

**Volumes 67-68 for 1992-93 (Combined)
[New Series]**

**JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY**

Editors
**V. M. KULKARNI
DEVANGANA DESAI**

**Published by the Asiatic Society of Bombay
Town Hall, Bombay-400 023
Maharashtra State (India)**

· 1994

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1994

London Agents :
ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN
41, Great Russell Street, London, WC1B 3PH.

**Statement showing ownership and other particulars about the
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay**

**FORM IV
(See Rule 8)**

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Place of Publication | Bombay |
| 2. Periodicity of Publication | Annual |
| 3. Printer's Name
Nationality
Address | Smt. Shailaja G. Barve
Indian
41, Budhwar Peth, Jogeshwari
Lane,
Pune, 411 002 |
| 4. Publisher's Name
Nationality
Address | Smt. Vimal N. Shah
Indian
Hon. Secretary,
The Asiatic Society of
Bombay,
Town Hall,
Fort, Bombay 400 023 |
| 5. Editors' Names

Nationality
Address | Dr. V. M. Kulkarni,
Dr. (Smt.) Devangana Desai
Indian
The Asiatic Society of
Bombay,
Town Hall
Fort, Bombay 400 023 |
| 6. Names and Address of
individuals who own the
newspaper and partners,
shareholders holding more than
one percent of the total capital | The Asiatic Society of
Bombay,
Town Hall,
Fort, Bombay 400 023
Maharashtra State (India) |

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The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay

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(New Series)

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The Editors thank Smt. S. V. Samant, proof-reader, and Smt. S. R. Vasvani, Assistant Librarian, the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

THE DATE OF ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA

W. R. ANTARKAR

The date of Śaṅkarācārya is a very important question in his life, but it is equally complicated, controversial and finally undecided till today. A whole host of varying dates have been proposed for him and they range from about 3000 B.C. (Śukranāḍī places him 32 yrs. before Śrī Kṛṣṇa, a principal character in MBh. War, which is traditionally said to have taken place about 3138 B.C.), while the author of *Dabistān* brings him down to about 1349 A.D. Between these two ends, various dates, many of them slightly different from one another, have been put forward for Śaṅ. All these can be broadly divided into two categories, viz. pre-Christian and post-Christian. In the first, we have two dates in particular, viz. 509-477 B.C., based principally on the records of Śaṅ.'s mutts at Dvārakā, Purī and Kāñcī which are more or less uniform in their reckoning and supported by Shri T. S. Narayan Sastry, Shri V.G. Ramachandran (both no more alive), Shri Udaya Vira Shastri and Shri S.D. Kulkarni. The second viz., 1st cent. B.C. (44 B.C. to 12B.C.) was the date formerly assigned to Śaṅ. by the Śṛṅgerī Mutt, which has however given it up recently and shifted to 788 A.D. -820 A.D. as the life-span of Śaṅ. In the second category initially the date 788 A.D. to 820 A.D. proposed by Shri K.B. Pathak on the basis of a three - page MS. procured by him from one Shri Govindabhatta Yerdekar from Belgaum¹ and accepted by many of the scholars working on this subject. Variations of this date were suggested by a number of scholars from Lok. Tilak, Shri Bhaushastri Vaze, Justice Telang and others down to Shri Raja Gopal Sharma, Prof. Hajime Nakamura, Shri. Tola and others,² among whom is Prof. R.M.Umesh who has examined the subject in very great depth and at great length also and then the variations range from about 500 A. D. to 750 A. D.

Out of these, only two dates require to be noticed, viz. (i) 509 B.C. to 477 B.C. and (ii) 788 - 820 A.D. and/ or its variations, as they continue to be the real contender even today. The first of these is an exact date while the second is uniform only within a definite range, the 788-820 A. D. date not being very much favoured by the most recent scholars, as there is a general tendency among them not to accept the validity of the three - page MS. of Shri Pathak, the author or the name of the book to which it belongs, not being known even today.

509 B.C. to 477 B.C. :- The main support of this theory is the succession

lists of the Ācāryas or the heads of the three mutts mentioned earlier, viz. Dvārakā, Purī and Kāñcī. Out of these the first is found given in their own publication *Vimarśa* in Sanskrit said to have been written in about 1898 A.D. by their Acārya, Śrī Rājarājeśvara Śaṅkara Svāmī, while that of the Kāñcī. Mutt is found given in three works viz. *Puṇya Śloka Mañjarī*, *Guru Ratna Mālikā* and *Suśamā*, the third being a commentary on the second. The lists of these two mutts give the regnal period of the different Ācāryas and at the same time, give some information about Śaṅ. in particular. They mention 509 B.C. and 477 B.C. as the years of Śaṅ.'s birth and passing away respectively and 32 years as the total span of his life.

The Purī Mutt list does not give the regnal periods of the various Ācāryas but with more than 140 Ācāryas, Śaṅ. is taken back to a pre-Christian period and is generally said to agree with 509 B.C. to 477 B.C. as that period. It may further be noted that the same list gives 484 B.C. as the years in which Śaṅ. established that mutt.^{2a}

The Jyotir Mutt is generally considered to be a defunct mutt but the recent i.e., the present reigning Ācārya of the same gave me in 1987 A.D. a list of about 82 Ācāryas of the said mutt, without their regnal periods and this is said generally to agree with 509 B.C. to 477 B.C. as the period of Śaṅ.

The Śrṅg. Mutt (Tuṅgā) strikes a different note. Till about 30 years ago, it held 44 B.C. to 12 B.C. to be the period of Śaṅ., Vikrama Saṅvat 14 being then given as the year of Śaṅ.'s birth. Sufficient evidence has been adduced to show that the said mutt held this view at least formerly. Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry has tried to show³ that this reckoning was according to the Jain Yudhiṣṭhira Śaka, which is short of the Yudhi. Śaka of the Hindus or the Dharmā Śaka by 468 yrs. If these are added to 44 B.C., it agrees, though with a slight difference, with 509 B.C. as the year of Śaṅ.'s birth.

This is how the Mutt-tradition is said to give almost uniformly the 6th cent. B.C. (509 B.C. to 477 B.C.) as the period of Śaṅ. To this we may add the references in the Purāṇas to the 1st cent. B.C. as the age of Śaṅ. generally. Even like the Śrṅg. tradition above it can be said to approximate to the 6th cent. B.C. theory as per the Mutt tradition.

One more point may be noted. According to Shri K.K. Lele, the Saṅkeśvara Mutt, which is a branch of the Śrṅg. Mutt, refers to 2122 Yudhi. Śaka, Sarvajit Saṅvat, Mārgaśiras Śuddha 5th, as the date of Śaṅ.'s birth.⁴ If this is Yudhi. Śaka according to the Jain reckoning, we get 509 or 510 B.C. as the year of Śaṅ.'s birth. This, then, is a confirmation of the period of Śaṅ. as per the lists of Ācāryas of the principal mutts of Śaṅ.

More specific and definite information about this 6th cent. B.C. theory

by *P.Ś.M.* and *Suṣamā* and by Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry, who (particularly the latter two) have culled it from *Bṛhat Śāṅkara Vijaya*, attributed by them to one called Citsukhācārya. He is said to have been contemporary disciple and a close associate of Śāṅ. for about 25 years. He belonged to Gokarna, his first name was Viṣṇu Śarman and he was a co-student of Śāṅ. at the Gurukula. Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry tells us that this *Bṛ. Ś.V.* of Cit. was in three parts, viz. (i) पूर्वाचार्यसत्य 30 chapters, (ii) शङ्कराचार्यसत्य 170 chapters, and (iii) सुरेश्वराचार्य सत्य 24 chapters. The first dealt with the predecessors of Śāṅ., the second with the life of Śāṅ. himself and third with an account of Sureśvara, the disciple of Śāṅ. Shri Sastry tells us that he had with him a mutilated copy of the second part, on the basis of which he has given in his own work an account of Śāṅ.'s life, upto his meeting with Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and he has cited, from time to time quotations therefrom, mainly pertaining to the dates of important events in Śāṅ.'s life, a thing not done by any other work available to us so far, not even by *Suṣamā*, which gives as from that work (the शं. सत्य i.e., the second part thereof) quotations pertaining to few events like the birth and passing away of Śāṅ. only. Shri Sastry gives some quotations from another work also viz., *Prācīna Śāṅkara Vijaya* attributed by him to Ānandajñāna alias Ānandagiri, which also he seems to have had with him and *Pr.Ś.V.* agrees with the *Bṛ. Ś. V.* particularly about the age of Śāṅ.

In addition to its own quotations from *Bṛ. Ś.V.* and *Pr. Ś.V.*, *Suṣamā* gives one set of 29 stanzas as from one work called *Śāṅkarendra Vilāsa*, attributed to Vākpati Bhaṭṭa and said to be a biography of Śrī Abhinava Śāṅkara, said to have been the 36th or 38th head of the Kāñcī Kāmakoti Mutt. The stanzas quoted from this work, tell us that Abhi. Śāṅ. was born in 788 A.D. If this is true, it will go a long way to support the 6th cent. B.C. theory about Śāṅ.'s period.⁵

Then, we have a number of stanzas in Sanskrit quoted by the Late Shri Appashastry Rashivadkar, a great Sanskrit scholar, in his Sanskrit Fortnightly, *Sanskrit Candrikā*, as from some Jain works none of which has been named except one viz., *Jina Vijaya*.⁶ These stanzas give the dates of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's birth in 557 B.C., Śāṅ.'s birth 48 years later in 509 B.C., Kumā.'s meeting Śāṅ. and passing away also in 494 B.C. in his 63rd year. All these details confirm precisely the 6th cent. B.C. theory.

Vimarsā, a Dvārakā Mutt publication, gives the full text of a copperplate inscription, dated in the year 2663, Yudhi. Śaka, said to have been issued by King Sudhanvan to Śāṅ. himself and this again points to the 6th cent. B.C. for Śāṅ. The original copperplate has, however, not been traced or seen by anyone so far.

Then again, we have a reference in the *Nepāla Rājavarṅśāvalī* to Śāṅ.'s

visit to Nepal, in the reign of King Vṛṣadevavarman, the 18th king of the Sūryavaṁśa dynasty of Nepal. According to one inscription of King Śivadevavarman, the 27th king of the same dynasty, this king was coronated in the year 119 of Harṣa Saṁvat, which is said to give us 338 B.C.⁷ This king is said to be removed from king Vṛṣadevavarman by 150 years., thus giving his years as 488 B.C., which is also given in the *Vatśāvali* as the year of Śaṅ.'s visit to Nepal.

Lastly, when I visited Puri in 1958 A.D. and met the pontiff of the Govardhana Mutt, I was told by the pontiff that the Mutt, which I had visited, was not the original site of the same established by Śaṅ. The original site was inside the Jagannātha's temple, from where it was shifted to the present site about 1150 years ago and that it was long after Śaṅ.'s time. This seems to square with 484 B.C. mentioned in the list of the Mutt's Ācāryas as the year of the establishment of the Mutt by Śaṅ.

All these pieces of evidence seem to prove that Śaṅ. was born in 509 B.C. and died in 477/6 B.C., or that his period was from 510 B.C. to 477 B.C. This is many times called the 6th cent. B.C. theory. There are, however, many and very serious objections to this theory and they have been put forward, particularly by the native scholars like Shri K.R. Venkataraman, Shri Raja Gopal Sharma and Prof. R.M. Umesh as also some other scholars who have tried to tackle the issue of Śaṅ.'s date. Prof. Umesh has in particular tried to expose the utter unreliability of all the Mutt records, which point to this theory and then tried to show by independent evidence and arguments based thereon that Śaṅ. will have to be placed somewhere in the second half of the 7th cent. A.D. only.

The various objections to this theory are:

1) The authorities like *Br.Ś. V.*, *Pr.Ś. V.*, *Śaṅ. Vil.* and the Jain work referred to and quoted from by *Suśamā*, Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry, and Shri Rashivadekar are not available anywhere so far. Even *Śaṅ. Vil.* which is said to give 788 A.D. as the date of birth of Śrī Abhi. Śaṅ.⁸, the 36th or 38th head of the Kāñcī Kāma. Mutt is not available anywhere.

For about 40 years I have been trying to get one or more of these works throughout India and yet, I have failed to trace them – even one. I have, however, strong grounds for holding that they existed till very recently and possibly exist even today. The *Advaita Rājya Lakṣmī*, a commentary on the *Saṅkṣepa Śaṅkara Jaya* of Mādhava as well as *Suśamā* quote profusely from both these works. More than this, the late Shri T.S.N. Sastry, a Madras High Court Advocate, has stated in no uncertain terms that he had with him a copy of the second part of *Br. Ś. V.* of Cit. and from his book, he also seems to have had with him some other books also like *Gauḍa. Ullāsa*, *Śaṅ. Vil.* which seem to have been utilised by him at first hand while writing

his book.

One great scholar from Nagpur, the late Shri Bala Shastri Haradas told me personally that the late Kāñcī Paramācārya had placed before him a huge palm-leaf MS. which was said to be *Pr.Ś.V.* but thinking that was in Telugu language, which he could not read, he did not take it.

One Court Pandit (Āsthāna Vidvān) of the Kāñcī Mutt, the late Shri Venkata Dixitar, Bombay also had told me personally that as far as he knew, the three works, *Br. Ś.V.*, *Pr.Ś.V.* and *Śaṅ. Vil.* did exist in MS. form in the Kāñcī. Mutt Library. He had promised me to try to get them for me but he died even before going to Kāñcī and the matter ended there only.

Lastly Shri R.G. Sharma has said specifically and clearly that the second part of *Br.Ś.V.* viz. शंकराचार्य सत्य, did exist in MS. form in the Dvārakā Mutt Library⁹ and though he says that if this work is what it is claimed to be, a biography of Śaṅ. by his contemporary and disciple, it will have to be considered to be authoritative¹⁰, he has made no effort to bring it to light. And, yet, he chooses to describe it as 'unknown and untraced' (अनजान और अनुपलब्ध).

Even about *Śaṅ. Vil.* by Vākpati Bhaṭṭa, Shri R.G. Sharma had told me personally that a MS. of the same did exist then (1961) in the Lahore Oriental Library (Now Punjab University Library) and that he had procured from them two paper-MSS. of the said work. In spite of my repeated requests to him, he has not obliged me with even one of the two copies he had. I tried my best to contact the said Library personally, through the J.N. Library, Bombay, I.C.H.R., New Delhi and even at the highest Central Govt. level, but have not succeeded in getting even a formal acknowledgement from the said Library.

One Swami Sakhyananda from Trichur, Kerala State, has also written to me that he had seen and gone through the *Śaṅ. Vil.* about 40 years ago and he has given a detailed account of the life of Abhi. Śaṅ. on the basis of the same, in his book in Malayalam, *Ārsabhārata Pārampariyam*. His account confirms that Shri T.S.N. Sastry has said about the mixing up of the life-accounts, of Ādi Śaṅ. and Abhi. Śaṅ.

My point in dilating upon these three works in particular is only to show that these works, which are said to give some very different chronological information about Śaṅ., are not mere names nor is it necessary to say that all the stanzas quoted in *Suṣamā* or by Shri Sastry are their own concoction only. Even then it will have to be admitted that till these works become available to scholars for their inspection and critical study, no definite theory can be based on nor any definite conclusion be drawn from the quoted stanzas. At the most, the quotations can have only a tentative value as suggesting

somewhat uniformly one theory about Śaṅ.'s life-span, for whatever it may be worth. Those who, on the basis of these works and the other Mutt records, take Śaṅ.'s life-span 509 B.C. to 477 B.C. as conclusively proved or settled are only begging the question.

Regarding *Jina Vijaya* and the Jain works from which stanzas have been quoted in *San. Can.* we have first to remember that the person who quoted them for the first time was a very responsible person and a great Sanskrit scholar and had no particular interest in proving any particular theory about the chronology of any person. Yet, it is very unfortunate that he has given no further details about the sources of the stanzas quoted by him.¹²

I have personally tried to ascertain the identity of '*Jina Vijaya*' from Jain sadhus as well as Jain scholars all of whom told me that *Jina V.* was the name of a person only and not the name of any work in Jain literature. The maximum I was able to gather about 'Jina.' was that the stanzas as from 'Jina' were likely to have been from a magazine (or a fortnightly) called *Jina Vijaya* which used to be published from Sangli from 1902 to 1911 A.D. (Shri Appashastri Rashivadekar died in 1913 A.D.) to be merged later into only one called *Pragati* and then jointly called '*Pragati and Jinavijaya.*' I have contacted personally the Sangli headquarters of the magazine but with no success.

As for the Jain works (Granthas) mentioned and quoted from by Shastri beyond the statement in the *Bhāratīya Prācīna Aitihāsika Kośa* by Shri R.B. Godbole (Modern Period - *Arvācīna Khaṇḍa*) that the Jain works were likely to be the *Prabandha* works in Jain literature, no further information was available. At the instance of the great Jain scholar, Dr. H.C. Bhayani I went through a number of *Prabandha* works¹³ but all to no purpose. And, once again, till the original sources of these stanzas become available to us, no definite theory can be based on them. At the most, they may be said to corroborate independently the 6th cent. B.C. theory based on the Mutt-records.

Regarding King Sudhanvan's Copperplate also the same has not come to light so far. I had approached Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for help in my research and at his instance, the then Central Education Ministry had instructed the Bombay Govt. to do the needful in the matter. As, however, I was unable to furnish to them any further details than that the said copperplate was then said to be in the possession of the Bombay Govt., they expressed their inability to help me in the matter. Later, i.e., in 1961 A.D. I tried to get the details from Shri Manjula Sevaklal Dave, the Dvārakā Mutt advocate who while giving them wrote to me to say that "The copperplate inscription might have been destroyed by the Court as the party producing it had not taken (it) away during the prescribed time or it was not produced at all (which seems to be true from reading the papers preserved)." At his instance

only I referred to 11 Bombay Law Reporter, Vol. IX, pp. 58 to 68, wherein the plaintiff (Mādhava-tīrtha) was said to have produced *Mathāmnāya* only and nothing else to prove his title, there being no reference to Sudhanva's grant or to any other grant being produced in the Court.

Prof. Venkatachalam of Vikram University, Ujjain wrote some years ago a very learned and critical article bearing on this copperplate.¹⁴ He argued therein that if the copperplate really belonged to the 5th cent. B.C., it must have been written in pre-Aśokan Brāhmī script. This script was first deciphered in 1837 A.D. - only 60 years before the publication of *Vimarśa*, in which it was given in full (in Devanāgarī script). He then wonders as to who could have read and explained the text to the Swamiji, who wrote *Vimarśa* about 1898 A.D. The Swamiji is silent about the script, which itself should have decided the real antiquity or otherwise of the plate. If the plate is in pre-Aśokan Brāhmī script of 5th cent. B.C., it will have claim to antiquity. If it is not, the 5th or 6th cent. B.C. date for Śaṅ. has no solid foundation.^{14a}

Regarding Śaṅ.'s visit to Nepal, Prof. Umesh has analysed the contents,¹⁵ chronological as well as factual, of the *Nepāla Varṃśāvali* and has concluded that though the same can at its best and in its later portions be used for listing the names of kings, it is completely unreliable for assigning dates and describing events and hence to use it to fix the date of Śaṅ. is wholly unjustifiable. He has also produced at the end of his book a letter (xerox copy) from the Govt. of Nepal stating that they have no record showing the visit of Śaṅ. to Nepal during 400-500 B.C. Without any desire to attempt any justification of the *Nepāla Varṃśāvali*, I wish to make the following observations:

i) If the Nepal Govt. has officially denied having any record of Śaṅ.'s visit to Nepal, no other argument was required to be advanced, at least so far as the question of deciding Śaṅ.'s age on the basis of the *Varṃśāvali* was concerned. The denial itself nips the whole issue in the bud at least with regard to the *Varṃśāvali*.

ii) Shri Bhagwanlal Indrajī or Dr. Bühler has mentioned in clear language that according to the *Nepāla Varṃśāvali* only, Śaṅ. visited Nepal during the reign of king Vṛṣadevavarman, whose time in history is then sought to be determined with reference to the inscriptions of king Śivadevavarman of the same dynasty as Vṛṣa. Either the Nepal Govt. records are deficient or the second statement is wrong/false.

iii) Prof. Umesh, who analyses so critically the contents of the *Varṃśāvali*, does not say a word about the manner in which the *Varṃśāvali* is sought to be interpreted and then used by Dr. Bühler. A couple of examples may be noted:

a) He disbelieves the number of 1118 years allotted to the 29 kings

of the Kirāta dynasty on the basis of “statistical tables of the life insurance companies” (of the 19th century), when Arrian & Megasthenes and even V. Smith testify to Indians living long lives of 100 and more yrs. in those ancient times.

b) King Arṅśuvarman, the 1st king of the 6th Thakuri dynasty has been identified with King Amshu-fo-mo, mentioned by Hieun Tsang whose “visit to Northern India most probably falls in the year 637 A. D.” From this it follows, according to Dr. Bühler, that king Arṅśu. must have reigned in the first half of the 7th cent. of our era.

Now, an inscription of King Śivadevavarman, the 27th king of the 5th Suryavaṅśī dynasty bears the date 119 Harṣa Saṁvat. Dr. Bühler identifies this Harṣa Saṁvat with the one started in 606 A. D. by king Harṣavardhana of Kanoj, the hero of Bāṇā's *Ākhyāyikā Harṣacarita*. This gives 725 A.D. as the date of King Śivadevavarman.

This means that a king of an earlier dynasty comes nearly a 100 yrs. after a king of the following dynasty. Secondly, history knows no era founded by King Harṣavardhana of Kanoj and I have ascertained this from some eminent history scholars. A person, who is otherwise very critical about others, is expected to have said at least something about these points.¹⁶

A very important objection to the 6th cent. B.C. theory is that if Śāṅ. is placed so early, the dates of many of his predecessors and successors in time, e.g. Kumāṛila, Maṇḍana / Sure., Buddha Dharmakīrti, Diṅnāga, Akalaṅka, Samantabhadra and many others become completely upset and at least as far as the present state of scholarship is concerned, these writers cannot be assigned to any B.C. period, in fact to any period before the 5th cent. A.D. Śāṅ.'s date, therefore, depends upon the dates of so many Hindu, Jain and Buddhist writers. Prof. R.M. Umesh has tried to examine and analyse, –apart from other topics like the Mutt-records, date of Aśoka and Buddha, the Purāṇas and the Guptas and so on–the relationship between the predecessors and successors of Śāṅ. by having course to their works and has come to the following conclusions.¹⁷

1) Gauḍa., the grand preceptor of Śāṅ. certainly came after Nāgā. (not earlier than the 1st cent. B.C.), Asaṅga (not later than the 3rd cent. A. D.), Yeśomitra, the commentator of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma Kośa* (about 5th cent. A.D.) and Śāntarṣita (about the middle of the 8th cent. A. D.). Hence, Gauḍa. is definitely not earlier than the 6th cent. A.D. possibly between 525 A.D. and 725 A.D.

2) Kumā. said to have been a senior contemporary of Śāṅ. attacks Samanta. (not earlier than the first cent. A.D.), quotes from Bhartṛhari (not earlier than 5th cent. A.D.), attacks and is attacked by Dharmā. (and so-contemporaries)

and hence neither is earlier than the second half of the 6th cent. A. D., is attacked by Śānta. (middle of the 8th cent. A. D.) and by Akalaṅka (middle of the 8th cent. A.D.). Hence Kumā. is not earlier than the 5th cent. A.D. (Bhartṛ.) and not later than the middle of the 8th cent. A.D. Then, again, Kumā. and Prabhākara were contemporaries. Prabhā. refers to Bhartr. (5th cent.A.D.) and knew Dharmā. (6th cent. A.D.) and so both Kumā. and Prabhā. are not earlier than 6th cent. A.D.

3) Sure. attacks Dharmā. and quotes from the work of Kumā. and hence he must have come after the 7th cent. A.D. He was also a senior contemporary of Śaṅ.

4) Śaṅ. himself attacks Dharmā. (6th cent. A.D.) and refers to Diṅnāga (6th cent. A.D.) and hence has to be placed after the 6th cent. A.D.

5) Sarvajñātman, said to be the disciple of Sure. and also one of the pontiffs of the Kāñcī. Mutt, refers to his *Guru Paramparā* as देवेश्वर (गुरु), देवानन्द (परमगुरु) and श्रेष्ठानन्द (परत्परगुरु) which is entirely different from सुरेश्वर-शंकराचार्य-गोविन्दमुनि as claimed by the said Mutt.

Then his reference to King Manukulāditya in his work *San̄kṣepa Śārīraka* can be traced to a Kerala king who ruled centuries after Christ.

6) Ānandajñāna, said to be the 6th pontiff of the Kañcī. Mutt refers to a commentary *Prakaṣārtha* on the *BSBh.* and this commentary refers to Udayana who lived in the 10th cent. A.D.

Both Sarva. and Ānanda. must therefore have lived after the 5th or 6th cent. the latter even after the 10th cent. A.D., as against the very early B.C. dates (384 B.C. and 55 B.C.) assigned to them in the list of the Kāñcī. Mutt.

The ultimate conclusion of Prof. Umesh is that in view of the evidence put forward by him, Śaṅ. has to be placed in the A.D. period only and not at all in any B.C. period. He disposes of the two A.D. theories viz. 788 A.D. and 805 A.D. as being untenable and gives it as his (personal) opinion that Śaṅ. could not have flourished later than the 7th or the end of the 7th cent. A.D. He should have flourished in the 7th cent. A.D.

In connection with this same topic viz. Śaṅ.'s date, Prof. Umesh has discovered the dates of Aśoka, the Gupta Kings and Buddha and Mahāvīra and tried to show that a revision of these dates as proposed by some recent native scholars is not borne out by evidence and hence do not need to be upset. In the case of Buddha and Mahā., he maintains that they were contemporaries beyond doubt and though Buddha's date may be 100 years here and there, it can certainly not be as early as the 19th cent. B.C. as said by these native scholars.

Prof. H. Nakamura has made a similar attempt to arrive at the date of Śaṅ. by correlating it to the dates i.e., possible or probable periods of philosophers before and after Śaṅ.¹⁸ His arguments in brief are :

Firstly, Prof. Nakamura discusses the earlier theories about Śaṅ.'s date, such as 788 A.D.; two Kerala theories 400 A.D., and 805 A.D., middle of the 7th cent. A.D. as based on the *Nepāla Vanśāvali* one pertaining to king Manukulāditya mentioned in *Saṅkṣepa Śātrī*. because the identity of the king is doubtful and the one based on certain names of persons like Pūrṇavarman, Balavarman and cities like Srughna, Pāṭaliputra, Mathurā, etc. and sets them aside as inconclusive.

i) Then he first considers post-Śaṅ. philosophers. Thus, Vācaspati attacks Bhāskara who attacks Śaṅ. One Śrī Vatsāṅka is said to lie between Śaṅ. and Bhā. Vācas. wrote his *Nyāyasūcī* in 841 A.D. Hence, Bhā. was earlier and Śaṅ. still earlier. Śaṅ. can then be put between 700-750 A.D.

ii) Sure. is quoted by Vidyānanda who is mentioned by Jinasena and Prabhācandra. Jina. wrote his *Harivaṅśa Purāṇa* in 783 A.D. and refers to Prabhā. who is then his senior contemporary. So Vidyā. can be placed in 750 - 800 and Sure. about. 750 A. D. Śaṅ. is then placed in the first half of the 8th cent. A.D.

Śaṅ. refers to Dharma. whose active period is from 634 A.D. to 673 A.D. Śaṅ. therefore, comes later.

Kumā. cites Kālidāsa, who belongs to 400-460 A.D. or 410-470 A.D. Hence, Kumā. is later than 500 A.D. Similarly Kumā. quotes from *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartr., who lived between 450-500 A.D. Hence, Kumā. can roughly be placed in the middle of the 7th cent. A.D.

Then, we find stanzas from *Śloka-Vārttika* of Kumā. quoted by Sure., Vidyā., Prabhā., Śānta., Kamalaśīla, disciple of Śānta. who died about 750 A.D. and hence, Śānta. came before 740 A.D. Hence Kumā. could not be prior to 720 A.D. Kumā. can be placed between 650 A.D. and 700 A.D.

Lastly, Sure. came after Maṇḍana, who can be placed from 670 A.D. to 720 A.D. Sure. being earlier can, therefore, be placed about 710 - 770 A.D. and Śaṅ., coming one generation earlier can be placed about 700-750 A.D.

The conclusion of Shri Nakamura is that Śaṅ. must have been active in the early part of the 8th cent. A.D.

I feel constrained to remark that some points at least in the reasoning of Shri Nakamura leave room for sufficient doubt, but he is in general agreement with Prof. Umesh and others, who hold with certainty that Śaṅ. did not belong to any B.C. period, that he cannot be placed before 500 A.D. in

any case and that he can be reasonably placed somewhere between 650 A.D. and 750 A.D. The textual evidence from the works of a number of writers, which include Jain and Buddhists on a large scale, is quite strong, almost massive and unless and until it is answered satisfactorily point by point, it will be next to impossible to maintain a very early date for Śaṅ., particularly in the B.C. period. The Mutt records, which are the mainstay of B.C. theory have been shown to be utterly unreliable and the protagonists of that theory, though aware of the criticism, have offered no satisfactory arguments to prove the records. To take for granted, therefore, that 509-477 B. C., date for Śaṅ. is conclusively proved is begging the question. Similarly, the voluminous evidence of the predecessors and successors of Śaṅ., which has been adduced by scholars, has been sought to be negated by ante-dating King Aśoka or Candragupta Maurya by about a thousand years, Lord Buddha and even Mahā. by about 1300 yrs. and then fixing the dates of these predecessors and successors on the basis of their revised dates, but except the evidence of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranṅī* and the various Purāṇas which do not at all give a consistent record of earlier kings and events, nothing has been brought forward to upset the existing chronology. Very strong evidence will be required for the purpose. In spite of all this, I wish to place the following few points before scholars for their serious consideration.

The whole discussion about the ancient Indian chronology centres round the identity of Sandrakottus and Candra. Maurya, first proposed by Sir Willam Jones and accepted by Max Müller as the sheet-anchor of Indian history. All the ancient Indian chronology was then arranged accordingly and that has affected the modern Indian chronology also. This identity has been questioned ever since its inception by persons like M. Troyer, but the points raised against it have not been seriously considered, examined and / or attempted to be answered by students of history. Shri Shriram Sathe has very recently advanced a number of arguments against the theory as follows:¹⁹

1) Greek accounts mention three names, viz., Xandrames or Agrammes, Sandrakottus and Sandracyptus, as three successive kings. If so, the first and the third names should refer to Candra.'s predecessor and successor. According to known history, the predecessor of Candra. Maurya was Dhanānanda of the Nanda dynasty, while the successor of Candra. Maurya was Bindusāra. Now, neither Dhanānanda nor Bindusāra tallies with Xandrames or Sandracyptus respectively. M. Müller has, however, suggested the first identity and proposed the second.

On the contrary, Xandrames tallies far better with Candramas, the predecessor of Gupta Candra., while Sandracyptus or Amitrochades, as this name has been given alternatively, tallies better with Samudragupta, the successor of Gupta Candra. than with Bindusāra.

2) Sandra. is said to have married the Greek princess, Selukus Nikator's daughter and entered into a treaty with him. He is also said by the Greek accounts to have intimate relations with the then Magadha queen and then to have killed the previous king viz., Candramas and become the king of Magadha. All this accords with the Indian account of Gupta Candra. and not with Maurya Candra.

3) If Sandra. of Megas. is Candra. Maurya, it is surprising that Megas. makes no reference whatsoever to the predecessor Nandas, their general Rākṣasa or even to Cāṇakya, the architect of Candra.'s accession to the throne. Similarly, there is not only no reference in Megas. to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, but Otto Stem has shown a number of points of difference between Kauṭilya and Megas.

4) Then, again it is surprising that, if Candra. Maurya were the contemporary of Alexander, the Nandas and even Candra. with the vast and very powerful army both are said to have possessed should have kept quiet or remain unnoticed by Alex. or Megas. or other historians like Plutarch. It is also surprising that so astute a politician should have ignored the threat to the country and should have concentrated on internecine feuds and personal revenges at the cost of country's freedom. On the contrary when Alex. heard about the terrifically vast army of the kings of Gangaridae and Prassians, his army was in no mood to fight and Alex. had to return.

5) Shri Pandit Bhagavadatta has tried and tried well to show how the equation of Pālibothra in Megas. with Pāṭaliputra (Modern Pāṭṇā) by Sir William Jones, is also not correct. According to him, it agrees better with an ancient Indian kingdom called Prabhadrā, Prabhadraka or Paribhadra, near that of the Pāñcālas and which like Pāli. of Megas. has Yamunā flowing through it than with Pāṭaliputra to justify the identity, Jones has to identify the river Śoṇa with Eranaoboas and say that Megas. has mentioned these two rivers separately through mistake or inattention.

The date of Aśoka Maurya, the grandson of Candra. Maurya, has been fixed with reference to that of the latter. Regarding this Aśoka, we find that apart from other persons like Kālāśoka, Vītaśoka and Candāśoka we have Aśoka Maurya and Aśoka in Kalhaṇa's Rāja. Modern historians have identified the last two, while Kalhaṇa seems to hold that they are distinct. The historians give their time as 272 B.C. on the basis of this identification. Prof. Umesh has upheld this date of Aśoka as the correct one. However, the following points deserve to be noted in this connection.

i) The traditional date of Aśoka Maurya as per the Purāṇic accounts is the 15th cent. B.C., while Kalhaṇa gives the date of Kāśmīra Aśoka as 1182 B.C.

ii) The antecedents of K. Aśoka and his progeny are quite different from

those of Aśoka M. Relying on the writing of Padmamihira, based on chronicles of Helarāja, K. Aśoka is said to be the son of Śanicara, the last of the 8 kings. Aśoka's son was Jalauka whose son was Dāmodara II. On the contrary, Aśoka M. is said to have been the son of Bindusāra, while his own son is said to be Tivara by the second queen Cāruvākī or a son Mahendra and a daughter Saṅghamitrā or a son Kuṇāla by Asandhimitrā.

iii) Aśoka M. belonged to Magadha, while K. Aśoka belonged to Kāśmīra. It is worth noting that the extensive Rock and Pillar edicts of Aśoka M. make not the slightest reference to Kāśmīra or the Kāśmīra kingdom, while Kalhaṇa's work makes no mention of K. Aśoka's connection with Magadha or any Indian territory.

A lot of discussion centres round the five kings mentioned in Aśoka's Rock edict No. 13 in particular. Western scholars have identified them with Greek kings from 285 B.C. to 244 B.C. Aśoka's date is then automatically settled. These kings are said to be reigning about 600 Yojanas (every Yojana about 8 miles) and the king is said in the edict to open medical centres for human beings and animals in the kingdoms of those kings. In this connection some points have been raised as follows:²⁰

a) In the first place, the names of all the kings as identified with the Greek kings are not beyond doubt. The identity of Turamāya with Ptolemy is an instance in point. Bühler himself doubts the identity of Antikona with Antigonus.

b) No Greek historian connects these names with Candra. or Aśoka.

c) History does not bear out the spread of Buddhists to Greek regions nor that the Christian emissaries had to encounter the Buddhists in Greek and Roman countries.

d) Indian or Ceylonese tradition does not say that Aśoka had sent his emissaries to Greek or Roman (Egypt) countries. Personally I have grave doubts whether Aśoka had so much influence with such very far off countries as to be able to open such centres of medical help. Maybe, as argued by Prof. Unesh that there is no evidence that kings mentioned in the edict did really rule the territories like Abhisāra etc., the distance of 600 Yojanas mentioned in the edict does not at all apply to these territories. Yet the points made out above also deserve some attention.

Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry has also discussed the identity of Sandra. and Candra. Maurya, which he calls 'The Mistaken Greek Synchronism of Indian History' (of which it has been called by Max Müller "the sheet-anchor") and has brought forward a number of objections 'against its acceptance. None of these objections has so far been answered satisfactorily by any scholar, Western or Indian, as far as I am aware.

Shri Sastry has discussed at great length another topic, which he calls the Persian Synchronism, which has a great bearing on ancient Indian chronology. Therein he seems to have proved almost conclusively that expressions like शककाल, शकभूप/ भूपतिकाल, शकनृप / नृपतिकाल or समय or even शाक or शाके occurring often in ancient Indian literature cannot be identified with Śalivāhana Śaka, but has to be construed to mean the Śaka Era, started by the Persian King Cyrus the Great, to commemorate his victory over the Medes, in which he was greatly assisted by the Hindu King with both "men and money". This Era was then adopted and used by the Indians also for recording their own events in history. It was, however, wrongly identified by the then Orientalists with the Śāli. Ś., which resulted in interpreting all Śaka reckonings of शककाल etc. in terms of the Śāli. Ś., thereby post-dating many events in Indian history by about 628 years. He points out two or three cases of this type as follows :

1) Varāhamihira, the great astronomer, gives 427 of शककाल as the year of the composition of his work पञ्चसिद्धान्त टीका. This comes to 123 B.C., if शककाल = 550 B.C. but to 505 A.D. if शक - Śāli. Ś. (= 78 A.D.). Similarly, Varāha.'s death is said to have taken place in 509 of शककाल, which comes to 41 B.C. if शक = 550 B.C., but to 587 A.D. if शककाल = Śāli. Ś.

Now Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of पञ्चसि.टी. says at the end of his commentary of Varāha.'s बृहज्जातक that the same was written in शक 888, which comes to 33 A.D. if शक - 550 B.C., but to 966 A.D. if शक - Śāli.Ś. In the latter case, however, the other particulars viz. शुक्ल ५ of चैत्र (of 888) do not tally, but they tally with 338 A.D. If now the commentary on Varāha.'s work was written in 338 A.D., the work itself must have existed prior to it and then Varāha., the author, could not have written पञ्चसि. टी. in 505 A.D. or continued to live up to 587 A.D. This means that शक must be taken to mean शककाल - 550 B.C. only and not Śāli.'Ś!

To avoid this conclusion, Shri Sudhakara Dwivedi alters the stanza so as to suit the Śāli.Ś. reckoning, but elsewhere he mentions, though grudgingly the very same particulars as in the earlier version of the stanza.

2) One Bhāskara, son of one Mahādeva and author of a work सिद्धान्त शिरोमणि says that he was born in शक 1036 or of शकनृपतिसमय, that he completed सि. शि. in शक 1072 and करणसिद्धान्त in शक 1105. Now, these three figures will come to 486 A.D., 522 A.D. and 555 A.D. resp., if शक = शककाल = 550 B.C., but to 1114 A.D., 1150 A.D. and 1183 A.D. respectively, if शक = Śāli.Ś. Alberuni writing in 1030 A.D. mentions Bhāskara and says that his करणसार (i.e., करणसिद्धान्त) was known in the country in 899 A.D.

Weber admits clearly that he cannot solve this riddle and then says that Albe.'s Bhāskara must be different from the other Bhāskara, both sons of Mahādeva, but first the author of करणसिद्धान्त and the second (of Albe.) the author of. करणसार. He does not at all bother to consider or show even *prima*

facie, if there were two such Bhāskaras with father having the same name and two works करणसिद्धांत and करणसार . Further comment is needless.

Shri Sastry has similarly discussed at great length the famous Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II, Cālukya, and shown how the two stanzas “त्रिसात्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु....” up to “शकनामपि भूमजाम्” can be interpreted correctly only by taking the reference in the second stanza pertaining to the Śaka Era of 550 B.C. and not to Śāli.Ś. and how the expression सहस्रशतयुक्तेषु in the second line of the first stanza has been deliberately altered to सप्तशतयुक्तेषु so as to conform to the Śāli.Ś. reckoning.

Finally, Shri Sastry refers to the admission of Shri V. Gopala Aiyer that the शककाल must be placed at least 5 centuries before Christ, but then suggests that the शककाल in the famous verse of वृद्धगर्ग in Kalhaṇa’s Rāja. must be a mistake by Kalhaṇa for शाक्यकाल, which probably denoted the passing away of शाक्यमुनि i.e., गौतमबुद्ध. Even like Weber’s suggestion mentioned earlier in the case of Bhārgava, this suggestion also deserves no better consideration. Both disclose a manifestly persevering motive and attempt to preserve and maintain a particular theory at any cost, whatever the evidence to the contrary.^{20a}

Lastly, I wish to point out that Megasthenes’s Indika mentions two names, viz. Mandanis and Kalynos, not once but a number of times.²¹ These two have been mentioned as philosophers at the time of Alex. Out of these, Kalynos is said to have burnt himself on a funeral pile and that the people saw him burnt.²² The reference to Mandanis as a philosopher is clearer still. If Sandra. can be philologically equated with Candra., we have to explain these two names also, occurring in the work of the same author.

I wish to refer to one more point only. Prof. Umesh has stated that Harisvāmin in his commentary on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa explicitly refers to Prabhā. who, according to Prof. Umesh, is a contemporary of Kumā. For determining the date of Hari. he quotes one stanza²³ from his Bhāṣya saying that he completed the same when 3740 years of the Kali Age had elapsed i.e., in 638 A.D. Shri Udayavir Shastri has, however, pointed out that the stanza can be interpreted in a different way also, so as to give 3047 years of the Kali Age elapsed = 55 B.C. (3102 -3047 = 55B.C.). To determine which of the two interpretations is correct, he quotes another stanza occurring at the beginning of his Bhāṣya²⁴ which says that he was the Dharmādhyakṣa in the kingdom of king Vikramārka, king of Ujjain. Shastri argues that we have no trace of any king Vikramārka at Ujjain in 638 A.D. Obviously this is a reference to Vikramārka of Vikrama Samvat of 57 B.C. If now Hari belongs to the first century B.C., Prabhā. will have to be earlier—how much, it cannot be said.

Concluding Remarks :- The treatment of the subject is not claimed to be exhaustive. The topic is vast and so is the evidence voluminous. I have

just presented, as objectively as I could, salient points in the evidence and arguments pertaining to the pre-Christian date for Śaṅ. (specifically 509 -477 B.C.) and the post - Christian date for Śaṅ., ranging from 550 or 600 A.D. to 750 A.D. The tradition is to hold with some kind of vehemence the first theory, while the modern scholars favour the second. Unless and until the pivotal dates in ancient Indian history such as the dates of Candra. Maurya., Aśoka and Buddha and Mahā., as per the traditionists, cannot be proved with more conclusive evidence than has been adduced so far, Śaṅ. will continue to be assigned to some date from 600 A.D. to 750 A.D. At least works like *Br. Ś. V. of Cit.*, *Pr. Ś. V. of Ānandajñāna* and *Śaṅ.Vil. of Vākpati Bhaṭṭa* must come to light.

The root of all this controversy seems to lie in the tendency of the early Western scholars, whom the Native scholars also follow. What, at one time, was considered to be just an emotional and nationalistic outlook on the part of the traditionists, now seems to have some kernel of truth. It has been shown and is being shown with increasing force that in the early stages of the study of Indian history, the Western scholars were actuated by a strong desire to bring down the antiquity of India's past and consequently, their approach was more religion-oriented than academically oriented. Thus, these scholars had been taught that the whole creation was started in about 4004 B.C.²⁵ and hence could not accept that Indian history extends far beyond that limit. Max Müller, writing to his wife, says that his writing and translation of the Veda is going to have great impact on the future of India. Veda is the root of the Hindu religion and to show how that root is perverted is the only way of destroying their ancient religion (1866). In 1868, he writes to the Duke of Argoil, the then Indian minister, to the effect that "this is the time for Christianity to step in. If it does not, whose fault will it be?"²⁶ Lastly, when the identity of Sandra. and Candra. Maurya was advanced by Jones and was objected to by M. Troyer, he says, "We shall see that the evidence in favour of the identity of Candra. (of course) and Sandra. is such as to admit of no reasonable doubt."²⁷ Whenever there is a variety of dates, their tendency is to accept lowest i. e., the latest date possible. There may be variations in the computation of time as per the Purāṇas, but how injustice has been done to old dynasties (1118 years for 29 kings) has been indicated already. As said by a very great Indologist of India, the new theories e.g., identity of Sandra. with Gupta Candra. may not have solved all the problems of India's past history, but new problems started by these theories are also not solved by the old presumptions. New research is challenging the old theories like the word 'Arya' meaning a race²⁸ and the Aryan Invasion theories and people have said that in saying that Arya denoted a race, Max Müller was motivated politically rather than academically.²⁸ It is high time, therefore, that the leading historians sit together and try an objective reappraisal of ancient Indian history. Till then, the present state of indecision and controversy

will continue.

Abbreviations (arranged in English Alphabetical order)

1. Abhi. Śaṅ. = Abhinava Śāṅkara
- 1a. Albe. = Alberuni
2. Alex. = Alexander
- 2a. Arṁśu. = Arṁśuvarman
3. Ānanda. = Ānandajñāna Ānandagiri
- 3a. Aśoka M. = Aśoka Maurya
4. Bhartṛ. = Bhartṛhari
5. Bhā. = Bhāskara
6. Bṛ. Ś. V. = *Bṛhat Śāṅkara Vijaya*
7. BSBh. = *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya*
8. Candra. = Candragupta
9. Cit. = Citsukhācārya
10. Dvā. = Dvārakā;
11. Dharma. = Dharmakīrti
12. Gauḍa. = Gauḍapāda
13. G.R.M. = *Guru Ratna Mālikā*
14. Gov. = Govindamuni
15. Hari. = Harisvāmī
16. Jina. = Jinasena
17. Jina V. = *Jina Vijaya*
18. K. Aśoka = Kāśmīra Aśoka
19. Kāñcī. Mutt = Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Mutt
20. Kumā. = Kumārila Bhaṭṭa
21. Mahā. = Mahāvīra
22. Mbh. = *Mahābhārata*
23. Megas. = Megasthenes
24. Nāgā. = Nāgārjuna
25. Patañ. = Patañjali
26. Pāli. = Pālibothra
27. Prabhā. = Prabhākara / Prabhācandra
28. Pr.Ś.V. = *Prācīna Śāṅkara Vijaya*
29. P.Ś.M. = *Puṇya Śloka Mañjarī*
30. Rāj. = *Rājataranṅinī* (of Kalhaṇa)
31. Śaṅ. = Śāṅkarācārya
32. Śaṅ. Vil. = *Śāṅkarendra Vilāsa*

- 32a. Śāli. Ś. = Śālivāhana Śāka
 33. Śānta. = Śāntarakṣita
 34. Śrñ. = Śṛṅgerī
 35. Ś.V. = Śānkara Vijaya
 36. Samanta. = Samantabhadra
 37. San. Can. = Sanskrit Candrikā
 38. Saṅkṣepa Śānt. = Saṅkṣepa Śāntiraka
 39. Saṅ. Śānt. Jaya = Saṅkṣepa Śānkara Jaya
 40. Sandra. = Sandrakottus
 40a. Sarva. = Sarvajñatman
 41. Sure. = Sureśvara
 41a. Varāha. = Varāha-Mihira
 42. Vasu. = Vasubandhu
 43. Vācas. = Vācaspati
 44. Vākya. = Vākya-padīya
 45. Vidyā. = Vidyānanda
 46. Vyā. = Vyāsācala
 47. Yudhi. Śāka = Yudhiṣṭhira Śāka
 48. सि. सि. = सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि
 49. पञ्चसि. टी. = पञ्चसिद्धान्तटीका

Notes and References

1. Vide I.A. (Indian Antiquary), Vol. IX, 1880.
2. For these, see - 1) Gītā-Rahasya by Tilak.
 - 2) Article in Marathi Monthly Sahyādri, Dec. 46, Vaze.
 - 3) I.A. - Vol. XIII - *Date of Śānt.* by K. T. Telang.
 - 4) JSMV - *Jagadguru Śānkara Mutt Vimarsa* by Shri Raja Sharma and also by him '*K.K. Mutt, a myth.*'
 - 5) *A History of Early Vedanta Philosophy* by Hajime Nakamura, pp. 48 to 89.
 - 6) B. O. R. I. Annals - Vol. LXX - Fernanda Tola - pp. 37 to 46.
 - 7) *Śānkara's Date* by Prof. R.M. Umesh.
- 2a. Read भूतेन्द्रयाङ्गनेत्रान्दे युधिष्ठिरशक्त्य वै ।
 वैशाखे शुक्लमे पक्षे दशम्यां शोभते दिने ॥ १५ ॥
3. Vide book "*Age of Śānkara*" by T. S. Narayan Sastry.
4. Vide the Marathi fortnightly, dt. 13.5.1916, p. 15.

5. Shri S.D. Kulkarni quotes in his Marathi book 'नवल उदेल चंडांशु' one stanza as from Ś.V. of Vyā., IV: 21, giving 508-509 B.C. as the year of Śaṅ.'s birth. The stanza is:

अध्नेः कन्ध्रेनल्वर्षशराक्षिसंल्ये । श्रीनन्दने दिनमणावुदराध्वभाग्नि ।
राधेऽधिपंचमातिथायसितेतरायाम् । करे खेऽदितिशुभे शुभयोगयुक्ते ॥

However, this stanza is not found in the edition of Vyā.'s Ś.V. printed by the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, which had prepared the edition by collating 6 MSS. from different places.

6. Vide *Sans. Candrika* - Vol. V: 2, p.6.
7. Alberuni has converted every era into Yazdajird era of Persians with reference to the year 400 Yazdajird = 1031 A.D. and then given 1031 = Śri Harṣa Era = 1488 = 457 B.C.
8. The stanza quoted as from Śan. Vil. of Vākpati Bhaṭṭa is :
- हायनेऽथ निभवे वृषमारे । शुक्लपक्षदशमीदिनमध्ये ।
शेवधिद्विपदिशानल्वर्षे । तिप्य एनमुदसोष्ट विशिष्टा ॥
9. Vide R. G. Sharma's JSMV - p. 246.
10. *Ibid.* p. 145 and yet he says that the work is unknown and not available Vide *Ibid.* p. 114.
11. In spite of all this, Shri Sharma says that this work is not available anywhere. Vide JSMV, p. 257.
12. The earliest trace of these stanzas from Jain literature is to be found in R.B. Godbole's भारतवर्षीय प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक कोश-अर्वाचीन खण्ड. But beyond saying that they belong to Jain Prabhandhas, he gives no further particulars.
13. The works consulted by me were:
- i) विविधतीर्थकल्प ii) पुरातनप्रबन्धसङ्ग्रह iii) बृहत्कथाकोश (हरिषेण) iv) कथाकोशप्रकरण (प्रा^०)-जिनेश्वरसूरि v) प्रभावकचरित (प्रभाचन्द्रसूरि) vi) दिव्यजय महाकाव्य (मेघविजय) vii) अकलङ्क ग्रन्थत्रयी viii) जैनपुस्तकप्रशस्तिसङ्ग्रह
14. Vide Śri Sureśvarācārya Adhiṣṭhāna Jirṇoddhāraṇa Kumbhābhiṣekam : Śrṅgerī Souvenir 10.5.1970
- 14a. The learned professor's remark, however, that the 5th century B.C. date for Śaṅ. and the evidence of this plate have been upheld by me and incorporated in my thesis and approved by a reputed University like the University of Poona, presided over by eminent Indologists is both malicious and far from truth (Vide his footnote on p. 103). I have nowhere upheld the said date nor the evidence of my plate. I have only stated it as one of the pieces of evidence, put forward by those who uphold the 6th century B.C. as the date of Śaṅ., which also has only been stated by me as one of the dates proposed for Śaṅ. and which required to be stated and/or discussed at length. Obviously, the professor has made the remark without himself going through my thesis in the original.
15. Vide *Śāṅkara's Date* by Prof. R. M. Umesh 4:2, pp. 119 to 131.
16. For all this discussion, vide I.A., Vol. 13, Dec. 1884, pp. 411 to 428.
17. For all the following discussion by Prof. R.M. Umesh, vide his book *Śāṅkara's Date*.

18. For Shri Nakamura's arguments, vide his book "A History of Early Vedānta Philosophy", pp. 48 to 89.
19. Vide book : "Is Sandrakottus Candragupta Maurya ?" by Shri Shriram Sathe.
20. These points have been taken by me from Shri S.D. Kulkarni's book in Marathi - नवल उदेल चंडाशु, pp. 218, 219.
- 20a. All the discussion above pertaining to the two Synchronisms has been taken from Shri T.S. Narayan Sastry's book "The Mistaken Greek Synchronism in Indian History", available in National Library Belvedere, Calcutta -7.
21. Vide "Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian." Trans. by J.W. McCrindle, pp. 106/7, 116/7, 123/4, 127-129.
22. *Ibid.* p. 138 and the long footnote on the same page.
23. The stanza is यदाऽब्दानां कलेर्जऽमुः सप्त त्रिंशच्छतानि वै ।
चत्वारिंशत्समाधान्यास्तदा भाष्यमिदं कृतम् ॥
24. The stanza is : श्रीमतोऽवन्तिनाथस्य विक्रमार्कस्य भूपतेः ।
धर्माभ्यक्षो हरिस्वामी व्याख्याच्छातपथी धृतिम् ॥
25. Lord Elphinstone in his book, 'History of India' says that to take the history of ancient India prior to the time calculation given in the Bible (4004 B.C.) is to accept that the Bible is wrong. We have, therefore, to bring down the Indian historical calculation so as to be more consistent with our notions; Vol. IV, Ch.3.
26. The letter was dated 16.12.1868.
27. Vide *History of ancient Sanskrit (Indian) Literature*, by Max Müller, p. 145.
28. Vide *Organiser, Republic Day Special, Jan.23, 1994.* "It was politics then, it is politics now" by Dr. N.S. Rajaram, pp. 19 -22.

CONCEPT OF CONJUGALITY IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA *

SUKUMARI BILATTACHARJI

I

The *Mahābhārata* was composed between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D., and obviously the society did not remain static through all these centuries. Social ethos, values, norms and relevant concepts changed during this period, this is the reason why we find mutually contradictory concepts in the epic. The core of the *Mahābhārata* was completed some time in the Kushan age; the ethical interpolations, tales illustrating the so-called eternal verities were added soon after. But the lengthy Bhārgava interpolation continued over at least three centuries. It is here that the earlier ethos and values were radically altered. It actually was a prolonged process of evolution in the society which threw up its antecedent ideological and sociological corollaries. Seen as a process, the contradictions can be understood as marking different stages of the evolution.

Marriage had notionally become obligatory even during the Vedic age; maids were there, but they were presumably not held in high respect. Soon after, marriage, at least for the woman, became compulsory; some men could and did remain bachelors, as mendicants and hermits, but quite early the spinster became a rare specimen. For the woman all rituals from her birth on were without *mantras*, only at marriage she began to figure as a social unit and *mantras* were chanted on her behalf at the wedding ceremony, and thereafter at various junctures until childbirth. Later Dharmasāstras lay down that the desirable age for the bride was eight, nine or ten, the best being eight.¹ But the core section of the *Mahābhārata* presents brides who are young girls at post-puberty age. So these girls brought to the marriage not only a developed body but also a mind formed to some extent. In the marital relation, then, the mind also remains a significant factor. But "marriage has always been a very different thing for man and woman... A man is socially a complete individual; he is regarded first of all as a producer whose existence is justified by the work he does for the group ... man does not make his appeal directly to woman herself; it is the men's group that allow each of its members to find self-fulfilment as husband and father."² Ancient India did not look upon woman as a complete individual. One of the most frequent

* This is the text of the fourth lecture of the Shrimati Nabadurga Banerjee Endowment Lecture Series delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bombay on 12 April, 1994.

remarks about the woman – starting from the Vedas through the *Mahābhārata* down to the Purāṇas -- is “*na strī svātantryamarhati*”, the woman is unworthy of independence. In her dependence she lost her identity of a social unit. “After all if we’re going to enter a marriage system that’s still legally designed for a person and a half... then we have to be convinced that we’re not whole persons on our own.”³ For the woman this concept of marriage is often impinged on her through her experience of marital life as a social contract. “...marrying and finding out that it is how women are treated there; marrying and finding out that it is not yet an equal partnership.”⁴

The *Mahābhārata* inherited the social ethos and the concept regarding the various aspects of marriage from the Vedic and Dharmaśāstra texts; most of the latter belong to the same period as the epic. The core epic story was inherited by the bards and rhapsodes; the later accretion is of the Bhārgava matter which accounts for over two-thirds of the present bulk of the epic; this section sought to formulate a very different ethos which it preached either directly or illustrated through suitable anecdotes. Hence the discrepancy between the core section and the Bhārgava section, we find two different sets of values are preached or sought to be inculcated through anecdotes in the two sections.

Texts concerning the attitude to women in general are, to say the least, ambivalent. ‘Women are evil like leeches, they suck (man’s) blood.’⁵ ‘The woman is known ever dependent, she is inferior to man, without (the sacraments of) fire and water, and is untrue.’⁶ ‘A wife was to be selected from a respectable family.’⁷ We have numerous texts telling us that was expected of the wife. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* says “The duties of wives: The practice of the same code of religious conduct as their husbands, worship of the parents-in-law, the preceptor, the gods and guests: she should be engaged in cleaning, not given to too much charity, carefully keeping the secrets of the family coffers, engaged in the well-being of the family... Not visiting others’ houses... in childhood, youth and old age being under the father, husband and sons (respectively). When the husband dies she lives like a mendicant or ascends his funeral pyre.”⁸ Yājñyavalkya says that ‘women should be worshipped with jewellery and garments by the husband, brothers, father, kinsmen, parents-in-law, brothers-in-law and relatives.’⁹ Manu also emphasizes the merits of honouring the woman.¹⁰ This worship, however, has little to do with a reverential or even respectful attitude, it is merely giving of mundane gifts. This is borne out by Manu’s dictum — ‘The wife, son, servant, disciple, and brother, when they are guilty should be beaten with a rope or cane.’¹¹ This clearly bears out the position of the wife in society, and we shall later see that this notion is embedded in communal memory. She is subordinate to her husband, for “marriage incites man to a capricious imperialism: the temptation to dominate is the most truly universal, the most irresistible one

there is, to surrender the ... wife to her husband is to promote tyranny in the world."¹²

There is a code for the wife's conduct in most Dharmaśāstras. 'She should be inclined to oblige her husband, never use harsh words, efficient, devoted and sweet-spoken.'¹³ 'Wives should obey the husband's words, this is the highest duty for the wife.'¹⁴ Innumerable texts in the epics, Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas emphasize the total denial of liberty to the woman at any stage in her life.^{14a}

Manu says that 'the wife who goes against her husband out of pride in her own family, the king should cause her to be eaten up by dogs in a crowded place.'¹⁵ 'The wife who does not mind her husband because he is poor, sick or unlearned, after death such a woman is born as a snake and becomes a widow repeatedly.'¹⁶

'The husband was normally chosen by the father or the brother with the father's consent, the wife was to serve him all his life and should not transgress his orders even after his death.'¹⁷ "Even if he is wayward, capricious, is without any merit, he is to be worshipped as a god by the devoted wife."¹⁸ The Śāstras forbid her to dress herself pleasantly, to enjoy music, theatre, etc. after the husband's death or when he was away; texts could be multiplied indefinitely but the pattern remains basically the same. In conjugal life the wife was expected to be abjectly devoted to the service of the husband and in-laws, being totally indifferent to her own comforts, needs and desires. Dakṣa in a misogynic vein says that 'during childhood the wife is scared (of her husband), in youth she is indifferent and in old age she treats her husband like a servant.'¹⁹

But "the house or household is based on the wife if she obeys him, there is nothing like a householder's life if the wife is servile... Even in heaven anything like conjugal love is hard to find."²⁰ Manu has the famous verse, "wives are for recreation, they should be worshipped, they are the lights of the homes, in the house there is no difference between the woman and the goddess of fortune."²¹ In another text Manu says: 'In short, the duty of man and wife is (a) lifelong (vow of) not going against each other.'²² But let us not forget the terms of this divine amity, although here it says that neither should transgress against the other, an overwhelming majority of texts lay down that the basic tenet of conjugal harmony rested on the wife obeying the husband's wishes unprotestingly; the concept of mutual respecting of each other's wishes is wholly absent in the Dharmaśāstras despite these few contrary evidences. As Simone de Beauvoir says, "He is her justification: She has only to entrust her life with her husband and he will give it meaning."²³ Hence one should not eat food cooked by "the wife who acts against the dictates of the husband, she should be known as a

perverse woman."²⁴ 'The wife may not even perform religious duties, undertake vows, give gifts or do any other ritualistic pious acts without the husband's express permission.'²⁵ 'A wife does not attain heaven through vows, fasting or other pious acts; she attains heaven only by worshipping her husband.'²⁶

By the time we reach the Epic and Dharmaśāstra age, dowry was an accepted institution in arranged marriages. "... whether labor or cash was needed, married women were expected to contribute it... The organization of production... demanded that women be contributing members of the family economy."²⁷ When her contribution came as dowry, *strīdhana*, *saudāyika* or *yautaka*, she could hardly ever exercise any control over it, although some Śāstras stipulate against the in-laws using it.²⁸ Yājñavalkya, however, leaves plenty of loopholes like family needs, famine, pious undertakings, etc. when the bride's property could be used.²⁹ So the wife possessed no property of her own; yet she was expected to supervise the assets and liabilities, the income and expenses of the family, as Draupadī was entrusted with the finances of the Pāṇḍavas. During the husband's absence the wife could only meet the routine expenditure; she could not make any financial transaction or give any gifts on her own. The Śāstras stipulate that "for the giving away or sale of children the couple should take the decision jointly. The wife cannot give away or adopt children without the husband's express consent."³⁰ The separate mention of the wife reminds us that this dictum regarding joint consent was not strictly adhered to as in the cases of the sales of Śunaḥśepha, Rohitāśva or Vessantara's children in the *Jātaka*. The 'fallen' mother had to be fed by the son, no mother is 'fallen' to her son.³¹

The wife's position of respect in her home depended largely on whether she had sons. 'A barren woman or a mother of still-born children was *vr̥ṣali*, an untouchable outcaste.'³² The barren wife could be discarded in the eighth year after marriage, a mother of still-born sons in the tenth year, in the eleventh a mother of girl children only.^{32a} So the wife's primary value lay in her ability to produce male children.

Society, family and the husband expected the wife to discharge her duties to them by working for the husband and in-laws and by producing male children. She was not recognized as a full citizen, she could not attend the *sabhā* or *samiti*, where collective decisions regarding the community were taken. In ritual also *mantras* were not uttered during a rite where she was concerned.³³ We must remember, however, that the scriptures generally cover the codes of behaviour of the three upper castes and of the comparatively affluent section of these castes. Below, the women behaved much as they pleased; their life was determined also by the pressing economic needs. The upper class women, quite soon after the advent of the Vedic Aryans, were released from heavy outdoor productive labour. From the vanquished pre-Aryans, captives and slaves were brought over who performed the heavy

chores in the field, factory and home. By the seventh century B.C. the maritime trade via the Middle East to Southern Europe was resumed. A century or two later the iron ploughshare was used widely, tilling became easier and yielded more plentiful harvests with much less labour.

Surplus and consequently, private property was generated through agriculture and craftsmen's labour. A section of privileged people arose. All this had an unmistakable impact on women. "Woman was dethroned by the advent of private property and her lot through the centuries has been bound up with private property."³⁴

Man's, especially the prosperous, propertied man's urge for an heir in a son begotten indubitably by him led to the curtailment of the woman's freedom of movement. She had to submit to her husband in everything. A valid reason is given why women are to be honoured, if and when they are honoured: "Man attains eternal heaven through sons and grandsons, this is the reason why wives should be served, fed and protected."³⁵ Thus her fertility assured the continuity of the line, hence she was 'honoured'. A new term of slander appeared '*punarbhū*', 'she who forsakes her own husband in youth and, after living with others, returns to her husband is a '*punarbhū*', so also she is who forsakes a dead, impotent, fallen or insane husband and takes another'.³⁶ Such a woman is also called *vṛṣālī*, 'she who forsakes her own bull (i.e., husband) and yearns for another, she verily is a *vṛṣālī*, not the '*sūdra* woman'.³⁷ Although the *Atri Saṁhitā* says magnanimously that a woman is not polluted by an illicit lover,³⁸ yet most others hold different views: 'the adulterous wife is called *mahiṣī* (she-buffalo) and he who condones this offence is called *māhiṣika*'.³⁹ Manu rounds this attitude off quite neatly when he says: 'Through adultery the wife earns calumny, becomes a vixen in the next life and suffers from foul diseases.'⁴⁰

Regarding the husband's duties towards his wife we have some texts: 'If a husband kills an innocent wife, he should perform the penance stipulated for killing a *sūdra*'.⁴¹ This is one of many, many instances where the woman is equated with the *sūdra*. One text directs the husband to be loyal to his own wife and shun others' wives.⁴² 'Nothing else shortens a man's life as an attachment for another's wife'.⁴³ Hence conjugal loyalty is given an ulterior motive, self-interest. A list of sins includes forsaking one's wife.⁴⁴ 'The adulterous wife should be confined but fed.'⁴⁵

Another text says, 'the adulterous wife becomes purified after three days.'⁴⁶ 'The wife is not separated from the husband through being ransomed or abandoned.'⁴⁷ 'Parents, wife and son may not be forsaken, the king should punish such an offender by fining him six hundred coins.'⁴⁸ "The husband should wait a year for a wife who hates him, after a year however he should end the relationship and should not live with her."⁴⁹ 'A wife married with

the proper ritual can be abandoned, if she is blameworthy, sick, is wicked or has been married off through deceit.⁵⁰ What strikes one forcefully is that a wife is enjoined to stick loyally, devotedly to a husband with similar blemishes in the bulk of the scriptures, the exceptions can be counted on the fingertips.

While after a lifelong devotion and dedicated service, the widow must either climb her husband's funeral pyre for co-cremation or, if she lives, she must deprive herself from all the good things of life and live austere. 'She who climbs the husband's pyre is honoured in heaven as a pious woman.'⁵¹ But 'if the woman rises from the burning pyre, she is purified with the *Prājāpatya* atonement.'⁵² Injunctions for the wife's self-immolation on the husband's funeral pyre are attended with pseudo-logical statements, "As a snake-catcher forcibly takes out a snake from a pit, so does the co-cremated wife extract her husband from hell."⁵³

We wonder what happens if the woman goes to hell, no code of conjugality lays down rules for the husband to co-cremate himself to rescue her from hell. Instead, he marries immediately and sets up a new household.

Rules are, however, very different for the widower. 'If a worthy wife predeceases her husband, he should cremate her together with the (prescribed) vessels, and then *immediately after* should take another wife.'⁵⁴ Manu also echoes this view, 'If a wife from one's own caste of the twice-born dies before her husband, the righteous man should cremate her together with the sacrificial vessels, and marry again, light the sacrificial fire again.'⁵⁵

The wife should not be killed. 'If ever a man consumes his wife by the Agnihotra (fire), he is born as a woman, and she as a man.'⁵⁶ If, however, a respectable wife dies humiliated by the husband, she is born a man for three successive lives and he a woman.'⁵⁷

The double standards are painfully clear to even a casual reader: for a widow, either instant death or a life-in-death; for a widower no self-deprivation or mourning even for a day, but remarriage and a new conjugal life.

Polyandry is not strictly forbidden, it had gone out of vogue quite early; we hear of exceptional cases only. But polygamy was not only sanctioned, it was looked upon with favour. 'A *brāhmaṇa* was to marry three wives, a *kṣatriya* two and a *vaiśya* and a *sūdra* one each.'⁵⁸ But from Vedic times polygamy was widely practised, it became a status symbol. So co-wives were a social reality; to become the chief among the co-wives depended only on one's good fortune; 'the husband is pleased neither with fame nor with 'tapas'.⁵⁹ The king married four wives legally;⁶⁰ besides he had a large harem of para-wives (*upapatnīs*); he could bring prostitutes to the palace, could enjoy women given as gifts on various occasions. The priest was given

hundreds of women married with children, married without a child and virgins.⁶¹ Needless to say, there was no question of conjugality with these hundreds of women, they were there for short-term enjoyment, performing household chores, rendering personal services to the inmates of the household, after which some must have been sold, others became domestic charwomen and still others ended up in brothels. The *devadāsīs* were the other category of women to whom Brahmin priests, kings, and occasionally the nobles (*rājanyas*) had access.

I mention this to bring to your notice the fact that these practices of polygamy, gifts of hundreds of women (together with hundreds of cattle), women captured in war and as sacrificial fees, made it virtually impossible for these numerous unfortunate women to have any conjugal life at all. And their number was legion.

Conjugality, as the texts present it, was thus for the socially recognized families of all castes, but the scriptures cover mainly women of the three upper castes, of somewhat affluent condition. It can be surmised that they constituted a sizeable section of the women population of the community at any given point of time. To the fourth belonged *mleccha*, the *śūdra*, *śvapāka*, *pulkasa* and other untouchables, together with the gift-women as sacrificial fees to priests, hundreds of entertainment girls for guests at any festival, the entourage of the bride, captive women taken at wars, women bought at distress sales, temple women and the inhabitants of brothels. Brothels and prostitution are as old as Vedic times. For an overwhelmingly large section of women, thus, there was no conjugal life at all.

II

Between the time of the earliest period of the composition of the *Mahābhārata* and its completion, there was a series of foreign invasions and occupations. The first to arrive were the Greeks with Alexander, then the Scythians, Pahlavas, Sassanians, Kushans and finally towards the very latest accretions came the Huns. All of them came in big or small hordes, and after the battle, they became part of the Indian population. They brought with them their own customs, social ethos and cultural values. The prolonged process of assimilation led to modification, sometimes quite radical, of existing values which partly explains the increasing number of Dharmaśāstras sometimes in contradiction with each other. Regional and temporal variations, too, account for some changes. But together with the earlier Vedic literature, the Dharmaśāstras offer a frame of reference for the code of conjugal behaviour in the *Mahābhārata*. It was not a uniform code, neither for the whole of northern India nor for all those eight or nine centuries during which the epic was under composition, it was a changing, moving, growing set of values which constitute the concept of conjugality here, for the affluent section of

the upper castes.

The core epic was composed several centuries earlier before the ethical, and later, the socio-religious Bhārgava interpolations were added. Obviously, therefore, there were at least two sets of values here: one that in the core section and the other those in the interpolated sections. These latter have a kind of uniformity of their own, they present a coherent set of norms. But this norm is very different from the earlier one. The core was composed as an epic, a battle tale. It painted a picture mainly of the sixteen *mahājanapadas*, and presented predominantly urban values. Since its main story revolves around the conflict between two branches of a royal family, the actual socio-cultural background of this story goes beyond the *mahājanapadas* of the sixth century B.C., presumably its roots lie in the time of the earliest racio-cultural amalgamation of the pre-Aryans and Aryans of the time of the *Yajurvedā* and the early Brāhmanaṣ. Women from the indigenous population were married to Aryans, both the aboriginal and possibly also the nomadic herdsmen. Ethos of the Aryan women preserved a measure of freedom of thought and action which is reflected in the conduct of the women of the core epic. Even in the interpolated section were those immortal tales and legends which had been transmitted through such a long period that they were embedded in the popular memory and could not be altered without offence to the peoples' sensibility. Here also we find women behaving somewhat independently. The breach of this code occurred perceptibly in those tales which were presumably concocted for inculcating the new ethos; this section was composed for the express purpose of social indoctrination.

When we compare the conduct of the main characters of the core epic with the Vedic Dharmaśūtra framework, we notice their departure from the given code. When Pāṇḍu tempted providence and died of an earlier curse, Mādrī decided on co-cremation, not because it was enjoined by any Śāstra but because she had yielded to Pāṇḍu's request thus indirectly bringing about his death, and also this way she would enjoy his company in heaven. As the elder wife, Kuntī had a right to take this decision but Mādrī prevailed upon her and paid a debt of love pleading to Kuntī that her love for Pāṇḍu was left unsatisfied. This step is based on an emotional decision, and she was not a 'Satī' in the accepted sense of the term.

Gaṅgā and Satyavatī both married on the conditions they had themselves laid down. We are not given a picture of their conjugal life but because Śantanu had agreed not to hinder Gaṅgā in any of her acts, she had her way with each new-born son that she drowned – except the last one. When the childless Śantanu protested at this cruelty, she left according to the contract, her freedom of action was respected.⁶² Satyavatī was extremely cruel to her future husband, but she knew her influence on Śantanu and insisted and prevailed upon her husband. Her conjugal life was based on a heartless pact,

but she stuck to her terms. She even insisted on ignoring the rule of primogeniture and had the younger son Vicitravīrya crowned because the elder one was unsuitable.⁶³ Here was a woman whose political decision differed with her own bargain with her husband.

The young girl Sāradaṇḍāyanī was appointed by her elders to conceive from a Brahmin; she bore three sons to him and chose to live with him afterwards.⁶⁴ She herself took the final decision regarding her conjugal life. Even the monstress Hidimbā insisted on marrying Bhūna and finally married him, they had a long honeymoon. After Ghaṭotkaca was born, she left, instructing her son to help the Pāṇḍavas in every way.⁶⁵ When Ulūpī, a widow of the Nāga tribe fell in love with Arjuna, he resisted her at first but stayed with her for three years only.⁶⁶ At Maṇalūra however, Arjuna fell for Citrāṅgadā, her father claimed the son Arjuna would beget in Citrāṅgadā as his own (*putrikāputra*). Then Arjuna left her after three years.⁶⁷ In these unions of the Pāṇḍava brothers we are told of the background and the result, but the actual conjugal life is not presented to us. These are unions brought about by love on either side, reciprocated, then after the offspring arrives, the husbands leave their spouses. In the case of Arjuna, however, he met Ulūpī and Citrāṅgadā again, when he came to Maṇalūra with the sacrificial horse. At Ulūpī's initiative Babhruvāhana stalled the horse, a fight ensued, Arjuna died but was revived through Ulūpī's ministrations. This detail contains a proof of Ulūpī's wifely regard for Arjuna, also her motherly pride against her co-wife's son and exemplifies a noble aspect of the heroic *ksatriya* wife's elevated sense of wifely duty. The Nāga woman vindicated her husband's and son's reputation. On a higher plane than the low mundane one of mere existential situation, she displayed her conjugal loyalty. As did the monstress Hidimbā who had enjoined the son to serve the Pāṇḍavas because she loved one of them, the son laid down his life obeying his monster-mother's order.

Technically, the case of Puru and Pramadvarā does not fall within the purview of conjugality, because their wedding was only a few days away when Pramadvarā died of snake-bite. Puru was overwhelmed with the grief. Learning of her death he left his mourning friends, went out and entering a deep forest wailed inconsolably. Later, he shared his span of life with the dead girl, so that she was revived and became his wife.⁶⁸ Here was genuine love, deep and spontaneous. Within a social code where the wife serves her husband in life and even sometimes cremates herself on his funeral pyre, where instances of the husband sacrificing anything precious for the wife are extremely rare, this is a rather outstanding instance of the husband's conjugal love for the wife-to-be.

In a minor episode Śukra's daughter Devayānī had to go as part of the bridal entourage to Yayāti's palace, but Śukra had forbidden Yayāti to enjoy her.⁶⁹ But when she saw Sarmiṣṭhā bearing sons to Yayāti, in secret

she tempted the king repeatedly and he begot sons in her. In this he was false to Sarmiṣṭhā, his legally wedded wife. When Śarmiṣṭhā found it out, she not only left her husband “because he had wronged her,”⁷⁰ but cursed him with premature senility. And the fact that Yayāti grew old overnight not only substantiated her charge but her moral right also to feel offended. This is especially noticeable because instances of the husband’s adultery in the epic are really too many to enumerate. This departure from the accepted paradigm of the wife meekly and helplessly accepting the husband’s faithlessness stands out as one of the few exceptions. So there had been a code of conjugal conduct which upheld the wife’s right to the husband’s loyalty, although later these values were eroded almost completely. The concrete details of this episode have a ring of truth: it must have been part of the floating mythic-legendary tradition of an earlier era preserved in folk memory.

An anecdote which goes back to a still earlier era, when conjugal fidelity and sexual promiscuity had not become incompatible, is recorded in the Uddālaka Śvetaketu story. A Brahmin came and took away Uddālaka’s wife for pleasure. Śvetaketu, the son was furious at this; his father said that this was a time-worn practice, all women are free to be enjoyed by others.⁷¹ Then Śvetaketu solemnly laid down the law for sexual inviolability of married women. Here we have the record of an ancient practice of socially accepted promiscuity, even among married couples. Uddālaka did not press his conjugal rights, because the exclusive sexual rights were unknown in those older times.

We hear that even the saintly Arundhatī suspected her husband, one of the seven renowned sages Vasiṣṭha.⁷² This shows that connubial fidelity was not taken for granted and was not regarded as sacrosanct as it later came to be. Anasūyā, wife of Atri, another of the seven sages, decided to leave her husband and spent three hundred years meditating in great hardship. Finally, Śiva blessed her with a famous son.⁷³ She does not express the reason of her disgust, but says, “I shall no longer be subordinate to him in any way”, a statement unthinkable in later times, when the husband’s control of the wife’s movements had become absolute and unconditional. This defiance is a significant departure from the framework of conjugal conduct and loyalty which later became an absolute value.

The Śakuntalā episode which Kālidāsa immortalized in his drama has a different moral intonation in the *Mahābhārata*. After marrying Śakuntalā secretly according to Gāndharva law, king Duṣanta forgot all about her. When her son was six years old, she took him to the court because Duṣanta had promised her to crown her son as the prince-elect. Duṣanta pretended that she was lying, the son was not his. She argued, upbraided him for his selfish, deceitful and irresponsible attitude. She was about to leave the son and go when a supernatural voice confirmed her claim.⁷⁴ The words she used in taking the king to task were harsh, scornful and full of threats

of divine reprisal. By any code of later conjugal conduct she flouted all the accepted norms. And yet, because of her uprightness, self-respect, integrity and an inner sense of high rectitude, she uttered these bitter words not only with impunity but with superior i.e., divine approbation. The story is one that glorifies this character of a woman whose son became the progenitor of a famous line. The story is too good to ignore, hence it is preserved, despite its apparent non-conformity with the later norms.

The epic has only a few instances of the husband's compassion for the wife. The Brahmin family, threatened by the monster Baka, was deliberating as to who should be sent as the victim. When the wife offered herself, the husband says that a wife should never be sent to death. But this compassion is reciprocated; she also said that she had no intention of living without her husband.⁷⁵ Or, take the instance of Reṇukā resting for a while; while she picks up the arrows, Jamadagni, her husband playfully shoots for pleasure. He takes pity on her because the sun is hot and she has to run to and fro in the midday heat.⁷⁶ But the episode loses its significance when we remember that one day when Reṇukā came home late, her husband suspects her of infidelity and orders his son Paraśurāma to kill her and Paraśurāma does kill her.⁷⁷ Later, however, he offered a boon to this son who had obeyed him when the other sons had refused; the son prayed for the mother's life, and the father obliged him. We should not lose sight of the fact that the son could have asked for something else, and that the sage Jamadagni's code of conjugality did not deter him from killing the wife. And what is still worse, instead of doing it himself, he exploited a son's obedience and thus implicated him.

The tale of Jaratkāru is representative. The ascetic found out that unless he married and begot a son, his ancestors would be suffering great pain. So he offered to marry a woman who bore his own name. When Vāsuki offered his sister Jaratkāru's hand, the ascetic stipulated that he would leave her whenever she disturbed, disobeyed or displeased him. This happened when she woke him up one evening so that he could perform his evening rite on time. He left her in a huff telling her that she was carrying his son.⁷⁸ In this tale the sage's own self-interest viz., to rescue his ancestors from suffering had prompted him to seek a wife. He was old, poor and unattractive; yet Vāsuki's sister married him. But he had the upper hand, he laid down his own terms. When his wife woke him up, it was to save him from a ritual transgression; yet he put her in the wrong and left her instantly. Such tales are based on the assumption that the husband does a favour to the wife by marrying her, although the facts are otherwise. This assumption is the rock-bottom of most later tales; hence there is no conjugal obligation, no demand on the wife's part for a just and fair deal.

The well-known tale of Sāvitrī⁷⁹ is a significant one. Her father failed

to procure a groom for her and sent her out to find one herself. When she returned and reported that she had set her heart on Satyavat, the son of the banished blind King Dyumatsena, the sage Nārada who was present was deeply grieved and truly shocked, for, the prince would live for only one more year. Sāvitrī argued and would not be dissuaded. The nuptials over, she lived in bliss in the forest for a year. When the appointed day came, she had been fasting and requested to be taken along when Satyavat was leaving to collect faggot for fuel. He protested, saying it was too rough a trip for her, but she had her way. The husband's protest was prompted by his love for her, so was her insistence to accompany him. The story is well-known – the husband's death, Sāvitrī's long altercation with Yama, polite yet firm, intelligent and bent on achieving her end. As Yama kept promising her various blessings in an attempt of dissuading her from pressing her plea, she said that without her husband she did not care for happiness, even for heaven or prosperity; without her husband she did not even care to live on.⁸⁰ The night grew dark, she followed the God of Death who was carrying Satyavat's life. Undaunted and steadfast, she kept up the dialogue until Yama made a serious slip in offering her the boon of a hundred sons, without a husband. So she gained her objective: Satyavat returned to life. This tale is cited as an example of Sāvitrī's '*pātivratya*', 'wifely devotion', her sense of the ultimate duty to the husband. But this interpretation misses the cardinal point: what Sāvitrī did, she did not do because the scriptures enjoined this as a duty of a faithful wife, but because she had chosen a man whom she loved; the rest followed as a corollary of the basic premise: her love for Satyavat, not a wife's devotion and duty, but lover's inner propulsion through a strong emotional attachment, the foundation of connubial bliss.

The other world-famous anecdote is that of Nala and Damayantī.⁸¹ They fell in love, were married and lived happily for a time, until Nala was dared in a game of chess by an enemy. Possessed by a hostile spirit, Kali, he lost his all. When at last there was nothing more to stake or lose and the enemy suggested that Nala stake Damayantī, the outraged Nala refused, shed his ornaments and left. Damayantī followed him. The dice in the shape of bird stole Nala's garment, so the couple shared one dress between them. Night came and Nala realized that this way he would drag Damayantī to greater and even greater suffering and hardship. So he decided to leave her. He explained the countries in the different directions to her and told her to seek security and comfort. She replied — "How can I leave you who have lost your kingdom, your wealth, even your clothes, you are plagued by hunger and fatigue; how shall go leaving you in this lonesome forest?"⁸² These words throb with love, they are not prompted by a sense of duty, but by the compassion one feels for a dearly beloved spouse. However inspired more by the desire to spare her from pain, he does desert her

while she is sleeping. On the way he keeps turning towards her again and again, dedicating her to the gods, in deeply moving words. On waking up, she grieves not so much for herself as for the hapless Nala. This is the spontaneous reciprocity of true conjugal love. Neither is haunted so much by a sense of dereliction of duty as by the thought of the loving spouse's suffering.

After a long series of mishaps and after enduring various kinds of distressful experiences she finally reaches her parents. Nala, disfigured, in abject penury and wholly friendless takes up a job in a royal kitchen where every night he sings a verse of doleful and forlorn yearning. Through a series of feelers which Damayantī sent out to find Nala, eventually they meet and are united. At her parents' place Damayantī, a mature woman, a mother of teen-age children plainly tells her mother that if her mother wants her to live, she has to arrange a groom-selection ceremony to which Nala is sure to come, no matter where and how he lives. The utter poignancy of the yearning betrays the depth of her love. At their reunion, both were unwashed, undecorated, both languished for each other, but they just embraced each other and talked the whole night through. Here is love at its deepest, most romantic and most authentic, without being trammelled by any sense of duty or obligation. It is the finest tale of romantic conjugal love in *Mahābhārata* and one of the world's best.

How cheap and shallow sound the words of the Vaidarbha princess Lopāmodrā to her husband when she says that he can only approach her on a bed similar to the one she slept on at her father's ! Even when the young Sukanyā, married to decrepit Cyavana was approached by the Aśvins and replied saying 'I cannot accept anyone except the one to whom my father gave me away'⁸³, there is no proof that the words are impelled by any emotion. This is the conventional norm of conjugal duty. She is rattling off the conventional Dharmaśāstra formula for the dutiful wife.

Regarding children we have seen that sale, adoption and gift of children required the consent of both the parents.⁸⁴ Yet Śunaḥṣepha and Rohitāśva were sold, and Vessantara's children given away, without even consulting the mothers. King Somaka who suffered from intense anxiety and apprehension because he had just one son, was advised by his priest to offer the infant in a sacrifice, so that when the hundred queens smelt the sacrificial smoke they would conceive and the king would have a hundred sons. This the king did without the mother's consent.⁸⁵

Even among the gods the attitudes to conjugal obligations were those current among men. Defeated by Nahuṣa, Indra hid under water. His wife Śachī whom Nahuṣa wished to enjoy, secretly came to Indra for advice. Indra told her how Nahuṣa could offend the sage Agastya and be cursed.⁸⁶

Here Indra is pained at Śachi's predicament, feels real sympathy for her and wisely devises a method whereby she is freed from Nahuṣa's clutches. But in conjugal life Indra is far from faithful, actually his frequent unfaithfulness to Śaci is a recurring theme, although Śaci is ever faithful to him.

Coming to the two major characters of the epic – Gāndhārī and Draupadī – we find two characters who do not conform to the Dharmaśāstra edicts, at least, not in the core epic. Gāndhārī's tying her eyes so as to deprive herself from the pleasure of seeing can be an act of the '*pativrata*', it can also be a gesture against the fate which gave her a blind husband. In her impetuosity to get a hundred sons she broke open the large egg; this act was in reaction to the birth of Yudhiṣṭhira, who, according to the law of primogeniture, would be king after Dhṛtarāṣṭra. So she was of a passionate nature which she generally managed to keep under control. We have no record of her accusing her husband because he was blind, but she frequently went against her husband and requested him firmly not to support their evil son Duryodhana. She had an innate sense of justice and righteousness and could not support Duryodhana whom her own brother Śakuni led astray. She criticized her son and also her husband. Kṛṣṇa says, 'Even in front of me, in the open court you have repeatedly spoken words of wisdom and justice for the welfare of both the belligerent sides.'⁸⁷ Here she plainly went against the numerous Dharmaśāstra instructions regarding how a wife should never contradict her husband, but whether his acts are fair or foul, she must follow him abjectly. Hence she had flouted this rule consciously, openly in the court in front of witnesses. Clearly, this core epic story belonged to a hoary past when women were regarded as human beings with independent moral identity. Yet, that Gāndhārī was a righteous person according to the epic author is borne out by the fact that her curses to Kṛṣṇa came true. So she was more pious than her husband, hence there was an inherent strife in their conjugal life. We may surmise that since she spoke out openly in the court, she did so also when the couple were by themselves. Thus the rule of not talking back to the husband, which was part of the ideal wife's code was not observed by this righteous woman whose piety was underscored throughout the epic. When as a mother she had a hard time, she was continually being torn apart by her maternal feeling and her sense of justice – a dilemma which was not felt keenly by her husband. Hence there was an impenetrable wall between the couple; conjugality could not strike deep roots. They came close to each other only through the unmitigated adversity, loss and sorrow at the end of the war. Only then this unbearable agony brought them close to each other.

The heroine of the epic is Draupadī. We meet her first at her wedding when, after Arjuna had pierced the target at the groom - selection ceremony, she advanced gently and bashfully, with the white floral garland in her hand

and a sweet smile on her lips. She had liked the *kṣatriya* hero who had earned her through this difficult test. Coming home with the Pāṇḍavas she discovered that she was to be a wife to all five brothers. The maiden's dream of conjugal bliss was rudely shattered. Later it was decided that she was to be wife to each brother for a year. It was a pretty difficult predicament, but we hear that she passed the test with flying colours. She was faithful to all of them, served and attended them, was in charge of their treasury, their familial and social obligations, and she discharged all these duties well.

Yet she did not abide by the rules laid down by the Dharmasūtras. She argued with her husbands, reproached them for dereliction of duty as *kṣatriya* warriors. Even with Yudhiṣṭhira, the son of Dharma himself she argued on questions of piety, ethics and religion. She blamed Yudhiṣṭhira squarely for all their misfortunes and said with bitter mockery, "I bow to Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ who fashioned this illusion in you, this propensity for perversely disregarding the codes of our fathers and grandfathers."⁸⁸ All this goes against the teachings of the Dharmasāstras. In the last book of the epic when the Pāṇḍava brothers, together with Draupadī were on their way to heaven, and Draupadī was the first to drop down, Yudhiṣṭhira said that this was so because even though she was a wife to all five brothers, she was partial to Arjuna. We, however, find that at times of crises, whether when she was too fatigued to walk or in danger in the palace of the Virāṭa king where the lascivious Kīcaka made humiliating proposals to her, or even when she simply coveted to possess a particularly fragrant heavenly flower, it was always to Bhīma that she turned for help, succour and redress. But undoubtedly she had a very secret yearning for Arjuna's company, the husband she welcomed first, the one to whom she mistakenly thought she would belong exclusively, but whose company she was deprived of most, Arjuna it was who got sent for procuring divine weapons, Arjuna again married Ulūpī and Chitrāṅgadā. When Arjuna was leaving to procure weapons it meant a long absence, the love-lorn Draupadī bade him farewell and added, "Let none be born to the *kṣatriya* line like us."⁸⁹ We can fathom the depth of her languishing love for the philanderer. When at Kṛṣṇa's advice Arjuna eloped with Subhadrā, it came as a bitter blow to Draupadī's conjugal expectations. When Arjuna came to her, she said somewhat sarcastically, "Go, there, O Kuntī's son, where the Sātvata princess (i.e., Subhadrā) is."; 'even though a weight is tied well before, it slackens (after a time)'.⁹⁰ These are words of the lover who expects her first love to retain a special soft corner for her, but to her bitter chagrin discovers that Arjuna is but a philanderer. All the Pāṇḍavas had other wives, but Draupadī only had the husbands thrust upon her. Yet she was eminently fair to them and scrupulously dutiful, Kuntī had blessed her eloquently : "As Indrāṅī is to Indra, as Svāhā is to Agni, Rohiṇī to Soma, Damayantī to Nala, Bhadrā to Vaiśravaṇa, Arundhatī to Vasiṣṭha, as Lakṣmī is to Nārāyaṇa, be thou to thy husbands."⁹¹ This catalogue includes divine couples as well

as human lovers: Rohiṇī, one of Soma's twenty-seven wives was especially favoured by her husband, Damayantī's attachment to Nala was legendary, of the seven sages Arundhatī was so faithful to Vasiṣṭha that Svāhā who assumed the shapes of the other six wives in order to enjoy Agni's embraces, could not impersonate Arundhatī. Thus Draupadī was blessed with a specially close loving relationship with her husbands. In a sense the boon bore fruit: all the brothers were aware that in Draupadī they had a rare jewel of womanhood, all respected her and loved her in their own ways. She had looked upon Bhīma as the protector, Yudhiṣṭhira as the preceptor and the upholder of the higher values of life, Arjuna as the lover *par excellence*. Yet except Bhīma her other two husbands betrayed her faith in them. The two youngest brothers have too insignificant a role to deserve special mention. Arjuna betrayed her claim to his special romantic love.

And Yudhiṣṭhira, the symbol of righteousness and justice betrayed her human dignity. In the game of chess he staked her as a pawn and lost. First, as one of the five brothers Yudhiṣṭhira overstepped his rights on Draupadī. We hear that 'a wife should not be bought or sold.'⁹² This losing a wife in a game is worse; she is clearly regarded as a chattel owned by the husband who could do what he wished with her. When Prātikāmin came to fetch her to the court, she could hardly believe his words. She asked him "Prātikāmin, how can you say this? What prince would ever pawn his wife as a stake? The poor king is intoxicated with chess, there's no other harm in him."⁹³ Foolishly she asks him if the King lost her before or after losing himself at the game. 'Go, find this out and then take me there.'⁹⁴ Yet it was not altogether a foolish query, for, it contains a tacit acknowledgement of a husband's right to stake his wife, in conformity with the scriptures. Towards the period of the very last accretions of the epic belongs Kālidāsa who states about Śakuntalā whom her husband refuses to accept as his wife, "She is your wife, take her or abandon her : the husband's power over his wife is *absolute*."⁹⁵ Draupadī felt outraged at having to accept this position of a mere chattel, especially where the honour of conjugality was crushed underfoot without effective protest from any quarter. And yet this was Draupadī to whom the hostile Karṇa paid an unstinted compliment when he said to Duryodhana, "It is impossible to alienate Draupadī from the Pāṇḍavas by their enemies (now). She had accepted them when they were at their lowest; (but) now they shine."⁹⁶

This was the ultimate public humiliation of the wife of five husbands, where their ignominy and passivity about rescuing her honour and social prestige had touched its lowest point – and Draupadī could never forgive her husbands for this. A spirited girl, she writhed with mortification and when she complained to her friend Kṛṣṇa, she was full of gall: "O Madhusūdāna, with my husbands alive, with the Vṛṣṇis and Pāṇcālas all living, they wished

to enjoy me as their maid-servant! I cry shame to the sons of Pāṇḍu, mighty heroes in the battle-field, these looked on me, their renowned and virtuous wife being humiliated."⁹⁷ She continues the rigmarole and is eloquent about the basic worthlessness of the Pāṇḍavas, laying the blame for their adversities, penury and humiliation at their door. 'There should be a time for forbearance and a time for protest', she says.⁹⁸ She could never get over this shocking experience, which, to her utter dismay, failed to evoke a proper conjugal response in her husbands, this woman did suffer the male chauvinistic attitude of treating her as not only wholly subservient to the husbands, but of being treated as an object of utility, possessed body and soul by their husbands who were her lawful owners. What is significant in this episode is not this attitude which was ubiquitously present all over the world down the ages until only the other day, but what rivets our attention is her vocal protest – a lengthy speech of complaints, reproaches, jibes and an expression of moral shock at the inherent injustice. This is against the teachings of the scriptures, this is an expression of woman's identity as a social and moral being who has an inalienable right to conjugal justice.

III

The Bhārgava interpolation, however, presents a totally different Draupadī. In the Forest Book, Satyabhāmā approaches Draupadī, apparently for a friendly chat, but actually for lessons in the duties of a devoted life. Satyabhāmā had two specific questions for Draupadī; one 'do you use some drugs, spells or charms for keeping your husbands loyal to you?' When Draupadī categorically denied taking recourse to such low means, then Satyā asked her how else did she manage to keep them loyal and satisfied. The harangue that followed is a classic in itself; it is a practical epitome of a catalogue of models of conduct in perfect agreement with the scriptural dictates that we have followed so far.⁹⁹ Draupadī says, "Drugs deprive husbands of spiritual virility; only low, selfish people use them, I never do. Instead, I serve them, together with their other wives, to the best of my ability. I act as the keeper of my husband's heart, without pride and scared of their temper and bitter words, their ill-being, cruel glances, bad postures (while they sit), their wandering, walking, adverse gestures, etc. – I watch carefully and act accordingly. I never even glance at others, be they men, supernmen, rich or fair. I eat and sleep after my husbands, never sit down until they are back. Then I rise to greet them, offer them seats, water, sweet words. I save their harvests carefully. All day long I work tirelessly, never laugh except at jokes, never cast my eyes at the door. I never laugh too much. I desire nothing without my husbands. During their absence I neglect my dress and ornaments. Guests I serve dutifully. Each of my husbands has a hundred well-dressed maid-servants. I take care of all of them, and I carefully look after Pāṇḍava treasury. I serve my husbands as if they were angry snakes. I never exceed them

in food, dress or ornaments, never speak ill of my mother-in-law, being ever subservient to her; my husbands are attached to me because I serve their elders. I feed numerous guests and Brahmins everyday."

"In return I get children, bedsteads, rich and wondrous seats, clothes, garlands, perfumes, heaven and unparalleled fame."¹⁰⁰ This is a key passage in our discussion of the epic concept of conjugality. The physical tendance that she rendered to her husbands has been the natural practice everywhere all through the ages. But there are certain elements in Draupadī's speech which should be examined carefully. She tended the husbands together with the other wives. Possibly she did so, but would Draupadī we knew cite it as a virtue, she whose hurt pride prompted her to send Arjuna to his newly wedded wife, Subhadrā? Then, her remark that she looked upon her husbands as angry snakes; what kind of conjugality does it signify? The very beginning of her speech mentions her giving up of her pride, the rest of the passage signifies her signing away her self-respect and human dignity. She claims that she never exceeded her husbands in anything; this is more like a maid-servant's than a wife's status, she says that she never casts a glance at the door, this virtually turns her into a prisoner at the beck and call of her warders, the husbands. Finally, to convince Satyabhāmā that all this service was not one-sided, she cites a list of benefits she derives from it: children, bedsteads, rich and wondrous seats, clothes, garlands, perfumes, heaven and fame. All except heaven and fame are entirely mundane; and clothes, garlands, perfumes, seats and beds smack of very cheap return for the total self-abnegation involved in the services she gave them. What kind of conjugal relation does it signify?

But the crucial question is : do we know this Draupadī? The strong, self-respecting personality who complained to her male friend Kṛṣṇa, now says that she never casts her eyes to the door! The proud lover and wife who slyly chastised Arjuna because he had married Subhadrā now says that she not only serves her husbands but their other wives, and the five hundred maid-servants as well. Draupadī we know never showed any craving for comforts and luxuries which could be bought with money; but once – only once – did she wish to possess a flower with a divine fragrance. The refined sensitive nature of this fine lady is turned into a crass materialist's in this passage.

This dialogue sets the tune for many of the interpolated passages on conjugality. Marriage became the be-all and end-all of life for women. We have left behind the *Vṛddhakumārīs*, the *Jaratkumārīs*, the spinsters of the Vedic age. Now to the old lady, sage Kuṅigarga's daughter who had spent all her life in pious meditation and was about to die and go to heaven; a divine messenger came and barred her way, saying that no unwed virgin may enter heaven. So she bargained with Gālava's son who agreed to marry her in return for half her spiritual merits. For that one night she regained

her youth, married, consummated the marriage, and the next morning she went to heaven.¹⁰¹ The whole episode is slightly ludicrous, because marriage is here reduced to a mere formality, a gate-pass to heaven, with no possibility of a conjugal life after the nuptials. There is an element of irony in the inherent uncleanness of a woman, *per se*; the connubial contact with a man alone makes her heavenworthy. Is not conjugality itself dragged down to a ritual purification and nothing more?

Since the Rānopākhyāna forms part of our epic¹⁰², we should touch upon this longish summary of the other epic. The story is well-known, we shall dwell only on a short passage where after the epic battle was won, Rāma ordered Sītā to be brought to the court, even before she could wash and dress. She was to come on foot to the public court where the monkey chiefs and monster courtiers were present. Sītā had been abducted forcibly. Rāvaṇa had tempted her frequently with the position of his chief queen, at a time when there was no prospect of her ever being reunited with Rāma. She stoutly resisted all his overtures with the knowledge that soon the monsters would kill and eat her. Yet she remained firm in her resolution to repulse Rāvaṇa's advances. And how does her husband who had never been tempted during this period reward her for her steadfastness? At the first sight of her he said, "Go, Vaidehī, you are free; I have done what I had to do. With me as your husband why should you languish and grow old in the monster's palace? How can a man like me, who can discriminate between piety and impiety hold even for a moment a woman whom another had abducted? Whether you bear a good or evil character, O Princess of Mithilā, I cannot enjoy you, (for) you are 'like the sacrificial butter licked by a dog.'

Several points in this passage demand our attention. Sītā was to be discarded, because she came under the power of another man. Whether she yielded willingly or not does not enter into the consideration, although this same *Mahābhārata* says, "a wife thus is not sinful, the man is."¹⁰³ and this is about adultery, which Sītā had not committed. He, Rāma, who could discriminate between piety and impiety at least – so he claimed – could not take back a woman who had been abducted. Some scriptures say, as we have seen earlier that even a woman who had committed adultery was to be regarded as pure after a month. Rāma, the Ikṣvāku prince could not allow his wife to grow old in a monster's palace hence had he fought and won, not for Sītā's sake, nor for the resumption of the interrupted conjugal life. It is quite immaterial whether Sītā was pure or not, the mere physical contact imposed on her by an unfortunate accident was enough to doom her. So, in the conjugal life, the body figures pre-eminently, while the soul, mind, affection, emotional bond are all subordinated to it. The *Mahābhārata* catalogues the benefits one derives from the wife : 'Your religion is based on the woman, only the enjoyment of sexual pleasure, service, cooking – let these be under

them; (and) the generation of children, and their rearing. Look, because of women you have a pleasant way of life'.¹⁰⁴ Here too, the list comprises the mundane, utilitarian functions of a conjugal life. Only Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (around the sixth century A.D. i.e., just after the final redaction of the *Mahābhārata* seems to be aware that women can be good and worthy of respect,¹⁰⁵ he says: 'Those who find fault with women are themselves evil. Male ego subdues women, ... even Manu said that they excel men in merits, they bring forth children or how would men be there? What kind of pleasure is it which comes from calumniating them?... Because of their piety women enter fire, embracing the dead (husbands).' This praise of women indirectly seeks to rectify the unfair treatment meted out to them in real conjugal life. Their sacrifices are obligatory, but they go completely unrecognized and unrewarded.

IV

We have seen that the conduct and bearing of the *Mahābhārata* women in their married life and of those in the immortal legends embedded in popular memory was very different from what the earlier, contemporary and even later scriptures prescribed for them, while the women in the Bhārgava interpolation and in the illustrative anecdotes there, conform to the scriptural prescriptions. Society was not static, so this change can be explained by "...the changing roles of husbands, wives, and other kin and of the relationships between them, their changing attitudes towards each other, and effects of family attitudes and roles, first on the culture of families and the fate of its individual members, and ultimately on the society, economy and the state."¹⁰⁶

But behind the changed roles was a long history of presumably a period of matriarchy whose traces lingered in folk memory. Polyandry was regionally practised where the woman was shared, yet because she was needed by all her husbands, she enjoyed a kind of significance within the domain of conjugality. A faint echo of this may be detected in Draupadī's conjugal behaviour with her spouses. As long as the woman was equally engaged in outdoor productive labour, she demanded and received a status of equality with her partner. But in India the scene changed when the subjugated pre-Aryans were mobilized for tilling, cattle-rearing and heavy domestic chores. With this part of productive labour devolving on the slaves and servants, the wife was "relieved" of much heavy work. She did not work side by side or along with her husband, but her domain was now pushed indoors. Equality of a partner in productive labour no longer obtained; mutual dependence gave way to the wife's dependence on the husband. She became a financial liability; the older practice of bride-price was replaced by bridegroom price. The later Purāṇas bitterly condemn parents for "selling" of sons, which was the basis of dowry i.e., bridegroom price. This itself, was an active factor in changing the contour of the conjugal relationship. The groom became

an expensive commodity; naturally the bride and her family were reduced to an inferior position: She became a ward who depended on the husband for loaf.¹⁰⁷ Now in the new social set-up the wife received shock in her marital state; “events that are most radicalizing for women... marrying and finding out that it is how women are treated there; marrying and finding out that it is not yet an equal partnership.”¹⁰⁸ Once she submitted to it, she was doomed to remain a second class citizen.

In the now changed roles the assigned area of labour for the husband and wife changed: he produced food, provided shelter and security, while she produced children, reared them, prepared food and generally supervised the smooth running of the household. Draupadī in the core epic did all this and was also Pāṇḍavas’ treasurer i.e., a measure of independence and a role of significant responsibility was still assigned to her. But gradually family finances were fully controlled by the husband; during his absence she could make the necessary expenditure but could not, on her own initiative, give or lend anything. This seriously affected the conjugal relationship; her judgement was not trusted, nor was her impulse to give or lend respected. She remained financially subservient to her husband.

Inside the house she looked after the children, elders, co-wives and dependants. Hers was thus a role of constant alert activity which involved much care and much self-sacrifice. Draupadī’s words to Satyabhāmā bear this out, “Conventions of care which are associated with idealized images of feminine goodness or female self-sacrifice.”¹⁰⁹ Her self-sacrifice was taken for granted; verse after insipid verse makes a virtue of this social and familial necessity, story after loaded story repeats this self-sacrifice in different contexts. But if one of the conjugal partners is expected to make all the sacrifices, and the other accepts it as his due, and as a matter of course, then this is bound to affect the nuances of conjugality between them. The husband demands and receives, the wife serves, forgoes and unconsciously suffers from a sense of forced martyrdom, unless she received adequate loving response which could not always be guaranteed. When Atri’s wife, the saintly Anasūyā leaves her husband or when Vasiṣṭha’s wife Arundhatī refuses to stay with her husband, clearly they had grounds for their decisions, and society still allowed this degree of conjugal freedom.

Behind her sphere of activity being pushed indoors, there was another factor: the wealthy section of the society determined to bequeath their wealth on the truly begotten son. How could they ensure it except by making sure that all access to unrelated males was denied to her. Her honour, prestige and position in family and society depended solely on her ability to produce male children. Mādhavī, the pretty daughter of king Yayāti was lent to Gālava who had approached the king for the instructor’s fees, and to whom the king pleaded depleted coffers, but instead of money he lent him his daughter.

Her Gālava lent to four kings in turn, to each of whom she bore a son, Gālava received the rental and collected the necessary funds. When her father sought to give her in marriage she declined. She had paid the coarser price of conjugality without enjoying any of its bliss: the whole thing became utterly loathsome to her and she took to a life of meditation. Within marriage also, female productivity had such a premium affixed to it that undoubtedly it turned some wives against it. Especially, when the husband could abandon the wife for not producing male children. All blessings to the newly-wed bride were for motherhood of sons. Fecundity which basically was the animal part of the wife's conjugality was inflated out of all proportions, so that we hear of Sagara's sixty thousand sons, Dhṛtarāṣṭra's hundred sons, Dakṣa's fifty daughters, *et al*. No doubt these figures are inflated, but the conjugal expectations are not. Before this role-model of the wife-mother-housekeeper was assigned to her, woman's liberty to remain a spinster had already been withdrawn (as the episode of Kuṅigarga's daughter illustrates); marriage had become compulsory only for the woman, which in itself was a sign of her social demotion. She *had* to marry and *had* to produce children, preferably male children. She fell from a body-mind combine to a mere physical existence. "This allegory of the Fall was the most common medieval interpretation. One of its consequences was that the figure of woman in medieval literature could carry an allegorical signification of 'flesh' in the broad sense of the term employed here (as carnal knowledge or desire)."¹⁰ In the *Mahābhārata* the nymph Pañcacūdā, a woman is made to say that women derive greater pleasure from sex than men. This, of course, is not confined to wedded sex.

Actually what gave the husband an upper hand in the conjugal life of a couple was that the control of the wife's sexuality was entirely handed over to her husband. She had no say in the matter. She could act somewhat perversely up to a point as when the sage Agastya's bride, the princess Lopāmundrā stipulated that she would yield herself to him only on a bed similar to the one she slept on in her father's palace. But beyond that she had absolutely no say in the matter. The old bachelor Bhīṣma on his death-bed warns Yudhiṣṭhira that woman was the most vicious creature on earth, she had a serpent, a sharp razor and poison combined in her person. To some extent it reflects the male attitude to woman. Conjugality could hardly flourish if the wife is regarded as a venomous creature. As a person predominantly symbolizing the body, the wife became an object of social sneer and condescension, yet ambivalently also an object of desire. We remember Karṇa's obscene gesture (in the Kaurava court) to signify his desire for Draupadī. The husband, too, desired her but took no cognizance of reciprocity or its absence in his partner. This reduces conjugality, at least on vital part of it, to the low bestial level. This expression of power over the wife's sexuality is indicated in many of the epic anecdotes where unwilling partners are coerced

or raped. Since the wife lost control over the family economy and became dependent on the husband for subsistence, her protests, if and when they came, went unheeded.

What began as a contract, temporary or permanent, gradually turned into an indissoluble bond without however, gathering the charm that should attend it. Slowly but surely it became a socially acknowledged institution with very inequitable terms for the partners. ... "the shift from 'contract' to 'institution' in the definition of marriage and conception of sexual difference... effectively inculcated the double standard of adultery against principles of individual right and formal equality."¹¹¹ An institution can shed the emotive resonances and be entirely guided by norms for the parties involved. The bride whose parents paid the groom-price was sent into an unequal partnership; her obligations were stipulated and her expectations, too, were confined to socially acknowledged limits. Draupadī of the Bhārgava interpolations reiterates these paltry expectations. In one of the world's closest and most vital relationships the wife merely expects garlands, seats, jewellery, perfume, bedsteads, sustenance, etc. Marriage had already been reduced to such tawdry expectations of the wife in lieu of lifelong service and the prospect of co-cremation after the husband's death.¹¹² The husband, however, is under no obligation to mourn for the dead wife, the scriptures prescribe immediate remarriage. The institution of marriage had at some point become ossified and stayed so over the millennia. How did this become possible? The institution had become an instrument of the state. All the wife's activities were controlled not only by the husband but ultimately by the state which empowered, legitimized and gave longevity to the institution through the husband. In the final analysis the husband's control of the wife's sexuality and conjugal conduct, her obligations and the furtherance of the husband's interests through her existence symbolized the indirect control of conjugality by the power principles. "The state gradually became a sort of moral husband through the development of forms of protective legislation." "Licit sex is not merely defined as that between married... couples, but between people within acceptable age brackets, of acceptable 'races' and doing only acceptable things."¹¹³ When marital life is institutionalized, the institution is run by a power-group which deputizes a person, invests him with power to run the institution smoothly. In conjugality this deputy is the husband who functions together with his family. As an ancient Vedic text says, 'the bride is given to the family', so it is not enough for bride to please her husband, she has to please and live in amity with her in-laws. The husband has no comparable obligations to his in-laws.

Ambikā and Ambālikā were forced to conceive from a man at whose looks they felt revulsion but still they could not escape the ordeal, because they were forced to oblige their mother-in-law. Hence also we hear in the

prescriptive sermon which Draupadī of the interpolated portion gives to Satyabhāmā; the wife's role is total self-abnegation, service to the uttermost, not only to the husbands but to their other wives and to their five hundred maid-servants. She should forgo her own desires and pleasures and live only for the husband's comfort, pleasure and well-being. Nothing in the scriptures punishes a man for being libidinous or for overstepping the boundaries of the marital contract; but although scurrilous remarks about feminine sexuality are strewn all over the epic, yet society, the husband and his family expected strict adherence to monogamy in the woman. There was no provision, acknowledged by the ruling power-group in the society for the woman indulging her desire outside the bond of marriage. If and when such an aberration happened, the woman was to be punished in a cruel and horrendous manner.

This double standard vitiated the private area between the husband and wife; it left the man absolutely free to satisfy his libido within and outside wedlock and kept the woman a prisoner in her own home. The earlier parts of the epic, however, knew, preserved and tolerated a more human code of conjugal conduct. When Bṛhaspati's wife Tārā was abducted (presumably with her consent) by Soma and bore the son Budha to the latter, Bṛhaspati insisted that Tārā return to him with the son. We remember Menelaus accepting and living again with Helen after she had been abducted by Paris. Bṛhaspati's humane action was treasured in popular memory, but Rāma could not bring himself to accept the innocent Sītā. The *Rāmāyaṇa vānaras* have human values and Sugriṇa lived with Tārā even after she had lived long with Vālin. These remain isolated episodes not to be applied to real life. Both Arundhatī and Anasūyā left their husbands at their free will, but when they returned their husbands received them back without a murmur. In a living, dynamic conjugal relation, there has to be this kind of resilience, the realistic desideratum which places love and allegiance above temporary lapses, mishaps or transgressions, especially where even after the body has been "tainted", there is the inner vitality in both the partners to acknowledge it for what it is, and not inflate it beyond all proportions. A healthy conjugal life regards the mind as the surer basis of conjugality. Once the mind is devalued in conjugal life, the wife's remissness – voluntary or accidental – are judged by the society, 'the moral husband'. It finds her guilty and punishes her. Gone is the free and frank friendship, the equality of the spouses, the charms of love, and the voluntary services and sacrifices by both partners. The poetry and music of such a life are not compatible with suspicion, wardership of the husband and a strict one-sided code of conduct. The sole benefit of the virtual imprisonment of the wife is the guarantee of a truly legitimate heir. But the price in terms of the forfeited conjugal bliss appears to be disproportionately heavy.

I submit that at one time vitality and dynamism did characterize conjugal

relations. It was remembered and treasured in anecdotes strewn here and there in the epic, but as society took over the control over female sexuality (but never the male) and deputized the husband and in-laws to dominate the wife and deprive her of sexual freedom, in order that they could be absolutely sure of the paternity of the heir to whom the *nouveau riche* determined to bequeath their wealth – it was then that the female partner in conjugal life became an inert, passive sexual prisoner, although there was almost no curb to the man's promiscuity. It is not for nothing that this epic alone records the illegitimate births of most of its heroes or lineage-progenitors. The vitality of the early ethos demonstrates that this did not lead to any real harm or evil. It was only when conjugal relationship became a dead institution that real evil could corrode it. Unless both the partners are truly in love like Nala and Damayantī, Sāvitrī and Satyavat, conjugality becomes a mere ossified code of conduct; it can reject more than it can accept. As soon as the emotive basis, the passional overtones are lost to conjugality, and these are subsumed under institutional laws, it dies as a dynamic relation. There is a radical difference between a loving Sītā, Sāvitrī and Damayantī and the later concept of the '*pativrata*'. One can be a '*pativrata*' without ever loving her husband, just as a husband can be a morally perfect and dutiful husband without ever feeling any emotion for the wife. When love, affection, compassion and sympathy are there, duties and obligations to the partner follow naturally as concomitants, but when these are placed on a pedestal, the bottom-board of conjugality is knocked out. What remains is a dry framework of conjugal prescriptions based on duties and obligations; love, the foundation of the bond becomes optional. There were exceptions in every period, but they were exceptions based on personal choice and inclinations; the scriptures did not prescribe them. Social pressures were congealing a living relationship slowly but surely into a soulless institution; the later Smṛtis only expedited the process.

Notes and References

1. *Saṁvarta* 66.
2. *Second Sex*, pp. 445-6.
3. *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions*, p. 214.
4. *Op. Cit.*, p. 212.
5. *Dakṣa* 4 : 10.
6. *Vasiṣṭha* 5.
7. *Vasiṣṭha* 1.
8. *Viṣṇu* 25 : 1-3.
9. I: 82.
10. Cf. 3: 55-57. 59.

11. VIII: 199.
12. *Second Sex*, p. 483.
13. *Dakṣa* 4: 4.
14. *Yājñavalkya* 1: 7, see also, *op. cit.* I: 84, 87; *Śaṅkha* 4: 15; 5:8; *Manu* 5: 149, 150, 151, 154, 157; *Vyāsa* 2: 26, 27, 30; *Aṅgiras* 1: 21.
- 14a. *Manu* 4: 147; 9: 2, 3, 18 *et al.*
15. : 8: 371.
16. *Parāśara* 4 : 16; cf. *Viṣṇu* 25.
17. *Manu* 5: 151.
18. *Manu* 5: 154.
19. 4: 11.
20. *Dakṣa* 4: 1,6. Italics added.
21. 9 : 26.
22. 9 : 19.
23. *Op. Cit.*, p. 467.
24. *Aṅgiras* 69.
25. Cf. *Atri* 136, 137; *Viṣṇu* 25: 15-16.
26. *Śaṅkha* 5: 8.
27. *Women, Work and Family*, p. 44.
28. *Aṅgiras* 71, *Āpastamba* 9:6.
29. 2 : 150.
30. *Vasiṣṭha* 15.
31. *Vasiṣṭha* 13.
32. *Yama* 9: 25.
- 32a. *Yama* 9: 81.
33. Cf. *Manu* 2: 66, 9: 18.
34. *Second Sex*, p. 113.
35. *Yājñavalkya* 1: 78.
36. *Vasiṣṭha* 17.
37. *Yama* 27.
38. *na strī duṣyati jārena* 189.
39. *Yama* 236.
40. 9: 30.
41. *Yājñavalkya* 2 : 270.
42. *Hārīta* 1: 28.
43. *Manu* 4: 134.
44. *Uśanas* 4: 32.

45. *Gautama* 23, the last injunction.
46. *Śaṅkha* 15: 13.
47. *Manu* 9: 46.
48. *Manu* 8: 389.
49. *Manu* 9: 77.
50. *Manu* 9: 72.
51. *Dakṣa* 4: 19.
52. *Atri* 209.
53. *Dakṣa* 4: 20.
54. *Kātyāyana* 28: 4. Italics added.
55. 5, 167, 168.
56. *Op. Cit.*, 20: 11.
57. *Op. Cit.*, 20: 16.
58. *Śaṅkha* 4: 7.
59. *Kātyāyana* 19: 6.
60. *mahiṣī, vāvāta, parivṛkti* and *pālāgalī*.
61. Cf. the *dakṣiṇā* in the *Sārasvatānāmāyan* rite and in all the major *Śrauta* sacrifices.
62. I: 98, 99.
63. I: 94: 5.
64. I: 111: 35.
65. I: 146: 12-15.
66. I: 206: 33-34.
67. I: 207: 23.
68. I: 8: 10-9: 1-17.
69. I: 76: 34; She was a brahmin by birth while Yayāti was a *kṣatriya*; besides, Yayāti had not married her.
70. I: 78: 22.
71. I: 113: 13-14.
72. I: 224: 27-28.
73. XIII: 14: 65-67.
74. I: 68, 69.
75. I: 145: 32-33; 340.
76. XIII: 97: 17.
77. III: 116: 14.
78. I: 13: 43.
79. III: 278-283.
80. III. 281: 5?

81. III: 50:78.
82. III: 58: 28.
83. III: 123: 1-10; also in *Śatapatha Br.* IV: 1:5:9.
84. Cf. *Jaimini* 6: 7.
85. III: 128.
86. XII : 319: 32-38.
87. IX: 62: 57.
88. She continues in the same ironical vein all through. ch. 31. in bk. III.
89. III: 38: 29.
90. I: 213: 15.
91. I: 191: 5,6.
92. XIII: 44: 45.
93. II: 60: 5.
94. II: 60:7
95. Act IV: verse 26; Italics added.
96. I: 194: 7.
97. III: 13: 58.
98. III: 29: 33-35.
99. III: 322, 323.
100. III: 323: 3.
101. IX: 51: 3-19.
102. III: 258-275.
103. XII: 258: 36.
104. XIII: 46: 9,10.
105. 74: 5,6,11, 15 &16.
106. R. W. Fogel, *Scientific History and Traditional History*, p. 48.
107. Cf. the old English etymology of 'lord': hlaf + wārd. compare the Sanskrit etymology of 'bhāryā' and 'bhṛtya', wife and servant, derived from $\overline{\text{bhr}}$, to feed, the etymological meaning in both cases is 'he / she who is fed'.
108. *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions*, p. 212.
109. *Mapping the Moral Domain*, p. 290.
110. *Chaucer, Sources and Backgrounds*, p. 36, FN5.
111. *Regulating Womanhood*, p. 158.
112. Note : 'Kṛṣṇa's wives immolate themselves on his funeral pyre.
113. *Regulating Womanhood*, pp. 25, 158.

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**SOME MORE RESTORATIONS OF PRAKRIT VERSES
IN
WORKS ON SANSKRIT POETICS**

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Dr. V. M. Kulkarni's *Prakrit Verses in Works on Sanskrit Poetics* (=PV), through his years of untiring and perceptive scholarly work, has rescued from obscurity and consequent oblivion a large mass of excellent Prakrit lyrics, thereby heightening further the lofty position of the latter in the history of our classical literature. The tricky task of restoring highly corrupt verses needs patient labour of many hands, and Kulkarni has spared no pains in seeking for his highly successful results, co-operation and help from several scholars of Prakrit, including the present writer. The present attempt aims at restoring some of the recalcitrant verses that have defied so far efforts to make out a satisfactory, meaningful text. Besides, a few points in Kulkarni's restorations and interpretations are touched upon to improve them a little, hopefully. The references are to the page number and the serial number in PV, and to the page number of the Mysore edition of the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* (= ŚP). In the case of the restorations, the original corrupt text with a brief indication of the context in ŚP, the restored text (=Re.) and the Sanskrit *Chāyā* in parenthesis are given in that order. Some restorations are partial and in the case of a few the meaning and the underlying idea are not quite clear to me. But as first steps these may be useful.

(a) Prakrit Verses fully restored

1. ŚP, 618. PV I, p. 93 (no.239).

उत्तमा अधीरानूढा मुग्धा (स्वकीया) यथा –
णिसुणेहइ अहोमुहंतं सबलिअसे आससं त गंड अलाहि ।
अइ ०छि अवरवारेजिहअहसं कि०तण कुमारी ॥

Re. णिसुणइ अहो-मुहं तंस-बलिअ-सेआसअंत-गंडअल ।
हिअइच्छिअ-वर-वारेज्ज-हअह (?) संकित्तणं कुमारी ॥
(निशृणोति अधोमुखं वक्र-बलित-स्वेदाश्रयत्-गण्डतला ।
हृदयेष्ट-वर-विवाह-गोत्र (?) संकीर्तनं कुमारी ॥)

Compare ŚP, p. 629, last verse (=PV I, p.108, no. 316); II, p. 369 comment on the same, wherein the prospective bride is thrilled and perspires on hearing the name (*gotta* = *gotra*) of the groom in the wedding

songs sung on the occasion.

2. ŚP, p.803. PV I, p. 170 (no.646).

(सामान्यानुरागः) देशहेतुर्यथा -
णिद्वाविराममोणवळिउंमुहबाहुकंठणविराए ।
तिवळि विहाए मुरळीणविमिओ कोण पुलएइ ॥

Re. णिद्वा-विराम-माणव्वलिए मुह-बाहु-कंठ-णमिराणं ।
तिवळी-विहाए मुरलीण विमिओ को ण पुलएइ ॥
(निद्वा-विराम-मानोद्धलिते मुख-बाहु-कण्ठ-नमन्तीनाम् ।
त्रिवलिविभागे मुरलीनां विस्मितो कः न पुलक्यति ॥)

3. ŚP, p.806. PV I, p. 173 (no.666).

(विशेषानुरागः) सदृशो यथा -
रेहुगुडिअडविअंभण साळसभुजजुअळवळअभंडळिअं ।
बाळाए वअणकमळं कपुपरिवेसो मिअंको व्व ?॥

Re. रेहइ विअड-विअंभण-सालस-भुज-जुअल-वळअ-मंडळिअं ।
बालाए वअणकमळं कअ-परिवेसो मिअंको व्व ॥
(राजते विकट-विजृम्भण-सालस-भुज-युगल-वलय-मण्डलितम् ।
बालायाः वदनकमलं कृतपरिवेषः मृगाङ्कः इव ॥)

4. ŚP, p.897. PV I, p.202 (no.848); II, pp.86,440.

(सङ्केतोपशयो) यथा वा -
अंनुंचणपुव्वंबणभितहदूमिआसाहि ।
जहसाएठइहठे हुरंसविचूअविडवंस ॥

Re. अम्मणु-अंचण-पुव्वं वणम्मि तह दूमिआ उ आसाहिं ।
जह सा ण ठाइ हेहे हु तस वि चूअ-विडवस्स ॥
(अनुगमनपूर्वं वने तथा दुःखिता तु आशाभिः ।
यथा सा न तिष्ठति अधस्तात् खलु तस्यापि चूतविटपस्य ॥)

See Kulkarni's translation and discussion on II, p.440. Possibly we can interpret *ammaṇu - arhcaṇa - puvvath* as 'where had previously given send-off'. The Nāyikā used to wait under the same mango-tree expecting her lover. Or alternatively, we can read *Sammuha-arhcaṇa*, etc. *Upasāya* means 'a secluded, concealed place.'

5. ŚP, p.904. PV I, p. 211 (No. 895).

(अभिसारिकावृत्तान्तो) यथा वा -
तहकहविडुसुरअसहंसंपणअकअणाए ।
जाराओ जह णिअडिंभंमोंतुव्वजंभोआणिओ गेहं ॥

Re. तह कह वि हु सुरअं सरहसं कअं अडअणाए जाराओ ।
जह णिअ- डिंभं मोतुं पर-डिंभो आणिओ गेहं ॥

(तथा कथम् अपि खलु सुरतं सरभसं कृतम् असत्या जारात् ।
यथा निज-डिम्भं मुक्त्वा पर-डिम्भः आनीतः गेहम् ॥)

Jārāo (Sk. *Jārāt*) goes with the second line: 'from the lover'
i.e., from the place where she had enjoyment with the lover.

6. ŚP, p. 950. PV I, p. 217 (no. 932).

दूतानुगमो यथा —
त०भणहृद्दृष्ट्वा अ०णइमएअ०ति अणुपअ०गाहिं पुणरु०त ।
सीसंतलह०वि सम०पंति संदेशो ॥

Re. तं भणहि दृष्ट्वा एअं ण इमं एअं ति अणुपअमिमाए ।
पुणरुत्तं सीसंता कह-वि समप्यंति संदेशा ॥
(तंभ भण दूति एतद् न इदम् एतद् इति अनुपदम् अनया ।
पुनरुक्तं कथ्यमानाः कथम् अपि समाप्यन्ते संदेशाः ॥)

7. ŚP, p. 952. PV I, p. 220 (no. 953); II, pp. 94, 953-954.

दूतवाक्याकर्णनं यथा —
किंपविमहुरस०दंसरसपरि०पुडविद०णमुहसोहं ।
सुइअ०धदूवअ णिकीरइक०णेकुवळअं च ।

Re. काए वि महुर-सदं सरस-परिष्फुड-विदण्ण-मुह-सोहं ।
मुइअं दूर्इ-वअणं कीरइ कण्णे कुवळअं व ॥
(कया अपि मधुर-शब्दम् (मधु-रसार्द्रम्) सरस-परिष्फुट-वितीर्ण-मुख-शोभम् ।
मुदितं दूती-वचनं क्रियते कर्णे कुवलयम् इव ॥

8. ŚP, p. 958. PV I, p. 222 (no. 960); Add. p.6; II, pp. 95, 455.

(दूतकर्मोपवर्णनि) उपरस्थानं यथा —
ए०तो विपलाअंतो च आहअ विअळंतकेसह०थाए ।
विअळ०चळआरणाएकहवस०भाविओ दइओ ॥

Re. एंतोवि विवल्हत्थ-जवाहिअ-विअलंत-केसहत्थाए ।
विहलंधल-चलणाए कह वि सम्भाविओ दइओ ॥
(आयन् अपि विपर्यस्त-जवाधिक-विगलत्-केश-हरस्तया ।
विह्वल-चरणया कथम् अपि दृष्टः दयितः ॥)

9. ŚP, p. 960. PV I, p. 223 (no. 964); II pp.95, 456.

(दूतपुरस्कारः) एवं सामान्यतोऽपि यथा —
कहविल०गाळोअणसविसरसनु०भडविआहिउ०कंट ।
दु०ळहजणाणुर०तं दूर्इओजुणिजिआवोति ॥

Re. कह वि विल्लालोअण-णीसरसणुभड-पिआहिउकंठं ।
दुल्लह-जणाणुरत्तं दूर्इओ पुण जिआवोति ॥
(कथमपि विल्लालोकन-निःश्वसनोद्भट-प्रियाधिकोत्कण्ठम् ।
दुर्लभजनानुरक्तं दूत्यः पुनरजीवयन्ति ॥)

10. ŚP. p.990. PV I, p.230 (no. 1006).

स एव (-कोप एव) स्वात्ययादिहेतुः क्रोधो यथा वा -
म०झ०चिअ०वअणि०जं अमर ० तीए गुरुए...।
सोह०गपड०चूडो माळ०जविआ तुम०ण पावइ अअसो ॥

Re. मज्झं चिअ वअणिज्जं अ-मरतीए गुरुए (वि तुह अवराहे) ।
सोहग-पड-चूले मा लज्जविओ तुमं णु पावसि अअसं ॥
(मम एव वचनीयम् अ-प्रियमाणया गुरुके (अपि त्व अपराधे) ।
सौभाग्य-पडचूडः मा लज्जितः त्वं ननु प्राप्नोषि अयशः ॥)

The metre is Skandhaka.

11. ŚP, p. 121. PV I, p. 45 (no. 15); App. I, p.5 (no.7).

The gaps in the restored text can be filled so as to read the first two lines as under:

वाउ न पुव्वु न पच्छिमु न वि दक्खिणु वहइ
वणे न कयंबु न अंबु न पाडल महमहइ ।
(वायुः न पूर्वः न पश्चिमः न अपि दक्षिणः वहति
वने न कदम्बः न आम्रः न पाटला गन्धं प्रसारयति ।)

(b) Prakrit Verses partially restored

1. ŚP, p.563. PV I, p.86 (no.211).

(गन्धे जाता) प्रकृष्टा (वैषयिकी रतिः) यथा -
असेसइह्लादं सदरुमिइ अणेहिं मुहेहिं ।
अड्घ आहपुरओणअ अवसागंधगन्धिमा सिहिजाळा ॥

Re. आसंघइ सइला फंसइ (?) ...रुंभइ अणेएहिं (?) मुहेहिं ।
अंधो आहपुरओणअअ (?) वसा-गंध-गन्धिणा सिहिजाळा ॥
(वाञ्छति शैलान् स्पृशति ... रुणद्धि अनेकैः मुखैः ।
अहो... वसा-गन्ध-गर्भिता शिखि-ज्वाला ॥)

The metre seems to be Skandhaka. The first half is metrically defective.

2. ŚP, p. 626. PV I, p. 103 (no.290).

कनिष्ठाधीरोढा मुग्धा (स्वकीया नायिका) यथा -
घरमंधणवण्णअइग्गविंदुचित्तलिअपहलकपोलं ।
इअणांगिमुहमिणं तं लिहिदव्व पई पुल्लेएइ ॥

Re. धर मं (?) घण-वण्णइअग्ग-विंदु-चित्तलिअ-पहल-कपोलं ।
तणु-अंगि मुहमिणं ते लिहिओ व्व पई पुल्लेएइ ॥
(धर मा (?) घन-वर्णलिप्त-अग्र-विन्दु-चित्रित-पद्मल-कपोलम् ।
तन्वद्धि मुखम् इदं ते लिखितः इव पतिः पश्यति ॥)

For *vāṇṇaiya* compare *tuppalia* (variants *tuppaia*, *tuppavia*). *Gāthā*

Kośa 529. *Varṇa* is probably the same as *varṇaghṛta* (GK 22, 289, 520, 529). For other similarly formed denominative past passive participles, see Bhayani, *Some Aspects of Deśya Prakrit*, 1992, pp. 77-78.

3. ŚP, p. 631. PV I, p. 111 (no. 329).

अधीरानूदा मध्या (स्वकीया नायिका) यथा —
जं अणुणअअं कुमारीण --- जापसाहि अकुलंस ।
कोसविसेसं पिअसहिमहहभिअणुण पारळी ॥

Re. जं अणुणअअं कुमरो ण... जा (?) पसाहिअ-कुलं (?) से ।
का सविसेसं (?) पिअ-सहि मह हअ-हिअणुण पारळी ॥
(यद् अनुनयवान् कुमारः न ... प्रसाधित-कुलं (?) तस्य ।
का सविशेषं (?) प्रिय-सखि मम हतद्दयेन मृगया ॥)

4. ŚP, p.803. PV I, p. 170 (no. 649).

The editor notes that the name of the variety of *anurāga* intended to be illustrated by the following example is lost.

मोहेइ बीअंभणामिअपट्टिचळवेणि.... ।
आरोहिअपंमगडणुळअंवहणकण्ण धवलच्छी ॥

Re. मोहइ विअंभणे णमिअ ... पट्टि-चल-वेणि ।
आरुहिअ-पम्ह-गंड-पुलअं व्हण (?) कण्ह-धवलच्छी ॥
(मोहयति विजृम्भणे नमित... पृष्ठा चल-वेणी ।
आरूढ-पक्ष्म-गण्ड-पुलकं .. कृष्ण-धवलाक्षी ॥)

5. ŚP, p. 807. PV I, p. 174 (no 668).

(विशेषानुरागः) अन्याभिभावी यथा —
काण अ रुणा जुअरी को उ जुआ धरहेण णाळिइ ।
आबद्धमंडळाच्छिअ गहवइधूआधअप्पके ?॥

Re. का ण अ रुणा जुअई, को हु जुआ धरहेण णाल्लिइ ।
(का न च रुदिता युवती कः युवा कम्पेन न आलिङ्कितः।
परिहित-मण्डन ... (?) गृहपतिदुहित्रा बहुलम् ॥)

Deśināmamālā (I. 130) gives *bāhula* as one of the meanings of *upparṅka*.

6. ŚP, p. 815. PV I, p. 177 (no. 694); II, p. 419.

(प्रच्छन्नानुरागः) दुर्लभो यथा —
ए(व?) कंगणदुल्ले माणुसम्मि दथ्यइ जणो णिअंतो वि ।
पुणरुत्तदंसआ सिक्किआ हि वरहिणि चुडुळ्हि ॥

Re. एककं पुणो दुल्लं माणुसम्मि दच्छइ जणो णिअंतो वि ।
पुणरुत्त-दंसआ (?) सिक्किआ म्हि विरहिणि-चुडुलीहिं ॥

(एकं पुनः दुर्लभं मानुषे दृश्यते जनः पश्यन् (?) अपि ।
पुनरुक्त-दर्शका (?) सिक्ता अस्मि विरहाग्नि-उल्काभिः ॥)

To construe properly we require *nijjarhto* i.e., *drśyamānaḥ* for *nīarhto* vi. *Puṇarutta* is of course synonymous with 'puṇo' i.e., *punaḥ*.

7. ŚP, p. 872. PV I p. 195, (no. 802).

उत्प्रेक्षा ([रूप] दर्शनालम्बन-विषयः प्रत्यक्षानुरागः) यथा —
अह साहि अणेण हरि०अ०दि०द्वाआरप०अविळासं ।
विजह पडिव०णु०पे०खाणिस०णक०अपि अ०तेइ ॥

Re. अह सा हिअए सहरिस-दिद्वाआर-वसं विलसं पि (?) ।
जह पडिवणुप्येक्खा-णिसण-कंतं पि अच्चेइ ॥
(अथ सा हृदये सहर्ष-दृष्टाकार-वशं विलसम् अपि (?) ।
यथा प्रतिपन्नोत्प्रेक्षा-निषण्ण-कान्तम् अपि अर्चयति ॥)

8. ŚP, p. 896. PV I, p. 201 (no. 844).

(सङ्केतानुषङ्गे) यथा वा —
ओसएवसंतकासअसिडिळिअळंगकविलाहिगामाहि ।
अ०णततोणीआभोइए स०णळोआगहवइ०स ॥

Re. गोस-परिसंत-कासअ-सिडिलिअ-लंगल-विलाहि (?) गामाहि ।
अणतथ णीआ भोइणीए (?) सव्व-ल्लेआ गहवइस्स ॥
(प्रभात-परिश्रान्त-कर्षक-शिथिलित-लाङ्गल... ग्रामात् ।
अन्यत्र नीताः भोगिन्या सर्व-ल्लेकाः गृहपतेः ॥)

9. ŚP, p. 898, PV I, p. 203 (no. 855).

(सङ्केतानुप्रेक्षो) यथा वा —
जइ म०गिअ०णसरिअंणेणजहि०छइ०दिअं सुरअं ।
ताएणिस ० चेणभ०मए०खवाणीरं ॥

Re. जइ मग्गिअं ण सरिअं (?) जेण जहिच्छए दिअं (?) सुरअं ।
ता एणं सच्चेण म भज्जउ ख्ख-वाणीरं ॥
(यदि प्रार्थितम् न तद् एतेन सत्येन मा भज्यताम् कृश्वानीरम् ॥)

The idea is : As the *Vānīra - nikuñja* provided convenient place for the lovers' tryst whenever they arranged to meet, the *Nāyikā*, making a *satya-kriyā*, says that through the power of that truth may the bower (*Vānīra-nikuñja*) be protected from cutting. Compare " *Jaha icchā taha ramiarh*" in the following (no. 869).

10. ŚP, p. 902. PV I, p. 209 (no. 880); II, pp. 88, 445-446.

ध्वान्तानुशोचनं यथा —
हारीहाउसहाबहुल्पओसहणिसा ।
म०झ वहाउ बंधवघणदु०दिण क०थ दीसिहसि ॥

Re. हारीहाउसहा (?) बहुल-पओस ...ह (?) - णिस ।
 मज्झ सहाअ बंधव घणदुद्दिण कत्थ दीसिहसि ॥
 (..... बहुल-प्रदोष ... निश ।
 मम सहाय बान्धव घन-दुर्दिन कुत्र द्रक्ष्यसे ॥)

The first line possibly contained a long compound qualifying *ghana - durdina* which afforded the Nāyikā the same scope to meet her lover during the daytime as did the nights of a dark half of the month otherwise.

11. ŚP, p.952. PV I, p.220 (no. 950); II, pp.94, 454.

दूतव्याहारो यथा -
 जइआइरिंतवेसविअविअंस दूळसीसंत
 संगमसूपसमंभहिअमणहर्होतिसदेसो ।

Re. जइ वि अइरित्त-पेसविया (?) पिअरस दूइ-सीसंता ।
 संगम-सुहा समम्भहिअ-मणहरा होति संदेसा ॥
 (यदि अपि अतिरित्त-प्रेषिता ... प्रियस्य दूती-कथ्यमानाः ।
 सङ्गम-सुखात् समभ्यधिक-मनोहराः भवन्ति सन्देशाः॥)

'Even though the same types of messages are repeatedly being sent to the lover through the messenger, they are felt to be more joy-giving than even the happiness of the actual union.'

12. ŚP, p. 971. PV I, p. 924 (no. 973).

[दूतकृतेषु अनुभयापेक्षया (नायक-नायिकोभयानपेक्षया) (संयोगसंविधानं) यथा =] उभयानपेक्षया यथा -

..... संवाहतिजंणिआजंजं ।
 आळीहउं देरोमंचं ०समु ० पहइ ॥

Re.संवाहति (?) वण्णअं जं जं ।
 आलिहिउं दे रोमंचं समुंवहइ ॥
 (..... वर्णं यम् यम् ।
 आलिखितुं तव रोमाञ्चं समुद्वहति ॥)

13. ŚP, p. 990. PV I, p. 231, (no.1011).

(प्रियापराधात्) समानासु दानमानाद्यमर्षणमीर्ष्यायितं यथा -
 वाओरंदपणवंडिरिअअकणवअंसदु ० पे ० चे ।
 वाहगुरुअण सं मइबाहुए बहुमुहे दिंठी ॥

Re. वाओरदपणय (?) विरइअ-कण्णावअंस-दुप्पेच्छे ।
 वाहगुरुआ ण सम्मइ वाहीए बहु-मुहे दिंठी ॥
 (.....विरचित्त-कर्णावतंस-दुष्प्रेक्षे ।
 बाष्प-गुरुका न शाम्पति व्याधनार्याः वधू-मुखे दृष्टिः ॥

14. ŚP, p.991. PV I, p. 231 (no. 1015).

हर्षविसादो वैमनस्यं यथा -
 णीसासागमधूसरोत्तिमहरोतंबोळकाओच्छिदो
 हुंधुंहो चिगळेसिदचवअणंबाहुळगंडो किणो ।
 दामाणं बहुबोळहोसहिअअवारिजंमाणिणी ।
 एण्हं मा परितम गाढहिअआगोदूणसव्वंसहा ॥

Re. णीसासागम-धूसरोत्थि अहरो तंबोळ्हाअच्छिदो
कलेसिदं च वअणं बाहुल्ल-गंडं कि णं (?) ।
 दा माणं बहुवल्लहरस हिअआ वारिज्ज तं माणिणी
 एण्हं मा परितम्म गाढ-हिअआ भोदूण सव्वंसहा ॥
 (निःश्वासागमधूसरः अस्ति अधरः ताम्बूल-राग-च्छिदः
 क्लेशितं च वदनम् बाष्पवत्-गण्ड...।
 तावत् मानम् बहु-वल्लभस्य हृदयात् वारयेः त्वं मानिनि
 इदानीं मा परिताम्य गाढ-हृदया भूत्वा सर्वसहा ॥)

15. ŚP, p.995. PVI, p. 102 (no. 1029).

(प्रियापराधजधैर्यविध्वंसक्षोभो) यथा वा -
 धीरं धरिअपिगइदूरवळो गोविपिअणिओ मअराओ ।
 लहुइअपेमधामखिळं भइ पअइवेळविसे हिअअं ॥

Re. धीरं धरिओ वि गओ दूर विलग्गो वि विअलिओ मअ-राओ ।
 लहुइअ ... अखिळं लंभइ पअइ-पेलवं से हिअअं ॥
 (धैर्येण धृतः अपि गतः दूरारूढः अपि विगलितः मद-रागः ।
 लघुकृत... अक्षिणी (?) लभते प्रकृति-पेलवं तस्याः हृदयम् ॥)

The metre is Skandhaka.

16. ŚP, p. 995. PV I, p. 234 (no. 1030).

व्यलीकानुसन्धानात्त्रोधोद्धेद आवेगो यथा -
 तोधाळो जापणअभणइविअखणविअणदिठिओचो ।
 हा सविसेसमंतुगारिअकंठधपरिखळंत विसुमुळाव ॥

Re. तो सा लज्जा-पणअं भणइ विअखण - विइण्ण - दिट्ठि ...।
 विसेस (?) मन्तुगिरिअं कंठध-परिखलंत-विसमुल्लावं ॥
 (ततः सा लज्जाप्रणतं भणति विचक्षण-वितीर्ण-दृष्टिम्।
 मन्युद्वीर्ण-कण्ठार्ध-परिखलत्-विषमोल्लापम् ॥)

The metre is Skandhaka.¹

(c) A few points in Kulkarni's restorations and interpretations touched upon to improve them

1. ŚP, p. 229. PV I, p. 48 (no.29); II, pp.8, 322.

To bring out the contrast clearly we can translate :

“Who possibly, O friend, even if dead, would not revive when touched

by Kṛṣṇa's foot? That, Ariṣṭa, however, died instead (with that very touch - i.e., with Kṛṣṇa's kick). He was a bull indeed!"

2. ŚP, p. 618. PV I p.92 (no. 235); II, pp.34, 358.

The purport is that even though the girl has not yet reached puberty (*duddhagandhiyamuhī*), and so has not developed breasts, her other limbs have already become sexually quite attractive. Hence the propriety of the reading *dhuddhukkāriyāirh*.

3. ŚP, p. 618. PV I, p. 93 (no. 237); II, pp.35, 359.

Vasumelae is to be corrected as *paṁsumelae* (= Sk. *Pāṁsumelake*). This was, it seems, a custom forming a part of the wedding ceremony.

In Jinaratna's *Līlāvati-sāra*² (1285 A.C.), in the description of various marriage ceremonies and festivities there is mentioned (I. 150; Index, p. 405) a *vidhi* called *dhūlibhakta*. We have no idea of its precise form and function. In the wedding ceremony traditionally prevalent in some Vaiśya castes of Gujarat there is a custom in which the bride and bridegroom playfully take out a fistful of *cowries* sub-merged in a water vessel and each one of them has to guess whether the number of the *cowries* picked up and concealed in the closed fist of the other is odd or even. The playful ceremony is performed immediately after the *pāṅgrahaṇa* is over. The ladies on the bride's side participate as spectators and sing traditional songs related to the ceremony. The ceremony affords to the newly-weds a thrilling opportunity to touch each other's hand under water.

4. ŚP, p. 618. PV I, p. 93 (no.240); II, p. 359.

The idea is that the high breasts debar the lotus from the view of the *mukha-candra*, because the lotus, blooming under the sunrays only would close and cease to display its beauty under the impact of the 'moon'-rays.

5. ŚP, p. 626. PV I, p.103 (no.291); II, pp. 39, 365.

The village headman's daughter has gone to the forest near the village precincts to fetch *Kiṁśuka* buds (to celebrate the Holi festival). All the boys of the village too, resorting to some excuse, followed her, rendering the village almost desolate.

Compare with this the *Gāthā* no. 893 (PV I, p. 201).

6. ŚP, p. 634. PV I, p.117 (no.358); II, p. 374.

Alternatively, *bahuvallabha* can be interpreted as 'the favourite of many (youths).' Each boy is taking turn to push the swing to please the girl riding thereon. Hence the chagrin and vexation of the other girls waiting for their turn to swing.

7. ŚP, p.645. PV I, p.137 (no.459); II, pp. 53, 387-388.

ŚP, p.843. PV I, p.193 (no.790); II, pp. 81, 430.

In the second occurrence of the Gāthā, we have the reading *vaisihāe* (i.e., *vṛti-sīkhayā*) in the place of *taṭṭiāe* (*vṛtikayā*). This gives a better sense and also is more preferable to the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa* reading *kkhaṇotthiāe* in the place of *laṅghia taṭṭiāe*, as it signifies moving the swing up to the top or the highest point of the enclosure which makes it long for the girl to sight the boy on the other side.

8. ŚP, p. 800. PV I, p. 168 (no. 631); II, pp.69, 411.

The ŚP text has *vape*, but *Gāthā Saptasatī* has *maṇe*. *Maṇe* is noted in the *Siddhahema* (8.2.206) in the sense of *vimarśa* (equivalent to *manye*, while *vape* is said (SH 8.2.206) to convey *nīścaya*, *vikalpa*, *sambhāvanā* and *anukampā*. The last sense perhaps suits well the context of the verse: 'the poor lover to be sympathized'.

9. ŚP, p. 805. PV I, p. 172 (no. 666); II, pp. 71, 414.

Instead of *vi dūsihii* or *vidūsihii*, it would be better to restore as *bhoio a tūsihii* 'and the village headman also will be pleased.'

10. ŚP, p. 816. PV I, p. 178 (no. 698); II, pp. 74, 419.

We should read *bhuggiā* for *huggiā*. Pk. *bhugga* = Sk. *bhr̥ṣṭa*. It is an analogically formed past passive participle. As *bhajjai-bhagga*, so *bhujjai - bhugga*, etc.

11. ŚP, p. 854. PV I, p. 194 (no. 793); II, p. 431.

Khāuggaliāim versus *Khattuggaliāim*. The latter reading expresses pointedly the contrast between 'sweetness' (of food enjoyments) turning 'sour' (as in a belch subsequent to the undigested sweet food), and is more concrete *oghūo* in the MS. may be perhaps taken to support *oṭṭuo*.

12. ŚP, p. 878. PV I, p. 196 (no. 807); Corrections, p. 129; II, pp. 82, 433.

The second line can be better rendered as 'do not lose your senses (*gahilihasi*), being seized by a prying desire to see her nude.'

13. ŚP, p. 896. PV I, p. 201 (no. 843); II, p. 439.

The first word can be possibly restored as *katthai* = (*kuṭracit*). With this *gāthā* can be compared the *gāthā* PV I, no. 291 (p.103) = ŚP, p. 626.

14. ŚP, p. 898. PV I, p. 203 (no.852); II, pp. 86, 440-441.

Instead of *paṇassamāṇam* we can have *pūra-ṇūmaritaṁ* i.e., *pūra -*

because *pahavattanaṃ* meaning 'prahattvam' is almost unknown in Prakrit.

21. ŚP, p. 994. PV II, pp. 464 - 465 (no. 1028).

An alternative restoration of the first line is suggested as follows :

Re. तं चिअ सोहइ माणो समुहं जाव पणअं ण खंडइ पिआ ।⁴
(स एव शोभते मानः समुखं यावत् प्रणतं न खण्डयति प्रिया ।)

22. ŚP, p. 269. PV I, p. 55 (no.67); App. I, pp. 10-11,
(no. 18). The third *pāda* is to be read as :

तिक्खउ अंतु पल्लेवणउं ।
(तिक्खत् अम्लम् अवल्लेकनम्)

23. ŚP, p. 1074. PV I, p. 284 (no. 1319); II, p. 495.

The restored text can be improved by reading

थक्क -पहिअं पि गअवइ.

This would give us a Jagaṇa as the second *Caturmātra* and *pi* would provide desirable emphasis.

24. *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa*, p. 442; PV I, p. 364 (no. 123); App. II, p.39.

A note on the fourth line in the restored text:

खित्तउ उप्परे भमइ णिमंछण-खप्परउ

Nimarichhaṇa = Sk. *nimrakṣaṇa*, i.e., *avatāraṇa*. *Nimarichhaṇa khapparau* means 'A potsherd smeared with soot waved around the head of a dear or respected person at the time of offering a ceremonial welcome or on auspicious occasions.

Compare the following *subhāsita* from the *subhāsīya - pajja - sarṅgaho* no. 37 included in the *Gāhārayaṇa - kosa*, , L.D. Series, no. 52.

तीए तिजयं पि कीरउ निउंछणं पिच्छलुच्छु जट्टीए ।
छिन्ना वि पीळिया वि हु जा न महुत्तणं मुअइ ॥

The sugarcane is praised saying that one can sacrifice for it all the three worlds because it does not give up its sweetness under most distressing conditions.

Compare the Hindi words *nivachāvara*, *nevachāvarī*.

25. Vāgbhaṭa's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*; PV I, p.529 (no. 4); II, p. 611.

I had pointed that the text of this verse as available in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* was better. It is as follows:

सो जयउ कूड-वरले तह्यण-मज्झम्मि जेसल-नरिदो ।

छिन्नूण राय-वंसे इक्कच्छत्तं कयं जेण ।

I had also observed that the word *varṅsa* and *chatta* here are *śliṣṭa*. But the word *kūḍa-varaḍo* was obscure and that led M.V. Patwardhan to speculate about the interpretation. Kulkarni has observed about the latter's attempt, 'one is left rather unconvinced. But no better explanation is in sight.'

Now all speculation is laid at rest and uncertainty is removed, if we emend *varaḍo* as *baruḍo*. PSM has recorded *baruḍa* in the sense of a mat-weaver. It also gives *varuṅta* in the sense of a kind of artisan and *varuḍa* in the sense of an untouchable caste. Actually *varuḍa* is given by Hemacandra in the *Deśināmamālā* (II.84) as gloss for the word *gāṅtcha* which as correctly interpreted by Becharadas Doshi (*Deśī-Śabda-Saṅgraha*, 1974), means a craftsman making bamboo baskets, etc. Guj. *gāṅtcho* is current in the same meaning, and Guj. *vāṅsa - phoḍo* 'bamboo-splitter' is its synonym. In Hemacandra's illustrative verse also given under DN II 84 the *gāṅtcha* is referred to as splitting bamboo. Marathi has *buruḍa* 'bamboo worker'.

Hence in the verse from the *Prabandha-cintamaṇi* (and from Vāgbhaṭa's *Kāvyaṅuśasana*) King Jayasirṅha Siddharāja is described through *Vyājokti* as a crafty 'bamboo-splitter' or mat-weaver (*kūḍa - baruḍa*) who having split *varṅsa* (1. bamboo 2. dynasty) has manufactured (made) *ek-chattrā*. (1. umbrella. 2. Single imperial royal canopy). Compare Kālidāsa's '*ekātapatram jagataḥ prabhutvam*'. Hemachandra is also similarly praised through a *Vyājokti* verse wherein he is described as a *gopāla*.

पातु वो हेम-गोपालः कम्बलं दण्डमुद्रहन् ।
षड्दर्शन-पशु-ग्रामं चारयन् जैनगोचरे ॥

This is one more of a host of instances of how much the scribal error can prove misleading. It also stresses the important role of Modern Indian Lagnaues in understanding and interpreting Prakrit texts.

Notes and References

1. *Note* : As pointed out by Dr. Bhayani the metre of the verse is Skandhaka.

The first half of the above verse, as restored by him, however, falls short of four *mātrās* at its end. Now, the letter *co* at the end of the first half and *hā* at the beginning of the second half of the above verse, as printed in the Mysore edition, when read continuously give us the form *cohā*, ablative singular of *coha* (Sk. *kṣobha*). As the example is given to illustrate '*kṣobhaḥ*', one of the 24 kinds of *māna*, this reading *cohā* (Sk. *kṣobhāt*) eminently suits the context. We should have no hesitation therefore to add the word *cohā* at the end of the first half of the verse and thus fully restore the verse. *VMK*

2. Edited by H. C. Bhayani, L. D. Series No. 96, 1983.

3. This emendation is strongly supported by the printed reading in the Mysore edition as the letters of the two readings nearly agree and also by the context. The only

difficulty is that the first half of the verse remains hanging in the absence of a verb to go with *Usā*, the *Kartā*. Dr. Bhayani and myself found a way out by reading *maṇṇai* for *maṇammi* in the printed text. *VMK*

4. Dr. Bhayani's reading '*taṁ cia*' is fully supported by the printed text (Mysore edn., p. 994, last but one line). The presence of the word *jāva* (*yāvat*) in the first half of the verse, however, leads one to expect the reading *tāva* (*tāvat*), its correlative. The line becomes metrically all right, if we read *khaṇḍei* (*khaṇḍayati*) for *khaṇḍai*. The meaning of the line, however, remains somewhat obscure.

THE ŚAILENDRAS OF JAVA

LOKESI CIANDRA

The creation of a framework based on a misinterpretation of the Ligor stele has led to a weltering plethora of theorisation that has persisted in spite of a clarification by Coedès in 1934. The subsequent interpretation of the inscriptions of the Śailendras and their contemporaries has been conditioned by this misunderstanding leading to a confusion of historical realities.

In his article on the kingdom of Śrīvijaya, Coedès (1918) incidentally pointed out the mention of the Śailendra dynasty on face B of the Ligor Inscription. Next year itself, Vogel and Krom created a theory on its basis. "This theory consists in considering the Sumatran kings of Śrīvijaya to have belonged from the beginning of their history to this dynasty of Śailendra and in admitting the equation Śailendra = the king of Śrīvijaya" as noted by Coedès himself (1934:61). Krom deduced a 'Sumatran period in the history of Java'. Stutterheim discovered the name of Sañjaya in the Kedu Inscription beginning the list of sovereigns of the Javanese dynasty of Mataram. Stutterheim proposed a Javanese period in Sumatra. Both these constructs have conditioned subsequent historians. Coedès (1934:64) has owned: "Although I had not formulated this hypothesis in a sufficiently precise manner in 1918, I willingly recognise my part of the responsibility for the identification of the Śailendras with the kings of Śrīvijaya."

Wolters (1967: 23) is more guarded when he speaks of " the political relationship between the islands of Java and Sumatra, which at different times were ruled by the Śailendra dynasty." The first evidence "of the Javanese Śailendra dynasty....appears in the eighth century" (*ibid.* 160). He cannot move out of the Vogel-Krom paradigm which arose out of an erroneous correlation of the two faces of the Ligor stele and he tries to harmonise the two conflicting viewpoints by positing a matrimonial alliance : "It is also possible, though it has by no means been proved, that there was some form of alliance, perhaps by marriage, between the Javanese Śailendras and the Śrīvijayan ruling family in the second half of the eighth century, as a result of which the Śailendra face on the Ligor Inscription was engraved." (*ibid.* 266). In his last article on the present state of the interpretation of the Ligor stele, Coedès unequivocally said that the two faces are independent (1959 : 47).

Sarkar (1985:329) says that if the Arya-land of the OJ inscriptions can be identified with the Krishna - Guntur districts of Andhra Pradesh, "where Ikṣvākus ruled in the third century A. D. as lords of the hill, with Śrīvijayapurī as their capital, so we have here a Śailendra dynasty (lord of Śrī Parvata/ Śrī Śaila), whose kings were great patrons of the Buddhist religion, ruling from their capital Śrīvijayapurī in the third century A.D. If this view is correct, the Śrīvijayan monarchs of Sumatra will turn out to have been Śailendras from the start." A Buddhist *sūtra* translated into Chinese in A.D. 392 refers to Chō-ye / Jaya which is Śrīvijaya. The scions of a dynasty ruling at Śrīvijayapurī in Andhra Pradesh must have left for golden pastures in the Islands between A. D. 300 and 392, founded the Śrīvijaya kingdom, couple of centuries earlier than the Śailendras. The name of the dynasty of Śrīvijaya is not known. Hīnayāna was the main religion, with the Vinaya of Mūla-sarvāstivāda in Sanskrit. Sanskrit studies were in the ascendant. Chinese Buddhist scholars did their Sanskrit grammar here and also learnt to translate Sanskrit into Chinese. Śrīvijaya must have been an important academic centre for the Chinese, particularly in view of the possibilities of comparative studies of Sanskrit and Chinese. Due to constant and extensive commercial relations of Śrīvijaya and China, the Chinese presence must have been conspicuous, with Chinese communities settled at Palembang, the Chinese language spoken by Śrīvijayan traders and scholars, Chinese food being served at kiosks. That is why I-tsing who had problems of board and lodging in India, and even escaped being pierced by the swords of robber bands in India, ultimately went to Śrīvijaya with the Sanskrit texts he had collected and stayed on to translate them into Chinese. He wanted the Chinese emperor to make a *vihāra* for Chinese pilgrims in India: "I, I-tsing, met Ta-ts'in in Śrīvijaya (where he came A. D. 683). I requested him to return home to ask an imperial favour in building a temple in the West." (= India, Takakusu 1986: xxxvi). Ta-tsin returned on a merchant ship to the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an, with new translations of various Sūtras and Śāstras, the Record and the Memoirs of 60 Chinese pilgrims to India-- all written by I-tsing in Śrīvijaya, with the help of Śrīvijayan scholars proficient both in Sanskrit and Chinese.

The Śailendras came later on the scene, and they were limited to Java. They constructed the magnificent Vajrayāna sanctuaries of Sevu, Barabudur, and the like. If the Java of Śailendras is Kabrajradharan, then Śrīvijaya is *kavinayadharan*. King Sañjaya of another contemporary royal house in Java installed a Liṅga on a mountain in A. D. 732, as recorded in his Caṅgal Inscription (Sarkar 1971:1.17). Both the Vajrayāna and Śaiva traditions go back to Śrīśailam in South India. It is Śrīparvata of the Tibetan traditions, Vajraparvata in Śrīlanka, and the Diamond Mountain in Korea. Vajrayāna developed here and hence is termed Vajraparvata-vāsi-nikāya in the Śrīlankan work *Nikāya - saṅgraha*. For the Śaivas this mountain was the seat of the holiest Mallikārjuna Liṅga, one of the twelve most sacred Jyotirlingas. This

Jyotirlinga was recreated by king Sañjaya. The Śailendras must have gone from Śrīśailam in South India, via Malaya to Java, in search of greener pastures, in the sixth century. This was in keeping with the general Indian perception of seeking affluence in the South-East Asian islands known by the generic name of Suvarṇabhūmi 'lands of gold', or Suvarṇadvīpa 'isles of gold'. The immediate source of inspiration for the Śailendras should have been the prosperity of the princes of Śrīvijayapuri who had left a couple of centuries earlier to emerge as a powerful maritime trading empire of Śrīvijaya. The Vajrayāna Buddhists were multinational merchants with an overflowing trans-continental volume of trade, reflected in the Tamil word *sambara* for colonies of rich Buddhist traders. The followers of Vajrayāna were great builders of sanctuaries and *stūpas* as visible landmarks, as visible Dharma. Nāgapaṭṭinam in South India had splendid monuments. So the Śailendras in their new kingdom in Java conceived of a capital with splendid spires, a Kalaśapura, whose magnificence can still be seen in the extensive ruins, crowned by the glory of Barabudur.

II. KALAŚAPURA

Kalaśapura in Sanskrit texts refers to Kalasan, the glorious capital of the Śailendras, rich in temples and affluent in economy. The earliest reference is in the *Aṣṭa-mahācaitya-vandana* of king Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya (A. D. 590: 606-647), transcribed into Chinese by Fa-hsien. The third stanza of this hymn of five verses reads:

Nepāle Kāmarūpe Kalaśavarapure Kāñcī-saurāṣṭra-rāṣṭre.

ye cānye dhātugarbhā daśabala - balinas tān namasyāmi mūrdhnā. (Nj.1071, T 1684, K 1228b, STP 18.7196, Levi 1897: 189-203).

The next reference is in the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* written by Somadeva between 1063 and 1081 (Keith 1928 : 281). It has tales of adventures at sea, with shipwrecks and strange lands. It goes back to Guṇādhyā's *Bṛhat-Kathā* which existed prior to A. D. 600. The story of the merchant Samudraśūra is important for two reasons: firstly, it places Kalaśapura (*Kalaśapur-ākhyarṇ nagaram* 54.108) in Suvarṇadvīpa; secondly, the glittering priceless jewelled ornaments (*bhāsvara - anargha-ratn-ābharāṇa-sañcayam*, 54.128) attest to the vast wealth of the kingdom of Kalaśapura. The merchant Samudraśūra visited Kalaśapura, the capital of Suvarṇadvīpa. A typhoon split asunder the ship and the merchant climbed a corpse and was carried by a favourable wind to Suvarṇadvīpa. He perceived a cloth around the loins of the corpse. As he unfastened it, he found a necklace richly studded with jewels. After misadventures he found unlimited wealth and in course of time reached his own city of Harṣapura (Tawney/Penzer 4.191-93, *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* 54.97f.)

A palm-leaf manuscript of the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dated A. D. 1015 (Cambridge, Add. 1643) depicts Lord Śākyamuni on folio 44 with the

caption: *Kalaśavarapure Gandhavatyā Bhagavān* (Foucher 1900: 191 no. 11). This is repeated in the Calcutta manuscript (A15) on folio 89: *Kalaśavarapure Bhagavān* (*ibid.* 209 no. 13). Foucher (p. 90) opines that the geographic situation of this city is a mystery which these two inscriptions do not permit us to clarify.

The *Ratnaparīkṣā* of Buddhadatta (Finot 1896: 29) speaks of the rubies of Kalaśapura, of Tumbara, of Simhala, of Muktamāliyas and of Śrīpūrnakas. The lesser variety from Kalaśapura can be recognised by the presence of pellicules:

Kalaśapur-odbhava-tumbara-simhaladeśottha-muktamāliyah śrīpūrnakaś ca sadrśā vijātayah padmarāgāṇān tus-opasargāt kalaśābhidhānam.

Kalaśapura or Kalaśa was a famous mart for precious jewels.

Wheatley (1961:57) says that Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo or its shorter form Ko-lo are transcriptions of Kalaśapura. The Old T'ang Annals transcribe Chia-lo-she-fo, the Wen-hsien T'ung k'ao calls it Ko-lo-she-fen. Their geographic locations are confusing in the Chinese accounts.

III. OTHER GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Suvarṇadvīpa, Suvarṇabhūmi is a general term for the several countries of South-East Asia with which India carried on trade. There seems to be a clear demarcation between Sumatra and Java. Sumatra is known as Śrīvijaya, Samudra or Mahāsamudra, or Southern Seas in Chinese. Ho-ling (also transcribed K'o-ling) is Java or more accurately a part of Java. Ho-ling transcribes Kēliṅ or Kliṅ = Sanskrit Kāliṅga. Kāliṅga comprised not only modern Orissa, but also a major part of the coast of Andhra. Kliṅ were regions or towns where immigrants from India dominated. To this day, areas with population of Indian origin are termed Kliṅ in Indonesia. According to the New History of T'ang (618-906) book 222 part ii: "Kāliṅga is also called Java", book 197 "Kāliṅga lies to the east of Sumatra" (Takakusu 1896: xlvi).

I-tsing wrote down short bio-sketches of eminent Chinese monks who visited Sumatra, Java, and India in search of *Dharma*. They took ships to India from Ho-ling which Chavannes (1894:210) defines as a kingdom in the island of Java. Ch'ang-min (≠ 13, Cha. 42, La. 24) wanted to go on a pilgrimage to India to offer his homage to the holy relics. From South China, he embarked on a large ship that could carry six to seven hundred persons, destined to sail to Ho-ling. Thence he embarked by Mo-lou-yü (Malayu/Jambi), whence he wanted to reach Mid-India. He boarded a cargo vessel carrying heavy merchandise, which sank due to a sudden typhoon. Thus the route from China to India lay via Ho-ling and Malayu. Ming-yüan (≠ 21, Cha. 53, La.33) sailed from Chiao-chih, reached Ho-ling, and from

there came to Sinhala and then to South India. Hui-ning (≠ 25, Cha. 60, La. 36), reached the South Sea (here Sumatra) in A. D. 665. He took a boat to Ho-ling and lived there with the very learned monk Jñānabhadra and translated Sanskrit texts into Chinese. From here Hui-ning left for India. T'an-jun (≠ 36, Cha. 77, La. 46) embarked towards the South, to go to western India. When he reached Po-p'en to the north of Ho-ling, he fell sick and died at the tender age of thirty years. Tao-lin (≠ 42, Cha. 100, La. 63) took a long route to reach the South Sea, and on the way crossed Ho-ling to reach India. Fa-chen (≠ 53, Cha. 158, La. 102) had an insatiable desire to visit India to pay homage to the sacred shrines. He embarked a ship, reached the north of Ho-ling, and after crossing many islands arrived at Kedah. Fa-lang (≠ 60, Cha. 190, La. 122) crossed the seas in the company of I-tsing and stayed with him at Śrīvijaya, where he studied logic and *abhidharma*. After some time, Fa-lang left for Ho-ling where he fell sick and died. His companions Chen-ku, Tao-hung and two others stayed back in Śrīvijaya, studied the sacred books for three years, as well as the correlation of Sanskrit and Chinese. Thus Ho-ling was a very important port for sailing to India. Wheatley (1961:44,54,56) equates Ho-ling with Java, and on p.192 he says that Ho-ling is applied to an ancient Javanese Kingdom.

IV. KEDAH (MALAYSIA) TO INDONESIA

Ho-ling, Śrīvijaya, Kedah, Lankasukha, Nicobar, Sinhala, Nāgapaṭṭinam and Tāmralipti were linked by the persuasive bonds of trade and prosperity. These entrepots linked Indonesia, Malaya, Śrīlankā and India in commerce, culture and polity. The sailing routes in the seventh century as shown in the biographies of sixty monks from China on a pilgrimage to India are mapped by Wheatley (1961:44). The route traversed by I-tsing is Canton-Śrīvijaya-Malayu-Kedah-Luo-len-Tāmralipti.

Kedah was the most important entrepot, famed for its wealth and prosperity, felicities and elegances, situated at the northernmost point of the Peninsula, and being the prime node in the maritime trade with India. From Kedah a route led to Patani, the nucleus of the ancient kingdom of Lankasukha (Wheatley 1961: 195). Lankasukha passed into Malay folklore, and Kedah peasantry interpreted the realm of Alang-kah-suka as the domain of a fairy princess (*ibid.* 262). Lankasukha was connected with Tambralinga in the Ligor district (*ibid.* 67). This kingdom was founded in the first century A. D. (*ibid.* 194) on the east coast. The Kedah peasantry retains folk - memories of the coming of Indians in the early centuries of the Christian era in the legend of Marong Mahawangsa (*ibid.* 263). Migrants from South India would find their first landfall on the Malayan coast around modern Kedah. The most ancient archaeological evidence of Indian influence has been discovered in

this area. The earliest reference to Kedah is in the Tamil poem *Paṭṭinappālai* at the beginning of the third century A. D. of the import of goods from Kāḷagam into the Coḷa capital of Puhar (*ibid.* 279). The Tamil classic *Śilappādikāram*, written by Ilango Adigal in the third century, mentions silk from Kāḷagam (= Kedah, *ibid.* 279). The basement of a fourth century *stūpa* has survived north of Kedah Peak, on the summit of a jungle-clad hill Bukit Choras (*ibid.* 274). A Sanskrit inscription of the fourth century A. D. from the Wellesley Province and two verses of the Buddhist credo from Bukit Mēriam in Kedah were discovered by Low in 1849 and they are written in the oldest form of the Pallava script (*ibid.* 273). Majority of the migrants came from South India as evidenced by archaeological finds. The slab of the sailing-master (*mahānāvika*) Buddhagupta, a resident of Raktamṛttikā, is inscribed with a *stūpa* surmounted by a *chatrāvālī* and it bears a Sanskrit prayer for the success of his voyage, in the fifth-century Pallava script (*ibid.* 274). By the fifth century Buddhism was established in Malaya, and added to the attraction of Indian merchants by a familiar cultural environment. In the sixth and seventh centuries the 'Red Land' came to prominence and even attracted envoys from Chinese court (*ibid.* 194). Dr. Wales excavated the foundations of ten Śaiva temples in Kedah, dating c. 550-750, built by Paliava immigrants (*ibid.* 197, 274). In A. D. 638, the state of Chia-cha (Kedah) sent an embassy to the Chinese court (*ibid.* 278). In A. D. 672 I-tsing completed his voyage as far as Kedah, taking advantage of the south-westerlies (*ibid.* 42). A seventh century temple excavated on a spur of the Kedah Peak is a transition between South Indian sepulchral shrines and Javanese candis (*ibid.* 194). Kaṭāha-nagara is famed for its social attraction in the Sanskrit drama *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, dating to the seventh or eighth century. Haribhadra Sūri, in his Prakrit work *Samarāṅgikāhā* dated to the eighth century, relates voyages from Tāmralipti to (Mahā) Kaṭāha-dvīpa. Two Mahāyāna temples, two audience halls, and five shrines were built on the banks of the Bujang river between 750 and 900 (*ibid.* 274, 277). A community of Tamils was settled on the west coast in the ninth century (*ibid.* 193). Tenth century votive tablets in Nāgarī script have been found from a Kedah cave (*ibid.* 193). The Pāla manuscript of the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dated A. D. 1015, represents Lokanātha of the mountain of Valavatī in the Kaṭāha country (*kaṭāha - dvīpe valavatī - parvate Lokanāthah*, Foucher 1900:2. 194, I. 26, 28, Pl. IV.4). It must be a reference to the Kedah Peak (Gunong Jērai). In c. 1025 the Coḷa king Rājendra I conquered Kaḍāra, and other kingdoms (*ibid.* 199 f.). The *Bṛhatkathā-maṅjarī* written by Kṣemendra in A. D. 1037 (Keith 1928:136) refers to Kaṭāha-dvīpa (*ibid.* 280). The *Kathā-Sarī-Sāgara*, written by Somadeva during the years A. D. 1063 to 1081 (Keith 1928:281) refers to the island of Kaṭāha. Guhasena is urged by his relations to go to the country of Kaṭāha for trafficking (Tawney/Penzer 1. 155-6). He was soon in Kaṭāha and began to buy and sell jewels there.

He met a female ascetic Yogakaraṇḍikā who lived in a Buddhist sanctuary. His wife Devasmitā came to Kaṭāha to see him. (*ibid.* 1.163). The Brāhmaṇa Candrasvāmin went to the island in search of his children (*ibid.* 4.223). The Kaṭāha-dvīpa, 'the home of all felicities' (*asti dvīpam Kaṭāh-ākhyam ketanam sarva sampadām* 123.105) was ruled by a king Guṇasāgara (*ibid.* 10.50). His daughter, Princess Guṇavatī suffered a shipwreck on the coast of Suvarṇadvīpa (123.110) on her way from Kaṭāha to India.

V. SAJAMERTA INSCRIPTION - MISSIONS TO CHINA

The earliest inscription to name the Śailendras was discovered in January 1963 in the village of Sajamerta, published by Boechari in 1966. It is in the old Pallava script and is dated to the seventh century on palaeographic considerations. It is in Old Malay. Homage is paid to Śiva: (*namaḥ śśivāya/bhaṭāra paramēśvara sarva-daiva ku saṁvaḥ....*) by *dapūnta selendra*, the son of Sāntanu and Bhadrāvātī, and his wife Sampūla. Boechari feels that "Dapunta Selendra might be the *varṇśakara* of the Śailendras. We have instances in Javanese history in which the reigning dynasty was descended from a commoner, e.g. the dynasties of Singhasari and Majapahit". Sarkar (1985: 326) rightly refers the designation *dapunta* to a spiritual dignitary. This meaning is confirmed by Zoetmulder's Old Javanese - English Dictionary. The donor was an ecclesiastical official of the Śailendras. The employment of Old Malay indicates that the official came from one of the Malayan Kingdoms.

Missions from Ho-ling visited China in the years A. D. 640, 648 and 666 (Wolters 1967: 214). They were resumed in A. D. 768, 769, 770. Ho-ling is Java in I-tsing. New T'ang Annals preserve the itinerary of Chia-tan, which says that Ho-ling (Java) is to the east of Fo-shih (Śrīvijaya), some four or five days of journey over water, the largest of the islands in the south (Wheatley 1961: 56). The word Ho-ling echoes Kalinga. The name Kliš is still applied to Indians in Malaysia and Indonesia. Ho-ling should refer to the Śailendras of Java, who retained memories of their Indian origin. Ho-ling shows that the Śailendras had immigrated recently. They should have taken around a century to develop an infrastructure of a rich and powerful state so as to command the respect of the Chinese court, and thus their immigration into Java may be placed in the middle of the sixth century.

VI. LIGOR STELE

The first inscription to mention a Śailendra king is on the stele of Ligor, written in ornate Sanskrit, in the old Pallava script. Its side A is dated A. D. 775 and was issued by a king of Śrīvijaya. Coedès (1959:42-48) has discussed the earlier interpretations and come to certain conclusions that are relevant to us:

1. It is certain that inscriptions on the two faces are independent of

each other ; the one of face A dated A. D. 775 emanates from a king of Śrīvijaya, and that of face B is later and pertains to the Śailendra dynasty.

2. Coedès abandons his earlier hypothesis concerning the mention of two kings on face B. Only one king Viṣṇu is named.
3. The Śailendra king Viṣṇu of Ligor B can be placed between 778 and 782.

The apposition of *eka* in the first half and *dvitīya* in the second half refers to the fact that the Śailendra king had the imperial title *rājādhirāja* having conquered his enemies and was resplendent like the sun in the first instance and secondly (*dvitīya*) by his own might (*svaśaktyā*) , he, Viṣṇu by name, born in the Śailendra family (*Śailendra- varṇśa - prabhavo*, corrected) assumed his traditional titulature (*niḡaditaḡ*) of Śrīmahārāja. Arab navigators and traders point out that the king of Zābag (Java) is a Mahārāja.

The district of Ligor was the kingdom of Tambralinga (Chinese: Tan-ma-ling), a dependency of Śrīvijaya. It was an important trading centre for China (Wheatley 1961:67, 77). The Śailendras must have gone to trade with Tambralinga, but exceeded their rights in trying to inscribe their presence on Ligor B in the monastic premises. The monks of the monastery and Śrīvijaya officials must have resisted with violence, when they noticed the transgression. Till then, four lines had been inscribed, and the whole effort had to be abandoned. The Śailendra inscription is in impeccable Sanskrit, written in advance, by design, and on imperial orders. It is not an *ex tempore* composition. The abrupt end is an indication of a violent struggle between the protagonists of Śrīvijaya and Śailendra.

VII. KALASAN INSCRIPTION OF ŚAKA 700= A. D. 778

The third evidence of Śailendra presence is the Kalasan inscription dated Śaka 700=A.D. 778. Its interpretation has been clouded by heavy assumptions. Sanskrit is a precisely inflected language and there is a little scope of ambiguity in meaning. For easier comprehension, the inscription has been put in prose order :

1. The first stanza does not have political significance.
2. *mahārājāḡ dyāḡ pañcapanāḡ paḡaḡhkarāḡaḡ āvarjya* (this reading is doubtful) *śailendra - rājagurubhis śrīmat tārā-bhavanāḡ hi kārītaḡ.*
3. *gurvājñāyā kṛtajñais tārādevī kṛtā, api tad-bhavanam, vinaya-mahāyānavidāḡ cāpy ārya - bhikṣūḡāḡ bhavanam.*
4. *pañkura-tavāna-tīrpa nāmabhir rājñāḡ ādeśa-śāstrbhiḡ idāḡ tārābhavanāḡ kārītaḡ api capy ārya-bhikṣūḡāḡ.*

5. *śailendra-varṣa-tilakasya rājñah rājye pravardhamāne kṛtibhiḥ śailendra-rājagurubhis tārā-bhavanam kṛtam.*
6. *śaka-nṛpa-kālātītair varṣa - śataih saptabhir mahārājah paṇamkaraṇah guru-pūjārtham tārā - bhavanam akarot.*
7. *paṅkura-tavāna-tīrpa-deśādhyakṣān mahāpuruṣān sāksīṇah kṛtvā kalaśanāmā grāmaḥ saṅghāya dattaḥ.*
8. *śailendra-varṣa-bhūpair anuparipāly-ārya-santatyā rājasīmheṇa saṅghāva bhūri-dakṣiṇā iyam atulā dattā.*
9. *saṅ paṅkurādibhiḥ, saṅ tavānak-ādibhiḥ, saṅ tīrpa-ādibhiḥ, pattibhiś ca sādhubhiḥ.*

API CA

10. *rājasīmhaḥ sarvān eva āgāmiṇah pārthivendrān bhūyo bhūyo yācate: ayaṁ narāṇāṁ sāmānyah dharmasetuḥ, kāle-kāle bhavadbhiḥ pālānyah.*
11. *ancna vihārajena puṇyena pratīya-jāt-ārtha-vibhāga-vijñāḥ sarve tribhav-opapannā janā jinānām anuśāsanaññā bhavantu.*
12. *śrīmān kariyāna-paṇamkaraṇah bhāvi-nṛpān bhūyo bhūyo vidhivad vihāra-paripālanārtham abhiyācate. ITI.*

1. Salutation to goddess Tārā.

2. The royal preceptor (Rājaguru) of the Śailendras having.... *Mahārāja dyāḥ Pañcapaṇa Paṇamkaraṇa* had the splendid temple of Tārā built.

3. By the orders of the preceptor, mindful of right conduct, he made (the image) of Tārādevi, also her temple, as well as residences for the venerable monks learned in *vinaya* (discipline) and *mahāyāna*.

This stanza refers to the Mahārāja, and the plural *kṛtajñair* is for respect, *pluralis majestatis*. *kṛtajña* 'knowing what is right, correct in conduct' MBh. 12. 104. 6 (MW). This does not refer to the preceptor or officials.

4. The executors of the command of the king designated (*nāmabhir*) paṅkura, tavāna and tīrpa had this abode for Tārā constructed as well as those for venerable monks.

5. As the kingdom of the King, who is the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty, was ever-flourishing, the righteous preceptor of the Śailendra King constructed the temple of Tārā.

The temple to the Goddess Tārā was constructed for the constantly developing maritime trade by the Rājaguru of noble conduct. The

expanding commerce was thus blessed by the Goddess.

6. When seven hundred years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed, Mahārāja Paṇamkaraṇa built the temple of Tāra in deference to the Guru.

The word *guru - pūjārtham* does not mean 'for the worship of (his) preceptors (to the deity)' as rendered by Sarkar, but 'out of respect to the Guru.'

7. He donated the village named *Kalasa* to the Saṅgha, having made the village officials paṅkura, tavāna, and tīrpa, and other notable persons (*mahāpuruṣa*) witnesses.

8. In accord with the noble traditions to be observed by kings of the Śailendra dynasty, the mighty king (*rājasinḥa*) gave this (*iyam*) ample (*bhūri*) donation which is immeasurable.

Dakṣinā is a technical term and no sacred rite bears fruit unless it is consummated by a donation in money or gold. Compare the inscription of Mūlavarman where a lot of gold (*bahusuvārṇa*) was donated to the officiants. The cash or gold given by the King was beyond measure (*a-tula*) in keeping with the existing economic euphoria, as well as to ensure its continuance in the future.

9. And paṅkura, tavānaka, tīrpa, along with their followers and other pious *patīs* too (gave donations).

AND FURTHER

10. The mighty King (*rājasinḥa*) entertains all future kings: this foundation of Dharma is the common (property of all) men, and should be maintained by you from time to time.

The word *dharmasetu* is used in the sense of a pious foundation in the inscriptions of the Pālas and of other dynasties, e.g. in the Monghyr Copperplate of Devapāla, IA. 21.254-57 (Majumdar 1936: 1. 233). In this context *dharmasetu* also signifies the bridge of Dharma to cross over the ocean of existence (*bhava - sāgara*), as Goddess Tārā takes beings across. Tārā is from the root *tar* 'carry through or save, pass across or over, cross over, sail across'. Tārā is so called as she carries across the ocean of mundane existence.

11. May all persons born in the three worlds become proficient in the teaching of the Jinās by the merit accruing from this *vihāra*, where they gain insight by analysis of the goals (*artha*) of *pratīya-jāta* (= *pratīya-samutpāda*).

This stanza refers to the two *sambhāras* : *punya-sambhāra* and *jñāna-sambhāra*. These are the twofold equipments for those destined for Enlightenment. As the Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan 19.22 says: *ikanañ dvaya-sambhāra, na naranya jñāna-sambhāra punya-sambhāra kapaṅguha denta*. From the devotion and worship of Tārā accrues *punya*/merit, and *jñāna*/knowledge is attained in the *vihāra* which as an academic centre provides insights into Buddhist thought.

Pratītya-jāta = *pratītya-samutpāda* “origination by dependence of one thing on another, applied to the celebrated ‘chain of causation’, the (usually twelve) steps of which are the same as in Pali from *avidyā* to (a compound ending in) *upāyāsa*: elaborate analysis, *Śālistamba-sūtra* 76.13 ff (valuable discussion by La Vallée Poussin)” (Edgerton 1953:374a). Compare *pratītya-jātā dharmā ime* in *Lalita-vistara* 340.3 (verse). *Vibhāga* ‘scholastic classification’. Compare *vibhaṅga* ‘distribution, classification, explanation, commentary’ (Edgerton). The text of the *pratītya - samutpāda - vibhaṅga* has been found engraved on bricks from Nalanda in the late Gupta script (Hirananda Sastri 1942:75). This *sūtra* was of paramount importance and was studied all over the Buddhist world (*ibid.* 60). A set of eleven gold plates in the Jakarta Museum contains the *Pratītya-samutpāda - sūtra* (Casparis 1956:2. 47-167).

12. The illustrious Kariyāna Paṇaṅkaraṇa solicits future kings over and again for the proper maintenance of the *vihāra*.

The inscription comprises :

- (i) Salutation on Tārā (st.1).
- (ii) The King is inspired by the Rājaguru to set up the image of Tārā, to construct a temple and a monastery (st.2,3).
- (iii) Officials are assigned for the construction (st. 4).
- (iv) The Rājaguru takes an active role in the construction of the Tārā-temple (st. 5).
- (v) The King constructs the Tārā-temple in deference to the Guru (st. 6).
- (vi) Grant of the Kalasa village to the Sañgha (st.7).
- (vii) Ample funds donated by the King, officials and dignitaries (st. 8,9).
- (viii) The King entreats future kings to maintain the complex,

for it serves both faith and learning (st. 10,11,12).

The word Śailendra-Rājaguru in stanzas 2 and 5 raised the question as to whether he is the guru of Paṇaṅkaraṇa or of another king of the Śailendra dynasty. Stanza 6 is clear beyond doubt that Paṇaṅkaraṇa built the Tārā-temple in deference to the wishes of the Guru, and we come across the same idea earlier in stanza 3. In stanza 8 the mighty King follows the noble traditions observed by the kings of the Śailendra dynasty. The tenor of the whole inscription indicates that Paṇaṅkaraṇa himself is the Śailendra king.

The North Indian script termed Pre-Nāgarī (now called Siddham by Damais) has been used in the inscription. Its use indicates that the Rājaguru came from the Pāla dominions. Contacts with the Pālas must have been constant. I-tsing took a ship from Kedah and reached Tāmralipti in 673 (Takakusu 1896: xxxi) The Pāla manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* depicts a statue of Lord Buddha at Kalāśa-vara-pura (Kalasan). The Rājaguru was higher than the King being the ecclesiastical head and as such the word Śailendra was prefixed to his designation.

The Mantyasih I (Kedu) charter of Śaka 829=A. D. 907 (side B, lines 8-9) enumerates eight kings beginning with Sañjaya. King Sañjaya is followed by Śri Mahārāja Rakai Panaṅkaran who is not the Śailendra king of the Kalasan inscription (see below, section XIII).

VIII. KING JITENDRA

During the years 813, 815, 818 Ho-ling (Java) sent three missions to China (Wolters 1967:214, following Damais, BEFEO. 52.1/1964:131-32).

The Introduction to the *Amaramālā* section (f. 23b) of the *Chandaḥkirāṇa* praises king Jitendra of the Śailendra dynasty as one who inspired the translation of the *Amaramālā* into the local language. Krom (1924: 203) dates it to the eighth century : hana sira ratu pināka cūdāmaṇi deniṅ samanta jagatpālaka *suragaṇair iṣṭaḥ prajā - rakṣaṇe* inarēmbha deniṅ vatēk devatā rumakṣa prajā -maṇḍala. apayan *yoga-dhyāna-samādhi-karma-kuśalaḥ* sira vidagḍba ri kagavayanin *yoga-dhyāna-samādhi. vidyāvādāt-ottamaḥ* sira ta viśeṣa niṅ mahāpuruṣa śāstrajña niṣṭa niran samaṅkana kottamanira ndan tah upaśama ta sira. *sādhujana-priyaḥ* anurāga ta sira ri sakveh saṅ sādhu-jana. *śatrūṇāṅṅ kulasyāntakaḥ* maṅkana sakveh nikaṅ śatru bāhyābhyantara yatika sampun inaristaknira. *śailendrānvaya-puṅgavaḥ* sira ta pinakatungani śelendravanśa. *jayati ananta-vīraḥ-śrīmahārājaḥ* samaṅkanātiśaya sira ta śrīmahārāja Jitendra. sājñānira sambah niṅhulun maṅhalani majarakna mahāmaramālā prakṛta.

IX. KELURAK INSCRIPTION OF ŚAKA 704 = A. D. 782

This inscription (D44) is written in Pre-Nāgarī as the royal preceptor was from Gaudīdvīpa or Bengal. It records the installation of an image of Mañjuḥoṣa, and Kīrtistambha by King (naravara) Śrī-Saṅgrāma-dhanañjaya. The first stanza of *maṅgalācarana* hails four names :

Lokeśvara sugatapad-ākṣara

Bhadreśvara sugatapad - ākṣara

Viśveśvara sugatapad - ākṣara

--*śvara* (perhaps *Vāgīśvara*) sugatapad - ākṣara.

He has the status of a Sugata/ Buddha, and is immutable / *akṣara*. The four *īśvaras* can be the epithets of Mañjuḥoṣa, but the possibility of their being his four manifestations cannot be ruled out. Bhadra-svar-eśvara-rāja Mañjuḥoṣa is illustrated in the Pantheon of 360 Icons just after the eight-armed Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara-Mañjuḥoṣa (Clark 1937: 2. 262 nos. 151, 152), among the thirteen forms of Mañjuḥoṣa / Mañjuśrī. The Viśveśvara of the inscription can be compared with Trailokya-vaśyādhi-kāra Mañjuḥoṣa (*ibid.* 263 no. 154). The names Bhadreśvara and Viśveśvara are not found in Mallmann 1975, Edgerton, or in the Buddhist Sādhanamālās. Sarkar's note (1971: 1. 47n. 24) tries to link the four names with Śiva or the Five Tathāgatas, but both the suggestions are far-fetched.

The second stanza is difficult to interpret. The word *lokeśa* occurs thrice in the stanza and every time with a different denotation. Lokeśvara (ends *īśvara*) refers to Amitābha who is a Tathāgata and thus denotes a higher rank. Lokeśa (ends *īśa*) refers to Bodhisattvas and has a lesser status. *īśvara* and *īśa* are differentiated semantically. One who (*yaḥ*) dares to overwhelm Lokeśa (= Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara) who bears Amitābha, the lord of the worlds (Lokeśvara) on his forehead, he (= Mañjuḥoṣa) is the master of the world (lokeśa) illuminating all the regions, pays homage to that Master of the world (Lokeśa=Mañjuḥoṣa). Mañjuḥoṣa is the elocutor of *vaipulya sūtras*, of Mahāyāna and thereby he illumines the world. In the Lotus Sutra, it is he who understands and resolves the doubts of Maitreya Bodhisattva, of monks and nuns, of the laity, and of heavenly beings when the Buddha sheds so great a luminous ray repleting the world with splendour. Maitreya Bodhisattva questions the why of the universal radiation of a ray from the *ūrṇā* of Śākyamuni. It is Mañjuśrī who alone can and does explain (The Threefold Lotus Sutra p. 34-35). Thus while both Mañjuḥoṣa and Padmapāṇi are Bodhisattvas, and Padmapāṇi has a Tathāgata on his forehead, yet it is Mañjuḥoṣa who is superior to Padmapāṇi in that he alone can resolve doubts about the *saddharma* which the Buddha preaches, namely, the new way of *vaipulya-yāna*. The prose order of the second stanza is : *Amitābham*

*api lokeśvarān mūrdhñā dhartuṁ lokeśān (= Padmapāṇi) yo
dharṣati/sakala-digant-āvabhāsanā lokeśān taṁ Lokeśān (= Mañjughoṣān)
praṇamata //*

The earlier statue of Padmapāṇi at the Abhayagiri monastery of Sirnhala at Ratu Baka must have been a formidable complex. The new Guru from Bengal whom the King revered had to create a more imposing monument as well as sanctify a deity more omnipotent than Padmapāṇi. The Abhayagiri monastery at Ratu Baka was a *Vaipulya* monastery and so also was the new complex around Mañjughoṣa set up by the Guru from Gauḍidvīpa who was himself a leading luminary of *Vaipulya* scholarship. Without mentioning the other monastery by name, Kumāraghoṣa points out that Mañjughoṣa excels Padmapāṇi at Abhayagiri and is more powerful in illuminating the path to Enlightenment/ Bodhi. For Bodhi the word *āvabhāsanā* has been used on purpose : the *vaipulya* system was an evolution of light cults, it was phototropic, beginning with Amitābha 'Infinite Light' (See Lokesh Chandra, *Cultural Horizons of India* 3:1:139 for a detailed history and analysis of *vaipulya*, phototropism, etc).

The third stanza is broken in the inscription and the visible words *bhayabhītam avacara (n) taṁ saugata-navaratnam* may be taken to refer to the nine jewels or eminent scholars of Abhayagiri who have panicked away (*avacarantam*) in fright (*bhayabhīta*), vanquished by Kumāraghoṣa (*mamāpi*). Kumāraghoṣa was single, and in spite of being nine (*nava-ratna*), they lost.

The fourth stanza is a series of epithets of the Śailendra king.

*sāmanta-mantri-pati-satkr̥ta¹-satkrameṇa
dikcakra-rāja-vijay-ārjita-vikrameṇa/-ra-vair̥²-vara-vīr̥²-vimardena
nityam parārtha-karu [ṇā] ~ ~ meṇa.*

1. Sarkar : saṁskṛta.

2. Sarkar : extremely doubtful readings. Stutterheim's hypothesis on the basis of these doubtful readings cannot be sustained. Moreover, Bosch, Mus and Sarkar (n.27) have refuted his hypothesis. Sarkar translates the first line as : "Through the excellent procedure that was devised by the feudatory chiefs, ministers and *patis*". It has to be translated afresh: "to celebrate the regards shown by feudatories, ministers, officials". The word *satkrama* means *satkriyā* 'celebration' as in *vivāha-satkriyā* 'the celebration of wedding' in Raghuvamśa. The King celebrated his victories and their consolidation along with all concerned, from the highest down to the village officials, by inviting an eminent Guru from distant India.

The fifth stanza is supposed to contain the name of the Śailendra king: Indra. Casparis (1950:1.102-3) has discussed the views of Bosch, which have been followed by Majumdar (1936:1.151), Sarkar (1971:1.43), and Damais

(1952: 25). *Nāmnā* in *dharaṇīndranāmnā* is not clear, which makes Indra as a name uncertain. The next stanza 6 contains the word Indra, after which the inscription is broken. It speaks of the Guru who is the ornament of *vipras* versed in the *Vaipulya* traditions. *Vaipulya-vipra-tilakena* corresponds to *Śailendra-varṇśa-tilakena*. Sarkar (n.28) feels that the word *vipra* is “perhaps used here in the sense of a learned priest”, to pun with *vaipulya*. The teacher was a Brāhmaṇa (*vipra*) by caste and hence its specific mention. Just as the King was of noble descent by virtue of his dynasty (*varṇśa*), likewise was the Guru born high as a Brāhmaṇa (*vipra*). This becomes clear in the seventh stanza which points out that the head of the King was purified by the dust of the lotus-feet of the Guru from Gauḍīdvīpa. It is an apposition to the statement in the fifth stanza that the dust of the feet of the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty was saluted by feudatories, ministers and others by their heads. The two stanzas are cited in prose order with common elements denoted by superscript numbers :

King : *yasya kramāmbu⁴ja-ra⁵jaḥ-pravara-ratna-saroruhādyaiḥ śir⁷asu
pra⁶āmya sampūjyate (tena) mahodayena Śaile¹ndra -
va²mśa-tr³lakena.*

Guru : *Vaipulya - vip²ra - tilak³ena - Gauḍīdvīpa -
guru-kramām⁴buja-ra⁵jaḥ-pū⁶-otta⁷māṅga-ātmanā*

Sarkar (n.31) says that “Gauḍīdvīpa is a misnomer, because it is not an island”. Here *dvīpa* denoted doab, a region between two (*dvi*) rivers (*āpah*), a Mesopotamian area watered by rivers on two sides.

Stanza 8 states that the image of Mañjuśrī was consecrated (*sarṁsthāpita*) by the Rājaguru. It was radiant (*ujjvala*) by virtue of its efficaciousness (*prabhāva*, not *pradava*). It held a blue lotus, as Padmapāṇi held a lotus at the Abhayagiri-vihāra of Ratu Baka. He was an incomparable Sugata whose glory spread as an efficacious icon in bestowing the wishes of devotees. The purpose of the establishment of the image was the well-being of the people (*lok-ārtha*). He is called by various names:

Lokeśa (twice in st.2)

Sarvajña (st.8) general epithet

Mañjuśrī (st.8,10,13,16)

Mañjughoṣa (st. 9,11)

Vajradhṛk (st. 15) general epithet.

Mañjuvāg (st. 15)

Mañjurava (st. 18) = Mañjuvāg

The names Mañjuḥoṣa, Mañjuvāg and Mañjurava, refer here to a specific form of Mañjuśrī known as Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara Mañjuḥoṣa. He is the Supreme Being and all others are immanent in him. He represents the glory of innumerable Sugatas (*aprameya-sugata-khyāta-kīrti*, st.8), he is the protector of the world (*jagataḥ trātuḥ*, st. 10), the bestower of riches and glory (*vidhātuḥ śriyaḥ*, st.10), Mañjuḥoṣa is referred to as Vajradhṛk, that is Vajradhara, as he was a deity of the Kabajradharan. Being Supreme, all the Devas are inherent in Him (*sarva-deva-mayaḥ*, st. 15), including Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. Mañjuḥoṣa was inclusive of the Trinity and thus higher than them. Interiorisation has been an important *upāya* or expedient in the spread of Buddhism.

The words of the ninth stanza are illegible and do not yield even a broken text. *Setu* in the third quarter refers to *dharmasetu*, a word that recurs in stanzas 13 and 19. It means a 'religious foundation'. In the fourth quarter it mentions the *kīrtistambha* which is described in stanzas 13 and 14. The pillar was a joy to behold (*dr̥ṣṭa-rataḥ*). In stanza 14 it is called *dr̥ṣya-ratna* 'jewel of a sight'.

The translation of the tenth stanza by Sarkar is off the mark. He translates : "After putting in the glory of the world's protector and creator, whose movement is applauded by the three worlds, was this image (of Mañjuśrī) obtained by me through the kindness of the Guru (?)" Three readings have to be corrected : *puṇyam bhaktitaḥ* for *gurum bhaktitam*, *mañjuśriyaḥ* for *śriyaḥ*. The prose order will be : *trailoky - ārcita - sarṅkramasya, jagataḥ trātuḥ, śriyaḥ vidhātuḥ mañjuśriyaḥ imāṅh pratimāṅh bhaktitaḥ kṛtvā mayā yad amitāṅh puṇyaṅh prāptam*. It means: the immense virtue (*puṇya*) that I have attained by having made (*kṛtvā*) out of pious devotion (*bhaktitaḥ*) this image of Mañjuśrī, whose feet are worshipped by the three worlds, who is the protector of the universe, the bestower of glory and riches... Its apodosis is lost in the broken part. It refers to the King who had the image done (*kṛtvā*), that is, got it sculpted. To become a sacred icon of worship its consecration (*sthāpana*) had also to be performed.

The next stanza 11 says that this (*imāṅh*) image of Mañjuḥoṣa was duly sanctified (*sthāpitavān*) by Kumāraghoṣa in the Śaka year 704. The first part of his name reflects Mañjuśrī the eternal youth (*Kumārabhūta*) and the second part is from Mañjuḥoṣa. He came from Gaudi, a part of Bengal. He was a *Vaipulya-vipra-tilaka*, namely a Brāhmaṇa (*vipra*) by caste and learned in the *Vaipulya sūtras*, which is the same as *Vetullavāda* in Śrīlaṅka. *Vaipulya* is a generic term for the pre-tantric and tantric texts. The name of the Guru indicates his initiation (*abhīṣeka*, st.7) into Vāgīśvara Mañjuḥoṣa. Thus the consecration of the image got special sanctity as it was done by a Brāhmaṇa who was so to say the veritable Divinity Himself. The King and his Guru executed their functions: the King got the statue sculpted and

the Guru sanctified it.

In the seventh month, perhaps from the sanctification of the image, a *kīrtistambha* was erected (st.13). *Kīrtistambha* is the Tower of Victory, an Arc de Triomphe. Two famous specimens are the Jain *Kīrtistambha* of the twelfth century and Kumbha Raṇā's *Kīrtistambha* of 1442-49 at Chittor, Mewar (Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, 1. 268, 2 Pl. 394a,b). The two have been described by Zimmer as follows: "The same, almost incredible, late style is again evident in the Jaina "pillar of fame" (*kīrtistambha*) at Chittor, in Mewar, Northern India (Plate 394b). Its shaft has been transformed into a slender, frail but rich, many-storied building, enshrining *in its niches statues* of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, and with a pavilion at the top, which is open to all four sides. The pillar shown in Plate 394a-- which is in the same city, and some eighty feet high---was built 1442 to 1449 A.D., in *commemoration of a local victory*. The profile is one of *graceful exuberance*, suggesting utter safety: thus the *idea of victory has been expressed in a very gentle and winning way*." The *Kīrtistambha* of Mañjuśrī described in the Kelurak inscription must also have had delicacy of sculpting, so sensitively echoed in the phrase *dr̥śya-ratna* 'jewel of sight', which destroys all the six enemies (*arāti*) of dissonant emotions beginning with passion / *smara* (*smarārāti* - *niṣūdana*, st. 14). Like the Chittor pillars, it must have borne the 216 deities of the *maṇḍala* of Mañjuśrī. The Nepalese drawings of 216 deities of the Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara maṇḍala can be seen in the *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*, Osaka, no. 7 by Yasuhiko Nagano and Musashi Tachikawa. The Tibetan representation is reproduced in Raghuvira and Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto - Mongol Pantheon*, Vols. 12, 13, no. 21, 40. The *Kīrtistambha* celebrates and sanctifies a victory of Śailendra monarch, for perpetuity (*akṣara* in st.1).

The 13th stanza has been translated by Majumdar (1936:1.152) as follows: "This pillar of glory, an excellent landmark of religion (*dharmasetu*), having the shape of an image of Mañjuśrī, is for the protection of all creatures." Sarkar (1971:1.45) repeats: "This peerless pillar of glory, an excellent bridge of religion, having the form of the image of Mañjuśrī, for the protection of all beings." Its rendering should be: "This peerless Pillar of Glory, the unrivalled (*anuttara*) religious foundation (*dharmasetu*), has been consecrated for the protection of all beings, with images of exquisite form." *Mañjuśrī - pratim-ākṛtiḥ* means "which is resplendent (*mañju*) with the grace (*śrī*) of the forms (*ākṛti*) of the images (*pratimā*)". The *Kīrtistambha* was situated on the eastern side of the temple complex and was adorned in the most exquisite manner. An instance of a charmingly sculpted Buddhist pillar is the 12th century stone pillar, 6.5 meters high without the podium, in Kunming, described in details by Albert Lutz (*Der Goldschatz der Drei Pagoden*, *Buddhistische Kunst des Nanzhao und Dali-Königreichs in Yunnan, China*,

Zurich 1991, pages 56-60, with plates 38-45).

The fourteenth stanza in the translation of Sarkar : “Here inside (this pillar of glory) are present Buddha, Dharmma and Saṅgha and (they) are to be seen in this beautiful Jewel (engaged) in destroying the enemy Smara.” The correct rendering would be: Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha should be seen (*draṣṭavya*) comprehended herein (*atra*, this *stambha*), a Jewelline wonder (*dr̥śya-ratna*), that destroys (*niṣūdana*) passion (*smara*) and other enemies (*arāti*). The three enemies or poisons are frequent in Buddhist *sūtras*, e.g. in the 24th chapter of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* on Avalokiteśvara (ed. Dutt, p. 290) or Tib. *dug gsum* (see Keith Dowman, *Masters of Mahāmudrā: songs and histories of the eighty-four Siddhas*, New York, State University of New York Press, 1985: 426).

The three poisons (Tib. *dug gsum*) are “the three primary dissonant emotions: attachment, hatred/aversion and delusion (as to the true nature of reality). Amongst the dissonant emotions these three are considered the most fundamental and deeply rooted in the minds of all ordinary sentient beings. Together with pride, mundane ambition or envy and wrong views, they constitute the category of mental factors known as ‘the six root dissonant emotions’” (Coleman 1993: 398). They are the six enemies or *ṣaḍ-ripus* of Old Javanese.

Sarkar (n.36) interprets: “I consider that Smara and Arāti form a case in apposition. cf. also Bosch, TBG.68.21 n.1. By Smara we have obviously to understand Māra of the Buddhist mythology.” The inscription refers to the Triratna: Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, and in consonance with them the Pillar destroys the three sins. As we have said earlier, our Mañjuśrī complex supersedes its rival the Padmapāṇi sanctuary at Ratu Baka. Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara removes the three sins, as said in the Lotus Sūtra; but in the case of Mañjuśrī it is the *kīrtistambha* which stands at the entrance of his temple that destroys the three evils. Herein lies the superiority of Mañjuśrī over Padmapāṇi.

The 15th stanza in the translation of Sarkar runs: “He, the wielder of Vajra, the auspicious one, is Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara; he is full of all gods and is praised as Mañjuvāk.” To translate it again: “He, the auspicious Vajradhara, he the Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, he the Lord (*svāmī*) comprehending all the *devas* or Hindu gods, is hymned as Mañjuvāk.” Vajradhṛk refers to Mañjughoṣa in the Vajrayāna context, in his elaboration of the *yoga-tantras*, wherein his Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara maṇḍala comprises a surprisingly large number of 219 deities, including the four Tathāgatas, their consorts, four guardians of the gates, eight *uṣṇīṣas*, twelve *bhūmis* in the east, twelve *pāramitās* in the south, twelve *vaśitās* in the west, twelve *dhāraṇīs* in the north, four *pratisaṅhvits*, sixteen *bodhisattvas*, ten *krodha* deities, eight

dikpālas, fifteen Hindu gods beginning with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, nine planets, eight kings each of *nāgas*, *asuras*, *yakṣas*, twenty-eight *nakṣatras*, etc. (*Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Introd. 60-66, text 54-65). The word *sarva-deva* is thus really significant, as an effort has been made to include all the Hindu deities. The word *deva* in the *maṇḍala* refers to Hindu deities.

Sarkar translates the sixteenth stanza as: "This Mañjuśrī (-image) is present here to protect his own region (and also) to preserve carefully (?) the properties of others, (thus) increasing the welfare and prosperity of both (?)." The prose order will be : *Ayaṁ Mañjuśrīs tasya pravarasya deśasya parāṁ raksāṁ kurvan atrāste* "this Mañjuśrī is here providing protection to this excellent region (*deśa*)", so that this temenos endures for long.

Sarkar translates the nineteenth stanza as: "I request all future kings with excellent conduct befitting their character.... that by you this (incomparable and) auspicious bridge of religion (in the form of) Bhṛtkumāra (Mañjuśrī) be protected." It is the usual entreaty to all future kings to maintain (*paripālaniyah*) this religious foundation (*dharmasetu*) which is the incomparable Kumāra (Mañjughoṣa) who holds (*bhṛt*) aword broken. The Bhṛtkumāra of Sarkar has to be corrected.

Sarkar translates to the twentieth stanza as: "The illustrious Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya, the great king who has obtained a preceptor through ordination....this construction is his....". It may be altered to: "It is the construction of Śrī-saṅgrāma-dhanañjaya, the noble person (*naravara*) who has found the Guru by his *saṁskāra* " or noble deeds performed in prior incarnations. The last sentence unambiguously attributes the construction to Saṅgrāma-dhanañjaya, who is undoubtedly the King. Casparis (1950:1.102) discusses the views of Bosch regarding the name of the King. The supposed name Indra in st.5 is not clear in the stampage of the inscription.

Pott (1966:120) says: "that an image of Mañjuśrī was erected by a prince Indra (varman) of the Śailendra dynasty with the rather obscure information that the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha are concealed in it. The representatives of this *triratna* together form the Garbhadhātu." Garbhadhātu is a late Japanese term coined on the analogy of Vajradhātu. It cannot be used outside the context of Japanese Mantrayāna. It refers to the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana in the *Mahāvairocana - bhīṣambodhi - sūtra*. Garbhadhātu has nothing to do with Mañjughoṣa. Mañjughoṣa is Dharmadhātu.

X. CANDI SEVU AND BARABUDUR

The Śailendras had regular contacts with Indian seaports. Chinese pilgrims sailed in the reverse direction from Śrīvijaya to Java, to embark for India, because Java had more regular sailings to India than Śrīvijaya. A fragment of an inscription from the ruins of Candi Sevu bears the words: *tiruranu*.

It is Tamil: *tiru* = śrī, and *rāṇuvam* 'army'. It may refer to King Samaratuṅga who reigned in A. D. 812-832 (Casparis 1950:1.201).

The word Bara - *budur* is the Tamil *pudur* 'new settlement or town' (Lokesh Chandra 1980:14) and Bara is *vihāra* (vahāra > vaāra > vara > bara). The Barabudur is in the village Bumisegoro (Skt. *sāgarabhūmi*) which alludes to it as the settlement of people beyond the seas, i.e., India. A lead-bronze inscription discovered on the plain west of the Barabudur refers to a locus on a hill of the southern region (*dakṣiṇāpathasya parvatasthale*, Boechari Preliminary report on some archaeological finds around the Barabudur temple, cyclostyled paper 1976). In Sanskrit Dakṣiṇāpatha = South India. The central image of the Buddhist *vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭiṇam was made of solid gold. The Vaiṣṇava saint Alvar Tirumangai wanted to renovate the Raṅganātha temple of Śrīraṅgam. He hit upon the idea of robbing the Buddhist Vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭiṇam of its Buddha image of solid gold. In this project, an old Vaiṣṇava lady residing at Nāgapaṭṭiṇam informed him: "The *sthapati* who made this golden image and the *vimāna* under which it is enshrined lives at present in Dvīpāntara." This statement was enough to send Tirumangai to Dvīpāntara where he had no great difficulty in identifying the house of the celebrated artist and architect and getting him, by a ruse, to surrender the secret of the construction of the *vimāna*, which enabled the Alvar to enter the temple stealthily and remove the golden image according to plan (Ramachandran 1954:15). The word *paṭṭiṇam* itself denotes a settlement of *sambaras*, i.e., those who paid allegiance to Buddhist monks and were rich maritime merchants. The aforesaid event attests flourishing communications between India and Java in the eighth century. It is likely that the *sthapati* participated in or supervised the planning of the Barabudur.

XI. INSCRIPTION OF ŚRĪ KAHULUNNAN OF ŚAKA 764=A.D. 842

This inscription has no proper name nor does it refer to the Śailendras. It has been associated with the Barabudur by Casparis on the basis of place names mentioned as villages attached to the *kamūlani bhūmi sambhāra* (Casparis 1.86). The meaning of *kamūlan* is 'temple' and it does not refer to a building symbolising the origin of a royal dynasty. *Bhūmi sambhāra* means 'a town of *sambhara*, or rich Buddhist merchants' (for details see Lokesh Chandra 1980: 20). The use of *ca* instead of *śa* in the first line of the inscription in *canaiścaravāra* betrays a common Tamil phenomenon, where *śani* is *cani*.

There were several Buddhist foundations in the area around Barabudur, and we cannot be sure of the temenos referred to in this inscription.

Śrī Kahulunnan has been rendered as 'Her Majesty the Queen' by Casparis (1950:1.91, 83-86). Zoetmulder (*Old Javanese - English Dictionary* 1.650) finds the meaning problematic. In the Udyogaparva 120.25 Yudhiṣṭhira speaking to Kṛṣṇa refers to Kuntī as Śrī Kahulunan. Śrī Kahulunnan (also spelt - nan),

though a personage of royal family judging by the title Śrī, is not a sovereign (Damais 1952:29 n.6). Casparis (1950:1.83-86) gives a detailed excursus on the word. Śrī is a technical term to denote the ruling family. Hulu means 'head of, chief of' (Zoetmulder). The two together connote the seniormost living member of the royalty, the Queen Mother, as its head, after the passing away of the father of the King. To this day a Rājamātā plays an important role in the affairs of her former 'Indian' state.

XII. INSCRIPTION OF KARĀṆṬĒṆAH OF ŚĀKA 746= A. D. 824

1913 Brandes, OJO. 5 (Śaka 769 = A. D. 847)

1913 Juynboll, OJO.233 (Śaka 710 = A. D. 788)

1930 Goris TBG.70.100 n.5 (Śaka 710 = A. D. 788)

1950 Casparis 1. 38-41, 105-07 (Śaka 746 = A. D. 824)

1952 Damais, BEFEO. 46.27 n.6 (Śaka 7(4) 6 = A. D. 824)

1971 Sarkar 1.64 - (follows Casparis)

Script : Agrees with the Barabudur script (Casparis 1950 :1:203).

The first stanza of *maṅgalācaraṇa* refers to *uttuṅga - śailastha- śūro*, who is the central deity of the Sumeru-like temple complex. In the *Niṣpanna-yogāvalī* all the *maṅḍalas* are on a *kūṭāgāra* atop the Sumeru mountain, as per the norm in Vajrayāna. The Śailendras followed Vajrayāna and hence the *śūra* or main deity must have been in a temple on a high hill or on an artificially created hillock, as of the Barabudur. The deity is seated in the *vajraparyāṅka* posture (*mahā-vajraparyāṅka-baddhaḥ*) Sarkar (1.73 n.15) has misunderstood: "The use of the word *vajrāsana*, leaves the stamp of Mahāyāna Buddhism, it states further that *vajrāsana* is *uttuṅga - śailastha* i.e., located on a lofty hill. The phrase 'lofty hill' is obviously a synonym for Śailendra. The *uttuṅga - śaila* i.e., Śailendra therefore supported the *vajrāsana*." The word *uttuṅga - śaila* is *not* a synonym of Śailendra.

The expression *atula* in the second stanza alludes to the tradition of *vaipulya* or more correctly *vaitulya* (from *vi-tula* 'incomparable'). The third quarter has *akhila-bhava-vyādhi-bhaiṣajyam agram*, 'prime medicine for all the ills of *samsāra*'. This compound has a bearing on the interpretation of *ghananātha* in st.11. The fourth line should read: *saddharmam yuktacittam* (not *yukti*) *praṇamati*. Sarkar translates: "the right thinking (*yukti*) people pay homage." The context indicates that the King "pays homage to the noble Dharma with a devoted (*yukta*) mind".

The third stanza speaks of "the world overwhelmed by endless suffering of hundreds of births", and his devotion (*bhakti*). The third quarter is uncertain and deserves to be re-read. Sarkar says the king "equal on earth to Yama

(in justice)", (*rājā tale daṇḍādharma-tula*). He is the source of the two *sambharas* (*jñāna-s.* and *puṇya-s*) that lead to Enlightenment and Nirvāṇa.

Sarkar translates the fourth stanza as: "By all the exalted Sugatas together with their sons... the queller of enemies... (bearing) young (love) for all troubled creatures, and supreme love for the doings of Buddha." It has to be corrected to : "All the glorious Sugatas, with their acolytes, who have vanquished their enemies...(broken) compassion towards grieved beings and steadfast faith in the ways of Buddhas." (*karuṇām atha duḥkhiteṣu sattveṣu, vuddha - cariteṣu garīyasīñ ca śraddhām*).

The fifth stanza in Sarkar is: "He rendered devotion.....surpassed the multitude of virtues, he obtained his greatness from the hiding rulers of men, (an ornament of the) Śailendra dynasty." The general tenor is that he surpassed the multitude (*gaṇa*) of highly (*agra*) virtuous people (*guṇavad*), and attained an eminence from the multitude of other advanced (*virūḍha*) kings. *virūḍha* 'hidden, concealed' can be changed to *virūḍha* 'ascended, matured, advanced'. *gaṇāt* (ablative) 'from the multitude', *mahiṣya* from *mahiṣa* 'great, powerful, buffalo', like *puṅgava* (*puṅ* 'man', *gava* 'bull') 'a hero, eminent person, chief,' *go-tama* (*go* 'cow' with the superlative suffix *tama*) or its derivative patronymic *gau-tama*.

The eighth stanza says that King Samaratuṅga, the great support (*ādhāro mahīyān*), had a very darling daughter who constructed a *jīnālaya* in this village. Sarkar (n.16) changes the name of the King to Samarottuṅga, for no reason. She was endowed with the qualities (*guṇa*) and virtues (*śīla*) of the King, yet not without feminine grace, compassionate, unattached (to worldly ways), was devoted to higher pursuits (st.9). She, known as Prāmodavardhanī steals loveliness from the moon, gait from the swan, voice from the *kalaviṅka* (st.10).

The 11th stanza is the most important in the entire inscription. It has been misunderstood and a lot of interpretation has been imagined on wrong premises. Sarkar translates : "In the Śaka year passing with the (six) savours, four seas and seven mountains (i.e., in the year 746), in the month of Jyeṣṭha (or Āṣāḍha), on the last day of the dark fortnight, on the day tuṅ lai, umanis, on Thursday, he installed in a temple, according to the Purāṇas, (the image of) the illustrious Ghananātha (the lord of clouds i.e., Indra) with other worthy of worship." The stanza is in pure *kāvya* style at its classical perfection with phrases like *aīndryām yāntyām*, *ārya-sahitam* and *prātiṣṭhipat*. *Aīndrī* is the name of the lunar mansion Jyeṣṭhā in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (MW). *Aīndryām yāntyām* means 'during the Jyeṣṭhā mansion'. *sā* (so Casparis) has to be read *sā*, that is Prāmodavardhanī. *śucau* is supplied and we should not base any interpretation on it. *Kāṣṭhā* with a verb expresses excellence or superiority, Pāṇini 8.1.67-68 (MW): so the best date (*tithi*) was chosen

for the consecration of the two statues. This date had to be specially auspicious, and needs to be verified for its astrological significance. The phrase *purāṇād gu (rau) - pte. pte* is *prāpte*. Instead of *purāṇād*, we expect the name of a place. For sanctity Gurus were invited from India, e.g. from Gauḍīdvīpa, or Gurjara. *gurau prāpte* 'when the Guru had arrived' from... in India.

Śrī Ghananātha has been equated with Indra. The word is not found in the dictionaries of MW, Edgerton, and Zoetmulder. It is not given as a synonym of Indra in the *Amarakośa*. Yet, Casparis (1950:139) suggests that Ghananātha = Indra, who is the Śailendra King Indra in the Kelurak inscription. According to him (p.204) Indra died around A. D. 812, and the present inscription refers to his deification. The reading of the Kelurak inscription where the word 'Indra' occurs is not certain, and Casparis himself has proposed *dharanindhareṇa* instead of *dharanindranāmnā*. Casparis, at times, leans heavily on dubious readings, emendations, or on synonymy. The compound *ārya-sahitam* has been rendered as 'and others worthy of worship' (Sarkar following Casparis 1.46). It holds the key to the meaning of this stanza in *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, the most elaborate metre in the inscription. It has a bearing on the intent and content of the inscription as a whole. *Ārya* here means 'father-in-law'. In Sanskrit dramas, a wife designates her husband as *ārya-putra* 'son of the noble / father-in-law'. Ghananātha refers to her lord (*nātha*) or husband who has gone to the clouds, skies or heaven. Departed persons are spoken of in the Copperplates of Mantyasih I as 'rushing through the *ākāśa-patha* or ways of the firmament' (*laṇḍapnyān pakaśapatha* in line 7, *laṇḍapan yān pakaśapatha* in line 9). The day of this inscription is the 11th date of the dark half of the *caitra* month, tuṅ lai, umanis, Saturday, the lunar mansion *pūrvabhādrapadā*, the deity *ajapada*, and conjunction of Indra (*caitra-māsa, tithi ekādaśī, kṛṣṇa-pakṣa, tu.u., śa.vāra, pūrvabhādrapadā nakṣatra, ajapada devatā, Indra yoga*). The Indra yoga in both the inscriptions calls for a study of its auspiciousness and ritual context. Princess Prāmodavardhanī had the portrait statues of her husband and his father consecrated by a Guru who had specially come from..., most probably from India. The sombre and solemn tone of the event is evident from an epithet of the main deity who is the prime panacea for all ills of *saiṅsāra* (*akhila-bhava-vyādhī-bhaiṣajyam agram*, st.2). He is supreme compassion (*kāruṇyam agram*) in this world afflicted by the infinite sufferings of hundreds of births (*jagati gati-śat-ānantaduḥkha-abhibhūte*, st.3). He bestows his compassion on afflicted beings (*karuṇām atha duḥkhiteṣu sattveṣu*, st. 4). The king was a great support (*ādharo mahiyān*, st. 8) for his dear daughter. The daughter was full of compassion (*karuṇātmikā*) and engaged in *bhakti* (st.9). The Princess was overwhelmed by the grief of the demise of her husband, became attached to Dharma, and sought solace by erecting a *stūpa*, a temple and a monastery as an entreaty to the Supreme Buddha for his grace and compassion. Even her father, King Samaratunga, who had vanquished

so many kings, had to console himself by being pure in mind, by discrimination, and by accepting the inevitable, inscrutable *samsāra* (*bhava-toṣa-vivikta-cittah*, st.7).

The Princess constructed (i) a *jinālaya stūpa*, (ii) a temple, and (iii) a monastery *in memoriam*. She had a *jinālaya* constructed in the village, perhaps where her husband was born. In Nepal, *jinālaya* is a special type of *stūpa*, with four Buddhas in the four directions, e.g. the Kvathu Bahal has the Śrī Dharmadhātu *jinālaya* caitya (illustrated in Hemaraj Sakya, *Caityaṅgā thahgu Ātmakathā*, 1993, p. 83, Pl. 24). The Jinas could also be in niches (*ālaya*, from which is derived the Hindi word *ālā* for niche). For a full-scale memorial temple, a Guru had been invited from India, and in the interval she had such a temple (*mandira*) built, and the portrait images were sanctified in it on the arrival of the Guru. Thereafter other structures were constructed with lofty spires towering into the skies, like the peaks of mountains, and hence veritable mountains (*bhūbhṛt*) themselves. The word *bhūbhṛt* means both king and mountain. Casparis and Sarkar take it as a king, but a king is not intended here. In the first stanza the central deity of the main temple is termed *uttuṅga-śailastha-śūro* 'the Hero on the high mountain'. The peripheral temples of the Candi Loro Joṅgraṅ are supposed to correspond to the *cakravāla* mountains, and the eight temples in the inner court to the eight pinnacles of the Mānasa mountain. This popular conception has been cited here to show that the spires of temples were considered cosmological mountains. A word about *vedim udeti*. The spires of the temple arise from an elevated platform or *vedi*. The square base, and accentuated niches can be seen all over Java e.g. in Candi Puntadeva on the Dieng Plateau (Kempers 1959 : Pl. 26,27). The Cambodian Phimean akas (= *ākāśa - vimāna*) built in the last quarter of the tenth century has a very high base, and a tower covered with gold once stood at its top. Such a splendid structure, towering like a mountain, a splendour to behold (*manojña*) was inhabited both by aged monks (*vṛddhaiḥ*) steeped in wisdom, as well as by young monks (*taruṇaiḥ*) of noble deeds (*sukṛtya* instead of *sakṛtya*). *Kṛtya* or Pali *kicca* means 'duty, obligation, service, ceremony, performance'. The young monks performed incumbent duties, services and rites. The Princess venerated her father-in-law by providing for the old monks and paid due deference to her husband by making arrangements for young monks to carry on the monastic duties.

The prose order of the 12th stanza is :

*rāhor bhīyā dharitryām sapadi sampatitam
tac ca indubimba-śakala - pratimam vibhāti/ atha tasy ānupūrvam
vṛddhais sukṛtya-taruṇair uṣitam manojñam
bhūbhṛt vedim udeti.*

The first half refers to the image to her late husband (Ghananātha) that

shines like the moon by its life-like resemblance to his handsome appearance. The temple arises on a raised base in regular succession like the mountain ranges, in all magnificence, and vibrant with life, both young and old, filling it with noble deeds.

The 13th stanza has been translated by Sarkar as : “With the merit that he acquired by building the temple of Jina which is given the name beautiful Veṇuvana (bamboo - forest), may he (the king) attain Sugatahood ten-fold (?)”. The sacred complex was named Veṇuvana, after the first *ārāma* bestowed on the Buddha by Bimbisāra. Buddha stayed here when he first visited Rājagṛha and it was during this stay that Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana joined the order. It was a very peaceful place. Various *sūtras* were preached here. The Princess must have given this name out of deep piety and glorious hopes. She says : whatever merit I have acquired by constructing this glorious temple of Jinas named Veṇuvana, thereby may the world (*jagat* for *daśad*) attain Sugatapada (Buddhahood) which is extremely difficult to obtain, supermost, and beyond perception. I have (*mayā*) provided (*yuktam*) for the monks (*Tatsuta* = Jinasuta) so that the world can attain (*labheya*) Buddhahood immediately. The construction of the *jinālaya caitya* and the temple for statues is *puṇya-sambhāra*. It can be complete only by the spread of knowledge through the academic activities of monks in a monastery. This is *jñāna - sambhāra*. Enlightenment is possible only by the two *sambhāras*. The Princess provided both and she explicitly states that she had arranged the monastery for Buddhist monks who could teach sentient beings so that they attain Buddhahood (*saugatam padam*) in the shortest time (*tūrṇam eva*). The Sanskrit portion ends with the *vihāra* being termed the aggregation of the virtues of the Sugata (*sugata - guṇa - gaṇah*).

Three important historical hypotheses have been derived from this inscription by Casparis:

Ghananātha = Indra (Casparis 1.139-140, Sarkar 1.74 n.19)

Samaratuṅga = Samarāgravīra (Casparis 1. 187, Sarkar 1.74 n.16)

Bālaputradeva is the ‘younger’ son of Samaratuṅga (Casparis 1.133, Sarkar 1.74 n.17)

As elucidated above, Ghananātha does not refer to Indra, and no conclusions can be drawn, Bhūbhṛt is not ‘king’, but mountain. The structure created by Casparis around Indra needs to be changed.

Sarkar says that King Samaratuṅga “has sometimes been identified with Samarāgravīra, the son of the king of Yavabhūmi referred to in the Nalanda charter” (1.74 n.16). In the Nalanda charter the Śailendra King of Java is named Vīra-vairi-mathana, whose son was Samarāgravīra who had a son named Bālaputradeva from queen Tārā, the daughter of Vannasetu (not Dharmasetu).

XII. NALANDA COPPERPLATE OF DEVAPĀLA, 39TH REGNAL YEAR

1923-24 Hirananda Sastri, The Nalanda Copperplate of Devapāladeva, EI. 17.310 - 26.

1925 Bosch, TBG. 65-509-88.

1942 Hirananda Sastri 1942:92-102.

The Nalanda Copperplate gives the following information about the kings of Java. The great king of Yavabhūmi, named Vīra-vairi-mathana was an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty. He had a valiant son, Samarāgravīra. The queen of Samarāgravīra was Tārā, the daughter of Śrī Varmasetu, a king of the Lunar Dynasty. Their son Śrī Bālaputra deva had a monastery constructed in Nalanda. The relevant portions of the original inscription are :

lines 37-38 *Suva (rṇṇa)-dvīp-ādhipa-ma(hā) rāja-śrī-vā (Bā) laputra-devena dūtaka-mukhena vayanṁ vijñāpitāḥ yathā mayā Śrī-Nālandāyāṁ vihāraḥ kāritas.*

line 52-53 *Śailendra-varṁśa-tilako Yava-bhūmipālaḥ Śrī-vīra-vairi-mathan-ānugat - ābhidhānaḥ*

line 55-56 *tasy-ābhavat... .. sūnur ... Samarāgravīraḥ.*

line 59 *rājñāḥ soma-kul-ānvayasya mahataḥ Śrī-Dharmasetoḥ sutā tasy-ābhūd avanibhujo' gramahiṣī, Tār - eva Tār-āhvayā*

lines 60-61 *tasyān tasya - Śrī-Vālaputro, bhavat.*

The word 'Suvarṇadvīpa' has been understood specifically as Sumatra and Bālaputra has been taken to be the king of Sumatra. In the *Kathā-sarīt-sāgara* the capital of Suvarṇadvīpa was Kalāśapura, which can be identified with Kalasan, as demonstrated earlier. Thus Suvarṇadvīpa would be Java in this inscription. Alberuni (c.A.D. 1030) says that "the eastern islands in this ocean are the islands of Zābaj called by the Hindus Suvarṇadvīpa..." (Sachau 1.210, 2.106). Wolters (1967:63) opines that after Vespasian cut off supplies of Roman bullion to India, a search for gold became an important motive for the Indian explorations in Southeast Asia. Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa are general expressions for wealthy regions.

The date of the Nalanda inscription is the 39th regnal year of Devapāla. The years of his reign have been computed by different scholars as follows:

	regnal years	39th year
R.C. Majumdar	810-849	849
D.C. Bhattacharyya	800-839	839
R.D. Banerji	809-849	848
A.M. Chowdhury	821-861	860

B.P. Sinha	820-860	859
D.C.Sircar	812-850	851

(Susan L. Huntington, *The Pala-Sena Schools of Sculpture*, Leiden 1984: 32-38, also see Casparis 1956:2.297).

Brandes (OJO.IV) read Samarottuṅga and this is impossible paleographically (Damais 1952:27). So the name in earlier works has to be corrected to 'Samaratuṅga,' read by Casparis and confirmed by Damais from its estampage 113 at Jakarta and its photograph at Leiden. Krom has identified Samarāgravīra with Samaratuṅga of the Karāntěnah Inscription and Casparis (1950:1:110) says that Bālaputra was reigning in Sumatra. Sarkar (1971:1.74 n.17) points out : "De Casparis has postulated (*op.cit.*, p.133) that Samarottuṅga had one daughter called Prāmodavarddhani, as stated in the present record, and one son called Bālaputradeva, who has been mentioned in the Nalanda charter. This, of course, depends upon the identity of Samarottuṅga with Samarāgravīra. In case they are identical, Prāmodavarddhani would appear to be the eldest issue of the king and Bālaputradeva (the Hon. young prince), her younger brother, possibly through a junior queen." Bālaputra 'young prince' does not mean 'the younger brother of...'. The idea expressed by *bāla* is a handsome, young person, e.g. in the name of Kanīṣka (the youngest), or Nana Phadnavis (*nānā* = Hindi *nanhā* 'the small one'), a term of tender endearment. *Putra* means a 'prince', and to it we can compare the very common Balinese name Oka 'child'. The name Bālaputra has nothing to do with his being the second or youngest child of his parents.

It has been taken for granted, and beyond doubt, that Bālaputra was the king in Sumatra. Casparis, who has built up an elaborate concatenation of historic events on this basis, confesses that "one important detail is left unexplained, viz. the problem why and how a son of the Javanese Śailendra king Samaratuṅga could become a king in Sumatra; we know, however, that this happened." (2.258). This interpretation is due to the equation Suvarṇadvīpa = Sumatra. How did Bālaputra go to Sumatra ? The seventh stanza of the OJ. metrical inscription of 856 mentions Bālaputra at the end. Casparis 2.293 connects stray elements, arisen out of doubtful readings, into a connected narrative:

7a : He was a Śaiva in contrast to the queen, the spouse of the hero;

7b : exactly a year was the time of the ...;

7c : stones (heaped up) by hundreds ... (place of) refuge;

7d: killing as fast as (?) the wind (he attacked) Bālaputra.

Casparis projects the dubious as historic events : "By combining the above interpretations it may be concluded that Bālaputra, presumably after a defeat in the open country, retired to a place (this seems to be implied

in *ungsyan*) which could be transformed into a stronghold by means of defence works built up with hundreds of stones. However, before having succeeded in establishing an almost unconquerable position he was attacked and defeated by Kumbhayoni, who was as swift as the wind and wiped him off from there. Presumably, Bālaputra was not killed in battle, but being chased from his strong positions he managed to escape to Sumatra, where he became a king of Śrīvijaya in a manner still completely unknown.”

The translation of the first quarter of the stanza needs to be emended to: He was Maheśvara and the consort (*patnī*) of this hero (*śūra*) was Īśvarī. The royal couple were the veritable divine couple of Umā-Maheśvara. *Vatunn* has been translated as *vatu* ‘stone, rock’ by Casparis. *Vatun* means ‘to weed out’. The reading *ungsyan* “is not beyond doubt” in the words of Casparis himself (2.312 n.7). The word *ungsyan* meaning ‘(place of) refuge’ is crucial to the hypothesis that Bālaputra had retired to a place that could become a stronghold of defence. The word *ungsyan* itself is uncertain, a weakhold, how can we make it a stronghold of an argument. We cannot rule out the possibility that both the King and Queen, supervised for a long year, hundreds of persons who weeded out or cleared the site on the mountain for a Śiva temple, which was an extensive complex sprawling over a vast area.

The fourth quarter is again not apparent. *Avali mvañ* ‘(on a) level with, as fast as’. *Avali*= *avaluy* is ‘to come back, return’ (Zoetmulder). A tentative interpretation can be: finally (*hanta* = *anta*) they returned with Bālaputra. The mother of Bālaputra was the daughter of Varmasetu of the great Lunar Dynasty (*soma-kul-ānvayasya mahataḥ*), like Tārā and her name too was Tārā. The Nalanda inscription compares Bālaputra to Skanda, the son of Śiva and Umā (*Skando... Śambhor Umāyāmiva*). There are other Śaiva comparisons too in the Nalanda inscription which point to reverent respect for Lord Śiva in the mind of Bālaputra. The thesis of Casparis posits a conflict between the Śivaite and Buddhists which is not borne out, and on the contrary confuted and refuted by the Nalanda Charter. Even the Śaiva inscriptions of the Ratubaka plateau and the OJ metrical inscription dated A. D. 856 (nos.X and XI is Casparis 2) seem to indicate amicable relations between Kumbhayoni and Bālaputra. The third Sanskrit inscription from Ratubaka regarding the setting up of a Haraliṅga by Kalaśodbhava, that is Kumbhayoni Rakai Valaiñ, clearly says that the King was born in the Lunar Dynasty (*himakāntiḥ... tadanvayāt prasūto’yam vara - śāstra-kalānviṭaḥ rarāja manuḥ-śreṣṭhaḥ kalaśodbhava sarñjñītaḥ*, Casparis 2.277). The mother of Bālaputra should have come from *this* Lunar Dynasty and hence cordial ties between the two royal houses. The Ratubaka plateau was the counterpart of Śrīśailam in India which was a major centre of Mahāyāna as well as had Mallikārjuna Jyotir-liṅga, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas of the Śaivas. The setting up of a Śivaliṅga at

a Śaiva sanctuary, alongside the sprawling Abhayagiri-vihāra at Ratubaka, was in tune with the Javanese spirit of syncretism as well as in keeping with the traditions of Śrīśailam, whence the Śailendras should have originated. Śrīparvata, a centre of Buddhist learning, is today the Buddhist site of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa with ruins of *stūpas* and monasteries. The Sātavāhana King had a monastery constructed on Śrīparvata for Nāgārjuna in the first century. After the Sātavāhanas, the Ikṣvāku kings changed the capital from Amaravati to Nāgārjunakoṇḍa under the name Vijayapura (or purī). It is described in the chapter on pilgrimage in the Vanaparva 85.11 of the *Mahābhārata*. The Epic says that those who go to Śrīparvata and offer worship to Śaṅkara get the same reward as from an *aśvamedha* sacrifice. In keeping with the Epic tradition, King Kumbhaja/Kumbhayoni, the Victor of Valaiṅga, paid obeisance to Lord Śaṅkara by the consecration of a Liṅga.

Tārā, the mother of Bālaputra and his father Samarāgravīra are compared to divine couples: Paulomī and Surādhipa (=Indra), Prīti and Saṅkalpayoni (=Kāmadeva), Śailasutā (=Pārvatī) and Manmatharipu (= Śiva), Lakṣmī and Murāri (= Viṣṇu). King Bālaputra himself is likened to:

Kānadevavijayī (=Buddha), the son of Śuddhodana Skanda, the son of Śambhu from Umā.

The comparison of his parents with Śailasutā (=Pārvatī) and Śiva, and of himself as their son Skanda is a clear indication of the explicit reverence of King Bālaputra towards Śaivism, and that too from his own inscription.

The family of the mother of Bālaputra is called Somakulānvaya in the Nalanda inscription. The Sanskrit Inscription from Ratubaka Xc says that Kumbhayoni was born in the Lunar Dynasty (*himakāntiḥ tadanvayāt prasūtaḥ*). So the two major dynasties in Java were the Śailendra- varṇsa and Soma-kula. It would be better to replace the word 'Sañjaya-varṇsa' by 'Soma-kula.' King Kumbhayoni of the Soma-kula emphasises the divine origin of his dynasty, which originated from the Moon that has descended from immaculate sky.

The stabilisation of the power of Soma-kula was ensured by homage to the lotus-feet of Lord Hara (= Śiva), which radiate royal splendour. As pointed out by Casparis there is no term on which the accusatives depend. The *namaḥ* of the first stanza has been imagined to fill the lacuna.

The second stanza reads :

*Daśavadana - Bāṇa - Pārtha-pramukha-madhukara-ātul - abhinandakarīm
Hara -pada-paṅkaja-rajah - kaṇik-āvodan - mahallakṣmīm//*

Casparis (1956:2.278) has translated it as : “ (Pay homage to) the Great Lakṣmī, who gives unequalled pleasure to (the heroes) with the ten-headed (Rāvaṇa), Bāṇa and Arjuna, (adoring her lotus-feet like) honey-making (bees),

at their head, and from whose body the granules of pollen of the lotus-feet of Hara trickle down like drops of water (do from the body of those who have just taken a bath)."

It would be better to translate it as follows :

“(Glory) to the great (*mahā*) resplendence (*lakṣmī*) that is radiated (*avodan*) by the dust (pollen) of the lotus - feet of Hara (= Śiva), that has given unequalled joy to Daśavadana (=Rāvaṇa), Bāṇa, Pārtha (= Arjuna) and others (*pramukha-ādi*) who like bees resort to the lotus - feet of her Lord.” As the bees (*madhukara*) resort to lotus-feet of the Lord. “As the bees (*madhukara*) resort to the lotus trickling (*avodan*) with honey (*madhu*) , so have the prominent heroes of the past resorted to the feet of Lord Śiva to seek ever-increasing royal splendour.” The translation “Great Lakṣmī” by Casparis is not possible as Lakṣmī, the goddess is never associated with Śiva. Here it refers only to royal style and splendour, to the good fortune and glory of a sovereign (*rājyalakṣmī* in Sanskrit), which is sustained by devotion. In the inscription, the divine origin of the Lunar dynasty is from the Moon that rests in the matted locks of Śiva, and the stabilisation of power is assured by constant devotion to his lotus-feet. Both the regimens of power, its *utpatti* and *sthiti*, are the grace of Lord Śiva. In popular Indian parlance, it is a *nakha-śikha* approach, from top to toe, that is the whole being of Lord Śiva hallows the fortunes of the King. The moon on his topknot and his radiance of his toe-nails bestow their grace of the King, as he bows in reverence and his hair black like the bees touch the lotus-feet of the Lord.

Royal dignity has been expressed by the following words in the three inscriptions:

Xa. *atha Kṛttivāsaso vara-caraṇāṅgulis sadā....maṇi-kānti-śobhinīṅ purārcitāṅ śriyaṅ vo dadātu.*

Xb. *tryambakasya caraṇa-yuga-vidheya-śrīmatīṅ śūra-lakṣmīm āśrayadhvam.*

Xc. *Hara-pada-pankaja-rajah-kaṇik-āvodan mahālakṣmīm.*

Casparis has translated *śriyam* ‘prosperity (or: the royal dignity)’ in Xa, *śūra - lakṣmī*, ‘Heroic Lakṣmī’ in Xb, and *mahā-lakṣmī* ‘Great Lakṣmī’ in Xc. He has taken Lakṣmī as the Goddess, who is the consort of Viṣṇu. In all the three inscriptions it is royal power, prosperity and dignity. This changes the translations of the inscriptions (which we shall take up later.) For instance:

*vikaca-kamala-bhāsvat-tantra-mālā-sarūpām
yama-yata-yati-andr-aśvarya-mūrti-iṣṭa-dātṛīm/*

carana-yuga-nidheya-srīmatīḥ śura-lakṣmīḥ
tribhuvana-hita-dātuḥ Tryambakasy āśrayadhvam //2//

Casparis (2.275) translates it:

“Taketh thou refuge with the Heroic Lakṣmī, whose beauty is equal to the garlands of (?) brilliant with fully open red lotuses, who grants the wishes of him whose appearance is (marked) by the domination of the moon of the ascetics subdued by Yama, and who bears Majesty necessarily hidden in the juncture of her legs, - (the Heroic Lakṣmī) of the Three - Eyed (Śiva), who grants welfare to the three worlds.”

It should be translated :

“Take refuge in the splendour (*lakṣmī*) of the valiant (*śūra*), which is radiant like the pencil (*mālā*) of rays (*arṇśu* for *tantra*) shining forth from blossomed lotuses (i.e., lotus -feet of Śiva), which are the givers of all wishes embodied as sovereignty emerging from the Moon (on the head of) the Yati (ascetic yogin of Śiva) who is self-controlled (*yata*) by *yamas* (and *niyamas* of *yoga*) and full of majesty stemming from the pair of feet of Tryambaka (= Śiva) who grants welfare to the three worlds.” Royal power and splendour emanates from the radiance of the feet of Śiva, which have to be and are invoked by the King. The interpretations of Casparis have to be reviewed in the tradition of Sanskrit *kāvya*s, of which they are an integral part. The translation of *carana-yuga-vidheya-srīmatīḥ* (not *nidheya*) as ‘hidden in the juncture of her legs’ was uncertain to Casparis (p.275 n.137). Later he conjectures in note 140 “probably an Umā-Maheśvara-mūrti of the *ālīngana* type”. It simply means that the glory can be obtained by appropriate devotion (*vidheya* cf. *vidhi*) to the pair of feet of Lord Śiva. We have undertaken this rather long detour to show that the readings of the inscriptions, their translations and interpretation need re-consideration.

An important step in the endeavour to ensure stabilisation of the state, was the construction of a vast complex of Śivālaya in the holy mountain of Ratubaka. As already shown above, the co-operation of Bālaputra was forthcoming and the model was Śrīparvata hallowed by both Buddhist and Śaiva structures. A conflict situation is not warranted by epigraphical evidence.

XIII. THE SOMA-KULA

The Śailendra-varṇśa and the Soma-kula were contemporary dynasties, with matrimonial alliances. The Śailendras co-operated with them in the construction of Śaiva foundations. The Soma-kula commences with Sannā or Sannāha, the father of Sañjaya. *Sannāha* means ‘armour mail, a coat of mail’ and it is like the name *Varman* which has the same meaning. The final *ha* of Sannāha has coalesced in pronunciation and the name has also been spelt *Sannā*.

Śrī mahārāja Rakai Panañkaran is enumerated among eight deceased kings in the Copperplates of Mantyasih I (Kedu) of King Balituh, dated Śaka 829 = A. D. 907. The inscription reads :

rahyañta rumuhun. ri mḍañ. ri poh pitu.

1.		rakai	matarām sañ ratu Sañjaya	(732)
2.	Śrī mahārāja	"	Panañkaran	(ca. 750)
3.	" "	"	Panuñgalan	(ca.770)
4.	" "	"	Varak	(ca.790)
5.	" "	"	Garuh	(829 or 839)
6.	" "	"	Pikatan or Kumbhayoni	(842-856, Casparis 1956: 2.289 -90)
7.	" "	"	Kayuvani or Lokapāla	(856-882, Casparis 1956:2.288)
8.	" "	"	Vatu -humalañ	(886)
9.	" "	"	Vatu-kura dyāh	(907)
			Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu	

The first eight kings were deified and may have been intended to act as the powerful Eight Dikpālas, who are gods like Indra, Īšana, Varuṇa, etc. They were *rahyañta* 'deified ancestors' (Zoetmulder) for protection of the crucial places (OJO 48/943 vo. 25: *manrakṣa kaḍatvan rahyañta i Mḍañ*).

Certain royal personages have tripartite names, e.g. Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Watukura Dyāh Balituh Śrī Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu. The Rakai part can refer to the assignment of a territory to the child prince, as e.g. the Duke Battenburg was assigned a regal title as Lord Mountbatten of Burma. Dyāh can be the name given to the Crown Prince or *Yuvarāja* on his attaining eligibility. *Yuva* means 'young' and *dyāh* also means 'young man or woman of gentle birth' (Zoetmulder). On coronation he became Śrī Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu. Compare the Cambodian ceremonies of coronation and rites preliminary thereto.

Naerssen (1947: 251) in his paper 'The Śailendra Interregnum' says that 'the princes of Sañjaya's dynasty had little authority at the time'. He goes on : "There was no question of one mighty central Javanese kingdom, unless it were under the hegemony of the Śailendras. As appears from the charters several autonomous heads of the district must have ruled then by the side of "princes" of Sañjaya's dynasty, whose authority was completely thrown into the shade by the Śailendra princes. The waning of the Śailendra authority in Central Java was attended with a greater activity of the Sañjaya dynasty" (p.252).

Naerssen has established that with Sañjaya a dynasty had emerged, and he himself had founded a Śiva-liṅga in Śaka 654=A.D. 732 (Cañgal Stone

Ins.) and his father was Sannā or Sannāha. The Panāṅkaran of the Mantyasih Copperplates cannot be identical with the Rakai Panāṅkaraṇa of the Kalasan Stone Inscription. The first Panāṅkaran would have been active around A. D. 750, while the second is dated in 778. There is a gap of one generation. Three charters of Pikatan are known and in one of them he calls himself *ratu*. Rakai Kayuvaṇi or Lokapāla has the epithet of Mahārāja, and he initiated agrarian measures to bring prosperity. Lokapāla does not refer to the four guardians of the cardinal directions, but it is identical with the commonly used proper name Narendra. Only one charter has come down to us from the reign of Vatuhumalaṅ, dated A. D. 886, where he is called *haji* 'Lord'.

The following situations emerge from the aforesaid facts:

(i) There was a dynasty which went back to Sañjaya, and whose great king was Balituṅ. Whether Balituṅ came from East Java or shifted there remains a question.

(ii) Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Panāṅkaran of the Mantyasih Copperplates is earlier than the one of the Kalasan Inscription, and the two are different persons. The successors and / or descendants of Sañjaya were a dynasty in their own right, separate from the Śailendras.

(iii) In Java, there were a number of states and no single dynasty whose writ ran all over Central Java. The possibility of the whole of Java being under a single authority has to be ruled out due to the lack of efficient communications in ancient times, which are a must for effective control. The ground realities are reflected in "charters from other men in power, nay from other 'princes' during his (of King Vatuhumalaṅ) time" (Naerssen 1947: 252).

(iv) The assumption of Vogel (1919:634) that "We have got to do here with a Javanese potentate who politically was dependent upon the ruler of Śrīvijaya" has bedevilled Javanese history. Though cautious, Naerssen states: "From this it appears firstly that for the Javanese the Śailendra dynasty was a foreign one, whereas Sañjaya's was the legitimate one, and secondly that the latter has continued to live on, also during the Śailendra interregnum, be it entirely in the background." The idea of foreign sovereignty and the presence of national rulers stems from the political realities of the time when Vogel wrote, that is A. D. 1919. The unconscious of Dutch rule cast its shadows and Sumatran suzerainty over Javanese rulers was surmised. The Śailendras were assigned to Sumatra and the successors of Sañjaya to Java. This naturally provoked Pocerbatjaraka, but in the state of knowledge at his time it was not possible to present a clear and coherent picture. The political conditions existing in Indonesia in 1956 when Casparis wrote the second volume of his *Prasasti Indonesia* with the help and facilities provided by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Indonesia, the Śailendras had

to retreat to Sumatrá after heavy fighting and defeat, like the armed struggle of Indonesia against foreign rule.

(v) There was no "Śailendra period" in Java, and Naerssen (p.249) is right in prefacing it with the adjective "so-called". Besides the Śailendras, was the dynasty beginning with Sañjaya, and other kingdoms too may have flourished.

(vi) Rakai Pikatan has been equated with Kumbhayoni, who belonged to the Lunar Dynasty. The mother of the Śailendra King Bālaputra, Tārā by name, was from the Soma-kulānvaya (Nalanda Ins.). The Soma-kula and Śailendra-varṃśa had matrimonial ties, and they co-operated in their religious foundations.

(vii) Sacred foundations were constructed in holy places even in the territory of another king. Installation of a Liṅga or the building of a *vihāra* did not *ipso facto* imply that the place of its location belonged to the donor. For example, kings of several Indian states built temples at the holy city of Mathura, without any claim to territorial rights. Like the Ganga-Yamuna Doab, the Kedu plain was bounded by the rivers Opak and Praga, and the second river Praga was joined by the River Serayu. The situation is similar to Prayaga (mod. Allahabad) which is the confluence of Ganga, Yamuna and the now lost Sarasvati. Regions between two rivers, the mesopotamian areas, were important cultural centres in ancient times.

XIV. BHŪJAYOTTUṄGADEVA

Early or middle of the ninth century

Bhūjay - ottuṅgadeva

Casparis 1956 :2. 175-206

The Candi Plaosan Inscription in Pre-Nāgarī mentions a royal name Bhūjay-ottuṅgadeva. He may be a Śailendra king as their *abhiṣeka* names have the element *tuṅga* or *ultuṅga* (Casparis 2.180 n.25). This name is not known from any other source. Casparis, who has read this inscription, writes "the transcribed portion of this line seems sufficiently certain" (2.192n.69). The Buddha temple (*jinamandira*) constructed by him was regularly worshipped by persons from the Gurjara country (st.14):

satata-gurjara-deśa-samāgatais
sugata-bhakti-bhāra-praṇatais~/

(line broken)

~/- *tkriyate jinamandiram* //

The approximate date of the inscription is "the first half or the middle

of the ninth century A. D." (2.189).

XV. MĀRAVIJAYOTTUṄGAVARMAN (c.A.D. 1008)

In 1003 King Śrī-Cūḍāmaṇi-varma-deva sent two envoys to China and informed the Emperor that a Buddhist sanctuary had been erected to pray for his long life.

In 1008 Śrī - Māravijaya sent three envoys to the Sung Emperor of China with tribute (Majumdar 1936:1.169).

The Great Leiden Charter issued by Cola king Rajendra I (1014-44) describes the King of Śrīviṣaya, whose sovereignty extended as far as Kaṭāha, as a descendant of the Śailendra dynasty (EI.22.229, 282). The King is referred to as:

- (1) *Śailendra-varṅśa-sambhūtena Śrīviṣay-ādhipatinā Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam ātanvatā...* (Sanskrit portion, lines 80-81).
- (2-3) *Kaṭāh - ādhipati* (*ibid.*, lines 90,100).
- (4) *Kiḍāratt - araiyaṅ* (Tamil portion, line 6).
- (5-6) *Kaḍāratt-araiyaṅ* (*ibid.*, lines 13,200).

The Śailendra King of Śrīviṣaya had extended his kingdom as far as Kaṭāha (var. Kaḍāra, Kiḍāra) or Kedah in Malaysia.

The Sanskrit inscription reads : *Śailendra-varṅśa-sambhūtena Śrīviṣay-ādhipatinā Kaṭāh - ādhipatyam ātanvatā... Cūḷāmaṇivarmanmaṇaḥ putreṇa śrī - Māravijayottuṅgavarmmaṇā sva-pitur nnāmnā nirmmāpitam adharīkṛita - Kanakagiri - samunnati - vibhavam atiramaṇīyan Cūḷāmaṇivarmanma-vihāram adhivasate Buddhāya* "Rājarāja gave, in the twenty - first year of his universal sovereignty, to the Buddha residing in the surpassingly beautiful Cūḷāmaṇivarman - vihāra, of (*such*) high loftiness (*as had*) belittled the Kanakagiri (i.e., Meru), which had been built in the name of his father, by the glorious Māravijayottuṅgavarmman, who, by the greatness of his wisdom, had conquered the teacher of the gods, who was the sun to the lotus-forest, viz. the learned men, who was the Kalpa-tree to supplicants, who was born in the Śailendra family, who was the lord of the Śrīviṣaya (country), who was conducting the rule of Kaṭāha, (and) who was the son of Cūḷāmaṇivarman that had mastered all statecraft at Nāgapattiṅam, delightful (on account of) many a temple, rest-house, watershed, and pleasure garden and brilliant with arrays of various kinds of mansions, (situated) in the division called Paṭṭanakūrā (included) in the big group of districts named Kṣhatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, which was the forehead-mark of the whole earth." (EI. 22.257).

The construction of the *vihāra* at Nāgapattiṅam was started by Cūḍāmaṇivarman (as we know from the Tamil) and completed by his son

Māravijayottuṅgavarman in the twenty-first regnal year of Rajendra Cola. The Śailendras had been a naval power and their fleet had raided the coast of Annam as far as Tonkin. The Yang Tikuh inscription of Indravarman I of Campa, dated Śaka 721= A.D. 799 refers to naval raids by forces coming in ships from Java. The destruction of the Śaiva sanctuary by the Javanese navy, indicates that they should be the Buddhist Śailendras. The adventure and might of the Javanese navy is clear. The names of Śailendra kings, like Vira-vairi-mathana, Samaratuṅga, Samarāgravīra bespeak of their perceptions of power and daring. It is only in the eleventh century that the Śailendras extended their dominion as far as Kedah, though paleographic evidence points to the Śailendras being restricted to the Kedu plains. Did they annex Śrīvijaya? The identity of the two names Śrīviṣaya and Śrīvijaya cannot be taken for granted, as Māravijayootuṅgavarman is called Śrīviṣay-ādhipati 'ruler of Śrīviṣaya' only once, and in five other cases he is simply referred to as king of Kaṭāha. Śrīviṣaya can refer to "The Prosperous (Śrī) kingdom (viṣaya)" of the Śailendras. The Ratnaparīkṣā of Buddhadatta speaks of their capital as a market for precious jewels. A Sanskrit scholar of the learning of the writer of the Charter could not confuse the words *viṣaya* and *vijaya*.

XVI. CONCLUSION

1. Suvarṇadvīpa is a general term and denotes several places in SE Asia. It refers to affluent golden lands and not a Gold-land of gold-rush.
2. Śrīvijaya and Śailendras are separate political entities.
3. Śrīvijaya is Sumatra, and its rulers migrated from Vijayapurī, earlier than the Śailendras. They followed the Mūla-sarvāstivāda form of Buddhism.
4. Śailendras ruled in Central Java and migrated from Śrīśailam around the middle of the sixth century. They were adherents of Vajrayāna, whose centre was Śrīśailam, also known as Śrīparvata and Vajraparvata.
5. Java of the Śailendras is referred to as Ho-ling by the Chinese.
6. Śailendras dominated the economy of Java by their advantageous geographical position of access to China and to India. Other Javanese kingdoms, like that of Mataram, could not compete with them. They had a regular merchant marine, so much so that Chinese pilgrims travelled in the reverse direction, from Sumatra to Java, to board ships to India. Śailendra vessels must have had regular schedules of sailing to India.
7. The mercantile marine gave the Śailendras a powerful navy recorded in the inscriptions of Campa.
8. The Śailendras were at the height of prosperity, which enabled them

to construct great monuments like the Sevu, Barabudur, Mendut, etc. They also patronised the rise of a national literature, e.g. the OJ. version of the Amaramālā as a repertoire of vocabulary for poets.

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CHRONOLOGICAL FOOTHOLDS OF THE ŚAILENDRAS**A. D.**

606-47	Kalaśapura in Harṣa's hymn
640,648,660	Missions from Ho-ling to China
664	Hui-ning worked with Jñanabhadra
674	Mission from Ho-ling to China
752	Bhānu
767	Invasion of Champa by Ho-ling, Chinese annals (Maj.1.157)
784	Ins. of King Satyavarman (Maj. .1.158)
787	Ins. of Indravarman I (Maj.1.158)

- 768, 769,770 Missions from Ho-ling to China
- 775-82 Viṣṇu (Dharmatuṅga), Ligor Ins. (Maj.1.149)
- 778 Paṇaṅkaraṇa, Kalasan Ins. (Maj.1.150)
- 782 Indra (?), Kelurak Ins. (Saṅgrāma - dhanañjaya) (Maj.1.151)
Died c. 812
- 792 Śaka 714 Dharmatuṅgadeva, Ratubaka Ins. (Casparis
1950:1.101, Artibus Asiae 1961: 24. 241 - 48)
- 802 - 69 Jayavarman of Cambodia (Maj. 157) Śrī-Vīra-vairi-mathana
(grandfather of Bālaputradeva in the Nalanda Ins.)
- 813, 815, 818 Three missions of Ho-ling to China
824 Samaratuṅga and his daughter Prāmodavardhanī (Kayumwuhan
Ins., Maj.1.60)
Samarāgra -vīra +Tārā, daughter of Varmasetu (parents of
Bālaputra)
- 860 Bālaputradeva, Nalanda Ins. (Maj.1.152)
- 851 Sulaymān, revised by Hasan in ca. 916 (Maj.1.156,160)
- 903 Ibn Rostah (Maj.1.161)
- 907 Ishak bin Imrān (Maj.1.161)
- 935 King Siṅḍok founded the Jayamerta monastery at Afjuk
(Fontein 1990:231)
- ca.950 Ibn Scrapion (Maj.1.161)
- ca. 1030 Alberuni (Java is Suvarṇadvīpa) (Maj.1.164)
- 1003 Śrī-Cūḍāmaṇivarman sent two envoys to China
- 1005 Māravijayottuṅgavarman constructed a monastery at
Nāgapaṭṭiṇam
- 1008 Māravijayottuṅgavarman sent three embassies to China.

CONCEPT OF THE GODDESS ŚAKTI EXPOUNDED IN THE LALITOPĀKHYĀNA

JAYA CHIEMBURKAR

* 1. Śāktism describes the Goddess Śakti as the Supreme Goddess, the Mother of the Universe, the *Mūla-Prakṛti*, all-pervading Śakti or Power. Even the gods are described to rush to Her as their saviour. Treatises dealing with Goddess Śakti bring out various manifestations of the Goddess Śakti.

* 2. The *Lalitopākhyāna* in the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāna* (Br. P.) narrates how the Goddess Lalitā accompanied by other Śakti goddesses who were Her various manifestations, fought with the demon Bhaṇḍa, the enemy of the gods, and killed him. The *Lalitopākhyāna* is narrated to the sage Agastya by Hayagrīva, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. In course of his narration, Hayagrīva described a number of manifestations of the Śakti Goddess Lalitā. These manifestaions of the Goddess formed Her army, when She fought with the demon Bhaṇḍa.

* 3. This paper proposes to elucidate the concept of Śakti, expounded in the *Lalitopākhyāna* in the light of these manifestations.

* 4. The myth about Bhaṇḍa describes how in the course of Her fight with the demon, a number of goddesses who were Her emanations, manifested from Her. They are....

* 5. **An Army - A Manifestation of the Goddess Śakti :** When Lalitā started marching against the demon, from Her goad is said to have emerged the goddess Sampatkarī.¹ This goddess has been described as being attended upon by many crores of elephants, horses, chariots² and infantry. From this description of the goddess Sampatkarī, it appears that the army consisting of four limbs, viz., elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry, has been metaphorically represented as the goddess Sampatkarī. Thus an army here is looked upon as a manifestation of the Śakti Goddess Lalitā. The word 'Sampat' in the name Sampatkarī means property or resources, and an army forms a part of the resources of a state. Besides an army is one of the constituents of the power of a state. Therefore, an army here has been looked upon as a manifestation of the Goddess Lalitā.

* 6. **Cavalry - A Manifestation of the Goddess Śakti :** Another goddess is said to have emerged from the noose of the Goddess Lalitā. She is described

as marching with great speed and mounted on a horse, and accompanied by an army of horses.³ This goddess appears to be a symbol of cavalry, which forms a part of the power of a state. Thus, cavalry is here a manifestation of the Goddess Lalitā.

* 7. **Commander of the Army - A Manifestation of the Goddess Śakti:** The Goddess Śrīdaṇḍanāthā is another manifestation of the Goddess Śakti.⁴ The word '*daṇḍa*' means an army and *Daṇḍanāthā* represents a female commander of Lalita's army, i. e., the commander of the army is described here as a manifestation of the Goddess Śakti.

* 8. **Navy - A Manifestation of the Goddess Śakti :** '*Potram*' means a ship. Here a ship symbolises navy and the goddess Potriṇī appears to be a personification of navy.⁵ Navy forms an important constituent of the power of a '*vijigīṣu*': hence in the form of the goddess Potriṇī has been described a manifestation of the Goddess Lalitā. The gods were afraid that the goddess Potriṇī might burn the universe with her anger or she might divide the earth into two by the strokes of a pestle,⁶ or she might perturb the oceans with the strokes of a plough.⁷

* 9. **Different Details of War - Personified:** The Goddess Lalitā is praised by many names. They are (1) Saṅketā, (2) Samayeśvarī, (3) Samayasanketā, (4) Vārāhī, (5) Vārtālī, (6) Mahāsenā, (7) Ājñā, (8) Cakreśvarī, (9) Arighnī, etc.⁸ The meanings of these names indicate that these names refer to many goddesses who are personifications of different details pertaining to war, e.g. '*Saṅketa*' means a convention, and the goddess 'Saṅketā' can be a personification of the convention to be followed in a war. '*Samaya*' means an agreement and the goddess 'Samayeśvarī'⁶ is the goddess who has power to enter into an agreement with the enemy. The goddess 'Samayasanketā' appears to be a personification of a convention to be observed while entering into an agreement. *Vārāhī* means '*buddhi*' or intellect or talent, skill in diplomacy or a strategy, etc. and the goddess 'Vārāhī' can be said to be a personified form of skill, or talent, wisdom, etc. in diplomacy. Goddess 'Vārtālī' is a news-bearer or a messenger. Goddess 'Mahāsenā' symbolises a huge army. Goddess 'Ājñā' is obviously a personification of the commands or orders issued in a war. Goddess 'Cakreśvarī' can be said to be a personification of a military array. 'Arighnī' is a destroyer of the enemy. It will be seen here that the epithets of these goddesses refer to various activities in a war. All of them can be said to have power to bring about the victory of a '*vijigīṣu*', and hence probably they have been looked upon as forms of the Goddess Śakti.

* 10. **Act of Consultations - A Form of the Goddess:** The goddess 'Mantranāthā' or 'Mantranāyikā' is obviously a goddess who can be said to be a personification of the act of consultations, discussion about war.⁹ The

other epithets of the goddess Mantranāthā are Mantrinī, Saciveśī, *Pradhāneśī*¹⁰. These epithets corroborate that she is a goddess who is a personification of the act of deliberations or consultations on war, i.e., an act of consultation is looked upon as a form of Śakti.

* 11. **Siddhis (supernatural powers) - Manifestations of the Goddess Śakti** : Ten 'Siddhi' goddesses (Siddhidevyaḥ) have been mentioned.¹¹ They are 'Aṇimā,' (supernatural power of becoming as small as an atom), 'Mahimā' (power of increasing size at will), 'Laghimā' (power of assuming excessive lightness at will), 'Garimā' (power of becoming heavy at will), 'Īsitā' (superiority), 'Vaśitā' (power of subduing others to one's own will), 'Prāptiḥ' (power of obtaining anything at will), 'Prākānyā' (freedom at will), 'Mukti' (liberation), 'Sarvakāmā' (power of fulfilling everything or power of performing everything).¹²

* 12. '*Siddhis*' are the well-known supernatural powers obtained by the 'Siddhas' or 'Yogis'. These supernatural powers have been personified here and described as goddesses. It will be noted here that normally 'Siddhis' are said to be eight, but here ten 'Siddhis' have been mentioned.

* 13. **Powers of the Male Gods - Manifestations of the Goddess Śakti** : The powers of the male gods, viz. Brahmā, Maheśvara, Kumāra, Viṣṇu, Varāha, Mahendra, Cānuṇḍeśvara and Nārāyana have been personified and described as Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Māhendrī, Cāmuṇḍā and Mahālakṣmī respectively.¹³ These goddesses are manifestations of the Goddess Śakti.

* 14. **Mudrās - Manifestations of the Goddess Śakti** : '*Mudrās*' are particular positions of hands and palms, practised in devotion or religious worship. According to the *Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā* - III. 4, by knowing the *Mudrās* one attains all success, i. e., *Mudrās* are powers; and according to the passage in the *Kulamūlāvātāra*, viz., *mocayanti grahādibhyo pāpaugham drāvayanti ca mocanam drāvaṇam yasmāt mudrā śāstreṣu varṇitā*¹⁴ - a '*Mudrā*' relieves a person from the malevolent influence of planets and destroys sins. This shows that *Mudrās* are some powers and, therefore, the *Lalitopākhyāna* looks upon them as 'Devīs' (*mudrā devyaḥ*)¹⁵. For different forms of worship and for different Yogic pursuits, different *Mudrās* have been prescribed. The Br. P. II. 19. 11, 13-15 mention ten *Mudrā* goddesses. They are - (1) Sarvasaṅkṣobhinī mudrā (2) Sarvavidrāvinī mudrā (3) Sarvākaraṇakṛm mudrā (4) Sarvavaśaṅkarī mudrā (5) Sarvonmādana mudrā (6) Sarvamahāṅkuṣā mudrā (7) Sarvakhecārī mudrā (8) Sarvabījā mudrā (9) Sarvayoni mudrā (10) Trikaṇḍikā mudra. The names of these *Mudrās* are expressive of certain acts which result when these *Mudrās* are performed; e. g. the performance the *Saṅkṣobhini mudrā* can bring about excitement or agitation in all, *Sarvavidrāvinī mudrā* can make all run away; *Sarvākaraṇakṛmmudrā* can

attract all; *Sarvavaśaṅkarī* can subdue all; *Sarvonmādanamudrā* can cause intoxication to all; *Sarvamahāṅkuśā* can goad all. By performing *Sarvakhecari mudrā* one is not affected by thirst, hunger, laziness,¹⁶ etc. *Bījāmudrā* enables one to attain all success. By performing *Sarvayoni mudrā*, one is never polluted by sins. *Trikhaṇḍikā mudrā* is employed in invoking the Goddess.

* 15. The *Lalitopākhyāna* states that the Siddhi goddesses, the eight Śakti goddesses, viz. Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Māhendrī, Cāmūṇḍā, Mahālakṣmī, and the Mudrā goddesses are manifest powers (*prakaṭaśaktayaḥ*).¹⁸

* 16. Digits of the Moon - Manifestations of Śakti :

Sixteen digits of the moon have also been described as Śakti goddesses.¹⁹ They are: (1) Kāmākarṣaṇikā kalā, (2) *Buddhyākarṣaṇikā* kalā, (3) Ahaṅkāraṅkarṣaṇikā kalā, (4) Śabdākarṣaṇikā kalā, (5) Sparśākarṣaṇikā kalā, (6) Rupākarṣaṇikā kalā, (7) Rāsākarṣaṇikā kalā, (8) Gandhākarṣaṇikā kalā, (9) Cittākarṣaṇikā kalā, (10) Dhairyākarṣaṇikā kalā, (11) Smṛtyākarṣaṇikā kalā, (12) Nānākarṣaṇikā kalā, (13) Bījākarṣaṇikā kalā, (14) Ātmākarṣaṇikā kalā, (15) Amṛtākarṣaṇikā kalā, (16) Śarīrākarṣaṇikā kalā.²⁰

These sixteen goddesses in the form of sixteen digits of the moon have been described as secret powers.²¹ The moon is believed to influence the human body with her rays. The inner faculties of a man, viz, his *buddhi* i. e., power of reasoning, 'Śabda' i. e., his sound perception, etc. are influenced by the digits of the moon. But the digits influence the faculties, i. e., the inner world or the inner mechanism of perception imperceptibly or secretly,²² that is why probably they have been described as '*guptākhyā*' (i. e., they are called secret powers). '*Prakaṭa*' viz., '*Siddhi Devīs*', '*Brāhmī*', '*Māheśvarī*' and other powers of the male gods, and the '*Mudrā Devīs*' are concerned with the external manifest world, and, therefore probably, they have been described as '*Prakaṭa Śaktis*'.²³

* 17. Orders of the Goddess Lalitā - Śakti goddess : Twelve different orders of the Goddess Lalitā have been personified and described as *Ājñā Śaktis*.²⁴ They are - (1) Sarvavidrāviṇī - this goddess appears to be a personification of the order of Lalitā to make all (i.e., enemy) run away; (2) Sarvākarṣaṇikā - a personification of the order to attract or drag all; (3) Sarvasaṅkṣobhīṇī - a personification of the order to cause excitement in all; (4) Sarvālhādinikā - a personification of the order to give delight to all; (5) Sarvasaṅmohiṇī - goddess who is a personification of the order to delude all; (6) Sarvastambhaṅśaktikā - personal form of an order to paralyse or stop all the activity (of the enemy); (7) Sarvajṛmbhaṅśakti - goddess who is a personification of the order to make all yawn i. e., to make all lazy, drowsy, etc; (8) Sarvonmādanaśaktikā - personal form of an order to cause intoxication to all;²⁵ (9) Sarvārthasādhikāśakti - personal form of an

order to achieve everything; (10) Sarvasampattipūraṇī - goddess who is a personification of the order to store all the resources of a battle;²⁶ (11) Sarvamantramayī Śakti - a goddess whose job it is to hold consultations with all concerned with battle;²⁷ (12) Sarvadvandvakṣayaṅkarī - personification of the order to bring about the end of all dualities or differences.²⁸

* 18. These twelve Śakti goddesses have been referred to as Ājñā Śaktis of the Goddess Lalitā; all these orders have power in them to affect the enemy adversely, and that is why, it appears, they have been treated as Śakti goddesses.

* 19. **Attributes - Śakti Goddesses** : Various attributes of a Supreme Deity or Supreme Goddess have been personified and presented as various Śakti goddesses: e. g. Sarvasiddhipradā, (giver of all success); Sarvasampatpradā (giver of all prosperity); Sarvapriyaṅkarī (conferrer of everything that is dear [to Her votary]); Sarvamaṅgalakāriṇī (bestower of everything that is auspicious); Sarvakāmapradā (giver of that everything that is desired); Sarvaduḥkhamocinī (reliever from all miseries) - these and many more attributes like these have been personified and presented as Śakti goddesses.²⁹ It will be seen that all these attributes imply power of a deity to do something.

* 20. In personifying the orders and attributes of Goddess Lalitā, *Lalitopākhyaṇa* seems to establish the principle that the Goddess Śakti is an embodiment of all powers, she is a mass of power; therefore, anything pertaining to Her, anything forming a part of Her Being, cannot be anything else, but power (Śakti). Therefore Her orders, Her attributes are also various Śakti goddesses.

* 21. **Presiding Deities of Madana's Arrows - Śakti Goddesses** : It will be interesting to note that the five presiding deities of the five arrows of Madana (God of Love) have also been conceived as five Śakti goddesses (*manobhūbāṇadevatāḥ*).³⁰ They are Drāvinī, Śoṣiṇī, Bandhinī, Mohinī, Unmādinī. It will be seen here that these goddesses derive their names from the different five functions, viz. - (1) captivating the mind of a love-lorn person (Drāvinī), (2) emaciating him (Śoṣiṇī), (3) making him enamoured (Bandhinī) of the object of his love, (4) fascinating his mind (Mohinī) and (5) making him intoxicated (Unmādinī), performed by the arrows of Madana. The five presiding deities impart certain powers to the arrows of Madana. Therefore, they have been looked upon as the manifestations of the Goddess Śakti.

* 22. **Local Goddesses - Forms of Śakti** : There are sixteen goddesses who have been described as '*jagatkṣobhanaḥlampaṭāḥ*' i. e., they are capable of creating excitement in the world.³¹ They are: (1) Vāmā, (2) Jyeṣṭhā, (3) Raudrī, (4) Śānti, (5) Śraddhā, (6) Sarasvatī, (7) Śrī, (8) Bhūśakti, (9) Lakṣmī, (10) Sṛṣṭimohinī, (11) Pramāthinī, (12) Āśvāsīnī, (13) Vīci, (14)

Vidyumālīnī, (15) Surānandā, (16) Nāgabuddhikā.³²

* 23. These goddesses appear to be different local goddesses who were worshipped as different forms of the Goddess Śakti. Klostermaier remarks, "The innumerable names reveal a multitude of local goddesses who coalesced into the figure of the Great Goddess as conceived by the Śakti theologians of late times."³³

* 24. **Acts Personified:** Acts such as an act of creating darkness, act of obstructing, act of making others yawn, act of deluding, act of paralysing have been personified and described as the goddesses Andhinī, Rodhinī, Jṃbhinī, Mohinī, Stambhinī, respectively. These have been described as '*ripukṣobhastambhanoccātanakṣmāh*,'³⁴ i. e., capable of creating excitement in the enemy's camp and paralysing all his activity. The goddess Jṃbhinī could make the army of the demon Bhaṇḍa yawn and make them feel drowsy; the goddess Mohinī could delude that army and create confusion in the enemy's camp; whereas the goddess Stambhinī could paralyse all the war-activity of the demon. All these acts could strengthen the position of the Goddess Lalitā and thus could be conducive to Her victory and hence they have been personified and presented as Śakti goddesses.

* 25. While describing the war-tactics, the *Lalitopākhyāna* tells us that, as a result of a boon from the Sun, the eyes of the demons became lustrous and, therefore, when the demons cast their lustrous glances at the goddesses (on the battle-field), the goddesses were deprived of energy, enthusiasm and became inactive.³⁵ In order to neutralize the effect of the lustre in the eyes of the demons, the goddess Tiraskariṇikā is said to have appeared on the battle-field³⁶, and discharged a missile called *Andha* (so called because it could make the enemies blind) at the demons.³⁷ The demons became blind, their eyes closed,³⁸ and they were not able to see.³⁹ As soon as they became blind, the stiffness and motionlessness of the weapons of the goddesses was removed⁴⁰ and the goddesses rose up to fight with determination.⁴¹ The goddess Tiraskariṇikā then killed the seven demons.⁴²

* 26. A *tiraskariṇī* means a curtain or a veil. Here it will be seen that it was necessary to render the lustre in the eyes of the demons ineffective, by doing something. The act of veiling or covering (i.e., closing) the eyes of the demons could serve that purpose. The act of veiling became the power of the Goddess. Here the impersonal act of veiling has been personified and described as Tiraskariṇikā Devī.⁴³

* 27. **Tantric Goddesses:** Some Tantric goddesses also have been mentioned here, while enumerating the different Śakti goddesses. These goddesses are viz., (1) Yakṣiṇī, (2) Śaṅkhinī, (3) Lākinī, (4) Hākinī, (5) Śākinī, (6) Dākinī and (7) Hākinī who is an aggregate of all these goddesses.⁴⁴ They have been described as drinking blood and devouring flesh and fat of the enemies.⁴⁵

They have also been described as being powerful enough to bring about the total destruction of the demons, but at the same time, they are benevolent to those who are devoted to Lalitā.⁴⁶

* 28. There is another group of Tantric goddesses who have been described as *rahasysyoginīs*⁴⁷ (secret powers). They are Vaśinī, Kāmeśī, Bhoginī, Vimalā, Aruṇā, Javinī, Sarveśī, and Kaulinī.⁴⁸ *Rahasya* means a secret and *Yoginī* means a power. These eight goddesses are secret powers.

* 29. It will be seen here that the *Lalitopākhyāna* includes even the Tantric goddesses while describing various forms and manifestations of the Goddess Lalitā though normally the Pūrāṇas condemn and criticise the Tantric religion, nature of deities therein and its teachings, etc. The reason for including these goddesses here appears to be this that though these goddesses are Tantric goddesses, they are some powers. The *Lalitopākhyāna* here probably proposes to establish that any secret power, malevolent or benevolent, it is a form of the Goddess Śakti or Goddess Lalitā. No power can have existence independent of Lalita who is the All-Pervading Supreme Being.

* 30. **Weapons - Forms of the Goddess Śakti** : Two weapons viz., a plough and a pestle are said to have assumed the form of goddesses, i.e., a plough and a pestle are looked upon as forms of Śakti Goddess, obviously because weapons have power in them, and that is why they have been looked upon as forms of Śakti. The Goddess Śakti as though manifests Herself as a plough and a pestle. The army of Lalitā consisted of many of such goddesses who are personifications of different weapons and missiles. They are Pāśinīs, Musalinīs, Cakriṇīs, Mudgariṇīs, Paṭṭiśinīs, Kodaṇḍinīs.⁴⁹ Here Pāśinī is a goddess who is a personification of a *pāśa* (a noose). Similarly, Musalinīs, Cakriṇīs, Mudgariṇīs, Paṭṭiśinīs, and Kodaṇḍinīs are personifications of a *musala* (a pestle), a *cakra* (a disc), a *mudga* (a mace), a *paṭṭiśa* (a spear), and a *kodaṇḍa* (a bow) respectively. A weapon or a missile symbolises power, therefore, here different weapons have been personified and described as various Śakti goddesses. Here non-sentient weapons and missiles have been described as goddesses, because they have power in them.

* 31. **Ocean of Wine - A Form of Śakti Goddess** : When the Śakti goddesses perspired due to the exertion of fighting and suffered from thirst, an ocean of wine is said to have assumed a form of a goddess and presented itself on the battle-field and removed the fatigue of the goddesses (by quenching their thirst).⁵⁰ It will be seen here that the ocean of wine has the power of quenching thirst and removing fatigue of the goddesses, it is looked upon as a form of the Goddess Śakti.

* 32. **Vidyā and Avidyā - Forms of Śakti** : While elucidating the concept of Śakti, the *Lalitopākhyāna* has narrated some war-strategies employed by the two hostile parties. These strategies were meant to counteract and

neutralize the efforts of the opposite party.

* 33. The demons are said to have employed a magical power called *Sarpiṇī* against the army of the Goddess Lalitā⁵¹ She (*Sarpiṇī*) is said to have produced from her body a number of serpents,⁵² which inflicted the army of Lalitā with their poison and troubled them.⁵³ In order to counteract the power of *Sarpiṇī*, Nakulī Devī is said to have emerged from the palate of Lalita⁵⁴ (*Lalitātālusambhavā*). Nakulī opened her mouth from which an army of mongooses proceeded forth. This army of mongooses destroyed all the serpents⁵⁵ and eventually, the goddess Nakuli killed *Sarpiṇī*⁵⁶ with a *Garudāstra* (a missile of that name). Nakulī also killed the leaders of the demons.⁵⁷ Goddess Lalitā (Śyāmalānbikā) respected Nakulī and imparted to her, Her (Lalitā's) divine nature.

* 34. It will be seen here that the *Lalitopākhyāna* has made use of the well-known hostility between a mongoose and a serpent. A mongoose always overpowers a serpent; here Nakulī is described as destroying the magical power of the demons viz., the *Sarpiṇī*, and hence she (Nakulī) has been looked upon as a goddess (Nakulī Devī).⁵⁸

* 35. It may be pointed out here that *Sarpiṇī* was a power of the demon and Nakulī was a power on the side of the Goddess Lalitā. But here Nakulī has been described as *Devī* or a goddess, but *Sarpiṇī* has been described only as *māyā*. The word *Devī* implies divine, benevolent nature of Nakulī, whereas the word *māyā* indicates evil, malicious, malevolent nature of *Sarpiṇī*. Here Nakulī is said to overpower *Sarpiṇī* and not *vice versa*. Though both, *Sarpiṇī* and Nakulī are powers, yet we see that Nakulī overpowers and defeats *Sarpiṇī*. The reason is that here the struggle between the Goddess Lalitā and the demon is the struggle between *Vidyā* and *Avidyā* (knowledge and ignorance or nescience) respectively which are only two aspects of the Goddess Śakti. *Vidyā* always prevails over *Avidyā* and that is why Nakulī is said to have overpowered *Sarpiṇī*. *Sarpiṇī* has been described as *māyā* (illusion),⁵⁹ *duṣṭā sarpiṇī*,⁶⁰ *durācārā* (of wicked conduct) and *bahumāyāparigrahā* (assuming manifold forms with magical power)⁶¹ and *Sarpamāyā*, (illusive, magical serpent power)⁶², whereas *Nakulī* has been referred to as *Devī*⁶³ who is of the form of speech (*samastavāṇmayākārā*),⁶⁴ (may be because she originated from the palate of Lalitā), *Nakulesvari*,⁶⁵ and *Vāṇī*,⁶⁶ the presiding deity of speech (*vāṇmayasyaikānāyikā*)⁶⁷ and *Mahāsattvā*⁶⁸ (high-spirited), possessed of extraordinary qualities.⁶⁹ These descriptions of the two Śaktis viz., Nakulī and *Sarpiṇī* establish that Nakulī Devī corresponds to *Vidyā* and *Sarpiṇī* to *Avidyā*.

* 36. The Flames and the Lustre of the Fire - Forms of Śakti : Two goddesses viz., *Jvālānālinikā* and *Vahnivāsini* are said to have disclosed the demons who had concealed themselves in darkness, to the gods. These two

goddesses are obviously: the personifications of the flames of fire and the lustre of fire respectively⁷⁰ i. e., flames of fire and the lustre of fire are the forms of the Goddess Lalitā.

* 37. **God Gajānana - A Form of Goddess Śakti** : The demon is said to have made use of a magical diagram drawn on a slab of stone, to prevent the victory of the Goddess. It had eight presiding deities,⁷¹ viz.,

- (1) Alasā (the presiding deity of idleness)
- (2) Kṛpaṇā (the presiding deity of wretchedness)
- (3) Dīnā (the presiding deity of distress)
- (4) Nidrā (the presiding deity of sleep)
- (5) Tandrā (the presiding deity of sluggishness)
- (6) Pramilikā (the presiding deity of enervation of spirits)
- (7) Klībā (the presiding deity of weakness)
- (8) Nirahankārā (the presiding deity of humbleness)⁷²

These eight presiding deities were unholy magical powers used by the demon against the Goddess Lalitā. Having worshipped the diagram, it was thrown by him in the camp of the Goddess.⁷³ As a result of this, the goddesses became averse to fighting and began to think of the Goddess Lalitā with disrespect.⁷⁴ In order to nullify the effect of this magic, the Goddess Lalitā smiled and the god Gajānana emanated from her mouth.⁷⁵ He destroyed the magical slab of the demon.⁷⁶

* 38. It is well-known that one of the epithets of Gajānana is *Vighnahartā* i. e., remover of obstacles or evils and that is why the Goddess Lalitā appears to have employed him against the magic of the demon. Here Gajānana has not been expressly referred to as a form of Śakti; yet it can be said that probably here the suggestion is Gajānana is also a part of Śakti, since he emerged from Her mouth. Besides Śakti pervades this universe and She exists in all the forms, male as well as female. Therefore, the god Gajānana is a form of the Goddess Śakti.

* 39. **Viṣṇu's Incarnations - Manifestations of Śakti** : According to the Vaiṣṇava doctrine of incarnation, God Viṣṇu incarnates for the protection of the universe; an incarnation is a manifestation of Viṣṇu's power to protect the universe. It will be interesting to note how the *Lalitopākhyāna* incorporates the various incarnations of Viṣṇu, i. e., His powers, in the concept of Śakti. The following discussion will explain the purpose of incorporating the *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu.

* 40. When the Goddess Lalitā, Herself appeared on the battle field,

the demon discharged different missiles, such as *Arṇavāstra*, *Hiranyākṣamahāstra*, *Balindrāstra*, *Haihayāstra*. From Bhaṇḍāsura's roaring, Rāvana is said to have emerged along with his brother, Kumbhakarṇa and son Meghanāda. The demon continuing his attack discharged *rājāsūrāstra* and in the end he discharged *Kalyāstra*. To neutralize the working of these missiles, Ādikūrma, Mahāvarāha, Nṛsiṅha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Vāsudeva, and Kalki are all said to have emerged, one after the other, from the nails of the fingers of the Goddess Lalitā.⁷⁷

* 41. The ten incarnations performed their duty viz., destroying the missiles of Bhaṇḍāsura, and went to the Goddess Lalitā, bowed down to Her; they were appointed by Her to protect *Dharma* (righteousness) in every *Kalpa* (age). They then proceeded to heaven.⁷⁸

* 42. Finally with *Kāmeśvarāstra*, the Goddess Lalitā is said to have killed the demon Bhaṇḍāsura.

* 43. It may be explained here that Hiranyākṣa, etc. figure in the Purāṇic mythology as symbols of wickedness and a source of trouble to the virtuous. They are symbols of evil elements and malicious power. Therefore Hiranyākṣa, etc. appear to have been metaphorically described as the missiles of the demon Bhaṇḍa.

* 44. Here their respective function is assigned to Viṣṇu's incarnations, which they have performed according to the *Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas*, viz., to destroy evil in the form of Hiranyākṣa, Bali, Haihaya, Rāvaṇā, etc. respectively. But while doing this, the sectarian *Lalitopākhyāna* has maintained the supremacy of the Goddess Lalitā, by describing these incarnations as emerging out of the nails of fingers of Lalitā. Thus Viṣṇu's incarnations have been relegated to inferior position. Incarnations of Viṣṇu are manifestations of Viṣṇu's powers as observed above.⁷⁹ But these powers have no independent existence; they are a part of the Goddess Śakti; they exist in Her. This appears to have been suggested by their emergence out of Her nails. Klostermaier remarks, "Devī surpasses all the individual gods in power and glory, because in Her all the qualities of the gods are embodied."⁸⁰ Further suggestions are — Śakti Goddess Lalitā does not exert Herself. Even Her nails i.e., a slight portion of Her power is enough for Her to bring about the destruction of the demon. She is Supreme Almighty Goddess.

Conclusion

* 45. The myth about Bhaṇḍāsura describing the manifold manifestations of the Goddess Lalitā unfolds the concept of Śakti. Viṣṇuṅga, the brother of Bhaṇḍāsura gave Bhaṇḍāsura a piece of advice viz., "Kings should not disregard an enemy, because he is an animal or a woman or a low mean person; possibility of Śakti is everywhere i.e., existence of Śakti is possible

everywhere.”⁸¹ In just three words, viz., “*śakteḥ sarvatra sambhavaḥ*” (i.e., possibility of Śakti is everywhere), the demon has expressed in a nutshell the concept of Śakti. We have seen above⁸² various manifestations of Śakti which would establish that Śakti exists everywhere. Her manifestations are Her ‘*arṥsas*’ or portions. The whole world is the unfolding of Śakti.⁸³ She extends in all and contains all in Herself.⁸⁴ The words of Devī in the *Devīmāhātmya* viz., -- “*ekaivātra jagatyatra dvitīyā kāmamāparā / paśyaitā duṣṭa mayyeva viśantyo madvibhūṭayaḥ*” // ⁸⁵ i.e., I am all alone in the world here, what other is there besides Me; these goddesses are My own powers entering into Myself,” --- corroborate the above statements. In the *Devīmāhātmya*, She has been addressed as “*Sarvasvarūpe*” i.e., “assuming all forms or existing in all forms i.e., One in whom all powers are combined or contained.” Thus anything concrete or abstract, animate or inanimate, possessed of power, small or big, is a manifestation of Śakti, a ‘*vibhūti*’ or a limited mode of Śakti, and the Goddess Śakti is a sum total of all the powers in the universe. “All special powers are limited forms of the Great Creative Power who is the Mother (Ambikā) of the Universe.”⁸⁶ In the *Bhagavadgītā*, Lord Kṛṣṇa also has said, “*Yadyadvibhūtimatsattvam śrīmadūrjitameva vā tattadevāvagacchatvam mama tejośrīśasambhavam*” // ⁸⁷ i.e., “anything, whatever, which is invested with power, glory, or splendour, has come into existence out of a portion of My brilliance.” This would prove that the manifestations of the Goddess Lalitā described above are Her ‘*vibhūti*’ i.e., limited modes of Her power.

* 46. It will be seen here that through Her manifestations, Devī is brought down to the level of abstract ideas, attributes, impersonal feelings, various parts of an organic whole like an army, concrete objects like weapons, individual personalities like a commander of an army, navy, different supernatural powers, etc., to bring home to Her worshippers that She is all this; Her powers are many; a man may seek to realise the Mother Power through Her limited forms or the ‘*vibhūti*’. Secondly, the manifestations would imply how unity becomes multiplicity.⁸⁸ So the purpose of this elucidation of the concept of Śakti can be said to unfold the extent of the Goddess Śakti and bring Her close to Her worshippers. It may be pointed out here that building up of mythology of any God or Goddess could not be without a reference to the needs of the worshippers, or without taking into account the relationship between the deity and the worshippers. The very concept of God has originated from a man’s needs for tremendous, invincible, supernatural power capable of giving protection to him from all calamities. Macnicol remarks, “The doctrine of divine manifestations is a product of moral need.”⁸⁹ The description of the manifestations of the Goddess Lalitā in the *Lalitopākhyāna* would serve this purpose.

Notes And References

1. *Lalitāparamesānyā am̐kusāstrānsamudgatā sampatkarī nāma devī cacāla saha śāktibhiḥ* // Br. P. II. 16.7.
2. Br. P. II. 16.8.
3. Br. P. II. 16.14,15.
4. Br. P. II. 16.31.
5. Br. p. II. 17.6.
6. Br. P. II. 17.14.
7. Br. P. II. 17.15a.
8. Br. P. II. 17.16-20.
9. Br. P. II. 17.27.
10. Br. P. II. 17. 32,33.
11. Br. p. II. 19.3.
12. Br. P. II. 19.4,5.
13. Br. p. II. 19. 7,8.
14. (a) *“mudrānām paṭalam devī kathitam tava sannidhau / yena vijñātamātreṇa sarvasiddhiḥ prajāyate // Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā, III.4; also nāsti mudrāsamam kiñcit siddhidam kṣitimaṇḍale / Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā III - 100.*
 (b) *Kulamūlāvātāra* quoted in the Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti Kośa, Vol. VII, p. 430.
15. Br. P. II. 19.10.
16. *“na rogo maraṇam tandrā na nidrā na kṣudhā tṛṣṇā / na ca murchā bhavettasya yo mudrām vetti khecarīm // ” Haṭhayogapradīpikā III.39 also “pīḍyate na sa rogeṇa lipyate na ca karmaṇā / bādhyate na sa kālena yo mudrām vetti khecarīm” Ibid. III.40.*
17. *“yāni pāpāṇi ghorāni tūpapāpāni yāni ca / tāni sarvāṇi naśyanti yonimudrānibandhanāt // ” Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā, III.44; also see Paraśurāmakalpasūtra V.15, pp. 193 to 197.*
18. *“Siddhibrahmyādi mudrāstā etā prakāśaktayaḥce //”* Br. P. II. 19.15 b.
19. *“etā ṣoḍaśā śītāśśukalārūpāśca śaktayaḥ / guptā nāmnā prakīrtitāḥ”* Br. p. II. 19.21.
20. Br. P. II. 19.17-20.
21. Br. P. II. 19.21.
22. Br. P. II. 19.17-20.
23. Vide *14 and *15 above.
24. Br. P. II. 19.31.
25. Br. p. II. 19. 32,33.
26. Br. p. II. 19.34.
27. Br. p. II. 19.34.
28. Br. P. II. 19.34.

29. Br. P. II. 19.38-44.

also - "some of the titles are personifications of abstract ideas or qualities ascribed to Devi." Klostermaier, K. K.; *Mythologies and Philosophies of Salvation in the Theistic Traditions of India*, Vol. V., p. 208.

30. Br. P. II. 19. 65,66.

31. Br. P. II. 19. 75.

32. Br. P. II. 19. 73-75.

33. Klostermaier, K. K; *Mythologies and Philosophies of Salvation in the Theistic Traditions of India*, Vol. V, p. 208.

34. Br. P. II. 20.38.

35. Br. P. II. 24. 62-64, 66,67.

36. Br. P. II. 24. 74b.

37. Br. P. II. 24.80.

38. Br. P. II. 24.81.

39. Br. P. II 24.83a.

40. Br. P. II. 24.83b.

41. Br. P. II. 24.84.

42. Br. P. II. 24. 85-89.

43. Br. P. II. 24. 85a and also 103b.

44. Br. P. II. 20. 15,16.

45. Br. P. II. 20. 17,18.

46. Br. P. II. 20. 20, 23, 24.

47. Br. P. II. 19.46.

48. Br. P. II. 19.48.

49. Br. P. II. 24. 22, 23.

50. Br. P. II. 20.73, 74a, 75,76.

51. Br. P. II. 23.16b.

52. Br. P. II. 23.28b.

53. Br. P. II. 23. 32, 38,41,51.

54. Br. P. II. 23.52.

55. Br. P. II. 23.57,58b.

56. Br. P. II. 23.65-67.

57. Br. P. II. 23. 92.

58. "nijāṅgadevatattvam ca tasyai śyāmāmbikā dadau" Br. P. II. 23. 95c; also Br. P. II. 23.56a.

59. Br. P. II. 23.16b.

60. Br. P. II. 23.42b.

61. Br. P. II. 23. 50a.

62. BR. P. II. 23. 66b.
63. Br. P.II. 23. 56a.
64. Br. P. II. 23. 53a.
65. Br. P. II 23.65.
66. Br. P. II. 23. 83a.
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70. Br. P. II. 25. 80, 81, 88; Br. P. II. 26. 28, 29.
71. Br. P. II. 27. 24, 35b, 36, 37.
72. Br. P. II. 27. 38.
73. Br. P. II. 27.40.
74. Br. P. II. 27. 42-55.
75. Br. P. II. 27. 67,68.
76. Br. P. II. 27. 72-75.
77. Br. P. II. 29. 92-132.
78. Br. P. II. 29. 136.
79. Vide * 39 above.
80. Klostermaier, K, K.; *Mythologies and Philosophies of Salvation in the Theistic Traditions of India*, Vol. V, p. 209.
81. " *tiryagityapi nārīti kṣudrā cetyapi rājabhiḥ | nāvajñā vaiṛiṇām kāryā, śakteḥ sarvatra sambhavaḥ.*" Br. P. II. 21.55.
82. Vide * 5 to * 40 above.
83. Cf. Farquhar, J. N; *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 201.
84. Cf. S. Shankaranarayana; *Glory of the Divine Mother*, p. 1.
85. Āgrawala, Vasudeva S.; *The Glorification of the Great Goddess (Devī-Māhātmya)*, X.3.
86. Cf. Woodroffe, John; *Śakti and Śakta*, p. 181.
87. BG X. 41.
88. Cf. C. Suryanarayanamurthy; *Lalitā Sahasranāma*, p. 22.
89. Macnicol, N.; *Indian Theism*, p. 197.

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DIÑNĀGA ON TRIKĀLA-PARĪKṢĀ : AN EXPLORATION INTO SOME AVENUES OF HIS CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

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The aim of this paper is to point out the important and significant role the *Trikāla-parīkṣā*¹ (T.P.) plays in the conceptual framework of Diñnāga's Philosophy, and show how its study, along with his different works,² could be philosophically illuminative.

The paper has three sections. The first investigates into the present background of the philosophical studies of Diñnāga, points out some deficiencies in them, and indicates an alternative mode of studying Diñnāga. In the second, an attempt is made to spell out the possible rationale operative behind writing T.P. and conjecture its connection with other works of Diñnāga. In the last, an attempt is made to highlight the need and necessity of the study of T.P.

I

The Philosophical Background

Hardly any knowledgeable person may dispute the fact that in the History of Indian Philosophical Ideas in general and Buddhist tradition in particular, Diñnāga's thoughts and philosophy occupy an important position and has, obviously, attracted the attention of the scholars. Uptil now many attempts at characterising Diñnāga's philosophy have been made. While some of them seem to be methodologically appropriate, others do not. However, before passing on such judgements, it would be profitable to briefly state and examine them. Broadly speaking, such attempts could be classified into four kinds. They are :

(A) Through the Influence of the Predecessor/s :

Normally, while talking about History of a particular school or tradition we seem to be gullible to a tendency of taking it to be homogeneous in character, and relegate to the background or ignoré altogether the importance of intra-school debates and controversies.³ In such a study we are often impressed by the general contributions of the concerned tradition and neglect the peculiar contribution made by its proponents individually towards its refinement, growth and development. The credit of the entire development is often given to its founder presuming that his writings were so intellectually richly pregnant that whatever became manifest later on was potentially already

there.⁴ As a result, we succumb to the temptation to hold that whatever is said by a commentator/s is nothing else but clarification and elaboration of the contention of the original and commentaries cannot transcend the limits of the basic texts.⁵ If, therefore, one is interested in studying a particular tradition, the argument continues, it is enough to concentrate upon the source, holding later, intermediary or grown-up stages of it to be irrelevant. The fountain-head of this kind may be gauged in the form of a work or a thinker.

Unfortunately, study of Diñnāga's philosophy is not an exception to this tendency. Diñnāga is sometimes read, understood and evaluated in the light of his eminent predecessors like Vasubandhu or occasionally Nāgārjuna.⁶ Such a contention does not altogether seem to be a figment of imagination, especially since Diñnāga wrote such works as *Abhidharmakośavṛttimarmapradīpa*,⁷ given to drawing attention of the concerned to what is held to be the quintessence of the *Abhidharmakośa*. Or, alternatively, Diñnāga's commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*⁸ known as the *Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha-saṅgraha*, seems to make him to be heavily indebted to Nāgārjuna. However, while overemphasising the former seems to take Diñnāga to be merely a link in the thread of development of Buddhist Philosophy in general, and *Vijñāna-vāda* in particular, the latter amounts merely to drown him in the well of *Mahāyāna*. Either way amounts to neglecting originality and independent contributions of Diñnāga, thus doing gross injustice to his thought and philosophy. It is quite obvious that such a mode can hardly enable anyone to discover and properly articulate conceptual framework of Diñnāga and its contribution to the growth of Philosophical Ideas of Indian origin.

(B) Through the Spectacle of the Successor/s :

It need not be denied outright that commentators and successors may provide a clue to understand the philosophy of a particular philosopher. While interpreting and understanding a text, one may come across difficulties at a number of places. Nuances and clarifications provided by commentators may be helpful and hence a plea to take recourse to them. And there is nothing wrong in doing so as far as it goes. However, when we estimate the contributions of the original work, we need not interpret and characterise it on the basis of the insights provided by commentators. Rather, we should understand and adjudge it on its own merits to the extent feasible. Unfortunately, this has not been given enough attention to.

Moreover, in the case of historical studies, there are certain constraints, viz., availability of relevant information. One is under pressure of non-availability of appropriate information and required to be vigilant about proper interpretation to be articulated with commensurate rationale. Under such circumstances, one has often to proceed on the basis of whatever is available and viable. In the case of Diñnāga, unfortunately, until recently, very few works of his

or excerpts from them have been available. Obviously, scholars knew Dinnāga either through these works or else with the help of his successor/s.⁹ And there, fortunately, we were lucky enough to have *Pramāṇa vārtika* of Dharmakīrti (who was the illustrious successor of Dinnāga) which is clearly known to be an elaborate commentary on the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and its *Vṛtti* by Dinnāga. As a result, it is a small wonder that scholars attempted to understand Dinnāga through the spectacle of his commentator and successor like Dharmakīrti. Until recently people held a view that after all *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* was but miniaturized version of *Pramāṇa-vārtika*, thus providing an adequate explanation as to why PV should be used as a reliable clue to understand the PS. Further, it seems that both belong to the same tradition, i.e., *Svātantrika-vijñānavāda* in particular and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism in general.¹⁰

Here, too, once again, we do not seem to be careful to pay attention to the independent contributions of Dinnāga. We, neither, unfortunately, have *Pramāṇa-viniścaya* together with *Pramāṇa-vārtika* of Dharmakīrti, nor *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* in entirety in their Sanskrit original simultaneously in front of us to provide insights into their similarities and differences. On the basis of fragmentary and incomplete picture of their conceptual frameworks, it may perhaps be too risky to proceed hurriedly to have judgement about their uniform contributions in the field of philosophy. Further, one may perhaps be at a double loss using Dharmakīrti's spectacles.¹¹ One would not be able to gauge the originality of Dinnāga, confusing his thoughts with those of Dharmakīrti, if not make an outright caricature of the former, leave apart gaining clarity and noting their differences. As a result, one may fail to notice the distinct contribution of Dinnāga being overshadowed by Dharmakīrti's views and evaluate it appropriately.

(C) As a Reaction to the Opponent/s :

No idea, notion, concept, argument, thought, etc. normally originates in a vacuum. It has a context, a framework or a surrounding, e.g. intellectual, philosophical, social, historical, cultural, civilizational, etc. With the help of such a framework one can hope to have a proper explanation and understanding of it. It serves as a background and provides an insight. A particular text could be understood on the background of the prior and contemporaneous thought currents. Using this model, people have attempted to study Dinnāga and his different texts¹² as well. Whatever Dinnāga has written could be properly made sense of and evaluated on the background of his predecessors and contemporaries, especially the non-Buddhists.¹³ The contention of an upholder of Buddhism like Dinnāga could be better understood by contrast. Dinnāga's views with regard to a particular problem or issue could be studied through the responses he has made to his opponents. So whether we study Dinnāga's works in their original form or in the *prima facie* views as mentioned by his non-Buddhist opponents, it hardly seems to make any difference,

especially when we are obstructed by the non-availability of a number of his writings.

Prima facie the plan is attractive and there seems to be a point in its favour. Nonetheless, if one is aware of the intellectual past of Indian philosophy, one cannot be oblivious to the debates and controversies that have taken place. For, while studying such controversies with regard to different issues, one comes to know facts which are sometimes very strange.¹⁴ In stating the views of the opponents, writers have often stated the views of their opponents as a *pūrva-pakṣa*, a *prima facie* view but in doing so they have sometimes put them forth in such a manner that they could easily be repudiated, depriving the dispute of the warmth and heat. This is especially the case if they are Buddhists, as very often their arguments are twisted and misinterpreted to suit their refutation at the hands of their non-Buddhist opponents. Really speaking, to show inadequacies and limitations inherent in the arguments of the Buddhists, they are re-formulated and articulated in such a manner that criticising them would become easier.

Further, while evaluating Diñnāga's philosophy, opponents have been credited for providing an appropriate impetus. In order to show the faults and limitations in the writings and thoughts of the opponents, predecessors and contemporaries, it seems, it is argued, Diñnāga wrote certain works and hence they cannot be called original writings of his but rather merely as his responses. Further, he has also used some terms and expressions, concepts and ideas, etc. from the writings of his predecessors and contemporaries, and hence, we cannot say that he presents himself as an independent thinker. This argument is justified on the basis that one notices the views of *Nyāya*, *Sāṅkhya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Cārvāka*, Jaina and even Grammarians as the *pūrva-pakṣas* and also that certain terms used by them are traceable in the writings of Diñnāga.

There is certain strength in the view that one's philosophy evolves out of the responses to the problems that one confronts. In this context, controversies may, sometimes, provide an impetus and evoke certain responses. But, this much alone can hardly be the nucleus of the original writings. Similarly, occurrence in the writings of Diñnāga of certain terms, concepts used by his predecessors or contemporaries in itself does not seem to put him on an altogether wrong footing.¹⁵ Further, such a phenomenon itself seems to be misleading a criterion of evaluating and characterising his philosophical acumen. While discovering the conceptual framework of the philosophy of a particular philosopher, one has to be careful about the meaning and use of a particular concept or term made by him. Otherwise, one is likely to be carried away by the superficial similarities of the concept/s mentioned. For, one may use the same expression in an altogether different way. Or, even when one borrows a particular concept one may relate it with others

to fathom out a novel blend of them and in consequence may articulate an altogether different kind of conceptual framework of his philosophy. Even while borrowing, one is not blindly borrowing anything and everything from others; he has to be careful and selective. That alone is borrowed, which is helpful for better explanation and clarification of views. Hence, acknowledgement of originality and realization of the rationale behind the use of concepts and their implications can enable one to adjudge Diñnāga's independence and provide a clue to understand properly his philosophy.

(D) A Piecemeal Account :

Another trend amongst the scholars is, it seems, to understand Diñnāga's philosophy on the basis of particular text¹⁶ or with the help of fragment/s of a particular treatise.¹⁷ Such studies often concentrate upon a particular concept, notion, idea, occurring in the given text or fragment under consideration. Sometimes, mere translation of such fragments is used as a basis of characterization of his philosophy. Further, concentrating upon one particular problem,¹⁸ analysis and interpretation is given, and that seems, according to such scholars, to provide a better insight into Diñnāga's philosophy.

In such studies, too, one does not seem to be paying careful attention to the importance, originality and evolution of the conceptual framework of Diñnāga's philosophy. For, it might be the case that he might have responded to a problem in a certain text in a particular way, while in another he might have suggested a more satisfactory and comprehensive mode of resolving it. One should be critical about the context and the frame of reference or domain in which he undertakes that task. And by using one particular text alone one may not hope to have an insight into the philosophy of a philosopher as a whole. Nor is it possible to understand the philosophy properly by fragmentary and piecemeal accounts. Rather, such a kind of piecemeal approach and myopicity of vision it seems to engender, may jeopardize the prospect of gaining an insight into the philosophical illumination that Diñnāga seems to provide through the appropriate framework of his philosophy as a whole.

From the above discussion, it should be clear that each of these four models is deficient and hence partial in its approach, although not lacking altogether in a point of considerable significance. However, while studying the philosophy of a particular philosopher like Diñnāga one has to be very cautious. One has, to begin with, to find out the problems he responded to in different domains of philosophical inquiry. One would, likewise, be required to discover various concepts, ideas, notions he invoked together with the sort of interrelationship among them which he envisioned. One has also to take note of the way in which his inquiries into the different domains of philosophical scrutiny, viz., metaphysics, logic, epistemology, philosophy of language, moral and social philosophy, etc. are interconnected and the

kind of rationale it is backed by together with some of the important implications, results and consequences they lead to. That is, the comprehensive conceptual framework of Diñnāga's philosophy should come to be mapped so carefully that we neither neglect any aspect of it, nor do we mistake any part of its conveniently for the whole. We should not obliterate the possibility and lines of growth and development in its very conception either. In so doing, we would not only be required to take into account his various works, reference, if any, contained in them to his predecessors and contemporaries, but references to his writing and views in the writings of his contemporaries and successors as well, no matter whether like-minded or otherwise. It is this sort of approach reinforced by the positive and negative feed-back, which one would receive in the process, is likely to enable one to map and cartograph contours and curvatures decisively important in one's being able to make a significant contribution to the developmental account of history of philosophical ideas of Indian origin being presented at all. Instead of patiently accomplishing task of this kind, hurriedly accomplished one is more likely to leave many desirable concerns untouched in it.

With such precautions in the background, one may profitably pay a little concerted attention to such hitherto almost neglected works of Diñnāga like T.P. and carefully study the sort of clues they are likely to make available for better understanding of Diñnāga's philosophy. Unless, however, one is clear about the rationale behind Diñnāga's writing such works in the course of his philosophical career, one's understanding about it would be deficient, and on the basis of such a defective understanding one is unlikely to get any illuminative clue to untie the knots in comprehending Diñnāga's philosophy, together with its originality and great significance properly. It is for this reason that we make an humble attempt to articulate the rationale of writing such works as T.P. by Diñnāga in the next section.

II

Place of Works like T.P. in Diñnāga's Conceptual Geography

In the preceding section we passingly talked of the conceptual framework of Diñnāga's philosophy, and stated that our proper comprehension of the latter can only be tenable, if it is through appropriate understanding of the former. This being the case, it becomes necessary to inquire into some clues, inclusive of those supplied by T.P. helpful in formulating conceptual framework of Diñnāga as a means to understanding his philosophy.

Although, it is true that every important philosophical trend is embedded in its respective conceptual framework, such a conceptual framework neither becomes available ready-made overnight nor does it remain encapsulated solely in analysis and understanding of the meaning and significance of a particular concept figuring in articulation of that trend. What is true of a certain

philosophical trend is also quite considerably true of the philosophy of a prominent philosopher like Dinnāga. The comprehensive and appropriate fashioning, formulation and articulation of his philosophical position along with its respective conceptual framework must not have become available to him no sooner than he embarked upon his philosophical enterprise. It could be conjectured without grave hazard that he might have been required to go through a torturous process of prolonged struggle in spite of his acumen, till finally he succeeded in putting forth his philosophical position comprehensively in his *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* as a flower of his mature philosophical investigation. Prior to that, he is accredited to have written many works which broadly speaking seem to fall into two categories : major and minor, or in the language of *Nyāya*, *Vādagranthas* and *Prakaraṇagranthas*. Although T.P. is a work of the latter kind, it is doubtlessly true that various issues and problems he discussed in all of them, different concepts he requisitioned the services of, together with inter-school as well as intra-school controversies he kicked up or responded to – all these have their respective share in evolution, growth, development, fashioning, formulation and articulation of his philosophical position and shaping its conceptual framework. It would, therefore, be fallacious and misleading to rely upon any one of his singular text, solitary concept, isolated discussion of a certain issue or segregated response to a view advanced by his predecessor or contemporary – Buddhist or non-Buddhist. It also cannot be forgotten that his friends and foes, predecessors and contemporaries were not reared, nurtured and brought up like Leibnizian Monads into watertight compartments and shells of their respective isolated cultural, intellectual as well as civilizational climate. Rather, they shared many features of them and differed, sometimes most violently and uncompromisingly, from one another in upholding different philosophical positions and backing them by well-reasoned conceptual frameworks and paradigms. All these have their mite contributed to the evolution, formulation and articulation of their respective philosophical positions. As this holds true with regard to any major philosopher, so too concerning Dinnāga. On this comprehensive background of our being able to discover major aspects of Dinnāga's philosophical position and its conceptual framework, we bring out below some clues helpful in mapping place of works like T.P. in evolution of Dinnāga's conceptual geography.

1. In any worthwhile attempt at comprehending Dinnāga's philosophy comprehensively and discovering its conceptual framework, importance of analysis and interpretation of works like T.P. cannot be ignored. In such a task one cannot afford to consider any work of his to be insignificant either because it is minor, traditionally neglected or not seriously taken note of. Just as even a little finger of our hand is important in the entire structure and function of our body, so too a small treatise like T.P. has an important role to play in Dinnāga's

philosophy, for, this sort of inclusive approach alone is likely to provide a proper insight in his views concerning a particular issue like, say, his conception of the real. Or, just as different organs taken together constitute our body, similarly all the works of his taken together would enable us to understand his philosophy and comprehend its conceptual framework. Further, it is a fact that all of his works were not written simultaneously. If one may be allowed to surmise, they might not have been written in quick succession as well. Given this, a careful study of his different works major or minor is more than likely to unfold interconnection among them and bring to the notice of the concerned lines and stages of growth and development in his philosophy. For this reason also it seems desirable to study his different works including T.P. not so much in isolation from one another but in their interrelationship with his other works, irrespective of the fact whether Diñnāga has made reference to them in his later writings.

2. Apart from overall comprehensive unity and lines of growth and development of Diñnāga's thought, study of his minor works like T.P. also remains significant for yet another reason. Various problems and issues he grappled with in his philosophical scrutiny and the sort of paradigms he might have toyed with in its course must not have become available to him either simultaneously or in quick succession. He might have come to lay his hands upon them through at least two prominent ways: (a) responding to the problems posed and paradigms adopted by his predecessors and / or contemporaries – Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist – and realization of inadequacies they are beset with in his considered opinion, and (b) in working out a viable alternative, at once more inclusive and yet distinctive. On the latter count, too, it is not inconceivable that there was shift, consideration of growth and development. If so, one has to see what light his different works shed on such issues and through which phases his thought developed, as far as possible ensuring that it does not remain susceptible to those sorts of weaknesses and vulnerabilities of which either his own earlier position or that of his predecessor or contemporary were subject.
3. Thirdly, while studying different works of Diñnāga their bearing upon overall coherence and consistency of his philosophy, without jeopardizing possibility of conceptual growth, is a matter of additional concern which needs to be kept before us in analysing and interpreting works like T.P. One may take up the task of unfolding the philosophy presented in it by finding out its connection with his other writings and reinforce the findings through cross-reference so becoming available.

On this background, we outline below briefly plausible rationale of Diñnāga's writing T.P. and its co-relation with his other works. For, as stated earlier,

without such a sort of clue one may not get an appropriate insight into the T.P. Diñnāga in his T.P. seems to be attempting to articulate his notion of reality and / or the meaning of existence, which has bearing on ontology. In *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, on the other hand, he seems basically to be concerned with logico-epistemological problems. The respective titles of latter's six chapters, viz., *Pratyakṣa*, *Svārthānumāna*, *Parārthānumāna*, *Hetu-Drṣṭānta*, *Apoha* and *Jāti*, appear to make it amply clear. Thus, therein Diñnāga seems to provide methodological as well as logico-epistemological structure of his philosophy, at once comprehensive constructively but polemical of opposed trends. But such a structure he could not have chanced upon accidentally. Nor was his consideration of such issues as nature of real, status of universal, nature of inference and fallacies of it, determiners of our perceptual cognition, etc. in his other works irrelevant in his philosophical enterprise. Hence, starting from his earliest treatise, through many minor works he wrote, to *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* as culmination of it, one has carefully to mark its landmarks and note phases of its growth and development together with interconnections between them. It is along this route that we propose to highlight importance of T.P.

To be able to follow through this route carefully one has to look to chronological priority in the writings of Diñnāga. According to some, in Diñnāga's writings there are two phases,¹⁹ viz., one, under Vasubandhu's influence, he wrote works like *Ālambana-Parīkṣa*,²⁰ *Abhidharmakośavṛttimarmapradīpa*, etc., whereas in the second stage of his academic career he noticed inadequacies and defects in the writings and thoughts of Vasubandhu and hence changed and modified them by writing works like *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, *Nyāya-mukha*, *Hetu-mukha*, etc. rejecting and criticising the views of his predecessors.

This view seems to be marking two stages within Diñnāga's intellectual growth, viz., an influenced stage and an independent stage. Perhaps, there were three stages, instead of two, in the growth and development of Diñnāga's philosophy, viz., (i) the formative stage, (ii) the groping or experimental stage, and (iii) the final independent stage.

In the formative stage he seems to be impressed and influenced by the views of his predecessors like Vasubandhu and under their impact attempted to respond to either other predecessors or contemporaries – within the tradition or outside of it. In this stage Diñnāga seems to have written works like *Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha-saṃgraha*, *Abhidharmakośavṛttimarmapradīpa*, *Yog-āvatāra*, etc. basically attempting to deal with different problems of philosophical concern within the framework of the philosophical enterprise of his predecessors like Vasubandhu. Over and above clarifying their thought more elaborately he also seems to have questioned the acceptability of the views of opponents pointing out inadequacies of the latter, especially as they were found unacceptable within the framework of the philosophies of the predecessors.

In the process, however, he might have also realised limitations inherent in the thought of his predecessors. As a result, he might have begun to search for an alternative avenue of his being able to analyse and resolve some problems at least partly independently of the influence of the predecessors. In this second stage he seems to have written a number of (what may be called) *Prakarāṇa granthas* like *Hastavāla - prakaraṇa*, *Upādāya - prajñapti - prakaraṇa*, or like *Trikāla - parīkṣā*, *Ālambana - parīkṣā*, *Sāmānya - laksana - parīkṣā*, or like *Nyāya - mukha*, *Hetu - mukha*, *Hetvābhāsa-mukha*, or like *Hetu - cakra*, *Hetu - cakra - nirṇaya* (also called as *Hetu - cakra - hamaru*) etc. In such efforts he seems to have investigated into different isolated or connected problems to see whether any of them could be made basis of formulating comprehensive conceptual framework which is strong enough but at the same time as much independent of the impact of predecessors as could be expected. In course of this kind of groping, it may be surmised, he might have discovered that this sort of piecemeal approach and investigation would not bring forth the required sort of conceptual framework – at once original, independent and comprehensive such that various threads of his investigation could be interconnected with one another without totally succumbing unduly to the impact of any predecessor and investigation remaining fragmented in nature. With this end in view in his mature stage he might have been led to write a comprehensive treatise called *Pramāṇa - samuccaya*, where basically methodological and logico-epistemic concerns are more predominant, but without neglecting those consequences of his earlier inquiry which could be linked and connected with *Pramāṇa - samuccaya*. It could also be further surmised that after writing *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* at a little later time he might have taken up the task of writing an auto-commentary on it especially to further explain *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and responding to his opponents more articulately and pointedly and making references in the process to some writers, doctrines and principles he thought desirable.

In this way, it seems plausible to interconnect various works of Diṅnāga on the one hand and bring out his conceptual growth and development as having been attained through three coherently connected stages, the last one being the most mature, original and comprehensive. Works like T.P. which in this way seems to belong to an intermediary stage also have an important role to play in the evolution of Diṅnāga's thought, however small in size they may be. It would, therefore, be too rash and hasty to proceed to formulate framework of Diṅnāga's philosophy neglecting and disregarding his minor works. For, in the process we might at the most notice certain shifts but not coherent growth of his thought.

III

The Need and Necessity of Studying T.P.

We outlined above the sort of methodological and conceptual stance that seems to be at stake and the sort of clue which texts like T.P. appear to furnish in understanding Dinnāga's philosophy, along with avenue of conceptual growth and comprehensiveness together with originality of its conceptual framework. On this background we briefly outline below what appears to be the specific motive behind writing T.P. with the help of an example or two, picked up from the text, the Sanskrit reconstruction from the Tibetan translation of which is appended at the end of this essay for the convenience of the concerned.

The following reasons, in our opinion, seem to have prompted Dinnāga to write T.P. : As is well known, Buddhists in general, hold that nothing in the world is permanent and eternal (*Anityatā*). Change is a structural and constitutive feature of anything. Anything that is real must be susceptible to change,²¹ as no existence without change is understandable. Change, thus, is not only an inalienable feature of things but also of their states (*Bhāvas*) as well. In T.P. this view seems to be clearly articulated telling us that it is not time which determines change. Rather, we use time as a tool to map change that is built into things.

In T.P., Dinnāga also seems to put forth and abide himself by another important tenet of Buddhism, viz., no-soul theory *Anātmatā*. As there is no eternal element in things, so too are organisms bereft of anything permanent and eternal, called self or soul. It is an untenable dogma to hold that nothing that is real can ever be understood properly without reference to something or some aspect of it which is not subject to change – gradual or violent. So too, it is a misnomer to hold that there is no way to comprehend the nature of the real except through subject - predicate mould of language and communication. Rather, everything is made up of clusters of features, *Sarṅghātas* and, hence, the meaning of existence needs to be understood in terms of such a collection or cluster of characteristic features.

It is being prompted by such considerations that Buddhism in general and Dinnāga in particular in his T.P. seems to analyse existence in terms of emergence and destruction – coming into being and passing away, i.e., becoming.²² These two phases of the existential object are so intricately related with each other that it seems almost implausible to make satisfactory sense of the claim, no matter whether advanced common-sensically or by adherents of other philosophical schools, that essence of things consists in their stability complete or partial. In fact the truly real could be surmised to be a unique particular such that the modes of communication we are normally accustomed to are incapable of capturing it.²³ Considerations of

spatio-temporality, too, seem to be irrelevant for the purpose, as the nature of the real, as it is, can hardly be said to be determined by them. Though they may be found useful in explicating uncritical modes which we seem to be prone to adopt in our epistemology, together with the sort of logic and language in common-sensical enterprise commensurate with it, they could hardly be said to be determined by the things as they are and our appropriate knowledge of them. Diñnāga seems to be grappling with such issues in T.P., without putting forth explicitly any symptomatic characterization of what he takes to be real,²⁴ perhaps because his thought along this line had not become crystallised when he wrote the work under consideration.

Another important consideration with regard to the study of T.P. seems to be that Diñnāga here appears to be inclined towards the doctrine of *Pramāṇa - viplava*,²⁵ another important doctrine of Buddhism, which is more clearly articulated in his other writings. But whatever clues concerning it, which seem to be available in T.P. appear to hint in the direction of the conceptual growth of Diñnāga.

It, thus, seems to us that there are three stages in the conceptual growth of Diñnāga, viz., initial subscription to phenomenalism under Vasubandhu's influence, the middle dissatisfaction with it together with search for originality and novelty coupled with skepticism, and the final adoption of nominalism, rather than a sudden shift from phenomenalism to nominalism as emphasised by some.²⁶ Thus understood, contribution of his minor works in accomplishing his conceptual growth can hardly be neglected or overlooked.

Generally scholars pay attention to major works of a philosopher and more or less neglect the minor ones. Something of this kind also seems to have happened in the case of Diñnāga. It is, nonetheless, important to note that his minor works are neither unimportant in comprehending the conceptual framework of his philosophy, nor irrelevant in properly marking stages of his conceptual growth. This being the case, it is our humble plea that the contribution which his minor works like T.P. make on both the above-mentioned counts also needs to be taken into consideration and hence their serious study is called for. This is because the clues direct or indirect, primary or secondary, which may become available from their study are likely to enrich and widen our proper understanding of his mature works – the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and his auto-commentary on it.

Notes and References

1. Also could be rendered as *Traikālya - parīkṣa*.
2. We have been given different lists of the writings of Diñnāga. However, it seems, the following of them are common, viz., *Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha-saṃgraha*, *Abhidharmakośa-vṛttimarmapradīpa*, *Yogāvatāra*, *Hastavāla-prakaraṇa*, *Upādāya - prajñapti-prakaraṇa*, *Ālambana-parīkṣā (Svavṛtti)*, *Trikāla-parīkṣā*, *Sāmānya - lakṣaṇa*

- *parīkṣā*, *Nyāya - mukha*, *Hetu-mukha*, *Hetvābhāsa-mukha*, *Hetu-cakra*, *Hetu-cakra - nirṃaya* (*hamaru*), *Pramāṇa - samuccaya* and *Vṛtti* on it. Out of them, very few are available in Sanskrit, obviously not in their original form, but as reconstructed from either their Tibetan or Chinese translations. Some scholars have also attempted to translate some of them in Japanese, German, French or English.

3. Almost every major Buddhist philosopher has dealt with four major pillars of Buddhism, viz., *Duḥkha*, *Anityatā*, *Anātmatā* and *Nirvāṇa*. However, the way different Buddhist philosophers have analysed, interpreted and explicated them and chiselled out their respective conceptual frameworks is a topic worthy of serious study. This may also enable one to mark and outline lines and stages of conceptual refinement or degradation, as the case may be, involved in the process, as a result of inter-school or intra-school debates and controversies. This may also enable one to bring out major differences among them.
4. To look into the continued significance and relevance of Buddha's thoughts even in the face of changing circumstances and situation is one thing. To hold that all the interpretations later on given to his thought by his followers were anticipated by the Buddha is quite another. The former, while retaining importance of the Buddha does not overlook the role played by later Buddhist philosophers. The latter acknowledges importance of the Buddha alone, neglecting altogether the variety of interpretations given to Buddha's thought later on in the face of changing circumstances.
5. Instead of writing independent works this was the general pattern adopted by writers in ancient or medieval times. Definition of *Bhāṣya* and *Vārtika* or *Vṛtti* etc. bring out unmistakably the chief tenets of this trend.
6. Frauwallner and Hayes seem to be arguing along this line, though Hayes presents his views only with regard to some texts of Dīnāga. However, Frauwallner in his another article is also attempting to show that the views of Vasubandhu depict impact of Nāgārjuna's thoughts on him, viz., *Trisvabhāva-nirdeśa*. Hence, it seems, according to him in order to interpret and understand a text of Dīnāga, one has to know the traditional intellectual background of him, especially Vasubandhu and Nāgārjuna. This way alone can one hope to gain an insight into his philosophy. It could, however, be held that study of the works of predecessor/s may not be a necessary condition to understand the thought of a successor, although it could be a sufficient condition for the proper interpretation of a text.
7. Dīnāga; *Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha-saṅgraha*; Tucci, G. (ed.); *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1947; Part I and II, pp. 53-57.
8. Whether *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* were written by Nāgārjuna or somebody else, is not authentically proved. However, certainly they were written by some predecessor of Dīnāga and, later on, Dīnāga wrote a commentary on them.
9. D. N. Shastri, R.R. Dravid, S. Mookerjee, C.D. Sharma, etc. are the examples of this view.
10. Th. Stcherbatsky, S.C.Vidyabhusana, etc. are of this opinion.
11. The time-gap between Dīnāga and Dharmakīrti is not so much as compared to the one between Dharmakīrti and ourselves and hence, Dharmakīrti, while analysing, interpreting and even criticising Dīnāga must have been sufficiently clear about the latter's contention. Nonetheless, by using Dharmakīrti's framework one cannot hope to have a better understanding of Dīnāga, for all the time.

For, he might have done violence to the views of Dinnāga while presenting or criticising them.

12. Radhika Herzberger seems to be entertaining this argument while interpreting Dinnāga and his views on a particular concept, viz., *Apoha*. She holds a view that Dinnāga is impressed and influenced by Bhartṛhari and the doctrine of *Apoha* is not an original contribution of Dinnāga. Rather, credit of it should go to Bhartṛhari. The earlier controversies between Vyāḍi and Vyājapyāyana were later on followed by Dinnāga and Bhartṛhari, respectively. Dinnāga seems to be an upholder of Kātyāyana tradition, developed by Vyāḍi, while Bhartṛhari is a follower of Vyājapyāyana, who belongs to the Pāṇinian tradition. Even though they were, thus, opponents, Dinnāga borrowed, so Radhika Herzberger seems to argue, the doctrine of *Apoha* from Bhartṛhari. It is also held that Dinnāga has borrowed a full treatise, viz., *Trikāla-parīkṣā* from Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, *Sambandha-samuddeśa* of *ṭīya-kāṇḍa*. Although we are doubtful about maintainability of such a thesis without running into serious difficulties, we refrain from discussing it here.
13. Until recently, people used to understand the views of the eminent Buddhist scholars like Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti from the works of *Nyāya*, especially when they used to claim that although Buddhist logic is not unimportant, it could be studied from the way it is presented in the *Nyāya* texts.
14. The *Nyāya* texts are quite considerably replete with this fact.
15. Frauwallner attempted to show the similarity between Bhartṛhari's some *kārikās* from *Sambandha - samuddeśa* of *Vākyapadīya* and *Trikāla-parīkṣā* of Dinnāga, in order to impress upon the concerned that Bhartṛhari is prior to Dinnāga. H.R.R. Iyenger also attempted to claim that Dinnāga could at the most be junior contemporary of Bhartṛhari. Jambuvijayaji also accepted the same view. Further, this view, without examining its serious tenability, was presupposed and is accepted by Herzberger and Hayes. Kitagawa, moreover, attempted to locate some views borrowed from Bhartṛhari by Dinnāga in his *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* as well.

Here I would like to point out that reliability of their argument seems to be questionable. For, if similarity together with chronology is going to be the sole basis of arguments of this kind, then can we say that Bhartṛhari borrowed the first stanza of his *Vākyapadīya* from Āryadeva ? Because, the first stanza of Āryadeva's *Cittaviśuddhi prakaraṇa* and Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* (1st *kārikā*, 1st *kāṇḍa*) is almost the same and former is certainly prior to the latter. Further, while Bhartṛhari's primary concern in the *Vākyapadīya* is philosophy of language, that of Dinnāga in the T.P. seems to be whether nature of the real could be said to be determined by either spatio - temporality or even by language. Bhartṛhari affirms determination of the real by language, while Dinnāga rejects such a move. Instead of getting entangled into the controversy who borrowed from whom, it seems better, instead, to study conceptual framework of a given philosopher and the sort of philosophical illumination it is likely to bring forth.

16. R.S.Y. Chi creates an impression that Dinnāga is a formalist on the basis of his interpretation of *Hetu-cakra*, whereas on the basis of *Hastavāla-prakarana*, *Yogāvatāra*, etc. Steinkellner and Vetter seem to be holding a view that Dinnāga is a skeptic.
17. For example H. N. Randle, H. R. R. Iyenger.

18. Hattori is concentrating on the problem of Perception and *Apoḥa* independently of other important concepts used by Dinnāga in his philosophy. Whether the views with reference to Perception and *Apoḥa* have a bearing upon others in the domains of epistemology, logic and / or language or ontology is not made clear.
19. Hayes is attempting to argue in this manner.
20. Frauwallner, for the first time, perhaps, attempts to argue that Dinnāga wrote *Ālambana - parīkṣā* under the impact and influence of Vasubandhu, and later on this view was accepted and presumed to be correct by Hayes, Steinkellner, Vetter, etc. A critical study of *Ālambana-parīkṣā* from this point of view will be illuminative.
21. Cf. M.R. Chinchore (1986).
22. Please see Appendix 1, *kārikā* 10.
23. *Ibid. kārikā* 31.
24. *Ibid. kārikā* 13.
25. *Ibid. kārikā* 3-5.
26. Perhaps it is to the second phase that T.P. belongs to, where Dinnāga is attempting to emphasise that the real object should belong to the external world. This view is contrary to Vasubandhu's. Vasubandhu, in his *Abhidharmakośa* is advocating a view that the object of perceptual cognition need not exist outside in the external world, since cognition itself amounts to our sense-data being internalized. This view is further clarified in his *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*. Dinnāga has attempted to show inadequacies of this view by writing two independent treatises, viz. *Ālambana-parīkṣa*, in which he is attempting to explicate the nature and process of perceptual cognition and T.P., devoted to clarification of the nature of existential reality.

* I am profoundly indebted to Prof. M.P. Marathe for his valuable suggestions and co-operation which enabled me to complete this paper both on the level of the reconstruction of the text and also at different stages in its writing. While reconstructing text of the T.P. into Sanskrit I have tried to be as fair as possible. If any knowledgeable person brings inadequacies involved in it to my notice, I shall be privileged to modify wherever necessary. I have, however, reconstructed the text independently of Bhartṛhari with the intention of making a humble attempt in the direction of as much independent Dinnāgian studies as possible.

I am also indebted to Shri V. B. Bhagwat for, in spite of his old age and indifferent health, correcting my Sanskrit reconstruction. I am thankful to Mr. Omae for his kind co-operation.

I am also thankful to Dr. Baliram Shukla and Pandit Vamanshastri Bhagwat, Pune for their kind help in finalisation of the reconstruction of the Sanskrit text.

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Appendix - Text of T.P. in Sanskrit

आचार्यदिङ्नागकृता त्रिकालपरीक्षा
 (भोटभाषायाः संस्कृतभाषायां पुनारचिता)
 भारतीयभाषायां त्रिकालपरीक्षा नाम ।
 भोटभाषायां दुस-सुम- र्त्तग- प -ज्येस्-ब्य- व ।★
 तत्रास्ति प्रागभावस्तु क्रमरोधो न च तथा ।
 (यः) त्रिकालमुपलब्धिः सैव अस्तु निःस्वभावता ॥१॥
 यथेन्द्रियस्य वैगुण्यादध्यारोपस्तु जन्मवत् ।
 तद्बहुवचनबुद्धेश्च निर्देशस्त्वर्थप्रत्ययैः ॥२॥
 न सर्वविषयाभासः प्रत्ययस्तु स्वराश्रयात् ।
 अर्थस्तु सामान्यरूपश्च स्वरूपप्रतिपादकः ॥३॥
 रूपव्यावृत्तिभेदानां लोकमार्गे निवेशयन् ।
 इन्द्रियज्ञानाभिलाषस्तु बाल्पण्डितसदृशः ॥४॥
 वस्तुरूपं न सर्वेषां ज्ञानस्य त्रिःस्वभावकम् ।
 तद् ह्यत्यन्तशुद्धान्यत् निःस्वभावमेकमुच्यते ॥५॥
 उपप्लव्याद्धि ज्ञानं तु बाह्यमवनाभासितम् ।
 कालुष्यमिव तत्तस्य समग्रमिव भेदजम् ॥६॥
 यथार्थेन फलं दत्तं विना शुद्धं व्यवस्थितम् ।
 तथाऽर्थो हि तदाधाराः स्वरूपमति कथ्यते ॥७॥
 तथा ह्यर्थश्च शब्दश्च ज्ञानवशाद्धिपर्ययः ।
 भावाभावौ न बाह्यौ तु व्यवहारे प्रवर्तते ॥८॥
 यथा अभावोपदर्शनादेतभावोऽनुगम्यते ।
 तथा अभावोपदर्शनादेतद्भावोऽनुगम्यते ॥९॥
 भावान्न जायते भावो नाऽभावोऽनुदर्शनात् ।
 एकास्मात्स्वपरौ न स्तः भावाभावौ वितर्कितौ ॥१०॥
 अभावाननुदर्शनाच्च प्रसाधकमकारणम् ।
 ज्योतिष्मदपि भावस्य कारणं किं करिष्याति ॥११॥
 तस्मात्सर्वमभावो वा भावो वा सर्वमिष्यते ।
 कस्यांचिदन्यावस्थायां न चका सत्यता स्थिति ॥१२॥
 अद्वयमपीह सर्वं स्वभावेनैकलक्षणम् ।
 परिकल्पितव्यवहारेण नानाकारत्वदर्शनात् ॥१३॥
 यथा चतुरवस्थानां निःस्वभावे विकल्पितम् ।
 तथा त्र्यालम्बनमेतद्भावाभावे समाश्रितम् ॥१४॥
 अविरुद्धं विरुद्धं वा सदसच्चाप्यतत्त्वतः ।
 क्रमश्चक्रमनास्तित्वं भावाभावयोर्नलभ्यते ॥१५॥
 विरुद्धश्चाविरुद्धश्च सदसद्वाऽप्यतत्त्वतः ।
 क्रमश्चक्रमनास्तित्वं तदभावेऽपिलभ्यते ॥१६॥
 अभावे त्रयकाले तु भिन्नानां च असंभवः ।
 तस्मात्तर्हि भावोऽपि त्रिकालं तु न युज्यते ॥१७॥
 अस्मत्तत्त्वपरित्यागात्परस्मान्नास्ति युक्तता ।
 अहंत्वादेवान्यस्मात् स्वस्मादपि न युक्तता ॥१८॥

एताद्विरोधो विचित्रोऽपि न कस्यचिदुपकारकः ।
 तदन्यपरित्यागस्य व्यवहारो न प्रवर्तते ॥१९॥
 अभावो भावराहित्यं भावस्य स्वात्मप्रच्युतेः ।
 यत्र सूक्ष्मस्य भावत्वं न हितकृष्णबाधकम् ॥२०॥
 चित्रमपि तु नास्तीति कृष्णं हि न प्रकल्प्यते ।
 अभावो यदि भावः स्यात्तार्हि चेदत्र चिन्त्यते ॥२१॥
 स च तदा भावोऽपि पुनत्र विचार्यते ।
 अभावादतीतस्तु येन व्यवहारगोचरात् ॥२२॥
 भाववशाद् भेदस्य नाशेषपदयोम्यता ।
 आधेयराहित्यमाश्रित्य कारणं नोपलभ्यते ॥२३॥
 अथाभावोऽपि स्याद्दृष्टो कारणाच्चेद्विदि ।
 का तस्य पूर्वविस्था भावेस्त्वस्याश्रयोऽस्ति हि ॥२४॥
 पूर्वविस्थाया-ऽ-भावे तु तद्विधाभावो न युज्यते ।
 भावाभावस्य पश्चात्तु पदं वचनकारणम् ॥२५॥
 नाश्रयो नाश्रयार्थस्य (स्थित्युच्छेदोत्तरामिदम् ।) ★★
 सूदिरितं पदेनात्रत्यन्तं तु विस्मयावहम् ॥२६॥
 यस्मान्निर्देशो यदक्रमो भावानां पूर्ववर्तिनाम् ।
 तदेव आत्म्येदं (रूपं) संप्रकाशयेत् ॥२७॥
 प्रस्थापितानां वितर्केण सर्वेषां द्रव्यपक्षतः ।
 व्यवहारास्पदानां च भविष्यति विकल्पनं ॥२८॥
 तस्मात्सामर्थ्यमाशया एतत्शाश्वतवा दिनः ।
 कथयन्ति क्रमभावत्वं भावान्नापरः क्रमः ॥२९॥
 यथा भावाश्चाभावोऽन्योऽन्योर्निर्विकल्पकः ।
 क्रमयोगपद्योः तु कश्चिद्भेदो न स्वभावतः ॥३०॥
 तस्मात्संभवाकारस्यांशेन शाश्वतः सदसदात्मकः ।
 एकार्थो वाचकशब्दः स्वभाव न प्रकाशयेत् ॥३१॥
 यथा विशुद्धे आकाशे तिमिरे बाह्यदृष्टितः ।
 यथा प्रसाधनं तु सर्वं वैचित्र्यमवभासते ॥३२॥
 एवं चेहापि विज्ञानं निर्विकल्पमविद्यया ।
 कालुष्यमिवापन्नं भेदाकारं प्रवर्तते ॥३३॥
 परिसमाप्तेयं महाचार्यदिङ्नागस्य त्रिकाल्परीक्षा ।
 महापण्डितशान्तकरगुप्तस्य प्राक्वचनं श्रुत्वा ।
 कृतैषा कृतिर्भिक्षुशीलम्बजेन वर्णिता ॥

★ Bstan - hgyur - Section Mdo - Volume - Ce-Folios - 182 -183 Derge edition.

★★ Bracketed portion of the *kārikā* is our addition, in the place of the corrupt portion in the Tibetan translation of it.

À PROPOS OF DHARMA SŪRI-GUṆACANDRA ENCOUNTER

M. A. DIKHY

The doctrinal disputation between the Śvetāmbara Ācārya Vādi Deva Sūri of Bṛhad-gaccha and the Digambara dialectician Kumudacandra of Karṇādeśa at the court of Caulukya Jayasinhadeva Siddharāja (A.D. 1095 - 1144) in Gujarat has been recorded in considerable detail in the Western Indian medieval Jaina literature of the Śvetāmbara sect. This event, moreover, has been discussed at appreciable length by the current writers on the history of the Caulukya or Solankī period. Little, however, has been said by the historians about the contemporaneous debate that took place at the court of Cāhamāna Arṇorāja in Ajayameru (Ajmer) which involved Vādindra Dharmā Sūri *alias* Dharmaghoṣa Sūri of Rāja-gaccha of the Śvetāmbara Church and Paṇḍita Guṇacandra, perhaps of the Māthura or Kāṣṭhā Saṅgha of the Digambara Church. In both the events the Śvetāmbara side has been reported to have emerged victorious.

Unlike the Aṇahillapāṭaka disputation, no detailed perspective of the Ajayameru incident is portrayed in the medieval Jaina *prabandha* writings by, or biographical literature concerning the eminent pontiffs of, the Śvetāmbara persuasion. We know nothing about the instigation that lay behind, and the doctrinal premises based beneath, the battle of wits between the two rival parties. The known Digambara historical sources, on their side, pass in total silence over this event.

Of the two learned disputants, the personality and character of Dharmaghoṣa Sūri are held in somewhat sharper focus than his rival, Paṇḍita Guṇacandra (also called by his literal synonym as 'Guṇendu' in the Śvetāmbara writings.) For instance, it is known that Dharmaghoṣa Sūri was a disciple of Śīlabhadra Sūri of Rāja-gaccha, the latter *gaccha* being a distinguished sub-order of the Śvetāmbara Church which had in its hagiographical list some pontiffs of considerable learning and dialectical competence.¹ Those who followed Dharmaghoṣa Sūri in the lineage proudly addressed him as "Vādi" and "Vādindra", apparently in reference to his dialectical victory at the Ajmer court. Sometime late in the 13th century, a further sub-order called the 'Dharmaghoṣa Sūri-gaccha' seems to have been established after the Sūri's eminence.

Not much of Dharmaghoṣa Sūri's literary contributions, however, is today traceable, nor any detailed biographical record is available unlike the case of Vādi Deva Sūri or, for that matter, Ācārya Hemacandra. In S.1186/A.D.1130 he completed a Prākṛta work called the *Dhamma-kappa-duma* (*Dharma-kalpa-*

druma), perhaps with a pun on the prefix *Dharma*.² One other work, the *Gṛhi-dharma-parigraha-ṣarimāṇa*³, also dated in S.1186, seems to be his work. A psalm on the *śāśvata* (eternal) Jaina *tīrthas*,⁴ and a sensitively rendered hymn in praise of Jina Pārśva⁵ are among the other known literary productions reflecting his talent at composing devotional Sanskrit poetry. Jinaprabha Sūri of Kharatara gaccha, in the “Phalavarddhi-Pārśvanātha-kalpa” inside his famous *Kalpaprādīpa* (C.A.D.1333)⁶, credits him to have consecrated the image of the renowned Jina Pārśva of Phalodi in S.1181 / A.D.1125.⁷ Dharma Sūri also had deeply impressed the Cāhamāna monarch Visaladeva Vighraharāja IV (A.D. 1153-1163), successor of Arṇorāja, by his didactic and expository skills.⁸ The King, in deference to Sūri’s admonishment, forbade violence for the 11th day of the month, and, also at his instance, founded a magnificent Jaina temple called ‘Rāja-vihāra’ at Śākambhari (Sambhar) near Ajmer.⁹ As for the Digambara divine Guṇacandra, practically nothing is traceable from the known Digambara Jaina literary sources, though a small but significant evidence from epigraphical side on his presence in Rajasthan in the time of Cāhamāna Arṇorāja is available and will be noticed in the sequel.

Perhaps the earliest literary notice on the Ajmer contestation between the two churches is encountered in the *Mudrita-Kumudacandra-prakarāṇa* (c. latter half of the 12th century A.D.), a play in Sanskrit by Yaśāscandra, which in main narrates the background, actuality, and consequence of the doctrinal debate between Vādi Deva Sūri and Kumudacandra.¹⁰ A dialogue inside the play between two followers of Deva Sūri, Nāgadeva and Thāhaḍa by name, makes a tacit, though somewhat unpleasant, allusion to the debacle of Guṇacandra at the assembly of Arṇorāja, the name of Dharmaghoṣa Sūri, however, is not mentioned in the context :

थाह०---आसीदेवं गुणचन्द्रस्त्यापि मुखबन्धवैदध्यप्रसिद्धिः परम् -

अण्णोराजनेन्द्रसंसदि तदा दिग्वाससां स्वामिनो,

यद्वाग्वीचिभिराहतस्य निरागदपोष्मणः प्रौढिमा ।

चित्रं त्वेतदभूदमुष्य वदने यद् वलितः कालिमा,

स्वेदोऽङ्गेषु विजृम्भितोऽधरपुटेशोषः समुन्मीलितः ॥३॥

तदस्य भगवतः श्रीदेवसूरेः प्रसादेन द्रक्ष्यामो वयमात्मशासनसमुन्नतिं,

नताङ्गीप्रवेशमाङ्गलिय्यहरितालिकाङ्कुरमण्डलीमिव

पराजयदग्धदिगम्बरवदने दर्शशर्कीशैशवसखीं श्याममपीम् ॥

That the disputant from the Śvetāmbara side in this Ajmer incident was Dharmaghoṣa Sūri is clarified from the statements of the immediate disciple and grand-disciples of Dharmaghoṣa Sūri (cf. Tables 2 and 3). Yaśobhadra Sūri, the direct disciple of Dharma Sūri, in the eulogistic colophon of his *Vivarāṇa* (gloss or commentary) of the *Āgamika-Vastu-vicārasāra* of Jinavallabha Sūri of Kharatara gaccha (c. late 11th cent. A.D.), takes an unequivocal note of the debate and its outcome; ¹¹ this notice can hardly be later than the

sixties of the 12th century A.D. Thus records the Sūri:

अर्णोराजनूपे सभापरिवृढे श्रीदेवबोधादिषु
 प्रासानेकजये....(सा)क्षिषु स दिग्वासः शिरः शेखरः।
 सद्विद्योपि गुणेंदुरंतरुदितक्षोभोद्भवद्वेषधु-
 हंतुं यस्य निशम्य मंतुविमुखं तत्याज वाच(चो) व्रतं ॥१०॥
 यस्य....पांडुर्भ्रमति दश दिशः कीर्तिरुत्साहितेव
 घाटं द्रष्टुं त्रिलोक्याः सुरभितभुवनैस्तैः पवित्रैश्चरित्रैः ।
 तस्य श्रीधर्मसूरेर्निवधिषिषणा ... शिष्यलेशः
 स्मृत्यै स्वस्येदमल्पं विवरणमकृत श्रीयशोभद्रसूरिः ॥११॥

Yaśobhadra's disciple Raviprabha Sūri had composed a unique poem in praise of Dharmaghoṣa Sūri, the *Dharmasūri - stuti* (c. late 12th century A.D.) wherein, too, figures an explicit reference to the Ajmer disputation and the discomfiture of Guṇacandra :¹²

नंदादाचंद्रमिद्रः स जगति गुणिनां धर्मसूरिर्वचस्वी
 यस्योद्यद्गद्य - गोदालहरिषु परितः प्लावयंतीषु मग्नः ।
 कोहं किं स्थानमेतत् प्रकृतमिह किमित्यादि नामंस्त किंचित्
 दिग्वासः शेखरोसावजयनरपतेः पर्षदि श्रीगुणेंदुः ॥२६॥
 अर्णोराजमहीपतेरेधिसभं पश्यत्यशेषं जग-
 त्पस्नित्वाखिलशास्त्रविन्मलयजैराकल्पितं दिक्पटं ।
 आयांत्या जयसंपदा प्रकटितः सौभाग्य-भाग्योदयो
 यस्यानन्यसमः चिरं स जयति श्रीधर्मसूरिप्रभुः ॥२७॥

A donor's eulogy at the end of the *Kalpasūtra* manuscript dated S.1335/A.D.1279, in its succinct *gurvāvalī* of Rāja-gaccha (beginning with Dharmaghoṣa Sūri), also takes note of this achievement¹³; the selfsame verse also figures in the Dilwara (Delvādā, Mt. Ābū) inscription, dated S.1378/A.D. 1322¹⁴, mentioning as it does the predecessors of Jñānacandra Sūri of Rāja - gaccha (see Table 3).

वादिचंद्रगुणचंद्रविजेता, भूपातत्रयविबोधविधाता ।
 धर्मसूरिरिति नाम पुरासीत्, विश्वविश्वविदितो मुनिराजः ॥३९॥

And lastly Jinaprabha Sūri in the "*Phalavarddhi - Pārśvanātha - kalpa*" inside the *Kalpaprādīpa* (c. A.D. 1333) alludes to Guṇacandra, and Dharmaghoṣa Sūri's Ajmer victory : ¹⁵

एगारससप्तसु इक्कासीइसमहिणसु विक्रममाइवरिसेसु अइक्कंतेसु
 रायगच्छमंडणसिरिसीलभइसूरिपड्डपइडिण्हिं महावाइदिअंबरगुणचंद्रविजयपत्तपइडेहिं
 सिरिधम्मघोससूरीहिं पासनाहचेईअरिहेरे चजविहसंघसमकखं पइडा किआ ।

Some Apabhraṁśa and Gurjara-bhāṣā compositions of the 13th-14th century rendered in praise of Dharmaghoṣa Sūri apparently by the friars of

the Rāja-gaccha, still unpublished, ¹⁶ may also have referred to the Ajmer disputation; however, it is hardly necessary to summon these sources as additional evidence attesting to the incident, since those quoted in the foregoing are sufficiently early, authentic, clear, and dependable.

As for Guṇacandra, an inscription on the Digambara marble image of Jina Śāntinātha dated S.1195/A.D.1139, reported from Naugāmā in the erstwhile Alwar State, records its making by Paṇḍita Guṇacandra for Gaupṭanandi.¹⁷ Considering the date and the provenance (about 150 kms. from Ajmer), it is likely, indeed to a fair degree, that this Paṇḍita Guṇacandra and the Digambara disputant, Guṇacandra or Guṇendu of the 12th and the 13th century Śvetāmbara Jaina writers are identical.

The next question concerns with the probable date of the Ajmer encounter. It doubtless has to be placed sometime inside the reign-period of Arṇorāja (A.D.1133-1154) as all major sources clearly indicate. The *Mudrīta-Kumudacandra-prakarāṇa*'s allusion to this contest would have us believe that it preceded the Aṇahillapāṭaka debate which took place in the time of Jayasinhadeva Siddharāja who had passed away in A.D. 1144. In other words, the date of Ajmer debate must be narrowed down between A.D.1133, the date of accession of Arṇorāja and A.D.1144, the date of the end of Caulukya Siddharāja's reign. The obstacle in accepting this bracket is the statement in the *Prabhāvakacaritra* of Prabhācandrācārya of Rāja-gaccha (S.1333/A.D.1277) that the disputation between Deva Sūri and Kumudacandra took place in S.1181/ A.D.1125, which is some eight years prior to the accession of Arṇorāja ! We must then believe that either Yaśāscandra's reference to the Ajmer debacle of Guṇacandra is anachronistic in relation to the Pāṭaṇ context, or the date mentioned for the Aṇahillapāṭaka debate, namely A.D.1125 by Prabhācandra, must be incorrect. While arguments can be advanced both for and against this specific (latter) date¹⁸, they do not help reaching a firm conclusion in favour of one or the other possibility. At any rate, it is a detail which does not challenge the central fact of such an encounter to have taken place at the Ajmer court in Arṇorāja's time.

Rajasthan of the Cāhamāna, rather than Gujarat of the contemporaneous Solāṅkīs, seems to be the main sphere of activities of Dharma Sūri.¹⁹ Rāja-gaccha emanated from Dhancśvara Sūri who is said to be the former Kardama king of Tribhuvanagiri (Tahangadh) in Rajasthan in the *gurvāvalīs*. Indeed, exceedingly few inscriptions of Rāja-gaccha have so far been found from Gujarat.²⁰ Ajayameru (Ajmer), the Cāhamāna capital from the 12th century A.D., therefore, seems to be the focal centre of the religious activities of Dharma Sūri as the leading pontiff of the Rāja-gaccha.

Supplementum

A colophon of the manuscript of the *Nisītha-Sūtra*, dated S. 1217/ A.D.

1161²¹, refers to some debate which took place in presence of King Vighararāja IV where the Śvetāmbara Belief is said to have won (against the Digambara rival):

श्रीविग्रहराजपुरः कीर्तिर्यस्यास्ति वादजयलब्धेः।
श्वेतांबरसद्वर्तनमिदमर्हच्छासनं जयति ॥१॥छा॥

Since this reference is dated as early as A.D. 1161, it might have in mind either the Dharmaghoṣa Sūri -Guṇacandra encounter, or some other subsequent debate which may have taken place in the time of Vighararāja IV (A.D. 1153-1163). In either case, it is an important historical reference. In the former case, it must be surmised that the Dharma Sūri-Guṇacandra debate took place in the time of Vighararāja instead of his predecessor Arṇorāja. However, all other earlier, including contemporaneous, sources clearly connect the court of Arṇorāja with that debate which apparently had been well-known in the medieval times in Western India.

Notes and References

1. For instance Pradyumna Sūri (c. latter half of the 10th century A.D.) who had defeated a Digambara dialectician at the court of Allu of Kucherapura (Kucera) in Rajasthan. His disciple Abhayadeva Sūri (c. A.D. 950 -1000) wrote a famous treatise on the doctrinal dialectics called the *Vāda-mahāṛṇava*. (For the lineage of Dharma Sūri, cf. here table 1 at the sequel.)
2. Cf. Mohanlal Dalichand Deshai, *Jaina Sāhitya-no Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa* (Gujarātī), Bombay 1933, p. 251, para. 351.
3. Tripuṭi Maharaja, *Jaina Paramparā-no Itihāsa* (Gujarātī), Part II, Ahmedabad 1960, pp. 39-40.
4. The psalm in question has been re-edited, and will eventually be published by Pt. Babul Sevchand Shah.
5. *Anekānta* (Hindi), (ed.) Pt. Jugalkishor Mukhtar, Year 14, Ray 5, December 1956, p. 124. The manuscript, as recorded by the editor, is preserved in the Pañcāyatī Bhaṇḍāra of Baḍā Dhaḍā, Ajmer.
6. Cf. the *Vividha-Tīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri, Part I, (ed.) Jina Vijaya, Singhi Jaina Series No. 10, Śāntiniketan 1934.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.
8. A colophon dated S. 1384/ A.D. 1328 of an omnibus manuscript in one of the manuscripts library in Pāṭaṇ incorporates the *Paryuṣaṇā-Kalpa-Ṭippaṇa* of Pṛthvīcandra Sūri (c. second quarter of the 13th century A.D.), a great grand disciple of Dharmaghoṣa Sūri, which leads to such a belief.

[Cf. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jaina Bhandars of Pattan*, (ed.) Lalchandra Bhagawandas Gandhi, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LXXVI, Baroda 1932, p. 37].

A generation before the last named Sūri, Raviprabha Sūri, a pupil of Yaśobhadra Sūri and grand-disciple of Dharma Sūri, likewise refers to king of Śākambhari who

used to attend the didactical lectures of Dharmaghoṣa Sūri:

एकोस्मिन् भुवनत्रये विजयते श्रीधर्मसूरिर्गिरिं
व्युत्पत्तिर्न शमस्य यस्य [च] शतं स विग्रहमापतिः ।
ईदृक् कोस्ति विचक्षणः क्षितितलेत्रये(त्रे)त्यूचिवात्रापारं
वक्त्रेण स्तवनोच्छलद्भुजलतालंकारनादैरपि ॥२८॥

(Cf. *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 369.)

9. *Ibid.* the undernoted verses:

स्तुत्यः कस्मिन् न धर्मसूरिसुगुरुर्ष्योपदेशात् पुरे
स्वस्मिन् कारयति स्म विग्रहनृपो जैनं विहारं द्रुतं ।
यस्मिंस्तस्य गिरा चकार च गुरुर्विवप्रतिष्ठा [विधिं]
भूयोऽप्यस्य गिरा निवारितवधामेकादर्शी स्वक्षितौ ॥२९॥
ऊर्ध्वीकृत्य भुजं वदाम्यनुपमं श्रीधर्मसूरिर्गिरा-
मादेयत्वमसौ यदस्य वचसा श्रीविग्रहेः स्वयं ।
यस्मिन् राजविहार-दंड-कलशारोप-प्रतिष्ठादिने
सार्धं श्रीअरिसीह-माल्वमहर्षिद्वार्यां ध्वजे लम्बवान् ॥३०॥

[Cf. *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p.370.]

10. *Mudrita Kumudacandra prakaraṇa*, Śrī Jaina-Yaśovijaya Granthamālā, No.8, Kāśī V.S. 2432 (A.D. 1905).

11. *A Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 395 - 396.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 369.

13. *Ibid.*, p.36. Therein, it is said that, in the assembly of Ajayarāja, Guṇacandra was spellbound by the oration of Dharma Sūri.

14. *Śrī Arbuda- Prācīna-Jaina-Lekhasandoha (Ābu, Part II)*, Śrī Vijayadharma Sūri Jaina Granthamālā No. 14, (ed.) Śrī Jayantavijayaji, Ujjain V.S.1994 (A.D.1938), p.7, Inscription 1, vs. 39.

15. Cf. *Vividha-Tīrthakalpa*, p. 106.

16. Cf. *A Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 308, 372.

17. Cf. Gauri Shankar H. Oza, *Annual Report on the Working of the Rajaputana Museum, Ajmer*, Calcutta 1921, p.2. Also, *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy* 1957-58, p.59, No.B,429.

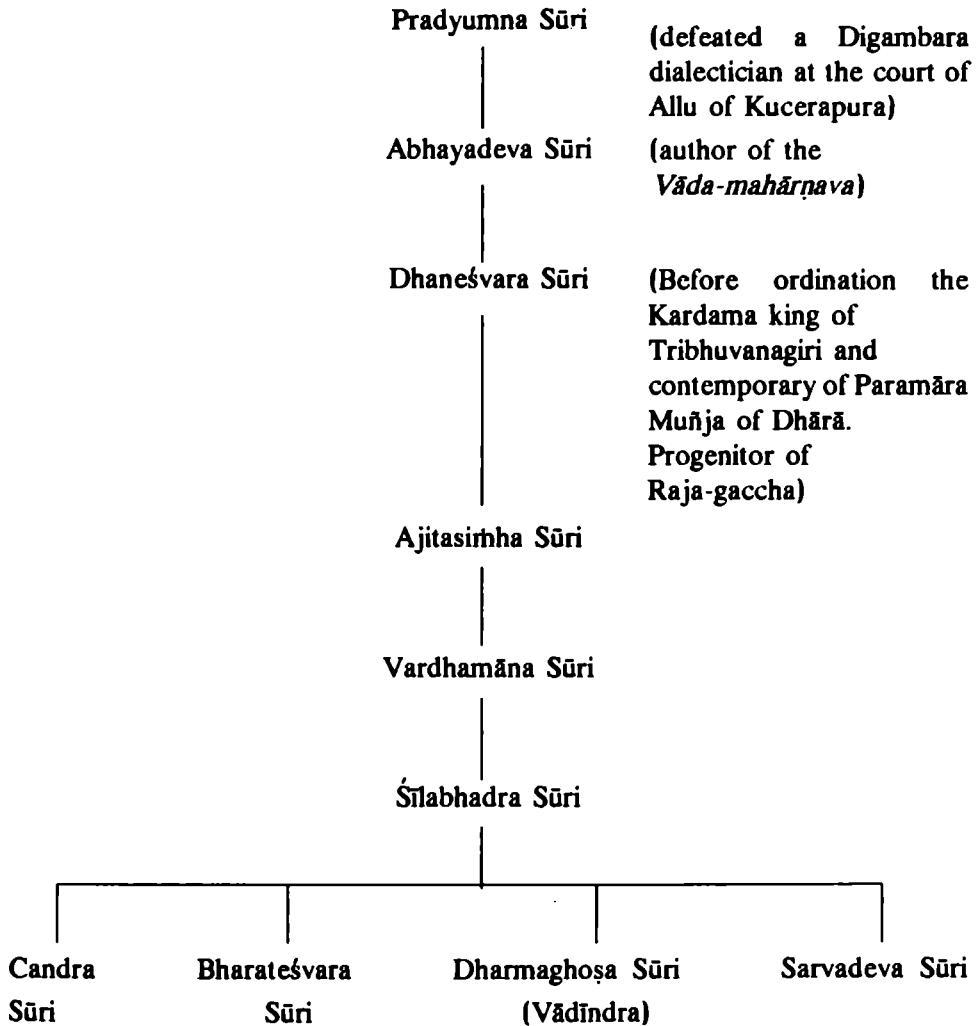
18. The *prabandhas* mention that queen Mayaṇalladevī (Maiḷaladevī in Kannaḍa inscriptions,) mother of Jayasimhadeva Siddharāja, who possibly had married to the Caulukya King Kaṇadeva in c. A.D.1070, was alive at the time of Aṇahillapāṭaka debate. If we placed the debate's date some time later in Siddharāja reign, it may seem unlikely that she could have lived so long. Also, the single available date for Minister Āśuka (who had counselled Jayasimhadeva to found the temple to Mahāvīra after the victory of Vādi Deva Sūri), is, according to the colophon of a manuscript, S. 1179/A.D.1123, which is close to the *Prabhāvaka-caritra's* date A.D.1125 for the selfsame debate. On the other hand, at the latter date, the age of Vādi Deva Sūri could be only 38. His position at this relatively younger age as the leader of the celebrated Bṛhad-gaccha seems somewhat unlikely if not impossible; and the maturity and competence needed for the debate may at first reckoning seem unattainable at that age from the practical point of view.

On these premises, if we assume his age somewhere between 50 and 55 at the time of the debate, the date of the debate could be sometime c. A.D.1135-1140 (either before or after the victory on Mālava by Siddharāja), which would then accord with Yaśāscandra's allusion to the Ajmer debate having already taken place. Final decision must, of course, await some more evidence.

19. There are no references to the celebrated Sūri's contacts with King Jayasirhadeva Siddharāja and his successor Kumārapāla (A.D. 1144-1176) with both of whom he otherwise was contemporary.
20. For instance the Mahāvīra temple inscription at Kumbhāriā on the pedestal of cult image of Jina Mahāvīra (S.1118 / A.D.1062) refers to the consecrating Sūri as of Rāja-(gaccha). (Cf. Madhusudan Dhaky and Harishankar Prabhaskar Shastri, "Ārāsaṇa-nā be śilālekho-nī punarvācanā" (Gujarātī), *Svādhyāya*, Vol. VII, No.1, V.S.2027.)
21. Cf. *Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in the Śāntinātha Jaina Bhāṇḍāra*, Cambay, Part 1, (ed.) Muni Puṇyavijaya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 135, Baroda, 1961, p.59.

TABLE 1

Hagiographical Lineage of Dharma Sūri alias
Dharmaghoṣa Sūri of Rāja-gaccha



(c. 2-3rd quarters of the 12th cent. A. D.)

TABLE 2

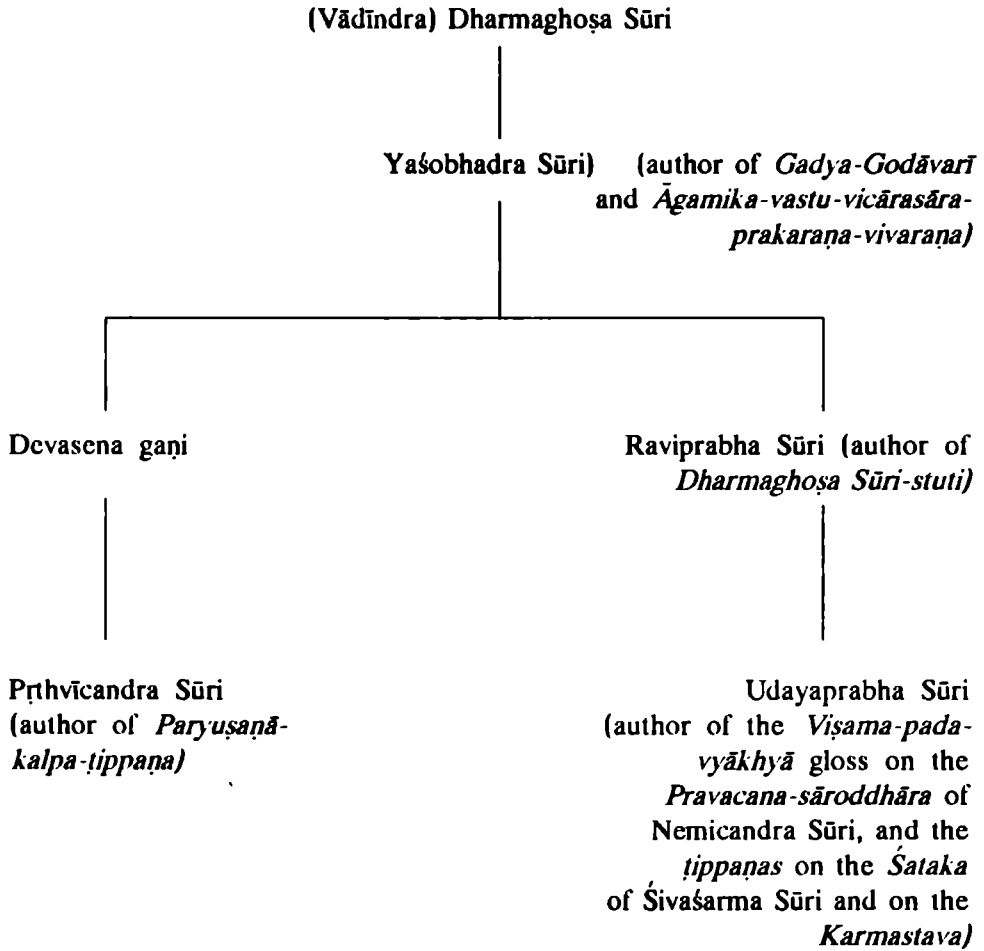
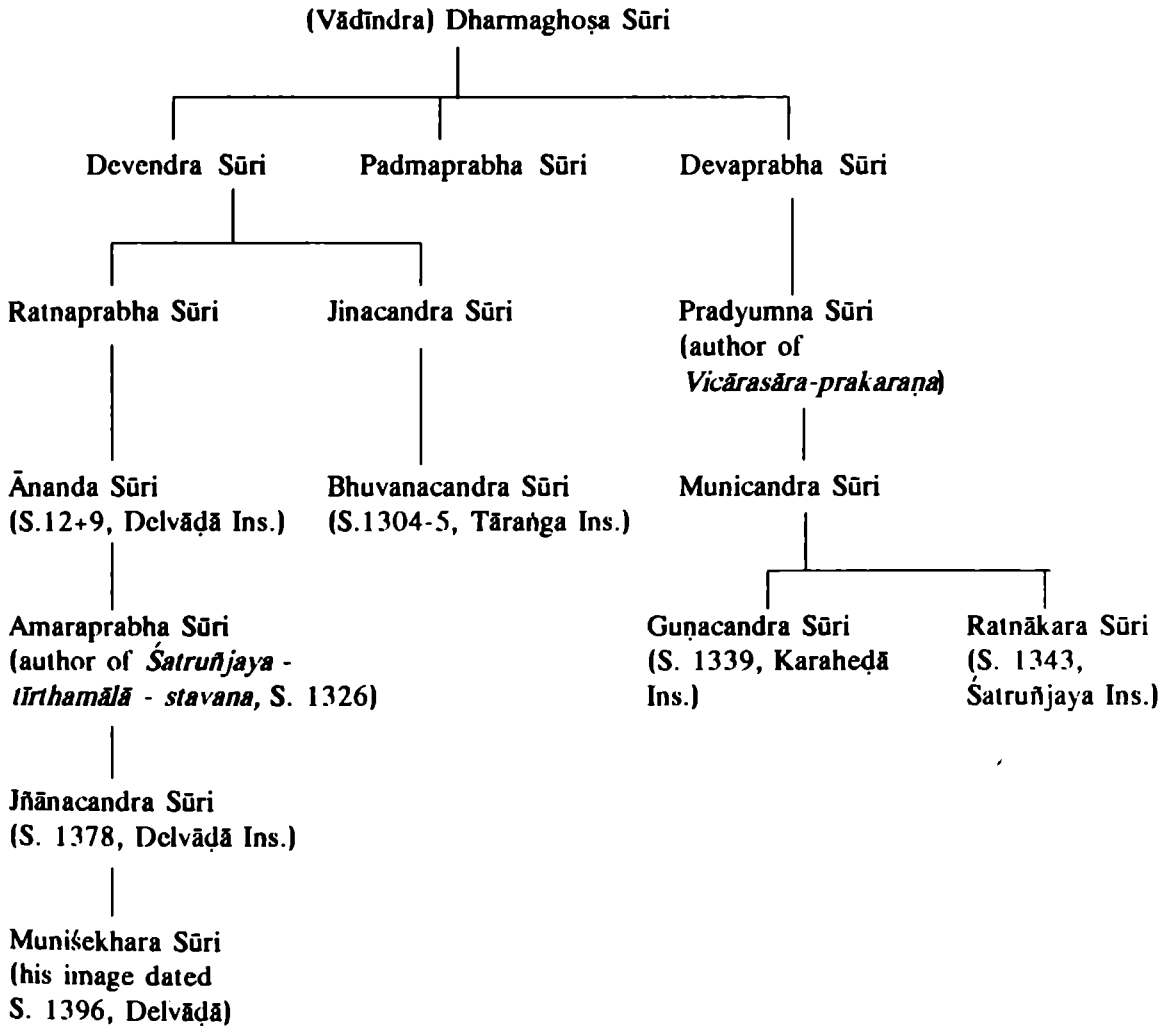


TABLE 3



CAUTION AGAINST THE USE OF LITERARY SOURCES IN THE STUDY OF MARINE ARCHAEOLOGY AND KRṢṆA'S DVĀRAKĀ

L. B. KENNY

“Two gateways, fortwalls, bastion and jetty have been exposed at 10 metre water depth in the Arabian Sea off Dwarka. The architectural features of the submerged city correspond more or less to the description given in the great epic Mahabharata. The importance of the discovery of Dwarka lies not merely providing archaeological evidence needed for corroborating the traditional account of the submergence of Dwarka but also indirectly fixing the date of the Mahabharata War which is a landmark in Indian history.”¹

“In the *Mahabharata* there are references to naval expeditions of Sahadeva and ships loaded with merchandise calling at Dwarka. Krishna is said to have rescued Sandipani's son who was kidnapped by the Panchajana Rakshasas and taken away in their ship. From this episode it appears piracy prevailed in the protohistoric period.”²

“Another prosperous city mentioned in the *Mahabharata* is Dvārakā said to have been founded by Sri Krishna but subsequently inundated and submerged by the sea. The *Musala Parva* of the *Mahabharata* and *Harivamśa*, an Appendix to the epic, refer to the submergence of Dvārakā by the sea. Three sites namely, Mūla Dvārakā on the southwest coast of Saurashtra, Girinagara in Junagadh District and Dvārakā in Okhamandal are popularly known as Krishna's Dvārakā. For a proper identification of any one of them as the legendary Dvārakā, there should be relics of a second or third millennium B.C. at the port town, for, the Mahabharata War is variously dated between 1424 B.C. (Pusalkar 1955:56) and 3102 B.C. The consensus date of Mahabharata War is 1500 B.C.”³ “Offshore archaeological excavation of the site was expected to yield datable artifacts for fixing the age of the Mahabharata.”⁴

“The Buddhist Jatakas such as the *Sankha*, *Valassa*, *Maha-Ummaga*, *Supparaga*, *Mahajanaka*, *Samuddha Vaniya* and *Silanisamsa* refer to several sea voyages and dangers to which navigators were exposed and how they were saved by the Bodhisattva. They also give details of shipbuilding and list the cargo and men carried..... According to *Supparaga Jataka*, the pilot Supparaga was the Bodhisattva living in Bharukaccha. Though old he piloted the ships at the request of the merchants..... The landing scene of Prince Vijaya in Ceylon on the day of *Nirvāna* of Buddha referred to in *Siṃhala*

Avadāna is the theme of an important painting in Ajanta Cave." "The *Manimekhalai*, *Silappathikaram* and *Paddinappalai* are important sources of information for marine archaeologists to look for submerged ports and shipwrecks of the Early Historical period. For the West Coast ports and sunken ships, the *Mahabharata* and the *Jatakas* are our main source."⁵

All these above-quoted references indicate the complete dependence of the marine archaeologist on Indian literary sources for the study of submerged port of Dvārakā. Even an earlier excavation near the temple of Dvārakādhīśa of Dvārakā by the Deccan College of Pune, had opined that "one can definitely say that this is the Dvārakā mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Dvārakāmāhātmya* of *Skanda Purāṇa* and *Ghaṭa Jātaka*. In particular one can say that this is the Dvārakā described in such a great detail as a sacred *tīrtha* (holy place) by the *Harivaṃśa*; probably it came into existence after the second submergence in the sea of two earlier Dvārakās, because it gives very minute description of so many temples and this could have been possible only by a writer who had probably visited Dvārakā and seen the temples. But the writer was quite sure that the Dvārakā he was describing was twice submerged into the sea and therefore the earlier Dvārakā belonged to Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Of course of this we have no positive evidence excepting the fact that it is possible to say that the earliest Dvārakā was founded at least in the 1st-2nd century B.C. - A.D. (Ansari and Mate 1966 : 13-17)."⁶

According to the marine archaeologist of Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā, however, the above-mentioned observation of the excavation of the Deccan College "is self-contradictory because the references in the *Harivaṃśa* and *Ghaṭa Jātaka* quoted by the excavators are earlier than the 2nd-4th century B.C.... The *Ghaṭa Jātaka*, an independent source, referring to Dvārakā is not later than the 3rd century B.C. From these reliable texts," the remark continues, "it is obvious that Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā must have existed long before the 3rd century B.C. and the date 1st century B.C. - A.D. assigned by Sankalia to the first Dvārakā was incorrect."⁷

A little later, it is further stated that a Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* is the same as Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata*.⁸

With what evidence is the Kṛṣṇa of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* identified with the Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata*, when there are several Kṛṣṇas referred to in the *Mahābhārata*?⁹ With what evidence are *Harivaṃśa* and *Ghaṭa Jātaka* dated earlier than 4th century B.C.?¹⁰

How could the Mahābhārata War be described as "a landmark in Indian history" when D.C. Sircar has described it "as a flight of fancy"?¹¹ How could a marine archaeologist prove the prevalence of piracy in India by the evidence of a mythical episode of Kṛṣṇa rescuing somebody kidnapped by Rākṣasas, narrated in the *Mahābhārata* of uncertain date? Could the historical

date of the Mahābhārata War be fixed by consensus? Could datable artifacts excavated offshore be useful to fix the age of the *Mahābhārata* ?

The *Supparaga Jātaka* narrates the episode of Supparaga, who was the Bodhisattva himself, as an aged and almost blind voyager. Yet the merchants requested him to lead their ship from Bharukaccha to Sopara, as, being a miraculous person, he could lead the voyages safely by observing the fishes, the colour of the water, the birds and the rocks.¹² This account proves without any doubt that the ships moved coastwise and not in the high sea.¹³ The *Jātaka* further states that while crossing the Nala Malini, Supparaga rescues the ship from danger, and orders the merchants to fill the ship with sand and stones from that part of the sea, and on the next day they were surprised to find the sand and stones changed into silver, gold, sapphires, beryl, etc.¹⁴ Could the *Jātakas* with such mythical accounts be useful as authentic historical sources of maritime activities?

To prove the antiquity of sea-going Indian ships, the marine archaeologists rush to the *Rgveda*, the earliest literary work written in Sanskrit. Referring to *Rgveda* I, 116, 3-5, it is said :

“A passage in the *Rgveda* mentions an expedition sent by Tugra, a sage-king (Rājarṣi) under the command of his son Bhujyu against the enemies in the far away islands, but the ships were wrecked in the mid-sea. However, the twin gods Aśvins, came in hundred-oared galleys, and the Gods rescued Bhujyu and his followers. What is significant here,” writes the marine archaeologist of Kṛṣṇa’s Dvārakā, “is the mention of a shipwreck, the use of multi-oared galleys and the Gods rescuing Bhujyu and his followers. The multi-oared galleys are known from Egyptian tombs. A potsherd from Lothal is also painted with a multi-oared galley. Perhaps such galleys were in use in the Vedic period also.”¹⁵ Another reference to *Rgveda* VI,20,12 which means “O Hero (Indra), over the sea thou broughtest in safety Turvāsa and Yadu”¹⁶ is also given as an evidence that the tribes of Turvāsas and Yadus travelled by sea (*samudra*).

Before commenting on the above views of the marine archaeologists of Kṛṣṇa’s Dvārakā it is worthwhile to understand the exact passages of the *Rgveda* itself. Translated by Griffith, the first reads : “Yea, Aśvins, as a dead man leaves his riches, Tugra left Bhujyu in the cloud of waters/ Yea brought him back in animated vessels, traversing air, unwetted by the billows//3.”

“Bhujyu, ye bore with winged things, Nāsatyas which for three nights, three days full swiftly travelled./

To the sea’s further shore, the strand of ocean, in three cars, hundred-footed, with six horses.//4”

“Ye wrought that hero exploit in the ocean which giveth no support,
or hold, or station,/

What time ye carried Bhujyu to his dwelling, borne in a ship with hundred
oars, O Aśvins, //5’’¹⁷

Referring to the same episode *Rgveda* I, 182, 5 states:

“Ye made for Tugra’s son amid the water-floods that animated ship
with wings to fly withal...’’¹⁸,

and further, *Rgveda* I, 158,3 states:

“As erst for Tugra’s son your car, sea-crossing, strong, was equipped
and set amid the waters...’’¹⁹,

and lastly as mentioned in *Rgveda* I,117, 14-15:

“With horses brown of hue that flew with swift wings ye brought back
Bhujyu from the sea of billows//14.

“The son of Tugra had invoked you, Aśvins; borne on he went uninjured
through the ocean./

“Ye with your chariot swift as thought, well-harnessed, carried him off,
O Mighty ones, to safety//15.’’²⁰

Could the *Rgveda*, with such mythological accounts given by the composers
of the hymns, be ever respected as an authentic historical source of marine
archaeology?

The reliability of the *Rgveda* as a historical source of marine archaeology
has been rightly rejected by scholars due to different meanings associated
with ‘*Sindhu*’ and ‘*Samudra*.’ The word ‘*Sindhu*’ is often explained as
‘sea’ and not ‘river’, and the word ‘*Samudra*’ as ‘sky’ and not ‘sea’.
The *Rgvedic* passage where the divine Aśvins are requested to escort King
Bhujyu and his followers, to the other side of the ‘sea’ ‘*Sindhu*,’ seems
to be merely a poetic imagination, as no one, in reality, could ever see
the other side or shore of the sea. The word ‘*sindhu*’ has to mean a ‘river’,
a term pre-eminently applied to the Indus river....²¹.

Reference to four seas in *Rgveda* IX, 33.6 seems to be more imaginary
than real, as, unlike the rivers and the mountains, the seas have no names
in the *Rgveda*. The word *Samudra* (sea), seems to have been figuratively
used to mean the vast, limitless expanse of the sky, and the reference to
eastern and western seas in association with the rising and setting of the
sun, as in *Rgveda* X, 136.5, has been “used to mean nothing but eastern
and western sky.”²² The absence of a common word for ‘sea’ in the
Indo-European languages, is also one more evidence to suggest that the

forefathers of the R̥gvedic Aryans in the Punjab, had no knowledge of the sea. *Saptasindhu* would also remain meaningless if 'sindhu' is not explained as 'river'. Regarding the 'hundred-oared galley,' शतात्रिम् नावम् आतस्थिवासम्, it is translated as 'hundred-wheeled chariots' *rathas*, or 'chariots with hundred feet', 'Śatapadbhiḥ'²³ or 'ratha' as a 'flat-bottomed boat in a triangular shape with the figure of horse attached to the tapering end' of the ship.²⁴

With no fixed or uniform meanings of important words significant to maritime activities of ancient India, the *R̥gveda* can never be relied upon as an authentic literary source of marine archaeology. On the other hand, it is worthwhile to know that the work, in reality, is a poetic composition of hymns offering prayers to divine beings in anticipation of their help to overcome difficulties of life. The work is very clear in indicating that the knowledge of maritime routes available only with the divine powers, as maritime activities by sea were totally unknown to the tribal R̥gvedic society.

A galley is also a very advanced concept of warship rowed by slaves or criminals in naval battles. It is a low flat single-decked sea-going vessel using sails and oars. The war galleys of the early Mediterraneans, Greeks and Romans, were very well-known historically. The Greek and Roman warships had one or more banks of oars.

Though oars were known in ancient India, their use by one hundred rowers on a single oceanic ship by the R̥gvedic people seems to be historically not feasible. The knowledge of sea to the R̥gvedic tribal society has been long refuted by eminent archaeologists and writers like Gordon Childe, Mackay, Hopkins, Keith, Dutt, Zimmer, Macdonell, Piggott and Allchins. The early R̥gvedic people were mere cattle-herding nomads moving in search of better pasture lands for their cattle. They often had either internal tribal feuds or skirmishes with the alien pre-R̥gvedic indigenous inhabitants of the Punjab. The tribal chief was *gopa* as a 'cowherd' or a 'shepherd', the queen was *mahiṣī*, a 'she-buffalo', the daughter was *duhitā*, 'one who milked cows' and the feuds were *gaviṣṭhi*, 'fights for cattle'. To associate 'hundred-oared galley' to such a primitive society of the *R̥gveda*, seems historically absurd.

Regarding the huge dimensions of the ships described in the *Jātakas* the comments of a historian on an eleventh century Persian work, *Kitāb Ajaib al Hind*, "The Book of the Wonders of India" by Buzurg ibn Shahriyar, are very significant. Buzurg was a sea-captain and had collected stories from merchants and captains, particularly tales of the sea around India, the Far East and East Africa. "Sea voyages in those days", writes George Fadlo Hourani, "were full of hardships... the ships were often overcrowded. Ibn-Jubayr complains of the conditions endured by the pilgrims crossing from Aydhah to Juddah"²⁵ "Buzurg mentions three very large ships", continues Hourani "carrying an average of 400 persons abroad and such a figure would be

impossible on even the largest of Arab craft without serious overcrowding by modern standards."²⁶ Even the travel accounts of the north African Arab traveller Ibn Battutah, who was in India from A.D. 1333 to 1346, describe two Indian warships, one having sixty oars and the other having fifty rowers and fifty Abyssinian men-at-arms, with a roof to protect the rowers in battle against arrows and stones,²⁷ indicating the capacity of Indian warships during the fourteenth century A.D. and thereby proving the *Jātaka* dimensions of warships to be disproportionately exaggerated and highly imaginative.

According to the accounts of Herodotus, when Hanno of Carthage set sail to find colonies during the fifth century B.C., he had sixty ships, each with fifty oars²⁸. Even in the fourth century B.C., according to Arrian, the Xathroi had supplied to the Macedonian Alexander the Great, the most advanced thirty - oared warships²⁹. The Japanese with warships of the fifteenth century A.D. of plank construction, propelled basically by short oars and a single-masted square sail, could claim the knowledge of such warships with around 200 oarsmen³⁰. But it was only by 16th - 17th centuries that Japanese ship building could boast of a warship propelled by long oars worked by standing rowers, with 200 oarsmen. Was such a feat ever possible for the R̥gvedic tribal society to know "hundred-oared war galleys" in 1500 B.C.?

Historically speaking oars have taken over from paddles with the size of the craft to be propelled and with the need of a better alternative method of propulsion. In the hoary past the guiding and rowing of the ship was done by (Fig.2) a single paddle in shallow water than together by a long steering pole in not very deep water (Fig. 5) and subsequently by single steering oar lashed with the stern, converting it to the first known rudder.³¹ The use of long steering oars continued during the Greek and Roman times, until the steering oar was superseded by the rudder.³² In Japan, for example, paddles were replaced by oars in the beginning of the 8th century A.D.³³ A Scandinavian vessel of 7th or 8th century had a long oar on its right side, used as a rudder.³⁴ The side-rudder, consisting of a large oar on the quarter seems to have been the "only kind of rudder known in the ancient and medieval world."³⁵ There had to be one such rudder on each side in sea-going ships, "because if there was any wind on the beam, the rudder on the windward side might be clean out of the water or not deep enough to have any effect."³⁶ The double rudder may be indicated by the dual form of the Arabic word *Sukkān*.³⁷ The Arabs had a stern rudder by the thirteenth century A.D.³⁸ very well illustrated by the Hariri Ship transcribed from the manuscript of al-Hariri's *Māqāmāt* (Fig. 1) by a scribe from Wasit in Mesopotamia, who was not a seaman himself. Among the noteworthy features of the picture dated A.H.634 or A.D. 1237 to be exact, are the sewn wooden rudder and wooden planks, iron anchor, lug sail, lookout boy, merchants in their cabins and sailors bailing out water. It is a ship voyaging in the

القرآن ثم رغبنا في نشاطه ياتنا دواخاريف جلا ما و قال انكول فيها بسير الله ليجاما
 وبرزنا هانت في ذلك من تفتش المصون من اوعباد الله المصون من امانات

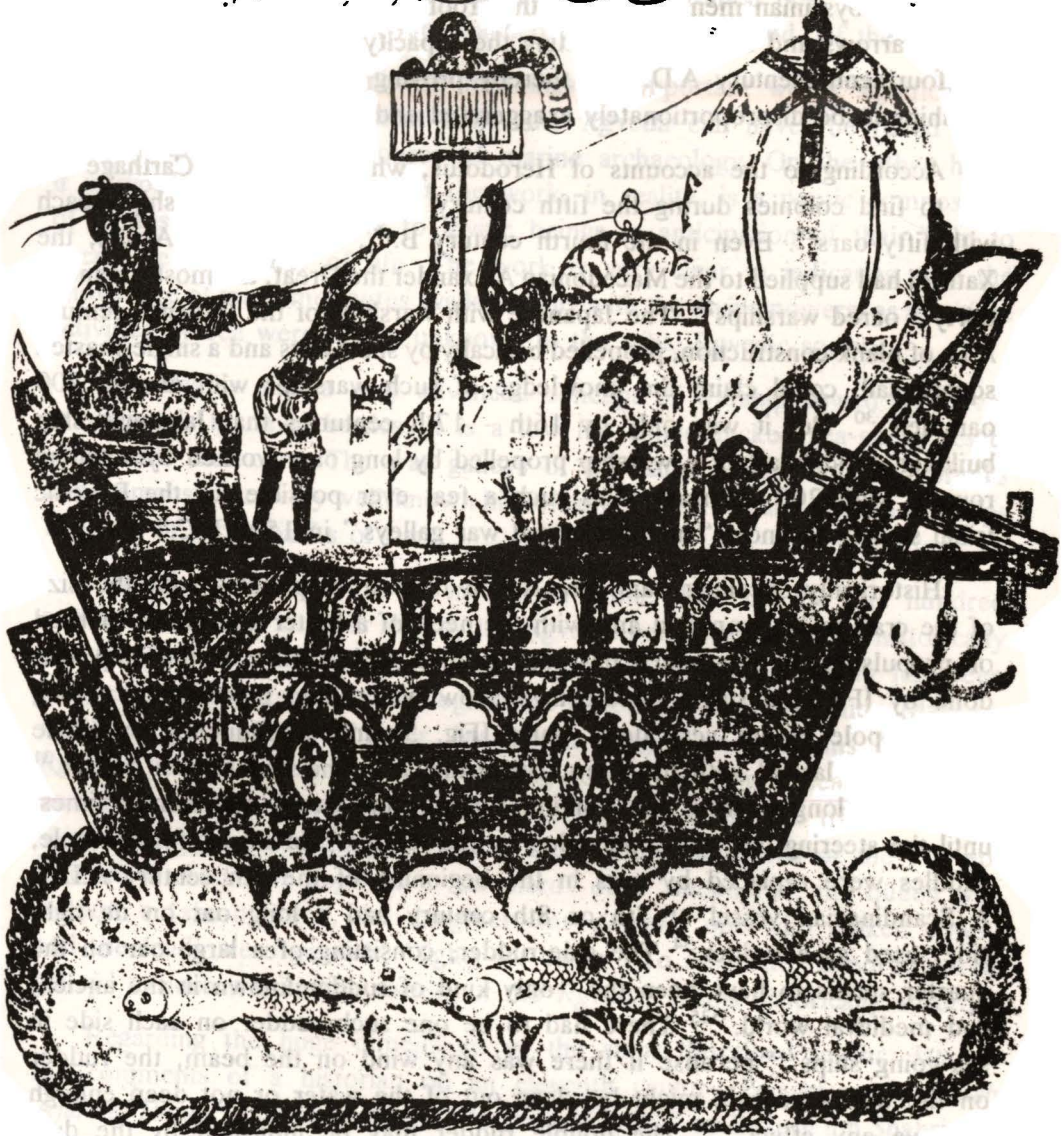


Fig. 1 : Hariri ship from a MS. of al-Hariri's *Maqāmāt* drawn by a Mesopotamian artist in A. D. 1237, with a wooden rudder sewn to the stern-post of a stitched Arab ship with iron anchor and sails.

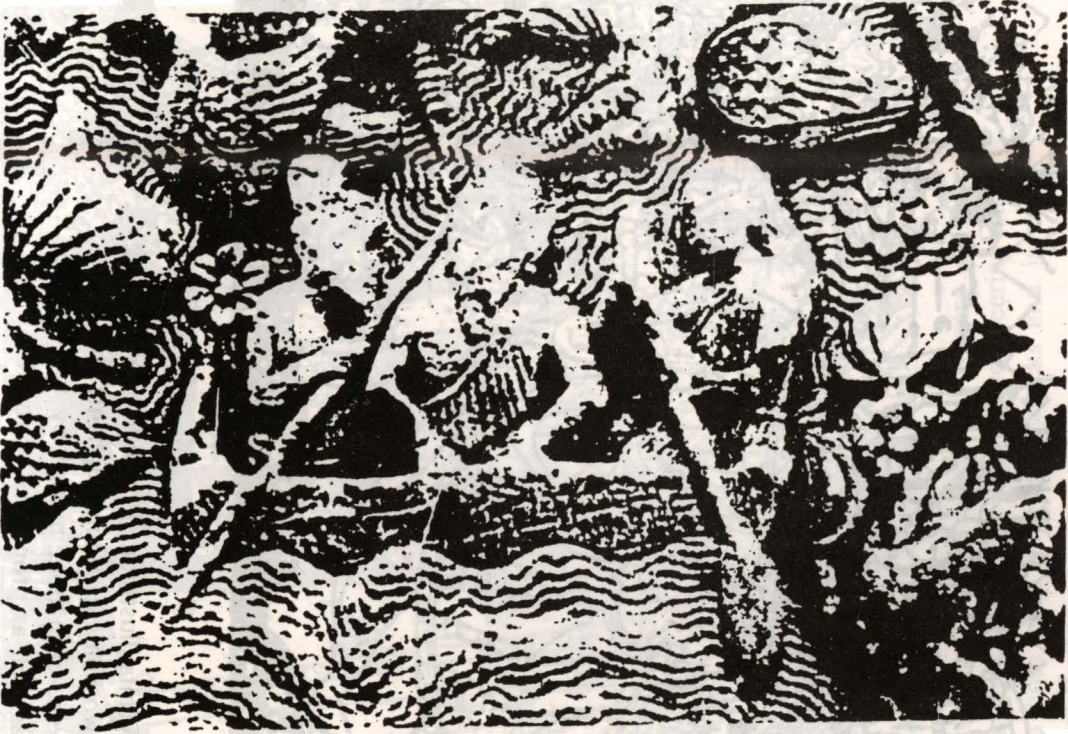


Fig. 2 : A stitched boat depicted on the stone railing of the Sanchi Stūpa of c. 2nd-1st century B. C. moved in shallow water with the help of a long pole to push and paddle or spade-like oar used as a propeller or rudder.

Persian Gulf.³⁹ The earliest definite representation of a stern-rudder in Europe, however, is also dated 1242 A.D.⁴⁰

Vivid testimony to the ancient Indian maritime movements is also suggested to be borne by the representations of ships and boats, sail and paddles, masts and merchandise, oars and side-rudders, depicted in the Ajanta paintings and referred to by the marine archaeologists of Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā.⁴¹ The landing of Prince Vijaya in Ceylon, for example, is the theme of one of the paintings of Ajanta representing his four soldiers on horses and four on elephants, in two boats, and engaged in battle, with arrows discharged (Fig.3). In another



Fig. 3 : A painting of Ajanta illustrating Prince Vijaya's landing in Ceylon in two boats carrying elephants and horses with their riders, each boat moved by two paddles used as oars as well as propellers or rudders.

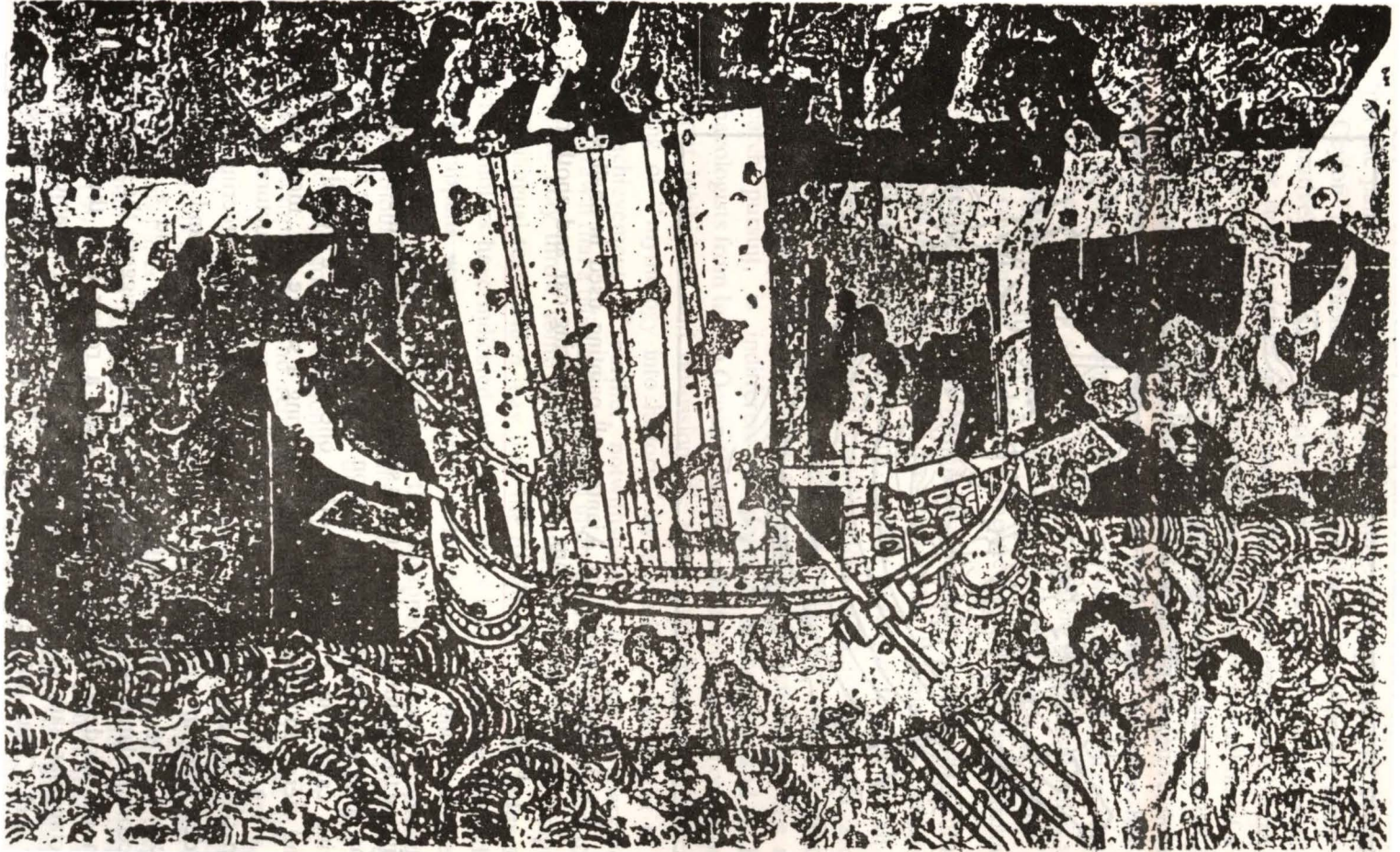


Fig. 4 : A ship with high stem and stern, three masts with square sails, a jib sail (generally used in large sea-going ships), two steering oars or long double paddles on both sides hung in rowlocks and jars on the upper deck. Ajanta Cave II.



Fig. 5 : A pleasure-boat of Ajanta wall-painting used in shallow water and moved by a long paddle as steering oar and another short paddle to row and propel.

wall-painting the Buddhist monk Pūrṇa is shown rescuing his brother Dārukarmin when the latter was threatened by a demon of an island from where sandalwood was being carried in a ship.⁴² Another one represents a vessel with high stem and stern, and three masts, each carrying a square sail, more tall than broad, a lug sail, bowsprit sail projected from a raised structure on deck, an outlying jib sail (generally used in large ships), two steering oars on both sides hung in rowlocks, eyes painted on the bows, and jars on the high deck⁴³ (Fig 4). The painting depicts heavy oars⁴⁴ and a “steersman being accommodated on a sort of ladder which remotely suggests the steersman’s chair in the modern Burmese rowboat while a rower is in the bows.”⁴⁵ The rectangular sails of this Ajanta painting of Cave II, datable to 5th-6th century A.D., “may not be of Indian origin”⁴⁶, as in ancient times the square sail was employed universally in the Mediterranean, on the sea-going ships

of Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans. There is, however, no doubt that the painter of Ajanta has done justice to his painting of Vijaya's landing in Ceylon by depicting horses and elephants of Vijaya's army in boats, comparatively very small in size than the weight of horses and elephants with their riders, carried in the boats. The painter employed by the employer donor was not a sailor, and therefore was ignorant of the details of a sea-going ship and maritime activities. Or, very probably the painter has worked from diagrams by unskilled hands or verbal descriptions. He, therefore, never realised that his boats were too small to carry his figures. He also has failed to realise in the other painting that long heavy steering oars, three masts, square sails, a steersman and sewn rudder could not be components of a ship along with "paddles" of a coastal ship which he was aware of. Such paintings, therefore, could never be reliable authentic sources of marine archaeology.

Flinder Alexander of the National Archaeology Society of London, quoting Taylor in his Keynote Address, has stated that "if marine archaeology was not to fall into the wrong hands, it was essential to first of all convince the traditional archaeological establishment of the validity of archaeology underwater as a conceivable scientific discipline..."⁴⁷. And in spite of V.R. Mehta's remarks in his Inaugural Address that "Archaeology like any other research pursuit, is indifferent to political boundaries and I hope the archaeologists from Indian Ocean Countries will deliberate on a common strategy without inhibitions and obsession"⁴⁸, some participants have described the turning of "mythology into history" by a marine archaeologist as "a very great achievement."⁴⁹ Further, notwithstanding the precautionary remark of D.P. Agrawal that a bilingual seal found in the course of exploration of submerged Dvārakā may throw some light on trade and language of the Harappans and the "bilingual texts which may help the decipherment of the Indus script"⁵⁰, some scholars have indicated that the "Indus language being old Indo-Aryan, the Harappans were by and large Vedic Aryans"⁵¹, and that the "group of seven stars called '*Riksha*' by the Harappans", and "*Septendri* which is synonymous with the much earlier Harappan term '*Trisapta*' used in the seal inscriptions"⁵² were proper decipherments. Such writings are not only premature but harmful to scientific study of marine archaeology, as the seals of the Harappans have no reference whatsoever in the text of the *Rgveda*, and the Vedic compositions have no knowledge of any script. A marine archaeologist's inducement in the underwater research at Dvārakā should be not the mythical Kṛṣṇa but the historical Dvārakā. In this context I would conclude this paper by quoting the concluding remark of the Shrimati Nabadurga Banerji Endowment Lecture delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bombay on 7th April 1993 by the eminent historian Dr. Romila Thapar that "Whatever the political imperatives may be for insisting on identifying and locating the Aryans, for the historian it would be more meaningful to move away from this obsessive and attempt a reconstruction of the roots of Indian society

from the evidence of archaeology and language. This would introduce a more sensitive perception of the realities of the past,"⁵³ including that of the submerged Dvārakā. Underwater stone structures, iron and stone anchors, knowledge of mariner's compass, etc. need historical investigations.

Notes and References

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3. S.R.Rao, "Excavation of the Legendary City of Dvārakā in the Arabian Sea", *JMA* Vol.1, January, 1990, p.61.
4. S.R.Rao, "Excavation of Submerged Ports-Dvārakā a case study (Keynote Address) *MAIOC*, p.47.
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9. Cf. L.B.Kenny, "Archaeology and Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vols. 64-66 for 1989-91 (1992), p.95 (referred to as *JASB* hereafter),
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11. D.C. Sircar, "Myth of the Great Bharata War", *The Bharata War and Purāṇic Genealogies* (ed.by D.C. Sircar), p. 27; Cf. Kenny, *op.cit.*, p. 96.
12. Ms. G. Sarvamangala, "Usefulness of Supparga Jātaka for Marine Archaeological Explorations", *JMA* Vol.1, January, 1990, pp. 57-58.
13. A. K. Bag in his writing on "Ships and Shipbuilding Technology in Ancient and Medieval India", opines that "Indian Mariners were possibly experts mostly in coastal sea movements, but were not very adept in deep sea navigation", *MAIOC* pp. 10-11. D.P. Agrawal corroborates the same view by stating that "Shipping in the 3rd millennium B.C. had to operate along the coastal routes as the navigation techniques at this time were poor." *Marine Archaeology in the Harappan Context MAIOC*, p.33.
14. *Ibid.* p.58.
15. S.R. Rao, "Keynote Address", *JMA*, Vol.1, January, 1990, p.8; Cf. S.R.Rao, *JMA* Vol.3, July, 1993, p.64.
16. *R̥gveda* VI, 20,12; Cf. Griffith *op.cit* p. 581.
17. Griffith, *op. cit.*, Vol.1, p.154.
18. *Ibid.* p. 246.
19. *Ibid.* p. 210.

20. *Ibid.* p. 159.
21. Jack Finegan, *The Archaeology of World Religions* , Vol. I, p.121.
22. N.K. Dutt, *The Aryanisation of India* , pp. 135-136.
23. Ritti Srinivas, "Shipping in Ancient India" (Keynote Address) *MAIOC* , p.5
24. M.S. Kirloskar, *Rgvedic Samhitā Made Easy for Casual Readers* (Dharwad), Vide *MAIOC*, p. 5.
25. The Arab Traveller Ibn-Jubayr's boat took seven days in the twelfth century, to cover 115 miles owing to storms and reefs. Cf. f.n.111 of G.F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring* , p.112.
26. *Ibid.* p. 113.
27. *Ibid.* p.114, f.n. 113. When Ibn Battutah embarked for China, he engaged, among other ships, *Ukairi* a kind of long, pointed, low, uncovered warship, which could be propelled by sails as well as by oars. It carried sixty oars and could be covered with a roof at the time of war. Cf. Mahdi Hussain, "Introduction", *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, pp. xv-xvi.
28. Moreland, "The Ships of the Arabian Sea about A.D. 1500" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1939), p.20 (*JRAS*).
29. Cf. A. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, cir. 600 B.C. -200 A.D.*, Vol. 2, p.297.
30. K.N. Nomoto and K. Ishii, *A Historical Review on Ships of Japanese Tradition*, p.5.
31. Rosemary and Mudie, (ed.) *The Sailing Ship A Voyage through The Ages*, pp. 11-13, "Gondola" was a light flat-bottomed boat with high point at each end, worked by one oar at stern, used on Venetian canals.
32. *Ibid.* p.15.
33. K. N. Nomoto and K. Ishii, *op.cit.*, pp.1-2,5.
34. Rosemary and Mudie, *op. cit.*, p.57.
35. Hourani, *op. cit.*, p.98.
36. *Ibid.*
37. In the local Marathi dialect of Maharashtra, the rudder is called *sukāṇu*.
38. Hourani, *op. cit.*, p.98.
39. *Ibid.* pp. 92-99, Plate 7.
40. *Ibid.* p.99; Cf. Clowes, *Sailing Ships*, pt.1,p.48.
41. S.R. Rao, "Keynote Address", *JMA* , Vol.1, January,1990, p.9; Cf. John Griffith, *The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta*, Vol.I., p.17, Fig.58, p. 21.
42. Griffith, *op. cit.*, Fig 59, p. 21.
43. *Ibid.* p. 21, Cf. G. Yazdani (ed.), *Ajanta, the Colour and Monochrome Reproductions*, Part II, Plate 42; Cf. Hourani, *op. cit.*, Plate 4.
44. *Ibid.* Plate 72, pp. 17,18.
45. *Ibid.* p.17, Fig. 59, p. 21.

46. Cf. M.C. Joshi, "Navigational Terms in *Nāmalīṅgānuśāsanam*", *MAIOC*, p.19.
47. Flinder Alexander, "Marine Archaeology - The British Experience", *MAIOC*, p.29.
48. V.R. Mehta, *MAIOC*, p. xix.
49. B.N. Desai, "Welcome Address", *MAIOC*, p. xvii.
50. D.P. Agrawal, "Marine Archaeology in the Harappan Context", *MAIOC*, p.34.
51. Ritti Srinivas, "Shipping in Ancient India" *MAIOC*, p.5.
52. S.R.Rao, "A Navigational Instrument of the Harappan Sailors", *JMA*, Vol.3, July 1992, p.62.
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ĀRATĪ - A DEVELOPED FORM OF ĀRĀTRIKA *

NIRMALA KULKARNI

I.O.O. Introduction

Āratī,¹ a religious term, famous in Modern IA languages has the following connotations:

- (i) A particular vessel or lamp;
- (ii) A plate used for waving in which lamp, betel-nut, rice grains, etc. are kept;
- (iii) An act of waving the lamp, etc. in a ceremony;
- (iv) Peculiar hymns recited at the time of *āratī* rite. A general picture of *āratī* rite can be described as follows:
 - (i) Generally, it is performed at night;
 - (ii) Waving of lamp is the main feature of it;
 - (iii) Sound of conch or brass bell accopanies the act of waving;
 - (iv) *Stotras* or *āratī* hymns are recited simultaneously;
 - (v) It is performed in front of the idols.

Thus, while studying the present form of *āratī* one has to take into consideration all the above factors along with its all shades of meaning. While searching for its source in ancient Indian literature, one cannot ignore the above factors, moreover the original intentions behind the source rite should also be taken into consideration. Thus, a source term should fit perfectly.

Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti Kośa, *Marāthī Vyutpatti Kośa*, etc. derive the term *āratī* from *ārtikya* which might mean sublimity of mind due to painful situations or surrendering him to empower the devotees to cross calamities.

Though the term *ārtikya* seems phonetically closer to the term *āratī*, I find some minus points in accepting it as a source term of it.

* This paper is read and discussed in C.A.S.S. and revised in the light of the discussion. I am thankful to Prof. V. N. Jha, Director, C.A.S.S and Prof. M. A. Mehendale, for giving suggestions about etymological travel of the word under discussion.

(i) The term *ārtikya* denotes the state of mind. Such condition of mind is no doubt expressed in the hymns called *āratīs*. However, it has nothing to do with the other aspects of *āratī*. Thus, when we say *āratī* 'ovāḷaṇe' the term *ārtikya* does not reflect any sense, or the meaning 'waving of lamps with sublimity of mind' is a far-fetched one. Thus, the word *ārtikya* has a very limited sphere and it does not cover all the aspects denoted by the term *āratī*.

(ii) The peculiar *stotras* called *āratīs* which are recited at the time of this rite are not found in each and every state of India. These are found recited in a few states, especially in Maharashtra, Gujarat, etc. In Bengal or Orissa these are not found, though the rite of waving of lamps exists.

(iii) It seems that the word *ārtikya* is also not much famous in Indian religious texts. M. Williams and V.S. Apte have totally neglected the term *ārtikya*. The references of *ārtikya* or *āratikya* ignored by the above scholars are after 17th cen. A.D. Can it be possible that a term which serves as a source term for a widely known living ancient rite is not traced at all in ancient Sanskrit literature?

(iv) Moreover, the term *ārtikya* does not cover the ritual aspect of the rite.

Thus, since the suggestions of the esteemed dictionaries do not suffice the need, one has to search for another source term.

The présent paper aims at describing the source of the rite *āratī*. Turner in his 'A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages' mentions *ārātrika* as a source term for the word *āratī*. Turner in his 'A comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages' mentions *ārātrika* as a source term for the word *āratī*. The AVP (*Atharva vedaparīṣiṣṭa*)² describes a rite called *ārātrika*. The present paper shows how this particular rite corresponds to the present *āratī* rite. Thus, the theme of the paper is how *ārātrika* travelled towards *āratī*. This is sketched in the following manner:

- (i) A detailed description of the rite *ārātrika*;
- (ii) Reference of the term *ārātrika* in chronological order;
- (iii) Synonym of *ārātrika*;
- (iv) Correspondence of *ārātrika* and *āratī*—
 - (a) ritual correspondence,
 - (b) etymological correspondence,
- (v) Conclusion.

Now let us proceed for the description of *ārātrika*.

I.1.0. Description of *ārātrika*

Three *pariśiṣṭas* of the AVP, viz.,

(i) *purohitakarmāṇi* (ii) *Piṣṭarātryāḥ Kalpaḥ*; and (iii) *ārātrikam* present quite a detailed picture of the rite *ārātrika*. In addition to these we get a passing remark in the *pariśiṣṭa* entitled *Rājākarmasāṁvatsarīyam*.

These *pariśiṣṭas* employ some verses from the *Atharvaveda*. These verses are commented upon by Sāyaṇa³. Sometimes the *Kauśikapaddhati* on the *Kauśikasūtra*⁴ of the *Atharvaveda* explains the application of these verses. With the help of these two texts one can fulfil the lacunae of the above *pariśiṣṭas*. For our purpose this material is more than enough. Though the above three *pariśiṣṭas* appear to be treating different topics, they are mutually linked and aim at describing the same ritual. Rather these could be described as aiming at describing one single rite. Now let us see the details of these one by one.

I.1.1. *Ārātrikam* (The AVP 7)

Before giving details of the ritual this *pariśiṣṭa* narrates a *purākalpa*. It says — “Once upon a time Indra could not sleep because of the magical acts of the demon priest. Therefore, he approached Bṛhaspati who was a *Ātharvaṇa* i. e., a priest knowing black magic. Indra requested him to counteract. Bṛhaspati explained to him a rite called *ārātrika*, which gives power, bestows health and prosperity and also destroys calamities caused by wicked persons.” (The AVP 7.1- 64a).

One (*Purohita*) should make a lamp out of dough, and light it up by adding oil and wick. While lighting it, he should recite the verses ‘*atinihaḥ*’ (AV 2.6.5)⁵ and ‘*prānyān*’ (AV 7.35.1)⁶. It (lamp) should be kept in a vessel (plate) along with flowers, mustard seeds and rice grains, *Priyangu*. He should keep *Bhūti* (sacred ash) which drives sin and should keep oblation(s) in the same vessel. He (*Purohita*) should make the lamp sacred by uttering ‘*preto yantu ekasatam*’ (AV 7.114.2)⁷ and should wave the auspicious lamp thrice by the hands of a counsellor in front of the king. Then the diseases, possessors and *vighnavināyakas* (what bring calamities) are pacified. It should be beneficial for the territory of a king and for cows and Brahmins. Then with the sound of conch the lamp is taken away and a stream of water is poured out by the priest or by the astrologer or by a well-wishing maid-servant. A priest, first taking himself a sip of water, and then making the king to sip water should make the king to present gold to a Brahmin as per his capacity. The original procedure of this rite was performed by Pañcaguhyaka. With the help of this rite a king is free from danger and his fame and power will be ever-increasing.

This rite reveals the following characteristics:

- (1) It is performed every night in front of a king;
- (2) Waving of a dough lamp three times along with certain verses is the heart of the rite;
- (3) The lamp is made of dough;
- (4) Flowers, mustard seeds, rice grains, *Priyangu*, *Durvā*, *Śatāvārī* and sacred ash are also kept in that vessel;
- (5) With the sound of conch the lamp is taken away and water is poured;
- (6) In the morning the king should offer gold to Brahmin;
- (7) The purpose of this rite is to ward off evil forces and calamities.

1.1.2. *Piṣṭarātryāḥ Kalpaḥ*

The sixth *pariśiṣṭa* of the *AVP* describes in detail the procedure of the rite called *Piṣṭarātryāḥ Kalpaḥ*. In this rite an image of *rātri* (night) made of dough is worshipped following the procedure given below.

A priest wearing a new garment should anoint the platform with cowdung in front of the bed. Having covered the throne with a new garment he should call upon night by the verse beginning with '*Yān devā pratinandanti* (AV 3.10.2).⁸ By uttering '*Saṁvat-sarasya pratimām* (AV 3.10.3)⁹, he should place the idol made out of dough facing towards the north. He should offer her a golden umbrella, a golden throne, white garments and white anointments. He should also offer her white food and ample sweet balls. Various kinds of fragrant sticks and lamps should be offered with the verses *ā mā puṣṭe* (AV 3.10)¹⁰. He should make sacred the mustard seeds by uttering verses which aim at destroying evil forces. By reciting '*āvatasta*' (AV 5.30.1)¹¹ he should throw the mustard seeds around the bed. By reciting '*ayam pratisarah*'¹² he should tie an amulet (on the king's hand) and should throw pebbles in each direction. The remnant of fragrant stick (*dhūpa*) should be given to the king. The rite described above drives away fear. In every corner an image is placed having one or two faces, or only one image having four faces is kept in the centre. He should throw pebbles in each direction. By taking up the image of *Rātri* he should keep it on the door of the house. By uttering '*Vanaspatirsomadhye*'¹³ he should offer *dhūpa* made of *guggula* '*yaste gandhaḥ*' (AV 12.1.23, 24,25)¹⁴, he should make the ash (*Bhūti*) sacred. He should apply it on the forehead of the king by uttering the verses beginning with '*tryāyuṣam*' (AV 5.28.7)¹⁵. By uttering '*aspatnam*' (AV 8.5.17),¹⁶ he should make the pebbles sacred and throw them from the thumb in a circular way from the right. By reciting *Śānta Dyoh*¹⁷ (AV 19.9.1) he should take the king towards his bedchamber. Protecting the king with the ash of incense (*dhūpa*) he should leave his bedchamber. He should

perform this rite everyday.

Characteristics

1. An image of *Rātri* made out of dough is invoked and worshipped with white garments;
2. Mustard seeds are thrown around the bed of the king;
3. An amulet is tied and pebbles are thrown;
4. The remnant of incense (*dhūpa*) is given to the king. This is repeated with different verses;
5. *Piṣṭarātri* is kept at the door of the house;
6. This is a ritual to be performed by the priest in front of the king;
7. The motive behind this rite is to dispel the fear of evil forces.

I.1.3. The third occasion to describe *ārātrika* is in the *AVP* 4.3., 4.4, and 4.5. The word used for the rite in the text is *rātrikarma* which is paraphrased by Sāyaṇa as *ārātrikavidhānam*, *AVP* 4.3 *Rātrikarma*:

A priest should place an image of the Goddess night with four lamps and worship with fragrant sticks and flowers in his front. Having bowed down to *Rātri* and having worshipped her as per the procedure, he should worship her with fragrant sticks, food and drink accompanied with praising verses.

In the adjacent paragraph the *AVP* describes '*ārātryāṇi*' i.e., the hymns and procedure of *ārātrika*. '*Ā rātri pārthivam*'¹⁸, '*Iṣirā*' (*AV* 19.49.1),¹⁹ '*tryāmāṇa*' (*AV* 6.107.2)²⁰ are the hymns called '*ārātryāṇi*'. These hymns and the immediately following ones are recited in the rite performed in front of the image of *Rātri* invoking her and recited along with the ritual. Touching the idol he should recite '*mamobha*'²¹ '*mahyamāpa*' (*AV* 6.61.1)²², etc. By uttering the five verses beginning with '*yo na svaḥ*' (*AV* 1.19.3)²³, he should offer mustard seeds.

By uttering '*Yo Smin*'²⁴, '*yastvā mātuḥ*'²⁵, he should wave lamp three times in front of the king and should give it to a servant. By uttering a *Rk* '*abhayam*' (*AV* 19.15.5) he should throw four pebbles in the four directions, starting from the right. By uttering '*ehya o*' (*AV* 2.13.4) he should place the fifth one. By the verses '*na tam yakṣmā*' (*AV* 19.38.1) and '*aitu deva*' (*AV* 19.39.1) he should offer the fragrant sticks of *guggula*. He should offer *bhūti* (the remaining ash) to the king by uttering *yaste gandhaḥ*. By the verse '*dūṣya...*' (*AV* 2.11.1) he should tie the amulet to the king. By the verse '*Agni...*' (*AV* 19.17.1) he should throw pebbles in each direction in a circular way starting from the right. He should come out of the bedchamber from the north, he should perform this rite for a friend and for one who

believes in it. According to Mausali Putra Paithinasi, this is a rite to be performed at night to ward off fear.

The *AVP* 4.5 describes the same rite with some minor variations.

Thus, the *ārātrika* rite in general has the following characteristics:-

- (1) It is performed by the priest in front of the king every night.
It is performed immediately after the evening *Sandhyā* ritual;
- (3) The priest prepares an idol of *Rātri* out of dough;
- (4) worships it with four lamps;
- (5) By uttering the two hymns '*ārātri*' and '*iṣirā*' he places the idol with proper procedure;
- (6) waves it thrice in front of the king;
- (7) keeps it always at the door of the place;
- (8) with the help of an amulet (and remnant sacred ash) he protects the king;
- (9) throws pebbles in all directions;
- (10) The purpose of this rite is to ward off evil.

I.2.O. References of the word *ārātrika* in Sanskrit literature

In this paragraph let us examine the word *ārātrika* occurring in various texts. The references are arranged chronologically as far as possible. The list below does not include all the references. Only those are quoted which show some variation in the meaning of context.

(A) *ārātrika* as a rite to be performed daily in front of a king :

- (1) The *AVP* is the first available text to employ the word *ārātrika*. The probable date of it is said to be before 5th cen. A.D.²⁶
- (2) The *Kausikapaddhati (KP)* (11th cen. A.D.), a commentary on the *Kausikasūtra (KS)* by Keśava is chronologically the second text to use the word. It quotes it in the same context (on *KS* 17.11) as it was used by the *AVP*.
- (3) The *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on the *AVP* is the prime source to quote the word *ārātrika*. The rites described in the *AVP* quote *pratīkas* (i.e., initial words) of verses of the *Atharvaveda*. *Sāyaṇa* as per his method describes application of the hymns or verses in a particular rite. For supporting his own opinion he quotes the *AVP* or similar authentic text. He explains the *Viniyoga* i.e., application of that particular hymn

in certain phrases.

e.g. *rājñah rātrau ārātrikavidhāne, ati nihah, ityanayā dīpam prajvālayet.*

Thus, Sā. (14th cent.A.D.) helps us in interpreting the rites of the *AVP*. These three texts i.e., the *AVP*, the *KP* and *Sayanabhāṣya* use the word *ārātrika* in the context of the daily rite to be performed in front of a king.

(B) The following texts quote the word *ārātrika* to denote 'a rite to be performed in front of an idol by waving of lamps':

(i) The *Agni Purāṇa* (74.1) (before 1000 A.D.)²⁷ employs the word in *Śivapūjākathanam*;

(ii) *Īśānasivagurudevapaddhati*²⁸ (11th cent.A.D.), a *Tantra* text describes *pūjā* ceremony in general and says in *dhūpadīpārātrikavidhiḥ*:

*prabhūtasnehasampūrñair daśabhir vā navāṣṭakaiḥ |
dīpaiḥ pratinavairārad bhrāmyam ārātrikam bhaved ||*

(2.5.92-93)

*dīpam ca dīpapātrastham darśayitveśagocare |
avatārya yathoktam tad bhrāmyam ārātrikam tathā ||*

(2.13.95)

(iii) The *Kulārnavatantra*²⁹, the *Vīramitrodaya - pūjāprakāśa*³⁰ (1600-25 A.D.) also use the word in the same sense.

(C) The term under discussion is also used to denote 'waving of lamps in front of a celebrity:'

(i) Kalhaṇa (1148-49 A.D.) in the *Rājataranginī*³¹ has used the word. The King Harṣa welcomed his ministers by offering them *ārātrika*.

*sa keṣārtcid amātyānām ākalpollāsaśobhinām |
nirmatsaraḥ svadāsībhir ārātrikam akārayat || 7.925*

(ii) The verse of the *Vasantavilāsamahākāvya*³² of Bālacandrasūrī says,

*ito rajatabhājanam śāsinam ankatoyāṅkitam |
sadhīṣṇyalavaṇam tavopari nirasya viśvaśriyā |
sahasrakaradīpakairavidito Spi cārātrikam |
vibhātabhavikakṣaṇe praguṇametad āsūtryate ||*

Here it is clearly mentioned that *ārātrika* is a rite to be performed in front of a person in which lamps, mustard seeds and salt, etc. are used. Here one remembers the common practice of driving away the evil eye.

(iii) The *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*³³ of Maṅkhaka (1127-49A.D.) and *Yādavābhya* of Vedāntadeśika also use the term in the sense of a rite

to be performed in front of a celebrity.

(D) This religious term in which we see a stress on the act 'waving' is also utilised in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*³⁴ (7.53 and 7.78) of Śārngadeva as a technical term for a posture wherein 'waving of head' is prescribed.

Thus, the word *ārātrika* is found used in the following contexts:

- (i) a rite to be performed in front of a king;
- (ii) a rite to be performed in front of idols;
- (iii) waving of lamps in front of a celebrity;
- (iv) waving of head;
- (v) lamp, etc., see the phrase (*ārātrikam samuttārya*).

I.3.O. Synonym of *ārātrika*

The word *nīrājanam*³⁵ is used many a time as a synonym of the word *ārātrika*. Originally it was a *Śānti* rite in a specific context. However, later on the term was used to denote the rite *ārātrika*. Appaya Dīkṣita in the commentary on *Yādavābhyudaya* paraphrases the word *ārātrika* as-

ārātrikopacāram nīrājanopacāram.³⁶

This term is also retained by modern Indian languages in the sense of 'waving of lamps or lamp.'

I.4.O. Correspondence of *ārātrika* and *ārati*

(A) Ritual Correspondence:

(1) The *ārati* rite is performed daily in front of the idols. The rite *ārātrika* is a rite to be performed daily in front of a king as well as in front of the idols. The references of the term in the *AVP*, the *KP* and *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, etc., denote it as a rite to be performed in front of a king, while some other texts quoted in the respective paragraphs employ the term to denote 'a rite to be performed in front of an idol.'

Now a question remains how it is shifted from a king to an idol. The *ārati* rite now-a-days is performed immediately after *pūjā* ceremony. The ritual of *pūjā* seen today has sixteen parts and therefore it is also called as *Ṣoḍaśopacārapūjā*. These sixteen modes of worship are basically *rājopacāras* i.e., the modes of ritual to be performed for a king. Therefore, in the *pūjā* ceremony we get an expression '*sarvarājopacārārthe akṣatān samarpayāmi*.' Thus as a *rājopacāra*, *ārātrika* is included in the *pūjā* ceremony of idols.

(2) The motive behind *ārātrika* was certainly to ward off evil forces. Does the rite *ārati* carry the same effect ?

In the above paragraph we have seen that the rite was transformed to idol worship. Along with such change the motivation is also seen changed. When the rite was a routine for a king it was to ward off evil. But when it got transferred to images of superior beings, the motivation was simply *alamkaraṇa* i.e., adorning the idol and thus, when the motivation is changed we find change in the objects used in the ritual. The objects used in the ritual such as flowers, scent, lamp, conch or bell, etc. which can also be used as adornment were kept as they are. However mustard seeds were removed. *Sarsapa* is described as *rakṣohara* i.e., which drives away evil forces. Such an object which has the only capacity to drive away evil forces becomes unnecessary in the idol worship, wherein the motivation is just to adorn. Similar is the case of pebbles. Therefore, such things are seen removed from the ritual.

(3) *Bhūti* or *dhūpaśeṣa* i.e., the remnant of the fragrant stick has kept its place intact till today. The remnant of *dhūpa* is seen kept outside the interior hall of the temple and devotees put it up on their forehead as a means of protection. It is described as ‘a thing which brings the deity closer’ ‘*sānnidhyakāraḥ*.’

(4) The *āratī* hymns are seen recited after the ritual. What could be the origin of such a practice?

In the references of the *AVP* we have seen that by uttering a set of hymns entitled as ‘*ārātryāṇi*’ the image of *Rātri* goddess was invoked and worshipped. One of these hymns begins with the words ‘*ā rātri pārthivam*’ etc., and therefore, the rite in which this particular verse is uttered got the title ‘*ārātrika*’ i.e., a rite in which the *rātri* hymn ‘*ā rātri*’ is used. This practice can be said to be the source of *āratī* hymns which are recited today. Of course, because of the transfer of this rite to idol worship, the verses are addressed to the idols, with much development in metre we find a drastic change in metrical form.

(5) Why is the phrase ‘*āratī ovāḷaṇe*’, used when the lamps are waved in front of a person?

We have already seen that the motivation behind the rite ‘*ārātrika*’ was to ward off evil. Later on it might be the case that it became a common rite to ward off evil. Therefore, whenever a person deserves, welcome lamps are waved. Compare here the references of *Rājataranginī*. The text has used the word ‘*ārātrika*’ in the same context.

(6) Why is the lamp itself called *āratī*? What could be its source?

In the *ārātrika* ritual the lamps were waved along with the image of

rātri, in front of the king. The image was called '*rātri*' or '*piṣṭarātri*.' It was invoked by the verse '*ā rātri*' etc. It is possible that as the set of hymns is called '*ārātryāṇi*' as the rite related is called '*ārātrika*', similarly the image used for waving is called '*ā rātri*.' When the image is substituted by mere lamps, the term was transferred and thus any lamp used for waving is called *ārātī*.

Thus, in this discussion we have seen that the rite *ārātrika* and *ārātī* share many ritualistic features and therefore we can point out to the rite '*ārātrika*' as the earliest form of the *ārātī* ritual.

(B) Etymological correspondence : When we say that the form '*ārātī*' is derived from the word '*ārātrika*', certainly some people will oppose. The word '*ārtikya*' is much closer to the word '*ārātī*' phonetically. Why should one accept a longer term when a closer term is at hand? Moreover, tradition gives us two three verses recited at the time of waving of lamps, which employ the word '*ārtikya*'. The verses are as follows:

caḥṣurdaṁ sarvalokānām timirasya nivāraṇam |
ārtikyam kalpitam bhaktyā gṛhāṇa paramēśvari ||
tvam jyotiḥ sarvadevānām timirasya nivāraṇam |
ārtikyam kalpitam bhaktyā dīpoṣyam pratigṛhyatām || etc.

In addition to this Moropant (a famous poet of Maharashtra) had composed many Sanskrit *ārātī* verses under the title *ārātrika saṅgraha*. Kashinath Upadhyaya, *Dharmasindhukāra* belonging to the 18th cen. had composed *ārātrikyakadamba* which contains certain *ārātī* compositions in Sanskrit. Rāmadāsa (17th cen.) and Ekanātha belonging to 18th century had composed a considerable number of Marathi *ārātīs* which are still recited in Maharashtra. When we can trace such a tradition from 17th century and the term *ārātrika* or *ārātrikya*, why should one be obstinate to trace it from *ārātrika* which is comparatively less closer to the term?

With this background let us explain our stand — '*ārātī*' — is a changed form of *ārātrika*. It is explained above that the term *ā rātrika* has come into existence because of the verse employed in the ritual '*ā rātri pārthivam*, etc. It is changed to *ārātī*. Such a change in the linguistic form is not an abrupt change. If we read some religious texts, we can trace the derivational stages shown as follows:

(i) The *AVP*, *Sāyaṇa* and the *KP* use the word *ārātrika*;

(ii) The *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Vīramitrodaya* (*pūjāprakāśa*) and the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* also had employed the word in the same sense. *Īśānaśivagurudeva* had tried to give the etymology of the term, though it cannot be called a proper one. He says '*ārād bhrāmyam ārātrikam*' i.e., a (rite) of waving from a distance. Thus, it seems that when the rite was

transferred to image worship, the hymns 'ā rātri', etc. were not in use and therefore, this became an obscure term.

(iii) In the later literature a slight change is seen in the term as 'ārātrika', most probably because the word 'ārātrika' became obscure. Kalhaṇa in the *Rājataranginī* has used both the words *ārātrika* and *ārātrika* in the same sense.

pratimitaravidīpodbhāsi śubhrātapatrapracayarajatapātrāsūtritārārtikāh |
atha mukharitamāsīrmaṅgalair aṅganānām avanihaṛiṇadhāmā rājadhāmarā
prapede |

Śaṅkara also has employed the word *ārārtika* in many of his *stotras*.

We find ample examples of this word in the religious literature after 10th cen. A.D.

(iv) It seems that the word *ārātrika* changed to *ārātikya* or *ārātikya* and these changes were based on an obscure word. To explain *ārātrika* originally meant a rite in which the verse 'ā rātri' was employed. When the context was changed, only the ritual was accepted and not the verse. Therefore, the relation between the ritual and the term (which was totally a part and product of a verse) became doubtful and therefore, without taking into consideration the literal meaning of the term it was changed to 'ārārtika'. In the new context people might be having the term *ārāti*, i.e., painful situation in their mind which helped the change in the later development, i.e., *ārātikya* or *ārātikya*. This does not fit in the Pāṇinian system. Since the origin of the term is obscure and not a product of Pāṇinian derivational system, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti Kośa* says the origin of the term is 'dśī athavā drāviḍī'. However, it does not present the stages of the development. Thus, the word *ārātikya* which cannot be supported by grammatical operations is the stage which immediately precedes the word *ārāti*, and came into existence because of the wrong analysis of the word *ārārtika* as *ār-ārārtika*. It is definitely a product of *ārātrika* since we get both variations in one and the same text. Because one cannot show proper grammatical derivations of *ārārtika* or *ārātikya* and *ārātikya*, these words are not listed in the dictionaries. A MS. in the Adyar library shows the relation between *ārārtika* and *ārāti* in the variants of the titles. The title of the MS. is *ārāti (ārāti, ārārtika) stotras* indicating the time of waving of lights.

As compared to the use of *ārārtika*, the words *ārātikya* and *ārātikya* are used less frequently. We get these words in the Maharashtra texts only. Therefore it is also possible that *ārātrika* got changed to *ārāti* through *ārātrika* and later on Sanskritization of the term *ārāti* took place as *ārātikya* or *ārātikya*. The two poets Moropant and Kashinath Upadhyaya being Maharashtrais might have Sanskritised the word. The verses which employ the word *ārātikya* are found in the *pūjāprayogas* of Maharashtrais³⁷. Thus, here we cannot deny

the possibility that the word *ārati* is Sanskritised as *ārātikya* and *ārtikya*.

We get the forms *ārātia*, *ārātru*, *ārātiya* in *Apabhraṃśa*. *ārātiya* is also found used in Jain Māgadhī. Thus the actual etymological travel of the word could be shown as *ārātrika* - *ārāttiya* - *ārāttia*³⁸ - *ārātia* - *ārātī*.

Anyway, the above arguments are enough to establish the ritual and etymological relationship between *ārātrika* and *ārātī*.

I.5. Conclusion

In the above paragraphs a systematic attempt is made to establish a link between the rite *ārātrika* and modern rite *ārātī*. It is shown above that the rite *ārātrika* was basically a rite for kings. In it a verse containing the *pratīka* words 'ā rātri' was employed. Such verses used were called *ārātryāṇi*. These verses are addressed to the Goddess *Rātri* that she should protect the king from evil forces. Later on the ritual was shifted to idol worship. When the motivation behind the ritual was changed, the material and the verses also were changed and the word *ārātrika* became obscure and got distorted as *ārātrika*, which further got changed to *ārtikya* which cannot be interpreted by grammar. Actually in the Indo - Aryan group word *ārātrika* has travelled as *ārāttiya* - *ārātia* - *ārātia* to *ārātī*. Finally we get the word 'ārātī' which is found in almost all modern Indo-Aryan languages.

Notes and References

1. For the details see "Bhāratīya Bhāṣā Kośa" 1984, Kendriya Hindī Nideśālaya, Śikṣā tathā Saṃskṛti Mantrālaya, Govt. of India.
2. 1976, Bolling G. M. and Negelein, J.V. (ed.). The *Parīśiṣṭas* of the *Atharvaveda* (ed.) with Hindi notes, Rai, Ram Kumar, Chaukhambā Prācīna Granthamālā I.
3. 1961, Viśvabandhu (ed.) *Atharvaveda* (Śaunaka) with the *Padapāṭha* and Sāyaṇācārya's com. VI Series, Vols. 13-16.
4. 1982, Limaye, Dandekar, Kashikar, Bhide etc. (ed.), *Keśavaviracitā Kauśikapaddhati*, Tilāk Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune.
5. Sā. on AV 2.6.5. *rājñah rātrau ārātrikavidhāne 'ati nihaḥ' ityanayā dīpam prajvālayet.*
6. Cf. Sā. quotes AVP 7.1.4-5 as a supporting evidence for the application of both these verses in *ārātrika*.
7. This verse is employed in many rites to ward off evil forces. See Sā. on AV 7.114.2.
8. Cf. Sā. on AV 3.10.201.
9. Cf. *Ibid.*
10. Cf. *Ibid.*
11. Cf. Sā. on AV 5.30.
12. Cf. Sā. on AV 8.5.

13. This verse is not attested in the Vedic texts.
14. These three verses are entitled as '*gandhapravāda*'. Whenever there is an occasion to use sacred ash or scent, these three verses are employed and we often get the expression *gandhapravādādibhir alankurute*. We do not get Sā.'s commentary on this verse.
15. Cf. Sā. on AV 5.28.7.
16. Cf. Sā. on AV 19.9.1.
17. Cf. Sā. on AV 19.9.1.
18. The complete verse runs as follows :
*ā rātri pārthivam rajaḥ pituraprāyi dhāmabhiḥ /
 divaḥ sadārṣi bṛhatī vi tiṣṭhasva ā tveṣām vartate tamaḥ //*
19. Sā. comments - *ā rātri pārthivam iti sūktadvayam arthasūktam / iṣirā yoṣā iti sūktadvayam api arthasūktam / asya sūktadvayayugalasya rātrikalpe rātryupasthāne jape ca viniyaogaḥ /*
20. Sā. does not include '*trāyamāṇa*' in '*ārātryaṇi*'.
21. Not attested in the Vedic *Samhitās*.
22. Cf. Sā. on AV 6.61.1.
23. According to Sāyaṇa AV 1.19 is employed in *sāṅgrāmikakarma* as well as in certain types of *homas*.
24. AV *Pai.* 2.24.1.
25. AV. *Pai.* 19.28.13.
26. See 1959 (unpublished Ph. D. thesis) B.R. Modak, *A Study of the Ancillary Literature of the Atharvaveda with special reference to its pariśiṣṭas*, University of Poona, pp. 735-741.
27. 1982, Jivānand Vidyāsāgar (ed.), *Agni Purāṇa*, Calcutta.
28. 1988, (ed.) Ganapatisastri, T. *Isānaśivagurudevapaddhatiḥ*, Vol. I-IV, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi.
29. *Samh.* 2019 (ed.) Sharma, Bhadrāsita, *The Kulārṇava Tantram*, Prayag.
30. 1913 (ed.) Sharma, V.P., *The Vīramitrodaya (Pūjāprakāśaḥ)*, Choukhamba Sanskrit Series, 164, 165, 166, 183, Benaras.
31. 1985 (ed.) Pandey, Ramtej Shastri, '*Kalhanakṛtā Rājatarāṅgiṇī*', Vrajajīvana Prācyabhāratī Granthamālā, 6, Choukhamba Sanskrit Pratisthanam, Delhi.
32. 1917 (ed.) C.D. Dalal, '*The Vasantavilāsamahākāvyaṃ*' of Bālacandrasūri, Gaekwad Oriental Sanskrit Series, Baroda.
33. 1887 (ed.) Pt. Durgaprasad and Parab, K.P., *The Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* of Maṅkhaka with the com. of Jonarāja. Nirmayasagar, Bombay.
34. 1897 (ed.) - Telang, Mangesh Ramkrishna, '*Śrīnissarīka - Śārngadevaprāṇitāḥ Saṅgītaratnakaraḥ*', Anandasram 35, Pune.
35. For the details of this rite see —

- (i) 1962, Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmasāstra*, pp.335, 184, 193, 187, etc.
- (ii) 1987, Dange, S.A, Encyclopaedia of Purāṇic Beliefs and Practices, Vol. III, Navrang, New Delhi.
36. 1969 (ed.) V.T. Vīrarāghavācārya, *Yādavābhyudaya of Vedāntadeśika* with the com. of Appaya Dikṣita, Madras.
37. 1968, Joshi, Mahadev Shastri, '*Pūjāvidhāna*.'
38. *Ārātrika (ārattiya)*, *Jain Prākṛt BORI*, D. XVII, iv, a. 1343.

ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ TEXT : RESTORED

V. M. KULKARNI

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata (between 100 B.C. to 200 A.D.) is the oldest work covering the whole ground connected with Drama and its stage-performance. It also comprises studies of Poetry, Prosody, Dialects, and Dance and Music. The text is available in some MSS., however they are full of corruption.

The only commentary that we have is *Abhinavabhāratī* by Abhinavagupta. Its merit was so great that whatever commentaries existed before became obsolete—eventually they were allowed to disappear altogether with the result that there is no trace of them. Whatever we know of them is through the references that Abhinavagupta makes to them.

Unfortunately even *Abhinavabhāratī* is badly preserved. Almost each and every page of this commentary bristles with corrupt readings and occasionally even lines. This renders the already difficult writing of Abhinavagupta, the whole and sole interpreter of Bharata, all the more difficult. Abhinavagupta is the greatest name in Sanskrit Literary Criticism and Aesthetics. His word is practically speaking, law. It is, therefore, imperative to present his text as correctly as possible, with all available aids and intensive study of the text, especially “the external *testimonium* of other treatises on *Nāṭyaśāstra* which clearly and closely borrow from Abhinavagupta” - for example Hemacandra's *Kāvyañuśāsana* (with his commentary *Viveka*), Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra's *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and commentaries like *Kalpalatāviveka*. Modern scholars like S.K. De, V. Raghavan, R.P. Kangle have made sincere efforts to improve the text of some portions of *Abhinavabhāratī*. The present writer too published a series of papers restoring corrupt readings and lines, which are reprinted and published in my book, *Studies in Sanskrit Sāhitya Śāstra*. In this paper I propose to restore over a score of corrupt readings occurring in *Daśarūpaka Vidhāna*, the 18th Chapter of *Nāṭyaśāstra* — excluding of course all those which have been already presented in my earlier papers.

*Abhinavabhāratī printed text (GOS
edn., Baroda)*

Restored Text of Abhinavabhāratī

Daśarūpakavidhāna (Ch. XVIII)

1. रूप्यते प्रत्यक्षीक्रियते योऽर्थः तद्वाचकत्वात्
काव्यानि रूपाणि दशानां रूपाणां विभागः

रूप्यते प्रत्यक्षीक्रियते योऽर्थः तद्वाचकत्वात्
काव्यानि रूपाणि। रूप्यन्ते अभिनीयन्ते इति वा

काव्यान्येव रूपाणि । दशानां रूपाणां विभागः ...।

p. 406

-MS.

The second etymology of the word 'rūpa' above underlined, is left out while printing in the GOS edn. The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (ND) ignores the first etymology and records the second etymology only as his work deals with dramaturgy (p.23) :

रूप्यन्ते अभिनीयन्ते इति रूपाणि नाटकादीनि ।

2. एतत् फलप्रायं, फलं तत् पूर्वमेवोक्तम् ।
प्रत्यक्षतोदितरसावेशजनितनिर्वृत्तिसारत्वादस्येति-
हासादेर्विशेष इत्युक्तम् ।
सूच्यादिविभागस्त्वितिहासादावप्यस्त्येवेति

एतत् फलप्रायं फलम् । तत् पूर्वमेवोक्तं
प्रत्यक्षतोदितरसावेशजनितनिर्वृत्तिसारत्वादस्येतिहासा-
देर्विशेष इति ।
उक्तसूच्यादिविभागस्त्वितिहासादावप्यस्त्येवेति ।

-p. 407

-Kangle p.6

Here Abhinavagupta points out that *Kāvya-nāṭya* poetry including dramatic poetry differs from *itihāsa - purāṇa* (history, mythology, etc.), as its chief aim is to depict *rasas* and through them give delight to the *sahṛdayas*, sensitive and sympathetic readers and spectators. He further states that the fourfold division of *itivr̥tta* or *carita* into *ūhya* (to be inferred), *sūcya* (to be suggested), etc. is equally seen in *itihāsa, purāṇas*, etc.

3. सकलाङ्गप्रक्रियापरिपूर्णत्वादेव नाटकात् प्रकरणं च
प्रधानम् ।

सकलाङ्गप्रक्रियापरिपूर्णत्वादेव नाटकं प्रकरणं च
प्रधानम् ।

-p.410

-Kan. p.18

The highest of the ten main forms, *rūpakas* is generally considered to be the *nāṭaka*. The statement underlined above is, therefore, obviously wrong. As the two poetic compositions *nāṭāka* and *prakaraṇa*, make use of all the four *vr̥ttis* (dramatic styles) they are to be considered equally high or important (NS XVIII 6-7). The ND (p.24), while commenting upon I.3, brings out the equal importance of the two forms in these words:

चकारः सर्वपुरुषार्थफलत्वेन महापुरुषोपदेशार्हचरितत्वेन च प्रबन्धेषु नाटकप्रकरणयोः प्राधान्यमाह ।

Incidentally, it may be pointed out here that a little later in his commentary Abhinavagupta makes the following statement:

नाटकं प्रकरणादपि प्रधानम् । p.411

Which apparently seems contradictory. He makes this statement having regard to the subject-matter of the two forms or types. The subject-matter of a *nāṭaka* is drawn from well-known tradition and is rooted in experience, whereas that of a *Prakaraṇa* is invented. Hence the former is more important than the latter.

4. ... प्रख्यातमपि यद्वस्तु ऋषितुल्यानां राज्ञां वंशे
न साधु नोचितं, तथा प्रख्यातत्वेऽपि देवचरितं
वरप्रभावादिबहुलतयोपायोपदेशायायोम्यमिति...

-p.412

... प्रख्यातमपि यद् वस्तु ऋषितुल्यानां राज्ञां वंशे
न साधु नोचितं तथा प्रख्यातत्वेऽपि देवचरितं
वरप्रभावादिबाहुल्येनोपायोपदेशायायोम्यमिति

Hema.p.433

Kangle emends the reading 'vara - prabhāvādi' to 'svaprabhāvādi'(p.22) on the ground that it is not 'appropriate'. But a glance at Hemacandra's text shows that he too reads 'varaprabhāvādi'. So it must have been Abhinavagupta's original reading. By 'varaprabhāva' he probably means 'divya-prabhāva'.

5. न च सर्वथा देवचरितं तथाऽवर्णनीयम्।

- p.412

न च सर्वथा देवचरितं तत्र न वर्णनीयम्।

- Hema. p.433

Hemacandra's reading and the reading in Baroda edn. practically mean the same thing; but his reading has the appearance of its being original. One, however, can't be sure in such matters of language diction, style, etc.

6. (डिमादौ तु दिव्यानां नायकत्वेऽभिप्राय-
मावेदयिष्याम इति) प्रसिद्धिप्रयुक्तमपि वस्तु
न निष्फलं व्युत्पत्तये भवतीत्यत आह —
नानाविभूतिभिर्युतम्

-p.412

...प्रसिद्धमपि वस्तु न निष्फलं व्युत्पत्तये
भवतीत्यत आह — नानाविभूतिभिर्युतमिति।

- Hema. p.433

Kangle (p.24) emends the reading 'na nisphalam...' to 'na saphalam...'. But if the whole context is taken into consideration, the reading in the printed edn. and supported by Hemacandra needs absolutely no correction.

7. Abhinavagupta on the etymology of the word *nāṭaka* : in the course of his comments on NS 18.12, Abhinavagupta observes :

यस्मान्नृपतीनां संबन्धि व्युत्पादानां सामर्थ्यात् नृपतीनामेव नाटकं नाम तच्चेष्टितं प्रह्वीभावदायकं भवति
तथा हृदयानुप्रवेशरञ्जनोल्लासनाया हृदयं शरीरं चोपायवृत्तिपरिघटितया चेष्टया नर्तयति नट नृतौ नृते इत्युभयथा
हि स्मरन्ति। तदिति तस्माद्धेतोः नामास्य नाटकमिति। p.413

The MS. correctly reads 'nāṭa nātau nṛtau'. The above reading in the printed GOS edn. is wrong for two reasons: one, it does not include the first meaning, namely *Prahvībhāvadāyakam bhavati* and two, the two words 'nṛti' and 'nṛta' practically mean the same thing. We must therefore emend the text as *nāṭa nātau nṛtau*.

Again later in his commentary on Vol.-III ch. XIX. 146, he observes:

पूर्ववृत्तानुचरितं कथं नाटकशब्दस्यार्थ इत्याह — यस्मात् स्वभावं संत्यज्येति नट नताविति नमनं
स्वभावत्यागेन प्रह्वीभावलक्षणं ये त्वन्ये नट वृत्ताविति पठन्ति तन्मतेऽपीह नमनं, नटशब्दो जनिदाच्युसूत्रेण
(उणादि ४.११५) व्युत्पादितो गृहीतव्य इति दर्शयति.....

The underlined sentence above needs to be corrected as:

ये त्वन्ये नट नृताविति पठन्ति तन्मतेऽपीह नमनं,

From the above two passages it is clear that Abhinavagupta derives the word *nāṭaka* from the root 'naṭ' in the twofold sense of 'causing to bend or producing humility' and 'causing to dance with joy'.

The authors of the ND who generally follow Abhinavagupta, partly agree with him and partly disagree in regard to the twofold etymology of *nāṭaka*. They accept the second derivation from 'naṭ' used in the sense of 'causing to dance with joy' and raise objection against his first derivation as it goes against grammar :

नाटकमिति नाटयति विचित्रं रञ्जनाप्रवेशेन सभ्यानां हृदयं नर्तयति इति नाटकम्। अभिनवगुप्तस्तु नमनार्थस्यापि नटेर्नाटकशब्दं व्युत्पादयति, तत्र तु घटादित्वेन ह्रस्वाभावश्चिन्त्यः। - p.25

8. तेन राज्ञा सर्वं राज्यं ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दत्त्वा वानप्रस्थं गृहीतव्यमित्येवंप्रायं फलं नोपनिबन्धनीयम्। तत्फलमपि दृष्टसुखार्थं हि लोको बाहुल्येनेति तत्रास्य प्रतीतिर्विरसीभवेत्।

-p.412

(i) तेन राज्ञा सर्वं राज्यं ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दत्त्वा वानप्रस्थं गृहीतमित्येवंप्रायं फलं नोपनिबद्धव्यं धर्ममोक्षबहुलमिति। दृष्टसुखार्थं हि बाहुल्येन लोक इति तत्रास्य प्रतीतिर्विरसीभवेत्।

-Hema. p. 434

(ii) धर्मकामार्थ - सत्फलम् ।धर्म - कामार्थं व्यस्तसमस्ताः सत् प्रधानं फलं यत्र। मोक्षस्तु धर्मकार्यत्वात् गौण फलम्। सन्तोऽचिरभावित्वाद् वर्तमाना वा धर्मार्थकामाः फलम्,.... न पुनः सर्वसङ्गपरित्यागं कृत्वा व्रतमाचरितमित्यामुष्मिकफलमेव। साक्षाद् दृष्ट-फलार्थं हि लोकः।

- ND, pp. 24-25

In the light of the two corresponding passages given above we should read *vānaprasthāṅ gr̥hītam*.... and *satphalamapi*.....

9. यदा प्रारम्भावधिप्रधानं भवतीति तदा तस्या एवोपक्रमोपसंहारावस्थाद्वयापेक्षया द्वावङ्कौ, अन्यासामेकैकाङ्कतेति यावत्....

-p.415

प्रारम्भावस्थावशिशवप्रधानं

- MS.

In the light of the reading in the MS. we should emend the printed text as *yadā prārambhāvasthā pradhānam bhavati*. As the subject under description is the number of *ankas* (Acts in a play) and as the *ankas* are vitally connected with *avasthās*, the emendation is perfectly justified.

10. -----सर्वासामवस्थाद्वययोगेन संपादनमिति
षडङ्कत्वात् प्रभृति सप्तजातप्राप्तौ (?)
दशाङ्कत्वम्।

- p. 415

तुलना :- 'पञ्चसंख्योऽपकर्षेण, दशसंख्यः
प्रकर्षतः।' पञ्चसंख्य इति अत्यन्तस्तोकतायां
पञ्चाङ्कः, सर्वोत्कर्षेण दश, मध्यमवृत्त्या षट् सप्त
अष्टौ नवेत्यङ्कसंख्या....सर्वावस्थाभेदे तु दशेति।

-ND I.20

In the light of the passage cited above we may emend the text to '*saptāṣṭa-
navadaśāṅkatvam*' as proposed by Kangle (p.33).

11. तथा प्रवेशकद्वारेण मुख्यचरितमपि शङ्कां
वारयितुमाह।

-p.418

तथा प्रवेशकद्वारेण मुख्यचरितमपि दर्शनीयमिति
शङ्कां वारयितुमाह ये नायकाः इति।

-Kan. (p.41)

In the GOS edn. some word/s is/are missing between *mukhyacaritamapi* and *saṅkāṁ*. Kangle has rightly inserted between these words *darśanīyamiti* to make the sentence intelligible. All the incidents, events and doings of the hero which evoke *rasa* and give delight to the spectators are to be presented in the Acts (*aṅkas*) and never through *pravēśakas*, *viṣkambhakas*, etc.

12. एतदेवाभिमन्यमानेन पुष्पदूषितकेऽशोक-
दत्तादिशब्दाकण्ठेन समुद्रदत्तस्य शङ्का-
योपनिबद्धा सा न दोषाय
निर्वहणान्तोपयोगिनी हि नन्दयन्तीनिर्वासनं
तस्याश्च गृहान्तरावस्था। इदमेव मुखसन्धौ
मूलं परपुरुषसंभावना मूलत्वात्।
एवमनभ्युपगमे तु श्वशुरेण वध्वा असनिहिते
पुत्रे निर्वासनं
शबरसेनापतिगृहेऽवस्थानमित्युत्तम-
प्रकृतीनामनुपपन्नमेव।

- p.432

तुलना :- अत एवात्र नायिकौचित्येन नायकोऽपि
मन्दगोत्र एव। एवं च
पुष्पदूषितकेऽशोकदत्तादिशब्दाकण्ठेन समुद्रदत्तस्य
नन्दयन्त्यां या व्यलीकशङ्कोपनिबद्धा, सा न
दोषाय। परपुरुषसंभावनाया निर्वहणं
यावदत्रोपयोगित्वात्। अपरथोत्तमप्रकृतीनां श्वशुरेण
वध्वा (:) पुत्रे दूस्थिते निर्वासनं, निर्वासितायाश्च
शबरसेनापतिगृहेऽवस्थानमनुचितमेव।

- ND. p.103

A glance at these two passages clearly shows that ND has borrowed and suitably adapted the passage from A.Bh. to make it easy to understand.

13. तस्मात् स्ववगपिक्षयेदमुत्तमत्वमद्यतने
राजोचितानामुत्तमप्रकृतीनां वणिङ्मात्रे
समारोप्य तद्वृषणं यत्कृतं न तेन ब्रह्मयशः
स्वामियशः खण्डितम् अपि तु स्वयश एव।
ये हि मिथ्यायशो मिथ्या
कलङ्कयितुमुद्यतास्तेषां स्वयश एवेति
यशोमात्रावशेषता....

-p.432

तस्मात् स्ववगपिक्षयेदमुत्तमत्वम्। अद्यतने
राजोचितमुत्तमप्रकृतित्वं वणिङ्मात्रे समारोप्य
तद्वृषणं यत् कृतं न तेन.... स्वयश एव। ये हि
परयशो एवेति अयशोमात्रावशेषताम्।

- Kan. p.77

Kangle's emendations of *mīthyāyāśo* to *parayāśo*, *eveti* to *evaiti* and

yaśomātrāvaśeṣatā to *ayaśomātrāvaśeṣatām* are suited to the context and just. But his emendation of *rājocitānām uttamaprakṛtīnām* to *rājocitam uttamaprakṛtīvaṃ* is not convincing. Moreover, the reading *adyatane* that precedes these words is doubtful. With great reservation I venture to read the sentence as follows:

.... मुत्तमत्वम् । अद्यतने (? यतेन) राजोचितानामुत्तमप्रकृतीनाम् (उत्तमत्वं) वणिङ्मात्रे समारोप्य.... ।

Incidentally, we may note that the cryptic sentence that follows the above sentence (न हि नायकशब्दमात्रादेव दुर्योधनवदेव शङ्खाद्यनुचितम् ।) is lucidly explained by the ND as follows:

उत्तमप्रकृतीनां राज्ञां तु कुलस्त्रियां व्यलीकसम्भावना दुर्योधनस्येव भानुमत्यामनुचितैव । वणिगमात्य-विप्राश्च स्ववगपिक्षयैवोत्तमाः, न राजापेक्षया ।

14. तत्र वञ्चना, बुद्धयैव कदाचित् केवलया कपटो भवति.... तत्र वञ्चकबुद्धयैव कदाचित् केवलया कपटो भवति।

-p.439

-Kan. p.97

Kangle's emendation finds support in the ND:

यत्र तु वञ्च्यापराधं विना वञ्चकबुद्धयैव केवलया कपटो भवति । स वञ्चकसम्भवी । - p. 111

15. सा दैवकृता वञ्चना, न च कस्यचित् सुखमन्यस्य दुःखमुत्पादयतीति । सा दैवकृता वञ्चना । स च कस्यचित् सुखमन्यस्य दुःखमुत्पादयतीति तदाह सुखदुःखोत्पत्तीति ।

-p.439

-Kan. p.97

Kangle rightly emends 'na ca' to 'sa ca' - 'sa' standing for *kapata* which is with its three kinds, described in the *āryā* under discussion. Following the MS. he adds at the end the words :

तदाह सुखदुःखोत्पत्तीति ।

16. (नन्वेवं शृङ्गारयोगे काव्ये कैशिकीहीनता ।) कैशिक्यां वृत्तौ । हीनामिति तत्र समासः, तेन नर्माद्यङ्गचतुष्क- तदुपरञ्जकीतनृत्यवाद्याद्यभावात् कैशिक्या हीनात्र भवति । नन्वेवं शृङ्गारयोगे.... कैशिक्यां वृत्तौ हीनानीति तत्र समासः ॥ कैशिकी हीनात्र भवति ।

- pp. 440 -441

- Kan. p.101

Kangle rightly points out that the phrase *Kaiśikī hīnatā* has reference to *Kaiśikī-vṛtti* - *hīnāni* in the verse no. XVIII.9:

कैशिकीवृत्तिहीनानि रूपाण्येतानि कस्येत् ।

The *nātaka* and the *prakaraṇa* are composed using all the four *vṛttis*; on the other hand, the remaining eight types of drama are to be composed

without using *Kaiśikī vṛtti*. Having regard to the context, the compound needs to be dissolved as *Kaiśikyāṁ vṛttau hīnāni*.

Incidentally, we may note that the *Śuddhipatrikā* at the end of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Vol. II, p. iv, reads :

page	line	misprint	correct
440	19	hīnāmiti	hānānīti (? hīnānīti)

About *Kaiśikyā hīnā* he says : grammar demands that we should have the form *Kaiśikī* to agree with the attribute *hīnā*.

17. मध्ये च तत्र दिव्यानामपि प्रवेशो भवतीति मध्ये च तत्रादिव्यानामपि प्रवेशो भवतीति
दर्शयति उद्धतपुरुषेति... दर्शयति उद्धतपुरुषेति।

-p.441

Kan. p. 103

Kangle argues that the type of drama *Īhāmṛga* has divine beings as its heroes and therefore there is no point in saying that in its midst divine beings too participate and corrects the reading *tatra divyānāmapi* to *tatrādivyānāmapi* and the phrase *uddhata-puruṣa-prāyaḥ* that follows supports his correction.

Incidentally, we may note that Hemcandra has practically the same reading: मध्ये चात्र दिव्यानामपि प्रवेशो भवतीति दर्शयति । उद्धतेति। p.438, l. 22

It means like Abhinavagupta, Hemacandra too nods here!

18. नाटकतुल्यं सर्वमन्यत् केवलं सन्धीनां रसानां नाटकतुल्यं सर्वमन्यत् केवलं सन्धीनां रसानां
चासमग्रता च चासमग्रतात्र।

-p. 443

-Hema. p. 439, l. 19.

Hemacandra's reading *cāsamagrātātra* is certainly superior to the printed reading in GOS edn. and eminently suits the context. The second *ca* following *cāsamagrātā* is non-sensical, whereas *atra* that follows *cāsamagrātā* in Hem. is significant, as it means 'here' (in this type of drama called *ḍima*) [as against *nāṭaka*].

19. ङिमो ङिम्बो विद्रव इति पर्यायाः तद्योगादयं ङिमो ङिम्बो विद्रव इति पर्यायाः....
ङिमः। अन्ये तु डयन्त इति डियः उद्धतनायकाः, तेषां मानं वृत्तियत्रिति।
उद्धतनायकास्तेषामात्मनां वृत्तियत्रिति। "इको
ह्रस्वोऽडचो गाल्वस्य " इति ह्रस्वः।

-pp. 444

-Kan. p. 107

Kangle argues that the reading *teṣām ātmanām* is nonsensical and emends it to *teṣāṁ mānam* and that Abhinavagupta derives *ma* in *ḍima* from the root *mā*. Later writers on Dramaturgy ignore this second etymology altogether. For example, Hemacandra reproduces only the first etymology given by Abhinavagupta:

डिम्भो (? डिम्भो) डिम्भो विद्रव इति पर्यायास्तद्योगादयं डिम्भः। p.440

The authors of the ND give this etymology with a slight change:

डिम्भो डिम्भो विद्रव इत्यर्थः। तद्योगादयं डिम्भः, डिम्भेः सङ्घातार्थत्वादिति।

This latter part reminds us of Dhanika's etymology:

डिम्भ संघात इति नायकसंघातव्यापारत्मकत्वात् डिम्भः।

Avaloka on DR III (60ab)

20. प्रख्यातवरनुविषय इति। प्रख्यातं भारतादियुद्धे विषये निमित्ते सति यत्तत्करणबहुलं चेष्टितं वर्ण्यते त्व्यातं स्त्रीपर्ववृत्तान्तवत् माभूदित्यप्रख्यात- ग्रहणेनोक्तम्।

-p.445

प्रख्यातेति। प्रख्याते भारतादियुद्धे विषये निमित्ते सति यत्र करणबहुलं चेष्टितं वर्ण्यते तत् प्रख्यातं स्त्रीपर्ववृत्तान्तवद् भवतु। मा वा भूदित्यप्रख्यात- ग्रहणेनोक्तम्।

-Hema. p.441

'*Prakhyātam*' and '*yattat*' are most probably misreadings of the original readings '*prakhyāte*' and '*yatra*' preserved by Hemacandra. Hemacandra's reading '*tat prakhyātam*' is decidedly better than '*tatkhyātam*', as it finely contrasts with '*aprakhyāta*' that follows '*mā bhūt*'. To a careful reader it is evident that some word/s is/are missing between '*striparvavṛttāntavat*' and '*mā bhūt*'. Luckily for us Hemacandra has preserved these 'missing words':

स्त्रीपर्ववृत्तान्तवत् (वद्) भवतु। मा वा (भूदित्यप्रख्यातग्रहणेनोक्तम्।)

21. निर्वेदितानि येषु श्रुतेषु निर्वेदो जायते तादृशि भाषितानि यत्र। व्याकुला चेष्टा भूमिनिपातविवर्तिताद्याः।

- p. 446

निर्वेदितानि येषु श्रुतेषु निर्वेदो जायते तादृशि भाषितानि यत्र। व्याकुलाश्चेष्टा भूमिनिपातविवर्तिताद्याः।

- Hema . p. 441

It is clear as daylight that Hemacandra's reading *vyākulaś ceṣṭāh* (*visarga* is dropped because of the soft consonant that follows) is the right one.

22.हास्यप्रधानवचन संबन्धशीलनादिना... भगवदादिभिर्युक्तम्। तथापि च भाषाचारौ यत्र न विकु(? कु)तावसत्याश्चर्यरूपौ तथा विशेषेण भावैः व्यभिचारिभिरुपपन्नानि पदानि कथाखण्डानि यस्मिन्। नियतगतिः एकप्रचारं यद्वस्तु तद्विषयः प्रहसनीयलक्षणो यत्र, तच्छुद्धं प्रहसनम्।

-p.448

तुलना : ...हास्यप्रधानवचनसंबद्धं शीलादिना... भगवदादिभिर्युक्तम्। ... व्यभिचारिभिरुपपन्नानि चरितानि कथाखण्डानि यस्मिन्। नियतगति एकप्रकारं यद्वस्तु तद्विषयः प्रहसनीयलक्षणोऽर्थो यत्र तच्छुद्धं प्रहसनम्।

- Hema. p.442

Hemacandra's readings would strike a careful reader as genuine or authentic.

23. यत्रोक्तिप्रत्युक्तिक्रमे क्रियमाणे परस्परज्ञानोपजीवनबलात् स्वपक्षसुघटितादधिबलसंबन्धादधिबलम्।

तुलना :- मिथः परस्परं जल्पे उक्तिप्रत्युक्तिक्रमे क्रियमाणे स्वपक्षस्य स्वाभ्युपगमस्य परस्पर-ज्ञानोपजीवनबलात् स्थापना सुघटितत्वं क्रियते यत्र

तदधिकबलसंबन्धादधिबलम्।

-p. 457

- ND p. 119

Kangle (pp. 141-42) prefers the reading in the MS. *sughaṭitā, tadbala* to *sughaṭitādadhībala* in the printed edition. His emendation does not satisfactorily explain the first member of the term *adhi-bala*. Here ND which generally borrows wholesale or adapts passages from Abhinavagupta's commentary comes to our help. Keeping in view the corresponding passages cited above and the MS. reading, we may restore the passage as follows:

यत्रोक्तिप्रत्युक्तिभ्रमे क्रियमाणे परस्परप्रज्ञानो(?प्रज्ञो)पजीवनबलात्
स्वपक्षसुघटितता तदधिकबलसंबन्धादधिबलम्।

24. यद्वाक्यं प्रयोजनान्तरमुद्दिश्य वचनमुच्यमानं
कस्यचिद्वचनमन्यस्य हास्यमपरस्य रोषं
जनयति तच्छ्लम्।

तुलना :- प्रयोजनान्तरेण प्रयुक्तं यद्
वचनमन्यस्यान्यस्य हास्यवञ्चना-रोषकारणम्, तद्
वञ्चनाहेतुत्वात् श्लम्।

-p. 457

-ND II. 33cd, p.126

(*Kasyacit*) *vacanam*, the printed reading in GOS edn. is patently wrong and needs to be emended to *vañcana* or *vañcanā* as found in the ND. Bharata in his definition of *chala* uses the phrase *abhisandhāna-hāsya-rasa-karam (vākyaṃ)*. The word *abhisandhāna* means *vañcana* or *vañcanā*. The ND straightway uses *vañcanā* retaining the other two words *hāsya* and *roṣa* intact. The Sanskrit dictionary too gives 'cheating, deception' as one of the meanings of *abhisandhāna*. So we are perfectly justified in emending (*kasyacid*) *vacanam* to *vañcanam*.

25. यद् विरुद्धवस्तु यदनेन कृतं पूर्वोक्त-
वस्त्वपवदनमेव च तद्वचनं दृष्टार्थगर्भत्वात्
गण्ड इव गण्डः।

तुलना :- अन्याभिप्रायेणाकस्मात् प्रत्युक्तं
प्रतिवचनतयाऽनुच्चारितमपि प्रतिवचनरूपतया
प्रक्रान्तेन यत् संबद्धं वचनं तद्दुष्टार्थगर्भत्वाद्
दुष्टशोणितगर्भगण्ड इव गण्डः।

-p. 458

- ND II. 32 ab, p.121

Kangle rightly points out that the reading *viruddha-vastu yadanena* in the GOS edn. is wrong. The impropriety of the reading *dr̥ṣṭārtha garbhatvād* however has escaped his attention. The ND has preserved the original reading *duṣṭarthagarbhatvāt* which eminently suits the context : *Gaṇḍa* is so called as it contains an ominous coming event like a boil (*gaṇḍa*) containing malignancy.

Gaṇḍa (one of the thirteen *vīlhyāṅgas*) is so called, as it foreshadows an ominous coming event or disaster like a boil that comprises disgusting or loathsome impure blood or pus.

Abbreviations and References

A. Bh. *Abhinavabhāratī*: See *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

DR The *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya with the commentary (*Avaloka*) of Dhanika , Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay 1941.

Kan. Kangle, *Daśarūpakavidhāna* (Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra*, Chs. 18, 19 translated into Marathi, with notes) : Maharashtra State Sahitya Sanskriti Mandala, Bombay 32, 1974. Tr. by R.P.Kangle.

KLV *Kalpalatāviveka* by an anonymous author, pub. by L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad 9, 1968.

Hema. Hemacandra.

Kāś. *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* of Ācārya Hemacandra, Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1964 (Second revised edition).

MS. (Transcript of) MS. of *Abhinavabhāratī*, Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.

ND *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, second revised edition, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1959.

NS *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni with the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* of Abhinavagupta, GOS LXVIII, Vol. II, Baroda, 1934.

Studies In Sanskrit Sāhitya Śāstra by V.M. Kulkarni, pub. by B.L. Institute of Indology, Patan (NG) 1983.

PIEBALD TRISĀNKU : THE EURASIAN IN ANGLO-INDIAN FICTION

M. K. NAIK

An inevitable feature of the colonial Indian social scene and a recurrent figure in Anglo-Indian fiction, the Eurasian is perhaps most aptly described in Michael Edwardes' clinching comment : 'Necessity is the mother of invention and the father of the Eurasian.'¹ A rather embarrassing product of (a casual or otherwise) union between the Anglo-Saxon and Asiatic races, the Eurasian was mostly the offspring of a White father and an Indian mother. The name, 'Eurasian' was invented by Warren Hastings, the first Governor General of British India (1774-84), though the phenomenon naturally had made its (undesirable) appearance much earlier. Some other names by which the Eurasians were known were: 'East Indians', 'Half-castes', 'Blackie-whites', 'Eight-annas', 'Chattikais'², and even 'Chi-chis' (referring to the fact that the mothers of at least some of them belonged to the very dregs of Indian society.) It is interesting to note that Eurasians began to call themselves 'Anglo-Indians' only after 1916, the appellation having been adopted by the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association. Until that time — and in fact almost throughout the colonial period, the term 'Anglo-Indian' signified an Englishman in India. It was precisely for this reason that Lord Curzon (that 'most superior person') had refused Eurasians permission to call themselves 'Anglo-Indians, and it was the generosity of Lord Hardinge that allowed the necessary change of the label (the mixture, of course having remained as before).

As Richard Symond³ has pointed out, the history of the Eurasians in colonial India can be divided into three stages. During the eighteenth century and as late as mid-nineteenth century (before the advent of the steamship that made quicker and more frequent visits to England possible), a respectable Englishman found nothing wrong in living with an Indian woman and even marrying her. In the pre-Mutiny days there was a large group of 'aristocratic Eurasians'⁴, comprising men of French, German and Portuguese origins, apart from sons of British officers married to Indian women. As early as 1687, the East India Company had started making payments to mothers of children by mixed marriages, and provision for their education in England was also regularly being made. A leading member of the aristocratic Eurasian clan was Col. James Skinner of the famous 'Skinners Horse'. The son of a Scots

father and a Rajput mother, he was extremely black, spoke broken English and fluent Persian, in which language he wrote his memoirs. Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, had an Indian wife, and their daughter married General Coote; and three British Prime Ministers had a touch of Indian blood in them : Pitt Senior, Pitt Junior and Lord Liverpool. In pre-Mutiny India the Anglo-Saxon vision was singularly free from colour-prejudice. In fact, Lord Bentinck is said to have particularly favoured Eurasians. At Madras, he defended Thomas Warden (a Eurasian whom he made Principal Collector of Malabar) against service prejudice. In Bengal, he was sympathetic to Indigo planters — some of them were Eurasians — who were unpopular. He had even thought of taking on a Eurasian lieutenant as his aide-de-camp!⁵ It is equally interesting to note that Clive's army contained more Eurasians than Europeans, and the Company was so much concerned about the welfare of Eurasians that there were regular orphanages in Calcutta for Eurasian children, though British class-consciousness made it necessary that two separate orphanages be established — one for the offsprings of officers and the other for the brats of lower ranks. And this is what the Cyclopaedia of India has to say about the Eurasians : (they) 'have in India all the rights and privileges of Europeans. Raves with a mixture of European with Asiatic blood possess a proud and susceptible tone of mind.'⁶

Unfortunately for the Eurasians, the tide began to turn against them around 1785. From 1786 onwards, Eurasian children were prohibited from going to England for education, because it was felt that 'the imperfection of the children would, in process of time, be communicated to the generality of the people of Great Britain and by this means debase the succeeding generations of Englishmen.'⁷ Between 1791 and 1795, Eurasians were progressively disqualified from almost all civil and military employment; and in early nineteenth century they were even banned from the Government House in Calcutta.

In 1830, the general ban on the Eurasians was lifted. The change in the official language from Persian to English opened up civil employment for them, while many of them were in the service of the Indian princes. Their staunch loyalty to the British during the Great Mutiny also helped the cause of the Eurasians after 1919, they entered the Railway and Telegraph Departments in large numbers; thus, in 1930, there were around 14000 Eurasians in the Railways, 2000 in Telegraph Dept., and 2000 in Customs. At the time of Partition (1947) there were about 1,50,000 Eurasians in India. About 50,000 emigrated, about half of them to England and around 10,000 to Australia. Nevertheless, Eurasians continue to be in the Indian army in numbers disproportionately large in relation to their total population. In the war against Pakistan in 1965, 20% of the Group Captains and 30% of the Wing Commanders and Squadron Leaders in the Indian Air Force were Eurasians.⁸

The contribution of the Eurasians to the development of modern India has not been meagre. As H. A. Stark, one of their ablest spokesmen points out, 'We are the first missionaries of the Christian religion, the earliest teachers in Indian schools, the pioneers of Western arts, industries and sciences... If England is the land of our fathers, India is the land of our mothers. If to us England is a hallowed memory, India is a living verity... If England is dear as a land of inspiring traditions, India is loved for all that she means to us in our daily life.'⁹

How did the Englishman view the Eurasians in general ? As noted earlier, the common Anglo-Saxon prejudice developed during the nineteenth century, the earlier periods having been mostly free from it. This was largely the inevitable outcome of the nineteenth century view of Race. Owing to the increasing European contact with the non-White races in this century, the entire issue of Race had now come to be of growing interest, and thinking on it was largely shaped by a rather loose application of current evolutionary theories, which came very handy for the purpose, of proving the intrinsic superiority of the White race. Doctrines such as Natural Selection and Survival of the Fittest, and the great Victorian Idea of Progress were found extremely convenient in justifying colonial exploitation. This naturally led to the popular acceptance of the very useful notion of a regular hierarchy of races, with the White permanently on top and the darker ones inevitably at the bottom. The White race supposedly enjoyed the double advantage of possessing superior physical and mental endowments, as also an environment conducive to an energetic and enterprising way of life; the darker races manifestly lacking both these advantages must inevitably remain inferior. They deserved to be subjugated and if necessary destroyed under the impact of their superiors.

One great difficulty in applying these notions wholesale to the Eurasian was that he was actually half-White, and could not therefore be as bad as the 'base Indian' or the 'heathen Chinee'. Help was then sought from both History and Science in solving this seemingly unsurmountable difficulty, and establishing the crippling inferiority of the Eurasian. It was pointed out that in medieval Europe serfdom was inherited through the mother and not the father; that under the old French monarchy the half-caste child belonged to his mother's and not his father's people and that even in the most primitive societies, maternal descent preceded the paternal. Similarly, according to Mendel's Law, it was noted, Hybridization always spelled a reversion to the more primitive type in which the native element ultimately tended to preponderate.¹⁰

It therefore became axiomatic for the Englishman to believe that the Eurasian as a rule illustrated the process of a levelling down and not the other way round. A logical corollary to this was that the Eurasian somehow combined the worst in the two races which met in him. Sir Charles Trevelyan

was certainly in a microscopic minority when he told the House of Lords Committee on Indian Affairs in 1853 that the Eurasians 'had a claim on us, being our descendants. They were in an equivocal position, were not owned by either community and were therefore sensitive, but they had much of the good qualities of both races.'¹¹ One was not too sure what exactly the worst traits of the Anglo-Saxon race were, but one knew very well those of the Indians, which were automatically transmitted to the Eurasian. Their very complexion was condemnation enough of the Eurasians. It no doubt varied from almost 'mid-day (or a quarter to twelve) to midnight', but inevitable touch of the tar-brush was always plain to a practised eye. Other tale-tell marks included unusually large and dark eyes, exceptionally white teeth, dark hair, a more slender and fragile bone structure (which occasionally made for great beauty in women), more vivacity than pure Anglo-Saxon blood was safely used to, and curiously enough dark patches below the nails.

For worse than his appearance, which was a concrete evidence of Anglo-Saxon wild oats sown not wisely but too well, was the Eurasian's character. Almost everybody agreed that the Eurasian imbibed all the worst traits of Indian character through his cursed mother's blood, viz. lack of strength, endurance and staying power; want of moral fibre; pusillanimity, and a tendency to panic in times of crisis. The warring elements in Eurasian character were supposed to make him an unstable personality. Evidence for this came from the Report of the Census Commissioner (1891). It stated that 'It appears from statistics that insanity is far more prevalent among the Eurasians than among any other class.'¹² The Report also added that the Eurasians, 'seem to be peculiarly liable to... leprosy.'¹³ Another interesting finding of the Commission is that 'the far higher proportion of female as compared with male lunatics in the Eurasian than in the native community is very conspicuous.'¹⁴

If such was the British view of the Eurasian in general, it would be equally interesting to ask the question : how did the Eurasian look at himself? The oppressive consciousness of his being a monstrous hybrid was like a Cain's mark branded on the Eurasian's soul. Always aware of the fact that he was generally despised by the British on the one hand and the Indians on the other, the Eurasian found himself 'between two worlds one dead, and the other powerless to be born.' Nirad Chaudhuri has evocatively described the plight of the Eurasian, in *The Continent of Circe*: 'There hung over their consciousness the shadow of a disinherited life, cast by the knowledge that all their potentialities were limited by something over which they had no control, namely their birth. This fostered in all Eurasians a resentment against the British, which often became strong enough to be sullenness, affecting the mood and temper of the whole community. Yet they could not allow themselves to be driven by this sentiment into anti-British behaviour. They

knew equally well that their position in India was dependent on the British. So they developed a psychological dichotomy, in which their resentment against the local British came to be mixed with the impulse, which became a habit, to look upon the British in India as protectors and to remain abjectly dependent on them. To this was added another psychological maladjustment. Towards the people of the country, especially to the Hindus, they behaved with an arrogance which was very stupid. But, of course, it was intelligible, it was derived half from the assurance of British protection, and half from the consciousness that they were partly of the ruling race, or in any case nearer to the ruling race than to the Hindus.¹⁵

In his *Verdict on India*, Beverley Nichols gives an equally revealing account of his encounter with a Eurasian nurse : 'Her father was British, her mother Indian. She used to show me snapshots of herself with her father. The mother was hardly ever in the pictures : only once did I catch a glimpse of her, a little dark figure hovering in the background. The page in the album was quickly turned when the snapshot came into view.'

'I have been out here far too long.' That was one of the favourite phrases of the (Eurasian) girl. 'I've absolutely lost touch with home.' They never had been 'home' at all, poor creatures, but they would die rather than admit it. 'I have Spanish blood in my veins' : that is another favourite. It helps to account for the dark skin and the black hair. Some girls even pick up little Spanish phrases which they introduce into their conversation. They tell you that they learned it from their grandmothers.¹⁶ Nichols thus brings out some of the typical features of Eurasian psychology : the half-caste's pathetic attempts to repudiate the Indian connection, and pass for a Westerner, and the Mestizo's futile yearning for a home which is really not there.

The Eurasian personality, with all its interesting complex traits stands fully revealed in almost all its aspects in Anglo-Indian fiction. The Eurasian appears in several Anglo-Indian novels, and in more than a dozen of them, he is actually the protagonist, as in major works like G. A. Henty's *The Tiger of Mysore*; Maud Diver's *Lilamani* ; Henry Bruce's *The Eurasian* (he wrote five novels on the theme); John Eyton's *Bulbulla* ; F. Tennysson Jesse's *The Lacquer Lady*; Dennis Kincaid's *Tropic Rome*; E. W. Savi's *The Beloved Aristocrat*; Rumer Godden's *The Lady and the Unicorn*; Lrslie Gillespie's *The Man from Madura*; John Master's *Bhowani Junction*; Jon Godden's *The City and the Wave*; and Roger Cleeve's *The Toad beneath the Harrow*. The fact that the first novel in this selective list was published in 1896 and the last appeared in 1969 indicates the continuing interest of the Eurasian theme for the Anglo-Indian novelist.

In describing the personal appearance of their Eurasian characters, most of the Anglo-Indian novelists are seen to echo dutifully all the popular notions

and impressions then in vogue. Commenting upon the brown complexion of the Eurasian boy, Drew (Durroo), in *Kullu of the Carts*, John Eyton says, 'It was not the kind of brown that you could explain away lightly as sunburn or disguise as Spanish. It was far more significant and deep-seated... a tan... more prized, he had noticed in inanimate objects, such as meerschaum pipes and amber beads and honey and old ale, than in human beings.'¹⁷ Even when the Eurasian was not brown but fairly white in complexion, certain tale-tell marks always betrayed the shameful secret. Thus, Stephen explains to the Eurasian Rosa, in Rumer Godden's *The Lady and the Unicorn* why he finds her to be different from the English: 'you use hands so much for talking, and the way you speak, too quickly to be English and your eyes and hair, so dark and your skin so curiously white, not like a northern skin.'¹⁸ A character in Paul Scott's *The Alien Sky* points out that the Eurasians', 'hands are usually small-boned, like Indians... Most of them talk a singsong like Welsh.'¹⁹ In Brian Cooper's *A Touch of Thunder*, we are told that the Eurasian girl, Betty Rowlands has fingers which have, 'the dark little patch that Eurasians had just below the base of their nails.'²⁰ Alan Laurence, in Diver's *Candles in the Wind*, marks how the Eurasian doctor Videlle has eyes 'touched with melancholy', 'eye-balls tinged with yellow' and a 'too brilliant flash of white (teeth)' — all supposedly Indian traits.²¹ More discoveries of a similar nature are made about the poor doctor by Lyndsay: 'the sensuous indecision of the lips, the poor outline of chin, a jaw'.²² The belief that the Eurasian was in some cases somehow exceptional endowed with beauty is also echoed by some novelists. Young George Garforth, the Eurasian in M. M. Kaye's *The Far Pavilions* is blessed with a 'Grecian profile and Byronic curls'²³, which however prove to be the only plus point about him. And in Anthony Burgess's *The Long Day Wanes*, Crabbe, the English man envies Roper, the Eurasian for his 'intense physical beauty, a beauty which was a mark of shame to its possessor. How complicated life was for the Eurasian.'²⁴

This 'complicated life' of the Eurasian, frequently leading to frustration and tragedy is ably chronicled in Anglo-Indian fiction. As a 'child of no man's land'²⁵, 'pathetic half and half'²⁶, it was the dubious birthright of the Eurasian to be cursed right from his (mostly unwanted) entry into the world with a crippling identity crisis. The following dialogue in Henry Bruce's *The Eurasian* underscores the idea:

'He's a Eurasian, a mixture.'

'What is the harm in a mixture, Sir?'

'None at all, in a good one. But the Eurasian is a tarnation bad mixture... The Eurasian as such is a man of streaks, all striped, like a barber's pole. He's not a whole man... The only certainty about a Eurasian is his uncertainty.'²⁷

Rumer Godden's *The Lady and the Unicorn* provides an equally evocative statement of the plight of the Eurasian, when the novelist ponders the thoughts of old Father Ghezzi on the subject:

'For fifty-one years he had been dealing with these people, these facile Anglo-Indians... It was like digging in the sand, you could not get to the bottom of their contradictions, their cross-purposes. It was their blood, the contempt of one part for another; the contempt of the Britisher for the native he rules, a contempt that runs like cold pure metal through the easy tissues of the native indolence and shiftlessness,... dishonesty and incoherence; and the resentment of the Indian under that domination, his fight for freedom that is alien to his element and culture if he could but find peace'... There could be no peace for these people who must always be against the winning side, no matter which side wins, carrying in themselves their certainty of defeat.²⁸

At another place, Father Ghezzi points out how the Eurasian man and the woman had each their own particular cross to bear:

'I don't know which it is that is worse to have in this country... boys or girls, sons or daughters. With the sons it is one thing; they cannot get work, the Indians squeeze them out from beneath, the English from above... Before they begin they are failures. And with the girls it is another thing; they are so successful... There is always success for these girls, so smart, so nimble, so empty-headed. They take even the jobs the boys might have.. and what happens? They get money, they get ideas, they are taken up by men in Calcutta society... And then when they are in trouble, they are flung back on their own people : on those boys whose place they have taken, boys for whom they have now no use and who could not marry them if they had.'²⁹

In *Burmese Days*, George Orwell illustrates two contrasting attitudes Europeans adopt to the Eurasian question. The orthodox attitude, which a vast majority held is well-illustrated in Elizabeth's description of the Eurasians as 'awfully degenerate types... so thin and weedy and cringing; and they haven't got at all honest faces... I've heard that half-castes always inherit what's worst in both races.'³⁰ Flory, on the other hand, is a spokesman for the minority, liberal view : 'Most Eurasians aren't very good specimens, and it's hard to see how they could be, with their upbringing. But our attitude towards them is rather beastly. We always talk of them as though they'd sprung up from the ground like mushrooms, with all their faults ready-made. But when all's said and done, we're responsible for their existence.'³¹

How does the Eurasian in Anglo-Indian fiction view himself? : mostly as one confused, frustrated and bitter; perpetually insecure and unsure of himself; and for ever cursed to carry a large-size chip on his half-white

shoulder. The Eurasian's entire life is an unending identity crisis, with all its attendant mental suffering. In John Masters *Bhowani Junction*, Patrick declares, 'We couldn't become English because we were half Indian. We could not become Indian because we were half English. We could only stay where we were and be what we were.'³² And in *The Lady and the Unicorn*, Rosa tells Stephen, the Englishman, 'How easy it must be to live if you know that you are some one', and adds as a rejoinder to his remark, 'we're all some one', 'I mean some one worth while.'³³ The reaction of Rosa's far more worldly sister Belle, is expectedly more bitter: 'We come from nowhere,... we are nothing.'³⁴ Victoria in *Bhowani Junction* sees in her lover Patrick 'the worst trade-marks of our own people : inferiority feelings, resentment, perpetual readiness to be insulted — all the things I was determined to get rid of in myself.'³⁵ Ananda in D. G. Stoll's *Comedy in Chains* is himself a Eurasian but he offers a fairly objective analysis of the situation of his tribe : he agrees that Eurasians are a 'feeble people.. And I would add over-sensitive. But almost any adolescent will become like that if he is treated persistently enough as an inferior by everybody he meets. Most Indians and Englishmen make up their minds in advance that a Eurasian is second-rate, and if he is not already that he usually becomes so. Terms of contempt like 'half-caste'... have an undesirable effect, particularly on children who have been conceived illegitimately, or whose parents live cut off from local society.'³⁶

There were two opposite ways in which the Eurasian sought to solve his nagging identity problem : he either tried to identify himself completely with his White father, denying the Indian element in his make-up altogether, or far less commonly-accepted his Indian origin unapologetically. The first way was naturally almost the rule (with an occasional exception) during the colonial days, when possible white identification (and even a partial one at that) was bound to be rewarding. Writing during the twilight days of the British Empire, C. N. Weston comments : 'There has been in the past a cringing attitude towards the Englishman, because he had the power to bestow favours. Today the influence of patronage is rapidly on the wane... and Anglo-Indians (= Eurasians) are forced by circumstances to stand on their own feet,... Their attitude towards the Indian too has changed for the better. It was common in my boyhood days to hear Anglo-Indians talk of Indians as 'niggers,' This attitude has been changed completely and Anglo-Indians are realizing that Indians are their equals and brothers in the family of peoples of India. They are compelled by circumstances to make this adjustment, but there is undoubtedly a real change of heart too in my community towards the Indian.'³⁷

The Eurasian's desperate — and half-comic and half-pathetic attempt to pass off as pure White has been well-illustrated in several dramatic episodes

in Anglo-Indian fiction. Paul Scott has two scenes with this motif in *Johnnie Sahib* and *The Alien Sky* respectively. Johns in the first novel 'has never been further west than Bombay, but from books and from talking to others... has formed for himself a vision of England and at last convinced himself he had been there—for it was a confession of mixed blood not to have been home.'³⁸ Bill Parish, the Englishman exposes him, when Johns says he has had his childhood in Buckinghamshire. Parish's searching questions about Buckinghamshire soon become more difficult to answer for the poor Eurasian, and the Englishman takes pity on him by generously dropping the subject. Johns is however incurable. Later, when Jim Taylor mentions that he hails from London, this is how Johns reacts : 'there was a pathetic eagerness in John's face as he waited for Jim to talk to him about London; talk that he could remember for other occasions; talk by which he could transport himself and make himself believe.'³⁹ Judy Anderson, the Eurasian girl in *The Alien Sky* is not as lucky as Johns, because unfortunately for her, her tormentor is a catty British woman — Cynthia Mapleton, to whose over-developed sense of humour many things in India appear to be excruciatingly funny. She expertly deflates Judy's claim that she hails from Brighton, by encouraging Eurasian girl to talk about the location and the topography of the place, and poor Judy is soon tying herself into knots.

One seldom finds a Eurasian trying to own up his Indian blood in Anglo-Indian fiction, and an attempt of this kind is most likely to end up in failure, as in the case of Victoria in *Bhowani Junction*. A Britisher's unsuccessful attempt to rape her proves to be a turning point in Victoria's life; 'In a kind of unpleasant way I was grateful to him, because he had set me free. I have always admired the English, and like the rest of us, pretended to be more English than I am. When Macaulay tried to rape me, he broke the chain. I was free... If I wanted to turn to India, my home, I could.'⁴⁰ Later, she tells her father (who himself is a Eurasian); 'We are half Indian... But there's not going to be any place for half Indians soon. I can't make myself a whole Indian, but I can show that I don't think of myself as whole English. I can show that I think India is my home.'⁴¹ She now thinks her quest can be attained with the help of Ranjit who admires her, but soon realizes that 'however close I got to Ranjit there was always a thing like a very delicate gauze screen curtain hanging down between us.'⁴² The pendulum then swings to the other extreme and she has a frantic affair with Savage, the Englishman. But ever unsure of herself, she is worried whether she can give him a happy home and a family (provided of course that he is ready to make her his wife). Ultimately, she decides to go back to her first lover-Patrick, the Eurasian, with all his faults, he is at least fully her own.

The Eurasian sub-inspector in D. G. Stoll's *The Dove Found No Rest*

feels the urge to get Indianized even more acutely than Victoria. He envies the people in a south Indian village for their serenity, which he feels will never be his, and he even wonders how long it will be before Christian Eurasians like himself would merge with the vast Indian majority.⁴³ Dennis Kincaid's *Tropic Rome* provides an extremely rare example of a Eurasian returning to her Indian roots. Here, the half-Indian mother of Gil, a descendant of a captain of Alphonso Albuquerque, becomes progressively Indianized after her husband's death. She takes to Indian food, and even her way of worship is Indianized, Champak flowers and roses now being offered to the Madonna.

Most Anglo-Indian novelists share the British belief that in whatever way the Eurasian might try to resolve his identity crisis, he is, as a rule, bound to fail. The most favourite explanation offered is of course that this was because the Eurasian somehow combined the worst in the two races. Alan Laurence in Diver's *Candles in the Wind* sums up this popular thesis succinctly: 'The half-caste out here falls between two stools... he is generally perverse enough to pick up the worst qualities of the two races and mix them up into a product peculiarly distasteful to both.'⁴⁴ A character in Perrin's *The Stronger Claim* avers: 'The Half-caste generally has all the drawbacks of both nations and the virtues of neither.'⁴⁵

Like almost all British writers on the subject, Anglo-Indian novelists too do not appear to find it necessary to spell out the 'undesirable traits' in the White race, but they know very well all the worst flaws in Indian character, which the Eurasian of course imbibes with his mother's milk, because as F. E. Penny observes in commenting on her Eurasian protagonist, Daphne in *The Wishing Stone*, 'As is so often the case where the European traits show themselves in the body, the mind was oriental.'⁴⁶ The list of moral flaws (all of course of exclusively Indian origin) with which the Eurasian psyche is marred is a fairly long one. The Eurasian is often vulgar and common like the loud-mouthed termagant, Carrie in Diver's *Candles in the Wind*; and has unclean personal habits, like Victoria's mother in *Bhowani Junction* (she is supposed to chew betel-nut in secret). The Eurasian in Anglo-Indian fiction has no moral fibre, no will-power, no strength, no stamina, and is (like all orientals, of course) an abject slave to wild passions and a constant prey to shiftiness and dishonesty. The philosophy of Belle, the worldly Eurasian girl in *The Lion and the Unicorn* is, 'I've been only one thing, my fairness, my body, and I shall use it till I get what I want.'⁴⁷ Daphne in *The Wishing Stone* is engaged to marry Ralph but has no inhibitions in flirting with Dick, and when she kisses him, the novelist explains: 'It was the kiss of the child of the East, who knows no restraint where her passions are aroused.'⁴⁸ And in F. Tennyson Jesse's *The Lacquer Lady*, Agathy tells the Eurasian Fanny, 'It's clear to see you're not English. You've been prying into my things—what a dishonourable thing to do.'⁴⁹

A recurrent motif in Anglo-Indian fiction is the outsize inferiority complex of the Eurasian, and how it operates in moments of crisis, either turning him into an errant coward or making him an arrogant fool. Patrick Taylor in *Bhowani Junction* is one of the most evocative portraits of the Eurasian with a strong inferiority complex. He has, as Savage shrewdly observes, 'ten thumbs and a soul like a boiled ham.'⁵⁰ Always extremely uncomfortable in the company of Savage, a Britisher, Taylor himself confesses, 'I was much bigger than he was, but I never remembered it, not even (the) first time.'⁵¹ In the same novel, Victoria goes to bed with Jonny Talbert, the Englishman who (with his British sense of fair-play) has made it abundantly clear before the event that his intentions are hardly honourable; she then comments: 'He thought that because he was a British officer, and I was a chee-chee girl, I'd anything. And... he was right. Slowly, slowly, I did feel I had to do it.'⁵² Ernie Maber, the Eurasian youth in Roger Cleeve's *The Toad beneath the Skin*, invariably panics in moments of danger, as for instance, when he encounters a snake, and when he is asked to jump down from a tree. In Alice Perrin's *The Stronger Claim*, Paul Vereker, the Eurasian, 'doomed by his disparate racial ingredients', runs away during a riot and is killed by the crowd; while dying, he invokes 'his gods in Hinustani.'⁵³ (This is the opposite of what happens in Kipling's well-known short story, *His Chance in Life*, where, in a crisis, the European element in the blood of D'Cruse, the Eurasian, makes him behave like a hero-- but then, the magical qualities of even a single drop of European blood were for Kipling a Revealed Truth, which had no exceptions.) At his worst, the Eurasian could be utterly villainish. One is therefore hardly surprised to find Patricia Wentworth making Nanasahib Peshwa's nephew, Raosaheb (a true blue Maharashrian Brahmin in real life) a Eurasian, when she finds it necessary to provide another villain in addition to that good old black whipping boy, Nanasahib, in her Mutiny novel, *The Devil's Wind*.

Condemned to wear his peculiar piebald hair-shirt all his life, the sensitive Eurasian in Anglo-Indian fiction is sometimes naturally obsessed with a strong death-wish, like Len, the protagonist in Jon Godden's *The City and the Wave*. Len is oppressed by a strange conviction that the coastal city in which he lives is doomed to be wiped out one day by a huge tidal wave — a cataclysm with obviously symbolic overtones. The painful choice, according to him is between remaining a despised minority (after Indian Independence) and getting submerged in the Indian mainstream; and since either choice is unpalatable, he concludes sadly : 'Perhaps it would be better if we were gradually to die out and vanish from the scene.'⁵⁴

The Eurasian thus cuts, on the whole a very sorry figure in Anglo-Indian fiction. But at least one major Anglo-Indian novelist does look at the question from an unconventional angle and tries to give the poor half-caste his due, though the orthodox view of the Eurasian is equally well-represented in her

fiction, by some of her characters. Maud Diver seems to believe that a union between the best in the two races – the upper class Whites and Indian aristocracy — would actually produce splendid results, of which both England and India should be proud. Le Roy Sinclair in Diver's *Far to Seek* is the son of Sir Nevil Sinclair and Lilamani, daughter of Sir Lakshman Singh, a high-caste Rajput gentleman. Roy is described as a man with a high and complex heritage... the blood of two virile races English and Rajput was mingled in his veins.⁵⁵ He thinks of himself not as a pathetic half-caste of the usual kind, but as 'of a double caste, a fusion of the best in both races.'⁵⁶ The distinction is thus explained by a character in the novel : (Eurasians are) 'the fruit, most often of promiscuous unions between low-caste types on both sides, with a sense of stigma added to drag them down lower still. But where the crossing of the highest caste... I can see no stigma; perhaps even a spiritual gain to your children... India may some day be saved by the son of just such a union... He will have the strength of his handicap; the soul of the East, the forceful mind and character of the West... What if the ultimate meaning of British occupation of India be just this—that the successor Buddha should be a man born of high caste, high-minded British and Indian parents — a fusion of the finest that East and West can give.'⁵⁷

However, Roy himself is shown to have occasional doubts about the 'Double-caste' theory, indicating that in spite of all her liberalism, Diver herself could not shake off traditional Anglo-Indian prejudices completely. This is suggested by comments like the following apropos of Roy in her *The Singer Passes* : 'Always at the centre, lurked that sharp cleavage between East and West the profound uncertainty of a divided soul'; and, 'Had he, because of his Eastern blood, a less purposeful grip on the work he loved than his father ?'⁵⁸

Predictably enough, there is very little support for Maud Diver's championship of the Eurasian among Anglo-Indian novelists, though one does find a stray example in a little-known, slight novel like *Fitch and His Fortunes* by G. Dick. Fitch, the protagonist here is in love with Savitra (*sic*) Bai, a beautiful and wealthy Indian lady. He defends himself by saying, 'If well-born Englishmen and high-caste ladies of India wedded, it brings about the English at home a wonderful fusion, a hybrid, mongrel lot, if you like, Norman-Dane, Anglo-Saxon, but the peer of the West, as the Eurasian would be the peer of the East, and not the by-product of the lower classes of each proud race as he is at present.'⁵⁹

'Peer of the East ?', 'sheer nonsense' : the Anglo-Indian novelist in general would certainly comment; hence the Eurasian remains for him mostly a 'Lord of the Void', a 'Dangling Man', suspended in mid-air, a piebald Triśanku,⁶⁰ who can neither ascend to the heaven of Wholeness, nor ever find his feet firmly planted on roots-giving earth.

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54. Jon Godden, *The City and the Wave* (London, 1954), pp. 102-3.
55. Maud Diver, *Far to Seek* (London, 1921), pp. 4-5.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 294.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
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60. According to ancient Hindu mythology, Triṣaṅku, a king of the Solar race, ascended to Heaven with his earthly body, with the assistance of Sage Viśvāmitra; but Indra, the Lord of Heaven hurled him down, whereupon Viśvāmitra checked his downward fall, and Triṣaṅku was left suspended in mid-air, between Heaven and Earth.

THE INDIANNESS OF INDIAN SCULPTURE

ANUPA PANDE

Hegel characterised Indian art as symbolic in a pejorative sense, distinguishing it from the classical Graeco-Roman and modern arts characterised by plastic balance and romantic subjectivity respectively.¹ The depiction of many hands and heads in Indian images has been explained by Hegel as a symbolic device which is artistically inadequate to the idea sought to be symbolised viz., the idea of superhuman power or sublimity. Stella Kramrisch states, on the other hand, that this multiplicity of heads or limbs should be understood as representing “stages of one movement and have to be understood dynamically as indicative of the potency of the superhuman being in the simultaneousness of their presence”.²

The artist depicts a multiplicity of heads and limbs for no other reason than that he follows a standardized iconographic tradition. The Indian artist worked within an ambient tradition, plastic as well as iconographic. He did not create the images freely out of current ideas about the deities. The gods were conceived within the religious tradition and imagined in specific and standard ways in the context of worship and meditation. The artist inherited the rich tradition of ideology as well as iconography and worked within it following an immemorial tradition of distinctive iconic forms and proportions.

The famous verse quoted by Yaśodhara on the six limbs of pictorial depiction may be recalled here :

Rūpabhedāḥ pramāṇāni bhāvalāvanyayojanam /
*Sādrśyam varṇikābhaṅga iti citrāṇi Ṣaḍaṅgakam //*³

The first two of these, *rūpabhedāḥ* and *pramāṇāni*, refer to the distinctive forms and determinate proportions which were prescribed in the *śilpa* tradition for the different beings the artist was required to depict. Where the gods were concerned, these prescriptions were quite specific and followed the *dhyāna-mantras* as their iconographic interpretation.

Nevertheless, it does not follow that the artist had no creative freedom and that his work was wholly conventional, static and devoid of originality and liveliness. What he produced undoubtedly belonged to an ancient and rich tradition and was to be understood symbolically. Nevertheless, the symbolism was not simply the conventional symbolism of an iconographic language, but the vibrant expression of plastic form conveying a deep significance

by virtue of its aesthetic or sense-perceptible character. *Rūpa* and *pramāṇa* are objective "aesthetic" features, but they are so fashioned by the artist as to express felt loveliness, *bhāvalāvanyayojanam*.

How does form express feeling and beauty? It is obvious that there cannot be any fixed formula here as is shown by numerous examples where the traditional formulae are followed, but the results are poor. As Stella Kramrisch has noted that the stiffness and lifelessness of such images "is due to many of the craftsmen not being artists. These merely proceed according to prescribed formula. Their mechanical rendering serves well enough the purpose of image and makes it a fit object for worship. But the prescriptions laid down for this purpose were never intended for the achievement of artistic quality --- still, apart from the demands of cult, the born artists amongst the craftsmen could not help, while obeying the rules, to reinvest their work with a significance, in relation to which these rules were but helps and stepping - stones towards visualisation".⁴

Now artistic creativity may be conceived as essentially universal but manifesting itself individually in each artist and artistic creation. In the search for Indianness, neither would be relevant except as pointers to something in relation to which the search for Indianness would have meaning. The Indianness of art in India should not be conceived simply in terms of its themes, motifs and conventions as is done often enough. Amrita Shergil, for example, has painted Indian themes. Would that by itself make her a painter in the Indian tradition? Another approach is to seek Indianness in the technique or the craft which the artist inherits from his tradition. Thus, it is well-known how some sculptures of the Mauryan period have become the standard occasion for contrasting Indian and Hellenistic techniques. Thus, Marshall contrasts the "primitive treatment of the statue from Parkham in the Mathura Museum with the highly developed modelling of the Sarnath capital."⁵ The former is trammelled by the law of 'frontality' which besets all primitive art, the latter evinces mastery in modelling. So Marshall concludes that only a Hellenistic artist could possibly execute the living forms of the Sarnath capital. Indian art was still beginning and groping to find its feet under Hellenistic inspiration and example, a process which went on for nearly five centuries. It is only in the Gupta age that it evolved a plastic idiom adequate to its tastes and ideas.

This formulation of the history of Indian sculpture is widely followed, though often in an eclectic manner, combining elements drawn from Havel and Coomaraswamy. In a way, this search was revived in a practical fashion in the early years of the present century when Havel sought to organise the technique of art in India in a manner which was to be in line with the Indian tradition and thus different from copying merely European schools. The work of Abanindranath gave the programme a practical shape while

Havel and Coomaraswamy tried to articulate theoretical background. The work of Stella Kramrisch is in the same direction, seeking the Indianness of Indian art without regarding it simply as a question of identifying cultural conventions.

Stella Kramrisch finds the essential feature of Indian sculpture to lie in a characteristic and deep-seated way of seeing and understanding reality. She says, "Plasticity, dynamic coherence and accentless distribution as well as naturalism, are among the essential and permanent aspects of Indian sculpture.... The eye sees the confirmation of 'nature' in the appearance of the world, extended and imagined.... Any aspect or monument of Indian art visualises a subsistent awareness of life, that is, of 'becoming'.... In unending rhythm or with an all-filling and intense compactness, the undifferentiated, the un-formed, is coined into form".⁶ Stella Kramrisch's characterisation traces the peculiarity of Indian modelling to the paradigm of the potter who shapes the clay by a continuous touch. She distinguishes it from the accented fragmentation and construction of the primary chiseler who is guided by the varied texture of the material. This is certainly a profound insight which has not received enough attention. On the other hand, she gives a more profound insight, when she says, "Seeing, according to Indian notions, is a going forth of the sight towards the object. Sight touches it and acquires its form. Touch is the ultimate connection by which the visible yields to being grasped, while the eye touches the object, the vitality that pulsates in it is communicated, and the form which is given creatively is full with life... The object seen is an enduring token of the force that has moulded it."

Abanindranath calls this force *prāṇacchanda*, thereby, linking the objective with the subjective. One would like to emphasize that this foundational perspective is deeper and wider than the geometrical perspective which is used in classical modern art. Geometrical and aerial perspectives are really parts of an illusionistic conception of art. The western tradition shows a curious dichotomy. On the one hand, it identifies the reality of things with their measurability, mathematics being the ultimate paradigm of the knowledge of things. On the other, it seeks to capture in art the purely phenomenal, illusionistic aspect of experience. Thus, Plato idealizing mathematical forms condemned naturalistic representation in art as the 'shadow of shadows'.⁸ Kant identifying knowledge with conceptual judgements, leaves art to be the product of free, non-cognitive imagination.⁹ Reconciling the beauty of sensuous phenomena with rational truth has been a perpetual dilemma in the western tradition.

In the Indian tradition, on the other hand, the reality of the perceived forms of objects is seen to lie in the creative, formative process which pervades the objective and subjective worlds alike. The mind through the eyes goes to the object and assumes its form. The objectively presented form and

its representation in consciousness are not fundamentally divided, provided it is understood that it is the inward creative rhythm of the object to which the rightly attuned mind of the artist responds. *Viṣṇudharmottara* makes it clear that the rhythm pervading visual representation may be seen in its purer form in dance and music.¹⁰ One might add that a similar rhythm has been noted in meditation. The pragmatically constructed forms of the objects are not relevant here. Iron may be understood by the practical man as a useful and malleable hard object. The artist may, however, see it as a forbidding dark element. The Buddha may be seen by the historian or Devadatta as another tall man. The painter in Ajanta saw him as towering above Rāhula and Rāhula-mātā.

Where *bhāva* is concerned, its object is immanent in consciousness, not an extraneous accident. It is imaginatively created in accordance with a rhythm which pervades the external world also, but which is neither perceived by all, nor identifiable with unique physical processes. The quiddity of the external world is overlain by a physical form which is pragmatically constructed, but it is also overlain by an imaginatively constructed form, which is as variable as the sparkling sea. As Vidyaranya Swami says, the *mṛmāya* and the *manomāya* are not the same. The artist lies in the *manomāya*. Insight at that level enables him to construct forms in a manner that they become expressive of *bhāva* and thereby of a hidden loveliness or *lāvanyamāya*. It is this essential subjectivity of Indian art which constitutes its Indianness. It cannot be described as naturalistic or conventional. In fact, while Marshall decries the lack of naturalism in purely Indian art, Stella Kramrisch praises it for its naturalism. It is obvious that 'nature' is understood differently in the two cases. For Marshall naturalism is illusionism, for Kramrisch it is unpremeditated spontaneity, the rhythm of life revealed as much in the organic, vegetative world as in the intensity of meditative vision.

Notes and References

1. W.T. Stace, *The Philosophy of Hegel*, Dover ed. 1955, pp. 451 ff.
2. Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, first edition, Oxford London 1933, Reprint 1981, p.7.
3. Yaśodhara's commentary, *Jayamaṅgalā* on *Kāmasūtra*.
4. Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
5. Marshall in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 620-22.
6. Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
7. Abanindranath Tagore, *Bharata Śilper Śaḍṅga* (Tr. in *Sammelana Patrikā, Kalā-Viśeṣāṅka*).
8. A. E. Taylor, *Plato* (1960), pp. 381-382.
9. The freedom of imagination is joined to the feeling of pleasure and sense of purposiveness. Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, (Tr. J.H. Bernard, 1931), pp. 27ff.
10. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (Tr. Priyabala Shah), Part III.

DR. TELANG'S CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT

M. D. PARADKAR

At the outset I confess that it is presumptuous on my part to attempt to offer an estimate of Justice Telang, nevertheless I am glad to pay my homage to his hallowed memory, as he was the first Indian President of our Society and had the distinction of contributing research papers to our Journal, thereby enhancing its prestige in the world of reputed scholars. It is well-known that he passed his Matriculation in 1864 with Sanskrit as his secondary language and won the prize in the form of the book "History of Sanskrit Literature." He got his B.A. at the age of 17 and M.A. in languages at the age of 19 and secured Bhagwandas Scholarship in Sanskrit. In fact, during this period he had formed the habit of strenuous application and laid the foundation of accurate, deep and extensive knowledge.

In this connection one has to remember that during the first two years of the college he had already read the novels of Scot, Dickens and Thackeray and was prone to spend much of his time in the library. Rightly indeed, one of his co-students, the Late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has spoken of his fondness for Mathematics which in his opinion helps one to inculcate discipline in thinking; no wonder that this is visible in all his writings. One of his English professors had also trained him in reading all available works of a single author with a view to facilitate a correct estimate of his contribution. His method of summarising important works that he read e.g., 'Religion and Protestants' by Chillingworth also stood him in good stead. It should not be forgotten that he had studied Sanskrit under the guidance of a traditional Shastri giving him an excellent grounding in Darśana as well as Sāhitya Śāstra. Study of the dialectics of Śaṅkarācārya helped him to imbibe discipline in severe logic. Alongwith this, his study of Mill, Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Tindal and others left no lacuna. In fact, this explains the invincible combination of the training of the East as well as the West, one can rightly say with sorrow that in India men of a superior talent of his calibre could not adopt the life of a literary recluse.

His contribution to Sanskrit studies can be understood firstly from the essays on antiquarian topics contributed to the Journal of our Society as well as to the Indian Antiquary, secondly from the books that he translated and annotated. It is true that he had also contributed many miscellaneous essays on various topics published by the Students' Literary and Scientific

Society, but for the sake of convenience I am restricting myself to the two facets referred to above.

At the early age of 20, Telang distinguished himself with his article in Native Opinion pointing out the aberrations in Sanskrit grammar written by Prof. Keilhorn, the reputed Professor of Deccan College. In those days this was nothing short of an adventure. But during this very year, this young and discerning scholar established himself among credited Pandits with his brilliant essay on Śaṅkarācārya, the Philosopher and the Mystic. In his article on Pūrṇavarman and Śaṅkarācārya (published later in 1889), he spoke of the date of Śaṅkarācārya to be 590 A.D. on the basis of the reign of King Pūrṇavarman, the ruler of West Magadha. This was against the then accepted date of Śaṅkara (788-820 A.D.). Incidentally this come close to the view of Shri S.D. Kulkarni who has placed him in 509 to 477 B.C. on the ground of records available in Mutts. Telang's essay on Śaṅkarācārya, 'The Philosopher And The Mystic' is now published in the form of a small booklet wherein granting the slight exaggeration in the famous verse अष्टवर्षे चतुर्वेदी द्वादशे सर्वशास्त्रकृत् । षोडशे कृतवान् भाष्यं द्वात्रिंशे मुनिभ्यगात् । he wrote - "but when I am told that no reasonable man can believe them, I demur." In support he quoted the instance of Dr. Thomas Brown engaged in the 4th year in comparing the narrative of evangelists and also referred to John Morley's 'Life of Turgot' who is said "to have passed at once from infancy to manhood and was in the rank of sages before he has shaken off the dust of playground". Two of his papers entitled 'Date of Śaṅkarācārya' as well as 'Gleanings from Śārīraka Bhāṣya of Śaṅkarācārya' (1890) have also to be alluded to in this connection.

It is worth noting that his research papers in Sanskrit indicate a wide range of subjects from the Rāmāyaṇa to the date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī of the 16th century A.D. His papers on the *Muktikopaniṣad* (1871), 'Date of Nyāyakusumañjali' as well as the 'Short Note on Gomūtra' (1872), 'Śaṅkaravijaya of Ānandagiri' (1876), Bādarāyaṇa, the author of Brahmasūtras dating him back to an age remoter than 400 or 500 A.D. (1885), Subandhu and Kumārila (1891) are a testimony to his honest investigation of facts as well as dispassionate examination of all available material sifting it with critical insight.

In the year 1875 his papers in Indian Antiquary, *Pārvatīpariṇayam* of Bāṇa, on Kālidāsa, Harṣa and Chand appeared. He was not afraid of crossing swords with reputed European scholars who showed the tendency of attributing Sanskrit works to a comparatively later date. In 1873 he distinguished himself by his paper on 'Was Rāmāyaṇa copied from Homer?' He successfully combated the views of Dr. Weber by arranging all evidence internal as well as external and by arguing on the basis of the mental and moral atmosphere in which Rāmāyaṇa is steeped being totally different from that of Homer's work. He

also pointed out that it is more plausible that ideas in the *Ādikāvya* have travelled to the country of Homer. He proved that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was older than Patañjali. In answering Weber, Telang had shown his ability to handle geographical and astronomical references. In his essay on the date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the author of *Gītā gūḍhārtha-candrikā* he combated the views of Lassen and Burnof and proved that the author belongs to the end of 15th as well as the beginning of 16th century A.D. in the reign of Aurangzeb, a view that is now confirmed by Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj in his book "Kashikee Saraswat Sadhana" (Hindi), published in 1960. In 1874, he wrote a paper contesting the theory of Prof. Lorinser regarding *Gītā* that it was copied from Bible. This was readily a precursor to his illuminating book on *Gītā* with notes as well as its translation in English in blank verse. This essay, however, forms the introduction to metrical translation of the 'Divine Lay' published in 1875.

This brings me to the books that he translated and annotated. He edited two works for the Bombay Sanskrit Series. His edition of Bhartṛhari's *Nītisataka* and *Vairāgyasataka* appeared in 1885. In his Introduction to this book he has placed Bhartṛhari towards the close of the first and the beginning of the second century A.D. by arranging all external and internal evidence with the carefulness of a real research scholar expressing his difference of opinion with scholars of the East as well as West. True to a research scholar free from bias, he has frankly admitted in the Introduction that he had misunderstood Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar and was in agreement with his views. He was not afraid of controverting Buddhistic flavour alleged to exist in these *Śatakas*.

His edition of the famous Sanskrit drama *Mudrārākṣasa* appeared in 1884 although it was already prepared in 1875. In fact he was required to lay it aside, because of the offer from Max Müller requesting him to collaborate in Sacred Books of the East Series, Volume VIII by preparing an edition of *Bhagavad Gītā*, and the *Sanatsujātīy* with translation and notes. Undoubtedly this was an honour conferred on the only Indian scholar speaking volumes for the place that he had earned among the scholarly world purely on merit. In his Introduction of *Mudrārākṣasa* he placed Viśākhadatta in the beginning of 7th century A.D. and took care to mention with modesty that in his opinion no known fact of history is controverted by accepting the date that he proposed. He was certainly aware of the inconclusiveness of dates of old Sanskrit words and generally agreed with Dr. Whitney's remark in this connection.

It cannot be gainsaid that Telang's fame rests mainly on his study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Gītā* wherein he successfully refuted the views of Weber and Dr. Lorinser. The former has been already dealt with. His blank verse translation of the *Gītā* contains his excellent Introduction wherein he disproved Prof. Lorinser's view that *Gītā* was copied from the Bible, that it was after Buddha and the composer of *Gītā* used the New Testament.

Telang's motto had been 'drink deep or taste not from the Piarian spring.' He was equally at home in Bible as well as in *Gītā* and could authoritatively bring out that the similarities between the two are a matter of coincidences with only negligible similarity. He rightly pointed out that Dr. Lorinser has not even followed the ordinary practice of giving in a note the references to the authorities on which he relies. He boldly pointed out that it is the reserve of 'likings' and 'satisfactions' and 'foregone conclusions' lying in the background of most of the logical artillery which European scholars have brought to bear upon the chronology of our ancient literature that is temporarily doing damage to antiquity. In Chillingworth's language — 'They dream what the desire and believe their own dreams.' Telang lodged very humble but very emphatic protest against this frame of mind against the often 'moist light' of European scholarship of his days. One can easily appreciate the quality of his English from these words as well as his excellent blank verse translation of poetic verses like the famous *Gītā* verse आपूर्यमाणमचलप्रतिष्ठ etc. (II).

He into whom
 All things of sense enter as waters do
 The Ocean, which still filled still keeps its bounds unmoved obtains
 tranquillity; not he
 Who wishes for these things of sense, that man
 Who all desires abandons and remains
 Free from affections and from "I" and "Mine"
 Obtains tranquillity.

This is not mere translation, it has a poetic ring about it.

Finally I come to Volume VIII of the Sacred Books of the East Series, *Bhagavad gītā* with the *Sanatsujātīya* and the *Anugītā* with translation and critical notes from this erudite scholar. In the Introduction, he has referred to the views of Mr. Talboys Wheeler, Freeman, Professor Goldstucker, Weber discussed the authorship of the *Gītā* which in his opinion had no trace of a sectarian or 'Brahmizing' spirit, that it is more Upaniṣadic in character leaving no philosophical dogma or system explaining the difficulty in reconciling many passages allowing room for different interpretations and has also spoken of the plain and direct style of natural simplicity visible in the work although by no means devoid of aesthetic merit. His introductions to the episodes in the *Mahābhārata* of the *Sanatsujātīya* as well as *Anugītā* running into 14 and 40 printed pages respectively reveal his skill in arriving at conclusion on the basis of external and internal evidence as well as acumen in comparative study. His endeavour 'to keep the translation as close and faithful to the text as the exigencies of the English language permitted' is really worth emulating.

A word about his approach to *Gītā* will be opportune. There has been

the Sanctum approach followed by all Ācāryas viz., Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva claiming that *Gītā* preaches Kevalādvaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita respectively. This is the reason why Śaṅkara declared Arjuna to be a Mandādhikārī following a lower ideal of Karmayoga as he was not fit for the *sādhanā* leading to the gospel of complete renunciation. Rāmānuja considered *Gītā* as the Gospel of Total Surrender to the Lord. Madhva looked upon *Gītā* as advocating the two principles of duty and devotion, cessation of activity being possible only on being lost in *Asamprajñāta samādhi*. Caitanya, Vallabha and Nimbārka were admirers of Kṛṣṇa and looked upon *Bhagavad-gītā* as great scripture and devotion as the master *sādhanā* for the realization of GOD.

Forum approach to *Gītā* is adopted by moderners including Late Shri B.G. Tilak, Aurobindo, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. Late B.G. Tilak considers moral duties to be a must even for a person attaining liberation and thus really differs from Śaṅkara and his alliance with the Ācārya in Negativistic Metaphysics is not consistent with activistic ethics that he elegantly preached. Shri Aurobindo regards *Gītā* as upholding the doctrine of Integral Yoga. Telang's approach also belongs to this category (Forum approach) considering the four-fold division of the *Gītā* to be based on character and ability i.e., *guṇa* and *karma* thereby indicating the reformistic approach of the Gītākāra emphasizing the doctrine of *svadharma* determined by one's own nature. This makes the four-fold division a federal arrangement and not a static structure. All the castes may not be equal, but they are all equally necessary for the social well-being. Modern savants including Telang look upon the *Gītā* as advocating "The Fellowship of Faiths" and favour inter-faith dialogue.

To sum up, Telang has been 'rational and critical, yet deep and reverential.' He fully possessed the three qualifications laid down by Late R.G. Bhandarkar.

1. A man of exceptional intelligence with a clear head.
2. A man having curiosity to know more and more.
3. Freedom from bias and thorough impartiality.

Sir Raymond West was right in saying that "his greatness was the greatness of a scholar, contemplative spirit of a man of thought, diffusing light in many directions and widening the area of human interest for the people of India whom he represented."

AGASTYA CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY

K. R. RAJAGOPALAN

1. Introduction :

1.1. Among the well-known seven *ṛṣis* (*Sapta Ṛṣis*) mentioned in the ancient Indian literature, who are deified and worshipped, Agastya occupies an important place. Agastya is referred to in the Vedic, Epic and Purāṇic accounts as well as in the Tamil literature.¹ There are separate temples dedicated to his worship, besides his images being found in many Śaiva temples, particularly in South India.² Agastya is also considered to be one of the *ṛṣis* represented as surrounding the image of Vyākhyāyana Dakṣiṇāmūrti in Śaiva temples.³ He is also represented as one of the parivāradevatās in the temple of Subrahmaṇya according to the Āgamas.⁴

2. Mode of Worship of Agastya as described in the Purāṇas :

2.1 The worship of Agastya is described in details in the various Purāṇas : *Matsya* Ch. 61, *Agni* Ch. 206, *Padma* V 22, *Garuḍa* Ch. 119, *Narasimha* Ch. 67, *Viṣṇudharmottara* I canto, Ch. 213. According to these accounts, the worship of Agastya came to be established after his feat of drinking the waters of the ocean to help Indra in destroying the Asuras. The *Matsya Purāṇa* devotes an entire chapter to Agastya. It is said that gods pleased with Agastya for his help in the destruction of the Asuras, offered him a boon and that Agastya desired that he be worshipped. The gods granted this boon. Thereafter the manner in which Agastya is to be worshipped by offering *arḥyadāna* is explained (Ch. VI, verses 44-49). The *dhyāna ślokas* are interesting as reproduced below, in as much as they contain the various exploits of Agastya.

Kāśapuṣpapratikāśa-Vahnimāruta-sambhava /
mitrāvaruṇayoḥ Putra Kumbhayone namo-ṣ- stu te //
Vindhyavṛddhikṣayakara meghatoya viṣāpaha /
ratnavallabhadeveśa Laṅkāvēsin namo-ṣ-stu te //
Vātāpī bhakṣito yena samudraḥ śoṣitaḥ purā /
Lopāmudrāpatiḥ śrīmān yo-ṣ-sau tasmai namonamaḥ //
rājaputri mahābhāge ṛṣipatni Varānane /
Lopāmudre namastubhyam argho me pratigṛhyatām //

2.2. *Agnipurāṇa* also likewise contains a detailed account (Ch. 206). It is interesting to note that the *arghya* to be offered to the holy sage Agastya should be composed of bits of gold and silver, *pañcaratnam*, a metal bowl containing the seeds and grains known as *saptadhānya*, curd and sandal paste and where the penitent would belong to the *śūdra* community or women, the offerings are to be made without any Vedic *mantras*. The *Garuḍa purāṇa* (Ch. 119) refers to the worship of Agastya being open to the *sūdras* and women also. It is also relevant to note here that the *Yāmala Tantra* (Granthapura No. 49)⁵ describing the *Agastyapratimā dhyānavidhi* mentions the presentation of an idol of Sage Agastya for warding off the effects of evil spirits, sorcery, maladies, etc. Another work *Dāna Hemādri*⁶ refers to the gift of an image of Agastya to remove disease. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai⁷ observes that there are certain communities in the south, the weaver class for instance, who consider Agastya as their tutelary deity and offer him regular daily worship. Perhaps these allusions may indicate the non-Aryan character of the origin of Agastya and the development of his cult.⁸

3. Iconographic Characteristics :

3.1. The various accounts contained in the Purāṇas as quoted above provide useful information about the development of iconography relating to Agastya. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri⁹ observes that the following expressions found in the *Matsya Purāṇa* in the exposition of the cult of Agastya are of iconographic interest : “*aṅguṣṭhamātraṁ puruṣam; atyāyata-bāhu-daṇḍam, caturmukham, lambodara dīrgha-bāhum.*”

3.2. It is seen that the *Skanda purāṇa*¹⁰ also reproduces expressions, which have a bearing on the iconographic evolution. To quote these expressions :

“*Jaṭābandhamanoharam, Karapadmābhyām, Akṣamālām, Kamaṇḍalūṁ, Mrgacarmauttariyam, Rudrākṣakṛtabhūṣanam.*”

3.3. The Āgamas give a detailed description of the iconography of the *ṛṣis*, which include Agastya.¹¹ According to the Āgamas, the images of the *ṛṣis* should be sculptured as either seated or standing on the *padmapīṭha*; they must be shown as peaceful old people with flowing beards reaching upto the chest; with *jaṭāmukuta*s on their heads with *rudrākṣamālā* round their neck; *yañnopavīta*, with their foreheads marked with three streaks of *vibhūti* or *bhasma*; they may have in their hands a walking stick and an umbrella or they may keep their right hands in the *jñānamudrā* pose and rest the left arms on the knee of the left leg which must be bent and resting

upon the seat; they should be clothed in garments made of barks of trees which should be held in position by *kaṭi-sūtras*; their upper wear should be white clothes.

- 3.4. The *Mānasāra*,¹² a very important source of architecture and sculpture, describes in detail the characteristic features of the images of the sages, and Agastya is referred to as one such *ṛṣi*. According to this authority, Agastya should be measured in seven *tāla* system. He should have bright blue (*śyāma*) complexion, two arms and two eyes, *jaṭā* and *jūṭa* kind, matted hair and yellow garments. Agastya should be portrayed as *kubjākāra* or crooked in shape having a large belly (*brhatkukṣiḥ*), brownish, full and befitting the whole body. In common with other sages, Agastya should be adorned with the *yajñopavīta* and the upper garments. He should hold a staff in the right hand and a book in the left hand or there may not be any staff in the right hand, both the hands being similarly disposed. He should be optionally made in the sitting or the erect posture in a worshipping pose. Here, we may mention that according to the *Śukranīti*,¹³ another treatise on the subject, the image of dwarf is to be seven *tālas* in height. It is also relevant to quote here that the *Brhaddevatā*¹⁴ which contains the story of the birth of Agastya mentions specifically the diminutive size (*samyamātra*) of Agastya.
- 3.5. Another work, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*,¹⁵ says that sages should be represented with long tresses of hair clustered on the top of the head, with a black antelope skin as upper garment, emaciated, yet full of splendour. It also states that Agastya, the great sage should be given the appearance of *Bhaviṣya Manu* (Ch.73). *Bhaviṣya Manu* in turn has been described (Ch.70) as one devoid of all ornaments, wearing matted locks of hair, carrying a *kamaṇḍalu* and a rosary. Engaged in penance, he is full of lustre, though lean.
- 3.6. We have quoted that according to the *Mānasāra*, Agastya should have a bright blue complexion. So far as other *ṛṣis* are concerned, Kaśyapa should have yellow, Bhṛgu dark, Vasiṣṭha red, Bhārgava brownish, Viśvāmitra reddish and Bhāradvāja greenish (Ch. 57, lines 7-9). A point is made by Stella Kramrisch¹⁶ that no trace of colour is to be found on stone images after the Gupta period and that probably the colouring referred to is about representations of gods as book illustrations and in pictures only.
- 3.7. From the above descriptions, it can be seen that the essential characteristic features of the images of Agastya are (i) small or dwarf in size, (ii) crooked (*kubjākāra*), (iii) having a large belly¹⁷ (*brhatkukṣiḥ*), (iv) matted locks of hair (*jaṭā-jūṭa*), (v) long and

flowing beard, (vi) *Yajñopavīta*, (vii) holding a *kamaṇḍalu* in one hand and rosary in the other, (viii) wearing a garland of rosary beads (*rudrākṣamālā*), (ix) hand held in *upadesā* or *jñānamudrā*¹⁸ pose, (x) two arms and two eyes. We have quoted above that one of the expressions used for Agastya is *caturmukhaḥ*, but nowhere has this been mentioned in the other works on Iconography nor do we find any image of Agastya having *caturmukhas*.

4. Iconographical features of some available images of Agastya :

4.1. In the course of search for notices by the Archaeological Deptt., and other sources about the existence of Agastya images, particularly in the temples of South India, it is possible to construct the following list :

(i) Stone image of Agastya in the Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñcīpuram¹⁹ (ascribed to 7th century A. D.) in the southern Prākāra-shrines 20-21.

(ii) Stone image of Agastya at Śiva Temple, Tirunāraiur, Tanjore Dt.²⁰ (10th century. A. D.) (Pl. II, A).

(iii) Stone image of Agastya at Śiva Temple Punjai, Tanjore Dt.²¹ (10th century. A. D.) (Pl. I).

(iv) Stone image of Agastya (only drawing available with the Archaeological Dept) - Konerirajapuram Temple - Tanjore Dt.²² (10th century A. D.) (Fig.).

(v) Bronze image of Agastya, Nallur, Tanjore Dt.²³ (Late period). (Pl. III, B).

(vi) Bronze image of Agastya, Tenkasi, Tirunelveli Dt.²⁴ (Late period). (Pl. III, A).

(vii) Stone image of Agastya in the Naṭarāja Temple, Chidambaram²⁵ (12th - 13th century A.D.) (Pl. II B).

(viii) Stone image of Agastya-Suruttappalli Śiva Temple, Nagalapuram^{26a} (date not known).

(ix) Stone image of Agastya in the Bṛhadīśvara Temple, Tanjore^{26b} (date not mentioned).

(x) Stone and bronze image of Agastya, at Śiva Temple, Vedāraṇyam, Tanjore Dt.²⁷ (12th century A. D.).

(xi) Marble stone image of Agastya found near Perumal Temple, Tiruppullani Ramnad Dt.²⁸ (Pl. IV).

(xii) Figure carved in sandalwood, Papanasam, Tirunelveli²⁹ Dt.

(xiii) Figure of Agastya in the Dālavay Agrahāram plates of Varatungarama Pāṇḍya of Śāka Saṁvat 1504.³⁰

(xiv) Stone image at Airāvateśvara Temple at Darasuram.

- 4.2. Scholars have referred to and published photographs of the images of Agastya coming from Naṭarāja Temple, Chidambaram, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kanchipuram, Vedaranyam and Nallur. It is, however, observed that some of the other images whose photos are available with the Archaeological Dept, Southern Circle, have not been commented upon and published so far. Hence it is proposed to make a brief study of these images, reproducing also the concerned photographs obtained from the Archaeological Deptt. as under :

(i) Stone image of Agastya - Punjai, Tanjore Dt. (Pl. I). This image is a fairly good presentation of the iconographic features attributed to Agastya. Here Agastya is seated with his left leg folded up and right leg lowered down. He keeps a *kamaṇḍalu* in his left hand and has a *jñānamudrā* with his right hand, closing also his eyes. He wears *yajñopavīta* and has garlands round his neck, apparently *rudrākṣamālā*. He has a dwarfish portrayal with stout features. He has a beard and matted locks of hair tied in an artistic way. He wears armlets round his arms. Two disciples are shown on either side at the top. As a contrast to this, the image found in the Kailāsanātha Temple at Kanchipuram has four disciples. In the Kailāsanātha Temple Image, Agastya is shown as seated with the right leg folded and left leg lowered down. The image at Chidambaram, is also reproduced herein for a comparative study.

(ii) Stone image of Agastya, Tirunaraiyur, Tanjore District (Pl. II, A). This image has similar features as noticed in the case of Punjai Temple image described above. The figure would, however, appear to be a little larger in proportions. There is a canopy over the head and two disciples are shown as seated down below on either side of the niche.

(iii) Drawing of stone image at Konerirajapuram Agastya is here seated with left leg folded and right leg lowered in a *cinmudrā* posture. The protuberance of the belly is more pronounced. He wears a *kaṭisūtra* and *yajñopavīta*. Other characteristics such as *rudrākṣamālā*, beard and *jaṭāmukuta* are present. The ear lobes are, however, shown long drawn.



Agastya seated on a pedestal in the *cinmudrā* posture,
Konerirajapuram (Umā-Maheśvara Temple)

(iv) Marble image at Tiruppullani Ramnad District (Pl. IV). The date and origin of this image are not known. From the material used, it must have been very late in origin. The features do not strictly conform to the iconographic norms relating to Agastya and hence it is difficult to agree to the identification of the image as Agastya.

(v) Bronze image of Agastya, Tenkasi Tirunneveli District, (Pl. III A). Deptt. has kept the photograph of this image alongwith those of the Pandyan king, Kaṅkalamūrti, and Sundaramūrti. The features of this image do not exactly conform to the iconographical descriptions available to us. It is a standing image in a leaning posture. The hair on the head and the beard are set in a different style, perhaps showing later influences. For a contrast the bronze image of Nallur (Pl. III B). is also reproduced in this article to have a comparative study.

- 4.3. Incidentally, it is relevant to mention the work of Dr. Lesya Poerbatjaraka in Dutch - *Agastya in den Archipel* (1926). Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his article on Agastya has made extensive references to this work. So far as the iconography of Agastya is concerned, there are interesting discussions about the identification of Bhaṭāraguru or Śivaguru images as they are called in Java as those of Agastya. To quote Prof. Sastri "For many years till 1926, a fairly well-established tradition among the archaeologists working in Java identified as Bhaṭāraguru or Śivaguru images more or less corresponding to the type of Agastya images of India. Then Poerbatjaraka pointed out, I think, in a convincing manner, that the so-called *Guru* images were the representations neither of the highest God of the Indonesians nor of Śiva as teacher, not yet of a mixture of these ideas, but in reality of a *ṛṣi* and that the *ṛṣi* was Agastya."³¹ At the same time while dealing with images which are not having short stature or pot-belly, but yet identifying them as of Agastya, Poerbatjaraka thinks that in the earlier stages, Agastya was represented as a normal human *ṛṣi*, that the dwarfish pot-bellied form of the image arose out of a later attempt to give sculptural expression to the name Kuṇḍodara that came to be applied to Agastya. Prof. Sastri rightly criticises this stand and says that there is no satisfactory evidence for the view that Agastya images were represented by normal figures of *ṛṣis* without the markedly short stature and pot-belly and, therefore, the explanation offered by Poerbatjaraka is untenable. Suffice to conclude here that a study of Śivaguru or Bhaṭāraguru images of Indonesia and their linkage to Agastya in the context of the expansion of cultural trends in early times from India to South-East Asia is yet another fascinating one.



Agastya in a niche of the central
shrine, Śiva Temple, Punjai



A. Agastya, stone image in the
Siddhesvara Temple, Tirunaraiyur



B. Agastya, stone image on the eastern
Gopuram, Nataraja Temple,
Chidambaram



A. Agastya, bronze image, Tenkasi



B. Agastya, bronze image, Nallur



Ascetic, marble image, Tiruppullani

Notes and References :

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Agastya' *Tijdschrift Voor Ind-Taal-Land en Volkenkunde* (TBG), Vol. LXXVI 1936 - same Author - 'Agastya or the Rise and Spread of Hindu Culture', *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Vol. I. No. 1; O.C. Gangoly, "The Cult of Agastya And the Origin of Indian Colonial Art" *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (QJMS), Vol. XVII No. 3; K. N. Sivaraj Pillai, *Agastya in the Tamil Land*.
2. K. A. N. Sastri, *Ibid.*, p. 545.
3. The names of the *ṛṣis* are given differently in different works; for example, the *Aṛṣumadbhēdāgama* mentions the *ṛṣis* as Nārada, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha, Bhr̥gu, Bhāradvāja, Śaunaka and Agastya; The *Kāmikāgama* mentions the names of Kauśika, Kaśyapa, Bhāradvāja, Atri and Gautama and omits the names of two other though it gives the number of *ṛṣis* as seven. The *Kāraṇāgama* gives the names of Agastya, Pulastya, Viśvāmitra and Aṅgiras only. The *Suprabhedāgama* mentions Bhr̥gu, Vasiṣṭha, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Kaśyapa, Kauśika and Aṅgiras. The *Pūrvakāraṇāgama* contains the names of Agastya, Pulastya, Viśvāmitra, Parāśara, Jamadagni, Vālmiki and Sanat Kumāra. Extracted from T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. I, Madras, pp. 276-277 (1916). Also H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, (1916), p. 90.
4. Cf. T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Ibid.*, pp. 421-423.
5. Cited by Dr. V. Raghavan, *New Catalogus Catalogorum* 1949, pp. 16-23.
6. *Taylor's Oriental MSS.*, Vol. II 1860 - XXVIII No.220.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
8. Refer to author's article "A Study on the Origin of Agastya," *JASB*, Vol. 64-66, pp. 179-190.
9. *Ibid.* p. 488.
10. *Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa*, Ch. 33, Verses 60-67.
11. Refer T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Ibid.* pp. 276-277.

Besides the important sources for a study of iconography are : *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, Ch. 57, *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (Ch. 58, 42 & 35), Canto III, *Śukranīti*, Ch. IV, Sect. IV, *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 258, *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. 49, *Pratimālakṣaṇam*, *Mayasāstram*, *Śilparatnam*, *Mānasāra*, and *Rūpavalia*.

12. Edited with critical notes by P. K. Acharya (1933), Ch. 57, pp. 367-369.
13. In the seven *tāla* measurement, the whole length of the image is seven times the height of the face which is generally twelve *aṅgulas* in the Indian system. This length is divided into $12 \times 7 = 84$ equal parts of which the proportional distribution among the different limits is explained in the treatise.

According to *Śukranīti* (Ch. IV, Sect. IV, line 169), an *aṅgula* is one-fourth of a *muṣṭi*. It is also mentioned in the *Mānasāra* (Ch. XXX, Verses 78-83) that images of Agastya, among others, should be carved in all edifices. Mention is also made about casting of images of Agastya in wax. - Ch. LXVIII, verse 68, see P. K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture according to Mānasāra-Śilpasāstra*.

14. Ch. V, verses 149-54 edited and translated by A. A. Macdonell.
15. Canto III, Ch. 42, Verses 1-84, ed. by Stella Kramrisch, 1928.
16. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 20 c.
17. J. Ph. Vogel says that corpulency is sometimes associated in Indian Iconography both with asceticism and wisdom - *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII 1933, p. 228.
18. The most important symbolism of the *mudrās* is as follows :
Abhaya : palm facing forwards, hand and fingers extended upwards, symbolic of protection.
Varada : palm facing forwards, hand and fingers extended downwards, symbolic of bestowal.
Añjali-hasta : palms together, symbolic of worship.
Vyākhyāna or *Upadeśa* : Tips of thumb and forefingers touching, palm facing forwards, symbolic of teaching.
Jñāna or *Cit* : tips of thumb and forefingers touching, palm facing backwards, symbolic respectively of knowledge and of realisation of the absolute. Notes taken from *Guide to Archaeological Galleries - An Introduction to South Indian Temple Architecture and Sculpture*, Madras 1939 (Govt. Museum).
19. Cf. Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, *Ibid.*, p. 471, Dr. C. Minakshi, *The Kailāsanatha Temple, Kanchi* ed. by Dr. R. Nagaswamy, *South Indian Studies*, Vol. III 1985, pp. 56. - 105.
20. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras 1926-27, No. 954.
21. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras 1928-29, No. 1270.
22. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* 1910, No.1
23. *Archaeological Survey of India*, Southern Circle, No. 334.
24. *Archaeological Survey of India*, Southern Circle, No. 3622.
25. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras 1915, no. 274.
- 26a. & 26b. V. M. Narasimhan mentioned these image in his article in Tamil in *Kalki*, Deepawali, No. 1958.
27. Noticed by O. C. Gangoly, *Ibid.*
28. *Archaeological Survey of India*, Southern Circle, No. 2516.
29. *Archaeological Survey of India*, Southern Circle, No. 2560.
30. Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. I, No. 24, pp. 122-23.
31. Agastya, *TBG* (Vol. LXXVI), pp. 359-40.

Acknowledements of Illustrations :

- 1) Govt. Epigraphist for India, Deptt. of Archaeology, Ootacamund : Plates I, II-A, II-B, and Line drawing.
- 2) Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, Madras : Plates III-A, III-B, IV.

THE SILK-WEAVERS OF MANDSAUR IN A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

K. K. SIAH

The article is in the nature of a micro-study being based on a solitary record of ancient Malwa and its humble purpose is to focus the attention of scholars on the crying need of re-reading, re-examining and re-analysing the epigraphic sources of early Indian history so as to reach historical reality of the time and the region to which the documents belong. The current tendency of making generalisations for the whole or half of contemporary India on the basis of the data available from one or two records of a particular region needs to be questioned and, if necessary, checked. Obviously, therefore, the study might raise more questions than it would answer on the subject selected to prepare it. Our idea is to place the problem in a proper perspective suggesting possible methods of approach to its solution rather than solve the problem itself, which is not always easy to do within the space offered by an article.

1.1. The silk-weavers of Mandsaur figure in a stone inscription noticed in 1885 by Peter Peterson and edited three years later by J.F. Fleet in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. The document is dated in years 493 and 529 of the Kṛta or Mālava era corresponding respectively to 437-438 A.D. and 473 -474 A.D. and standing respectively for the building and rebuilding of a Sun temple financed by the local guild of silk-weavers. It mentions contemporary Gupta emperor Kumāragupta (I) and his local feudatory Bandhuvanman, though its text was composed and incised on the stone bearing it at the time of restoration of the temple when neither was alive. It traces in brief the history of the temple as also of the guild of silk-weavers responsible for its construction and repair after a gap of 36 years. Its supreme importance lies in being a document of early Indian social history in general and that of Malwa in particular. However, in available studies and books, even by eminent scholars, hardly a paragraph or two is devoted to discussing its data on contemporary social structure to highlight that system of caste based on occupation was far from rigid without any reference to the concept of caste and subcaste as it has evolved down the ages. Again, it is strange that no less an authority than D.R. Bhandarkar, who revised Fleet's volume with his critical comments and convincing emendations and added separate section on Social History of the period, did not deem it worthy of notice for the

purpose. The only reason for this obvious indifference on the part of such a profound scholar appears to be his disagreement with historians interpreting the sociological data contained in the record. This divergence of opinion we will discuss below, though it is difficult to agree with one interpretation when the inscription is analysed in its totality.

1.2. The inscription consists of 44 verses of which the first three are in the nature of *maṅgala* addressed to the Sungod followed by two verses mentioning the migration of the guild of silk-weavers from Lāṭa to Daśapura or Mandsaur and the city, as it then was, finds a graphic description in the next eight verses. We have a glowing description of the Guild as also of the diversified activity of its members in verses fourteen to twenty-two. Next follows a verse referring to contemporary Gupta emperor; another seven in praise of the local ruler. Then we have the poetic description of season alongwith the date of the construction of the temple, which is followed by reference to its restoration thirty-six years later, again, with discription of the season when it was executed and both these events are covered by the verses from thirty-one to forty-two. The next verse is benediction in content that the temple may last for ever and finally figures Vatsabhāṭi in the last verse as composer of this *pūrvā* and overseer of the making and repairing of the temple. Having hurriedly summarised the contents of the inscription in chronological order, we will now cite below the verses exclusively concerned with the silk-weavers and analyse the data so obtained.¹

कुसुमभरानततस्त्वरदेवकुम्भसभाविहारमणीयात् ।

लाटविषयाजगामृतशैलाज्जगति प्रथितशिल्पाः ॥३॥

ते देशपार्थिवगुणापहृताः प्रकाशमभ्वादिजान्यविम्बान्यसुखान्ययास्य ।

जातादरा दशपुरं प्रथमं मनोभिरन्यागताः ससुतबन्धुजनाः समेत्य ॥५॥

Here we have clear reference to migration of the silk-weavers from Lāṭa-*viṣaya* (South Gujārat) to Daśapura (Mandsaur) in Malwa but the date of migration is not given. The sole reason for this mass migration is given as the virtuous king of Daśapura to whom they were manifestly attracted, so much so that they did not mind the discomforts experienced in course of the long journey. The migration was not sudden, because first they came in 'thought' and then in person, and of course, with their families, perhaps the whole kin-group.

1.3. Now we cite below verses sixteen to nineteen alongwith their English translation as given by D.B. Diskalkar as they are central to our discussion of contemporary social structure in Malwa.

श्रवणा(सु)भगंधानुर्व्येध दृढं परिनिष्ठिताः सुचरितशतासङ्गाकेचिद्विचित्रकथाविदः ।

विनयनिभृतास्सभ्यग्धुर्म प्रसङ्गपरायणाः प्रियमपरुषं पत्न्यं चान्ये क्षमा बहु भाषितुं ॥१६॥

केचित् स्वकर्मण्यधिकारन्थान्यैर्विज्ञायते ज्योतिषमात्मवदभिः ।

अद्यापि चान्ये समग्रगल्भाः कुर्वन्त्यरीणामहितं प्रसङ्ग ॥१७॥
 प्रज्ञा मनोवैश्वदेवः प्रथितोऽर्वाशा वंशानुरूपचरिताभरणास्तथान्ये ।
 सत्यव्रताः प्रणायिनामुपकारदक्षा विस्मम्भ (पूर्व) मपरे दसौहृदाश्च ॥१८॥
 विजितविषयसङ्केर्द्धर्मशीलैस्तथान्यैर्मृदुभिरधिकसत् वैर्लोक्यात्रामरैश्च ।
 स्वाकुलतिलकभूतैर्मुक्तरागैरुददारेरधिकमभिविभाति श्रेणिवंप्रकारैः ॥१९॥

V.16. Some of them became very competent in the science of archery, (in which the twanging of the bow is) pleasing to the ear; others, devoted themselves to hundreds of excellent achievements, some (became) acquainted with wonderful tales; and others, unassuming in (their) modesty (and) devoted to discourses of the true religion, (became) able to say much that was free from harshness (and yet was) salutary.

V.17. Some excelled in their own business (of silk-weaving); and by others, possessing self-confidence, the science of astrology was mastered, and others, courageous in war, even today, effect by force the destruction of (their) enemies.

V.18. Similarly others, wise, possessed of attractive wives (and) belonging to a famous and high lineage, shine; others, by actions proper to their lineage keeping a vow of truthfulness, careful to oblige those that are attached to them with the accompaniment of confidence, are skilled in conferring favours upon (their) intimates.

V.19. (And so) the guild shines gloriously all around through those who are of this sort, and through others who have overcome their attachment for worldly objects; and are given to works of piety; who are soft in their mind and are possessed of much goodness, and are (thus) very good in an earthly habitation.

This graphic description of the diversified activities and remarkable accomplishments of the Mandsaur silk-weavers is beautifully concluded by the poet in verse 21 thus: “(so) the whole of this region of the earth, is adorned through them, as (if) with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with divisions of different colours, (and) pleasing to the eye.”

1.4. We have noted above that the silk-weavers were organised into a guild which gave them a corporate identity and it is clear they were so organised even before coming to Mandsaur. The poet has consistently used the word *śreṇī* to indicate this corporate character of their society. Apart from the verse 19 above, the term occurs in verses 29, 37 and 44. The fact that the guild had acquired considerable wealth through the craft of silk-weaving is fairly clear in verse 29 in which after referring to the prosperous rule of Bandhuvarman, the poet records:

“A grand (and) incomparable temple of the (Sun) was caused to be

built by the silk-cloth weavers, that had formed into a guild, with the stores of wealth acquired by their craft."

The corporate identity of the silk-weavers is emphasised again, in verse 37 when we are told that 'in order to increase their own fame the whole of this grand temple of the Sun has been repaired again by the very charitable guild, rendering its former beauty and majesty. Finally the devotion of the silk-weavers to the Sun-god is repeated again in verse 44 because of which and on being commanded by their guild, Vatsabhaṭṭi undertook to oversee the construction and restoration of the temple as also to compose the *pūrvā* to commemorate the pious deed.

2.1. Having cited the verses from the inscription containing information about the silk-weavers and their guild, let us now examine the interpretations done by historians on its basis. One section of historians would like to take the diversified activities of the guild members as merely their hobbies. Thus D.R. Bhandarkar, in his editorial remarks² to the record devotes only a sentence to the verses 14-20, "Then follows a graphic description of the Guild and the different hobbies pursued by its different members." R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar seem to echo his opinion when they say, "Individual members of a guild were both rich and cultured: thus the weavers' guild at Daśapura or Mandsaur in central India had some members well-versed in folklore, some in astrology and some in military profession."³ It is significant that even this passing reference to the relevant portion of our record occurs not in the section of their book entitled 'Social Condition' but in the one captioned 'Economic Condition' which clearly reflects that they viewed the guild only in economic terms.

2.2. The other section of historians regards the guild as a caste as such or 'a caste in the making', thus emphasising the meaning of these verses in terms of social history. Romila Thapar does not entertain even an iota of doubt in the matter stating, "It is evident from the inscriptions of this period that mobility amongst the subcastes was less rigid than it was to become later. The most interesting example is probably that of the guild of silk-weavers in Western India who, when they could no longer maintain themselves through the production of silk, moved to other professions, such as those of archers, soldiers, bards and scholars, professions of a higher status than their original one."⁴ Basham is not so categorical and in the absence of evidence to prove the practices of endogamy and commensality among the silk-weavers of Mandsaur, the guild in his opinion, could not be taken as caste. But in its strong corporate sense Basham reads 'a caste in the making.'⁵

2.3. This fundamental difference of interpretation between the two sections of historians arises out of the difference in translations of the relevant verses followed. We have cited above the translation done by D.B. Diskalkar which

seems to have been taken by Thapar and Basham whereas R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar appear to have taken another version similar to that of Bhandarkar which is given below:

V.16. Some are intensely attached to music (so) pleasing to the ear; others, being proud of (the authorship of) a hundred excellent biographies, are conversant with wonderful tales; (others), filled with humility, are absorbed in excellent religious discourses, and others are able to say much that is pleasing, free from harshness, (and yet) salutary;

V.17. Some excel in their own religious rites; likewise by others who are self-possessed, the science of (Vedic) astronomy was mastered; and others, valorous in battle, even today forcibly cause harm to the enemies;

V.18. Likewise, others are intelligent, possessed of attractive figures, with renowned and long-standing lineages and adorned with deeds befitting (their) lineage; others, with the vow of truthfulness, are expert in (conferring) obligations on favourites, and are firm in friendship accompanied by a sense of trust;

V.19. Likewise, with others who have overcome attachment to worldly objects, who are disposed towards piety, who are gentle, who are of abundant inherent stuff, who are engaged on worldly affairs, who are the forehead mark of their own clan who have cast away passion, who are magnanimous with such - like (members) the guild shines gloriously;

V.21. By whom this whole surface of the earth has been adorned with silk-cloth, agreeable to the touch, variegated with different colours and arrangement (of parts), (and) pleasing to the eye.

Now if we make a comparison many variations could be noted, but for our purposes only two of them should be discussed. In the first line of verse 16, Bhandarkar has read mere attachment of the weavers to music, Diskalkar has found their competence in the science of archery (in which also the twanging of the bow is) pleasing to the ear. Far more central to our purpose is the translation of the first line of the next verse in which the word *svakarmmanyadhikāh* has been taken by Bhandarkar as (some weavers) 'excel in their own religious rites'; by Diskalkar the same word is translated as '(some) excelled in their own business (of silk-weaving).' We are inclined to agree with the later translation because *svakarmma* in the present context does not seem to be religious rites under the provisions of the *Dharmaśāstra*, and because mastery of astronomy and proficiency in war are mentioned which have to be taken in the sense of professions rather than hobbies when seen alongwith silk-weaving as their 'own profession', in the first line. Thus if *svakarmma* could be taken in the sense of 'their own business', it is possible that the poet refers to some of the professions into which the members of the guild have diversified. However, it is easily

made out that the poet has coupled this professioned diversification with various virtues and noble qualities of the members in preparing his panegyric for the guild. Again, in case of verse 21 the version of Diskalkar suits the context more. We are conscious, however, that the difference in translations arises from difference in reading of the original text itself. As students of history we can go only by the published and standard texts and we have taken two available texts into account. It is noteworthy that the term *svakarmma* figures in the text of Diskalkar as well as Bhandarkar; only they derive different meanings and that has resulted in controversy among historians.⁶

3.1. Once we accept that the poet has mentioned variety of professions and not the hobbies, the logical question from this position, and which we must answer, is their social identity. We have already noted in section 2.2 above that Thapar has interpreted their identity in terms of a subcaste characterised by flexibility in regard to occupation followed. Basham has also read in their strong corporate sense 'a caste in the making', because the endogamous and commensal character of the guild of silk-weavers is not clear from the record itself. A micro-study done on Malwa society a couple of decades ago has established that there are three levels of membership in a caste. The lowest is that of an effective local subcaste population which could be termed as kindred of co-operation. This varies for each individual at any time, and around it there is a group called the kindred of recognition within which marriages are made and/or kin -links can be traced through mutual kin. These two features tend to go together.⁷ Beyond these two kindreds are people who are recognized as members of a subcaste which is endogamous, named and separate from other subcastes but being spread over a wide area not an effective group. In fact, subcastes are mostly based on provincial distinction such as Malvi, Gujarati or Mewari. The provincial subcaste population is not confined to that province⁸ and today there are Gujarati weavers in Malwa like the immigrant silk-weavers of our inscription. Finally, many subcastes make up a caste, which is nothing but a category composed of subcastes rather than a group in its own right. However, people of other castes see it as an undifferentiated group. The only exceptions appear to be in cases of subcastes formed through some irregular behaviour, or when a subcaste comes from another region and has radically different habits. In these cases, people tend to vary their behaviour towards the different subcastes of that caste. On the whole, caste membership is significant for relations with other castes, and subcaste membership for activities within the caste. These findings of Mayer from his comprehensive and perceptive study of a contemporary Malwa village will help us in analysing the social status and identity of the silk-weavers of ancient Malwa as figuring in our record.

3.2. The three facts of supreme importance about the silk-weavers of our record which emerge from the data collected and cited in 1.2 and 1.3

above could help us in fixing their social identity in contemporary Malwa. In the first place, they were immigrants to the city of their adoption, and so, constituted a distinct group with immigrant status. In the second place, they were Sun-worshippers and constituted a separate sect. In the third place, they were organised into a guild which in origin may have been based on their primary occupation of weaving silk but sticking to the craft was no longer necessary to retain their corporate character. Now we have no idea that like modern subcastes the silk-weavers of Mandsaur had endogamous and commensal character or not, but they were certainly not craft-exclusive. However, it is clear that their immigrant status and sectarian character contributed to their loyalty to the guild in large measure and the guild on its part, was realistic enough to permit them taking up professions of their choice rather than sticking to weaving of silk which may have been original condition for membership of the guild. Thus the basic bond behind the formation and continuation of the guild was common craft which was weakening now and the memory of a common past and single native land as also the common cult-affiliation proved cementing factors rendering the group as subcaste based on provincial identity and sectarian affiliation.

3.3. Finally, one wonders how it was possible for the silk-weavers to switch over from their lowly profession to those of higher status such as archery, astrology and study of sacred lore. In the *varṇa* hierarchy, the position of a weaver is the lowest one, his duty being to serve the other three *varṇas*. But we should remember that the *varṇa* stratification of Indian society has although been a theoretical exercise hardly ever reflecting social reality. The caste, on the other hand, constituted the real category into which people, at least from post-Vedic period, divided themselves. Exact origins of the institution of caste and its proliferation are not easy to trace at this distance of time and with the kind of evidence available, but occupational homogeneity may not have been the only or decisive factor. The profession of a warrior in theory belonged to the *ksatriya* class, but recruitment of the *śūdras* to the army was not altogether prohibited even in theory. Besides, the guilds used to maintain their own fighting force at times. Likewise, astrology and bardic function they may have practised in their own caste, even if not accepted by the local society in general. It is significant in this regard that the poet has combined professions with high and noble qualities of character in order to describe the members of the guild which is in tune with the description given by the Lord Kṛṣṇa of the *Gītā*⁹ in respect of the four *varṇas*. If we carefully analyse the qualities mentioned by Vatsabhaṭṭi, some of them would turn out to be those of the first *varṇa*. The fact that the guild could enlist the services of a great *paṇḍita* like Vatsabhaṭṭi, not only to compose the '*pūrvā*' but also to oversee the construction of the temple, speaks for their status. Their wealth certainly contributed to its enhancement, and perhaps, also the fact that they were not ordinary weavers but weavers

of silk with customers mainly from the nobility and the royalty. Again, apart from caste or occupation the lineage was also an important factor contributing to social status and verse 18 leaves us in no doubt that some of the silk-weavers had renowned and long-established lineage of which not only were they proud but conscious in their conduct appropriate to it.

Notes and References

1. B.Ch. Chhabra and G.S. Gai (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, Revised by D.R. Bhandarkar, New Delhi Archaeological Survey of India, 1981, p.322.
2. The text of the record quoted here and elsewhere in the paper as also the translation following it has been taken from D.B. Diskalkar, *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, New Delhi, Classical Publishers, 1977.
3. *The Vākāṅga-Gupta Age*, Delhi Motilal Banarasidass, 1967, p.357. It is also noteworthy that *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol.III, (*The Classical Age*), Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1970 also merely notes the fact of various professions taken up by the silk-weavers in their new home and silently passes over its sociological implications. See p.561.
4. R. Thapar, *History of India*, Vol. I, Penguin Reprint, 1977, p. 153. K.C. Jain also seems to hold an identical opinion in his *Malwa Through The Ages*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1972, p.304.
5. *The Wonder That was India*, Fontana, Sidgwick & Jackson Second Impression, 1974, p.150.
6. *The Gītā*, XVIII, 45-46 uses the term *svakarma* in the sense of one's duty and there are no religious rites prescribed for the *Śūdra* to which category the weavers traditionally belonged. Hence the performance of duty in their case has to be taken in the sense of following the profession of weaving.
7. Adrian C. Mayer, *Caste and Kinship in Central India*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960, p.4.
8. *Ibid.*, p.5.
9. The *Gītā*, XVIII, 42-44.
 शमो दमस्तपः शौचं क्षान्तिरार्जवमेव च ।
 ज्ञानं विज्ञानमास्तिक्यं ब्रह्मकर्म स्वभावजम् ॥१२॥
 शौर्यं तेजो धृतिर्दाक्ष्यं युद्धे चाप्यपलायनम् ।
 दानमीश्वरभावस्य क्षात्रं कर्म स्वभावजम् ॥१३॥
 कृषिगौरक्ष्यबाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म स्वभावजम् ।
 परिचर्यात्मकं कर्म शूद्रस्यापि स्वभावजम् ॥१४॥

PROF. H.D. VELANKAR'S CONTRIBUTION TO VEDIC STUDIES

RAM KARAN SHARMA

वेदौषम्यविशारदोऽप्यनुपमप्रज्ञा प्रभामण्डितश्छन्दः ।
शास्त्रमहारथोऽप्रतिरथः सद'भक्ति'इन्मानसः ।
वेदालङ्कारनिर्घण वेदवदनो वेदाकृतिर्वेदिका ।
नेकान्तार्थधरो "हरि"विजयते दामोदरोऽनाम्ना ॥

The very name, Prof. Hari Damodar Velankar still inspires us and will ever continue to inspire us as a moving Encyclopaedia of Vedic scholarship in all its aspects.

The Vedas represent the earliest available Thesaurus of human knowledge. The very fact that Yāska (900 B.C.) refers to a school of thought denying the existence of any meaning-content in the *mantras* establishes an unimaginable antiquity of this invaluable intellectual and cultural heritage of the world.

Fortunately for us, the Brāhmaṇas, the six Vedāṅgas including Yāska's Nirukta, Upavedas, the Great Epics and Purāṇas came as guides to us to understand the knowledge-content of the Vedas. Commentators like Sāyaṇa availed themselves of these guides and wrote extensive commentaries on the then available *Sarṁhitās* and other Vedic Texts. It goes without saying that but for the traditional commentators like Sāyaṇācārya, the entire Vedic literature would have become almost inaccessible to us by now, in so far as their meaning-contents are concerned. Even the modern school of interpretation based on Comparative or Historical Linguistics, by and large, draws upon the traditional commentaries.

But there are numerous texts which create puzzling situations, both for traditional commentators as well as modern interpreters. Take for example the following *mantra* from the famous "Asya Vāmīya" *Sūkta* (RV. 1.164.45):

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि
तानि विद्वन्नाहणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति
तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

The simple translation of the above *mantra*, according to Sāyaṇa,¹ is as follows:

“The steps of a word are limited to four (in number); those who are intelligent and proficient in the Vedas, know them all (i.e., all the four steps of a word). Three of these steps (of a word) are hidden in a cave (and as such) do not manifest themselves (for all); it is only the Fourth (step of a word) that human beings (both the ignorant and the wise) speak.”

But Sāyaṇa himself refers to the eight different schools of interpretations in connection with the term “*catvāri*” viz., Vedavādins, Vaiyākaraṇas, Yājñikas, Nairuktas, Aitihāsikas, Ātmavādins, “*apare māṭrkāḥ*”, and Yāska. It is surprising that the interpretations of Nairuktas and those as quoted by Sāyaṇa from Yāska’s *Nirukta* (13.9) are altogether different. In fact, Sāyaṇa quotes almost verbatim from the *Nirukta* except that the *Tāntrika* view as represented by “*apare māṭrkāḥ*” is added here (Cf. Nāgeśa’s *Uddyota* on Kaiyaṭa’s *Pradīpa* on the *Mahābhāṣya* on this *mantra* in the *Paspasāhnikā* (p.32).

It is not clear which of the eight schools of interpretation is acceptable to Sāyaṇa himself. He respectfully spells out and also explains all the lines of interpretations of all the eight schools. Should we or should we not make an effort to arrive at one single conclusion with regard to the interpretation of this term ?

The situation in which an inquisitive mind finds itself today is still more complex. The community of intellectuals all over the world wants to know more and more about the knowledge-content of the Vedic Tradition. On the other hand, all the oriental and occidental schools of Vedic interpretation claim their respective superiority over the other.

It is perhaps wise to assume that Vedic knowledge is like a Sun, around which the planets of interpretation can only revolve, without physically touching it. It is only this catholicity of spirit that can come to our rescue in a situation like this. Let not the traditional views be dismissed as outmoded ones. Let not the divergent modern interpretations be disregarded as exotic ones. Let there be a critical but modest balance, bringing about an appropriate synthesis and a meaningful common core of interpretation based on a serious study of the Primary, Secondary and even Tertiary sources.

Interpretations vary according to the tastes of individual scholars as well. Some interpret the entire Vedic corpus historically. Others do so from the ritualistic angle, some others from a philosophical or scientific or poetic angle.

It is perhaps due to this enormity of traditional and modern lines of interpretations that many sincere and devoted Sanskrit scholars prefer to leave aside Vedic studies altogether. The linguistic and stylistic archaism of the Vedas is equally baffling to them.

But this luminary of Vedic scholarship had an exceptional inner urge for the pursuit of Vedic knowledge in all its aspects. He was thoroughly

conversant with the Vedāṅgas including *Chandaḥśāstra*. He was also an eminent Jainologist imbibing the spirit of *Anekāntavāda*. He was an eminent critical editor and literary critic. He had the rare privilege of combining in himself versatility both in traditional as well as modern lines of interpretation. All this could help him in his objective pursuit of Vedic knowledge and a modest unbiassed presentation of the result of his multidimensional research.

This doyen of Vedic scholarship was popularly known as "Guruji". As Professor of Sanskrit, Wilson College, as Joint Director, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan and as Bhandarkar Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bombay, he devoted his entire multidimensional scholarly personality to teaching and guiding research as well as to concentrated pursuits of Vedic knowledge.

His five volumes of Agni Hymns and eight volumes of Indra Hymns, his four volumes of edited and translated texts of the *Second, Third* and *Seventh Maṇḍalas* of the *Ṛgveda*, his collection of 101 hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, with English translation bear testimony to his outstanding editorial and recreative and critical genius. The *Rksūkta Vaijayantī*, a collection of 108 Rgvedic hymns with Hindi translation and critical notes (assisted by M.D. Paradkar and G.V. Joshi), including Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda Bhāṣyabhūmikā*, published by the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala may be cited as an example of his earnest zeal to popularise Vedic learning. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that a village school teacher from a remote corner of Bihar had donated his entire life-earnings for the publication of this Volume, being impressed by the Vedic scholarship of Guruji.

Notable among his scholarly articles are : Word Economy and Vedic Interpretation, Mind and Heart in the *Ṛgveda*, *Ṛgveda Similes : Similes of the Vānadevas*, Emotional Similes in the *Ṛgveda* and the Concept of Bhakti, Similes in the Atharvaveda and Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha in the *Ṛgveda*.

It goes without saying that it was for Prof. Velankar and Prof. Velankar alone to recognize the multidimensional aspect of Vedic interpretation in spirit and presentations.

As hinted earlier, it is perhaps difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at one single, undisputed, authentic interpretation of quite a few *samhitā* hymns. The term दोषावस्तः for example, occurs thrice in the *Ṛgveda* itself. In 1.1.7 Sāyaṇa interprets it as "day and night (रात्रावहनि च)"; in 4.4.9. also he first, interprets this term on the same lines; but gives an alternative interpretation as "dispeller of darkness of night"; the alternative interpretation is repeated as the only single interpretation in 7.15.15. It is interesting to note that all the above three passages are addressed to Agni. Evidently the alternative interpretation as given in 4.4.9. seems to be the most appropriate interpretation in the context of Agni hymns. Geldner accepts this. Prof. Velankar has also accepted this. Sāyaṇa's reference to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* VI. 2.37 (कार्तिकौजपादयश्च) does

not help us in arriving at the first interpretation.

Prof. Velankar is never dogmatic in the presentation of his interpretations. He respects traditional commentators as well as the modern lines of interpretation. But he is at his best in recognizing the conscious subtle poetic art in the composition of Vedic poetry.

In his outstanding presentation “*R̥gvedic Similes : Similes of the Vāmādevas*”² (RV, Maṇḍala IV) he has collected all the similes found in the corpus and has classified them into the following stylistically organized groups:

- I. (a) Fully expressed compound Similes with *na*.
- (b) Fully expressed compound Similes with *iva*.
- II. Partially expressed compound Similes with *na* or *iva*.
- III. (a) Simple Similes with a qualified or compound *upamāna* with *na*.
- (b) Simple Similes with a qualified *upamāna* with *iva*.
- IV. (a) Simple Similes with a simple *upamāna* with *iva*.
- (b) Simple Similes with simple *upamāna* with *na*.

In his scholarly article, “Emotional Similes in the *R̥gveda* and the Concept of Bhakti”³ again, he has made a distinct contribution to Vedic studies with his innovative presentation. Thus he has given a new title to a class of Similes that are emotional in nature and he classifies them into the following six heads:

1. Mother and Son or Daughter.
2. Mother Cow and her young one.
3. Father and Son.
4. Husband and Wife.
5. Lover and Maiden.
6. Friend and Friend.

Again, he makes a detailed study of the “Similes in the Atharvaveda”⁴ and organises the list of Similes *upamāna*-wise as follows :

1. Human beings as *upamānas*,
2. Animals as *upamānas*,
3. Gods as *upamānas*,
4. Plants as *upamānas*,

5. Material world as *upamāna*.

M. B. Emeneau, in his paper "The Sinduvāra Tree in Sanskrit Literature" (University of California publications in Classical Philology XII (1944), p. 333) had suggested that the compilation of an encyclopaedia of traditional Sanskrit stock-in-trade comparisons "would be an aid to the scholar who occupies himself with the interpretation of Sanskrit Literature."

Prof. Velankar was perhaps the first to recognize the scholarly significance of the historical compilation of Similes beginning from the *Rgveda*. It goes without saying that his presentations on Similes in the *Rgveda* and *Atharvaveda* marks the beginning of the beginning in this direction. The writer of this paper had the privilege of working on the Similes of the *Mahābhārata* with special reference to the technique of oral poetic composition. A student of Prof. Velankar had, if I remember aright, presented a paper on the *Rāmāyaṇa* Similes at a session of the All India Oriental Conference, some time in sixties. But it is unfortunate that such an important aspect of Indological scholarship has not yet received the attention of scholars it deserves. It is high time that Prof. Velankar's work on Vedic Similes be further studied in greater details and a concordance of Similes of all the extant texts of Vedic Saṁhitās is compiled with a detailed analytical and comprehensive treatment-stylistic, aesthetic, *aupamānika*, *aupamecyika*, *aupamānadharmika* and *aupamyavācika*. This may be followed by similar concordances of the Similes of Great Epics. Similes in the Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras, and even in the texts on *Āyurveda* are no less interesting.

Let us take some examples from what Professor Velankar designates as Emotional Similes and see how they work and how they interact with the *Mahābhārata* Similes.

Mother and Child

The Uṣas hymn (1.123.11) describes Uṣas as a very lovely maiden carefully decorated by her mother, disclosing her body (for all) to see.

“सुसङ्काशा मातृमृष्टेव योषा
११ विस्तन्वं कृणुषे दशे कम् ।

Mother Cow and Calf

“The waters, flowing forward, went down straight to the Ocean, like lowing cows (to their calves).

वाथा इव धेनवः स्यन्दमाना
अञ्जः समुद्रमवजम्परापः ॥

(RV 1.32.2)

Here Velankar notes that the term “वत्सम्” is understood in the text. This is in accordance with the general principle of “Word Economy” in

Rgvedic poetry as highlighted by him in his scholarly presentation, 'Word Economy and Rgvedic Interpretations.' He further states that "both the words वाश्राः and धेनवः are significant; they suggest the eagerness of approach of the cow to her calf."

Father and Son

"Such as you are, O Agni, be easy of approach to us, as a father is to his son (स नः पितेव सून्वेऽग्रे सूपायनो भव 1.1.9).

The *Mahābhārata*⁵ abounds in such 'Emotional Similes'. A good reputation nourishes a person in the world as a mother nourishes her child (कीर्तिर्हि पुरुषं लोके संजीवयति मातृवत् 3.284.32). Duṣanta sees the Mālinī river as a mother of all creatures (सर्वप्रणभृतां तत्र जननीमिव विष्टिताम् 1.64.20). "Kuntī with a view to alleviating the trouble of the Brahmin, hurriedly enters his inner apartment like a cow entering the cowpen where her calf is tied up (विवेश कुन्ती त्वरिता बडवत्सेव सौरभी 1.145.18). Arujna implores Lord Kṛṣṇa to pardon his faults as a father pardons those of a son, a friend those of a friend and a lover those of a beloved (पितेव पुत्रस्य सखेव सख्युः प्रियः प्रियाया अर्हसि देव सोढुम् 6.33.44).

Attention may also be invited to an article entitled "The Sanctity of the Cow in Hinduism"⁶ by W. Norman Brown in the context of Velankar's emotional simile, based on 'Mother Cow and Calf'. Brown summarises his viewpoint as follows:

"No symbol of fecundity or maternity or source of nourishment compares in the Veda to the cow..... Any female at all, whether a deity like Uṣas, or a cosmic element like the waters (*āpas*) or a human queen or just a beautiful young woman (RV 10.95.6) seems flattered, if she is called a cow or compared to a cow or is characterized as a mother of cows (RV 4.52.2).....".

It is quite in the fitness of things that Dr. S.G. Moghe has been able to bring out his illustrious volume entitled "Professor Velankar and Vedic Interpretation of Āraṅkārika Interpretation of the *Rgveda*"⁷ (Prof. Velankar and Vedic Indology) as part of Prof. Velankar Centenary Celebration or as a mark of his sincere devotion to his Guruji. (He was, in fact, a revered Guruji of all of us). The book gives a vivid account of Prof. Velankar's scholarly contributions, with special reference to his distinct contribution to the art of Aesthetics behind Vedic composition. We are all grateful to Dr. Moghe for this presentation, despite our reservations for some of his personal remarks.

But we shall be failing in our duties as his successors, if we do not make an earnest effort to consolidate all that we have been able to receive from our Great Guruji's multidimensional scholarly personality and we lag behind in utilising the vast amount of innovative research material received from him in furtherance of Vedic research. The only way in which we can

pay our sincere homage to him is that we ensure an easy access to the entire published works of Prof. Velankar and devise ways and means to pay concentrated attention to each of the areas to his scholarship in the interest of dissemination of Vedic knowledge representing the various aspects of our great Indological Tradition.

Notes and References

1. *R̥gveda Samhitā* with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, Poona, 1935, Vide Sāyaṇa on 1.164.45.

The gist of the views expressed by the various schools, according to Sāyaṇa, is given below:

- (1) Vedavādins ॐ भूर्भुवः स्वः ।
- (2) Vaiyākaraṇas - नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाता : ।
- (3) Yajñikas - मन्त्राः कल्पो ब्राम्हणं चतुर्थी लौकिकी ।
- (4) Nairuktas - ऋग्यजुःसामानि, चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकी ।
- (5) Aitihāsikas - सर्पाणां बाग, वयसां क्षुद्रसरीसृपस्य च चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकी ।
- (6) Ātmavādins - पशुषु तूणवेषु (वाद्ययन्त्रेषु) मृगेषु आत्मनि च ।
- (7) "अपरे मातृकाः" - परा, पश्यन्ती, मध्यमा, वैखरी
- (8) Yāska's *Nirukta* - भुवि अन्तरिक्षे दिवि त्रीणि । तुरीयं (चतुर्थं) पशुषु ।

Vide *Nirukta* (13.9)

Cf. Sāyaṇa on 4.58.3.

2. *J B B R A S* 1938.
3. *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, 1965.
4. *J A S*, Bombay, 1963.
5. R.K. Sharma, "Elements of Poetry in the *Mahābhārata*", Berkeley 1964, Reprint with Index, Delhi 1988.
6. W. Norman Brown: "The Sanctity of the Cow in Hinduism", *Journal of the Madras University*, XXVIII No.2 (1957), p.40.
7. S.G. Moghe: "Ālankārika Interpretation of the *R̥gveda*" (Prof. Velankar and Vedic Indology), Delhi, 1993.

(I am also grateful to Shri Vikas Bhattacharya, Assistant Librarian, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, for all his kind help.)

THE DIFFERENT ERAS USED IN GUJARAT DURING THE ANCIENT PERIOD

H. G. SHASTRI

Chronology is the backbone of history. The dates given in the epigraphic and literary records supply information about the different systems of dating used in Gujarat in successive periods.

The year is the most important unit of date in history. Events were dated in regnal years reckoned from the year of the coronation of the then reigning king, before the system of eras came into vogue. In the Gimar rock edicts of the Mauryan king Aśoka, events are dated in regnal years.

Eras came into vogue during the post-Mauryan period. The Indo-Greek coins bear legends, but they are undated. The coin-legends of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa kings and the early Kārdamaka Kṣatrapa kings, too, contain no dates.

. . .

The stone-inscriptions of the Kārdamaka Kṣatrapa kings, known before 1970, were dated years 52 to 228 of an unspecified era, while their dated coins were dated years 102 to 320 of presumably the same unspecified era. It is assumed that the unspecified era is the *Śaka Era*¹ which commenced in A. D. 78. It was also assumed that this era is identical with the era used in the inscriptions of the Kushan kings of North India. The majority of scholars assigned the origin of the Śaka Era to Kaniška I, though he was a Kushan rather than a Śaka and assumed that his era was adopted by the Western Kṣatrapa kings who were taken as his feudatories.²

But recently two inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa king Caṣṭana have come to light. One³ of them is dated year 11, while the date in the other inscription⁴ is read year 6. The discovery of these two early dates for the reign of Caṣṭana, however, leads us to reconsider the former view about the origin of the Śaka Era. It now seems more plausible that the origin of the Śaka Era must be ascribed to king Caṣṭana who was a Śaka and that the dates in the records of Kaniška I and his successors must be attributed to altogether a different era of a slightly later epoch.⁵

In view of the chronological evolution of the coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas it is now proposed that the known years (41 to 46) of the Kṣaharāta

Kṣatrapa king Nahapāna⁶ must be taken as his regnal years and that the reign of the Kṣaharāta kings must be dated before A. D. 78.

The dates given on coins comprise only years, while those given in stone inscriptions consist of the year, the lunar month, the fortnight (bright or dark) and the lunar day. The years of the Śaka Era commence with Caitra throughout the country, but its months end with Pūrṇimā and with Amāvāsyā in South India. In the absence of corresponding weekdays it is not possible to decide which system was followed in Gujarat during this period.⁷

* * *

Under the regime of the Gupta sovereigns the Śaka Era was replaced by the *Gupta Era*. It commenced in A. D. 319. Its years were Caitrādi and the months were Pūrṇimānta. The Gupta Era seems to have been reckoned since the coronation of the Gupta sovereign Chandragupta I.⁷ The era was also used in the inscriptions of the Saindhava kings of subsequent times.

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In South Gujarat another era came into vogue during the period. The original name of this era is unknown. It was in vogue in South Gujarat from year 207 to year 490. It is identified with the Kalacuri or Cedi Era used in the Kalacuri kingdom in the Cedi region during year 722 to 969. Some have ascribed the origin of this earlier era to the Ābhīra king Īsvarasena of Nasik.⁸ Like the Gupta Era this era also got extinct in course of time. The epoch of the era is A. D. 249. The years of this era were Kārttikādi. Its months were probably Amānta.

* * *

The copperplate inscriptions of the Maitraka kingdom are dated in years 183 to 447 of an unspecified era. The Maitraka kings of Valabhī adopted it from the Gupta empire, but they made a modification in the system of its years. The years of the Gupta Era were Caitrādi, while the years given in the Maitraka records were Kārttikādi, the years in the modified era commencing five months earlier than the corresponding years of the Gupta Era.⁹ The modified era used by kings of Valabhī later on got known as the *Valabhī Era*.

The Śaka Era which was extinct in Gujarat for about two centuries came into vogue in the Deccan. It was reintroduced into Gujarat through the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings who hailed from the Deccan.¹⁰ The era is now specifically referred to as the Śaka Era.¹¹

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The Hansot Plates¹² of the Cāhamāna king Bhartṛvaḍḍha II of Broach

are dated in the year 813 of an unspecified era. The king officiated as a feudatory of Nāgāvaloka, identified with the Pratihāra king Nāgabhata I (*circa* 730 - 760 A. D.) of North India.¹³ The year 863 is accordingly ascribed to the era known as the *Vikrama Era*. The date supplies the earliest known example of the use of the Vikrama Era in the records of Gujarat.

The era is identified with the Kṛta Era and the Mālava-gaṇa Era, mentioned in the epigraphic records of Rajasthan and Malwa during years 269-481 and 461-936 respectively.¹⁴ Some scholars also identify it with the unspecified era used in the Scytho-Parthian inscriptions dated since year 72, and ascribe its origin to the Parthian sovereign Vonones.¹⁵ They attribute its later association with the name *Vikrama* to King Candragupta Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty. But no records of Candragupta Vikramāditya or his successors are dated in this era.

Some scholars ascribe an Indian origin to this era on the basis of traditional accounts. It is suggested that the era was started by the Mālava-gaṇa to commemorate its victory over the foreign Śakas and that it was originally named after the Mālava-gaṇa who came to be regarded as a king when the concept of *gaṇarājya* was lost to oblivion.¹⁶

The sudden appearance of the Vikrama Era in the kingdom of Broach between the extensive region of the Valabhī Era in Saurashtra and Central Gujarat on the one hand and the region of the Śaka Era in South Gujarat on the other hand by the middle of the 8th century may be traced to the influence of the Imperial Pratihāras in North India, whose successors are known to have used the Vikrama Era in their kingdom.

* * *

Several eras were in vogue in Gujarat during the post-Maitraka period.

The copperplate inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of mainland Gujarat are dated from Śaka year 732 to 852. The months are found to be Amānta.

The Saindhava kings in Western Saurashtra dated their records in the Gupta Era. The known dates¹⁷ range from year 513 to 595. The dates apply to the original Gupta Era, the years of which were Caitrādi.

The Valabhī Era continued in North Gujarat and other parts of Saurashtra to a certain extent.

The Una Plates¹⁸ of the Cālukya king, Avantivarman II are dated in the Vikrama Era. The king was a feudatory of the Pratihāra sovereign, Mahendrapāla of North India.

* * *

The Caulukya period abounds in dated records, epigraphic and literary.

The Vikrama Era which is current in Gujarat since long, came into common use there during this period. The records¹⁹ of the Caulukya kings are all dated in the Vikrama Era. The Caulukyias probably hailed from Rajasthan, which was under the sway of the Pratihāras who dated their records in the Vikrama Era.

The dates given in the records of this period not infrequently include the weekdays, which serves as an important factor in determining the system of years and months. An examination of the known dates given in the literary and epigraphic records, indicates a gradual transition in Gujarat from the northern system of Caitrādi years and Pūrṇimānta months to the southern system of Kārttikādi years and Amānta months.²⁰ The dates in Kutch and West Saurashtra indicate the prevalence of Āṣāḍhādi years, which fall between Caitrādi and Kārttikādi years.²¹

The year of the Vikrama Era is 57-56 years earlier than the corresponding year of the Christian Era. Hence we have to subtract 57 years from the date of the year of the Vikrama Era between Kārttika Śukla 1 and 31st December and 56 years for the whole of the remaining part of the Vikrama Era, to arrive at the corresponding year of the Christian Era.

A few inscriptions²² of the Caulukya period are dated in the Śaka Era. They all belong to South Gujarat, and bear the influence of the Deccan where the Śaka Era was in common use.

The Valabhī Era continued to a small extent upto its year 945 corresponding to 1264 A.D.²³

Four known inscriptions²⁴ of this period are dated in years 32-151 of the *Siṃha Era*. The dates of this era are fortunately given along with the corresponding years of the Vikrama or/and Valabhī Era. From these equations it follows that the Siṃha Era started 1170 years after the Caitrādi Vikrama Era, i. e., in 1113 A. D. The years of the Siṃha Era were Caitrādi. All the known dates of the Siṃha Era belong to Sorath. Probably this era was started by the Caulukya sovereign Jayasiṃha Siddharāja to commemorate his conquest of Sorath.²⁵ It is, however, difficult to explain why the use of the Siṃha Era remained confined to Sorath.²⁶

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The Arabic and Persian inscriptions of²⁷ the Caulukya Period are dated in year 430 to 700 of the *Hijrī Era*. The Verawal stone-inscription²⁸ of the time of king Arjunadeva is a unique Sanskrit record dated in years of four eras, viz., A. H. 662, Val. S. 954, Siṃha S. 151 and V. S. 1320.

The Hijrī Era was introduced in Arabia to commemorate the *hijarat* (migration) of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina in 622 A. D. The era

is purely lunar; its years consist of 354 days. Hence the difference between the year of the Hijrī Era and the corresponding year of the Christian Era goes on decreasing in course of time.

Thus seven main eras²⁹ came into vogue in Gujarat at different times during the ancient period. Of these the Kalacuri, Gupta, Valabhī and Sirtha Eras got extinct in course of time, whereas the Śaka, Vikrama and Hijrī eras are extant even at present. The Śaka Era is favourite with astrologers and is also adopted in the National Calendar. The Vikrama Era is the most popular Indian era used in Gujarat, yielding place to the Christian era in civil life under the impact of foreign culture in modern times. The Hijrī Era is prevalent in Muslim community.

Notes and References

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1., pt. 1, p. 26.
2. Sircar D. C., *Indian Epigraphy* (1965), pp. 258 ff.
3. Gokhale Shobhana, 'Andhau Inscription of Caṣṭana, Śaka 11', *Journal of Ancient History*, Vol. II, pp. 104 ff.
4. Mirashi V. V., 'Daulatpur Inscription of the Reign of Caṣṭana, year 6,' *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXVIII, No.2, pp. 34 ff.
- 5.6. Shastri H. G. and Jamindar Rasesh, 'The Reconsideration of the Chronological Relation between Nahapāna and Caṣṭana and the Origin of the Śaka Era in the light of the recently known early dates of Caṣṭana', *JOI*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 1-2, pp. 59 ff.
In later times the origin of this era got associated with king Śālivāhana of the Deccan (Sircar D. C., *op. cit.*, p. 262).
7. Sircar D. C., *op. cit.*, p. 287.
8. Mirashi V. V., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV (1955), Introduction, pp. xxv-xxvi. Dr. Mirashi chose to designate this Era as the Ābhīra Era.
Devnimori stone-casket inscription (Vol. XIV, p. 336) is dated year 127 of the Kathika kings. The date is generally assigned to the Kalacuri Era.
9. Shastri H. G., 'Valabhī Era', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 238 ff.
10. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa records are dated year 679 to 852 of the Śaka Era.
11. The year is expressly referred to as Śaka-nṛpa-kāla.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 197 ff.
13. *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 62, 251; *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XL, p. 239.
14. Pandey R. B., *Indian Palaeography* (1952), pp. 195 ff.
15. Sircar D. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 254 ff.
16. Pandey R. B. *op. cit.*, pp. 198 ff.
17. *IA*, Vol. IV, pp. 257 ff.
18. *EI*, Vol. IX, p.2.

19. They are dated V.S. 1005 to 1360.
20. Shelat B. K., *Chronological Systems of Gujarat* (1987), pp. 92 ff.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 313 ff, 323 ff.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 345 ff.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 349 ff.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 331 ff.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 340 ff.
26. Possibly the king started his era by freeing only the newly conquered territory of Sorath from debt.
27. Desai Z. A., *Gujarat Itihāsa Sandarbhasūcī*, Vol. VI (1972), Nos. 2-27.
28. *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 241.
29. An era named Siddha-Hema-Kumāra Sarnvat was in vogue during the time of Siddharāja, Hemacandra and Kumārapāla. Probably it was started by King Kumārapāla in V. S. 1216, to commemorate his adopting Jainism. (Shelat B. K., *op. cit.*, pp. 342 ff.).

Jains sometimes dated their sectarian events in years of Vīra-nirvāṇa Era counted from 527 B. C.

Parsis, the Zoroastrians settled in Gujarat since 916 A. D., may have dated their sectarian events in years of the Yazdagird era which was reckoned from the years of the coronation of the last Sassanian king in 632 A. D.

No records of these two eras have, however, come to light in Gujarat in the known records of the Ancient period.

IN DEFENCE OF HARṢA'S COURT POET MAYŪRA

S. V. SOHONI

1. Purely historical literature concerning royalty in ancient Indian history is extremely limited in extent. Among the rare exceptions to this general position is the plentiful material available about Harṣavardhana of Thāneśvara. In fact, we know a lot more about Harṣavardhana than probably any other individual king in ancient Indian history.

2. Yet a manifestly wrong and, therefore avoidable conclusion about Harṣavardhana has lasted for nearly seventy years. It deserves to be cleared.

It all began with a short communication by Shrikanta Shastri of Mysore University of *J. R. A. S.* in 1893, about some stanzas composed by Mayūra, a court poet of Harṣavardhana. The text of this communication of Shrikanta Shastri is reproduced below for facility of reference.

“CONQUESTS OF ŚĪLĀDITYA IN THE SOUTH”

“Mayūra, supposed to be the father-in-law of Bāṇa, the biographer of Harṣa Śīlāditya, is credited with the following stanza eulogising Śrī Harṣa:-

Bhūpālāḥ Śasibhāskarānvayabhuvāḥ ke nāmnāsāditāḥ
Bhartāraḥ punar ekameva hi bhuvastvām deva manyāmahe |
Yenaṅgam parimṛśya kuntalamathākṛṣya vyudasyāyatam colam
prapya ca madhyadeśamadhunā kāñcyārṇ karaḥ pātitaḥ ||

Here reference is made to southern conquests of Harṣa – Kuntala, Cola and Madhyadeśa and Kāñcī – on the supposition that Pulakeśin II effectively repulsed the advance of Harṣa. This was regarded as “Praise in the conventional exaggerated style of a poet given to punning and without any reference to historical accuracy.” Curiously, however, in the Gaddemane Inscription Notes in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1923 (p.83), we come across the following characters of seventh century:

1. Svāsti Śrī Śīlādityan diśām bharggan akevalan aggalakantakan.
2. Peralke vare Pettāṇi Satyāṅkan aṭṭeelvabhatan ledare mahendran.
3. Beḍara rāyara Malappara kālegadule viridu svarggālaya.
4. Khāridan beḷeya mala kadon kalyānam akke alivon pañcha ma...

“It records the death of one Pettāṇi Satyāṅka fighting against Beda chiefs

when Harṣa came conquering and Mahendra fled in fear. This Mahendra is evidently Mahendravarman, predecessor of Narasimhavarman Pallava, constantly at war with Pulakeśin, who had defeated him about the year A.D. 609-610."

What really amounted to an extreme confusion, which dominated the subsequent discussions relating to these stanzas, has been summarised in Dr. Devahuti's, *Harsha: A Political Study*, 1972, especially at pp. 97 ff.

The main assumption of all those critics, (including Dr. Devahuti), who took part in analysing Mayūra's stanzas about his patron, was that words like 'aṅga', 'kuntala', 'madhyadeśa' and 'kāñcī' were used by Mayūra by employing *śleṣa* to connote territorial divisions of ancient Indian geography, current in that period.

It was confidently assumed by those who commented on Mayūra's tribute that in his *praśasti*, Mayūra had definitely desired to imply that Harṣa's conquests had penetrated southwards into peninsular India so as to include Kāñcī or present day Kanjivaram, not far away from the southern tip of the subcontinent.

3. The basic fault in the comments of these critics has been to assume that political practice in ancient India justified that by 'aṅga' was meant the ruler of Aṅga, by 'kuntala', the ruler of Kuntala territories, by 'madhyadeśa' was meant the ruler of 'Madhya Deśa' and by 'kāñcī' was meant the ruler of Kāñcī. Such a political practice was unknown to India before the advent of the British rule. It is only since then that the double implication became current. This practice has continued to this day, e.g. it is quite common to read in press reports that Moscow approved the pact, whereas Washington took a different point of view and Delhi stood neutral.

4. The stanzas composed by Mayūra indicated an altogether different scheme of sequence. It was purely erotic in nature. It has been indicated in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. It was sculptured at Khajuraho. 'Kāñcyāṁ karaḥ pātitaḥ' means that fingers of the palm were deliberately directed under the girdle on the waist. The preceding 'Madhya-deśam ākr̥ṣya' means, having pulled closer the middle portion of the body. The words 'aṅgam parim̥ṣya' have to be similarly understood. The word 'cola' means the bodice; and 'vyudasya' means 'having got rid of.'

Karaḥ pātitaḥ can never mean a compelled payment of taxes, as such interpretation involves a total disregard of the causal in 'pātitaḥ'.

5. The classical concept of *Pṛthivī*¹ has been used here; 'pṛthivī' stands for the elevated portions of the subcontinent. The concept has been used by Kālidāsa in *Meghadūtam* and by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Kādambarī*. It is

this erotic scheme which has been employed by Mayūra to describe his patron's conquests of Pṛthivī viz., the Lady Earth. Accordingly, Mayūra could have turned round and said to his modern critics or commentators, "The boot is on my leg."

6. An exact precedent of such sarcasm may be cited in verse 12 in Siddhasena's famous *Guna-vacana-dvā-triṅśikā* in praise of Candragupta II Vikramāditya.² It is as follows :

एकेभ्यं वसुधा बहूनि दिवसान्यासीद् बहूनां प्रिया
यस्याऽन्योन्यसुखाः कथं नरपते ते भद्रशील नृपाः ।
ईर्ष्यामत्सरितेन सा अद्य भवतैव आत्माङ्गम् आरोपिता
शेषैः त्वत्परितोषभावितगुणैः गोपालवत् पात्यते ॥

There is striking similarity of imagery.

Notes and References

1. Vide S. V. Sohoni : "The Classical Concept of The Earth", *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Vol. LI, January - December, 1965.
2. Vide H. L. Jain : "A Contemporary Ode to Candragupta Vikramāditya", *Bulletin of the Institute of Languages and Research*, No. 1, University of Jabalpur, Madhya Bharat, July, 1962.

THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA AND ITS IMPACT ON PURĀNIC VERSIONS

G. V. TAGARE

The *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* (VR) is an idealistic epic. The saga of an exiled prince of Ayodhyā who destroyed a tyrannical imperial power of the South and brought back his abducted wife. It is essentially a human document, an Itihāsa (इति ह आस). Its hero, Rāma declares himself to be a man, a human being :

आत्मानं मानुषं मन्ये रामं दशरथात्मजम् ।

(VR, Yuddha. i.e. 6. 117. 11A)

But by the golden touch of Vālmīki, the story fascinated not only Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain authors of India, but has fascinated other Asian countries like Tibet, Khotan, Thailand, Indonesia, Indo - China, Myanmar (Burma), so much so that they regard Rāma as their own hero. People from Thailand regard that the whole episode took place in their land with Ayuthia as their capital and India imported it naming a town Ayodhyā as Rāma's birth-place. These extra-Indian versions are practically the same, though there are minor modifications according to their particular social customs. For example, the Khotanese version regards Sītā as the common wife of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. In spite of these, the Rāma story has become an integral part of Asian culture.

My paper is concerned with the impact of the VR on the Purāṇas.

The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata

Though my paper is limited to the impact of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa (VR) on the Purāṇas, I include the *Mahābhārata* (MBh.) in this paper as the participants in the MBh. are so much encrusted with fabulous material and the whole work is so much overwhelmingly supernatural that the line of demarcation between Itihāsa and Purāna became blurred. The Rāma story occurs in the following *parvans* of the Mbh.

I) **Vana.** : Hanuman tells Bhīma that Rāma was an incarnation of Viṣṇu (147.26-34, 148. 1-19). No *Sītāyaga* is mentioned herein. He narrates the story of Sītā's abduction, Laṅka war and return to Ayodhyā.

II) **Rāmopākhyāna (Vana. 273-292)** : This detailed Rāma story is regarded

as the older version of VR. It is told by Mārkaṇḍeya to Yudhiṣṭhira who complained that he was the most unfortunate person in the world. Laments he:

अस्ति नूनं मया कश्चिदल्पभाग्यतरो नरः
भवता दृष्टपूर्वो वा श्रुतपूर्वोऽपि वा भवेत् ।

(MBh. Vana. 273.12)

Mārkaṇḍeya consoles him and instils some confidence in him by narrating the story of Rāma.

2) Droṇa : Ch. 59 *Ṣoḍaśa - rājakīya* : Vyāsa consoles Yudhiṣṭhira who was grieving at the death of Abhimanyu. The Rāma story is one of the stories of sixteen kings who had to die. The Rāma story covers matter from the Ayodhyā to the end of the Yuddhakāṇḍa. No reference to Sītā's fire-ordeal. Rama is *not* regarded an Avatāra of Viṣṇu.

Śānti : Ch. 29, 51-62 *Ṣoḍaśa rājakīya* :

The same as in the Droṇa Parva. Rāma is *not* an Avatāra. Here Kṛṣṇa narrates it to Yudhiṣṭhira consoling him. स चेन्ममरं सुंजय । (62A).

Rāmopākhyāna

This is regarded as being based on an earlier version of the VR As Vālmīki and The Rāmaṇya are mentioned elsewhere in the MBh. (Vana. 147. 11, Droṇa 118.48), we need not regard that Vālmīki expanded the Rāma story on the basis of Rāmopākhyāna. As the Bāla Kāṇḍa and Uttara Kāṇḍas are regarded unauthentic, I note the differences between the Rāma story in Vālmīki and in the MBh. as found in Kāṇḍas-Ayodhyā. to Yuddha. :

1) Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa (MBh. - Vana. 276)

Non - mention of Guha; Kaikeyī got only one boon from Daśaratha.

2) Araṇya Kāṇḍa (MBh.-Vana. 277-279)

Absence of episodes about Virādha, Sutīkṣṇa, Agastya and Śabarī.

3) Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa (MBh.-Vana. Ch. 280)

(i) No test of Rāma's power before entering into an alliance with Rāma by Sugrīva (as in *Sarga* 12 of VR).

(ii) There was only one duel between Vālī and Sugrīva in which Rāma kills Vālī (and not two as in *Sarga* 16).

4) Sundara Kāṇḍa (MBh. Ch. 28)

It is Hanumān who reports his crossing the sea and of the mission to Sītā. It is only once in VR (Sundara 37. 12-13) that Sītā mentions to Hanumān

the name of Avindhya, a well-wisher of Rāvaṇa who warns Rāvaṇa against Rāma. It was Bibhīṣaṇa's wife who sent his daughter Kalā to Sītā. Kalā reported :

अविन्ध्यो नाम मेधावी वृद्धो राक्षसपुङ्गवः । etc.

“सीता मद्वचनाद् वाच्या समाश्वस्य प्रसाद्य च । भर्ता ते कुशली रामो लक्ष्मणानुगतो वशी ॥”

56-57

But in *Rāmopākhyāna* he is mentioned on two more occasions. Trijaṭā mentions him as रामस्य हितान्वेषी । (Mbh. V. 280.56) to Sītā :

After Rāvaṇa's death, Avindhya and Bibhīṣana take Sītā to Rāma (Mbh. Vana. 291.6).

ततः सीतां पुरस्कृत्य बिभीषणपुरस्कृताम् ।

अविन्ध्यो नाम सुप्रज्ञो वृद्धमात्यो विनिर्ययौ ॥

5) Yuddha Kāṇḍa (Sargas 1-40 : MBh.-Vana.)

- i) No attempt of Rāvaṇa to terrify Sītā by presenting Rāma's (Māyāmaya) head as in VR, *Sarga* 31)
- ii) No duel between Rāvaṇa and Sugrīva as mentioned in VR, *Sarga* 40.)
- iii) *Setubandha* : The Sea-god offers co-operation in dream to Rāma. Rāma did not discharge an arrow at the Sea-god as in VR, *Sarga* 21.
- iv) Lakṣmaṇa kills Kumbhakarna (MBh. 270-271) and not Rāma as in VR, *Sarga* 67.
- v) No burning of Laṅkā as in VR, *Sargas* 75.
- vi) Indrajit does not kill Māyā-Sītā to demoralise Rāma as mentioned in *Sarga* 81.
- vii) Lakṣmaṇa was not struck by Śakti. So the mountain of medicinal herbs to recover Lakṣmaṇa as in *Sargas* 99-101 was not necessary. (Mbh. 274)
- viii) No fire-ordeal of Sītā as in VR, *Sarga* 116. Mbh. 291. 26.37).

Gods and Daśaratha vouchsafe Sītā's chastity.

It will thus be found that in spite of the differences mentioned above *Rāmopākhyāna* follows mainly (probably in earlier version of) *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*.

The motive of using Rāma story was to console demoralised nervous Yudhiṣṭhira, though the narrators be different like Mārkaṇḍeya, Vyāsa or Kṛṣṇa.

The VR and Mahāpurāṇas

The Mahāpurāṇas are not directly interested in the Rāma story, as their emphasis on the five characteristic features (*Pañca Lakṣaṇas*), shows:

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

They are interested in the description of the evolution and involution of the universe, Manvantaras and stories of gods and sages and it was the last part "Dynasties of Kings" wherein the Rāma legend has some scope of being mentioned. Out of the 20 Mahāpurāṇas which include the controversial *Śiva Purāṇa* and the *Devī Bhāgavata* and a few Upapurāṇas like *Nṛsiṃha* and *Harivaṃśa*, the supplement of the *Mahābhārata*, I found that the *Matsya* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* do not mention the Rāma episode. Some others like *Brahmāṇḍa* (III.77.91-92), in the list of dynasties of kings, mention Rāma as the son of Daśaratha and/or the killer of Rāvaṇa. The *Harivaṃśa* and older Purāṇas do not mention *Rāma-bhakti* (devotion to Rāma). In the older parts of VR itself, Rāma declares himself to be a man, son of Daśaratha. But probably by 100 B.C. Rāma came to be included in the *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu. For example, MBh. Vana. 147.31 states.

अथ दाशरथिर्वीरो रामो नाम महाबलः ।
विष्णुर्मानुष्यरूपेण चचार वसुधामिमाम् ॥

We find such references in the Śānti. (200.4, 325.78)-Svargārohaṇa Parva (6.23). In the list of *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu given in old Purāṇas like the *Vāyu* (II. 36.91), *Viṣṇu* . (I.9.143-144). *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Harivaṃśa* we find Rāma is included, as an *Avatāra*. Iconographic instructions about Rāma-idol in *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (3.85.62) (5th cent.), Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (58.30) (6th cent.) show that the concept of Rāma as an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu was already current long before 5th cent. A.D. VR mentions at many places Rāma was an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu. For example after Rāma's confession of being only a man at the time of Sitā's fire-ordeal, gods like Brahmā and others tell him to be an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu and Sitā is the incarnation of Lakṣmī (Yuddha. 117.27).

सीता लक्ष्मीर्भवान् विष्णुर्देवः कृष्णः प्रजापतिः।

The mention of Kṛṣṇa is interesting :

With the inclusion of Rāma as an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu in the early centuries of the Christian era, we find some Purāṇas giving a brief sketch of his life in the list of the *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu:

For example, the Agni. Chs. 5-11.

The Purāṇa states that it follows Vālmīki Rāmaṃyāṇa as advised to him

by Nārada:

रामायणमहं वक्ष्ये नारदेनोदितं पुरा ।
वाल्मीक्ये यथा तद्वत् ॥

(Agni. 5.1)

In concluding the Rāma story, the Agni. says:

वाल्मीकिनारदाच्छ्रुत्वा रामायणमकारयत् ।
सविस्तरं यदेतच्च श्रुणुयात् स दिवं व्रजेत् ॥

(Agni. 11.13)

Nrsiṅha Purāṇa (an Upa purāṇa) in Chs. 47-52 follows VR closely in narrating the story of Rāma. The story comes in the sequence of *Avatāras* after Paraśurāma. There is no fire-ordeal of Sītā therein but god Śaṅkara bowed to Rāma, showed him Daśaratha again, certified the purity of Sītā and disappeared.

(दशरथं नृपं) दर्शयित्वा गतो देवः सीता शुद्धेति कीर्तयन् ।

(*Nrsiṅha*. 52.119A)

Tirtha Yātrā Section : Ancient Tourists Guide to Sacred Places

It is however in the field of *Tirtha Yātrā* sections that Purāṇas used the visit of Rāma to their specific *Tirtha* by way of its glorifications. Rāma was by then established as a full-fledged *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu. It was due to the importance of the particular *Tirtha* that Rāma visited it. They did not care to check it up with VR whether Rāma had visited the place at all. If VR of this *Kalpa* does not mention it, he must have visited it in some other *Kalpa*. They did not mind if their imaginary alterations damaged the reputation of some good person. Even an act of disobedience or an occurrence of an evil motive in a normally great man is shown to have been purified by efficacy of that *Tirtha*. Such cases are, however, exceptional.

For example : Lakṣmaṇa is an ideal younger brother according to Vālmīki. He never looked up to the face of Sītā. When he was called upon for the identification of Sītā's ornaments shown by Sugrīva to Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa confessed that he could identify the anklets as he used to bow the feet of Sītā:

नाहं जानामि केयूरे, नाहं जानामि कुण्डले ।
नूपुरे त्वभिजानामि, नित्यं पादाभिवन्दनात्

(VR, IV. 6.22 B, 23A)

But the author of the Nāgara Khaṇḍa of the *Skanda P.* (SKP) wanted to glorify the powerful (should I say pernicious) efficacy of Bālamaṇḍana Tirtha. So he invented a story, presuming that Rāma visited that part of the country and Bālamaṇḍana Tirtha during the period of *vanavāsa*.

According to the author of the Nāgara Khaṇḍa, during his stay in the forest, Rāma had a dream about Daśaratha and was advised to perform his *śrāddha*. Lakṣmaṇa was asked to collect the requisites from the forest. Sītā cooked food and in a mischievous mood, she hid behind some trees and Lakṣmaṇa had to serve food to Bṛahmaṇas even though he knew Sītā's deliberate avoidance of work. At night Rāma asked Lakṣmaṇa to prepare his bed. Lakṣmaṇa felt humiliated and he refused to obey.

Smarting under these insults, Lakṣmaṇa could not get sleep. He thought of a diabolical plan : To kill Rāma while he is asleep and to take away Sītā as his wife.

हत्वैनं राघवं सुप्तं, सीतां पत्नीं विधाय च ।
किं गच्छामि निजं स्थानं, विदेशं वाऽपि दूरतः ॥

(SKP, Nāgara Khaṇḍa i.e.,
VI.20.48)

In the morning Rāma left with Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa followed him with an arrow fixed to his bow to discharge at Rāma at the first opportunity :

(ततः प्रभाते)
रामः सीतां समादाय प्रस्थितो दक्षिणां दिशम् ।
लक्ष्मणोऽपि धनुः सज्यं कृत्वा संग्राय सायकम् ।
अनुव्रजति पृष्ठस्थरत्तस्य च्छिद्रं विलोकयन् ॥

(SKP, VI. 20. 48-49)

What a scandalous blasphemy of VR's ideal brother Lakṣmaṇa for the glorification of a *Tīrtha* :

Later Mārkaṇḍeya advised Lakṣmaṇa to take a bath in Bālamaṇḍana Tīrtha which Lakṣmaṇa did and was absolved of his sin of disobedience to Rāma and his sinful design on the life of Rāma.

Needless to say, it has no basis in VR. But this very story of Lakṣmaṇa's disobedience to Rāma is repeated in the Āvantya Khaṇḍa of the SKP. (Ch.31-22-47).

In Ch. 2 of the Brahma Khaṇḍa of the SKP, a brief life-sketch of Rāma as in VR is given in the *Setu-Māhātmya*, the story of *Setubandha* is elaborated on the basis of VR. But the 24 *Tīrthas* in or about the *setu* and especially that of Dhanuṣkoṭi and their glorification is the contribution of the SKP. It is interesting to note that Bibhīṣaṇa requests Rāma to destroy the *setu* to prevent future aggression on Laṅkā.

सेतुनाऽनेन ते राम, राजानः सर्व एव हि ।
बलद्विक्ताः समभ्येत्य पीडयेयुः पुरीं मम ॥

(SKP, ब्रह्मखण्ड, सेतुमाहात्म्य, 30-72)

The whole of Dharmāraṇya Khaṇḍa presumes that Rāma and Sītā along with their family-members visited Dharmāraṇya as pilgrims (SKP, Brahma Khaṇḍa - *Dharmāraṇya Māhātmya* 31.44-48).

Interesting is also the chronology of Rāma's life—which follows in general the VR. The breaking of *setu* at the request of Bibhīṣaṇa is repeated in the Nāgara Khaṇḍa (Chs. 99-102) but that is at the end Rāma's life therein.

A few more *Tirthas* not mentioned in the VR but are given in the SKP.

SKP, Revā Khaṇḍa

Ch. 168. : Ankūreśvara on the Southern bank of the Narmadā. Rāvaṇa's penance and boon from Śiva obtained here.

SKP. Nāgara Khaṇḍa

Ch.96-98 : Daśaratha's penance for getting sons at Kārtikeyapura (Bajjnath in Kumaun -80 miles from Almora).

SKP, Nāgara Khaṇḍa adds the following information not given even in the Uttara Kāṇḍa.

Chs. 99-100. : After expulsion by Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa gives up his body by Yogic process (Vv. 15-19). After Lakṣmaṇa's death Rāma goes to Kiṣkindhā, stays with Sugrīva for one night and goes to Laṅkā with Sugrīva (Ch.101). Rāma stays at Laṅkā for 10 days and visits the battle-field. On his way back, at Bibhīṣaṇa's request destroys the *setu* (Vv.35-40).

Needless to say that these are the new contributions of the Purāṇa-writers and have no basis even in the inflated vulgate of today's VR.

Purāṇic literature is vast. It will require much more space to record how VR influenced the Purāṇa-writers who being economically motivated gave full play to their imagination for their objectives like the glorification of the *Tirthas*.

A Few More Problems

I. VĀLMĪKI (in the *Rāmāyaṇa*)

There are two Valmīkis since the one mentioned in *Taittirīya Prātiśakhya* and the other in the MBh., but they are not the authors of the Rāmāyaṇa. In the authentic portion of the VR, Vālmīki mentions his name as the author of the Rāmāyaṇa once only in the Phalaśruti verses of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa as follows:

रामस्य विजयं चेमं सर्वमङ्घ्रिकर्मणः ।
शृणोति य इदं काव्यं पुरा वाल्मीकिना कृतम् ॥ (VR, Yuddha. 128-112)

We need not go into other references of Vālmīki in the Bāla and Uttara Khaṇḍas.

VĀLMĪKI (in the Purāṇas)

The word *Valmīka* 'an ant-hill' fired the imagination of Purāṇa authors and (on the analogy of the Cyavana Bhārgava in Mbh. Ādi. 5.13.63) they depicted Vālmīki to have been covered with an ant-hill while absorbed in meditation as Cyavana Bhārgava was said to have been in MBh. Ādi. 5.13.63. By the 8th cent. A.D. when Rāma was believed to be an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu and his name was supposed to be sanctifying sinners, four Vālmīkis were included in the *Skanda P.* to illustrate the efficacy of the name of Rāma. (Ch.21).

1) SKP Vaiṣṇava Khaṇḍa :

Previous name of this Vālmīki is not given. But the hunter due to efficacy of Rāma's name is born of sage Valmīka (original name Kṛṣṇu). But due to the growth of an ant-hill he became known as Vālmīka. The hunter, born of sage Vālmīka, became known as Vālmīki and composed the Rāmāyaṇa.

2) SKP Avantī Khaṇḍa :

Āvantya Kṣetra Māhātmya (Ch.24)

The Brahmin Agniśarmā became a robber. *Saptarṣis* (Seven Sages) were halted by him. When on their advice, he went home, no member of his family was prepared to share his sins. He returned, repented, was initiated in *Rāma-nāma*. For 13 years he was lost in meditation, an ant-hill grew around him. The sages on their way back, took him out and named him as Vālmīki. He composed the Rāmāyaṇa.

3) SKP Nāgara Khaṇḍa (Ch. 124)

Similar story as above but the original name of this fallen Brahmin is Lohajāṅgha.

4) SKP Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa (Ch. 268)

Vaiśākha, the son of Brahmin Śamīmukha, is the previous name of Vālmīki. Though a robber, he was initiated in *Rāma-nāma*. Relieving him from the ant-hill, the *Saptarṣis* blessed :

स्वच्छन्दा भारती देवी जिह्वाग्रे ते भविष्यति ।
कृत्वा रामायणं काव्यं ततो मोक्षं गमिष्यसि ॥

That is how Purāṇa-writers created new stories.

II. The Sītā Problem : The Fire-Ordeal of Sītā

Ordeals were admitted as a valid evidence in Hindu jurisprudence. By its very definition "Ordeal is that which decides what cannot be decided

by human means of proof.”

तत्र मानुषप्रमाणानिर्णयस्याऽपि निर्णयिकं यत्
तद् दिव्यमिति लोकाग्रसिद्धम् ।

(दिव्यतत्त्व 579)

The oldest reference to an ordeal is in the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* (14.66) where Vatsa is said to have proved his Brahminhood by fire-ordeal. The entrance of Sītā in the burning pyre described in VR, Yuddha. *Sarga* 116 shows that the author did not know the procedure of fire-ordeal viz., the person undergoing the ordeal has to cover his palms with fresh *Aśvattha* leaves and to take seven steps holding a red hot iron-ball and throw it after the last step. Old Purāṇas like *Harivamśa.*, *Viṣṇu.*, *Bhāgavata.*, *Nṛsiṅha.*, *Vāyu.* do not mention it (Sītā’s fire-ordeal). In the *Rāmopākhyāna* which is regarded as based on an older version of the VR, Sītā when brought to Rāma declared that her vital airs should leave her if she be a sinner.

विमुञ्चन्तु मम प्राणा यदि पापं चराम्यहम् ।

(MBh. Vana. 291.23)

Gods vouchsafe her chastity and Rāma accepts her. Even the VR itself in its review of the Rāma story in cantos 124 and 126 of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa does not mention it. The fire-ordeal is obviously spurious. But the very fact that it is described in details in the VR led to the speculations about its feasibility due to assertion of Brahmā that Rāma was Viṣṇu and Sītā was Lakṣmī.

सीता लक्ष्मीर्भवान् विष्णुर्देवः कृष्णः प्रजापतिः ।

(VR VI. 117.27)

This status of Sītā is found in *Harivamśa* I. Ch. 4, *Devī Bhāgavata* 3.28.17, but not in old Purāṇas like *Vāyu.*, *Viṣṇu.*, *Brahmāṇḍa.*

Speculation about the Abduction

Now if Sītā was Lakṣmī, how Rāvaṇa, a demon could abduct her. Real Sītā could not be abducted. But VR, *Araṇya.* (42.16-17) described how Rāvaṇa bodily lifted her and took her away:

जग्राह रावणः सीतां बुधः खे रोहिणीमिव ।
वामेन सीतां पद्माक्षीं मूर्धजेषु करेण सः ।
उर्व्योस्तु दक्षिणेनैव परिजग्राह पाणिना ।

Nṛsiṅha P. assures that Rāvaṇa did not touch her but duped her to sit in the Vināna (49.86-87). The *Kūrma P.* tells us that while Sītā was loitering outside her hermitage, she saw Rāvaṇa. She immediately ran inside the hermitage, prayed the Āvasathya Agni for protection (जगाम शरणं वह्निमावसथ्यम्). The Fire-god took within him the real Sītā, left out her shadow and disappeared.

सीतामादाय रामेष्टां पावकोऽन्तर्धीयत ।

(*Kūrma*. II., Ch. 34. 112-140)

When the shadow of Sītā entered fire after Rāvaṇa's death, real Sītā came out. Sītā's resort to the Fire-god for protection from Rāvaṇa is endorsed by the *Devī Bhāgavata* (III.Ch.29). The *Brahma Vaivarta P.* also confirms that this shadow or Māyā Sītā was created by Agni.

The Skanda III in *Kārtika Māhātmya* attributes Sītā's abduction to Vṛndā's curse to Viṣṇu for violating her chastity.

Sītā's Birth

There should not have been any speculation about the birth of Sītā. All the four Rāmakathās in the MBh. affirm that Sītā is Janaka's daughter. In *Rāmopākhyāna* (MBh. 3, Vana. 274.9) it is stated:

विदेहराजो जनकः सीता सत्यात्मजा विभो ।

The *Kūrma P.* (I.21.10) endorses it :

रामस्य भार्या सुभगा जनकात्मजा शुभा ।

In Vedic times Sītā, Sāvitrī were names of girls (vide the story of Sītā, Sāvitrī in the *Taittirīya Brāhmana* 2.3.10). Janaka must have named his daughter Sītā as in the Vedic period. But 'Sītā' also means 'furrow, ploughed land. The poetic imagination, especially of the author of the Uttara Kāṇḍa (who also introduces the vindictive Vedavātī legend on the line of Ambā-Sikhaṇḍin in the Mbh.) confirmed the story of Sītā being born of the Earth wherein she ultimately disappeared. *Viṣṇu P.* (12.4) regards her as 'Ayonijā.'

There is another theory which regards Sītā as the daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī. The *Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa* (Ch.42) states:

सीता मंदोदरीगर्भे संभूता चारुरूपिणी ।

क्षेत्रजा तनयाऽप्यस्य रावणस्य रघूत्तम ॥

Vasudēva-Hiṇḍī, a Jain work of the 6th cent. A.D. supports this tradition. We find this belief current in Tibet, Khotan, Thailand and Indonesia. It was predicted that this girl will ruin her father and hence she was kept in a box with her ornaments and a letter and was kept in a park of Janaka. Janaka adopted her. Such adoption of girls was not unusual. Vasudeva's sister was adopted by king Kuntibhoja and she came to be known as Kuntī. It is significant that he (Rāvaṇa) did not attend his daughter's *svayamvara*. Rāma created a threat to his power in Janasthāna, as he killed Khara and other prominent Rākṣasa officers. But after abduction Rāvaṇa did not keep her in a prison cell but in the comfortable Ashoka garden. Mandodarī seems to have assigned Trijaṭā as her companion to console her. From Sundara Kāṇḍa, *Sarga* 18, it seems Rāvaṇa occasionally saw Sītā with his wife. The

courting of Sītā attributed to Rāvaṇa in canto 20 of the same Kāṇḍa is impossible. How can one court one's daughter in the presence of one's wife? A Jain version of *Rāmāyaṇa* informs that Rāvaṇa wanted to defeat Rāma and present his daughter to him. But that was not to be. There seems to be some substance in this theory about the parenthood of Rāvaṇa.

The Daśaratha Jātaka, in spite of its dependence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in respect of Rāma story, states that Sītā was Daśaratha's daughter. As per custom among Śakyas (which Gautama Buddha proudly defends), Sītā was married to Rāma.

To me, the first theory viz. Sītā was Janaka's daughter appears to be more probable.

III. Was Kaikeyī a Villain ?

No. She is more sinned against than sinning. People blind with devotion to Rāma unduly blamed her. A great saint like Ekanath used untranslatable words about her.

The facts of the case about Kaikeyī's insistence on Bharata's coronation are as follows:

Daśaratha married twice but had no male issue necessary for the continuation of the royal family of Ikṣvākus. He married a beautiful princess from Kekaya, (a land between the Beas and the Sutlej). The king of Kekaya gave his daughter on condition that her (Kaikeyī's) son should ascend the throne of Ayodhyā. Rāma knew this contractual obligation. When Bharata came to Citrakūṭa to persuade Rāma to return to Ayodhyā, Rāma tells him :

पुरा भ्रातः पिता नः स मातरं ते समुद्बहन् ।
मातामहं समाश्रीषीद् राज्यशुल्कमनुत्तमम् ॥

(VR, 2.107.3)

Legally Bharata had a claim on the throne of Ayodhya. The queen -mother of Bharata was perfectly justified in taking a firm stand on this stipulation in the marriage contract.

VR states that Kaikeyī obtained another boon or promise from Daśaratha. When in his fight with Śaṁbara Kaikeyī brought the chariot of the wounded king out of the battle-ground and nursed his wounds. Rāma (in fact all the members of the family) knew it and he mentions this to Bharata:

देवासुरे च संग्रामे जनन्यै तव पार्थिवः ।
सम्प्रहृष्टो ददौ राजा क्रमाराधितः प्रभुः ॥

(VR, 2.107.4)

(see upto verse 7)

The northern recension of VR records the nursing of wounds in the words of Daśaratha -

ब्रणसरोहणं चास्य तत्र देवि त्वया कृतम् ।

VR does not record the impossible feat of Kaikeyī using her arms as the axle of Daśaratha's chariot during the battle though recorded in the *Brahma Purāṇa* (123) and *Padma Purāṇa* - Uttara Kāṇḍa (Bengal edition).

Daśaratha Jātaka mentions only one boon, while VR supports two boons theory. Thus Bharata's claim to the throne of Ayodhyā was legally unchallengeable.

Daśaratha was in a fix. Since Vedic times, the right to a hereditary throne was decided by primogeniture. Granting the spuriousness of verses pertaining to the Cabinet's consent in favour of Rāma's accession (VR, 2.1.42) and sanction of the Assembly - *Rājyapariṣad* (VR, 2.2.17) and the public sanction in favour of Rāma (VR, 2.2.18), Daśaratha could not deny Bharata's claim to the throne.

He tried to find out a way. While Bharata went to Punjab (Kekaya) to his maternal uncle, Daśaratha planned to coronate Rāma as his successor so that would be a *fait accompli* before Bharata's return.

Daśaratha underestimated Kaikeyī. In the absence of Bharata, she stood firmly for his right to the throne and demanded the fulfilment of promise at the time of her marriage and exile to Rāma. In the words of Rāma to Bharata:

ततः सा सम्प्रतिश्राव्य तव माता यशस्विनी ।

अयाचत नरश्रेष्ठं द्वौ वरौ क्वर्णिनी ॥5॥

तव राज्यं नरव्याघ्र, मम प्रजाजनं तथा ।6a।

..... ॥6॥ (VR, 2.107.5-6A)

It was a piquant situation. The king could not get away from stipulation of his promise. Lakṣmaṇa decided to cut the gordian knot by killing Daśaratha, so the promise of Daśaratha is no longer binding and Rāma's way to the throne becomes unhindered. He says to Kausalyā:

प्रोत्साहितोऽयं कैकेय्या सन्तुष्टो यदि नः पिता ।

अमित्रभूतो निःसङ्गं कथ्यतां कथ्यतामपि ॥12॥

हनिष्ये पितरं वृद्धं कैकेय्यासक्तमानसम् ।

कृपणं च स्थितं बाल्ये वृद्धभावेन गर्हितम् ॥19॥

(VR, 2.21.12, 19)

Lakṣmaṇa was aware of the partisans of Bharata in Ayodhyā. He expected Bharata's maternal uncle to send an army outwardly for the protection of

Bharata. A fratricidal war for the throne of Ayodhyā would be inevitable. Lakṣmaṇa was prepared to face that.

निर्मनुष्यामिमां सर्वामयोध्यां मनुजर्षभ ।
करिष्यामि शरैस्तीक्ष्णैर्यदि स्थास्यति विप्रिये ॥10॥
भरतस्याथ पश्यो वा यो वास्य हितमिच्छति ।
सर्वास्तांश्च वधिष्यामि मृदुर्हि परिभूयते ॥11॥

Rāma understood the plight of Daśaratha and the explosive situation in the palace. Rāma knew that Kaikeyī was petty-minded and would poison his mother and kill Daśaratha. In advising Lakṣmaṇa to return to Ayodhyā instead of accompanying him into the forest, Rāma says about Kaikeyī:

क्षुद्रकर्मा हि कैकेयी द्वेषादन्यायमाचरेत् ।
परिदबाद्धि धर्मज्ञं गं ते मम मातरम् ॥

(VR, 2.53.18)

सा हि देवी महाराजं कैकेयी राज्यकारणात् ।
अपि न च्यावयेत् प्राणान् दृष्ट्वा भरतमागतम् ॥

(VR, 2.53.7)

But Kaikeyī did neither. She asserted, the right of her son. Daśaratha died due to separation from Rāma.

Rāma took a wise decision under the circumstance. He decided to help Daśaratha to honour his boons to Kaikeyī and left for the forest. That was the best way out of the situation. He explains to Kausalyā:

नास्ति शक्तिः पितुर्वाक्यं समतिक्रमितुं मम ।
प्रसादये त्वां शिरसा गन्तुमिच्छाम्यहं वने ॥

(VR, 2.21.36)

It was the irony of Kaikeyī's fate that her son Bharata was an idealist who prized the traditional right of primogeniture to the throne above self-aggrandizement. He accepted vice-royalty of Rāma during his absence in the forest.

Kaikeyī was not a villain. She put a determined fight for the right of her son as agreed at the time of her marriage. Fighting for one's right is no villainy.

IV. Killing of Vālin

This controversial episode is treated as a blot on Rāma, the Ideal Man (मर्यादा-पुरुषोत्तम), an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Vālin and Sugrīva were brothers on very intimate terms. As Vālin was the elder brother, his father Rkṣarāja crowned him as the King of Kiṣkindhā

(7.36.36-38). Once at midnight, Vālin was challenged by demon Māyāvī, the son of Dundubhi (whom Vālin has killed). Vālin and Sugrīva both pursued him. Māyāvī entered a cave pursued by Vālin. While entering the cave he asked Sugrīva to wait outside till he returns. Sugrīva waited for a year. Finding one day blood and foam flowing out of the cave, Sugrīva thought that Vālin was killed. He closed the entrance to the cave with a boulder of rock. On his return he reported the news of Vālī's death and got himself crowned. After some days Vālī returned and drove out Sugrīva keeping his wife with him (4.9). After telling the cause of their quarrel, he (Sugrīva) explained to Rāma Vālī's exploits and how he was invincible (4 Chs. 10,11).

शूश्च शूमानी च प्रख्यातबल्यौषः ।
बलवान् वानरो वाली संयुगेष्वपराजितः ॥

(VR. 4.11.74)

Rāma promised to kill Vālin (VR, 4.10.31-35). Sugrīva doubted Rāma's power. He asked:

कथं तं वालिनं हन्तुं समरे शक्यसे नृप ।

(VR, 4.11.69)

Rāma proved his mettle by cutting down seven *Tāla* trees with one arrow (VR. 4.12.1-4). Being convinced of Rāma's capability, Sugrīva challenged Vālin only to get beaten. Rama excused himself by telling that due to the similarity of the brothers, he did not know who was Vālin. For the sake of distinction Sugrīva wore a garland of Gajapuspas and challenged Vālin again (4.14). Despite Tārā's earnest dissuasion, Vālin rushed out to fight. Finding Sugrīva on the point of defeat, Rāma shot his arrow at Vālin (4.15,16.36). Vālin, though mortally wounded, blamed Rāma severely:

शठो नैकृतिकः क्षुद्रो मिथ्याप्रथितमानसः ।
कथं दशरथेन त्वं जातः पापो महात्मना ॥

(VR, 4.17.43)

Rāma's defence is poor : "The whole land belongs to Ikṣvākus (How?). We act according to the orders of king Bharata."

भरतान्नां पुरस्कृत्य निगृह्णीमो यथाविधि ।

(VR, 4.17.11)

And the moral offence of Vālin was to live with his younger brother's wife.

भ्रातुर्वर्तिसि भार्यायां त्यक्त्वा धर्मं सनातनम् ।
स्त्रियां वर्तसे कामात् स्नुषायां पापकर्मकृत् ॥

(VR, 4.18.18B & 19B)

But what did Sugrīva do when he, on presumption of Vālī's death, got

himself crowned and lived with Tārā, his brother's wife. Rāma, the just king, an Avatāra of Viṣṇu, spared Sugrīva despite his immoral behaviour (even after Vāli's death). But *Sargas* 17 and 18 containing the condemnation by Vālin and Rāma's reply are spurious. Vālmīki tries to exonerate Rāma by stating –

1) Hanumān's report to Sītā that Rāma killed Vālin in a fight:

ततो निहत्य तरसा रामो वालिमाहवे ।

(VR, 5.35.50)

2) Hanumān reports the same to Bharata :

वालिं समरे हत्वा महाकायं महाबलम् ।

(VR, 6.126.38)

3) The Mbh. Vana. (*Rāmopākhyāna*) states:

प्रतिजज्ञे च काकुत्स्थः समरे वालिनो वधम् ।

(MBh. Vana. 280.14.14)

Let us note some differences :

1. Mbh. does not mention Rāma's exploit of cutting seven trees with one arrow. *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa* mentions this exploit (50.25). *Agni P.* (8.2) records both the exploits and mentions killing of Vāli with no details:

तदरिपुं वालिनं हत्वा भ्रातरं वैरकारिणम् ।

(*Agni P.* 8.3A)

2. The MBh. *BORI*, Pune states that Vālin set aside Tārā's dissuasion as he suspected her as 'attached to Sugrīva in mind:'

पर्यशङ्कत तामीर्षुः सुग्रीवगतमानसा ।

(Mbh. 280.25,3.19-26)

Mbh. and *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa* record only one fight between Vālin and Sugrīva and that Rāma (without hiding) went there and shot an arrow at Vālin.

इत्युक्तः कृतचिह्नोऽयं युद्धं चक्रेऽथ वालिना ।

रामोऽपि तत्र गत्वाऽथ शरैकेन वालिन्म् ॥

This is by no means the last word on these problems.

To sum up :

The credit or gradual deification of Rāma goes to a great extent to the Purāṇa-writers. They were great story-tellers. Their contribution to the narrative literature of ancient India is really great, if we compare it with that in Prakrit

or Pali. Their motivation in the *Tīrtha Yātrā* section may be economic; but they have preserved the traditional historical and geographical unity. Students of Religious Geography have ample field of research in these Purāṇas.

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3. Gurumandal Caluatta editions of other Purāṇas. Other references are given in the paper itself.
4. फादर कामिल बुल्के - रामकथा (प्रकाशक : हिंदी परिषद प्रकाशन, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय).

THE RĀGA-RASA RELATION IN INDIAN MUSIC

G. H. TARALEKAR

The word *rasa* in relation to art is first employed by Bharata, particularly in regard to the dramatic art. This art was created by God Brahmā on the request of the Gods, as a *krīdanīyaka* (a plaything), which is both audible as well as spectacular. Its constituents are-recitation, song (both instrumental and vocal music), histrionics and *rasa*. The word used for the person enjoying drama presented before him is *prekṣaka* (one who witnesses) and for the theatre, *prekṣāgrha*, which means witnessing is the primary function in regard to this art. The situation is presented on the stage through the words used by the poet to express his inner intention. Herein comes the audible function of the dramatic art. The characters who are involved in the situation are helped by the dress and make-up and acting which is physical, verbal and temperamental. The character is thus made as if it were a real one living in the particular situation. That is why Bharata says that when a character in a play acts the role of the hero or the heroine, etc., it is understood by the spectators that they are actually there. But Bharata gives one proviso i. e., the actor must remember on the stage that he is enacting the particular role. The spectators too experience that particular situation as if they are one with it. Thus the pleasure is evoked in the case of the spectators who experience that particular situation of life that is presented as the imitation of reality. So, the treatment of *rasa* by Bharata is in regard to the *Nāṭya* (dramatic art).¹

While explaining the word *rasa*² he says that it is so called because it has a quality of being relished. That means *rasa* is the object of *āsvāda* (relish). The illustration given is that of a person heartily enjoying the food made tasty with different ingredients having various flavours. So just as the delicious meal produces pleasure for the eater, so also the dramatic art gives pleasure to the spectator who is mentally prepared to identify himself with the situation dramatically presented. The word *rasa* is used in *Taittirīya*³ *upanīṣad* in this sense. It is stated there – “having obtained *rasa* one is able to attain happiness or bliss.” (*raso vai saḥ rasam hi eva ayam labdhvā ānandībhavati*). The famous *Rasa Sūtra*⁴ of Bharata states that *rasa* is the experience (literally evoked) through the union of *Vibhāvas* (the character and the atmosphere), *Anubhāvas* (consequents) and *Vyabhicāribhāvas* (the transitory states). The *Vibhāvas* etc. produce the particular *rasa* like the

Erotic, the Comic, etc. They are eight-namely, the Erotic, the Comic, the Pathetic, the Furious, the Heroic, the Terrible, the Odious and the Marvellous. The *Vibhāvas* evoke the particular *rasa* in the sense that in their absence, nothing could be delineated by the poet. The situation is made to be understood in its clear perspective by the consequent actions. The *rasa* which is depicted by the poet gets transferred to the spectator through gesticulation of the consequent actions befitting the particular situation that gives rise to them. The transitory states which are gesticulated, help the emotion to be effectively manifested. *Rasa* then would be the cause of the relish of the *Sthāyibhāva* (permanent state). The experience of different emotions is different from that which one gets from the dramatic presentation. It belongs to the sphere of reality as delineated by the poet. The *rasa* is not expected to be present in the actor. That is why he is called *Pātra* (vessel). The vessel does not relish the taste of drink but it is the means to serve drink to the drinker. The *sthāyibhāva* is present in the case of the spectator in the latent form. There are eight permanent states that are the basis of eight *rasas*, namely, *Rati* (Pleasure), *Hāsa* (laughter), *Śoka* (sorrow), *Krodha* (anger), *Utsāha* (enthusiasm), *Bhaya* (fear), *Jugupsā* (abhorrence) and *Vismaya* (wonder). These are nourished through *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāribhāva*. *Bhāva* is so called because the emotion is made to be experienced by the spectator. The permanent states are delineated by the poet in the form of the words expressing the inner idea in his mind. Through gesticulation they get aroused in the spectator's mind.

The behaviour presented through various kinds of acting is made known distinctively by the *vibhāvas*. They are meant here in the sense of distinctive knowledge. Verbal, physical and temperamental gesticulation is determined by them. The *Rasa* theory as expounded by Bharata was mainly in regard to the dramatic art. Later rhetoricians explained it in regard to literature as a fine art. The ninth⁵ *rasa-Sānta* (tranquillity) was also admitted by them. Ultimately, all the fine arts are meant to give delight to the reader or the spectator. In the dramatic presentation, the various emotions like love, grief, etc. provide the variety in different situations belonging to worldly life. But as they are the means to evoke *rasa*, there is the relation of cause and effect. As long as the *vibhāvas* etc. are there, the experience of *rasa* would be there. In this case, it is to be known that it lasts only for a temporary period. While stating the purposes of poetry, Mammaṭa⁶ has mentioned the supreme happiness (*paranirvṛti*) as the principal one. This happiness is immediately (*sadyaḥ*) experienced while reading or listening to poetry. Though poetry is the cause of this happiness, the gap in the cause-effect relation is not felt at all. After experiencing mentally the various moods depicted in the poetry, ultimately he feels glad. His mind becomes steeped in that delight.

It would not be quite appropriate to apply the theory of *rasa* as expounded by the rhetoricians to the fine art of music. The main reason of this inapplicability is the absence of situation in music without the help of words. That is why Bharata while defining *Gāndharva* (the term denoting the ancient Indian music), has stated that it is based on three constituents namely, *Svara* (musical notes), *Tāla* (time measure) and words, because some of the embellishment of music belongs to words. The melody types (*Jātis*) are stated in relation to *rasa* e.g. love would be accentuated when the notes *Madhyama* and *Pañcama* are present in the particular melody. Bharata says that the melody having abundance of *madhyama* and *pañcama* should be employed in the Erotic and the Comic, one having *Ṣaḍja* and *Rṣabha* in ample measure in the Heroic, the Furious and the Marvellous, the one having *Dhaivata* in ample measure in the Odious and the Terrible and *Gāndhāra* and *Niṣāda* in the case of the Pathetic. His general statement is — when that note which is dominant in regard to the particular *jāti* should be employed in the song in the particular *rasa*. This means that the dominant note is mainly responsible for the particular manifestation of the melody. Later scholars writing on music understood that the notes mentioned by Bharata as dominant were responsible for the particular melodic expression. They connected the *rasas* to the *rāgas*.

The *Jāti* concept of ancient Indian music later on took the form of *Rāga* music. In the case of *Jāti*, the dominant notes would be more than one though the ending note was the same; for it was unchangeable. But due to different dominant notes the same *jāti* would have different manifestations based in the dominant note. Hence, Maṭaṅga (7th-8th cen. A.D.), resorted to the concept of *rāga*. Each *rāga* would have one dominant note and hence one specific manifestation.

*Rāga*⁸ is stated to be '*rañjaka svāra-sandarbhā*.' *Svara* is the sound which is charming, having resonance and continuity. It has fixed nature due to the specific microtonal intervals i. e., *Śrutis*. It delights the listeners. As it illumines itself, it makes the listener attracted towards it. It also pervades the mental functions of the artist. The word *rāga*⁹ also which is derived from *rañj* to entertain or delight serves the same purpose. But it has coherence of notes of specific types like steadiness, consonance, assonance and dissonance. The note which is dissonant is to be avoided in the *rāga* treatment. But sometimes it is seen that the dissonant note used skilfully by the musician helps to create charm. When some listener says that a particular *rāga* is not liked by him, it indicates that the entertainment provided by that *rāga* is not extensive as per the definition of *rāga*. That coherent arrangement of the notes does not please him. It suggests that the appreciation of *rāga* is subjective to some extent.

The main constituents of music are *Svara* and *Tāla-Laya*. While presenting the *rāgas*, the *Ālāpas* (combination of *svāra* patterns) establish that *rāga*.

The distinction between two *rāgas* or the varieties of the same *rāga* ¹⁰ is based on the *svara* patterns that are employed with their shades (*śrutis*). The *svaras* in the *Rāga* music appear in combination with lower and higher notes. Though only the *svara* patterns are there mostly in slow tempo, some time-value is inherently there. *Tāla* establishes firmly the *Rāga* music. This is due to the specific arrangement of time measures (*Mātrās*). The time-measures of the pattern of the *tāla* are again connected with tempo (*laya*). The tempo in the *ālāpa* part is expected to be slow. The medium tempo further helps the effect of *ālāpa* employment. In the fast tempo, the *Tāna* patterns are more prominent. So the musicologists employ the tempo as per the melodic manifestation. Slow tempo would be necessary in the expression of emotions like Pathos, fast tempo would be suitable in the case of emotions like the Heroic, medium tempo would suit the emotional expression like Love. The problem now is – are the words inevitable in the *Rāga* music? The musical forms like *Prabandha*, *Dhrupada*, or *Khyāla* are composed of words which express some theme. Is it not possible to create the emotional effect through *rāga* singing? Are only the *svaras* capable of producing the various emotional effects by themselves? When some musicologists say that the various emotions can be produced by the *Svara* and *Tāla* arrangement of the *rāgas*, where is the necessity of words? Here the consideration of the *rāga-rasa* relation comes in. Bharata's theory of *Rasa* is based on the foundation of particular situation. The situations in which the emotions like love, anger, etc. are involved, become possible only when words employed in the song indicate them. Such situations cannot be conveyed only by the employment of *svara*, *tāla-laya*. Hence, the theory of *Rasa* as expounded in literature would not be applicable to the art of music *in toto*. The notes used in the Indian music are twelve, out of which two, namely, *saḍja* and *pañcama* are of fixed type and the remaining five namely *Re*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Dha* and *Ni*, have two varieties each – sharp and flat. The flat notes would create the effect which is soft and delicate, while the sharp ones would create deep and forceful effect. Naturally, the employment of the sharp and flat notes in various patterns would be helpful in producing different emotional effects. But those emotions ought to be expressed through the words of the song (the *bandish*.) Theoretically, the scholars of Indian music understand that all the nine sentiments are effected by the *rāgas*. This view cannot be accepted as the *rasa* i.e., the delight produced by *rāga* has a different basis e. g., the *rāga* like *Darbari* which is meant to produce deep and grave effect when employed in slow or medium tempo. But we find a composition in this *rāga* sung in the fast tempo. The *Tāna* patterns would not suit the development of this *rāga*. Then how can we say that this *rāga* produces the particular *rasa* as stated by the musicologists? Thus, while understanding this *rāga-rasa* relation, we have to take into consideration the employment of the tempo also.

Let us consider the case of instrumental music which is without words. The pattern of *rāga* development would be similar to that of the *khyāla*, and it is seen that the emotional effect is experienced by the listener. This may be ascribed to his association with the wording of the *khyāla* which he identifies in his mind.

The last point to be understood is that the effect of *Rāga* music would be either of bright and forceful nature (*Dīpta*) or calm and delicate (*Mrdu*) due to the employment of suitable *Svara*-patterns and tempo. Some musicians are of the view that words are not necessary to develop the effective manifestation of the *rāga*. The charm created by the wording of the *khyāla* employed in slow tempo would not be there in the fast tempo. In the fast tempo, in the *Tāna* patterns, the specific nature of *svara* does not remain exact as it appears in slow tempo. That means the effect of *rāga* music is of a different type. It is both, emotional and intellectual and hence some scholars call this effect as *Gāna-rasa* (the supreme joy of music). In literature also the ultimate effect is stated to be the supreme happiness after experiencing the various emotions delineated in poetry or drama, etc. But in music, the notes employed directly evoke the instantaneous delight even in the absence of words. In literature, the process of understanding the meaning becomes intermediary. In music, the employment of note-patterns helps the emotive content, while the complicated rhythmic-patterns when used skillfully by the artist produce intellectual involvement in the mind of the expert music-lover. The great musicians develop the *rāga* in such a masterly skill that the emotion expressed in the composition of it, is effectively experienced by the appreciative listener.

Notes and References

1. अष्टौ नादेषु रसाः स्मृताः (*Nāṭyaśāstra* - 6.16).
2. रस इति कः पदार्थः । उच्यते-आस्वाद्यमानत्वात् । (*Ibid.* : prose portion in Chapter 6).
3. रसो वै सः । रसं ह्येवायं लब्धवानन्दीभवति । (*Taittirīya Upaniṣad* - 2.7).
4. विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्द्रसनिष्पत्तिः । (*Ibid.*).
5. शुङ्गारहास्यकरुणा रौद्रवीरभयानका : ।
बीभत्साद्भुतसंज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ॥
(*Nāṭyaśāstra* - 6.16).
Abhinavagupta who accepts *Śānta rasa* reads the 2nd line as -
बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च नव नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ॥
6. सषः परनिर्वृतये - (*Kāvyaṣāstra* of Mammaṭa - I.2).
7. षड्जोदीच्यावती चैव षड्जमध्या तथैव च ।
मध्यमपञ्चमवाहून्यात् कार्यौ शुङ्गारहास्ययोः ॥
षाड्जी त्वार्षभी चैव षड्जर्षभग्रहस्वरात् ।
वीररौद्राद्भुतेष्वेते प्रयोज्या गानयोक्तृभिः ॥
निषादांशे च नैषादी गान्यरे षड्जकैशिकी ।

कल्पे च रसे कार्या जातिर्गनिविशादः ॥

धैर्यती धैर्यतांशा च बीभत्से सभयानके । (*Nāṭyaśāstra* - 29.1-4; Calcutta Edition).

8. रञ्जकैः सुरसंदर्भे रागगीतिरुदाहृता ।
(*Bṛhaddeśī* - verse 300).
9. योऽसौ भ्रान्निविशोऽस्तु स्वरवर्णविभूषितः ।
रञ्जको जनचित्तानां स च राग उदाहृतः ॥
(*Ibid.* - verse 281).
10. भ्रुतयः स्युः स्वरभिन्नाः श्रावणत्वेन हेतुना ।
रागाहेतुत्वं एतासां भ्रुतिसंज्ञैव संमता ॥
(*Saṅgītapārijāta* - verses 38, 39).

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REVIEWS

BHOJA AND THE HARIVIJAYA OF SARVASENA, V.M. KULKARNI,
published by Saraswati Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad, 1991, pp. 14+100,
Rs.90/-

This is another remarkable scholarly achievement of Dr. Kulkarni. Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* is the earliest known Prakrit Mahākāvya. Sarvasena was a king of that branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty which ruled over Vidarbha. He flourished in the fourth century A.D. The *Harivijaya* has been highly appreciated by leading critics like Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka and Bhoja. Unfortunately this important poem is lost. From Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* we get considerable information about its plot, contents, character and style. Bhoja has given ample quotations from the *Harivijaya*. Credit goes to Dr. Kulkarni for identifying some 25 verses as definite and 95 verses as likely, citations in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* from the *Harivijaya*.

The latter lot has the same uncertainty about its exact source because the Skandhaka metre, which serves as one of the bases of identification was the metre commonly used in three Mahārāṣṭrī Mahākavyas, viz., the *Harivijaya*, the *Setubandha* of Pravarasena and the lost *Rāvaṇavijaya*. Even so the criteria of style and mode of expression can be helpful in sorting out those verses which can be judged as allied to those which are definitely assignable to the *Harivijaya*.

Identification of the source, however was the first and comparatively easy part of the task undertaken by Kulkarni. The Skandhaka verses he has collected here from the illustrative citations in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* are, like most of the hundreds of other Prakrit citations in that work, textually highly corrupt. Kulkarni, has attempted restoration of their original text. This was, of course a part of his larger, stupendous project of restoring the corrupt text of some more than two thousand Prakrit verses cited from available and non-available sources in the Sanskrit works on Poetics. That project has been completed and the results are published in the two volumes of *The Prakrit Verses in Sanskrit Works on Poetics* (1988, 1990). The present work can be regarded as a sort of supplement to it.

Dr. Kulkarni has stated in the Introduction the principles he has followed in his attempted reconstruction. He has also provided a translation of all the verses, which, besides being helpful in poetic appreciation of the verses, can serve as a means to judge the appropriateness of his restorations.

From Bhoja's observations we get some idea of the creative alterations effected by Sarvasena in the source of the plot of *Harivijaya*, of the topics

of poetic descriptions (city, mountain, seasons like autumn, spring, summer, rains, sunset, the hero, his mount, messenger, army-march, victory, drinking party), and the dominant sentiment (the erotic). From the verses rescued by Kulkarni we can have a glimpse of Sarvasena's high poetic skill in the use of language, in his style (Vaidarbhi) and the depiction of *rasa* .

At many a place Dr. Kulkarni's restoration of the hopelessly corrupt text carries conviction. This has been achieved through imaginative effort combined with a sound knowledge of the conventional style and mode of expression that are characteristic of Sanskrit and Prakrit erotic poetry. Admittedly the restorations are more or less tentative.

A few suggestions with a view to improving the text may be made here :

Part II S. No. 1 : The reading *mā ira* in the Mysore edition is significant. *ira*, Prakrit *kira*, Sanskrit *kila* (See *Siddhahema*, 8.2. 186).

S. No. 12 : The word *rāa* may be emended to *vāa* (Sk. *vāg*) and *attitta* to *alliam* (Sk. *ārdritam*).

S. No. 13 : The words *ullalai lulijjante* in the Mysore edition may be emended to *tullai tullijjante* (Sk. *tolyate tolyamāne*).

S. No. 16 : *Dosa* in the Mysore edition may be emended to *rosa*. Compare *rosa-parāhutta* in the next verse (S. No. 17).

S. No. 21 : The reading *je hīlanti* in the Mysore edition may be emended to *cia hīlanti* (Sk. *eva helante*) instead of *je ahileṅti* as done here.

Further, the following two verses (1) "*Majjha samuhāvarāham*", etc. (Vol. I, S.No. 994, ŚP, p. 987) and (2) "*To ia maṇorahehi vi*" etc. which are in Skandhaka metre and discussed by Kulkarni in Vol. II have been left out in the present monograph. Again the following line from ŚP (Vol. I, p. 234, last but one line) which is cited to illustrate *Pratīka-lakṣaṇā* (here *Saccā* indicates *Satyabhāmā*).

सच्चा अपि (? अत्रि) होइ अइअ-दंसण-तुरीआ (? तुरिआ)
[सत्या अपि भवति अतीत-दर्शन-त्वरिता (?)]

and which is probably from *Harivijaya* , has escaped Kulkarni's attention and consequently has not been included in this monograph. Dr. Kulkarni should have added an Index of Verses at the end of the monograph.

Finally I would like to draw the attention of Prakrit scholars to a problem connected with the Prakrit citations in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. From Dr. Kulkarni's exhaustive listing of these citations we find that at times the same verse is given at two or more places to illustrate particular points. In several cases however, we find that the text of the cited verse is not identical i.e., we have different readings. How to explain this oddity? It seems that the author

had made use of two different MSS. of the same work in which the text of the verses was not quite identical. The MSS. belong to two separate streams. This problem, however, requires to be systematically dealt with as there seems to be a similar case with regard to the Sanskrit citations in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* from known Sanskrit works.

H. C. Bhayani

PURĀNIC CONCEPT OF DĀNA, KALA ACHARYA, published by Nag Publishers, Delhi, pp. 264, Rs.200/-

The work has been divided into ten chapters. The author has traced exhaustively the concept of *Dāna* (gift) from the Vedas, Dharmasūtras, Smṛtis and the Purāṇas. The first chapter forms an introduction in which the author has traced the history of the concept of *dāna* right from the Vedas upto the Purāṇas. Various aspects of *dāna* such as *dāna* for atonement, worthy recipient for a *dāna*, different views about worthy recipient, gifts and their deities, etc. have been discussed. After discussing the different aspects of *dāna* in the introductory chapter, at the end of this chapter the author has given an outline of the following chapters. The following chapters contain detailed information regarding various kinds of gifts, viz. Gift of Food (chap. two), Gift of Cows (chap. three), Gift of Mountains and some other symbolic Gifts (chap. four), Gifts in Worship (chap. five), Gift of Things as well as Beings (chap. six), Royal Gifts (chap. seven), Periodical Gifts (chap. eight), Gifts at the time of Śrāddhas (chap. nine), Résumé and Conclusion (Chap. ten.)

Gift of Food consists of different eatables—sesame, rice boiled in milk, fish, wine, bread, coagulated milk, *modakas*, jaggery, *ghee*, oil, *mudga*, sugar, different types of corn eg. rice, barley, white mustard, wheat, beans mixed with sesame etc.

Gift of Cows consists of symbolic cows such as jaggery-cow, *ghee* cow, sesame-cow, water-cow, honey-cow, sugar-cow, curds-cow and juice-cow. These are symbolic cows and the tenth one is a real live cow.

Gift of Mountains - The mountains to be given as gifts are symbolic. They are mountains of corn, mountain of salt, mountain of jaggery, mountain of gold, mountain of sesame, mountain of cotton, mountain of *ghee*, mountain of silver, mountain of sugar, etc.

Gifts in Worship consist of flowers, sandalwood, incense, camphor, lamp and other offerings of eatables, etc.

Gifts of Things as well as Beings - These consist of a live cow, (a tawny cow), a she-buffalo, a bull, an elephant, a horse, a daughter

(*kanyādānam*), a maid-servant (*dāsīdānam*), golden images of gods and goddesses, gift of land, gift of a house, gift of a *prapā* (a *prapā* is a place where water is distributed to travellers), gift of firebrick, gift of learning, gift of garments, etc.

Royal Gifts consist of *Tulāpuruṣa dāna*, gift of thousand cows, gift of wish-yielding cow, gift of a golden horse, or a golden chariot with horses or elephants, gift of a row of ploughs, etc.

Periodical Gifts are gifts made in different lunar-mansions on different lunar days.

Gifts at the time of Śrāddhas consist of food, grains, cloth, water-pot, wooden sandal, a fan, shoes, umbrella, etc.

The author has collected exhaustive data from the various Purāṇas. The work gives full information on the concept of gifts according to the Purāṇas. The author has rightly pointed out the sympathetic motive underlying the gift of food viz., the generous attitude that nobody should be without food, she has also stated that the religious practice of giving gifts of food shows concern for the needy and the poor in the society. Regarding the *Pūrta-dānas*, the author observes that digging of wells, growing trees and maintaining gardens are supposed to be the responsibilities of the government today. 'But the burden can be shared by the wealthy people in the society as the Purāṇas have taught. Schools, hospitals and tube-wells can today be treated as *pūrta-dāna*. There should have been similar comments on the other gifts also. The topic of *dāna* forms subject-matter of Dharmaśāstra; we, therefore, expect the author to examine the Purāṇic data critically in the light of the scheme of four *Puruṣārthas* and the scheme of four *Āśramas*, and discuss elaborately social, economic and religious significance of the various gifts, instead of making cursory remarks about social and psychological significance of the gifts. The author's critical comments on the data are conspicuous by their absence.

References to various gifts discussed in the earlier chapters have been repeated in the last chapter. These repetitions could have been avoided.

The work is merely an informative treatise on the Purāṇic concept of *Dāna*.

Jaya Chemburkar

A COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF IDEAS, HAZIME NAKAMURA, published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1992, pp i-xx + 572, Rs. 250/-

This is the first Indian edition of the book under review, which was published in 1975. Second edition was published in 1986 by Kegan Paul, London.

In his Preface to the second edition, the author said, "Things should be viewed and discussed on a global scale" as "no event is isolated from other events." Towards this end, "In order to keep conformity, development of ideas in various cultures should be viewed by a single author and then the details be corrected by other scholars specialising in various aspects of human intelligence or in different traditions." This is a perfectly acceptable stand which reflects a pleasing blend of erudition and modesty, markable throughout this book. Though the present study is chiefly focussed on philosophical thought, the author deals with symbols and practices occasionally, which, the author rightly says, are inseparable from it. In conformity with this view, he also touches myths. In the very first chapter, "Myths, Gods and Sacrifice", he proposes that these are closely connected with the early agricultural communities. He discusses the relation between man and God, the efficacy of rituals, the search for the Absolute and the various theories regarding creation from *A-sat*, from *Sat*, from neither *A-sat* nor *Sat*, from Water, Ether, Fire and so on. Here, and in subsequent chapters, he takes the Vedic tradition as the basis for comparative study, followed by other similar traditions within the framework of the "East" and "West", as delineated by himself. Chapter II deals with "The Twilight of the Gods", indicating the rise of Philosophy, as dusk gathers on individual gods. Here we have a comparison between the Upaniṣadic thinkers in ancient Greece, Chinese and others, with sprinklings from Avestan and drops from ancient Egypt, regarding the concept of the Absolute, *Ātman*, Retribution, Rebirth, Transmigration, the development of Heterodoxies and such other topics. Chapter III takes a view of the "Early Universal Religions" with the image of their founders, their lives, their deification and worship, the fundamental attitudes in various religions, Human experience and its aim, principles of Ethics and such other topics. Chapter IV deals with features of medieval thought and allied topics, while Chapter V studies some common features of modern thought and religious attitudes.

The book is greatly useful due to information collected over years of efforts and presented with a comparative slant. We have information from various ancient scholars and travellers, such as Euripides, Isaiah, Megasthenese who compared the views of the "Brahmins" to those of the Greeks and from Genchi Kato on the Shinto, not to mention Confucious and other renowned thinkers.

On Rebirth the author accepts the view of Rhyas Davids that the concepts was borrowed by the Aryans from the Pre-Aryans (p.128). However, nowhere he refers in this connection to the views of R. D. Ranade to the contrary (though his famous book, *A Constructive Survey of the Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, was published as far back as in 1926 with its third print in 1986, while the second in 1968, prior to Nakamura's first edition). It would have been

proper to examine the original expression from the *Rgveda* (X.14.8 *punar astam ehi...tanvā Suvarcāh*) which indicates 'return to the house with a new body'. The author has confined himself – and he has specifically mentioned it – to thoroughly written sources and has totally left out tribal sources and partially documented but important sources even like ancient Egypt except for a stray reference to *Atum* and *Rā* (p.27, n.4). We do not find here the ideas of such people as the Maori or the cultured people like the Aztecs, though sizable information regarding them, their beliefs and rituals, has been available from early twentieth century in published books. He mentions Eliade, Lévi Strauss, Dumézil, Wikander and Duchense-Guilemin (p.26) in the sphere of "Comparative Mythology" in one line and misses the conceptual difference between a myth and Mythology, or between myth and legend (cf. the expression "Creation Myths", but "the legend of the dismemberment of the giant Ymir", "Indian Legend of Fish" etc., p.51,60,67), though the difference has been made by scholars during the many decades prior to the present book. Starting with the proposition that myth and philosophy are closely related, the next natural step is a comment on the status of myth in philosophical speculation. In this context one could say that a myth represents the stage of proto-philosophy. Hence, the germ of philosophical thought does not start, as the author notes, from the dismemberment of the primordial man (*Puruṣa*) parallels of which obtain in many lands, as the author has exemplified. Actually, the start should be from the very Separation of Heaven and Earth, a myth that obtains in the Veda and widely, but is untouched in the present study. So, "when Yin and Yang were not divided" (p.59), they reflect the proto-philosophical stage of the parents being in constant embrace to be divided by some god, their son (Maori Tane, Greek Cronos, Vedic Indra and other gods and so on), the philosophical stage being the concept of the *brahmāṇḍa* (the cosmic egg).

Though the material used is massive and the efforts impressive, at places independent judgement and alertness to chronology appears wanting. Thus, when Prof. Nakamura compares the churning of the ocean by Izanagi and Izanami (the primeval pair) with the Hindu Manu-Fish myth while dealing with creation, he starts from the *Matsya Purāṇa*, goes on to the *Agni Purāṇa* and comes back to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, never mentioning the *Mahābhārata (Ādiparvan)* in this particular context (of churning), obviously as he fixed attention on the 'lance' of Izanagi and the 'horn' of the fish (p.60). But, while in the Japanese myth the lance is used for churning the ocean to create land, the horn of the fish is never so used in the Hindu myth. Hence, the comparison is off the mark. The better way would have been to refer to the churning myth proper with the mountain Mandara. One fails to understand why Nakamura goes to the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* for the tortoise incarnation in the churning myth, leaving the *Mahābhārata (Ādi.)*. And the tortoise does not himself rotate the mountain as he says. It is done by the gods and

the demons. The creature only supports the mountain. Also is questionable his statement, with the reference to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 5.1.2.), that "Having rotated the pillar and churned the ocean the creator, called for this purpose *Prajāpati* (here), creates an offering" (p.60). This is not correct. This is, obviously, because Nakamura takes these similarities from Jean Herbert's book *Shinto at the Fountain-head of Japan*, as he mentions (*ibid.*), It may be noted, that the lance compares with the celestial pole in the ancient Egyptian concept, though devoid of the ocean-churning, and with the cosmic column of Varuṇa in the *R̥gveda* (I.24.7).

In any case the information collected in the book is not only varied but also very interesting. To give certain examples, we have Ajita, wearing a garment of hair (p. 143) compared to the occidental cardinal ximenes keeping his shirt of hair ready (*ibid.* n.5). In the context of creation from Water, the author records a variation from the Orphic cosmogony. Here from the primordial solidified earth and slime, a winged dragon with the faces of a bull and lion appears. A further variation of the same is the addition of huge serpents among other animal-heads. The author takes this information from Zeller, and wants us to compare the concept with Viśvakarman (p.58, n.7). But Viśvakarman is never so described, nor depicted. This reminds us of his remark on Rebirth (referred to earlier) and transmigration, and our comment that it is better to trace the source of a concept or belief. Nakamura says that Pythagoras and even Plato adopted the belief of transmigration from the Orphic order and subscribes to the view that the latter borrowed it from the Oriental thought (p.251). The point is, which Oriental thought if not the Aryan? Should one rely on Rhys Davids (or, for that matter, on Deussen or Oldenberg and Keith)? Or, should one go to the original independently, especially when the author refers to the *R̥gveda* at many places? Likewise, in the context of the Orphic depiction, it is better to take into note, that the motif of these heads, with the addition of the human head and that of an eagle is seen in the vision of Ezekiel (Old Test., Ezekiel, 1.10), who was of the same period as of Pythagoras (6th century B.C.). It may be noted that about Orpheus, the mythical fountain-head of the Orphic cosmogony, there is no reference in Homer, who flourished in the ninth century B.C.. He is first conspicuous in the two-word fragment "famous Orpheus" of the sixth century B.C., poet Ibycus. Going back, we have the record of the throne of king Soloman (tenth century B.C.), which showed the face of a bull and that of lion (Old Test., Kings X.19-20), which would indicate the probability of its being the source of the Orphic motif. But, we may also go back to the Vedic ritual of *Agnicayana* (fire-piling), wherein heads of a man, a horse, a bull and of a serpent or a goat were to be deposited in the lowest layer of the five-layer altar, which was symbolic of the structuring of the cosmos (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā* v.2.9., 2.5, *Sat. Br.* VI.2.1.1ff). This period more or less corresponds to that of Soloman, and,

it may even be earlier. Nakamura presents various comparisons, Democritus and the Jain (p.145) in the context of the 'atom' (*anu*), Meister Eckhart and Śāṅkara, about the Absolute (p.444) and Zen Buddhism (p.417), the conflict between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna on the one hand and Judeo-Christian and the later Christian dogmas on the other (p.371ff) and similar tendencies in Islam (p.38 ff). The whole effort is illuminating. However, one feels, independent judgement has been waiting in the wings in important cases.

Sadashiv A. Dange

VEDALAKṢAṆA - VEDIC ANCILLARY LITERATURE, PARAMESWAR AITHAL, published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1993. (First published by the South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University, Stuttgart, 1991), pp. vi+755, Rs. 750/-

This is a descriptive bibliography of the *Vedalakṣaṇa* works. '*Vedalakṣaṇa*' is the name for a class of the Vedic traditional literature, which is mostly preserved in oral tradition in South India. Most of these works are available in manuscript form only. Hence scholars have taken very little interest in them. Only a few scholars have published stray articles on topics from this literature. In the books on History of Sanskrit Literature, these texts are just referred to in passing. Compilers of descriptive catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts have not shown much interest in them. Excepting a few scholars like Prof. Renou and Prof. K.V. Abhyankar, modern scholars also have not shown interest in this class of literature. Though some of these texts have been published since the 19th century they have gone mostly unheeded and there is often a confusion regarding the authorship, titles and extent of these texts. Dr. Aithal has prepared this bibliography taking care to avoid all such confusion.

During the Vedic rituals the oral tradition alone is accepted as authoritative. Therefore the *Vedalakṣaṇa* literature uses some peculiar methods and devices for preservation of the traditional teaching of the recitation of these texts. It is well-known that the indigenous tradition of the Vedic recitation is becoming extinct. Hence for a proper study of the Vedic recitation, the *Vadalakṣaṇa* works are indispensable. They are also important for understanding the various methods and devices used in the traditional teaching. Efforts must be made to preserve this literature. Dr. Aithal has rendered a very valuable service to this literature by publishing this exhaustive and comprehensive bibliography. He has taken immense trouble for preparing it. The bibliography covering 653 pages gives details of more than 1600 titles. He has collected information about these works by visiting nearly 35 libraries in India and abroad. He has also gathered material from private libraries in possession of different individuals and different religious centres. He has not missed even different

Government reports published at different times.

The material includes (1) Works on Vedic phonology, phonetics and grammar, (2) Anukramaṇīs, (3) Works containing lists of words, having peculiar characteristics in the Vedic literature and (4) Works mainly dealing with various modes of recitation.

While presenting this bibliography he begins by giving 'Abbreviations with Bibliographical Notes' which has taken 37 pages. For this purpose the material has been classified as below:-

- I - Catalogues of manuscripts.
- II - Catalogues of printed books.
- III - Bibliographies and other works.

He has also added a list of abbreviations used for the various libraries.

Then follows his exhaustive descriptive bibliography. He has given such a comprehensive information that even for the *Atharvaveda* it has taken nearly 10 pages. The method of presentation, as explained by him in his Introduction (pages 18, 19) is indeed very meticulous and perfect.

(1) If the manuscript of a work is found under different titles in different catalogues, all such titles have been brought together;

(2) After the title follow the author's name—of course wherever possible, and a brief description of the nature and contents of the work;

(3) For identification of the text extracts from its beginning and its end as found in unpublished works have been given;

(4) All details of the manuscripts available at various libraries have been given very scrupulously. The bibliography mentions the Serial number, Accession-number, Call-number, Shelf-mark, etc. If the material for the manuscript is other than paper, it is clearly indicated. Similarly, if the script is other than Devanāgarī, that too has been mentioned. Other details like the date of the manuscript, name of the copyist, name of the owner, etc. have been provided wherever possible;

(5) Similar details have been given for printed editions of the texts also, mentioning even the availability of the work in particular libraries, and giving the number of the book in the library;

(6) References to Catalogue Catalogum and New Catalogue Catalogum also have been given.

The Appendix at the end contains a verse-index in Devanāgarī of the metrical passages cited.

No wonder Dr. Aithal's bibliography has become exceptionally comprehensive, exhaustive and useful. A few examples will make this clear:

For (92) *Avarṇi - prakaraṇa* there are 4 entries (92-95) running over nearly 3 pages.

For (168) *Īṅya-ratna* there are three entries (168-170), (168) alone covering a page.

Ṛgvidhāna (360) has 6 entries (260-265) the information running over 7 pages.

(595) *Jaṭā - paṭala*, with 5 entries (595-599) occupies more than 10 pages.

The title (1187) *Vedalakṣaṇa* has taken 6 pages.

The book is an excellent contribution to Sanskrit Vedic literature. It should inspire research scholars to bring out critical editions of different *Vedalakṣaṇa* texts and to carry on research on various aspects of this literature.

G. V. Davane

LIFE AND CULTURE OF MATRILINEAL TRIBE OF MEGHALAYA,
PRANAB K. DAS GUPTA, published by Inter-India Publications, New
Delhi - 110015, pp. 210+38 illustrations.

The monograph, sponsored by the Anthropological Survey of India, is a descriptive account of the War Khasi matrilineal tribe of the southern slopes of Meghalaya. The author had done the field-work in 1956-58, but could not complete the writing even in 1980. During his second visit to Shella village of the War Khasis, he finds it radically changed (pp. 171-173) during the nearly quarter century of his absence from the sites of his field-work. When the author began his field-work, Meghalaya was non-existent as an independent state. It attained its full-fledged statehood on 21st of January 1972.

This study of the War Khasis embraces various facets of the tribe's life and culture, like family, clan, marriage, divorce, kinship, rules of inheritance, land-holding, customs and practices associated with birth and death-rites with the superstitions attached (pp. 78-138). Interesting light is thrown on their village administration with its judicial unit (pp. 139-150). Popular beliefs in divine spirits, folk tales, charms against evil spirits, religious beliefs and practices, indigenous medicine and treatment of diseases, are other cultural aspects of the War Khasis described in the monograph (pp. 154-170). In brief, the author seeks to demonstrate how the matrilineal, endogamous War Khasis, despite their occasional similarities with the Khasi tribe as such, are different in dialect, social customs and manners and administrative organisation.

Shella village is situated on the steep slope of the hill. There is no plan

in the arrangement of huts. But all the huts run from south-east to north-west in their lengths, i.e., at right angles to the direction of the slope. The author writes, "It is *sang* or taboo to construct a hut in a different way" (p. 23). It is further stated on pp. 52-53 that "Organised group-hunting which used to be done by the War Khasis from time to time, has become obsolete in most of the villages." "In olden days", continues the author, "large scale hunting expeditions used to be organised in the nearby jungles with gun, bow and arrow and spear, and assisted by trained dogs. Before the expedition the Lyngdoh or village priest selects an auspicious date by divination through egg-breaking and by sacrificing cocks to the deities or spirits for good luck and favour". (p. 53) "Last organised hunting carried on by the people of Shella was in the year 1954", writes the author, "in the month of May". "No egg-breaking or cock sacrifice was done." (p. 53) "The traditional tribal music and dance have almost faded out." (p. 64)

While describing the meals and eating customs of the War Khasis, the author states : "Before taking the first morsel they pray to the supreme deity *U Trai Kynrad*. The Hinduised War Khasis pray to Ramakrishna and the Christian to Jesus Christ" (p. 70). According to village regulation, War Khasis of Shella cannot dispose of any immovable property to an outsider and no outsider can construct any structure within the village without the prior permission of the village council. In Shella market, most of the shops are run by the people other than the War Khasis of Shella clearly indicating their dislike or lack of aptitude in business." (p. 75)

It is very interesting to know that though the monograph is entitled "Life and Culture of Matrilineal Tribe of Meghalaya", it is stated on page 78 : "The authority in the management of family rests on the wife, but the role and position of a husband in the family are not insignificant in spite of the matrilineal and matrilineal set-up." "Among the War Khasis, the residence after marriage is matrilineal. After marriage, the husband comes to live with his wife in his mother-in-law's house. Children of both sexes inherit the parental property in equal share except the youngest daughter who gets the parental house where she lives with her husband and children and her parents."

"In Shella among the Hinduised War Khasis, the wife shows respect to her husband by touching his feet... on account of Christian and Hindu influence. Their traditional mode of showing respect was by touching the forehead with right hand and bending the head" (p. 84). However, "Descent among the War Khasis is matrilineal and a child is affiliated to the mother's clan". (p. 88)

Among the Khasis proper, the clan members are bound together by the religious tie of ancestor-worship in common and a common clan sepulchre. Among them a very large proportion of land is also the property of the

clan... and the youngest daughter... holds the obligation of performing the religious ceremonies of the clan. This common clan land is a strong binding force for the clanmates among the Khasis proper and this is replaced by a common *Seng* land among War Khasi. *Seng* is a cognatic group consisting of male and female members descended from a common ancestor or ancestress whether through males or females... Among the Khasi proper, clan is matrilineal and exogamous and all movable and immovable property, devolves in the female line, i. e., property passes from mother to daughter, debarring sons. So, the collective proprietary right on an undivided ancestral land is held by the members belonging to the clan of that ancestress. But among the War Khasis although the descent is matrilineal like the Khasi proper, children of both sexes inherit parental property, so, as clan exogamy is the rule, undivided land of an ancestor or ancestress does not become the property of a particular clan but belongs to all the members who have descended from that ancestor or ancestress irrespective of clan." (p. 89)

The War Khasis are divided into a number of clans. Marriage within the same clan is prohibited.

Though adultery, barrenness, disease or insanity, are the main causes of divorce, the book under review states "that if a wife has sex relation with another person, whether willingly or not, she cannot live with her husband again," there being "a belief that if they do so the husband will die soon" (p. 102). However, describing the rules of inheritance it mentions : "Though monogamy is practised by the War Khasis and one cannot take a second spouse when the first is alive or divorce has not been effected, the children born out of extramarital union are not deprived of inheriting the property of their both parents. There is no concept," the monograph continues, "of illegitimate issue and the children are not to suffer for the breach or violation of the social sanction by their begetter". (p. 111, Cf. p. 114)

According to the tribal belief, women conceived due to the will "*Hukum*" of the "Creator of mankind" or "*Traikynrad*." But at present, "the educated people know the biological reasons of pregnancy and conception" (p. 124). Long before the arrival of Christian and Hindu immigrants, the War Khasis believed in various guardian spirits and divinities of family, clan, river, village, forest, chicken pox, hunting, fishing, etc. But with the impact of different racial and cultural strains coming from time to time with missionary or economic motives, have infused elements of non-Khasi cultures and have changed not only their traditional religious ceremonies and rituals and belief-systems, but also thrown out of vogue their habits and customs.

The first occasion of the European entry into the hill abode of the Khasi tribe was in April 1824 when David Scott, the British Governor General's agent on the frontier, marched through the Khasi Hills from Sylhet to Assam.

From 1841 to about 1905, the Christian Missions converted around 25000 Khasis to Christianity, established nearly 350 schools in the hills with 7000 pupils (p. 162). The Khasi students sang in the Khasi language, the following song taught by the Missionaries of the Ramkrishna Mission :

“Oh ! Our Mother India
 You have given birth to us all
 We all the Indian like brothers
 Will serve you
 We give all our body and soul
 At your feet – dear mother.” (p. 196)

The song taught by the Presbyterian Church, sung by them was –

“We have come in the name of You Oh ! Father
 The Son and Holy Spirit
 Save us and teach us also
 To be yours upto the end of life.” (p. 202)

The author describes another radical change in the economy of the War Khasis after Independent India.

“From the earliest days of British rule”, according to the monograph under review, “the quarries of Shella formed one of the principal attractions of Sylhet and drew the Europeans to establish a trade on limestone” (p. 49) and “this village accumulated considerable wealth with this trade” (p. 49). But who shared the wealth ?

Shella limestone is exported by boat, and every day between 150 and 300 boats ply between Shella and Bangladesh border. Each boat carries one tonne of limestone. “There are six exporters (all War Khasis of Shella)”, according to the author of the monograph, “who purchase the limestone from suppliers (seven in number and all are War Khasis of Shella) and export to Chattak” (p. 51). The importers of Bangladesh arrange for the transport solely run by the Muslim boatmen of Sylhet who own the boats. Even voyage from Shella to Bangladesh border cost Rs. 4 per boat in 1956, but in 1981 each boat charged Rs. 100/- in Bangladesh currency from the importers. About 500 men and women worked daily in the lime quarries, of whom 300 were Garos and the rest were War Khasis and Bengali Hindus (p. 51). Blasting and breaking of stones were done by men while women carried the limestone from the quarry to the river with the help of carrying baskets. The charges for carrying limestone from quarry to the river was Rs. 1.80 per tonne in 1956, but Rs. 6/- to Rs 8/- in 1981. One could carry about 3 tonnes of limestone a day (p. 51). In the Shella village there was a Post and Telegraph Office, a police station, a bank, double or treble storied *pucca* houses with electricity, and buses, jeeps and trucks speeding across busy roads.

The author of this descriptive account, being himself a part of the administrative system of Indian Government – Regional Officer of the Anthropological Survey of India in the North East Region – seems to gloat over the gigantic leap of the matrilineal War Khasis of Meghalaya from a tribal clan enjoying full freedom of the forest habitat with its rightful products, to an industrialised society disintegrated within itself by a cut-throat competition in the accumulation of huge wealth by fair or fowl means. The author, however, does not realise the tremendous cost paid by the War Khasi tribe, like any other tribe, for this change.

For almost two centuries now, Indian tribal communities have been facing the collective onslaught of the disruptive, proselytizing Christian missionaries, of the outsider exploiters, and of the foreign models of economic development. Successive governments and other vested interests have eroded the humane tribal relationship and converted natural forest-woods into commodities. Tribal traditions and customs were gradually rendered meaningless and sometimes consciously destroyed. In the War Khasis, the clan played a dominant role, but gradually there has been an increasing trend towards privatization of community land. This process of land alienation has led to inequity in land-holding and to the rise of agricultural labourers and share-croppers with the eventual concentration of land in few hands.

By early 1950 sufficient damage was caused to forest economy due to clearing of forest-land for cultivation. In 1952, tribals were placed under the control of the Forest Department, reducing their rights and privileges to mere concessions. A large number of tribals were displaced from their forest habitat when heavy industries, with their insatiable appetite for natural resources, were established in their home-land, during the first decade of Indian independence. This led to the erosion of the subsistence system of the tribal community. No viable alternative for their shifting cultivation involving burning of forests had been provided. Many tribals were forced to work in slums and cities as labourers, coolies and prostitutes. Those who did not migrate, faced starvation or helped in the smuggling of timber from the reserved forests for a meagre cash. They have been devastating the ecology and digging their own grave.

The National Forest Policy has been adversely affecting the existing pattern of tribal life. Yet deforestation has been going on due to high demand for timber and the use of forests for shifting cultivation. And it was estimated that around 1,500,000 people have been dependent on shifting cultivation. In Meghalaya alone the percentage of population dependent on shifting cultivation has been 34%. There has been also a sharp rise in the number of landless tribals, as more and more land was being taken over by the government for reserved forests, plantation crops, road and rail net-works as “development projects.” Apart from the growing pressure of population

on land, the savage destruction of forests with indiscriminate felling of trees, by ruthless forest contractors, avaricious timber merchants and power-hungry political leaders, has also been going on. Tribals, even today, are becoming more and more hostile to the government policy of taking forest-land under its management. Even after half-a-century of Independence, we have no policy of a legislation that takes responsibility of those tribals forcibly displaced, mostly in the name of development.

With the disappearance of forest and wild life, the tribals practising gathering and hunting, have declined by nearly 50%; those subsisting on trapping of birds and animals, by 55%; those engaged in pastoral activities, by around 35%, and those in shifting cultivation by 35%.

Instead of respecting the distinctive cultural identity of the tribals and respecting them as rightful Indian citizens, their movements and protests are being repressed, thousands of them falsely implicated and reduced to criminals on their own lands, and their activists killed. Even Khasi women who were never estranged from their natal homes and continued to live with their matrilineal kin, have been treated as mere labourers working on meagre wages in the forests. These factors have resulted in the rise of movements for autonomy in the North-East. The Bodo accord, for example, has recently been overshadowed by the renewed threats posed by the ULFA, the NSCN and other rebel outfits. The bloody ethnic clashes in Manipur, between the warring Kuki and Naga tribes, also reflect the failure of the government in solving the tribal problems of the North-East. In fact, no other region in India today is as ethnically diverse as the North-East.

Dr. Pranab K. Das Gupta, the author of *Life and Culture of Matrilineal Tribe of Meghalaya*, which is one of the *Tribal Studies of India Series* T-113 seems to have missed this perspective of the sufferings of the Indian tribals, including those of Meghalaya, in his work written with a bias-perspective.

The book is full of typographical errors and repetitions *ad nauseam*, indicating that the monograph has been either written and printed in great haste, or the author seems to have been careless in writing. It is, however, a descriptive pioneering work on the culture of the tribal War Khasis, which, I am sure, would evoke interest among readers as well as researchers, and students of sociology and social anthropology, based, as it is, on field-work, as a source material.

L. B. Kenny

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE JAINAS, VIRCHAND GANDHI,
 edited by Nagin J. Shah, published by Lalit C. Shah, Trustee, Jain
 International, Navrangpura, Ahmedabad - 380014, 1993, pp. 232, Rs.
 80/-

World's Parliament of Religions was held at Chicago in 1893 A.D. V.R. Gandhi was an exponent of Jainism at this first Parliament. His lectures on Jainism and Jain Philosophy, delivered at this Parliament, were collected and published in two books entitled *The Jaina Philosophy* (1910 and 1924) and *The Karma Philosophy* (1913 and 1924). The present publication is a part of the Centenary Celebrations of that first Parliament. Dr. N.J. Shah, who is an eminent scholar of Jainism and Indian Philosophy, has from these lectures selected passages and arranged them in the present book in such a manner as to give a connected, consistent and systematic account of the Jain Philosophy and religion. He has added at appropriate places headings and sub-headings to indicate the point under discussion.

The present book is divided into four parts. Part I - Chapter 1 deals with 'Cultural Environment' : antiquity of Indian civilization and the Vedas, social status of early Hindus, moral status of the Hindus' life, its object and laws according to Hindus, six systems of philosophy, essential principles of Hinduism and essentials of Buddhism and thus prepares the ground for a proper understanding and appreciation of the Jain philosophy and religion (pp.3-39).

Part II (consisting of Chapters 2 to 7) explains the essentials of Jain Philosophy. Chapter 2 presents bare outlines of the fundamentals of Jainism : nine principles, six substances, six kinds of living beings, four states of existence, transmigration, *Karma* and Jain ethics. Chapter 3 treats of the Jain conception of reality and knowledge. Chapter 4 treats of the Jain conception of soul. Chapter 5 deals with the Jain view of the universe, chapter 6, with the Jain view of God and Chapter 7 with Jain symbolism (pp.43-95).

Part III (consisting of Chapters 8 to 16) is devoted to the exposition of the unique Jain theory of *Karma*. It treats of the nature of *Karma*, relation between soul and *Karma*, and eightfold classification of *Karma*, the causes of *Karma*, sub-divisions of the eight types of Karma : 1. *Jñānāvaraṇīya* (knowledge-obscuring), 2. *darśanāvaraṇīya* (faith-obscuring), 3. *vedanīya* - 4. *mohaniya* - 5. *āyuh* - 6. *nāma* - 7. *gotra* - and 8. *antarāya karma* (pp.99-142).

Part IV (consisting of only one Chapter i. e., Chapter 17) is devoted to the exposition of the 14 *guṇa-sthānas* which represent various stages of spiritual development (pp. 145-228). Incidentally, it may be noted here that the position of the subject 'Sixth Stage of Development' and onwards

(pp. 222-228), which was left unwritten by Gandhi owing to his ill-health, is completed by the editor, Dr. N. J. Shah.

The 'Contents' are prefaced with a useful Introduction (pp.5-24) and a Table of Contents (pp. 25-32) by Dr. N.J. Shah, the editor. At the end is added an Appendix very briefly dealing with 'Contribution of Jainism to Literature and Progress' (pp.229-232).

Part I reveals V.R.Gandhi's deep love for our Indian culture. His treatment of the *pañca-mahā-yajñas* (five great sacrifices), by performing which animal man becomes human is indeed very instructive. He points out that according to the Jain conception of reality both the substance (*dravya*) and its modes (*pariyāyas*) are real. He compares this view with that of Vedānta which regards *Pariyāyas*, modes as unreal. He deals with the method of analysis (*nayavāda*) and synthesis (*syādvāda*) of the Jains and answers Sāṅkarācārya's criticism of *Syādvāda*. He puts forward forceful and cogent arguments in favour of rebirth and transmigration. He explains the Jain view of God. The Jains do not believe in a God who is a creator of the world. According to them, a perfected soul is a God and there could be any number of such Gods. The Vedic Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains agree on the conception that each *Karma* (action) entails its fruit, it is the Jain thinkers however who have given deep thought to and studied it minutely from various points of view. They have developed the *Karma* theory in all its aspects in their works dealing with the doctrine of *Karma*. The conception of 14 *Guṇasthāna*'s as expounded by the Jains, though appears new, has some parallel in the stages of spiritual development mentioned in the yoga system.

The work under review reveals V.R. Gandhi's non-sectarian approach, his insight into the essentials of religion, his sound knowledge of other systems of Indian philosophy, his close acquaintance with Western philosophy and as stated earlier, his love for our culture.

It is an excellent handbook of the Jain religion and philosophy.

Dr. N.J. Shah, who has ably edited the work and prefaced it with his valuable Introduction deserves our warm congratulations for adding this splendid treatise, based on V.R. Gandhi's enlightening lectures, to the existing literature in English on Jain religion and philosophy.

V. M. Kulkarni

STUDIES IN THE DHARMAŚĀSTRA, S. G. MOGHE, published by Ajanta Publications, Ajanta Books International, Delhi-110007, 1991, pp. viii+285, Rs. 325/-

The work under review is a collection of thirty-five articles of Dr. Moghe.

some of them were already published in Oriental Research Journals, some others have been accepted for publication and still others have been specially written for the purpose of the present book. These articles clearly fall under two recognisable groups. The first twenty-five articles deal with Dharmaśāstra proper, whereas the last nine with Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. The 26th article, which divides the two groups, reviews Dr. Kane's contribution to the study of Dharmaśāstra. The first group covers topics like Relation of the Gṛhyasūtras, of Kāmaśāstra, and of Āyurveda to Dharmaśāstra; *Budha-Smṛti*, *Rṣyaśṛṅga Smṛti* Restored; the *Vyāghrasmṛti*, the Date of Kullūkabhaṭṭa, of Govinda Svāmī, Medhātīhi as an Etymologist, Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, Dāna Section of the Dharmaśāstra, etc. These articles are in a sense independent of each other. They are only connected by the general thread of the comprehensive Dharmaśāstra title.

The Second group deals with topics like Citations from Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra by Mallinātha and Citations from Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra in Alarṅkāraśāstra and Astrology, interpretations of some particular *sūtras* of Kauṭīliya, a note on the word Kākiṇī, etc.

In a review like this, it is simply not possible to evaluate the various articles individually. One can only draw particular attention to some noteworthy points and make some general observations. Some of the articles, e.g. S.Nos. 2 and 3 are of interdisciplinary nature, as they discuss the interrelation between Kāmaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra, and between Āyurveda and Dharmaśāstra. Dr. Moghe's critical edition of *Budha-Smṛti* and his restoration of *Rṣyaśṛṅga-Smṛti* following the model set forth by Dr. Kane in his restoration of *Śāṅkha-Likhita-Dharma-Sūtra* (S.Nos. 7 & 8), relate to textual criticism. In his article on "Relation of Kāmaśāstra to Dharmaśāstra", he observes – "MM. Dr. P.V. Kane in his monumental 'History of Dharmaśāstra' has forgotten to deal with this topic at full length" (p.13) and he undertakes to do some justice to this subject in this article. In his article on the *Vyāghra-Smṛti* he complains: "the *Vyāghra-Smṛti* appears to have been neglected by MM. D (? Dr.) P.V. Kane in his monumental 'History of Dharmaśāstra'.... (p. 81) and draws our attention to his critical editions of this *Smṛti*. Keeping these and some other things like 'fresh interpretation.... development of Dharmaśāstra thoughts etc., in mind, he claims in his Preface (p.vii) that he has filled up some of the gaps in the work of MM. Dr. P.V. Kane. To a dispassionate reader this claim might appear to be a little exaggerated.

In the article S.No. 26 Moghe attempts to assess in brief Kane's contribution to the domain of Dharmaśāstra. In his articles on Citations from the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra in the Commentaries of Mallinātha and in Alarṅkāra Śāstra and Astrology he points out how these secondary sources are of supreme importance for a truly critical edition of *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* and observes that Kangle 'does not appear to have consulted these sources' as aid for his critical

edition of the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* (p.229).

Dr. Moghe holds with Dr. Kane that the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* forms an integral part of Dharmaśāstra (p.vii) possibly unaware of the fact that Kane's view now stands rejected by R.C. Hazra. He is a very keen scholar of Dharmaśāstra and Pūrvamūnānsā. He has rightly placed before himself as his ideal Dr. Kane "who was admired for his great achievement, has colossal industry and boundless patience, his critical scholarship and unflinching devotion to Sanskrit learning." While surveying and incidentally evaluating Kane's contribution to Dharmaśāstra Moghe frankly declares : "He has derived ample inspiration from the voluminous works of Dr. Kane for various research papers contributed by him and will continue to receive the same." (p. 215)

Dr. Moghe's industry and devotion to the subject of Dharmaśāstra and Pūrvamūnānsā deserve to be commented. His critical approach to any problem of Dharmaśāstra or Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya is admirable. When criticising senior scholars he prefers to make veiled digs at them (see pp. 37-38, p. 176, p. 228, p. 248, p. 250 and p. 257), without quite realising that their position cannot be as vulnerable.

It is indeed unfortunate that about every page of this book has been disfigured by errors in printing and utter disregard of diacritical marks. The text in Devanāgarī script too is badly printed (see, for example pp. 57, 60, 63, 78, 79). Occasionally, we meet with spelling mistakes and wrong use of articles. By way of example a few of them may be pointed out here:

- p. 1 - (They remain) 'contended' for 'contented'.
- p. 28 - 'as per example' for 'as for example.'
- p. 42 - 'odiom' for 'odium'.
- p. 112 - 'He appears to have lead' for 'led (a long life).'
- p. 172. '(as slightly earlier to) the another (commentator)' for 'the other (commentator).'
- p. 175 - '(to whom) the guest is near' for 'dear.'
- p. 187 - 'they do not have the partience' for 'patience to make.'
- '*the* (a)' for 'thorough study....'
- p. 224 - 'the word is quite assential' for 'essential.' On the dust cover we read : 'Prof. H.D. Valankar' for 'Velankar.' On p. 39 we read: 'giving the glossary of the vocabulary of the words.' What the author wants to say is not clear.

These things somewhat detract from the real merit of the author's work.

It would have been only proper, if the author had added a list of articles that have been already published and of articles that have been accepted for publication in an appendix at the end.

Notwithstanding these deficiencies, Dr. Moghe's work is a valuable contribution to the critical literature on Dharmaśāstra. It is hoped that students of Dharmaśāstra will warmly welcome these studies.

V. M. Kulkarni

EASTERN APPROACHES, ESSAYS ON ASIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY,
edited by T.S. MAXWELL, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992, pp.
xii & 252, Figs. 29, Plates 80, Rs. 415/-

Eastern Approaches is dedicated to Professor Klaus Fischer, to commemorate the inauguration of his professorship in the Department of Oriental Art History, University of Bonn in 1967. It is a collection of twenty-two essays contributed by eminent Indian and Western scholars of Asian art, architecture and archaeology. The topics dealt with range from Mongolia to Central Asia, from Bactro-Gandhara to the Indian subcontinent, and spanning 2,000 years from the sixth century B.C.

The subject areas indicate Mediterranean contact with the north-western Indian frontiers, including the return voyage of Alexander's admiral, Nearchos, along the Makran coast, bringing the reader into Asia from the west. According to W. Vogelsang, the exact location of Gandharans, Bactrians and Scythians in sixth century B.C. remains unknown, but the Achaemenid sources seem to indicate that they lived near Bactria, and probably to the east of it. The *Indike* of Arrian gives the account of Nearchos' voyage and distances covered by the stages of the voyage.

G. Gnoli discusses the Greek concept of the city-goddess (*nagara-devatā*) in the Buddhist art of Gandhara. In the article on Genealogy of the Buddha Doris Srinivasan devotes almost two pages to the genealogy of Vṛṣṇi and Kṛṣṇa which was unnecessary. Marianne Yaldiz's article on a Buddhist Mural from Qizil, Chinese Central Asia is iconographically very interesting. Bautze-Picron describes a Buddha image from Kurkihar, preserved at the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

P.K. Agrawala deals with the headless Nude Goddess and her identification. He tries to find missing links from the recent discovery from Inamgaon. However, he does not refer to R.C. Dhere's book on *Lajjā - Gaurī* (1978) in Marathi, as well as R. Nagaswamy's article "From Aditi to Kuṇḍalinī", in Pupul Jaykar Felicitation Volume. Recently Carol Radcliffe Bolon has published a book *Forms of the Lajja Gauri in Indian Art*, Pennsylvania, 1992. J.C. Harle discusses

two early Indian metal images and opines that they were made for household worship or as votive offerings. H. Härtel gives step-by-step development in the iconographic formula of the early goddess Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī illustrating examples in stone and terracotta. B.N. Mukherjee discusses the image and concept of the goddess Kālī through examples of Pāla-Sena sculptures from eastern India. The demons of the Kulu Valley are brought to light by the writing from Gabriele Jettmar Thakur – a long time resident of Manali. An interesting essay by Veronika Veit deals with the auspicious marks of a horse for its master.

B.B. Lal shows how stratigraphy helps in dating a three-eyed terracotta head from Srīngaverapura to the first century A.D. P.K. Agrawala has brought to our notice a rare Gandhara statue of Skanda with cock and peacock preserved in Berlin Museum. N.P. Joshi draws our attention to *deva-pattas* where city - goddess (*nagara-devatā*) re-emerges in the study of medieval stelae from north India. Plate Nos. in the text should be 46 to 50 and not from 45 to 49. Devangana Desai examines the role of Śaiva Tāntric system in images and their placement in the architecture of Kandariyā Mahādeva temple at Khajuraho. Maxwell critically analyses the aesthetic and philosophic background and iconographic features of a Viṣṇu image from Bhusawar. The more correct identification of this image ought to have been Vaikuṇṭha Caturānana as mentioned in Śilpa texts and not Viśvarūpa as suggested by Maxwell.

Anand and Naval Krishna deal with Kṛṣṇa-līlā in a Bikaneri line-drawing of c.A.D. 1725. This is the only article in this book without a bibliography. Joachim Bautze discusses an illustrated Dhola-Maru manuscript from Nagaur of seventeenth century.

The last three articles cover Indo-Islamic city and tomb architecture and its ornamentation which are described and examined in historical perspective. George Michell illustrates his article with special architectural drawings of Firozabad. Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath shows that the Makli Hill necropolis originated from the clusters of tombs built around the graves of saints situated in three places: in the area north of Section 3, in Section 3 and in the middle of Section 2. Taj Ali describes the tombs in the Lal Mahra Sharif cemetery which are the earliest extant monuments of their kind in Pakistan dated to the eleventh-twelfth centuries.

Many of the ancient buildings, sculptures and paintings are discussed in this book for the first time and all the texts and figures are original contributions specially prepared for this Volume. In these pages the reader touches the world of Greek, Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim cultures in India, where there is continuity of tradition in modern times.

This prestigious publication is a worthy presentation to Profesor Klaus Fischer, whom the reviewer had met several years ago at the Prince of Wales

Museum, Bombay. For students of Asian studies with their interest in the many branches of knowledge, exploration and scholarship, this publication will be a source of inspiration. Exhaustive notes, Bibliographies and indexes enhance the value of this book.

B. V. Shetti

THE MYTH OF SAINT THOMAS AND THE MYLAPORE SHIVA TEMPLE,

ISHWAR SHARAN 1991, published by VOICE OF INDIA, New Delhi 110002, pp.68, Rs. 15/-

This short book, as the title indicates, purports to throw some light on the Church of Saint Thomas and the Mylapore Shiva Temple. The author has presented his own view of both these, in just 20 pages and has added Appendices, running over other 48 pages, which contain articles by C.A. Simon, Swami Tapasyananda, Harry Miller and two articles of the author himself. These also indicate certain legal documents in support of the various contentions. The book, however, is lacking in marshalling strong historical evidence in support of the myth of Saint Thomas. Even among Christians, there is no unanimity about the visit of St. Thomas. As regards the temple of Shiva in Mylapore, the author mainly depends on the couplet by poet Jñānasambandar (6th century A.D.), which mentions that "The Lord of Kapaleeswaram sat watching the people of Mylapore, a place full of flowering coconut palms, taking ceremonial bath in the sea on the full-moon day of the month of Masi."

But this is after all a poetic description and has to be reckoned as such. It cannot substantiate that the original temple was on seashore. Another poet, Tirumangayya Alwar, a contemporary of Jñānasambandar, describes Tirukannapuram wherein he says that the waves of the sea touched the ramparts of the temple. But the actual sea was twelve miles away from the said temple. So Jñānasambandar's couplet need not be taken as a strong evidence about the position of the Shiva Temple in Mylapore.

The author has, however, collected a good evidence of Portuguese Missionary activities which were in no way less iconoclastic than those of Muslim invaders, in the course of centuries. Their intolerance of the indigenous Hindu deities was also well-known.

The author has taken pains to collect the information with regard to these two religious places and made it available to the common man. He deserves to be congratulated for his endeavour.

K. K. A. Venkatachari

MORE STUDIES IN SANSKRIT SĀHITYA-ŚĀSTRA, V.M.KULKARNI,
published by Saraswati Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad, 1993, pp. 211,
Rs. 250/-

The book under review is a collection of Dr. V.M. Kulkarni's research papers relating to Sanskrit Literary Criticism and Aesthetics. As the title indicates, it is a work complementary to his earlier *Studies In Sanskrit Sāhitya - Śāstra*.

Professor Kulkarni has covered a variety of subjects such as the Sanskrit Theory of Beauty, the topic of Rasa and its nature, location, the topic of Dhvani, etc. He is very clear in his understanding and exposition of these two major concepts in Sanskrit Poetics. He has discussed the dual nature of *Sāttvikabhāvas* very critically referring to the views of Masson and Patwardhan. He has critically examined Abhinava's position and taken note the views of later *Ālamkārikas*. The treatment bears testimony to Dr. Kulkarni's indepth study of the original works on *alamkāra* and to his critical judgement. His critical examination of *prthak alamkāratva* bears out his first-hand knowledge of the works of such giants such as Jayaratha, Śobhākara and Jagannātha. In his assessment of Rajaśekhara Kulkarni has taken him to task for his unjustifiable claim of being the first to discuss the four types of Plagiarism. Dr. Kulkarni is quite forthright in pointing out how Rajaśekhara has bodily lifted passages on the subject from the writings of Ānandavardhan!

While dealing with Hemacandra and *alamkāra* tradition and *rasa* tradition Dr. Kulkarni takes care to refute Kosambi's criticism whom he could rather have ignored. Actually Hemacandra, his disciples Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, Narendraprabha, Guṇaratha, Siddhicandra, and the brilliant Abhinavagupta were all yogis, and we may add the name of the authors of 'Future Poetry' and 'Sāvitrī' - Sri Aurobindo, to these. It requires a yogi's detachment to enjoy poetry and for becoming a true *sahṛdaya*.

Dr. Kulkarni has also considered the charge of plagiarism levelled against Hemacandra. He could have quoted to support his plea from Abhinavagupta also who holds that in Śāstra originality lies in presenting the older stuff in newer lights - "*pūrva-pratiṣṭhāpita-yojanāsu mūla-pratiṣṭhā-phalam āmananti.*" Kulkarni rightly evaluates Hemacandra's invaluable services. He has in a separate paper also shown how critics such as Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka and the rest have talked of Kālidāsa in general and Abhijñāna - Śākuntala in particular. He has rightly denounced the stand taken by certain modern critics, who have unfairly attacked Kālidāsa. It may also be observed that it was not the practice of Sanskrit *ālamkārikas* to write critical appreciation of a given work as is done by modern critics whose activity looks to us to be a mere waste of time and words.

Dr. Kulkarni has brilliantly brought home the usefulness of Prakrit Poetry. He has a valuable suggestion that scholars should shed all narrow prejudices

while studying it. The author is at his best in his "Discovery through Restoration." To my mind no modern Sanskrit scholar of any repute worth the name, has made efforts in this direction with Kulkarni's magnitude and success. We took a clue from him while editing Guṇaratna's *Sāradīpikā* on the KP of Mammaṭa and are indebted to his lead and guidance in this field. Kulkarni's reputation rests solidly on his excellent edition of the *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* as also on the recovery of Ch. VII of Abhinav Bhārātī.

We congratulate Dr. Kulkarni for the publication of this excellent book.

Tapasvi Nandi

A STUDY OF JAYANTA BHATTA'S NYĀYAMAÑJARĪ, A MATURE SANSKRIT WORK ON INDIAN LOGIC, PART I, NAGIN J. SHAH
Sanskrit-Sanskriti Granthamālā, published by Dr. Jagruti Dilip Sheth, Ahmedabad, pp-125, Rs. 90/-

After a short Foreword and Preface the author gives Introduction to the work, occupying 16 pages. Then begins Chapter I, the main part of the book, in which four issues have been taken up for discussion: (i) On defining *Pramāṇa*, (ii) On the Buddhist twofold classification of *Pramāṇa*, (iii) On *Arthāpatti*, and (iv) On *Abhāva* (75 pages in addition to the Introduction). This is followed by References in Sanskrit cited from original sources (17 pages). At the end of the book, an Appendix. "On the Problems of Knowledge in General" has been added, which is followed by References in Sanskrit (pages 12 +5).

In the Preface, the author has very clearly pointed out the triangular contest, which is a pivotal issue to be discussed in this book, among the Naiyāyikas, the Buddhists and the Mīmāṃsakas. The three invaluable jewels of Indian Philosophy, namely, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī*, Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* and Kumāriḷa Bhaṭṭa's *Ślokavārttika* have been appropriately highlighted by the author (Preface, pp. 7-8).

Dr. Nagin Shah has distinctly pinpointed the unique view held by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, according to which the chief aim of the *Nyāya* is to vindicate the validity of Vedic testimony, which is not found known to the traditional *Nyāya* commentaries (Intro. pp.7,12). I think, for the first time, this view held by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, has been made prominent.

The author seems somewhat harsh in his criticism when he remarks – "Jayanta was just incapable of having any historical understanding of how Vedas came to be composed....". In fact, Jayanta was a traditional Pundit (10th century A.D.) and hence not expected to have so-called 'historical understanding' (Intro. p.13).

On p.76, line 24, the author makes a conclusive statement – “Really an absence conceived as an independent real is a highly untenable concept.” Here we should keep in mind that the Prācīna as well as Navya - Nyāya works have adduced a number of arguments in favour of *Abhāva*. And hence I think, it is better to leave this issue as controversial.

On p.86, Dr. Nagin Shah has very systematically presented Jayanta's discussion about the qualifier and *qualificand* relation, and has rightly pointed out the *ad hoc* character of the *Nyāya* which admits this relation. The author's view is quite in consonance with the views held by modern logicians, like Daniel H.H. Ingalls (*Materials for the Study of Navya-Nyāya Logic*, pp. 58, 75) and B.K. Matilal (*The Navya Nyāya Doctrine of Negation*, pp. 42-44).

In the Appendix, Dr. Nagin Shah has very interestingly discussed the nature of knowledge citing a number of definitions of various *darśanas* like Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Bauddha, Jaina, etc. A similar discussion we find in the “*Advanced Studies in Indian Logic And Metaphysics*” by Sukhlalji Sanghavi (pp. 32-33).

On p.116 (Appendix) the author has distinctly shown the difference between the views regarding validity and non-validity of knowledge held by Śāntarākṣita and that held by Stcherbatsky and Chatterjee who “seem to have before them the *Sarvadarśanasāgraha*.” Then the author remarks – “May be this view held by a section of the Buddhist philosophers. Or maybe it is a misrepresentation of the Buddhist view on the part of the author of the *Sarvadarśanasāgraha*.” I think the first alternative is more plausible than the second. In this context we find the statement “*tasmādaprāmāṇyarth, svataḥ prāmāṇyarth tu sarhvādajñānādibhir....*”. The author of the *Yuktisneha - praparaṇī - siddhānta - cāndrikā*, refers to this as the Buddha view. (*Avidyā - A Problem of Truth and Reality*, Fn.3, p. 464, by E.A. Solomon, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad).

The printing and get-up of the book under review are very nice and attractive. There are some errors in printing e.g. plimarily (= primarily, p.1, line 14), thmes theem (= themes them p.7, line 20), Jayanta that (= ‘says’ missing, p. 10, 1.7), Jayanta (- letters in disorder, p. 21, line last but one), worp (= word, p. 27, 1. last), comesin (= comes in p.29, 1.20), to arelte (= to relate p.30, 1. last), senory (= sensory, p. 47, 1.2), trun (= turn, p. 47, last line of the para. 1), the (= he, line 4th from the last), smhoe (= smoke, p. 58 middle), compled (= coupled, p. 59, .10), a cog-tion (= cognition, p.114, 1. last), 43 (= 45 Fn. No. p.115, 1.5), Bracketed (= Bracketed, p. 121, Fn.13), Pramaṇata iti (= pramāṇata iti, p.125, Fn.79, line 3).

This book under review is a valuable contribution to the sphere of Indian Philosophy in general and that of Indian Logic in particular. And I am confident

that any scholar in India or abroad who desires to deeply understand the views regarding *pramāṇa*, knowledge, etc. held by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, Dharmakīrti and Kumāriḷa (the Nyāya, the Buddhist philosophy and the Mīmāṃsā), will be very much benefitted by referring to this book by Dr. Nagin Shah.

We look forward to the next publications with the same clarity of thought in this series, Dr. Nagin Shah truly deserves warm congratulations for this learned attempt.

L. V. Joshi

ĀDI ŚAṆKARĀCĀRYA (12th Centenary Commemoration Volume), edited by GAUTAM PATEL and published by Directorate of Information, Government of Gujarat, Gandhinagar, 1992, pp. xii + 233, price not mentioned.

Ādi Śaṅkarācārya was one of the very rare philosophical geniuses in India, who carried the torch of religion and philosophy all over the country, and saved people from the demoralising intellectual rot that had set in in the early medieval period. With his brilliant exposition of the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, the *Gītā* and the *Upaniṣads*, he provided the metaphysical framework to Hinduism. But he was not a dry metaphysician. His devotional poems or *stotras* like '*Bhaja Govindam*' are still chanted all over the country with great fervour, and have provided tremendous solace to devotees yearning for the glimpse of the godhead.

Both these facets of Śaṅkarācārya's literary activity have been sufficiently highlighted in this valuable collection containing fifty articles, and analysing the great Ācārya's life and work. The opening article by Nani Palkhiwala describes Śaṅkarācārya as 'the builder of the empire of the spirit' and rightly so. Palkhiwala explains how Ādi Śaṅkarācārya synthesized and purified different philosophies and ideals of his time, a master of *Jñāna*, *Karma* and *Bhakti Yogas*. Philosophy was the dedication of his life, and he gave the message of detachment from life, abandoning the thought of reward as a preparation for eternal life. Gautam Patel in his article on '*Sannyāsa and Śaṅkara*' points out how the Ācārya combined and synthesized the concepts of the *Smṛtis* and the *Gītā* and gave a new dimension to the concept of *Sannyāsa*, which is not actionless, but is a positive entity. E. A. Solomon gives a brilliant analysis of Śaṅkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, and explains the meaning of '*Upaniṣad*' as destroying *saṃsāra*, and not merely as 'a secret doctrine'. The Ācārya's interpretation of '*ānanda*' is also remarkable. T.N. Dharmadhikari discusses the Ācārya's views on *Karma-kāṇḍa* and *Karmaniṣṭhā*. *Karmakāṇḍa* stands for Vedic sacrifices undertaken for fulfilling the desire for worldly prosperity, while *Karmaniṣṭhā* stands for *Karmayoga*, viz.

performance of Vedic sacrifices without worldly desire, as illustrated in the *Gītā* and the *Upaniṣads* like *Īśāvāsya*, *Muṇḍaka*, etc. Rewatiraman Pandey explains how *Ādi Śaṅkarācārya* integrated the entire country, and re-established Hinduism on a sound footing, which was the need of the time. S.R. Bhatt outlines Śaṅkarācārya's contribution to world thought and culture based on his distinction between the Absolute and God. The Ācārya accepts the empirical reality of the world, though not its ultimate reality. *Māyā* has epistemic status, but not ontological status, and it covers the individual self. Bhatt also discusses Ācārya's view of *mokṣa*.

Another interesting feature of the work is the study of Śaṅkarācārya's philosophy in relation to other Indian philosophers, and also foreign thinkers such as Bradley, Eckhart, etc. Thus we have Kantavala's study of Śaṅkarācārya's similarities and differences with Gauḍapāda, regarding philosophical concepts like *Gandharvanagara*, *susupta*, *vandhyāputra*, footsteps of a bird in the sky, three planes of reality, etc. which make quite an interesting reading. Mahesh Mehta discusses the view of absolute reality as held by Śaṅkara, Nāgārjuna and Eckhart. He points out the correspondence of *tathatā*, *tattva* and *śūnyatā*, and also Eckhart's doctrine of divine nothingness. Like *saguna* and *nirguna*, Eckhart distinguishes between Godhead and God, but disagrees regarding the status of God and the world. For him the world is real, and not an illusion or *Māyā*. In fact, Eckhart's doctrine is closer to Śaiva *Pratyabhijñā* school than to Vedānta. In his article 'Śaṅkarācārya and Bradley', C.V. Raval affords an interesting account of the two philosophers, whose resemblance is deeper than it appears. Śaṅkara defines the existence of *Brahman* on the triple authority of *tarka*, *śruti* and *anubhava*. Bradley's philosophy is a distinction between reality as the subject of judgment and the ideal context which judgment ascribes to it, i.e., the difference between reality and appearance. All categories such as space, time, etc. are self-contradictory, hence the appearances of reality. Reality embraces all appearances or diversities. The nature of the world is contradictory, and hence it is an appearance. Both Bradley and Śaṅkara feel that thought cannot apprehend the Absolute, and both aim at transcendental reality. For both, reality is 'Absolute Experience.'

There are many more thought-provoking articles constituting the Volume, but the exigencies of space must prevail. One would also like to refer to A.N. Jani's comprehensive article on Ādi Śaṅkarācārya's literature, and also D.N. Shanbhag's article on Śaṅkarācārya's concept of *Bhakti*. In fine, here is a very comprehensive and in-depth study of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya's philosophy, poetry and lifelong missionary work.

Y. S. Walimbe

ART : THE INTEGRAL VISION, A Volume of Essays in Felicitation of Kapila Vatsyayan, ed: B.N.SARASWATI, S.C. MALIK, MADHU KHANNA, New Delhi, 1994, pp. xii + 336, colour illustrations 27, monochrome photos 76, Rs. 1500/-.

Being as multidimensional as are Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan's concerns, the gifts offered by her associates in this birthday celebration are also a reflection of a commonality of outlook. Many of us see Kapila as a kind of inexhaustible, inflorescent centre-cum-*kundalini* *śakti* energy, ever in search of underlying integrating qualities inherent in what she herself has termed the 'cognate systems'.

The opening pages detail the phenomenal past and ongoing accomplishments of this gentle dynamo. In all of her diverse creations and activities, she has never allowed for a superficial or limited perspective, co-ordinating the multiplicities of manifestly distinct fields: literature, education, the arts, dance and music, metaphysics, religious history. She is performer, choreographer, director of dance and drama, author, diplomat, administrator, and she fuses all these endeavours with a rare generosity of spirit. For her radial contributions in these many areas, she has here received a centripetal return – support and a good deal of unabashed affection.

A glance at the biographies of the twenty-seven contributors reveals the universality of Kapila Vatsyayan's interests. For, all the many-aspected approaches seem to seek patterns, in a quest for a holistic vision, even as they teach about their own particular disciplines. There are contributions here from... reader, hold on to your hat: the fields of Indology, physics, astro physics, metaphysics, history of art, religion and of India, museology, theology, anthropology and archaeology, and a poet, a dancer and a dramatist as well!

It is the mark of the deep feelings many of Kapila Vatsyayan's close associates have for her that there is also a range of modes of expression. The warmth and intimacy felt by one editor, B.N. Saraswati, is discursive and self-searching. The others do stay within the bounds of logical discourse, but even as they discuss fundamentals, the mood is dedicatory.

Although one cannot actually be brief and at the same time do justice to the complexities, and I must rest content with whetting the readers' appetite, perhaps, as an introduction, a schema can be constructed. The articles might be situated along vertical and horizontal alignments, even though these axes can be conceived only as pillars out of which ideas interconnect at all levels, in all directions. On the vertical axis are those articles, the contents of which describe a surging ascent towards, or the unfolding from Brahman. In tandem, on the horizontal axis, there is a liberal number of cross-cultural studies concerning universals. This confluence is a reflection of Kapila Vatsyayan's world view, and for that matter, of the healthy general trend towards seeing

the Indian traditions in relationship to contemporaneous examinations of archetypal human responses. One summary of the meanings inherent in this double axis is stated by Raimon Panniker : “...in the present moment of conversion, none of the cultural and religious traditions of mankind, by themselves or in isolation from each other, can offer a satisfactory solution to the problems of the human condition nor to the destiny of Man” (sic). Appropriately, the poet Keshav Malik reflects upon what lies at the interior of the self, and which, in fact, is the core focus of the entire volume. It is the longing to return the ‘personal vertical self’, the ‘psychic elements in the individual’, a condition as old as consciousness in humanity. And S.C. Malik, in the same vein, focuses on the creative individual, in search of a relationship with a felt totality.

It is always exciting to learn more about the symbolic manifestations of the unfolding First Principle, expressed in India in protean forms. One gets the impression that the diversifications are infinite and today are very much part of the psychic responses of the rural and a majority of other people who still are in genuine connection with what they perceive as the sacred, on many differing levels. The continuum is alive and well; it has always been so. And for royalty and the teachers, for the patrons and the receptive devotee, studio-trained artists created majestic works of art, about which we are instructed here:

Jim Masselos studies temporal time in the *Gīta Govinda* paintings at Sydney. T.S. Maxwell’s ever more complex representations of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu as “God incorporating or radiating the universe at the heart of which he stands” deepens our understanding. *Mudrā* in text and ritual is demonstrated by Bettina Baumer to be one way the interconnectedness of all the Indian disciplines is manifested. John McKim Malville’s descriptions of Vijayanagar as cosmic city, mirroring the macrocosm, and Devangana Desai’s study of *Kṛṣṇa Līlā*, with focus on Lakṣmaṇa Temple at Khajuraho, also speak about the godhead / world fusions. A charming piece about God Brahmā is illustrated by Aditya Malik with a traditional story, identifying Brahmā as fertility divinity and creator, the associations melded.

Although some of the other contributors also deal with the godhead, they stay within a more conventionalized descriptive/historical perspective by no means out of place in the volume’s holistic approach, as they add new material for ever more complex integration. In an effort to reveal hitherto neglected artistic excellence, Ratan Parimoo introduces many examples of Hinglajgarh sculptures. Lokesh Chandra and S.D. Singhal have collected examples of beautiful medieval Indonesian Buddhist bronzes. The museologist Ranjit Makkuni anticipates new interdisciplinary exhibits, aided by modern technology.

Born into two cultures and having ventured into this third one, this reviewer, who never understood East/West dichotomization, is naturally always delighted when that hackneyed but useful phrase 'unity in diversity' is recognized to include archetypal human responses in other cultures, even as we take seriously Irene Winter's admonishment (in her enlightening article on light and radiance in the art of Mesopotamia) about our responsibility to "seek the local context and the value system of internal tradition." Thus David Park develops the idea of space chronologically, blithely seesawing from 'West' to 'East' and from text to art form, in disregard of which particular culture has made the contribution. Like some of us, he operates mainly within a universal mental world, as does Kathleen Raine, who traces William Blake's Indian influences, which brought her to our shores. Malekin sees Plotinus and Śāṅkara as spiritually akin. The scholar of Tantricism, Madhu Khanna, came to the West to find that after meditation children there also draw *maṇḍalas*. When Malville thinks about Vijayanagar, he is basing his ideas of his knowledge of Beijing, Tenochtitlan, Rome and Babylon. Cybele / Devi associations are examined by M.C. Joshi. And one of the most edifying of the articles is a translation of a work by Sergiu : Al-George; it concerns Brancusi's 'pillar' associations, to illustrate the author's insights about the confluence of Romanian and Indian cultures: Both invest abstract concepts in concrete symbols. Michael Meister's focus on finding underlying ground in the variety of cultural patterns *within* India does something to upset stern East / West categorizations.

The twenty-seventh (last) essay polarizes the deductive (as Indian) and inductive (western scientific) methodologies and hopes that we will retrieve that way of thinking which "seiz(es) the whole in its flow and onward movement as an unfragmented reality and sees specific issues as they emerge from that fabric in which they are deeply interwoven." So far so good, but she labels 'western' thought as mechanistic, reductionist.

It seems to me however that it really is no longer necessary to protest too much, especially as the twentieth century scientific attitudes have long since abandoned positivism. We have all together been plunged by communication exchange into a cosmic view which dissolves differentiations in the ground of existence. Modern scientists, East and West, are joined in their quest for the fifth force, a unified cosmos.

Kapila Vatsyayan stands for this as much as she stands for a return, revival and preservation of the precious traditions which had been suppressed during colonial invasive intrusions. That the ancient Indians, on a metaphysical level, had an intuitive orientation about what has now been concretely revealed by modern scientific methodology, instruments and research has already hopefully exchanged hubris for a sense of relief that the 'other' is no longer the 'other'. True religion and science share the healing sense of wonder at existence.

As for those who turn to the materialism of modern industrial societies to the detriment of their personal psychic health, (see S.C. Malik), when, historically, have these types accommodated to new trends and changing perceptions within their own lifetime? Creative, life-assuring insights become, without a by-you-leave, the conventions of second and third generations, so no one need be unhappy that genius and new ways of perception take time to be recognized.

If there is any quarrel with the contents of a dedicatory volume to Kapila Vatsyayan it is that, even though she and many of the contributors have had long, intimate confrontations with the rural and tribal populations, there is only slight reference to the hundreds of millions of those of the second India who indeed do experience what Keshav Malik and S.C. Malik would have us all be in touch with. Separation from the source, without fluid interpenetration, is hazardous for our own psychic survival. This is in no way a sentimentalism or romanticism in regard to the 'folk', but a reference to the energy source at the heart of India where there are passions, intuitions concerning the numinous infinite immensity, an understanding of the need for silence and for worship, a sense of wonder, awe and humility. Who has not basked in the peace and elementality of the Indian village, without need for exchange of language, common religion, race or nationality? Perhaps the opportunities readily available to come into contact with this *force tremendum* are being neglected. There is indeed no cause for dismay; on the contrary, shouldn't we rejoice at the plenitude that is India? There are good prospects, if industrialized societies (which must now include India) do not destroy themselves, that we can place our hopes on the collective unconscious of the people, with its compulsive drive towards life and, in our educated youth, wherever they may be in this global world. The confluence of science, ancient Indian philosophy and the life force of village and tribal Indians is the generative matrix. Kapila Vatsyayan knows this.

Carmel Berkson

RITUAL AND SPECULATION IN EARLY TANTRISM, Studies in Honor of André Padoux, ed. by TEUN GOUDRIAAN, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1992, pages xv + 359, price not mentioned.

This scholarly volume felicitates the eminent French Indologist André Padoux, who is a well-known authority on Tantrism. Systematically conceived by its editor Teun Goudriaan, himself learned in Tantric studies, the book differs from hosts of felicitation volumes produced in recent times in its having a central focus defining the articles. The central theme of the volume, viz, ritual and doctrine, as its editor states in the Preface, is "expressive of one of the most intriguing characteristics of Hindu tradition: the conviction

that philosophy and ceremonial are not two separate compartments.... but that, on the contrary, they should be applied in constant interaction so as to fecundate each other." In this direction the twelve distinguished contributors to the volume have offered their papers from the viewpoints of different Tantric schools.

Hélène Brunner examines the Śaivāgama tradition and finds that ritual is generally older than the transmitted philosophy, and also that "texts deprived of a doctrinal section are not on that account without any doctrinal teaching. Much such information is given in the course of ritual descriptions."

Sanjukta Gupta scrutinizes the procedures as recorded in the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās on *yoga* and *antaryāga*. She shows that *yoga sādhanā* is closely linked with the ideological background of the system. At each step conceptual matter is translated in some form of ritual or visual form.

Richard H. Davis, citing Śaiva Siddhānta texts, and Vrajavallabha Dviveda, mainly referring to the *Yoginī-hṛdaya*, Trika and Krama sources, discuss the relation between the god (Śiva) and the worshipper. As the worshipper transforms his body into a Śiva by various rituals he also reenacts the patterned cosmic activities of Śiva. Davis significantly points out that "temple space, like the worshipper's body is organized in Śaiva ritual according to the cosmological principles of emission and reabsorption."

Alexis Sanderson argues that to determine a Tantra's metaphysical orientation it is not enough to consider the implications of the forms of the rituals and meditations it enjoins. He examines the doctrine of the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* and suggests that the monism has been superimposed on the text by its interpreters.

Navjivan Rastogi surveys the historical development of the yogic tradition in monistic Śaiva school of Kashmir. He shows that the *aṣṭāṅga yoga* of Patañjali has substantially influenced the evolution of Trika *yoga*. But the Tantric current has lent a new framework due to which "Trika yoga represents a mixed form of Pātañjala and Haṭha yoga, acquiring along the way a transcendental disposition."

Paul Muller-Ortega approaches Tantric meditation in the context of continuous cosmogonic manifestation as expressed by the sixteen vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet. He offers an interesting interpretation by juxtaposing the terminology of "holo-movement" put forward by the quantum physicist David Bohm in his *Wholeness and the Implicate Order*, with the cosmogony of the non-dual Śaivism of Abhinavagupta.

Teun Goudriaan concentrates on the doctrine of graded awakening in the *Svacchanda Tantra*, 11, 91-126, giving its translation, and comparing with its early occurrence in the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* (Chapters

291-296). The process from bondage to liberation is expressed by means of the evolution from *abudha* to *budha*, and the subsequent transformation into the higher states of awakening. He mentions that the Śaiva theoreticians applied such a serial progression to ritual of initiation and to yogic-microcosmic experience.

Pāsupata tradition is the subject to Minoru Hara who draws our attention to the concepts of the earlier unrecorded Sāṅkhya philosophy in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* of Kaunḍinya.

Two articles relate directly to Tantric texts. Gudrun Bühnemann examines Chapter 15 of the *Kulārṇava Tantra*, which deals with the *puraścaraṇa*, preliminary ritual for making a *mantra* effective. She surveys the contents of this chapter and gives its text and translation. Jan Schoterman takes up the *Kubjikā Upaniṣad*, so far an unedited text, and shows that it illustrates the process of mutual integration of Tantric and Vedic traditions.

The volume concludes with an interesting article by Raffaele Torella who makes a comparative study of the Pratyabhijñā school and the logical epistemological school of Buddhism. The scholar traces the features of this complex relationship, “the subtle play of a declared basic disagreement with the doctrines of Buddhist logicians”, and yet appropriation of their typical terminology by the teachers of the Pratyabhijñā school.

Each article gives good bibliography. It would have been useful to have a brief biographical note on the contributors. The editor has provided a complete list of publications by André Padoux. The book will be of great help to researchers on Tantric tradition. It is a fitting felicitation to Dr. André Padoux, who, we all wish, will continue to serve the cause of Indology.

Devangana Desai

Acknowledgements of Books Received

1. **Action – Explanation and Interpretation**, ed. by Hiranmoy Banerjee and Tirthanath Bandyopadhyay, K. P. Bagchi & Co., Calcutta, 1990, Rs. 85/-
2. **Far People - a Norwegian Journal**, by Narendra Taneja, Media People Int., New Delhi, 1992, Rs. 200/-
3. **Manipur Tribal Scene – Studies in Society and Change**, by Rajot Kanti Das Inter-India Pub., New Delhi, 1985, Rs. 150/-
4. **Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira**, with tr. & notes, by T. S. Kuppanna Sastry. Critically ed. with Introduction & Appendices by K. V. Sarma, P. P. S. T. Foundation, Adyar, Madras, 1993, Rs. 350/-
5. **Santal Music – A Study in Pattern and Process of Cultural Persistence**, Inter-India Pub., New Delhi, Rs. 180/-

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OBITUARY

DR. G. M. MORAES (1905-1994)

George Mark Moraes born at Cuncolim, Goa, on 11th May 1905, in a family of businessmen, spent his schoolhood days at Bydnoor in South Canara, where his family had shifted its business. After passing Intermediate examination from St. Alyosius College, Mangalore, he joined St. Xavier's college, Bombay, in 1925 for his B.A. and wrote his first book *Mangalore-a Historical Sketch*. He worked under Fr. Henry Heras, well-known historian, for his M.A. degree by research and wrote *Kadamba Kula* for which he won the coveted Chancellor's Gold Medal.

After a short stint as an officer in the customs department, he joined St. Xavier's College, Bombay, as Lecturer in History and there he became a lifelong student and friend of Fr. Heras and carried on his historical research, his first love. In 1935 by reading the Kanarese inscription from Gerasoppa, He proved that the Harihara of Gerasoppa and Honavar and Harihara of Vijayanagara were separate persons. His knowledge of Portuguese, French, Italian and Spanish in addition to four Indian languages proved to be his great asset as a research scholar. He began guiding research in 1939, and the University of Bombay recognised him as a Ph.D. guide in History in 1942. Between 1952 and 1954 he studied at the Universities of Rome and Strassbourg and received D. Litt. degrees from each of them. On his return, he joined government service as Professor of History at Gujarat College and was transferred to Elphinstone College, Bombay, in 1954.

He was appointed the First Professor and Head, Dept. of History, University of Bombay in 1968. He became the Chairman of Board of Studies, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Member of the Senate. He was elected as the President of the Indian History Congress in 1968 after he had served as its Secretary.

As a research scholar Prof. Moraes wrote five books and published numerous articles. Twenty-five students received their Ph.D. degrees under his guidance.

Dr. G.M. Moraes was the Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for four years from 1948. He was the Editor of the Society's Journal for five years. He was the Vice-President of the Society for nine years and was awarded its Silver Medal for his research work in 1954 on the occasion of the Society's 150th anniversary.

Dr. Moraes was attached to the MM. Dr. P.V. Kane Institute of Post Graduate Studies and Research, a wing of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, as Professor of History.

Dr. Moraes passed away on 16th April, 1994.

In his death his students have lost an affectionate guide and the Asiatic Society a reputed scholar.

M. D. David

**TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS**

क	.....	a	की	.....	au	ठ	.....	ṭha	ष	.....	bha
ख	.....	d	क	.....	ka	ख	.....	ḍa	ष	.....	ma
ग	.....	i	ख	.....	kha	ख	.....	ḍha	ष	.....	ya
घ	.....	i	ग	.....	ga	ग	.....	ṅa	र	.....	ra
च	.....	u	ष	.....	ṣha	च	.....	ca	ल	.....	la
छ	.....	ū	ख	.....	ṅa	ष	.....	tha	व	.....	va
ज	.....	ṛ	ष	.....	ca	द	.....	da	श	.....	śa
झ	.....	ṛ	छ	.....	cha	घ	.....	dha	ष	.....	ṣa
ञ	.....	ṛ	ज	.....	ja	न	.....	na	स	.....	sa
ट	.....	e	स	.....	ṣha	प	.....	pa	ह	.....	ha
ठ	.....	ai	व	.....	ṅa	फ	.....	pha	ळ	.....	ḷa
ड	.....	o	ट	.....	ṭa	ब	.....	ba			
		(Anusvāra)		.....	ṁ	×	(Jihvāmūliya)		.....	h	
		(Anundārika)		.....	ṁ	)	(Upadhmanīya)		.....	h	
		(Visarga)		.....	ḥ	s	(Avagraha)		.....	

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS**

ARABIC											
ا	.....	a	z	.....	z	ق	.....	q	ق	.....	fore
ب	.....	b	س	.....	s	ك	.....	k	ك	.....	u or o
ت	.....	t	س	.....	sh	ل	.....	l	ل	.....	d
ث	.....	th	س	.....	t	م	.....	m	م	.....	i, e
ج	.....	j	س	.....	j	ن	.....	n	ن	.....	ū, ō
ح	.....	h	ط	.....	t	و	.....	w	و	.....	ai, ay
خ	kh	ظ	z	ح	h	ح	au, aw
د	d	ع	d	ي	y	ي	silent t h
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ا	a	ا	
ر	r	ف	f	ا	a	ا	
PERSIAN											
پ	p	چ	ch	ج	zh	ک	g

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