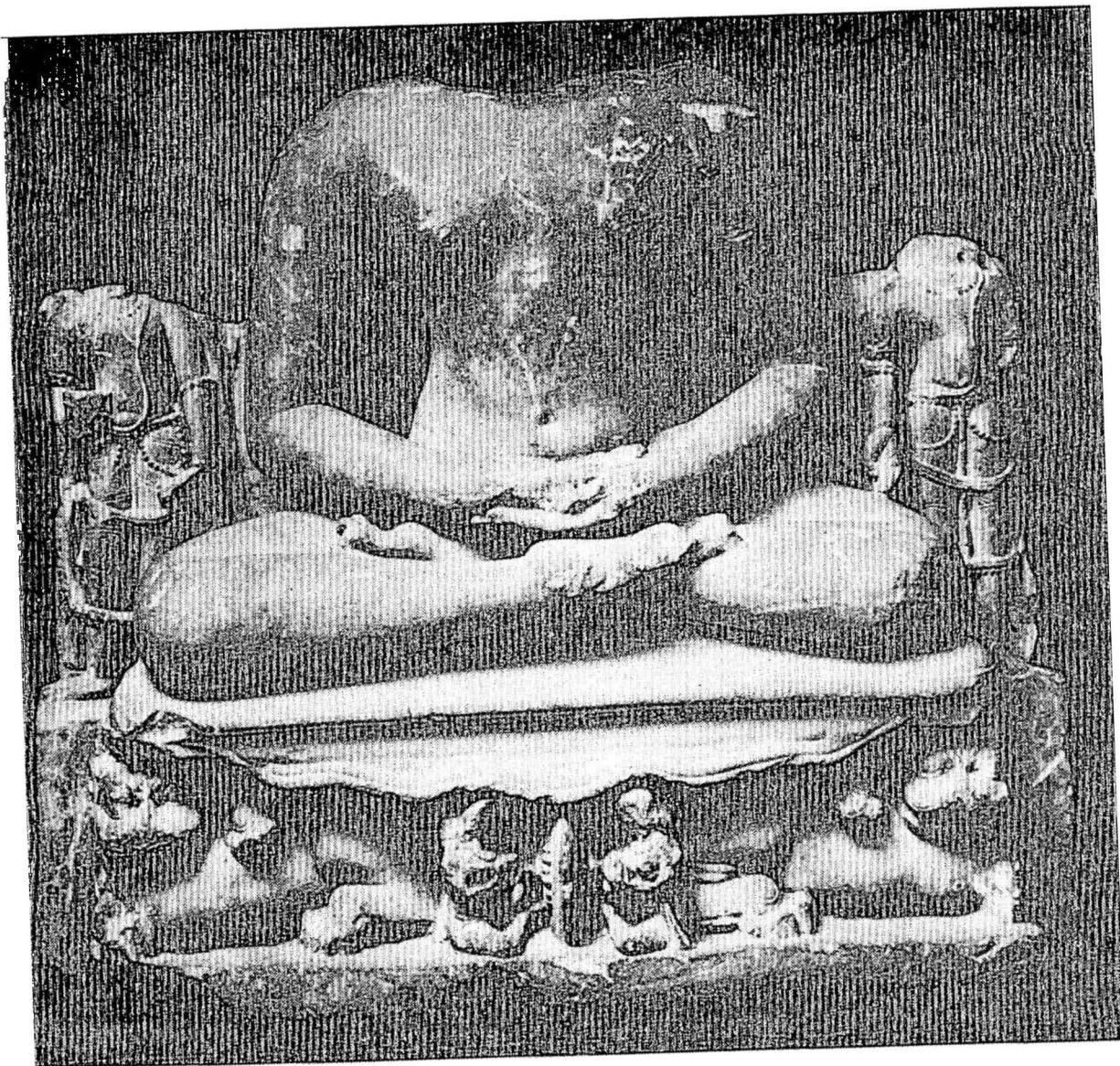


Fig. 1
Neminātha joined by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, Mathura, Now in Archaeological
Museum, Mathura (Acc. No. 37.2738), S. 10th Century A.D.
(Courtesy American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi)

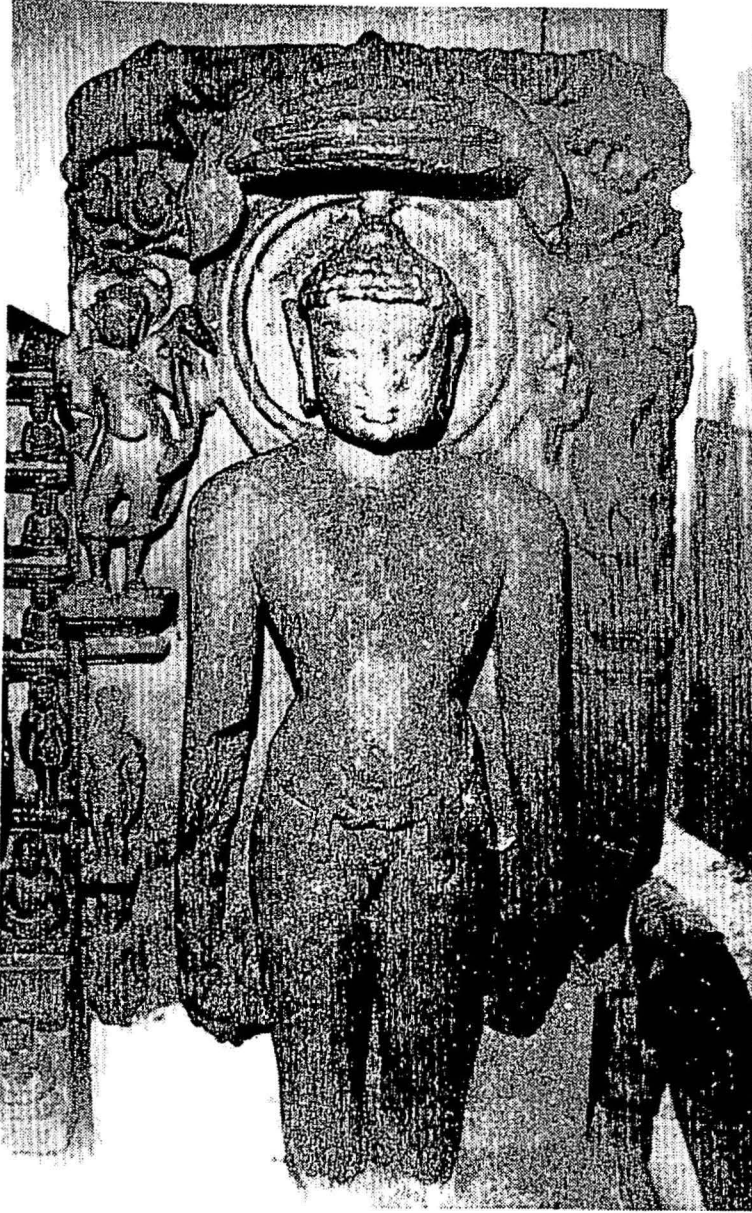


Fig. 2
Neminātha joined by Balārāma (r) and Kṛṣṇa, Mathura, State Museum,
Luchnow (Acc. No. 66. 53), S. 10th Century A.D.

(Photo Author)

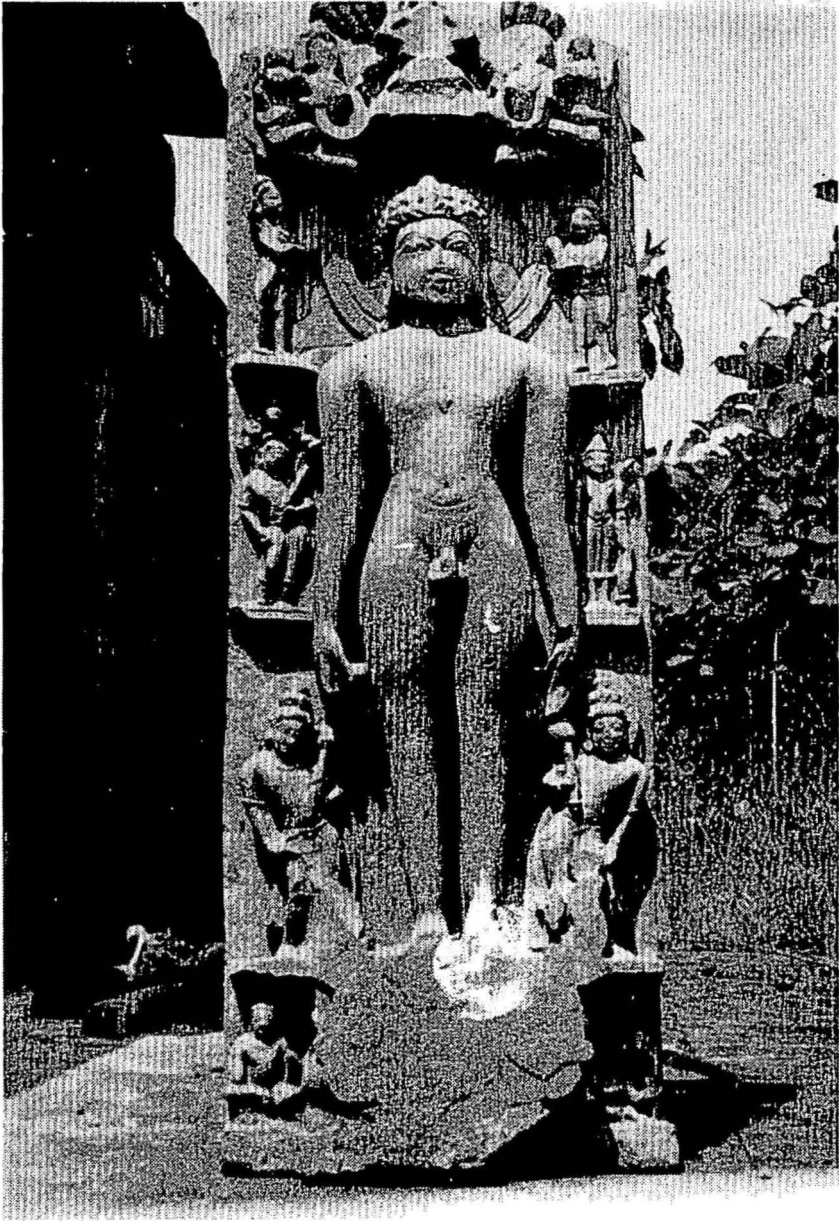


Fig. 3
Nemināth accompanied by Balarāma (r) and Kṛṣṇa, Deogarh (Temple 2), S. 11th Century A.D.

(Photo Author)



Fig. 4
Rṣabhanātha joined by Balarāma (r), Kamtrali Tūā, Mathura, State
Museum, Luchnow (Acc. No. J 78), S 10th Century A.D.
(Courtesy American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi)

a *caṣaka* (wine-bowl) in one of his hands.

Jainism, too, while assimilating the great heroes like Rāma and Kṛṣṇa of the Brāhmaṇa pantheon, accepted Balarāma in its fold. In Jaina tradition Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva are cousin brothers of the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha. Balarāma, as the 9th Baladeva, in the Jaina pantheon, is included in the list of the 63 *śalākāpuruṣas* (exemplary men). The Jaina works like the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*, the *Ṇāyādhammakahāo*, the *Antagaḍadasāo*, the *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* (783 A. D.), The *Mahāpurāṇa* (965 A. D.) and the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (latter half of the 12th century A. D.) deal with the heroic deeds of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. While accepting Balarāma in the Jaina pantheon, the Jainas have retained the basic concept of Balarāma, his being a deity of *kṛṣīkarman*. It is usually believed that the Jainas have discarded agriculture but this is only partially true because we have several references to agriculture in early and late Jaina works. The *Bṛhatsvayambhūstotra* (of Syamantabhadra) mentions that Jina Ṛṣabhanātha first of all taught the art of agriculture to the people.⁶ The *Ādipurāṇa* (or *Mahāpurāṇa* - 9th century A. D.) also mentions *kṛṣi* or agriculture as one of the six main sources of livelihood (*Ājīvikā*)⁷ The Jaina works, like the Brāhmaṇa ones, envisage *hala* and *musala* as the chief distinguishing attributes of Balarāma. The Jaina works, however, do not refer to a snake-canopy and also a *caṣaka* with Balarāma. The *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* conceives Balarāma with *gadā*, *hala*, *musala*,⁸ *dhanuṣa* and *bāṇa*.⁹ The *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, however, provides only *musala* with Balarāma. He wears a *vanamālā* and has a palm-tree banner along with a chariot.¹⁰ The Jaina sculptures also reveal that Balarāma was incarnated as a principal deity of agriculture.

Apart from the solitary independent instance of Balarāma carved with Revatī in *āliṅgana-mudrā* on the Pārśvanātha Jaina temple at Khajuraho (Madhya Pradesh), in all other instances he is shown in the *parikara* of the images of Ambikā Neminātha, and a few other Jinas. The rendering of Balarāma in Jaina art begins as early as in the Kuṣāṇa period. The figures of Neminātha from Mathurā, belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, at least in three cases are joined by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva respectively on the left and right flanks. One of these figures, datable to c. 1st century A. D. (State Museum, Lucknow, J. 47) shows the four-armed Balarāma as holding a mace and a plough in his two hands while the attributes of the lower hands are not discernible. In other two examples showing seven-hooded snake-canopy over the head of Balarāma, he stands with both of his hands in *namaskāra-mudrā*. Another example of the late Kuṣāṇa period (State Museum, Lucknow, J. 121) shows the four-armed Balarāma as standing on the right of Neminātha. Balarāma with the five-hooded snake-canopy overhead here holds a *musala* and a *hala* in his two lower hands while the upper hand in one case is holding a *caṣaka*.

The fourth image of Neminātha, now badly mutilated, from Mathurā is assignable to the Gupta period. The image (State Museum, Lucknow, J. 89) contains a four-armed figure of Balarāma with seven-hooded snake-canopy holding a *hala* and a *musala* in two of his surviving hands.

We have seven other images of Neminātha, Rṣabhanātha, Munisuvrata and Ambikā, exhibiting the figures of Balarāma along with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva in the *parikara*. These figures belong to the medieval period. The four instances of Neminātha images, coming as they do from Mathurā (State Museum, Lucknow, Acc. No. 66.53, and Archaeological Museum, Mathurā, Acc. No. 37.2738-c.10th-11th century A. D. (Figs 1&2), Bateswara (near Agra, State Museum, Lucknow, J. 793 - c. 10th century A. D.) and Deogarh (Lalitapur, U. P. - temple No. 2, 11th century A. D. Fig. 3), show Balarāma either as two-armed¹¹ or as four-armed. The two-armed figures bear only a plough while the four-armed figures invariably show a pestle and a plough in the upper right and left hands. Balarāma, provided with *vanamālā* and three or five-hooded snake-canopy overhead, is in all cases, standing in *tribhaṅga*.

The two examples respectively of Rṣabhanātha and Munisuvrata Jinas are also joined by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva on two sides. The Rṣabhanātha image from Kañkālī Tilā, Mathurā (State Museum, Lucknow, J. 78), belonging to c. 10th century A. D. contains the four-armed figure of Balarāma, shaded by seven hooded snake-canopy and holding as usual a pestle and a plough in his two upper hands (fig.4). "The lower right hand holds a *caṣaka* while the corresponding left rests on the thigh. In the case of the image of Munisuvrata from Agra (1006 A.D. - State Museum, Lucknow, J.776) Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa flank a small seated Jina figure of the *parikara* who is none else but Nemināthā. Balarāma with three hooded snake-canopy overhead and a long *vanamālā* bears as usual a pestle and a plough in his upper hands, while the two lower hands show the *varada-mudrā* and the fruit." The image of Ambikā probably from Mathurā (c.9th century A.D. Archaeological Museum Mathura, Acc. No.00.d.7) also exhibits the figures of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva in the *parikara*. Here also the four-armed Balarāma endowed with three hooded snake-canopy holds a *musala* and a *hala* in his upper hands while the lower right bears a *caṣaka* and the corresponding left rests on the thigh.

The solitary instance of the independent figure of Balarāma on the Pārśvanātha temple (c.950-70 A.D.) at Khajuraho depicts him in *tribhaṅga* with his consort Revatī in *āliṅgana-mudrā*. Balarāma with seven-hooded snake-canopy wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* and holds a *caṣaka* and a *hala* in his two hands while his right hand is in *āliṅgana-mudrā* and the left one rests on the thigh.

Thus it is apparent from the foregoing that, since the Kuṣāṇa period, Balarāma was represented as a deity of agriculture in Jaina art. The rendering

of *hala* and *musala* in his hands distinctly reveal the fact. The frequent rendering of these basic agricultural implements with Balarāma in Jaina art suggests that the Jainas were keen towards agriculture also.

Notes

1. See for details, Joshi, N.P., *Iconography of Balarāma*, New Delhi, 1979, pp.54-57, Handa, Devendra, *Osiāñ-History, Archaeology, Art and Architecture*, Delhi, 1984, p.94.
2. बलदेवो हलपाणिर्मदविभ्रमलोचनश्च कर्त्तव्यः ।
विभ्रनकुण्डलमेकं शंखेन्दुमृणालगौरतनुः ।
Bṛhatsamhitā 57/36; *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* III.65,27, p.342.
3. *Kṛṣṣisamgraha of Parāśara*, Calcutta, 1992, p.28, verse 128.
4. Joshi, N.P., *op.cit.*, pp.20-21.
5. Gupta, P.L., *Unpublished Catalogue of Puñca-marked Coins from Mathurā Museum* and also a paper read in the seminar on Mathurā Art held at Delhi in 1981.
6. शशास कृष्यादिषु कर्मसु प्रजाः ।
Bṛhatsvayambhūstotra - vṛṣabhajinastavana 2
7. *Ādipurāṇa* (or *Mahāpurāṇa*) of Jinasena 16:179,181,184
8. A few of the Jaina goddesses such as Gāndhārī, Padmāvati, Kālī and Gaurī are also provided with a pestle in one of their hands.
9. *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* 41. 36-37.
10. *Triṣaṣṭisālākāpuruṣacaritra* 5.5.160-69.
11. Bateswara and Deogarh images holding a *caṣaka* or a fruit and a plough.



REVIEWS

VĀSTUSŪTROPANIṢAD (The Essence of Form in Sacred Art)

Ed. by : Alice Boner, Sadāśiva Rath Śarma, Bettina Bäumer; Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1982; pp. i-xxiv + 1-192; Price Rs. 150/-

The book is based on a total number of five manuscripts. One is in the Devanāgarī script, while four are in the Oriya (Brāhamaṇī). The final print is in the Devanāgarī, with notes and Translation in English. The *Vāstusūtropaniṣad* (VSU) is claimed to be the first known text on image-making in the category of an Upaniṣad, ascribed to the seer Pippalāda. Also it is edited and translated for the first time. A useful glossary giving the meanings of the technical terms used in the text, and an exhaustive Index are the marked characteristics of the Book. The text throws new light on the basic conceptions and practices underlying sacred art. Various illustrations, such as of the *yūpa*, *kuṇḍa*, and *mudrās*, are welcome additions. The book also carries a separate article by Dipak Bhattacharya--- "The Position of Vāstusūtropaniṣad in the Atharvavedic Tradition"--- who rightly points out that the VSU remains a "problem text" in spite of its being termed an Upaniṣad; for, the subject-matter of VSU falls outside the general scope of Upaniṣadic discussions. Even with a sort of an explanation given by Alice Boner (P.3), one feels that the work falls short of the concept of an Upaniṣad. However, very broadly it may be called Upaniṣad, considering the fact that the art of image-making is deftly connected with the cosmic creation, and not only with sacrifice. Moreover, it is in the form of Question-Answer, involving the preceptor and his disciples. Bhattacharya, who takes a detailed note of the work, is of the opinion that the work cannot be earlier than the eighteenth century A.D.; and this seems to be right. It is also to be noted that, the concepts in the VSU, in a large majority of cases, are not traceable in the Vedic tradition, though the commentary so claims. It is clear that this late work tries to tuck itself on to the Atharvaveda tradition to gain prestige; or, at the best it could be said to present the original tradition, but in a very diluted phase.

The introduction by Alice Boner is exhaustive and apt. It not only gives the summary of the text but also explains some important concepts. The text falls in the category of Śilpa texts; and yet it is called Vāstusūtra and not Śilpasūtra. This point has been explained by Boner by saying that this may be due to the fact that the text deals with the lay-out and not (merely) with image-making. The lay-out is technically called *Pañjara* or *Khila-pañjara*, comprising the sixteenfold division of the *kṣetra* (space) for presenting the image. Each such division (*koṣṭha*) has a specific purpose as far as the part of the image, or its auxiliaries are concerned. Boner has rightly stated that

Śilpa (sculpture) was for the sculptors a “sacrificial act”; in support of this, she gives the testimony of the Matsya Purāṇa and the Br̥hatsarṇhitā. Actually, the word *śilpa* was well known to the Vedic ritualists; and it was used in connection with new sacrificial birth of the sacrificer, which was, however, brought about by the symbolic combination of various R̥gvedic hymns mixed with the then current folk-songs (cf. Aitareya Br̥hmaṇa 30.1-10; they occur in other texts also). These *śilpas*, in the Vedic ritual-context, included among other verses, what are called the *Kuntāpa* hymns (R̥gveda Khila V.8-22; Atharvaveda XX. 127ff; also in the Br̥hmaṇa texts). It is to be noted that the VSU mentions the *āhallikāḥ* (translated as “praisers”, P.77; also in the text, P.161; Ch.V. *Sūtra* 22), which word is rendered by the commentator as : *āhallikā bhāṭā ity arthaḥ; kuntāpīya-ramaṇī-viśeṣaḥ*. (P.161; English Tr. P.77, N.12 has “one who praises (*bhāṭ* in Oriya); the Kuntāpīyas are a kind of women (who chant the Kuntāpasūktas of the Atharvaveda)”. Boner does not give the exact reference, and does not show knowledge of the Vedic *Śilpa* tradition, though it was only symbolic in the Vedic ritual. The *Āhallikās* are referred to in the commentary as knowing the various quarters of the Vedic gods (*evam āhallikā vadanti*). Actually, *Āhallikāḥ* is to be connected with the songs called *Pravahllikāḥ* in the Vedic Kuntāpa tradition, the commentary indicating that the word came also to denote the singers of the songs ! This would show that the commentator’s time retained the old tradition of the *Śilpa*, with the difference that here women (cf. *ramaṇī*) sang, not the priests. But the text does not refer to the Kuntāpīyas and the *Āhallikās* (*Pravahllikās*). The Vedic texts that refer to the *śilpas* specifically say that it was a science of preparing forms or images. The text VSU fully utilizes the terminology of the Vedic sacrificial tradition and tries to stress the similarity between the Vedic sacrifice and the art of image-making. The artist (*sthāpaka*) is, here, variously called *śilpodgātr*, *śilpa-hotr*, and *vāstu-hotr*. According to the VSU the various curves and lines of the image, and of other figures connected with it, are *āhutayaḥ* (“offerings”). It also says that the images are to be drawn strictly in accordance with the rules (*Sūtra*-s); otherwise, the effort will be fruitless, like a sacrifice performed without adhering to the various injunctions.

The text is in the form of *Sūtra*-s, said to have been composed by Pippalāda; and one commentary is by Somabhaṭṭa and another by Nigama Diṇḍina. The former commentator has provided some marginal notes also, these have been incorporated in the present edition. The scribe calls himself Kāmadeva Udgāthā (*udgāthā* ?). Taken together, the commentary and the marginal notes are workable; but the Sanskrit is far from being satisfactory. The text is in the form of questions and answers between the preceptor Pippalāda and Atharvāṅgīrasa and Śilpakāśyapa who are his two disciples. The names seem to be doubtful, though they belong to well known personalities of yore. While Pippalāda is

known to have his own tradition of the Atharvaveda, here the name, along with that of the famous sage Atharvāṅgīrasa, seems to be contrived on purpose. However, tradition knows a Śilpa text called *Kāśyapaśilpasūtra* which fact may give credence to the name Śilpakāśyapa (see n.2 on P.39 and 135). The work is divided into six chapters. Ch.I deals with the six branches of art, and, among other things, with the types of stones (*śilāḥ*) for making the images. They are : (i) Hiranyareckhikā (showing golden lines). This is to be discarded; (ii) Samavarṇā (of one colour only). This is a very hard type of stone and is considered to be the most suitable for making images from. (iii) Tāmra (red coloured; also called *gāḍha-piṅgalā* "extremely tawny"). This type is considered suitable for carving out images attached to the wall; but, it is useless for images, separate and away from the wall. However, it is said to be suitable for carving out a hall. (iv) Dhātupuṭitā (having metal-like sercs). It is the most useless. (v) Vajralabdḥā (of soft mineral found in between two layers of stone). This is also an inferior type; and (vi) Saikatālikā (of sand-stone). This type is good for making pillars (*yūpa*) from. All these types are not mentioned by the text, which simply has, "Six types of stones are to be known"; it is the commentary that elaborates. Ch.II deals with compositional diagrams (*Khila-pañjara*). They are various, including the circle, square, triangle, hexagrams etc. Here we have also designs for the multi-angular *yūpa*-s, the angles symbolizing various gains for the person who erects the *yūpa*. Here, as in a further chapter, it is said that the upright lines, or triangles with the base at the bottom and the point at the top, symbolize Fire; that the horizontal lines, and triangles with the base up and point down, symbolize the water principle. On the 'Fire-lines' images having an upright nature are to be presented, while on the 'water-lines' those that are mild and indicating longing are to be shown. The oblique lines symbolize the Wind principle; and they are suitable for flying figures and energetic images. The commentator glosses that the fire-triangle and the water-triangle form a *mithuna* (sex-pair). The triangle concept, in this sense, is not found in the Vedic tradition, though the concept of Fire-Water sex-pair is quite common in the Vedic ritual context (on this topic may be seen the review-writer's book, *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual*, Delhi, 1979).

Ch.III is given to instructions regarding carving of figures in various ways. In this connection various types of chisels are mentioned, namely *Lāñji*, *Lāṅgali*, *Ṛḍhradanti*, *Sūcimukhi*, *Vajrā*, *Dvimukhi* and *Ghūrnikā*. The last one is the common compass. Ch.IV deals with the disposition of the various parts of the image. It also deals with the identification of the *yūpa* and the Puruṣa, and refers to the establishment of "Bull-pillars" and *mithunastambhas* (depicting beasts in coitus) for particular gains.

In Ch.V the main topic is the close affinity between the *bhāva* (attitude) on the face of the image and the *rasa* (sentiment) suggested. However, there

is modification regarding the *bhāva-rasa* associatin necessitated by the *Śāstra*. This is clear from the statement in the text, “*bhāvasya ādhāro rasah*” (Tr. “the support of the emotional attitude is *rasa*”, P.72), which goes contrary to the rhetoric concept. The commentator explains this *Sūtra* by giving the various expressions in the image whereby the *rasa* could be indicated. Thus, for indicating *Śṛṅgāra* (love) the images are to be presented on the horizontal lines (the water-lines, *ab-rekhāḥ*); humour, or the sentiment of laughter, could be indicated by half-parted lips; grief is indicated by keeping the eyes half-closed. We have further instructions as to which lines ----- horizontal, oblique or upright --- are preferred for particular emotions. Ch VI. deals with Integration of the Composition, *sambandha-prabodhanam*, where the aim of the lore of *Śilpa* (*Śilpa-vidyā*) is said to be the manifestation of divine attributes in the image. These include *nyāsa* (composition), *alaṅkāra* (ornamentation), *mudrā* (gestures), *āyudha* (attributes or weapons), *bādhra* (preventive device; not so much the weapon, as is mentioned in the commentary and accepted by the editors), *kakṣa* (pose), *vāhana* (vehicle), *upadeva* (secondary deity), *ari* (adversary of the god) and the devotees. For carving the image and its associates mentioned above, the basic principle is that man is sixteenfold; so is the anthropomorphic deity. Hence the whole area to be carved is divided into sixteen equal number of small squares, these at the corners being further divided into two triangles each. The corners on the opposite sides are touched by diagonal lines cutting across the whole space (the *karṇa-rekhā*). Where these *karṇa-rekhās* cross each other there is the centre, called Brahmabindu. The middle four squares are termed Brahmakṣetra, which is to occupy the main body (the upper part) of the image of the god. Below the Brahmakṣetra is the Jiva-kṣetra, where two middle squares are meant for the *vāhana* (bull, goat or any beast as the case may be) and two at the corners are meant for the devotees. Above the Brahmakṣetra is the Daivakṣetra, where the middle portion may be taken up by the helmet of the god, and at the corners are to be shown flying semi-divine beings such as the Apsarases and the Gandharvas. Though it is not clearly mentioned, the adversary may be shown at the Jivakṣetra, defeated. The work is, thus, a good guide to understand the extant image-structures in the cave temples and elsewhere. Also it is well edited and neatly produced. Like other works on the subject in question, such as *Śilparahasya Āgama*, *Śilpāgama*, *Kāsyapaśilpasūtra*, *Śilpaprakāśa*, *Śilparatnakeśa* and others it is a useful manual on the subject.

Though there is a clear zeal to associate the work with the tradition of Vedic rituals, which is noticeable at various places, the discussion on the presentation of the *mudrās* of hand being wholly based on the ritual of the churning of the sacred fire (Ch.VI), there is little doubt that neither the author nor the commentator has a first hand knowledge of Vedic sacrificial practices. Even the philosophisation, wherever it is done, is awkward. Thus the statement “as brāhmaṇas perform sacrifices for the gain of *mokṣa*” (Text P.159; Tr.,

correctly, P.75) is puzzling. So is the case with “priests offer sacrifices to Prajāpati and other gods in the Vaiśvānara (fire) (with the word)” (P.160; 76). When the commentary says “*uttarāraṇyām adharāraṇi-calane*” (P.165) it is clear that the commentator just does not know the process. The Tr. (P.84) has only, “when churning two fire-sticks”. The *uttarā arāṇi* is the upper drill which is active, while the *adharā arāṇi* is the lower slab, on which the upper one moves ! The word *udgītha* used by the commentator for the “chanting priest” (tr. by editors), actually means a song; for the priest we expect *udgātṛ* (see P. 165; tr.P.84). The foot-notes, both in the Sanskrit portion and the translation, are superfluous in most of the cases, as they do not give the exact meaning or implication, but give only reference to occurrence of that word somewhere in a Vedic text (at various places; esp.P. 168f; Tr., P.93f). Some comments are just unwanted, and even uncalled for (Ib.f). On page 143, the figure for the number 33 does not appear in the text though it is seen in the notes. Even in the Translation portion the position is the same. One feels, the editors could have replaced it in the brackets, so as to indicate that it was not found in the original Sanskrit commentary ! To translate the word *āyudha* at all places as “weapons” is unhappy. Though the editors have (or, the translator) rectified the shortcoming in some cases, it sounds queer to translate *āyudha* and also *bādhra* as “weapon” for “flag”, “red”, “noose” and so on (P.87). The illustrations for the various *āsanas* as indicative of the poses taken by the priests at the Vedic rituals do not seem to be realistic; and it is difficult to corroborate all these drawings from the Vedic ritual contexts (P.90ff). The Notes - portion is useful. However, certain references should have been checked from the original Śat. Br. Thus Ś.B.II.2.1.12 is actually V.2.1.12 (p.103); and Ś.B.II.6.4 should be corrected to III.7.1.24 (P.118) inspite of reference to Eggeling.

In fine, it is necessary to say that, apart from the point of use made above, the work lacks the Vedic ritual context it avers to have. But, it would be doing injustice to the author of the text and the commentator to expect real Vedic ritual knowledge from them. One feels that the work was mainly meant for the sculptors and written by a sculptor *guru (sthāpaka)*, both having no sound knowledge of the Vedic details. It cannot be taken to have been meant for the elite class. The same is the case with the references to *bhāva* and *rasa*, where, in the present case, the norms of pure Rhetorics cannot be applied, nor is it expected. As it is, the book commends itself to those who want to have a general knowledge of the Vāstu-Śāstra. It also shows that any lore in the ancient Hindu tradition has a well-set plan of connecting it to the Veda on the one hand, and, on the other, stressing that life on the earth is only an extension of that on the heaven, that the humans and the gods are in close communion. This well edited and authentically translated book is a welcome addition to books on Indology.

S. A. DANGE



Oaths and Ordeals in Dharmaśāstra

By : S.N.Pendse; Published by the M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodra, 1985; pp. i-iii + 1-302; Price Rs.72/-

The book under review had been a thesis by the author for his Ph.D. degree, prior to its publication as a book. The subject is interesting and throws welcome light on an important aspect of ancient Hindu law. The author has taken material from various sources, and has arranged it systematically. As a thesis, the work has already been rewarded with the award of the degree for which it was submitted. When, now, it is published, it is apt to be useful to scholars. The study is presented in eight chapters, and has three appendices; also it gives an Index. The chapters are well arranged. One whole chapter deals with oaths(VI), as distinct from the ordeals that are dealt with separately. Chapter I, "Oaths and Ordeals in Dharmaśāstra works", which introduces the topic of the book, discusses the point whether oaths and ordeals have any legal status, as against the opinion that they are arbitrary. The author, in this context, refers to the views of many scholars such as A.Dubois, A.E. Crawley and others. Among other topics, he discusses the theory regarding Dharma and Artha laws, according to K.P. Jayaswal; also he refers to Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol.I). His non-agreement with Jayaswal is understandable, and the discussion is useful. One feels, however, that in this context of the mutual difference between the laws of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, the discussion of the famous verse of Nārada (I.39), *yatra vipratipattiḥ syād dharmasāstrārthasāstrayoh* ---- would have been of added use. Ch.II is "Name, Number and Classification of Ordeals"; III is "Evidential Value of Ordeals", IV is 'Divyamātrkā' (it should be Divyamātrkāḥ), dealing with various rules regarding the ordeals; V is Divyavidhi, dealing with the ritual and the process of the ordeals; VII deals with the "Institution of Ordeal in India"; and VIII discusses "Social, Anthropological, Psychological and Legal Investigation into the practice of Ordeals". Every chapter is divided into suitable sections; and we have also comparative data where necessary, and this makes the study all the more interesting. In all cases of ordeals important original sources are referred to, though the non-reference to the Mitākṣarā on certain crucial points (for ex. poison and *varṇa*) would make one rather unhappy. The effort is commendable and the author deserves to be congratulated for it. The author's comments on certain key-terms are fresh; for example, his explanation of the term *śṛṅga* -- a type of poison -- and his comment on Kane's interpretation is quite acceptable.

One feels that, while presenting the thesis to the world of scholars in the form of a book, some trimming was necessary, especially as regards the language. Such expressions as "Each of the method" (for methods), "none of the earlier Arthaśāstra work" (for works) (P.iii.14,19 etc.) should have

been trimmed. Also a number of spelling (printing!) mistakes could have been avoided (comming, p.6,24 etc., locuna,P.11). Such mistakes are many, and appear to have been beyond the control of the author. At various places long passages are quoted. Generally, passages are quoted if they are to be critically examined. Long passages, just to support one's point, need not have been given (for ex. from Kane, P.13; from Sengupta,P.35). The Bibliography is impressive; but, there are cases where books mentioned in the Bibliography do not occur in the pages of treatment. In a number of cases, the year and place of publication are not given. The famous book of Ram Gopal is listed as *India in Vedic Kalpasūtras* (it should be *India of Vedic...*) and without the year and place of publication. (It was first published from Delhi in 1959; and a second edition is recently published). Such instances should have been carefully avoided. The titles of books should have been in the Italics; but, probably, the author has followed the method of Kane, which is the old method.

The book is certainly of great use to the students of Dharmaśāstra and of social sciences.

S. A. DANGE



Vedic Tantrism

By M. S. BHATT; Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1987: pp.i-v + 1-437; Price Rs. 175/-

The book under review is, in essence, "A Study of the *Ṛgvidhāna* of Śaunaka, with Text and Translation", as is mentioned below the main title. About the main title, comments will follow. The author has presented a fresh edition of the *Ṛgvidhāna*, after utilizing fresh manuscripts, after consulting older editions by Meyer R.(1878) and Gonda J.(1951), the latter scholar giving also renderings and notes. This work by M.S. Bhatt is, hence, a step ahead and fulfils a long-felt need for a good edition. As an important text of the *vidhāna* type, the *Ṛgvidhāna* is noteworthy for its prescription of verses from the *Ṛgveda* in rituals of day-to-day need. Bhatt has used the various sources that were available to him to make this edition useful; the sources include the commentary of Māṅśūnu, the *Manusmṛiti*, the *Mahābhārata* and such other texts as were necessary for providing comparative material wherever he felt it necessary. In translation (notes included), he has tried to improve upon Meyer and Gonda; and, in a number of places, his renderings are better than those of these scholars. He has also suggested (and incorporated) a number of emendations, over and above the ones suggested by these previous scholars; and these emendations are welcome. These emendations are sought to be justified by references to other texts, noted above; and the whole work is as meticulously edited as it is sincerely presented to the scholars for whom it is meant to be useful for further study, and to readers in general who would like to trace down the *Ṛgvedic* tradition to later times and note later influences; for, this is a work, as the author rightly says, that is between *Brāhmaṇism* and *Purāṇic* religion.

The book is divided into two parts: Part I is the Study; it is divided into suitable chapters, such as deal with the *Vidhāna* literature, Contribution of the *Ṛgvidhāna* to ritual literature and mythology, Language and Composition, Date and so on. Also it has two appendices : Appendix A is a "Conspectus of *ślokas* in the *vargas* of the *Ṛgvidhāna*"; and Appendix B is on the "Relation of *Ṛgvidhāna* to other Texts". At the end there is an Index to the verses in the *Ṛgvidhāna*, and another one is a General Index. Part II comprises the Text in *Devanāgarī* script, and Translation and Notes. As Bhatt has pointed out, the word *vidhāna* has two senses: (i) *vidhi* (which is a statement for urging one to act); and (ii) Sorcery. Both senses are attested from the various prescriptions, along with the verses from the *Ṛgveda*. It has to be remembered, however, that the *vidhāna* includes one more sense, and it is very prominent, viz. magic which need not be always black magic and this sense goes beyond sorcery. The various *kr̥cchras* (pp.25-117), which form an important part of the *Smṛiti* and the *Purāṇic* literature, are not sorcery; but, they could be included

under *vidhi*. The rites that are prescribed with a view to imparting fecundity to a sterile woman are not strictly *vidhi*, and never sorcery; they are magical prescription. A *vidhi* has to be differentiated from a magical prescription. The former is an injunction, the latter is a necessity in certain circumstances. Again, the *japa*, *pūjā* and such rites as are aids to devotion are not *vidhi* in the strict sense (as the Mīmāṃsakas saw it); they are just ritual-acts. It is, thus, necessary to say that the Vidhāna texts include *vidhis* in a very loose sense. In fact, this is the reason why these texts are Vidhāna texts, and not *vidhi* texts. In this sense, they come on par with the texts on Paddhati, with the difference that the Paddhati is strictly the elaboration and explanation of a particular Brāhmaṇa or a Śrauta text, while the Vidhāna is independent of a Śrauta or a Gṛhya text, combining both and adding much more from the social stratum, but using verses from the Saṃhitā. In doing so, the Vidhāna-writer (or, composer for that matter!) often misses the spirit of the original Saṃhitā-verse and applies it arbitrarily. Though Bhat does not say so in so many words, his statement that the “employment of Ṛks in the Ṛgvidhāna is arbitrary..... Majority of the Mantras are either misunderstood, or half-understood, or not understood at all” (P.125; Cf.P.200) is correct. The nature of the Vidhāna being what it is (as explained just above), it is difficult to accept Bhat’s observation, that, “the Vidhāna literature arose out of the need to simplify the Śrauta and the Gṛhya rites with the help of magic” (P.200). This would be assuming, on the one hand, that there was no magic in the Brāhmaṇa texts, or the Śrauta texts (which is not true); and, on the other, that Śrauta and the Gṛhya rites form the entire, or the main, bulk of the Vidhāna texts; this also cannot be attested from these texts. There is no conscious effort discernible in these texts to explain, let alone simplify, the Sūtras. As the whole basis of the *Ṛgvidhāna* is the application of the Ṛk-verses to rites, there is no scope for “Mythology” in it. Hence, Bhat’s statement, that it does not add “anything new to our knowledge of Vedic mythology” (P.199) is perfectly admissible.

The arguments regarding the date of the *Ṛgvidhāna* are convincing; and the date suggested is acceptable (about 500 B.C.- 400 B.C. at P.153 and P.200; at another place, P.19,500-300 B.C.). While accepting the statement of Bhat, that the Vidhānas, including the *Ṛgvidhāna*, are a link between Brāhmaṇism and the Purāṇic Hindu religion (P.2), one feels it would have been better if certain examples from the Purāṇas might have been given. Thus, for example, the Nyāsa-vidhi (*Ṛvidh.* III.157ff.) corroborates with the one in the Yoga in the Purāṇas (Cf. Liṅga P.I.85.56ff.); and the same is found at the Mārkaṇḍeya P.(35.54ff.) in the context of the Dvādaśa-patraka-yoga, where every leaf is the seat of Viṣṇu. The “Dvādaśa Dvādaśī” vow mentioned in the *Ṛvidh.* (III.137ff.) has a parallel in a similar vow to be performed the year round, every twelfth day (*dvādaśī*) being given a separate name,

viz. Madana-dvādaśī, Bhīma-dvādaśī etc. (Agni P.188.1ff.). About sorcery (and magic, in general) there are any number of parallels in the Purāṇas (This information could be obtained from the Reviewer's work, *Encyclopaedia of Purāṇic Beliefs and Practices*, Vols. I-V, New Delhi, 1986-1988). On noting that a verse in the *Ṛvidh*. (I.106) is identical with one from the *Suparṇādhyaḥya*, Bhatt sets aside the suggestion of Meyer that it could have been borrowed by the *Ṛvidh*, from the *Suparṇādhyaḥya*, stating that it could also be the other way (P.302). On this, it may be pointed out that Macdonell A. A, takes the *Suparṇādhyaḥya* to be a work of the later Brāhmaṇa period, which he takes as B.C. 800-500 (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 7th Ed., 1928 (First Ed., 1900), P.204). Moreover, the *Suparṇādhyaḥya* employs mainly the Vedic Triṣṭubh metre, with only a very few verses in the Anuṣṭubh (unlike the *Ṛvidh*). A good edition of the work appeared (in the Roman script) along with critical study and translation (in German; Charpentier J., *Die Suparṇasaga*, Uppsala, 1920); and it could be compared with the *Ṛvidh*. Well, this is a minor point; and it does not harm the date suggested by Bhatt. Some comments regarding the notes will not be out of place. Generally, the notes are cryptic. One feels, certain words and concepts should have been made clear, some of which (just for example) being; Udumbara, the tradition and significance of its use (P.408), Vastoṣpati, as different from Sadasaspati, Sarparājñī and her significance in warding off of serpents, her nature and concept as Earth etc. Certain remarks regarding Gonda are rather pricking ("his translation is... absurd", P.4, 161; he "commits a blunder", P.332).

Now, to come to the point of the Title. As noted above, the work deals with only one text, the *Ṛgvidhāna*; and the only relation of this text with the Ṛgveda is that a large number of verses from the Samhitā are sought to be used for cure, gain and such other things. As such, the title Vedic *Tantrism* is confusing, in the absence of any other Veda, or Vedic text, coming under the study, or in the text proper. Another point is--- What is Tantra, or Tantrism ? Bhatt never mentions *his* concept of Tantra; and what we have here does not conform to the usually well accepted concept of Tantrism, with the five *ma-kāras*, based on the Tantric texts. Bhatt does not even show acquaintance with the term *Tantra*, with its technical sense, in the Mīmāṃsā context. One wonders why help was not taken at least from Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra* (Vol. V, Poona, Second Ed. 1977, part ii, PP.1031-1139) to sort out points. Employment of verses for sorcery, or magic in the sober sense, or for some gains can hardly qualify a work to be called Tantric. If such is the criterion, one would be forced to say that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (and other Vedic texts), prescribing the *abhicāra* methods (Ai. Br. XII. 8;12; XVII.2, with the statement *yadi kāmayeta* etc.; cf. the device to lull the ferocious Rudra to sleep, after contriving him to depart to the far off region of Mūjaval, at Śatapatha Br.II.6.2.17, the context being the Sākamedha) would be a perfectly

Tantric text ! Similarly, the contrivances of Dūrohaṇa, Pratyārohaṇa and the like would be Tantric, inasmuch as they are employed for the sacrificer to ascend to heaven and come back, the *mantras* being recited *pacchah* (*pad+śah*), *tripadyā* etc. (Ai. Br. XVIII. 6-7; Cf. *Ṛvidh*.I.78 *pacchah ... varṇaśah*). If offering of clarified butter at the four-road junction, and the *japa* etc. at various places to gain wealth, cattle and other things, is believed to come under Tantrism, the same would be true about Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (I.6.12) One has to mark the clear difference between sympathetic magic and Tantrism. That Bhatt is rather away from the concept behind the Mīmāṁsā term *tantra* is clear when he renders the expression, “*api vā caru-sahasraṁ tantreṇaikena nirvapeṭ*” (*Ṛvidh*. Text, P.249, verse 222; Tr., P.386) as, “offer a thousand [oblations of] rice-mess in one uninterrupted series [*tantra*]” (brackets are his and as given by him). Actually, the prescription is to offer a *caru* (boiled rice prepared in a typical jar) daily (*pratyaham*, at verse 220, which word Bhatt leaves away in his translation) upto a thousand of such offerings (*ś-sahasrāt*, v.221) or, alternatively (*api vā*) offer the “thousand oblations of boiled rice (*caru-sahasram*) with ONE *tantra* (*tantreṇaikena*). The rendering “one thousand in one interrupted series” is against the very concept of *tantra*, which does not admit of a “series”. That is why the text(*Ṛvidh*) specifically adds the word *ekena* to *tantreṇa*. *Tantra* is defined as “One single act that serves for many” (Cf. also Yājñavalkya-Smṛti I.228 *tantram vā vaiśvadevakam*, and Vijñāneśvara, *tantra-śabdaḥ śamudāya-vācakaḥ*, meaning that it serves for a collection (or, series); in the case under discussion, one brahmin serving in place of two or three). It is this connotation of *Tantra*, interpreted later as a key-act’ or ‘a unit of key-acts’ that gave rise to the later concept of Tantrism, developing into the unit of five *ma-kāras*. In any case, Bhatt could have done well to explain the term *tantra* and argued how his meaning of “one uninterrupted series” fitted therein.

In the use of the phrase *tantreṇaikena*, the *Ṛvidh*. follows the Mīmāṁsā. However, even this is not an instance of Tantrism ! It will be clear, from what has been said above, that the *Ṛvidh* could never be termed a Tantric text; and to use the term Tantrism (which implies a text on the dogmas pertaining to the Tantric way of worship) in relation to this text is a far cry.

While discussing the date of the *Ṛvidh*., commenting on certain long passages in it, Bhatt says that such passages, including the Hṛdyasūkta (*Ṛvidh*.III. 79-114), must have been “added in the ninth century A.D., or even later” because, they are “strongly reminiscent of Tantric practices, which, though common in the Purāṇas and later works are *unknown in the Vedic literature*” (P.150-151). It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the title of the book under review (*Vedic Tantrism*), which the author rightly ascribes to B.C.500-400 when, in his own words, no trace of Tantrism could be there. The statement and the title are, thus, mutually contradictory ! It appears, that Bhatt meant

the title to be only *Rgvidhāna* -- A critical study (as is clear from the sub-title below the bold one), and changed it to the present one, without reviewing, or revising, his earlier plan. One wishes, he should have kept away the addition of Tantrism from the title, as it is never referred to in the book, except for stating (as above) that Tantrism is not Vedic !!

But for the title (which has to be overlooked), the whole study is an evidence of the author's sustained efforts. As a new edition the book is most welcome; and it is bound to be useful as an authentic text, with a faithful translation, for further comparative study, and also for tracing the course which the Vedic (here Rgvedic) verses gradually took to assure the common man of help and solace. The author deserves congratulations of the academic world.

S. A. DANGE



Studies in Sanskrit Sāhitya-Śāstra

By : V. M. Kulkarni, Published by Bhogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology,
Patan (North Gujarat), 1983; Price Rs. 60/-

Dr.Kulkarni's 'Studies in Sanskrit Sāhitya-Śāstra' is a collection of his select-research-papers, already published in various journals. It is an excellent contribution to the field of Sanskrit literary criticism. The papers 4 to 6 are quite note-worthy in this regard. In paper No.4 Dr. Kulkarni has admirably restored the texts of the most important and obscure portions of the Abhinavabhāratī on Bharata's Nāṭya-Śāstra Chapter VI. He has done this with the help of Kāvyanuśāsana of Hemachandra and Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmachandra - Guṇacandra. Again in paper No.5 he has restored the correct readings of many important passages from the Abhinavabhāratī on Nāṭyaśāstra Chapter VI, with the help of Kalpa-latā-viveka by an anonymous author, a valuable work, which he has pressed into service for the first time.

Till now, Chapter VII of the Abhinavabhāratī was supposed to have been irrevocably lost. With the help of the Kalpa-latā-viveka Dr. Kulkarni has ably restored major portions of this chapter in paper No.6. This valuable service done to the Abhinavabhāratī by Dr. V.M.Kulkarni would have been even more precious if he would have added English translations of the restored texts. This would have clearly and instantly pointed out how these passages, that have baffled many eminent scholars like Dr. Gnoli and Dr. Raghavan, now offer a reasonable reading.

Papers 1 to 3 are dealing with such aspects of Sanskrit poetics as have not yet received due attention from scholars working in this field. In paper No.1 Dr. Kulkarni has rightly pointed out that ancient Indian critics have failed to treat plagiarism from psychological point of view and that the writers on law have not taken any note of plagiarism. In paper No.2 he argues that Sanskrit critics would never tolerate poetry wrought at the expense of fact. In papers No.7 and No.8 some topics having important bearing on Sanskrit Drama have been treated on scientific basis. In paper No.9 Dr. Kulkarni has clearly brought out how Bhāmaha attached great importance to grammar in the field of rhetorics. In paper No.10 he has taken the help of the Kalpa-latā-viveka for restoring and interpreting 6 important Kārikās in Chapter V of Bhāmaha's Kāvyaśāstra. In paper No.11 he has proved that the portions from the Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa of Udbhaṭa, published by Gnoli, form the source of the corresponding portions in the Kalpa-latā-viveka.

Paper No.12 deals with the much-discussed problem whether the Cantos IV and VIII of Kālidāsa's Kumārasaṃbhava are instances of Kāvya-doṣa according to Ānandavardhana. In paper No.14 Dr.Kulkarni has succeeded in the difficult task of restoring numerous corrupt Prakrit verses scattered in the works of

Sanskrit rhetoricians, to their original correct forms. With the help of quotations found in the Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana and the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhoja, Dr. Kulkarni has given us important information about the lost Harivijaya of Sarvasena. Dr. Kulkarni's thorough study of the Jain literature has enabled him to give in a lucid manner the Jain view of 'Aesthetic Experience' in paper No.16. The appendix on 'Poetic Truth' also is quite interesting.

Thus, this collection of papers is a mine of information for teachers and research scholars working in the field of Indian poetics.

G. V. DAVANE



Late Hinayana Caves Of Western India

By : M. K. Dhavalikar. Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1984. pp. 81 plates and 73 figures; Rs. 125/-

This is a valuable addition to the existing literature on the Buddhist cave temples of Western India, particularly the lesser known groups at Karad, Khed, Kuda, Nadsur or Thanala, Shelarwadi, Shirwal and Wai that have not received the attention they deserve.

It is generally believed that the rock activity of the Hinayana Buddhists became quiescent during the third and fourth centuries A.D. and was revived with great vigour by the followers of Mahayana towards the middle of the fifth century. Professor Dhavalikar, who recognises two phases of Hinayana rock architecture; the early and the late, refutes this belief on the grounds that a number of caves were excavated during this period of discontinuity.

According to him, the early *chaityas* or shrines were generally apsidal, with a vaulted roof and had internal pillars; whereas those of the late period were flat-roofed, quadrangular and devoid of pillars, as illustrated by some of the Junnar examples, which he considers to be the fore-runners of the great Mahayana *chaitya-vihāras* of Ajanta and Ellora, where the shrine and the *vihāra* (or residence) were combined in one complex.

He however admits that there was a lull in rock activity in the third and fourth centuries A.D.; and that rock architecture during this period was carried out on a modest scale, which saved these skilled artisans from starvation or from changing their profession. Thus the tradition, skill and expertise was kept alive, and resulted in the magnificent *chaitya-viharas* of Ajanta and Ellora. He is of the opinion that the design, layout and appurtenances of these excavations of the third and fourth centuries are the link between the Hinayana caves, and the later Mahayana *chaitya-viharas*.

These generalisations on the design and layout of the early and late Hinayana *chaityas* need re-examination, for there are far too many exceptions to the rule. Some early *chaityas* are flat-roofed; others are rectangular in plan with pillars in a semi-circle around the dagoba or *stūpa*; and some are astylar. These exceptions do not prove the rule, but indicate that local and regional variations of a standard design were taking place everywhere.

There are references to the existence of mouldings at the base of the *stūpa* drum, whereas in other examples this does not occur; to one or two bands of the rail pattern on the *stūpa* drum, whereas others are plain; to tall or to short *stūpas*; to the *chatra* being carved on the roof or being detachable; rafters being out in stone in the roof, whereas others do not have stone or wooden rafters; to the existence of external porches or to a plain facade;

to niches for portable dagobas or images, or were these niches meant for lamps ? to the existence of benches or plinths, and stone beds, whereas others are not so furnished; and to the presence or absence of pillars.

The presence or absence of these features does not represent a stage in development, except in the case of the inward-raked pillars, and rafters and beams which are characteristic of the early *chaityas* which were lithic copies of earlier structural shrines. When rock cutters realised that pillars did not support the roof, they were made perpendicular, or the rafters were omitted. But pillars are also a decorative device - the base, the shaft and the capital. Can one imagine the Great *Chaitya* of Karla being astyler ? Rafters and ribbing were omitted when it was realised that they did not strengthen the roof, but later it was found they eliminated echo and were reintroduced either in wood or the rock was cut back.

Stone beds and benches or plinths appear to be a special feature of the Kanheri group; there are five benches in all the 400-odd caves at Junnar and one each in Wai, Nenavali, Mahad and Khed. It would not be judicious to regard the existence of these features as a stage or stages in development.

Irregularity of layout, that is, the existence of cells in one side wall and none in the other, is a different matter. Either the work abruptly stopped; or the rock was flawed; or, as is more likely, a cave was "squeezed" in between two older existing excavations and the plan had to be abandoned.

There is good reason to believe that the art of rock architecture did languish during the third, fourth and part of the fifth centuries, if the quality of workmanship and design of the late Hinayana caves, as exhibited in their floor plans and side elevations, is any indication. For a long period, these guildsmen had produced well designed and balanced *chaityas* and *viharas*, where every angle was true, where walls met floors (and roofs) at 90 degrees; where floors and ceilings were parallel. It is difficult to believe that such superb workmanship of the past, degenerated in the third and fourth centuries to a series of irregular caves where the back is broader than the front; roofs taper either to the front or to the rear; where pillars are roughly hewn on one side and not on the other; and where few angles are right angles, unless the master craftsmen had moved elsewhere, leaving the third and fourth century caves to beginners, novices and apprentices. Of the 72 floor plans of caves, nearly one-half the number are asymmetrical or irregular in plan in one way or another. Moreover, the services of what may be called rock experts, capable of assessing whether the material was suitable for rock architecture was also not available, for they also had migrated. A large number of caves during this period have been cut into rock which was flawed and had to be abandoned. In Junnar alone, at least 25 are incomplete and unfinished due to defective rock.

The "Isolated Chaitya" (Fig.8) at Junnar, in Professor Dhavalikar's opinion was 'meant to have pillars' but it is only 2.64 metres broad.

After a long history of excellent workmanship, which should have led to excavations of the highest quality, we now find that asymmetrical, may lob-sided, caves were produced. Quite rightly the Professor refers to them as quadrangular and not rectangular.

The author also suggests that the transition from 'apsidal-vaulted-with pillars' to 'quadrangular-flat roofed-astyler' could be attributed to the Yavanas who lived in Western India during this critical period. He conjectures that the Yavanas brought the flat roof plan from the Gandhara region, where it was quite common. Mobility of people (and goods) from one area in India to another existed from early times, but to conclude that art forms from Central India or the north, travelled unmodified to Maharashtra is to claim something beyond the laws of evidence.

One reason for this kind of workmanship seems to have been overlooked; the excavation of quadrangular, flat roofed, astyler chambers presented less technical problems to inexperienced rock cutters, yet cells in the side walls are askew, some are parallelogramic in layout, and others lack regularity in design. In other words the quadrangular, flat roofed, astyler chaityas were easier to make.

The large group of more than 120 excavations at Kanheri is in a class by itself, being different in plan and layout from the other caves described in the monograph. Though many have epigraphical records, they do not furnish secure dates, except for one cave, the impressive Great *Chaitya* of Kanheri which is assigned to the reign of Yajñashri Satakarni in the middle of the second century A.D.

Professor Dhavalikar is of the opinion that "the Kanheri centre was established in the reign of Yajñashri Satakarni" or slightly earlier. We are inclined to disagree with this, for, though he declared that the centre existed for over a thousand years mainly due to its proximity to the ancient sea ports of Sopara and Kalyan, he ignores the Great *Stūpa* at Sopara. Sopara was indeed a great maritime centre and the terminus of the long-distance caravan routes. But it was important enough for Asoka to dedicate two of his edicts, the Eighth and Ninth Rock Edicts to the people of Sopara and its neighbourhood, and for a great *stūpa* to be raised in which were enshrined 13 pieces of earthenware, generally believed to be fragments of the Buddha's begging bowl. Yet the author places the majority of the caves at Kanheri in the middle of the third century A.D., possibly to substantiate the theory that during the third and fourth centuries A.D., rock activity did not come to a "grinding halt".

The floor plans and photographs add to the value of the monograph, though the former would have been more effective if all the plans were drawn to the same scale; four are in the scale of feet, 43 in the scale of metres, and 25 have no scale at all.

O. C. KAIL



Rasa Theory and Allied Problems

(Lectures delivered under Tagore Chair in Humanities under the auspices of the Department of Sanskrit, Faculty of Arts)

By : G. K. Bhat, Published by the M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda, 1984, pp. viii, 69) Price Rs. 29/-

Of the various Sanskrit theories of art, the most important is the well known *rasa* theory. It has been much discussed and quite a lot has been written about it. In spite of numerous monographs, symposia and papers on the *rasa* theory and its various aspects it has still remained completely *durgama*. Naturally one would welcome a new work like the present one, which claims to have offered some explanations and interpretations of some intricate concepts in the *rasa* theory and suggested a perspective.

The work deals with the following nine topics in nine chapters :

1. Search for an Aesthetic Concept;
2. Analysis of Emotional/Aesthetic Experience;
3. *Rasa-sūtra* and its Terminology;
4. Towards Relish: Bharata's View of *Rasa*;
5. Relish : Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa's view of *Upaciti*;
6. Towards Relish : Śaṅkuka's Theory of *Bhāva-anukarāṇa*;
7. Towards Relish : Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Theory of *Bhāvakatva and Bhoga*;
8. Abhinavagupta's Theory of *Rasa*; and
9. Some Problems.

This Table of contents will give the reader a good idea of the nature of various topics dealt with in the present work. It mainly deals with Bharata's famous *rasa-sūtra* and its four different interpretations by the four well-known commentators: 1. Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa. 2. Śaṅkuka, 3. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and 4. Abhinavagupta. The author deserves credit for conveniently dividing the exposition of each commentator under an appropriate sub-heading and treating the same in lucid style.

Some of the passages, especially relating to Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa's view (and its criticism by Śaṅkuka) are wrongly interpreted because of the corrupt readings. The author could have profitably consulted the critical text as presented by R.Gnoli in his excellent edition : *The Aesthetic Experience According To Abhinavagupta*. Here attention may be drawn to the following passages from the work under review :

- (i) "Thirdly, *anubhāvas* as effects cannot co-exist with *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas*

because they are mental states like *Sthāyī*, while *anubhāvas* are physical consequences." - p-24.

There is no question of *anubhāvas* co-existing with the *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas*. The point which Lollaṭa wants to make is : It is true *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas* being mental states cannot co-exist with the *Sthāyī bhāva*, which also is a mental state, and two mental states can never co-exist, according to the well-known dictum of the Naiyāyikas : Two forms of cognition cannot occur simultaneously (ef. युगपज्ज्ञानानामुत्पत्तिर्नसो लिङ्गम् ।). But my position is, says Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, that the *Sthāyī* in its latent form (as *vāsanā*) is here intended. So there is no contradiction.

(ii) "Secondly, the intensification idea may lead to an absurdity. The intensification generally depends on the intensity or multiplication of the causal factors which bring it about. Are we to imagine that if a poet were to describe a *vibhāva* at enormous length or introduce not one but several heroines, the emotion, say of *śṛṅgāra*, will be enormously intensified thereby ?" - p.26.

All this is beside the point, and completely misses Śāṅkuka's contention. Śāṅkuka means to say : 'If *Sthāyī-bhāva* intensified is *rasa*', then as intensity admits of many degrees or gradations, there ought to be many different grades or degrees in the *rasa-anubhava* - (But, in fact, we comprehend *rasa* as one compact whole).

(iii) "Thirdly, the theory speaks of six conditions of laughter, from a simple smile to roaring laughter; and of ten forms of love. But the theory does not postulate six kinds of *rasa* or ten kinds of *rati*." - p.26.

This is gross misunderstanding of the objection raised by Śāṅkuka, Śāṅkuka's point is : "If it is asserted that only when the utmost intensity is reached that *rasa* is realised, then the division of *hāsyā-rasa* into six varieties *smīta* (gentle smile), *hasīta* (a smile), etc., made by Bharata would have to be repudiated ! Again, in *Śṛṅgāra* there are ten grades of love (*kāma-avasthā*) and if each of them should have different grades according to their intensity, there would be an infinite species of laughter!"

It is well known that the text of *Abhinavabharatī* is marred at numerous places by corrupt readings. Some of the citations from *Abhinavabharatī* quoted in the foot-notes contain corrupt readings. They should have been emended. Here half a dozen of such quotations have been given with the required emendations :

(i) P.32 P-n-11 : तथा एव (तथैव)च उपचयावस्थासु (चोपचयावस्थासु) देशादि अनियन्त्रणाद् (देशाद्यनियन्त्रणाद्) अनुकारः अपि अस्तु (अनुकारोऽप्यस्तु)! भावानुनागामितया करणात् ।

We should read --- चोपचयावस्थाऽस्तु देशाद्यनियन्त्रणात् । अनुकारोऽप्यस्तु भावानुनागामितया करणात् ।

(ii) P. 40 f. n. 8 : निबिडानिजमोहसंकटकारिणा (विभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मना ---

We should read निबिडनिजमोहसङ्कटतानिवारणकारिणा cf. Hemachandra, p. 96 L. 20; cf. घनमोहाब्ध्यसङ्कटतानिवृत्तिद्वारेण *Locana*, p. 189.

(iii) P. 42 f. n. 14 : यावन्तो हि रसाः ---

Add before 'यावन्तो हि रसाः' the following : तच्च भू(र)त्यादि-[? द्रुत्यादि-] स्वरूपम् । तदस्तु । तथापि न तावन्मात्रम् ।

(iv) P. 44 f. n. 3 (l. 4) : यत्तु अत्यन्तं नः --- तत् किं यद् अत्र उच्यताम् । Read this as : यत्त्वत्यन्तं नः (? यत्त्वन्यत् नः)--- तत् किं यद् अत्र उच्यताम् (? तत् कियदत्रोच्यताम् ।), cf. Hemachandra p. 96 l. 9.

(v) P. 49 f. n. 14 अभिनयनं हि सशब्द

Drop स from सशब्द cf. Hemachandra, p. 101 (ll. 1-2).

(vi) P. 55 f. n. 28 (l. 2) --- अनुमानस्मृत्यादिसोपानमारुह्य इव

Correct it as --- सोपानमारुह्य इव (?सोपानमनारुह्यैव), cf. Hemachandra P. 102 (ll. 17-18).

Excepting a few deficiencies and inaccuracies mentioned above, the work deserves to be read by students of Aesthetics.

Notes

1. The corrected text : अपि तु भावानामेव येऽनुमावाः । व्यभिचारिणश्च चित्तवृत्त्यात्मकत्वात् यद्यपि न सहभाविनः स्थायिना तथापि वासनात्मतेह तस्य निवासिता ।

V. M. KULKARNI



Women in Ancient Indian Tales

By : Jagadishchandra Jain and Margaret Walter, Published by K. M. Mittal, Mittal Publications, B-2/19-B, Lawrence Road, Delhi-110 035, 1987, PP.xix, 110; Price Rs.65/-

This book presents fifteen Indian tales, drawn mostly from Jain Prakrit literature and a few from Sanskrit literature. They are drawn from (1) *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (3rd century A.D.); *Majjhimakhaṇḍa* (4th century A.D.?), (2) *Dharmopadesamālā-vivaraṇa*; (3) *Bhavabhāvanā* (11th century A.D.); (4) *Kahāṇayakosa* (11th century A.D.); (5) *Kathāsaritsāgara* (11th century A.D.) in Sanskrit; (6) *Yaśastīkacampu* (12th century A.D.) in Sanskrit; (7) *Kumāravālapaḍiboha* (12th Century A.D.); (8) *Pāiyakahāsaṅgaha* (12-13th Century A.D.); (9) *Rayanāścharikahā* (15th Century A.D.); (10) *Nammayāsundarikahā* (12th Century A.D.).

All the fifteen tales are very fascinating and interesting. Dr. Jain rightly observes : "Prakrit Jain narrative literature, having the elements of folk-lore is extremely rich in popular tales pertaining to real life. Unfortunately, it has not been fully explored or properly rendered into English or modern Indian languages. It contains valuable narrative literature describing the social and cultural life of ancient men and women in different ages and social spheres" (Introduction, p.xvii.)

Dr. Jain himself first translated these tales from Prakrit and Sanskrit into Hindi. Mrs. Margaret Walter has rendered a majority of these tales from Hindi into English; and quite a few tales have been translated from Hindi into English by Mrs. Manju Jain, Dr. Jain's daughter-in-law.

These tales vividly portray the life and manners of contemporary men and women. Women maintaining their chastity at whatever cost, wealthy merchants, princes, courtesans (*gaṇikās*), women messengers (*dūtīs*) prominently figure in these tales. They delight and at the same time teach. Dr. Jain's Introduction briefly deals with the position of women from the times of *R̥gveda* down to the 15th Century A.D. The collection particularly brings out the richness of Prakrit narrative literature vis-a-vis Sanskrit narrative literature.

It is regrettable that the translators have not made use of diacritical marks and that the book is disfigured by a large number of queer expressions, funny English structures and even spelling mistakes as noted below :

p.ix lost dependence (for independence), heroin (for heroine).

p.xiv employes (for employs), loveable (for lovable), in [the] habit of

p.xvi lightening (for lightning), oppointed (for appointed).

p.xvii grateful (for grateful)

p.11, p.12 marchant (for merchant)

p.27 para 5 weiled (for wailed)

p.38 p.19 did not head (for heed)

p.39 She is willful (?a wilful) child --- "bucky thing I am saving (? protecting) my son from her presence !"

p.41 paras 2 and 4 massengers (for messengers)

p.53 (last but one line) does not leaves (for leave)

p.62 para 2 Seeing his wife's sad state, they both decided --- the dcity was very happy as their wish was granted.

p.63 para 3 ll. 7-8 or drink (? swallow) your humiliation.

In spite of these deficiencies, Dr. Jain and Margaret Walter deserve warm congratulations on making accessible these charming tales to readers, who are not acquainted with Prakrit or Sanskrit language. Their work will delight students of comparative literature and comparative myths.

V. M. KULKARNI



The Pāda - Index of the Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa, Vol. I :

By : General Editor R. T. Vyas, Oriental Institute, Vadodara, 1989, pp. 663; Price Rs.303/-

No work of Indian literature has enjoyed a greater popularity in India down to the present day than the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Valmiki. It is truly a national epic embodying the spiritual and ethical ideas and ideals evolved during the Vedic period. It has tremendously influenced the thought and poetry of the nation for over 2500 years. Teachers of the various religious schools draw upon it to propagate religious and moral values among the people. The story of Rāma occurs in the great epic, - the Mahābhārata, and also in various Purāṇas. Further, we have the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Adhyātma - Rāmāyaṇa* and *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*. Great poets like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara etc., have again and again drawn the material for their poems and plays from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and worked them up anew. We have also the Buddhist and the Jain versions of the story of Rāma. In view of the paramount importance of this epic - the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Valmiki, the Oriental Institute, Vadodara published its critical Edition in seven volumes.

Now, the Institute has published *The Pāda Index of The Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa* Volume I from *akaṅṭakam bhoktumanāḥ* to *dhvānte cāsmīn bhayānkare*. This Pāda - Index (*ślokaṛdha śūci*) takes note of 'not only the verses, included in the Constituted Critical Text but also verses and, in many cases, even fragments of verses, which have been relegated to the Critical Apparatus and Appendices in the Critical Edition.'

The publication of this volume is very useful to scholars and reserachers working in the field of Indology, especially comparative and linguistic studies in Epics and Purāṇas (including the Jain Purāṇas in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa).

We hope The Oriental Institute brings out, in due course, Volume II covering the rest of the Pāda - Index.

The printing of this volume is neat and its get-up quite attractive.

V. M. KULKARNI



Bhāratīya Śṛṅgāra - (Hindi)

By : Dr. Kamal Giri, Motilal Banarasidass, Bungalow Road, Jawaharnagar, Delhi 110 007 - 1987, pp. 266 + 62; Price Rs. 90/-

The author of the present book is known to Indologists through her studies in Indian Art and literature published in different research papers. In this book she has presented her historical and critical analysis of the art of decorating the body in ancient India right from the Vedic age to the period of the celebrated King Harṣavardhana, i.e. the seventh century A.D. In the introduction, the authoress has rightly referred to the difficulties experienced in writing such a book covering such a huge period, as the information lies scattered in various works of art as well as wide variety of literature belonging to followers of Veda, Mahavira as well as Buddha. A study of this type also envisages a comparative study of different sects as well as schools of thought.

The authoress has taken care to divide the book mainly into four chapters dealing with cosmetics (*prasādhana*), garments (*vastra*), arranging the hair (*keśavinyāsa*) and finally with ornaments (*ābhūṣanas*). As is expected, every chapter first deals with Indus civilisation followed by Vedic period and then proceeds to the period of Epics. After having spoken of these pre-historic periods, the *prasādhanas*, *vastras*, *keśavinyāsa* and *ābhūṣanas* in the pre-Mauryan period — Maurya period, Śunga period, Kuṣāṇa period as well as the Gupta age and thereafter are discussed in due order.

The discussion in each chapter is very well documented and throws sufficient light on the carefulness as well as the methodical approach in the book. Thus the allusion to the five types of garlands of flowers namely वेष्टित, विलत, संघात्य, प्रथिम, and प्रलम्बित in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra is followed by different garlands of flowers, viz कण्ठगुण, संवितानक, देवमाल्य, उरणा, चुम्बल, आमेलक, मत्थक, and गोच्छक in the Jaina work Aṅgavijjā (Chapter I p.44). The same can be said about the methods of *Keśavinyāsa* adopted by Indian women in the south in the Kuṣāṇa period referring to the heroine of Śitappadikāram (Chapter IV P.176-77). The chapter on the *ābhūṣanas* rightly brings together ornaments used by the ancients on all the limbs of the body indicating their penchant for presenting themselves in an impressive manner in all public functions. Incidentally it also speaks of the healthy attitude towards life adopted by the people in the general. In fact, more of emphasis on this attitude full of zest and energy on the part of the Indians in the Vedic as well as different ages right up to the Gupta period, would have lent special charm to the material so well presented in this volume running into 266 pages and reference for the first time to the 64 subjects taught in ancient seats of learning including दशनवसनाङ्गराग etc would have thrown light on this tendency of decorating the body.

The Indices dealing with typical Sanskrit words with their English renderings

in 7 pages is followed by a Bibliography of original works in Sanskrit, critical works of different authors on the subject (p.273-299) as well as a list of important articles published (p.299-305). This certainly has enhanced the value of the book for researchers as well as discerning readers. 79 pictures as well as line drawings given at the end of this book happen to be the most significant feature enhancing the reference value of the present study.

Well-documented book of this type is unfortunately disfigured by misprints, by no means confined to the short errata given after the alphabetical list of words (i. e. after p.327). Thus to name a few 'अनितम्बवितम्बिन्या for अनितम्बविलम्बिन्या, बकुळ-कुडमलं for बकुलकुडमलं, मनःसिलापङ्कपिमलेन for मनःशिला पङ्कपिगलेन (p.49) कण्चुक for कचुक (p.144 & 145, Note 7) can be easily noticed. All this does not detract from the merit of the book in presenting an interesting historical as well as critical analysis of the methods of decorating the body adopted by our ancients for the first time to scholars as well as generally interested readers in Hindi. Dr. Kamal Giri deserves to be congratulated and it must be said that the Publishers of the volume have done a good job in presenting the matter in an attractive way.

M. D. PARADKAR



By : B. K. Thapar, The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies UNESCO, Paris. 1985, (Paper back); Price not mentioned.

At the Twentieth Session of the General Conference of UNESCO in 1983 it was approved to publish a series of surveys on archaeological sites excavated in Asia in the recent past. This publication, the third in the series, presents the results of surveys carried out in different parts of India from 1947-1984, by various government agencies, museums, and Universities. The author, Bal Krishen Thapar is the former Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The results and findings, gathered from various excavations, are not always immediately available as the reports are not published soon in many cases. Even where reports are published, they are not easily accessible. Under such circumstances, the present book of 160 pages, with adequate illustrations in black and white colour and text printed on foreign art paper, is most welcome. The tremendous efforts of the able author in extracting information from the exhaustive bibliography given at the end of the book, in preparation of this book is really commendable. The author has used a number of sources published outside our country. The text is written in a lucid style, using appropriate terminology, chronology and brevity without losing any important features. Adequate maps, charts and figures incorporated in the book enhance its value.

The observation of Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1956, "Today no part of the world is better served in archaeological matters than is the Republic of India", is still true today. The present account of archaeological discoveries in India, draws heavily on the work done by many scholars. This includes the present author's own contribution to which he modestly refers. His aim is to highlight the recent advances in our knowledge of the cultural history of each period, extending from the palaeolithic to the early historical, in the hope that this will provide enough lines of enquiry for future study.

Since 1947, pre-historic studies have adopted new approaches, working on geomorphology, palaeontology, palaeobotany and palaeoclimatology in order to discover the ecological relationship between human settlements and their environmental contexts. Culture sequences, supported by chronological framework, obtained through carefully observed vertical excavations, are now available for all parts of the country. We have not solved all the problems. More work is needed to complete the picture.

There is no doubt that this book will prove of great value to students of Indian archaeology.

We must congratulate the UNESCO and the author, Dr. Thapar for bringing out this useful publication.

B. V. SHETTI

The Mahābhārata : The Story And Its Significance :

Y. S. Walimbe

By : S. L. N of Simha, published by Birla Academy of Art and Culture, Calcutta, August 1983, pp. 182; Price Rs.25/-

The Mahābhārata is a work of perennial interest, and continues to inspire new ideas in spite of the never-ending interpretations and commentaries, it has already occasioned over the centuries. The present work by S.L.N.Simha is one more commendable effort in this direction. He makes his approach to the Epic very clear by stating that 'The theme of the Mahābhārata is human nature in all its facets and divine surveillance,' and that 'one can look at these works with the utmost objectivity, raising some questions and making comments, as may be appropriate to one's time' (p.4). He also institutes a comparison of the Rāmāyaṇa with the Mahābhārata, and points out how the Mahābhārata is 'Kṛṣṇa Leclāmṛta' and 'really the epic of Sri Kṛṣṇa (p.3), also emphasising its heterogeneous character and wide range of incidents and characters.'

The second chapter of the book gives the detailed story of the Epic as spread over 18 Parvans, and occupies about half the pages. In the third chapter he explains the vastness and complexity of the Epic as due to (1) numerous Upākhyānas and (2) didactic and metaphysical matter, and emphasises the mundane, ethical and metaphysical angles of looking at the Epic. Referring to the various views of scholars, foreign and Indian, regarding its growth and date of composition, Shri Simha explains his view, that it is 'the epic *par excellence* for the common man' (p.79), which accounts for the mixture of heroic stories, legends, tales and miracles, and an encyclopaedia of moral and religious law'.

However, the chief interest of Shri Simha's book lies in his discussion of the various characters in the epic, and his observations on many ideas elucidated therein. For example, he gives a detailed analysis of Dhṛtarāṣṭra as the central figure of the Epic, as also of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He finds the cultural level of many characters as not 'a high one' (pp. 100-101). He justified the use of force for combating unrighteousness as the message of the Epic, also of the Gītā. He explains the validity of the Āśrama concept even at present (p.136), and states how Dāna has a place even in a socialist society (p.138). He brings out the correspondence between the epics of Homer and the Mahābhārata. He also points out how the principles of Dharma are embodied in the Charters of the United Nations, the world Bank and the International Monetary Fund (p.152), and how Karmayoga can be followed to eradicate, poverty and so on. In brief, the book is a fresh effort to look at the Mahābhārata from a modern angle.

Y. S. WALIMBE



PROFESSOR RAMAKANT PANDHARINATH KANGLE
(27/8/1899 - 27/6/1989)

Prof R. P. Kangle is alas no more ! He died on 27th June 1989 at the age of 89, leaving behind for us his monumental work on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra which has surpassed every earlier edition and translation of the same. His work on Arthaśāstra, it is sure, has given a fillip to Arthaśāstra studies all the world over.

Like many an Indian Scholar of repute, Prof. Kangle also hailed from a modest family in Nasik (27-8-1899) and developed into an excellent scholar, never missing the highest place of honour, during the course of his studies. He studied at the Elphinstone college and later joined the same college as Professor of Sanskrit. In his early years of academic work, Vedānta, Classical Sanskrit, Prakrit and Poetics were the subjects of his special interest, but, owing to his close association with Dr. Ambedkar, he became inclined towards the study of Ancient Indian Polity and consequently of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. He pursued these studies for over three decades and presented the fruits of his diligent research to the world of scholars, only to win appreciation.

Prof. Kangle's interest in Poetics has resulted into his excellent Marathi translations of Chapters VI, VII, XVIII and XIX of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, all these dealing with Drama. The special feature of these translations is that they are accompanied by translations of Abhinavagupta's commentary on them and his own profuse notes which explain all knotty problems connected with the text, with great lucidity.

All his writings (a separate list is given elsewhere) are marked by their clarity, thoroughness, and non-insistant and sympathetic scholarly treatment of the matter under discussion.

Prof. Kangle was an exceptional teacher. His teaching was marked by detailed explanation, thoroughness of treatment of the subjects under discussion and an attempt to introduce (to his pupils from B.A. level) methods of research; this was particularly noticed in his instruction of Vedic texts wherein he acquainted them with the writings of great masters like Oldenberg, Lüders, Geldner, Grassmann, Renou and others.

Prof. Kangle was a recipient of our society's MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Gold Medal for 1989.

Personally, I have lost my inspring teacher who showered on me all his paternal care.

K. P. Jog

Works of Prof. Kangle

His *magnum opus* is Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra - Volumes I-III, text, translation with notes and study, published by Bombay University 1961-65, 2nd edition (1970-72), Reprint 1985-86.

His Works in Marathi :

The Plays of Kālidāsa (1957)

Ancient Indian Political Science (1969)

Ancient Poetics (1974), (also in Gujarati)

Kauṭīliya Arthśāstra (Translation) (1982)

Sarvadarśansamgraha of Mādhavācārya (Translation) (1985).

Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni, Chapters VI and VII with the commentary of Abhinavagupta (1973) : Rasabhāvicāra.

Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni, Chapters XVIII-XIX with the Commentary of Abhinavagupta : Daśarūpakavidhāna (Translation) (1974).

Annotated edition of Priyadarśikā of Śrī Harṣa (1932)

Introduction to Svapnavāsavdatta of Bhasa (1933).

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Manu and his Laws

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TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	a	औ	au	वृ	th	भृ	bh
आ	ā	क	ka	इ	ḍ	म्	m
इ	i	ख	Kha	ई	ḍh	य्	y
ई	ī	ग	ga	ण	ṇ	र	r
उ	u	घ	gha	त्	t	ल	..... l
ऊ	ū	ङ	ṅ	थ	th	व्	u
ऋ	ṛ	च्	c	द	d	श्	ś
ॠ	ṛ	छ	ch	ध	dh	ष्	ṣ
ऌ	ḷ	ज्	j	ञ	n	स्	s
ए	e	झ	jh	प	p	ह	h
ऐ	ai	ञ्	ñ	फ	ph	ब्	ḷ
ओ	..... o	द	ḍ	ब	..... b		
	(Anusvāra)	.....	m̐	X	(Jihvāmūlīya)		h̐
	(Anunāsika)		m	.....	(Upadhmanīya)	.....	h
	(Visarga)	.....	ḥ	s	(Avagraha)	.....	ī

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC						
ا	a | z	z | ق	q	.....	i or e
ب	b | س	s | ك	k	.....	u or o
ت	t | ث	th | ل	l	.....	ā
ث	th | ص	s | م	m	.....	i, e
ج	j | ض	ḍ | ن	n	.....	ū, ḍ
ح	ḥ ط	t و	w	ai, ay
خ	kh ظ	z ر	h	au, aw
د	d ع	y	silent t
ذ	dh غ	gh ه	'	h
ر	r ف	f ق	a
PERSIAN						
پ	p چ	ch ژ	zh	g

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