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V. M. KULKARNI
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HOUSE-BUILDING AND ITS RITUALS IN ANCIENT INDIA

JAYA CHEMBURKAR

The basic and essential needs of a man are food, clothing and shelter. The shelter may be a cave of a mountain, a hollow of a tree, or a thatched house or a building constructed with bricks, stones, cement, etc. A man has always protected himself from heat, cold, rain, wild animals, etc. by taking shelter in some enclosure, in some kind of a house. People in a civilized society always feel a need for a comfortable cozy house. Archaeology as well as literary sources have revealed that the art of constructing houses was known in the remote past. The *Rgveda* (*RV*) is the earliest record of human civilization. Though it is mainly a religious composition, it contains references to 'grha', 'dhāma', 'harmya', all meaning a house. There are references to doors, assembly-halls, pillars of different types, forts, various measurements used in a construction. This holds good of the *Yajurveda* (*YV*) and the *Atharvaveda* (*AV*) also. The *AV* throws more light on the issue of house-construction. The *AV* contains a prayer addressed to a house (*Śālā*) which is under construction. The prayer is, "Just here I fix my dwelling (*Śālā*), firm; may it stand in security, sprinkling ghee, unto thee here, "O dwelling, may we resort with all our heroes, with good heroes, with unharmed heroes."¹ "Just here stand thou firm, O dwelling, rich in horses, in kine, in pleasantness, in refreshment, in ghee, in milk; erect thyself in order to bring good fortune."² "A garner (*dharuṇī*) art thou, O dwelling of great roof, of cleansed grain; to thee may the calf come, may the boy, may the kine, streaming (with milk) (come) in the evening."³ Favours are sought from various deities as, "Let *Savitar*, *Vāyu*, *Indra*, *Brhaspati* knowing well house-building, fix this dwelling" (*Śālānirmāṇaprakāram prakarṣeṇa jānan imām śālām ni minotu / Sāyaṇa*).⁴ A prayer is addressed to the beam to ascend the post and to keep the enemies away from the house. Similarly the dwelling i.e. the house is prayed that the attendants in the house may not be harmed, and the inmates of the house may live hundred autumns with all their heroes.⁵ A desire for attaining all prosperity has been expressed in the words, "May the young boy come to it, (i.e. the dwelling); may the calf come to it, with cows etc. May pots of honey, and pots full of curds come to it... "etc."⁶

Further in *AV IX. 3*, we get more information on construction as - four pillars (*upamīta*) were set up on a good site, and against them beams were leant at an angle as props (*pratimīta*). The upright pillars were connected by cross-beams (*parimīta*) resting upon them. The roof was formed of ribs of bamboo-cane (*varīśa*). The walls were filled up with grass in bundles

(*palada*) and the whole structure was held together by ties of various sorts (*nahana, prānāha, samdamśa, pariṣvanjalaya*).⁷ This would indicate that the people in the period of the composition of the *Saṁhitās* knew the art of construction. But *Vāstuvidyā* or *Vāstuśāstra* i.e. the Science of Architecture as such was not evolved in this period. These *saṁhitās* have not laid down any norms and rules and regulations regarding house-building. As we pass on to the period of the *Gr̥hya Sūtras* (between 600 B.C. and 200 B.C.) we find *Vāstuvidyā* emerging, in a crude, primitive form.⁸ Instructions regarding house-building, i.e. *Vāstukarma* or *Śālākarma* laid down in the *Gr̥hya Sūtras* (*Gr. S.*) give us an insight into house-building in those days. The beginning of Indian *Vāstuvidyā* 'Science of Architecture' can be said to be in these instructions given in the *Gr.S.*

This paper proposes to trace the nature of the beginning of house-building, and the rituals prescribed for it in the *Gr. Ss.* Here the *Sūtra* works under consideration are : (1) *Āpastamba Gr̥hya Sūtra* (*Āp. Gr.S.*), (2) *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra* (*Āśv. Gr. S.*) (3) *Bodhāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra* (*Bod. Gr. S.*), (4) *Gōbhila Gr̥hya Sūtra* (*Gob. Gr. S.*), (5) *Hiranyakeśi Gr̥hya Sūtra* (*Hir. Gr. S.*), (6) *Khādira Gr̥hya Sūtra* (*Kha. Gr. S.*), (7) *Mānava Gr̥hya Sūtra* (*Mān. Gr. S.*), (8) *Pāraskara Gr̥hya Sūtra* (*Pār. Gr. S.*), (9) *Śāṅkhāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra* (*Śān. Gr. S.*).

Selection of the Site for House-Building

All the above-mentioned *Gr. Ss.* do not lay down rules for the selection of a Site or a plot for house-building. Only the *Āśv. Gr. S.*, *Āp. Gr. S.*, *Gob. Gr. S.* and the *Mān. Gr. S.* have laid down rules regarding selection of a site for a house i.e. *Vāstuparīksā* i.e. the test of the ground. The rules are – the ground be neither barren soil nor a disputed property.⁹ Obviously because, if the soil is fertile, plants, herbs, trees and vegetables can be cultivated; secondly, if there is no dispute over the land, the inmates of the house can enjoy peace and happiness. The soil should be capable of growing herbs and trees,¹⁰ *Kuśa* and *Virina* grass.¹¹ Thorny and milky plants together with their roots, and many other such plants should be dug out.¹² This measure is necessary to retain the fertility of the soil for the cultivation and growth of other useful plants and vegetables.

The *Āp. Gr. S.* has laid down that the ground for house-building should be inclined towards the South-West and the surface should be elevated.¹³ According to the *Gob. Gr. S.* the land should be even and it should be such where the herbs of which the sap is not white, and which are not thorny and bitter, grow naturally. The land should be hard, of one colour, not too dry, not unfertile, not damp and not surrounded by a desert.¹⁴ The *Gob. Gr. S.* has recommended the Site which is full of tender grass, and free from possibility of damage or destruction by the floods of neighbouring

rivers or a lake breaking its banks or by falling of big trees on the house, or by the construction of new roads or by elephants.¹⁵ All these instructions are meant for the safety of the house, and for preventing any calamities in future. Further the *Gob. Gr. S.* has prescribed that the land should be able to grow *darbha* grass if one wants Vedic glory, long or hard grass or reeds, i.e. *br̥hat tṛṇa*, if one desires strength, and tender grass if one desires cattles.¹⁶ Here the three different varieties of grass viz. *darbha*, *br̥hat tṛṇa* 'long or hard grass', and *mṛdu tṛṇa* 'soft or tender grass', probably have been prescribed in accordance with their utility for the three castes viz., *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* and *Vaiśya*. *Darbha*-grass will be useful to a *Brāhmaṇa* for his priestly activities; *br̥hat tṛṇa* strong and sturdy, hard grass will be useful to a *Kṣatriya* for making quivers for arrows and also the central staff of arrows, and the tender grass can serve as fodder for cattle of the *Vaiśyas*. The *Gob. Gr. S.* has given specific instructions regarding certain trees that are to be avoided on the Site, e.g. an *Aśvattha* tree in the East, a *Plakṣa* tree in the South, a *Vata* 'banian' tree in the West and *Udumbara* tree in the North.¹⁷ In the above-mentioned directions an *Aśvattha* is said to cause fear from fire, because of *Plakṣa*, the inmates of the house will be short-lived, *Vata* 'banian' tree indicates harm from weapons and the *Udumbara* is believed to cause eye-diseases.¹⁸ This prohibition regarding some trees might have been based on some hygienic principles or there might be some superstitions or beliefs at the basis of this prohibition. The *Gob. Gr. S.* has mentioned the presiding deities of these trees, e.g. *Āditya* is said to be the god of *Aśvattha* tree, *Yama* is the god of *Plakṣa*, *Varuṇa* of a banian tree and *Prajāpati* is that of *Udumbara*.¹⁹ In case while building a house, these trees are cut down or uprooted, their respective deities should be worshipped.²⁰ These instructions appear to have been based on the beliefs of the primitive society. According to the *Gob. Gr. S.*, the land should be like a brick or like a round island in shape,²¹ i.e. the plot of land should not be low, it may be rectangular or circular; it should have pits facing all directions.²² This is a measure probably for the water (rain water) to flow away. According to the *Āśv. Gr. S.* that plot of land is auspicious where the waters flowing from all sides to the centre, gather at a resting place, on the right side and then flow off to the east.²³ The commentators of *Āśv. Gr. S.*, viz. *Nārāyaṇa* and *Devasvāmi*, state that such a house becomes endowed with all prosperity. Collection of water would indicate that the soil is rocky; and the rocky soil is said to provide a firm, solid and stable base (foundation) for a house and is conducive to the stability of a house. Similarly flowing of waters to the east would show that the ground has a slope towards the east. Slopy ground has been recommended, probably to prevent the premises of the house from being flooded in monsoon. The *Āp. Gr. S.* has laid down that the ground should be inclined towards the south-west and the surface should be elevated.²⁵ The *Gob. Gr. S.* recommends a site in which the waters (naturally) flow

to the east or the north i.e. the land should be slopy towards the east or the north.²⁶ Different *Sūtrakāras* appear to hold different views on this issue.

Test of the Land

For examining the structure of the soil, two tests have been prescribed, e.g. the *Āśv. Gr. S.* suggests that one should dig a pit, knee-deep and fill it up again with the same earth which has been taken out of the pit.²⁷ If the earth remains in excess after filling the pit, the ground is excellent, if it is level, it is of middle quality. If it does not fill the pit, it is inferior.²⁸ Another test of the land prescribed by the *Āśv. Gr. S.* is—after sun-set, one should fill the pit with water and look into it in the morning.²⁹ If in the morning, there is water in it, the ground is excellent. If the ground is moist, it is middling type. If it is dry, it is unworthy, and should be rejected.³⁰ Both these tests are obviously meant to examine whether the soil is rocky or soft or marshy. The *Mān. Gr. S.* also has given more or less similar instructions regarding selection of a plot for house-building.³¹

Different Types of Land for the Three Castes

The *Āśv. Gr. S.* has prescribed three different types of land for the three castes, for house-building, e.g. white ground of sweet taste, and sandy surface is said to be suitable for a *Brāhmaṇa*, red ground of sweet taste and sandy surface has been recommended for a *Kṣatriya*, and yellow ground with sweet taste and sandy surface is said to be suitable for a *Vaiśya*.³² The *Gob. Gr. S.* also has laid down the same rules with a slight variation viz., that it has recommended black soil for a *Vaiśya* (*Kṛṣṇa pāṃsu Vaiśyasya!*). Black soil is considered to be fertile, and it is rightly recommended for the *Vaiśyas*, who were agriculturists. The three shades of the ground viz. white, red and yellow recommended by the *Āśv. Gr. S.* for *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* and *Vaiśya* respectively appear to correspond to the nature of occupations and the temperaments of these three castes; white, red and yellow or black colours of the soil only probably imply *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* which are said to predominate the occupations and temperaments of these three castes.

It will be noticed here that there is no mention of land for the construction of a house for a *Śūdra*; because in the period of the composition of the *Sūtra* literature, a *Śūdra* did not have a right to possess property. According to the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*) a *Śūdra* could have no absolute property; his wealth could be appropriated by his master (*na hi svamasti Śūdrasya bhartṛharyadhano hi saḥ* (*Mbh. Śānti Parva* 59.39 b and 40 a). In the *Manusmṛti* when Manu says that a wife, a son and a *dāsa* (*Śūdra*) these three are known (*smṛtāḥ*) to be without wealth (property); their earning belongs to their master (*bhāryā putraśca dāsaśca traya evādhanāḥ smṛtāḥ/ yatte samadhigacchanti yasya te tasya tad dhanam* (*Manusmṛti* VIII. 416). Manu here obviously refers to the view of his predecessors who advocated this

view prior to him (Smṛtāḥ).³⁴ This view must have prevailed in the Sūtra period also, when caste system had become rigid, and hence there is no mention of type of land for house-building for a *Śūdra* - a reflection of social conditions of that period.

Construction of a House

Astronomical beliefs of the people and religion played an important part in the construction of a house. Construction of a house had to start on an auspicious day, especially during the northern course of the Sun, in the first bright half of the month under the constellation *Rohini*³⁵. Construction began with sanctification of the ground. The *Āśv. Gr. S.* has prescribed drawing of a thousand furrows on the ground which should be quadrangle with equal sides on each direction,³⁶ or an oblong quadrangle.³⁷ Drawing of furrows was meant for purifying the ground. The *Āpa. Gr. S.* has prescribed sweeping of the ground, and then sprinkling it with water with an *Udumbara* branch or with a branch of *Śamī* tree was believed to bear fire, the purifier (*pāvaka*), within itself.³⁹ The *Mān. Gr. S.* has first enjoined oblation to the principal quarters, downward and upward quarters,⁴⁰ and then the sanctification of the ground with a prayer to the earth and serpents as well.⁴¹ The ground (plot) was to be then circumambulated to show reverence to the presiding deity of the *Vāstu*, i.e. the ground; and the *Śantātīya* hymn from the *RV* was to be recited thrice while circumambulating the ground, to seek protection and blessings from all the deities, for the house. The Rgvedic hymn VII. 35 viz. *Śam na indrāgni bhavatāma vobhiḥ* is well known as a *Śantātīya* hymn because every verse of this hymn begins with the word *Śam* meaning *Welfare, Bliss*. Then water was to be poured without interruption, reciting the three verses viz. "O waters ye are beneficent, so help us to energy, that we may look on great delight.⁴² Give us a portion of the sap, the most auspicious that ye have, like mothers in their longing love.⁴³ To you, we gladly come for him to whose abode ye send us on; Waters give us procreant strength."⁴⁴ Haradatta commenting on *Āśv. Gr. S.* II. 8.12, explains that this prayer means, "O waters, you be the creators of happiness to all the beings, by being available for taking bath, and for drinking purpose, (*snāna-pāna samyag jarañādinā prakāreṇa*) and lead us to old age, properly, i.e. without any ailments. Grant us food, make us fit to see the objects of great beauty, worthy of great knowledge. Give us sweet and nourishing sap, that you have, just as mothers longing for the growth and prosperity of their sons feed their sons with their milk. Make us possessed of progeny, food grains and riches."

Purity and sanctity had an important place in the social as well as religious life of the ancient Indians. House-building activity was associated with religion right from the beginning of construction and simple rituals comprising of sprinkling of the ground, circumambulation accompanied by pouring of water round the *Vāstu* (plot) and recitation of prayers (*mantras*) was prescribed

for seeking blessings from the deities. Here oblations to quarters and prayers to the earth (plot) and serpents have been laid down. Through the mention of the quarters what is intended is the guardians of the quarters or the presiding deities of the quarters to whom oblations are to be offered. The house is to be built on the earth which would contribute to the stability of the house and hence prayer to the earth. Similarly there is a possibility of serpents being deprived of their shelter in that Vāstu. Therefore, they are to be pacified by prayers. Water is indispensable for life. Therefore, in the beginning of the construction only, it is earnestly prayed. Concern for one's safety and protection is reflected in the above described worship of the ground.

After offering worship to the ground, pits were to be dug for the posts. Pits for the posts were dug from left to right; the earth (dug out from the pits) was to be thrown towards the inside of the building ground.⁴⁵ Into all the pits wherein the posts were to stand an *avakā* plant (moss) was to be put in order to prevent the house from being burnt by fire.⁴⁶ Fire preventive measures were used in construction itself. According to the *Pār.Gr.S.*, into the pits (in which the posts were erected) oblation of ghee was to be offered with the words, "To the steady one, the earth-deity *svāhā* (*acyutāya bhaumāya svāhā*)."⁴⁷ The *Mān. Gr. S.* has laid down putting of a piece of gold in the pit which is dug for the central post and an offering of oblation of ghee, with the words, "To the unshakable steadfast earth deity (*acyutāya bhaumāya svāhā*)."⁴⁸ It may be explained here that gold is looked upon as a symbol of the Sun. The Sun is the central body of the solar system around which the planets revolve. The Sun maintains balance of the planets revolving around it. The piece of gold, a symbol of the Sun in the pit for the central post would also maintain the balance of the Central Post on which depended the stability of the house. This appears to be the belief and purpose in putting the piece of gold in the central post-pit. According to the *Āśv. Gr. S.*, into the pit wherein the middle post was to stand, handfuls of Kuśa grass with their points turned to the east and north was to be put, and that grass was to be sprinkled with water mixed with rice and barley, with the words, "To the steady one, the earth-deity *svāhā* (*acyutāya bhaumāya svāhā* /".⁴⁹ After erecting the door posts one had to erect the other door-posts in the order in which the pits were dug and to recite the *YV* mantras.⁵⁰ Stability of the posts depended on the earth (ground) in which they were fixed. Therefore oblations were offered to the earth-deity. The central post was of major importance, since it was going to be the support of the roof and the rest of the house. Therefore, the *Āśv. Gr. S.* prescribed a simple ritual for the central post for the safety of the house. According to the *Āśv. Gr. S.* at the time of erecting the middle post the following prayer was to be recited as, "Stand here, fixed in the ground, prosperous, long lasting, standing amidst prosperity. May the evil one not attain thee. May the young child come near thee. May the calf come to thee. May the cup of *Parīśrut*

come to thee. May they come with pots of curds."⁵¹ Here the middle post is prayed to stand firm and avoid injury to child and calf going near it, thieves and robbers should not enter the house, all prosperity may come to the house. It may be stated here that some of the *mantras* recited while erecting the posts have been borrowed verbatim from the *AV* III. 12 while some of them show variations and additions in wording retaining more or less the same sense. We find the same prayer in the *Hir. Gr. S.* for erecting the southern and northern door posts.⁵² After erecting the various posts, the beam was to be put on the middle-post, and the following *mantra* was to be recited, "Rightly ascend the post, O Staff, bestow on us long life, henceforth," (*ṛtena sthūṇāmadhi roha varīśa, drāghiya āyuh prataram dadhānā, iti*) According to the *Mān. Gr. S.* the remaining posts and the bamboo-beams were to be put into their place without reciting the *mantras*, and with prayers according to the *Pār. Gr. S.*⁵⁴

The central part of the site had been the object of special veneration from the earliest times. The *Gob. Gr. S.*⁵⁵ enjoined the placing of a sacrificial fire in the middle of the site, and a sacrifice of a black cow or a white goat, with *caru* cooked in milk⁵⁶ when the construction of the house was complete. The stability and support of the beam and the roof being dependent on the middle post, ritual inside the house was performed in the middle of the house. It will be seen here that the construction i.e. the frame work of the house begins by erecting the central post first. In this connection an interesting observation is made in the much later dated *Vāyu Purāna* (Chapter 8.122-126 and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* (Chapter 46.51-54). According to these *Purānas*, the primitive house was devised on a model of a tree with its trunk in the centre and branches around it, some upwards and some downwards. The middle post resembled the trunk of a tree, and the rooms around resembled the branches of a tree. This device of constructing a house on the model of a tree owes its origin to the primitive man's very close association with trees and with vegetable kingdom.⁵⁷ Here the material used for construction is from vegetable kingdom, viz. wood, bamboo, and *avakā* plant.

AV III.12, and IX.3 throw light on house-building. Here we come across prayers addressed to *Śālā* house and beam. Favours were sought from deities as observed at the beginning of this work. This indicates that house-building activity was linked up with religion. The *Gr. Ss.* being concerned with domestic rites, have maintained that religious tradition by incorporating house-building activity for *saṁskāras* 'Sacraments' and laid down simple rituals for which they have employed the Atharva-Vedic prayers as observed above.

Position of the Rooms and the Entrance Door

There are instructions regarding the position of the different rooms and

doors. The *Āśv. Gr. S.* laid down that the bed-room should be constructed in the east. Such a room would get early rays of the Sun. The kitchen should be built to the east.⁵⁸ The kitchen so built is said to become abundant in food.⁵⁹ Mention of abundant food in the kitchen built to the east was probably only an inducement for such a construction. Insistence on the east probably has its roots in the firm conviction of the ancient Indians in the energizing potency of the Sun's radiation. The eastern facet of structures gets a full and direct exposure to the field of action of solar radiation.⁶⁰ The *Āśv. Gr. S.* further has laid down that the assembly room should be built in the north, so that there will be no gambling in it.⁶¹ According to the *Gob.Gr.S.*, one desirous of fame and strength should build the door (entrance) of the house in the east;⁶² one desiring children and cattle should build it in the north;⁶³ and the door should be in the south if one desires all these.⁶⁴ A house should not have its door (entrance) on the west side.⁶⁵ The main door of the house should be in the direction in which is situated the gate of the compound (*anudvāram ca grhadvāram!*)⁶⁶ The door should be made in such a way that through it the inmates of the house (or the valuables) should not become visible to the outsiders when they are performing *sandhyā* (morning and evening rites), *homa* etc. (*asamlōkī syāt !*).⁶⁷ It may be stated here that the *Gob. Gr. S.* laid down instructions for the construction of doors, but it is silent over the digging of pits, and fixing of posts and placing of the beam. According to the *Mān. Gr. S.* the door (entrance) should be to the east or the south.⁶⁸

The foregoing discussion indicates that the Gr. Ss. appear to presume systematic house-building operation. This is proved by their rules regarding selection of a site, shape of the plot, type of soil, different types of soil for different castes, type of surroundings, certain trees that are to be avoided on the site, position of the entrance door, position of the different rooms, importance of the eastern quarter etc. Here the *Sūtrakāras* appear to have in their minds some astronomical significance of the quarters and the influence of the guardians i.e. the presiding deities of these quarters (*dikpālas*). Indra, the most powerful god is the guardian deity of the east, Soma is the guardian deity of the north and Yama is the guardian deity of the south according to the *Gob. Gr. S.* IV. 7.36. The belief was if entrance door was built in these quarters, the owner would incur the pleasure of these gods; e.g. the most powerful god Indra, the guardian of the east, would confer fame and strength; Soma the guardian of the north, who is a bestower of fertility (*RV* IX. 60.74) and conqueror of cows and horses (*RV* IX. 78.4) would grant children and cattle; and god Yama, the guardian of the south who has been described as a lord of settlers and our father (*Viśpatiḥ pitā-RV* X. 135.1) would be amicable and graceful towards the new settlers of the house and would grant all his desires. Entrance door is prohibited in the west obviously because due to western entrance, the house would miss the early morning

sun.

The *Śān. Gr. S.* has described a rite that is to be performed after the house has been built conformable to its proper dimensions. The builder (i.e. the owner) of the house had to touch the different posts (*Samītasya sthūṇām samṛsati* I).⁶⁹ He had to touch the posts and go on identifying the posts as follows - The two (posts) to the east with the words, "Truth and Faith", those to the south with the words "sacrifice and sacrificial fee" (i.e. charity, liberality, generosity) - (*satyam ca śraddhām ceti purve | Yajñasca dakṣiṇa ceti dakṣiṇe* I)⁷⁰; those to the west with the words, 'Strength and Power' - (*balam caujaścetyapare*).⁷¹ The posts to the north were to be touched with the words, "Brāhma", i.e. *Brāhmaṇa* and *Kṣātra* i.e. *Kṣatriya*.⁷² The words *Brāhmaṇa* and *Kṣatriya* here appear to connote spirituality and valour respectively. The central part (*stupo vāstumadhyam*) of the house was to be identified with fortune and the chief post i.e. the central post was identified with *Dharma* (*Śrīḥ stupo dharmah stūṇā rājam*).⁷³ The two door-jambes were identified with day and night.⁷⁴ The roof was identified with a year.⁷⁵ *Samvatsara* 'year' here stands for *kāla* 'time'. Time is believed to be a great healer that gives relief from agonies. It makes us forget our miseries, as though it covers our miseries. The roof of a house also by covering the house saves it from the onslaught of adverse-nature. And lastly reciting the *RV V. 47.3*, an anointed stone was to be buried under the pinnacle,⁷⁶ i.e. in the part of the ground which comes exactly under the top or the pinnacle of the roof of the house. In *RV V. 47.3*, the sun is metaphorically described as a stone (*aśmā*) and is said to guard the mid-air's two limits. The stone buried under the pinnacle was also probably believed to guard the house like the sun that guards the mid-region.

The identification of the posts establishes that in the form of different posts, the house was endowed with Truth, Faith, Strength, Power, Spirituality (Brahma), Valour (Kṣatram), Fortune, Dharma (law, righteousness) etc. Day implied work activity, active life, and night represented rest and peace. The middle post is significantly identified with Dharma in as much as both are supporters and upholders of the house and society respectively. Desire expressed here appears to be that may such posts lead the inmates of the house to righteousness, may they (inmates) not deviate from virtuous conduct; may the people engage in their work and may they enjoy the fruits of their hard work and rest. On the eve of taking possession of the new house, one would always become emotional and entertain a noble desire that everything that is auspicious, righteous may prevail in the house. The wooden posts were glorified as Truth, Faith etc. and were looked upon as some powers that would avert misfortune and bring fortune to the house.

Setting Up of a Water-Barrel

Arrangement for storing water was also made while constructing a house. Setting up of a water-barrel was accompanied by a ritual. On four stones *durvā*-grass was spread and the water-barrel was set up on it with a *mantra*, viz. "Arise on the earth",⁷⁷ or with the *mantra*, "The *araṅgara* sounds thrice, bound with a strap; may it drive away evil."⁷⁸ This *mantra* is from the *AV* XX.135.13. According to Oldenberg *araṅgara* seems to be a musical instrument.⁷⁹ According to Haradatta *araṅgara* here is Indra, and *araṅgara* also means a bee; and thus the meaning of the *mantra* is, "just as a bee intoxicated with honey hums loudly or just as a bull bound with a leather strap roars loudly on seeing a young cow, in the same manner, i.e. with a loud voice *Indra* praises offerings of food."⁸⁰ Then water was to be poured into the water-barrel with the *mantra*, "May the king *Varuṇa* come hither with plentiful waters; may he stay content at this place, bringing welfare and dropping ghee; may they (i.e. waters) lie down together with *Varuṇa*."⁸¹ *Varuṇa* being the lord of waters, a prayer was offered to him. After this, water was sprinkled on the water-jar to fill it later with water. This water barrel was probably meant for the house to store water. From this it appears that the arrangement for storing water formed a part of house-building as stated above.

Vāstuśānti or Vāstuśamana

The general tendency of the ancient Indians was to ritualize all action and spiritualize all life.⁸² They believed that rituals have mystical supra-human power. It was naturally, therefore, that house-building activity which is an important achievement in a man's life, would not be complete without a ritual. We find that in all the Gr. Ss. the discussion on *Śālākarma* or *Gṛhanirmāṇa* (house-building) ends by prescribing the ritual of *Vāstuśānti* for appeasing the presiding deity of the house viz. *Vāstu* or *Vāstospati*. The details of the ritual vary in the different Gr. Ss.⁸³ Here only those details which are common to all the Gr. Ss. have been given. They are as follows :

- (1) The house was to be sprinkled with water and then it was to be circumambulated with one's right side turned to it; this rite was to be accompanied by the recitation of the *Śantāīya* hymn from the *RV* according to the *Āśv. Gr. S.* and by the recitation of a *mantra* from *YV* II. 15.22 according to the *Āpa. Gr. S.*⁸⁴
- (2) Wood was to be put in the fire and oblations of clarified butter were to be offered into it.⁸⁵
- (3) In the middle of the house food was to be cooked and was to be sacrificed, reciting the *Vāstospati* hymn from the *RV* VII. 54, 55, which contains the following prayers to *Vāstospati*.

- (i) Acknowledge us, O Guardian of the Homestead; bring no disease, and give us happy entrance. Whatever we ask thee, be pleased to grant it, and prosper thou our quadrupeds and bipeds;
- (ii) Protector of the house, be our promoter, increase our wealth in kind and steeds, O Indu. May we be even youthful in thy friendship; be pleased in us as in his sons, a father;
- (iii) Through thy dear fellowship that bringeth welfare, may we be victors, O Guardian of the dwelling. Protect our happiness in rest and labour. Preserve us, overcome, you Gods, with blessings;
- (iv) *Vāstospati*, who killest all diseases and wearest every form, be an auspicious friend to us" (*RV* VII. 54.1-3; VII. 55.1). *Vāstospati* hymn has been employed here to appease the presiding deity of the house; viz. *Vāstospati* for seeking welfare of all the inmates of the house, including their cattle. In this hymn, there is no reference to house-building or a new house. But the words, "*vāstospate prati ja ni hyasmānstavāveśo anamīvo bhavā nah/* i.e. acknowledge us O Guardian of the house, give us happy entrance" appear to imply that *Vāstospati* was prayed to give happy entrance to the new house. In the Vedic period, there might have been a custom of performing a ritual for appeasing the guardian deity of the house, on the occasion of first entry in the new house in which this hymn was employed. When the Gr. Ss. prescribed sacramental ritual for a new house, they incorporated this Ṛgvedic hymn in the performance of the ritual⁸⁶.

(4) Oblations were to be offered in all the directions.⁸⁷

(5) Food was to be served to *Brāhmanas* and their blessings were to be sought.⁸⁸

The *Āśv. Gr. S.* has enjoined that before the cooking of mess for the ritual in the new house, one should not cook any other food in the new house.⁸⁹ It may be pointed out here that it is only the *Gob. Gr. S.* and the *Khā. Gr. S.* which is based on the *Gob. Gr. S.*⁹⁰ that have prescribed a sacrifice of a black cow or a white goat, in both cases with *caru* 'oblation of rice or barley' boiled in milk; or sacrifice with *caru* if a cow or a goat is not available.⁹¹ The *Hir. Gr. S. and the Gob. Gr. S.* have enjoined an appeasement of *Vāstospati* every year.⁹² One should enter the house provided with seed corn,⁹³ accompanied by his wife and eldest son.⁹⁴

Vāstuśamana is a *saṁskāra* 'sacrament' for a new house, to sanctify it and make it fit for living (*saṁskāronāma sa bhavati yasmīn jate padārtho bhavati योग्या कस्यacidarthasya*).⁹⁵

Concluding Remarks

The above textual data on *Vāstu-karma* or *Śālākarma* i.e. house-building, available from the Gr.Ss. indicate only the beginning of *Vāstuvidyā* which was in a crude primitive form. Here there is no mention of foundation of a house, windows, and sanitary arrangement, measurements, and building materials, except wood; bricks have been mentioned while describing the shape of the plot for house-building; but bricks have not been mentioned as material for house-building; similarly there is no mention of mason and carpenter, their training and duties, instruments used by them. Here the house appears to be a wooden thatched house, but built with a certain definite plan which presumed a systematic house-building operation. In the opinion of Basham "use of wood in house-building can be attributed to the comparative scarceness of stone in the Gangetic Plain and to the abundance of timber where it is now scarce."⁹⁶

Construction activity was accompanied by a simple ritual. For performing this simple ritual there is no mention of the different priests required for a sacrifice. These rituals were *grhya*-rites, 'domestic' rites which could be performed by the house-owner himself. These rituals have their origin in the Vedic sacrifice. Prayers were to be offered to various divinities, cardinal quarters and the intermediate quarters. Rituals and prayers were necessary to seek protection and blessings from the divinities for the stability of the house, especially when the houses were built of flimsy material like wood. Besides, these rites were believed to possess mystical power which could avert evil. When a man builds a house for his shelter, he would always take into account as to how the unseen yet powerful elements around him would influence his life. Therefore, in addition to the performance of the rituals and offering of prayers to various deities in order to appease them, the *Sūtrakāras* have taken into account the superstitions and astronomical beliefs of the people. While building a house attention was paid to peace and prosperity and promotion of good health of the inmates of the house and hence we see here geography, astronomy, and religion permeating the house-building activity.

Śālākarma or *Vāstukarma* described in Gr. Ss. only represents the beginning of *Vāstuvidyā* or *Vāstusāstra* which was still in a primitive, crude form in the period of the composition of the Gr. Ss; in other words in the Gr. Ss. we have only the rudiments of *Vāstuvidyā*.

Notes and References

1. *AV* III. 12.1.
2. *Ibid* III. 12. 2.
3. *Ibid* III. 12. 3.
4. *Ibid* III. 12. 4 and Sāyaṇa's Commentary; and also *AV* III. 12.5.

5. *Ibid* III. 12.6.
6. *Ibid* III. 12.7.
7. *Ibid* IX. 3.4, 5; also cf. Acharya, Prasanna Kumar, *Indian Architecture, According to Mānasāra - Śilpaśāstra*, Vol. II, 2nd ed., p. 16.
8. *Āśv. Gr. S.* II. 7.1-11; II.8. 1-5; *Āpa.* VII. 17.1. *Gob. Gr. S.* IV. 7.1-13. *Mān. Gr. S.* XI. 1-6.
9. *Āśv. Gr. S.* II. 7.2.
10. *Ibid* II. 7.3.
11. *Ibid* II. 7.4.
12. *Ibid* II. 7.5; *Khā. Gr. S.* IV. 2.8.
13. *Āpa. Gr. S.* VII. 17.1.
14. *Gob. Gr. S.* IV. 7. 7-8; also *Khā. Gr. S.* IV. 2.8 and *Mān. Gr. S.* XI. 1.
15. *Gob. Gr. S.* IV. 7. 1-4 and Commentary by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa.
16. *Ibid* IV. 7.9-11; also *Khā. Gr. S.* IV. 2.9-11.
17. *Gob. Gr. S.* IV.7.20.
18. *Ibid* IV. 7.21.
19. *Ibid* IV. 7.22.
20. *Ibid* IV. 7.24.
21. *Gob. Gr. S.* IV. 7.12; also *Khā. Gr. S.* IV. 2.12.
22. *Ibid* IV. 2. 13; *Mān. Gr. S.* XI. 3.
23. *Āśv. Gr. S.*; II.7.5; also *Khā. Gr. S.* IV.2.7.
24. *Āśv. Gr. S.* II. 7.5 and Commentary of Devasvāmi and Nārāyaṇa.
25. *Āpa. Gr. S.* VII. 17.1.
26. *Gob. Gr. S.* IV. 7.3; also *Mān. Gr. S.* XI.4. also cf. *Khā. Gr. S.* IV. 2.7.
27. *Āśv. Gr. S.* II. 8.2.
28. *Ibid* II. 8.3.
29. *Ibid* II. 8.4.
30. *Ibid* II. 8.5.
31. *Mān. Gr. S.* XI. 1-6.
32. *Āśv. Gr. S.* II. 8.6-18; also *Khā. Gr. S.* IV. 2.6.
33. *Gob. Gr. S.* IV. 7.7.
34. Cf. Ghurye, G. S., *Caste And Class In India*, p. 94; also Apte, V.M. *Social and Religious Life In The Gṛhya Sūtras*; p. 13.

35. *Hir. Gr. S. I. 8.27.1; Pār. Gr. S. III. 4.1,2.*
36. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 8.9; also Hir. Gr. S. I. 27.1.*
37. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 8.10.*
38. *Āpa. Gr. S. VII. 17.1; also Āśv. Gr. S. II. 8.11; Mān. Gr. S. II. 7.2.*
39. According to the *Skanda Purāna* I. 1-4, at the time of dissolution of the world, God Brahmā produced fire with his two hands; from his hands were produced Bhrgu, and Aṅgīrasa who were two forms of fire. Fires created by these sages were used in the Vedic sacrifices. These fires are said to be represented by the *Aśvattha* and *Śamī* tree.
40. *Mān. Gr. S. XI. 8.*
41. *Ibid XI. 10.*
42. *RV. X. 9.1.*
43. *Ibid X. 9.2; also AV. I. 5.2.*
44. *RV. X. 9.30; also AV. II.8.12.*
45. *Āpa. Gr. S. VII 17.3; cf. also Hir. Gr. S. I. 27.1.*
46. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 8.14.*
47. *Pār. Gr. S. III. 4.3.*
48. *Mān. Gr. S. XI. 7.*
49. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 8.15.*
50. *Āpa. Gr. S. VII. 17.5; YV. II. 5.5.*
51. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 8.16; Mān. Gr. S. XI.2; Pār. Gr. S. III. 4.4; Śān. Gr. S. III. 2.557-559 also cf. AV. III. 12.7.*
52. *Hir. Gr. S. I. 27.3,4.*
53. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 7.1; Āpa. Gr. S. VII. 17.5. Hir. Gr. S. I. 27.7; Mān. Gr. S. XI.14 cf. also AV. III. 12.6.*
54. *Mān. Gr. S. XI. 15; Pār. Gr. S. III. 4.3,4.*
55. *Gob. Gr. S. IV. 7.27-41; cf. also Khā. Gr. S. IV. 2.20-22.*
56. *Gob. Gr. S. IV. 7.25-27.*
57. Cf. Bhattacharya Tarapada, *A Study of Vāstuvidyā; Canons of Indian Architecture*, p. 4.
58. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 7.7 also II. 7.6.*
59. *Ibid II. 7.8.*
60. Cf. Shukla, D. N.; *Śilpa Śāstra - Hindu Achievements In Aeronautics And Fine Arts*; p. 259.
61. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 7.9.*

62. *Gob. Gr. S. IV. 7.14*; also *Khā. Gr. S. IV. 2.14*.
63. *Gob. Gr. S. IV. 7.15*; also *Khā. Gr. S. IV.2.15*.
64. *Gob. Gr. S. IV.7.16*; also *Khā. Gr. S. IV. 2.16*. and *Mān. Gr. S. XI. 16*.
65. *Gob. Gr. S. IV. 7.17*.
66. *Ibid. IV. 7.18*; also *Khā. Gr. S. IV. 2.17*.
67. *Gob. Gr. S. IV. 7.19*; also *Khā. Gr. S. IV. 2.18*. "*Khā. Gr. S.* is based on the *Gob. Gr. S.* from which it has taken the greater number of aphorisms." (Oldenberg Hermann; *Sacred Books of the East, (Grhya Sūtras) Part I*; p. 371.
68. *Mān. Gr. S. XI. 16*.
69. *Śān. Gr. S. III. 3.560*.
70. *Ibid. III 3.561*.
71. *Ibid. III. 3.562*.
72. *Ibid. III. 3.563*.
73. *Ibid. III. 3.564* and commentary.
74. *Ibid. III. 3.565*.
75. *Ibid. III. 3. 566*.
76. *Ibid. III. 3.567*.
77. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 9.3*.
78. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 9.4*.
79. Oldenberg, Hermann; *The Grhya Sūtras - Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies, Part I*, p. 214.
80. Haradatta on *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 9.4*.
81. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 9.5*.
82. Cf. "Religion permeated the whole existence of the ancient Indians to such an extent that actually nothing could take place without an attendant religious ceremony." Winternitz, Maurice, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 274; also cf. Apte, V.M.; *Social And Religious Life In The Grhya Sūtras*, pp. 65, 90, 206.
83. 1. *Āpa. Gr. S. IV. 17.12-13*; 2. *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 9.6-9, II. 10.1*; 3. *Bod. Gr. S. III. 9*; 4. *Gob. Gr. S. IV. 7.25-38*; 5. *Hir. Gr. S. I. 28.1-2*; 6. *Jai. Gr. S. II. 6;7*; 7. *Khā. Gr. S. IV. 2.25-27*; 8. *Mān. Gr. S. XI. 19*; 9. *Pār. Gr. S. III. 4.5-7*; 10. *Śān. Gr. S. III. 4*.
84. *Āpa. Gr. S. VIII 17.13*; *Āśv. Gr. S. II. 9.7*.
85. *Āpa. Gr. S. VII. 17.12*; *Bod. Gr. S. III. 9.9*.
86. "Whenever a new ritual came into practice, it for sanctity based itself on certain Vedic texts" – Upadhyaya, Gangaprasad; *Prācina Vaijñānikādhyayanam*, p. 411.
87. *Gob. Gr. S. IV. 7. 32-34*; *Khā. Gr. S. IV. 2.25, 26*.

88. *Āpa. Gr. S.* VII. 17.13; *Āśv. Gr. S.* II. 9.9; *Bod. Gr. S.* III. 9.9; *Pār. Gr. S.* III. 4.19.
89. Cf. Nārāyaṇa's Commentary on *Āśv. Gr. S.* II. 9.9.
90. *Gob. Gr. S.* IV. 7.25, 26, 28 and also *Khā. Gr. S.* IV. 2. 19-21.
91. *Hir. Gr. S.* I. 28.2; *Gob. Gr. S.* IV. 7.38; *Khā. Gr. S.* IV. 2.27.
92. *Āśv. Gr. S.* II. 10.2.
93. *Śān. Gr. S.* III. 4.576.
94. Cf. Śabara on *Jaiminiya Sūtra* III. 1.3.
95. Basham, A.L., *The Wonder That Was India*, p. 350.
96. *Ibid.*

Abbreviations

1.	<i>Āpa. Gr. S.</i>	=	<i>Āpastambagr̥hyasūtra.</i>
2.	<i>Āśv. Gr. S.</i>	=	<i>Āśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtra.</i>
3.	<i>AV.</i>	=	<i>Atharvaveda.</i>
4.	<i>Bod. Gr. S.</i>	=	<i>Bodhāyanagr̥hyasūtra.</i>
5.	<i>Gob. Gr. S.</i>	=	<i>Gobhilagr̥hyasūtra.</i>
6.	<i>Hir. Gr. S.</i>	=	<i>Hiranyakeśigr̥hyasūtra.</i>
7.	<i>Jai. Gr. S.</i>	=	<i>Jaiminiyagr̥hyasūtra.</i>
8.	<i>Khā. Gr. S.</i>	=	<i>Khādiragr̥hyasūtra.</i>
9.	<i>Mān. Gr. S.</i>	=	<i>Mānavagr̥hyasūtra.</i>
10.	<i>Pār. Gr. S.</i>	=	<i>Pāraskaragr̥hyasūtra.</i>
11.	<i>RV.</i>	=	<i>Rgveda.</i>
12.	<i>Śān. Gr. S.</i>	=	<i>Śāṅkhāyānagr̥hyasūtra.</i>
13.	<i>YV.</i>	=	<i>Yajurveda.</i>

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THE SCORPION APSARĀS AT KHAJURAHO :

MIGRATIONS OF A SYMBOL

SIMONA COHEN

Depictions of the apsarā with a scorpion on her thigh (henceforth 'scorpion apsarā') on the temples of Khajuraho have been noted or reproduced in most publications of this monumental art, but critical inquiry into its meaning in conspicuously lacking (Plate 1). While the Lakṣmaṇa, dating to the second half of the 10th century, lacks this theme, it seems to have made its first appearance in the *garbhagr̥ha* wall of the Pārśvanātha (c. 970) and is also seen on the *garbhagr̥ha* wall of the Viśvanātha temple, dated by an inscription to 999 A.D. This was followed in the early 11th century by the Citragupta temple with two scorpion apsarās on the exterior, the Devī Jagadambī with two on the exterior and one in the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, and the Kandariyā Mahādeva (c. 1030) with ten on the exterior and two in the *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. The Vāmana, Javari, Ādinātha (Jain) temples of the second half of the 11th century and the Caturbhujā of the early 12th century each have one scorpion apsarā on the exterior. On the later Dulādeo temple, probably built towards the mid twelfth century, the theme no longer appears. Thus we have a total of 23 extant figures integrated into the sculptural programme of eight temples. It is possible that additional scorpion apsarās belonging to the 11th century temples at Khajuraho have been destroyed or dislocated.

Some authors, disregarding the symbolic connotations of this figure, simply explained that she was disrobing out of fear of the scorpion,¹ others merely stated that it was a "symbolic scorpion" or made no comment whatsoever. Recently Devangana Desai, in an admirable attempt to decipher this enigmatic iconography as part of the entire programme, explained these apsarās as auspicious *alaṅkāra* with "fertility symbolism suggested by their poses" and as *śaktis* or powers who help in the process of cosmic creation.² As auspicious *alaṅkāra* motifs they were grouped with other images, such as the *vyāla* and *mīthuna*, but no explanation was given in this context for the scorpion and its specific iconographic function.³ We still do not know why the scorpion on the temples is associated uniquely with the apsarā and what significance is conveyed by its prominent position on her thigh.

Several lines of research will be followed in order to elucidate the specific iconographic significance and function of the scorpion apsarā on the temple. Following a brief review of the apsarās and the scorpion as separate motifs,

an attempt will be made to analyze various visual precedents and iconographic connotations of the symbolic scorpion in its historical and geographical migrations and to identify sources for the apsarās/scorpion combination. My interpretation will also take into consideration the implications suggested by the context of erotic temple iconography.⁴

The Apsarā Motif

Both in literature and art the beautiful heavenly nymphs, called apsarās, are generally conceived of as a group and, as such, share identity, personality, behavioral characteristics and even physiognomy. As semi-divine celestial beings they are often associated with Gandharvas and other celestial groups in the Purāṇic and Epic literature. Their abode is the sacred mountain, often the summits of Mount Meru, where the cities of the guardians of the quarters are also situated.⁵ In some sources they appear to have personified the element of water and the principle of Creation. Their association with water is reiterated in the Purāṇas, where they are said to have sprung from the Churning of the Ocean, to engage in water sports, and to appear with other groups, like Nāgas, which are also connected to water and fertility.⁶ In the Churning of the Ocean, they are part of a creation myth where everything produced was of an auspicious nature, connected to fecundity (the cow of plenty), prosperity and abundance (Śrī), eroticism (the horse, the coral tree - an aphrodisiac), fertility (Airāvata), immortality (amṛta), and so on. The association of the apsarās with the goddess Śrī, personification of prosperity, abundance, welfare and beauty, is repeated in various sources.⁷

Apsarās in the literature are also located on trees and in woods, lakes and rivers.⁸ Another reflection of their identification with water and fertility is their frequent association with Indra, guardian and liberator of the fertile waters and divine rainmaker.⁹ The apsarās play cymbals, lutes, tambours and drums, they also sing and dance in heaven with the Gandharvas.¹⁰ Their musical aspect is beautifully illustrated in the Hoysala temples of Karnataka, for example, as also in those of Khajuraho.

The eroticism of the apsarā, as the embodiment of sexual desire and pleasure, is emphasized in myths which relate how devoted sages and ascetics are corrupted by her seductions and consequently lose the powers they had acquired through austerities.¹¹ On some occasions she is even associated with gamblers and robbers.¹² I will subsequently relate to the ambivalence inherent in this combination of auspiciousness and malevolence and present parallels in the symbolism of the scorpion.

Although the apsarās were occasionally listed by name and several of them, like Urvaśī, Rambhā and Menakā, were central protagonists in myths,¹³ they were not assigned individual identifying attributes in artistic depictions. In an attempt to explain the lack of correspondence between the literary

description of Bhadrakālī and her artistic image, Granhoff remarked that this goddess was "part of a symbolic group in which the exact appearance of the individual members, and in fact their identity as well, was less significant than the number and configuration of the group as a whole."¹⁴ This also applies to the sculpted apsarās who are depicted as anonymous members of their group. Hypothetically, therefore, an explicit textual source is not likely to exist for a symbolic attribute that defines their generic nature. In other words, it can tentatively be assumed that we are not going to find a text that provides a literal description or explanation for the image of an apsarā with a scorpion on her thigh and that a visual, rather than a literary tradition, might be more revealing.

The Scorpion

Although the scorpion, from its inception as an archaic visual symbol, was associated with the positive concepts of fertility and procreation, its morbid identifications are those which are accentuated in Indian myths. There are few references to scorpions in the Epic and Purāṇic literature. The scorpion was an attribute of a fierce and destructive form of Kālī.¹⁵ In several of the Purāṇas scorpion and serpents are worn as ornaments by Śiva in his *aghora* aspect.¹⁶ The fear and revulsion aroused by the vision of the poisonous and deadly tail seems to underlay many of the scorpion's symbolic associations, even the positive ones. In the hot eastern climates, where hoards of multiplying scorpions constituted a constant threat, the noxious creature became an archetypal image of illness and death. Their peculiar habit of linking on to each other obviously inspired the descriptions of Śiva and Kālī wearing necklaces of scorpions.¹⁷ The theory and common belief that scorpions were self-generating helps explain their characterization as creatures of fertility,¹⁸ although this association probably derives from their habitation in the earth. But just as it could beget itself, the scorpion could cause its own death and, by dying, provide the cure for its own poison.¹⁹ Thus the scorpion could signify protection or cure and as such would be used as an apotropaic image on talismans, on the body, or on the temple. Among the means mentioned by Roman sources for the protection against scorpions are plants called *scorpiuron* and *scorpio*.²⁰ The *Agni Purāṇa* prescribes an herb called *vr̥ścika* (the word for scorpion) for the cure of epilepsy.²¹ Is it possible that *vr̥ścika*, like the Roman *scorpioides*, was also used as a prophylactic against scorpion bite or for its cure?

Besides being used to denote the noxious animal and a curative herb, the word *vr̥ścika* also refers to the zodiacal constellation Scorpio in Indian literature, assuming symbolic connotations that will be discussed below. The Sanskrit *vr̥ścika* and the Greco-Latin scorpion/Scorpio were evidently parallel terms and conveyed the same meanings. In both East and West the image of the scorpion represented conflicting concepts relating, on the one hand,

to procreation and fertility and, on the other, to malediction and death. From this synthesis, with its inherent ambivalence, was derived a powerful motif of apotropaic and magic protection.

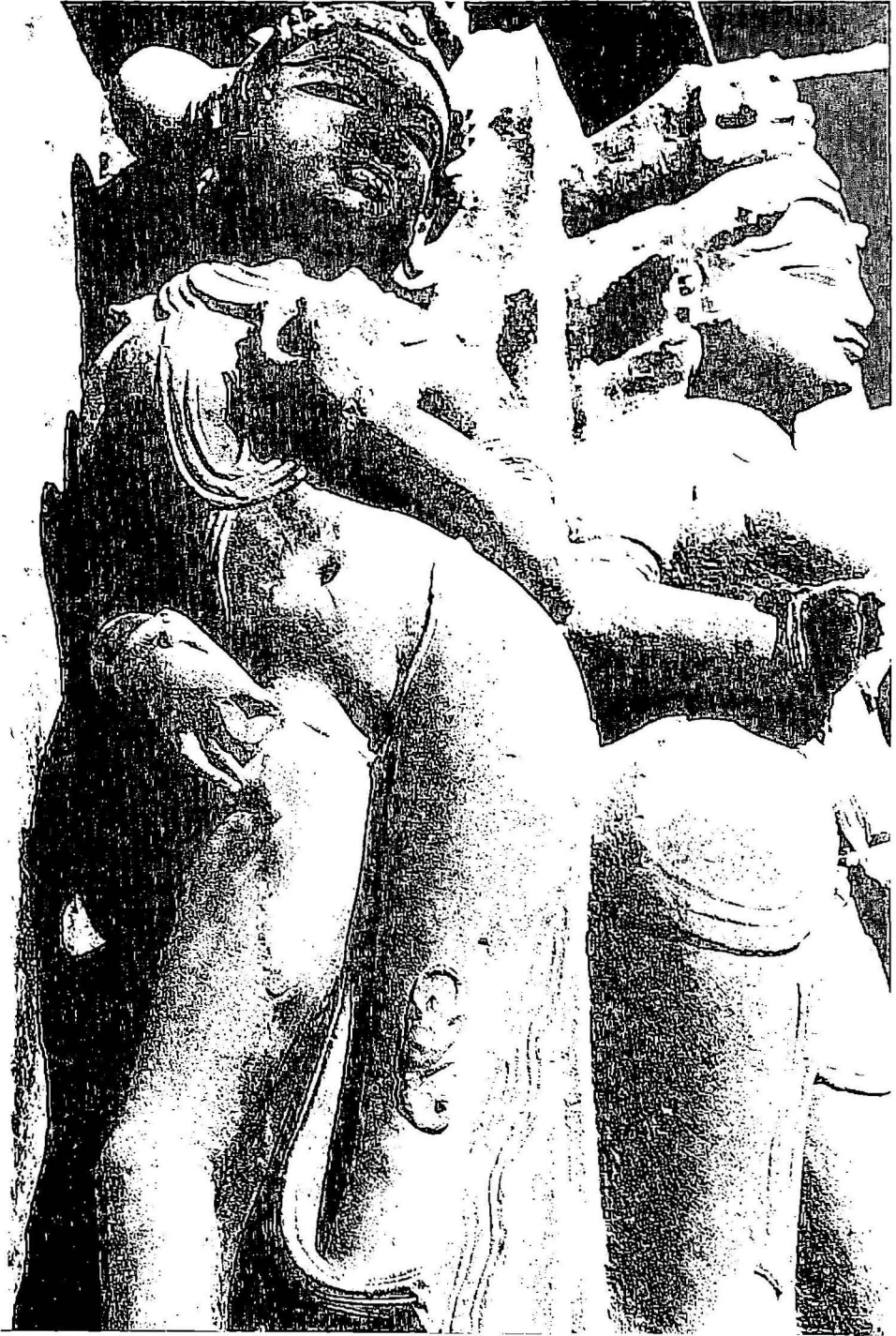
The Scorpion as a Visual Motif : Sources and Precedents

The earliest extant visual sources of the scorpion motif were found in ancient Mesopotamia and in the Indus Valley and can roughly be assigned to the third millennium B.C. On a seal from Rahman Dheri in the Indus Valley two large scorpions flank a nude female figure (a goddess?), who spreads her thighs to display the pudenda in a frog position with arms raised, perhaps in an attitude of prayer (Fig. 1). Examples of the "fertility goddess" in this position have sometimes been interpreted as the personified yoni.²² The Indus Valley seal not only attests the indigenous and early provenance of this nude fertility goddess displaying her genitals, but it also links the figure with the scorpion motif.

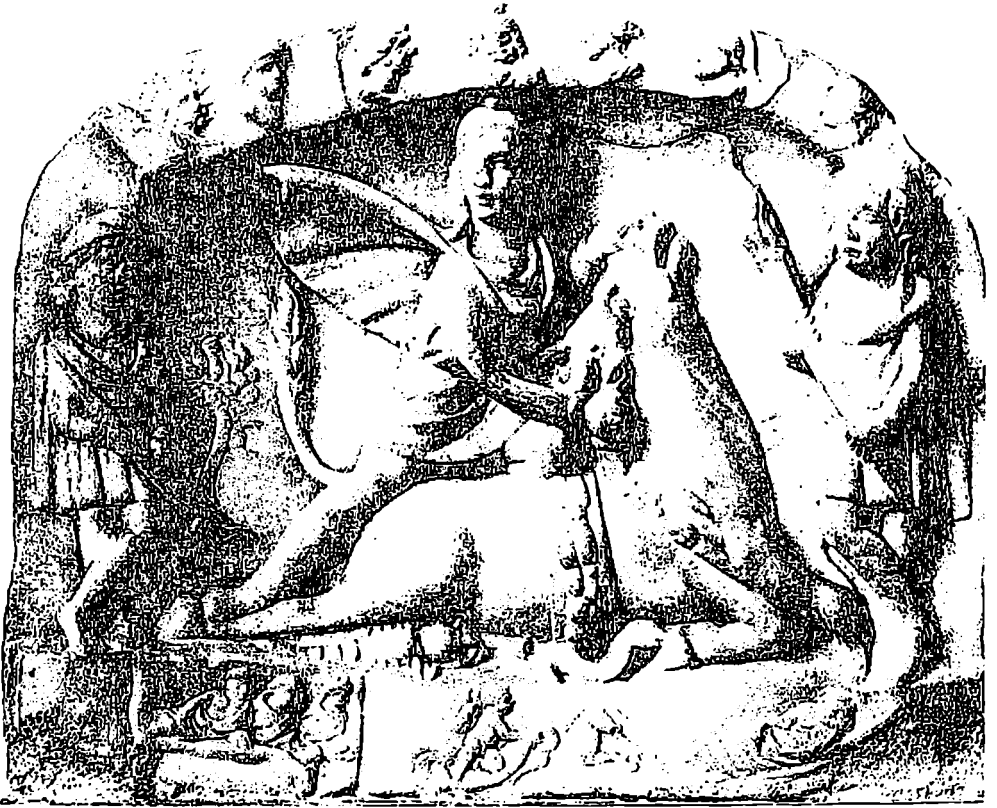


Fig. 1 : Seal from Rahman Dheri, Indus Valley, c. 2000 B.C.

On a seal from Ur (Fig. 2) the scorpion is placed behind a Brahmin bull with serpents above and below. A figure decked with ornaments, that appears to be female, is touching the scorpion's tail with some sort of an implement.²³ Two fruit-bearing palm trees flank the scene. This combination



Apsarā with a Scorpion, Khajuraho, Kandariyā Mahādeva, c. 1030.



Mithraic Bull-Slaying Scene, Relief from Bonania, Italy,
2nd century, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico (inv.
No. G. 1051). It was stolen in 1982 and is no longer there.

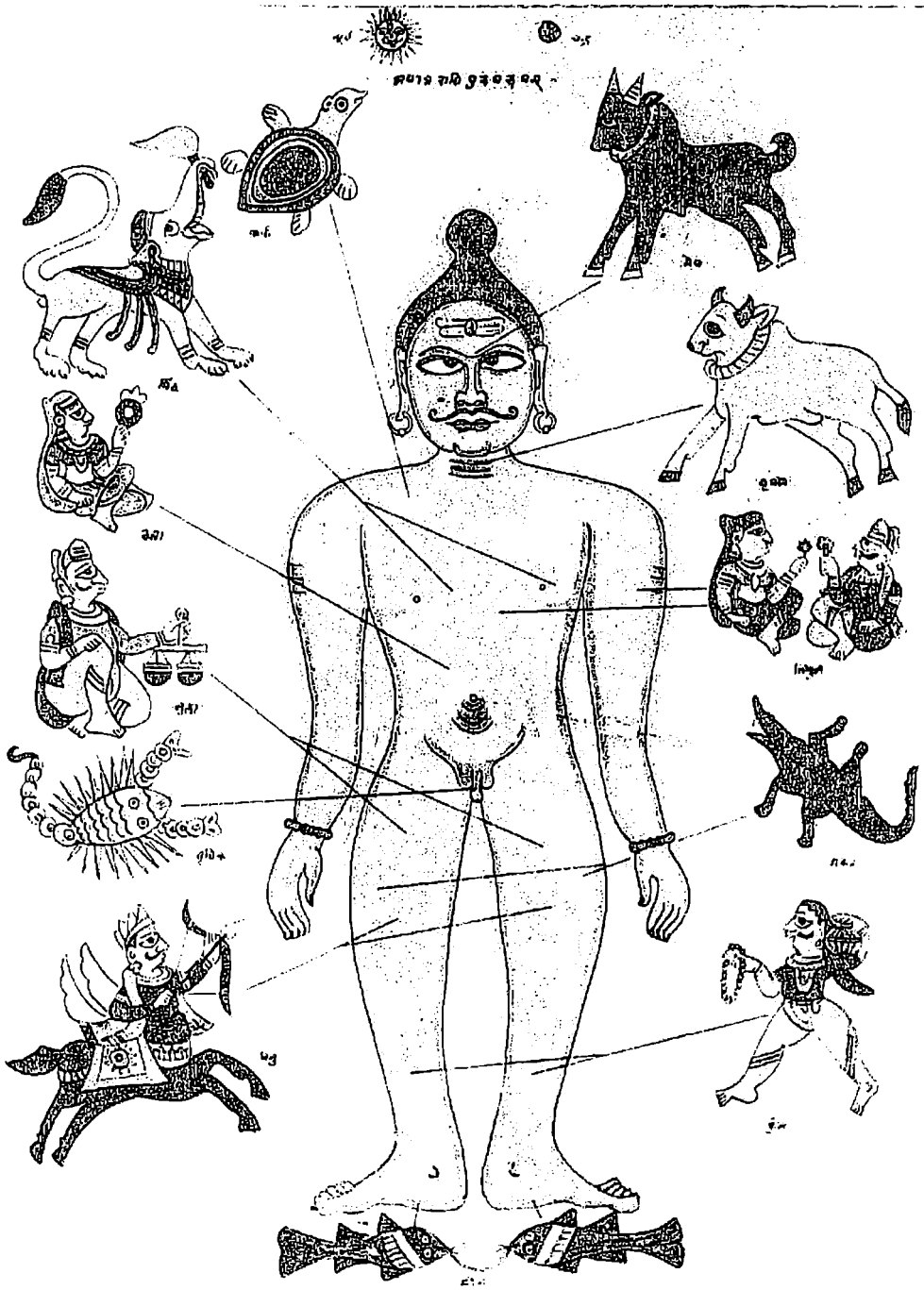


Hæc utriusque mensura tabula, quæ Romæ in ædibus Octaviani Zenonis post theatrum Pompeij d'Augustina Fidei extat, hinc signis ornata, veteres terrarum naturarumque præcipua optimaque agrorum virtutes significandi voluerunt. Quæ assidue labori, sed castitatis, infans illi, quibus labor Saturnibus, et natalibus antiquisque sideribus curam dignitatis, fortitudinis, prudentiæ, fidei, et diligentia, terrarum sanguine recte ignavos tractat, et præcipue taurum frugumque prælatum et tractatum tempore, arboribus, excelsioribusque abstrusis præsentant fructus.

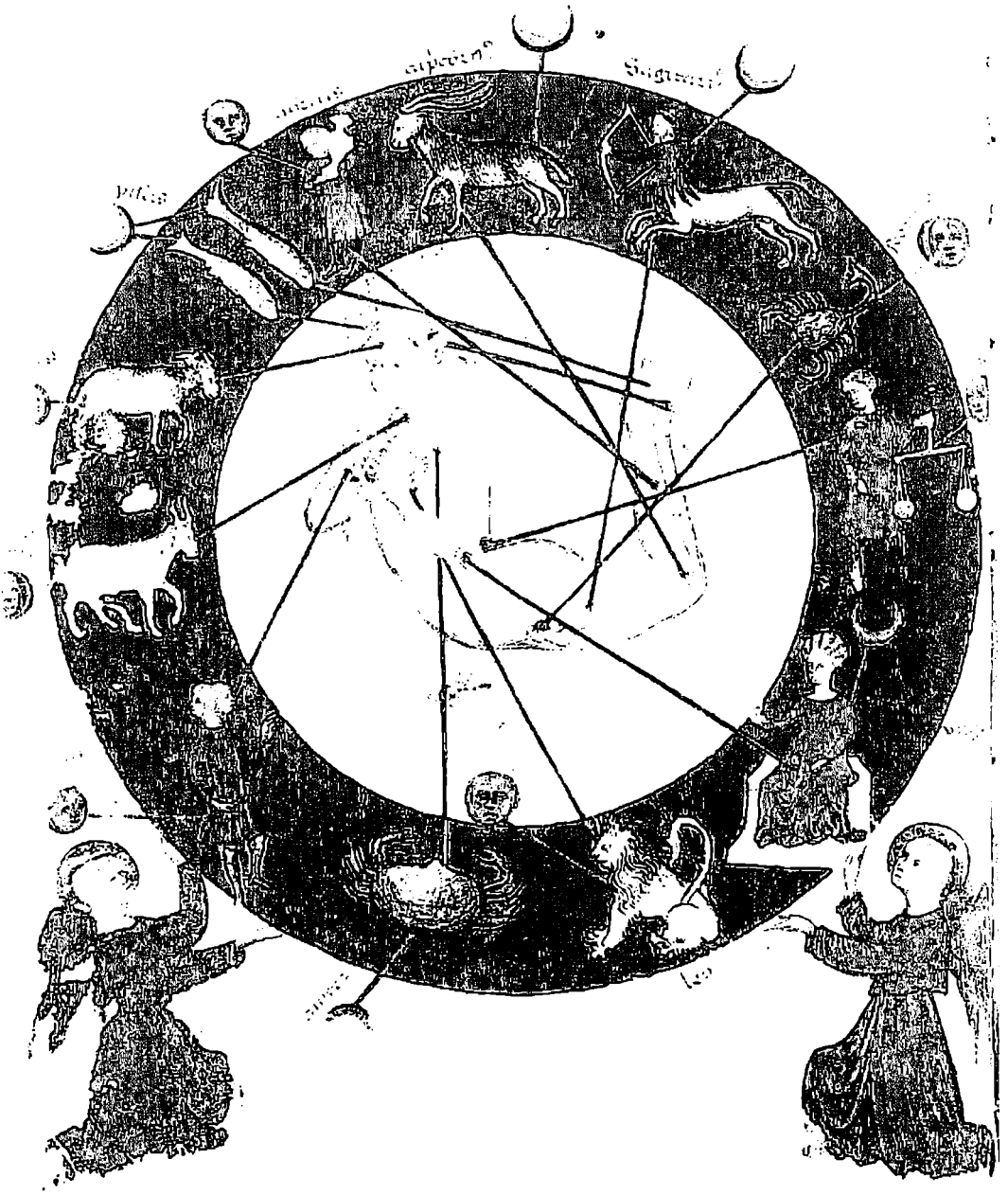
A Sol arvens	F Quædam luce temperata, visus	M Gladius uno infans qui	R Casere qui exardescit
B R rursus natas solis comas	G rursusque, plura, utrum erupit	Laborum ostendit	S serpens qui generatorem
C Jura sua temper, orbes,	G illi factum exultans	N Sanguis qui terra fructus decernit	T serps que terra fructus designat
anidus, orbis,	Hæc fura legitur	O Cæcis qui sunt o' fides	V Arbor nemora cum temporis
D Luna occidens	I Ceruus qui diligentiam significat	P serpens qui præsentat	que generatorem
E R rursus natas velox luna,	K Terra laboribus optima et digni agrorum	Q Cæcis qui rubeo vel feruntur	X Arbor hircina cum hirci capite
sideris præcipua recessu illa dicitur	L Das hirci rursus qui terram designat	significatur	laborem significat.

Antoni Leiferi Regium formis Anni m d c lxxij.

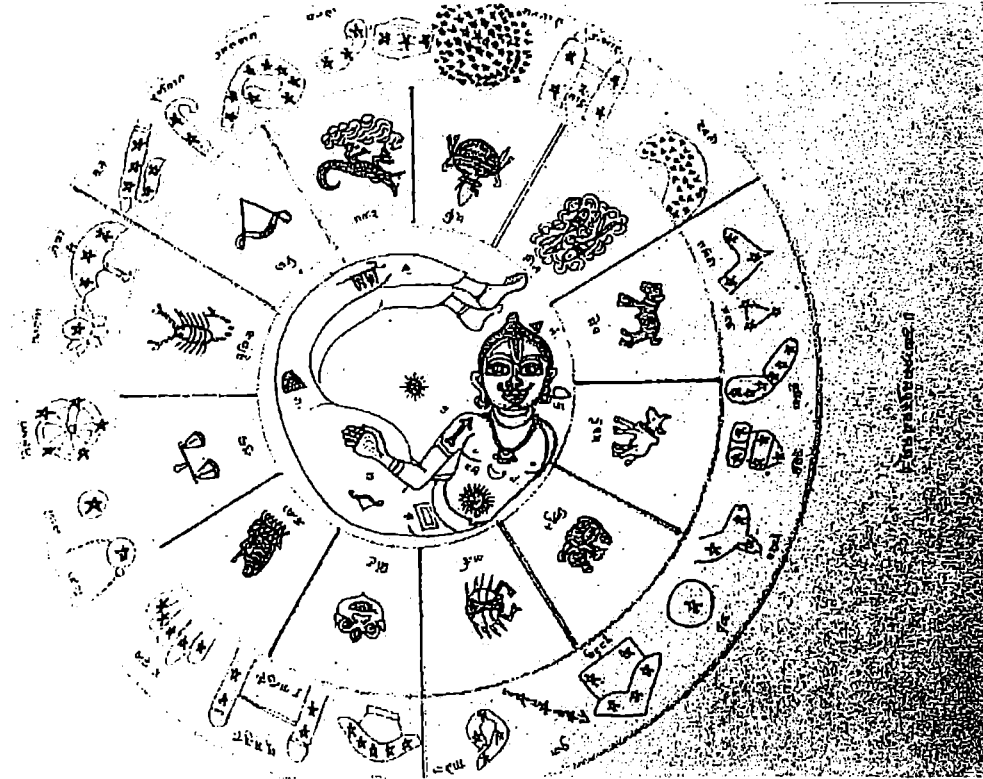
Mithraic Bull-Slaying Scene, anonymous engraving of the Ottaviano Zeno Monument from A. Lafreri, Speculum Romanæ magnificentæ (Rome, 1548), Rotterdam, Boijmans-Van-Beuningen Museum.



Rāsi Puruṣa from astrologer's chart, Gujarat, 20th century.



Zodiac Man, Vat. Urb. Lat. 1398, Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, 15th century.



Gruha and Kāla Puruṣa from an astrologer's chart,
Gujarat, 20th century (reproduced from Sivapriyananda).

of the bull, scorpion, serpent and fruitful tree motifs all seem to reinforce the fertility symbolism which is also related to the female figure.

In Mesopotamia the scorpion represented Ishara, the goddess of fertility, marriage and its consummation, who presided over the *hieros gamos*.²⁴ A depiction of the scorpion on a famous Babylonian *kudurrū* or boundary stone of the twelfth century B.C. seems to refer, as the other animals depicted, to one of the local gods or goddesses, with possible fertility and astronomical associations.

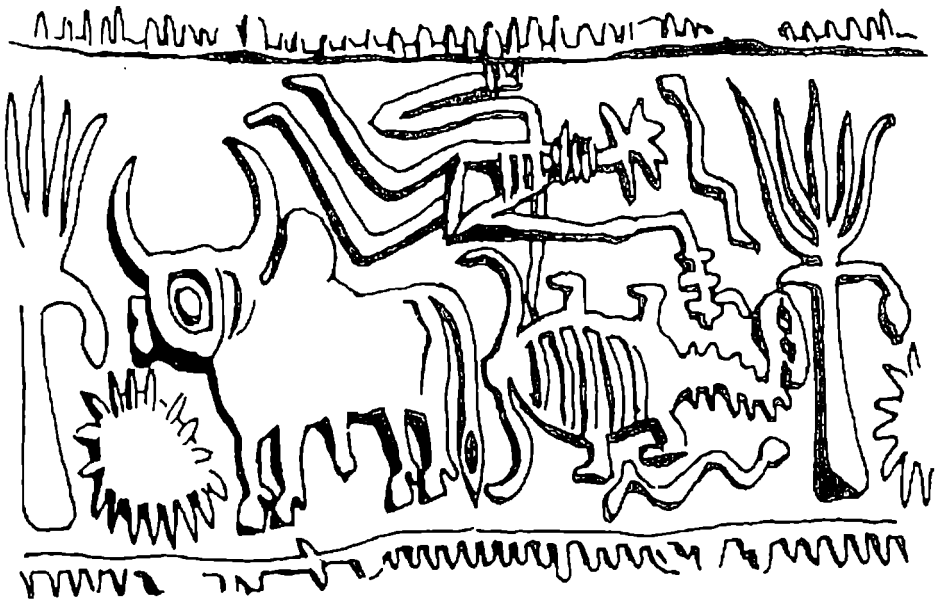


Fig. 2. Seal from Ur, Mesopotamia, c. 2000 B.C.

The above examples already illustrate the scorpion's visual identification with fertility and procreation, and its early indigenous association with depictions of the fertile female and the fertility goddess displaying her genitals. Although I cannot find evidence for a continuous tradition of this iconography in the history of Indian art, symbolic variants were produced in neighbouring or otherwise related cultures, providing some links between the proto and early historical manifestations and medieval Hindu culture. The Mesopotamian tradition was perpetuated in the religious symbolism of the Near East. The scorpion as a beneficial symbol of life and prosperity became the symbol of Shadrafa, a Semitic divinity of healing and fertility.²⁵ In Egypt Isis, as a fertility goddess, controlled snakes and scorpions and utilized their poison in magic or neutralized

it in curative spells. Scorpions were attached to other goddesses with similar functions.²⁶ In the Greco-Roman world the scorpion became sacred to Hermes and was associated with Artemis, Tyche, Apollo and others in beneficial capacities.

The Mithraic Scorpion and Astrological Symbolism

The scorpion of Mithraic iconography, although still shrouded in some mystery, constitutes a fascinating link in the chronological development of our theme. As part of a unique iconographic programme, its importance also lies in the synthesis of Eastern and Western traditions, and the evidence it provides for the migrations of concepts and images.

The tauroctony, or bull-slaying scene, commonly depicted in the Mithraic grotto throughout the territory of the Roman Empire in the second and third centuries, has been the primary source for reconstructing Mithraic beliefs and cult practices. Among the recurrent elements in this scene of Mithras sacrificing the bull is a large scorpion below the bull which approaches, or actually grasps, the animal's genitals (Plate II). Below the scorpion is a serpent, which sometimes moves towards the fresh wound, and a dog that jumps at the bull's chest to lick the blood, fluid of life. Ears of corn sprout from the bull's tail as it is sacrificed. In at least two extant versions a symbolic tree was depicted on either side of the sacrificial scene (Plate III)²⁷. A large scorpion, linked by his tail to a fruit-bearing tree at left, was juxtaposed by a bull's-head hanging from an evergreen at right, contrasting the seasons of autumn and spring, as related to the equinoxes, in terms of fertility and sterility. Scorpio is the sign of autumn, when the process of agricultural rejuvenation is promoted through plowing and sowing. The torchbearers, whose torches are represented there, were also found carrying the scorpion or the bull's-head.²⁸ The association of the scorpion and genital motif, which we have already noted on an Indus Valley seal, with other motifs of fertility, such as the ears of corn and fruit-bearing tree, and the participation of the solar deity in the Mithraic narrative, define the sacrificial act in terms of generative forces and the rejuvenation of nature.

Cumont's original interpretation of the scorpion motif as a destructive force, perceived in the context of Zoroastrian cosmology, was generally rejected,²⁹ and it has been perceived by most scholars as a symbol of abundance, good fortune and fertility, as well as an apotropaic image, based on its association with various deities in the Greco-Roman world. But Cumont in 1896 already recognized the astral significance of the scorpion, cited Roman astrological sources for its association with the genitals as part of the zodiacal *melothesia*, and stated "toutes les figures sidérales pouvaient rappeler la fécondité, que la chaleur de l'été amène sur la terre."³⁰ In fact, Manilius, Sextus Empiricus and later authors explained that the constellation of the scorpion controls the genitals, sexual passion, fertility and progeny,³¹ and their astrological texts

constituted a major factor in the diffusion of this conception throughout the Classical world and beyond, even as we shall see, to India. But let us first reassess these interpretations regarding the source of the scorpion in Mithraic iconography.

In 1937-38 Van Buren concluded that, like the serpent with which it was frequently shown, the Babylonian scorpion was associated with the constellation Hydra and was an essentially beneficial figure. He claimed it could be similarly explained on Mithraic monuments, where the scorpion absorbs the semen of the bull because it was considered a symbol of generation.³² In recent years several authors have emphasized the importance of astronomical-astrological doctrine in Mithraic iconography,³³ but none of them appears to have recognized the fact that the Mithraic scorpion attacking the genitals does not only reflect a western astrological precept, but was derived from a much older tradition whose sources lie precisely in that area where the worship of the Indo-Iranian god Mitra/Mithra was first documented in the Vedas and the Avesta. Roman and Hellenistic authors followed ancient Eastern precedents in establishing the connection between Scorpio and the genitals by assigning to the celestial scorpion characteristics which had been associated with his terrestrial counterpart. In other words, despite its dislocation from its native soil and its assimilation to western forms, there is reason to assume that the Mithraic scorpion, in both concept and image, derives from Indo-Iranian sources whose inspiration is also preserved in the indigenous image of the scorpion apsarās.

The scorpion approaching the bull's genitals cannot be interpreted merely as a zodiacal sign, because another scorpion generally appears among the signs surmounting the tauroctony as a celestial and temporal representation. This does not rule out the possibility that the pre-existing image of the scorpion, with its connotations of fertility, was reinforced by Classical astrological theory, as seems to be the case in these late Roman monuments, with their unique fusion of Iranian, Phrygian and Greco-Roman elements. On the other hand, multiple examples of the scorpion image on Sassanian seals (4th & 5th centuries), for example, and later on Islamic amulets, attest the tenacity of this symbol in Iranian art.³⁴ Although the meaning of the scorpion in the Sassanian examples has yet to be clarified, there appears to be some continuity, for example, in the image of the scorpion as a predominant motif depicted above or behind a lion (a stellar symbol) which assumedly conveys some beneficial meaning related to cosmic fecundity and prosperity. A 10th century amulet of a scorpion "attacking" the tail of the lion was used for curing kidney stones and as a magical device.³⁵ The first function illustrates the astrological association between Scorpio and the body, the second indicates the apotropaic significance.

The Question of the Scorpion in Indian Iconography

In India, during the period of the Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa dynasties and subsequently under the Guptas, when Hindu iconographic conventions were defined in monumental art, there is little evidence of the scorpion in analogous contexts. A beautiful female figure (Indian Museum, Calcutta, Acc. No. 25021) of which only the lower part survives, is a unique example from the 5th century which combines a disrobing female with the scorpion as a fertility motif. The scorpion, a lizard and another small creature, now damaged, do not appear on the body but crawl on a rocky base below, anticipating the Hoysala figures of the 12th and 13th centuries.³⁶ A dancing gaṇa from Panna, also assigned to the Gupta period, wears a scorpion amulet on a string around his neck. A similar figure can be seen in Cave No. 29 at Ellora.³⁷ These gaṇas provide evidence of the actual use of the scorpion image as an amulet on the body from the 5th century on. The implications of this tradition will be discussed below. But both the scorpion amulet and the association of a sensuous female with a scorpion are rare in early Indian art. The scorpion, as an earth creature, was not generally associated with feminine personifications of fertility, like the Yakṣī, Śrī, or the river goddesses, who were depicted either with aquatic creatures or with those which came to represent water in Indian art, such as serpents and elephants (both called *nāgas*). We have seen that the apsarās were variously identified with aquatic fecundity and were frequently mentioned with Indra, who controlled the cosmic waters. He also rode the elephant Airāvata, the image of a bloated rain cloud and consequently a symbol of water and fertility.

The scorpion, on the other hand, is known in late medieval Indian art as an attribute of violence and death. A so-called "scorpion-goddess" found in Northwest and Central India, including one in the Khajuraho museum, has been identified as a fierce and destructive form of Kālī, known in the literature as Bhadrakālī.³⁸ Depicted with a scorpion in the hollow of her belly, this emaciated and repulsive figure with withered breasts is antithetic to the full-blossomed young apsarā figure who is provocatively displaying the sexuality of her ripe breasts and exposed genital area. Another scorpion depiction, functioning as the *vāhana* of a Yoginī statue at Hirapur (Orissa), is also of doubtful relevance to the Khajuraho apsarā. Each of the Sixty-Four Yoginīs, associated as a group with a militant form of Devī and with Bhairava, had a different *vāhana*. The Yoginī's scorpion may express her role as *kṣetra-rakṣikā* (protector of the land) or her function in averting calamities and epidemics. But I would not entirely rule out the possibility that this scorpion can be explained by the fact that the Yoginīs were also worshipped for obtaining progeny.³⁹

Considering the rarity of scorpion images in the context of Indian fertility symbolism and the traditional association of the scorpion with negative concepts,

primarily in Śaiva iconography, how can we explain their almost unprecedented appearance as the attribute of a female fertility figure from the 10th century? Although the theme does not appear in most late medieval Indian sculpture, the depiction of the scorpion apsarā at Khajuraho was not an isolated phenomenon. A similar apsarā with a scorpion ascending her thigh, for example, on the Mārkaṇḍa temple in Mahārāshtra, can also be assigned to the 11th century.

Can we find evidence of the association between the scorpion and concepts of fertility in medieval India to justify this interpretation?

Astrological Texts and the Scorpion of the Melothesia

The earliest extant evidence for the astrological association in India between the scorpion and human genitals is found in the *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujidhvaja, dated 269/270 A.D. This Sanskrit astrological treatise, however, was a prose translation of an earlier text by a so-called Yavaneśvara "Lord of the Greeks", dating from 149/150 A.D.⁴⁰ In his study of the *Yavanajātaka* Pingree, demonstrating that Yavaneśvara's translation was made from a Greek text that probably came from Alexandria, presented valuable evidence of "the direct transmission of scientific knowledge from the ancient world of the Mediterranean to the ancient world of India."⁴¹ But Yavaneśvara's second century translation was just a link, albeit crucial for this study, in the transmission of Hellenistic astrological concepts that actually originated in Egypt in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C.⁴² The ideas of demonic influence on the human body and the natural sympathy between microcosm and macrocosm were combined with the Babylonian zodiac in forming the concept of the zodiacal *melothesia*. It was in this context that the theory of Scorpio's domination over the genitals appeared, first in a Hermetic medical context and subsequently, as part of the fundamental doctrines of astrological science, it was diffused by Greek and Latin texts.

In four different verses of the *Yavanajātaka* Sphujidhvaja reiterates the association between Scorpio and the genitals. There are two additional references to Scorpio's affect on sexual desire. The Sanskrit word for genitals used in the text is *guhyanī*, an equivalent of the Greek *aidoia*, used in the same context in the Hermetic *Hiera Biblos*, and the Latin *natura*, which Firmicus Maternus likewise employs with the same meaning.⁴³ These words equally denote male or female organs of generation. The following excerpts from Sphujidhvaja are explicit in regard to Scorpio's control over the male and female genitals and its responsibility for sexual passion.

"The eighth (sign) has the shape of a scorpion in its hole; it is said to be the region of the genitals of the Lord."⁴⁴ (Ch.1, 21)

"In Scorpio are... crawling creatures, scorpions (vṛścika), mongooses and

lizards...and those who obey other men's wives but wrong their own wives, flesh, stomachs, and female and male sexual organs.... (Ch. 4, 16-17)

"If Scorpio is in the ascendant, the native is... a man who dies because of such things as...his passion for women or imprisonment." (Ch.19, 36-40)

"If the eighth (sign) is in the ascendant, he is thinking of acquiring foods...or of the defiling of his genitals." (Ch. 58, 8)

"The Sun in the eighth sign (Scorpio) in the ascendant causes him to think of poisons...etc.; Mars of such things as gold, food, ...etc.; Mercury of speeches, property, coins or money. Venus (in the eighth sign) of such things as women's genitals..." (Ch. 60, 57-58)

"If Scorpio (is in the ascendant) he sees such things assexual intercourse..." (Ch. 69, 8)

The *Yavanajātaka* was the basis for all later developments in the field of horoscopy until the Islamic influences of the 13th century. Pingree has established that a large number of later commentators and compilers in India preserved its verses and directly depended on it.⁴⁵ We are spared the effort of examining them all for proof of the survival and general acceptance of the above conceptions concerning Scorpio. Al-Bīrūnī, in his book on astrology, written in 1029 A.D. just about the time that the Kandariyā Mahādeva was constructed and shortly after his own trip to India with Mahmud of Ghazna in 1022 A.D., states that in India Scorpio was associated with the genitals, fertility, progeny and hermaphroditism.⁴⁶

It is significant that although the iconography of the Zodiac as described by Sphujidhvaja is the common Greco-Babylonian one, it also has features of Egyptian origin.⁴⁷ It is presumed that early Indian manuscript illuminations, which have been reconstructed from later copies and descriptions, depicted the thirty-six *drekāṇas*, the *horās* as well as the *Kāla Puruṣa* or *Rāśi Puruṣa* (Zodiac man) which is still known in India (Plate IV).⁴⁸ Although illuminations of the "zodiac man" are known in western manuscripts from the 11th century and after, they apparently represent the continuity of this same artistic tradition.⁴⁹ In fact, the zodiac man in one of these illustrations is holding two large flowers in his hands (Fig. 3), a feature which makes no sense in the context of western iconography, but is obviously derived from the Indian Sūrya image and reflects the infiltration of an Indian prototype many centuries earlier. This macrocosmic man is thus characterized as the image of the sun on its path through the constellations. The image of the cosmic man wrapped around the path of the sun with his head touching the soles of his feet originated, according to Pingree, in Hermetic manuscripts.⁵⁰ The presumed illustration of Sphujidhvaja's *Kāla* or *Prajāpati* was copied throughout the middle ages and has survived till today as the *Kāla Puruṣa* of Indian zodiacal charts

Duo decim sunt signa. S. Aries. Tauro
Gemini. Cancer. Leo. Virgo. Libra. Scorpi-
on. Capricornus. Aquarius. Pisces.

Et q; in prima mundi constitutione aries
cepit vgi. inde est q; cap hominis hic dr.
T. haurus h; collum & guttur. Gemini sa-
pientia usq; ad manus. Cancer pectus & pulmo
nem. Leo stomachum. Virgo cyar et
intestina q; ibi quia ventrem. Libra ienes
& henchas & vesicam. Scorpius pudibit
ca & valla semmariā. Sagittarius cordis
q; apertio: nus genua. Aquarius abia. Pi-
scis h; h; pedes. Et t ista membra humani
corpis diuiduntur p signa sup celestia

- Aries
- Leo
- Sagitta
- Capricornus
- Scorpi
- Gemini
- Libra
- Aquarius
- Virgo
- Pisces



Fig. 3 : Zodiac Man holding flowers, MS. 14414, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, 13th century.

and calendars (Plates V, VI).⁵¹ This reconstruction of the lost zodiacal illustrations permits us to tentatively assume that Mesopotamian and Egyptian elements were synthesized with indigenous Indian ones in forming iconographic expressions of the *melothesia* concept.

The ramifications of these concepts were not confined to the realm of science. It is well known that astrological beliefs pervaded every aspect of religious and secular life in India. The suitable time or *muhūrta* for any activity, whether trivial or major, was painstakingly calculated to ensure that the astral conjunctions and omens would be auspicious, thus avoiding disastrous effects.

The Scorpion of Medicine and Magic

We know from the *Agni Purāna* that scorpion poisoning was common enough in India to warrant special remedial prescriptions.⁵² The same source informs us that an herb called *vr̥ścika*, mixed with other ingredients, was a cure for epilepsy.⁵³ But treatment of ailments in traditional Ayurvedic medicine involved not only concoctions of this sort, but also incantations and spells, invocations of gods, mantras, magic rites and the use of amulets.⁵⁴ The latter were often bound on the person's body or used as bodily ornaments. Influence of the *melothesia* theory on apotropaic ritual can be witnessed, for example, in a rite to ward off evil effects of planetary conjunctions by the propitiation of the letters of the eight planets on one's limbs. These letters "should be located in order at the heart, face, eyes, head, feet, palate, private organ and hands."⁵⁵

Could the scorpion on the thigh of the *apsarā* reflect the actual use of scorpion amulets on the body? The descriptions of Śiva as *vr̥ścikābharana* (wearing scorpions as ornaments),⁵⁶ or female goddesses having a necklace of scorpions,⁵⁷ may well refer to the kind of apotropaic amulets that people actually wore. We have noted that Gupta art introduced images of Gaṇas wearing scorpion amulets. Such amulets were used as protection against various evils and malign influences in India as well as in various ancient civilizations, especially those of the Middle East, and their use was still known in Europe during the Middle Ages.⁵⁸ In contemporary India this tradition survives in tribal culture. In Khajuraho itself it is said that ancient scorpion amulets (as opposed to modern replicas for tourists) are still used in the area by tribals who worship village deities.

Interpretation of the Scorpion Apsarās

The iconographic differentiation of the scorpion *apsarās* from other *apsarās* or *surasundarīs* on the temple is not confined to their scorpion emblem. Each of these figures is also characterized by the act of exposing her genital area. Although there is another group of disrobing *apsarās* without scorpions, most of the remaining female figures, identified as members of this generic group, are engaged in routine daily preoccupations of feminine self-enhancement

or in related acts of a mundane nature, which seems to convey no greater message than that of their provocative femininity. I suggest that the combination of the scorpion motif and the act of exposing the genitals designates the specific symbolic function of the scorpion apsarās on the temple.

Much has been written about the auspicious symbolism of erotic sculpture on the temple.⁵⁹ Overtly sensuous or erotic imagery was not only a widespread phenomenon but was prescribed by sacred literature and *Śilpa* texts for its propitious properties. The exposure of generative organs and exhibition of nudity fulfilled a magic function in plowing and sowing ceremonies, in rites to produce rain or enhance crops and in consecration ceremonies of the temple.⁶⁰ The headless goddess, ubiquitous Yakṣīs, and Śālabhañjikās, whose nudity graced Indian monumental art from its inception, attest the antiquity of the nude female, in general, and explicit genital exposure, in particular, as potent images identifying the mystery of feminine fecundity with that of the cosmos. The direct or indirect influence of Śaktism and Tāntrism was instrumental in enhancing the status of such feminine personifications and in modifying their image with more explicit signs of eroticism, first in a ritual context and subsequently, by the time of the Khajuraho temples, in the guise of secular depictions. The addition of the scorpion to such a fertility goddess, as undoubtedly the apsarā was, served to emphasize meanings which were inherent in her predecessors but, to my understanding, also conveyed an ambivalent attitude toward feminine sexuality which was not apparent in earlier fertility figures.

We have seen that the scorpion was a uniquely ambivalent symbol associated, on the one hand, with poison and death and, on the other, with fertility and procreation. These conflicting connotations were mutually supportive in establishing the scorpion image as an apotropaic symbol. Its potency as a magical protective image accrued from its inherent malevolence. So it could function either as an auspicious or an apotropaic image, or as both. A similar ambivalence was conveyed by the apsarās, who functioned as a classic symbol of fertility, beauty and benevolence, in a concrete as well as a spiritual and more abstract sense, and at the same time could personify the temptations of the flesh and its perils in the broader context of man's spiritual striving for *mokṣa*. Another, more mystical, interpretation of the female-scorpion motif is reflected in Prakrit devotional poetry, which from the 8th century connected the sting of the scorpion with the passion of the devotee towards his deity.⁶¹ This complexity of meaning, so perfectly expressed in the image of the disrobing female and the scorpion, is a cumulative synthesis of the varied symbolic transformations undergone by this awe-inspiring creature in his migrations between East and West. The findings of this study attest the fundamental symbolic function assumed by the scorpion apsarā on the temple.

Postscript

It has been suggested above that the scorpion *apsarā* created at Khajuraho in the late 10th century expressed an ambivalent attitude towards feminine sexuality which was not apparent in earlier fertility figures. About one hundred years later the Hoysalas of Karnataka depicted quite a few scorpions and lizards in proximity to nude females of the *apsarā* type on most of their temples.⁶² The scorpion is located either on the base of the statue or is carved as part of the background relief. In several examples the scorpion on one side of the figure is juxtaposed with a lizard on the other, the combination of motifs already prefigured in the 5th century female statue (Calcutta) referred to above. The female figure in Hoysala art has been identified as the *viṣakanyā* who became immune to poison but caused death to others, and was used by rulers in the destruction of enemies.⁶³ This figure is not analogous to the Khajuraho *apsarā* in that the scorpion is not located on the thigh or related to any part of the body. The traditional alliance of the scorpion with the lizard, another well known apotropaic symbol which had also been associated in the 3rd century *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujidhvaja with genitals and illicit sexual passion, may lend further credibility to the *viṣakanyā* theory.⁶⁴ Could such a transition from a fertility figure to a *femme fatale* be some indication of changing social attitudes? Perhaps these and similar images should be re-examined, taking into consideration the ambivalent connotations of the scorpion motif, especially when assigned to a sensuous female.

The primeaval symbolic associations of the female-scorpion image are still attested in contemporary Indian culture. The Hindi song *Chadh gayo paapi bichhua*, popularized in the movie *Madhumati* (1958) describes an "evil scorpion" mounting the body of an amorous maiden to symbolize the fiery passions which even the healer's *mantra* cannot dispel. Only with the return of the lover is the passion appeased, as poetically described in the final stanza :

देखो रे देखो रे देखो उतर गयो बिछुआ
 टूटके रह गयो डंख उतर गयो बिछुआ
 सैय्याको देखके जाने किधर गयो बिछुआ
 कैरो रे पापी बिछुआ

Dekho re dekho re dekho utar gayo bichhua
Tootke rah gayo dankh utar gayo bichhua
Saiyan ko dekhke jaane kidhar gayo bichhua
Kaiso re paapi bichhua

(Look, look, the scorpion has dismounted,
 Its sting lies broken, the scorpion has gone.
 Seeing my beloved, I wonder where the scorpion has gone
 What an evil scorpion.)⁶⁵

Notes and References

1. Frederic, L. & Rau, R., *Khajuraho*, Paris, 1992, 129. Even though she recognized its symbolic importance, this was repeated by Desai, D., *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, Mumbai, 1996, 158.
2. Desai (as above), 157-61. The information that the scorpion-apsarā makes her first appearance at Khajuraho on the Pārśvanātha temple is based on observation of Desai.
3. *Ibid.* 176. According to a theory presented by Desai, the word *Kharjura*, apart from its usual meaning of the date-palm, also means a scorpion. The scorpion alludes to the *aghora* aspect of Śiva as *Kharjūra-vāhaka* (scorpion-bearer), an epithet from which the city of Khajuraho might have taken its name. This solution for the scorpion symbol raises several questions. In order to visually convey the presumed pun *kharjūra-vāhaka* the scorpion could hypothetically be borne by any figure and located on any part of the body. The word *vrścika* is generally employed in both mythical and scientific literature when referring to the scorpion, that includes the *Aparāṅgilaprcchā*, 212, 15 (edited by P. A. Mankad, G.O.S., Baroda, 1950), referred to by Desai.
4. Among the more recent publications on this subject, containing extensive bibliographies, see Donaldson, T.E., "Erotic Rituals on Orissan Temples," *East and West*, 36, 1986, 137-82; Pachori, L., *The Erotic Sculpture of Khajuraho*, Calcutta, 1989; Desai, D., *Erotic Sculpture of India*, New Delhi, 1985 and 1996 (as in n. 1); Kalidos, R., "Yoninilaya - Concept and Application in South Indian Art," *East and West*, 40, 1990, 115-43; Reddy, G.V.B., *Erotic Sculptures of Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1991.
5. *Śiva Purāṇa*, 22, 45. For references to apsarās in the sources, often indexed under the names Urvaśī, Menakā, Rambhā, Tilottamā, Sukeśinī, Manoramā, etc., see Mani, V. *Puranic Encyclopedia*, New Delhi, 1975; Agrawala, P.K., *Goddesses in Ancient India*, New Jersey, 1984, 86-7 and Sorensen, S., *An Index to the Names in the Mahabharata*, London, 1904-25, 64-5. See also : Borsani, G., *Contribuiton allo studio sulla concezione e sullo sviluppo dell'apsaras*, Milan, 1938.
6. E.g. *Atharvaveda*, 2, 2, 3 & 4, 37, 3; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 6, 8, 2, 3, 11, 1, 6, 1 & 11, 5, 1, 4; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 7, 8, 7; *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, 134; *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 45, 32.
7. On the concept of Śrī and the goddess, see Gonda, J., *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, Delhi, 1969, 179-225.
8. E.g. *Atharvaveda* IV, 37, 3 & 4; For the association of Apsarās and rivers, see Feldhaus, A., *Water and Womanhood*, Oxford, 1995, 41, 48, 58-60, 85, 143, n. 25.
9. E.g. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6, 7, 4; *Mahābhārata* 5, 49, 11, 10-12 & 5, 49, 18, 1-4.
10. E.g. *Mahābhārata* 2, 20, 10; *Śiva Purāṇa* 22, 64.

11. E.g. *Mahābhārata*, 5, 49, 9, 8-17; *Rāmāyaṇa* I, 62-65.
12. *Atharvaveda* 4, 38; *Devī Bhāgavata, skandha* 1.
13. See Mani and Sorensen (as in n.5).
14. Granhoff, P., "Vṛścikodarī : A Study of the Relationship between Myth and Image in Indian Art," *East and West*, 30, 1980, (77-96) 90.
15. *Skanda Purāṇa* 1, 1, 25, 23. See Granhoff (as above), 86-9.
16. *Liṅga Purāṇa, Uttarārḍha* 26, 17 & 50, 25, *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa* 6, 6-12; *Rūpamaṇḍana* 4, 6.
17. The Roman author Aelian described the ingenuity of scorpions, which struck at their victims by linking on to each other and forming a chain. Aelian, *De natura animalis*, 6,23, (*On Animals*, trans. A.F. Scholfield, Cambridge, Mass., 1959).
18. Aelian, *Op.cit.*, 6, 20.
19. For the scorpion as a symbol of the divine *pneuma* in late classical Hermetic allegory which, like the *serpens mercurialis*, "begets and sacrifices itself and is its own instrument of sacrifice", see Jung, C.G., "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass", in *The Mysteries*, Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks, London, 1955, (274-336) 304.
20. E.g. Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, XXII, 29, describes the use of the *scorpiuron* (heliotropium) plant and seed as protection on the body, a prophylactic for scorpion poison, and also as an aphrodisiac. See Deonna, W., "Mercure et le Scorpion," *Latomus*, XVII, 1958, 641-55 (esp.649, note 6, regarding the *scorpioides* and *scorpio* plants) and XVIII, 1959, 52-66 & 249-61, for an excellent review of the scorpion in Greco - Roman culture.
21. *Agni Purāṇa* 300, 28.
22. For the Indus Valley seals, see Franke-Vogt, U., *Die Glyptik aus Mohenjo-Daro*, 2 vols., Mainz am Rhein, 1991; pl. XL, 302 & pl. XLI, 318 are reproduced here as figs. 3 & 4. For studies of this figure in India, see Kramrisch, S., "An Image of Aditi - Uttanapad," *Artibus Asiae*, XIX, 1956, 259-70. Sankalia, H.D., "The Nude Goddess or 'Shameless Woman' in Western Asia, India and South East Asia," *Artibus Asiae*, XXIII, 1960, 111-23; Kalidos (as in n. 5) and Agrawala, P.K., "The Headless Nude Goddess and her Identification," in Maxwell, T.S. (ed.), *Eastern Approaches, Essays on Asian Art and Archaeology*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1992, 63-73.
23. Roman authors advised putting garlic or onion on the tail of the scorpion for self protection; see Deonna (as in n. 20), 1958, 649.
24. *Ibid.*, 655.
25. Starcky, J., "Le dieu Šadrata," *Syria*, 26, 1949, 67-81.
26. Deonna (as in n. 20), 654.56.
27. See Vermaseren, M.J., *Le Monument d' Ottaviano Zeno et le Cult de Mithra sur le Celius*, Leiden, 1978. The marble relief from a Mithreum in Rome was described

as being in the private Roman collections of Ascanio Magarozzi (1556) and Ottaviano Zeno (1564) and was repeatedly illustrated during the 16th century (e.g. my Fig.6), indicating the scorpion which has since been destroyed. A. Lafreri, in his *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae*, Rome, 1564, who described Mithra as the model of the cultivator and supplied a moral interpretation for each of the attributes, wrote "Scorpio qui generationem [designat] / Spicae quae terrae fructus designat / Arbor nocturna cum scorpione, quae generationem". Vermaseren reproduces a second relief with the iconography, presently in Bologna (pls. XXVI - XXVII).

28. *Ibid.*, pls. XXVIII-XXIX.
29. Cumont, F., *Monuments et Mystères de Mithra*, I-II, Brussels, 1896-98, esp. I, 202.
30. *Ibid.*, 35. This was repeated by Hinnells, J.R., "Reflections on the Bull-Slaying Scene," in Hinnells, J.R. (ed.), *Mithraic Studies*, 2 Vols., Manchester, 1975, II, 290-312, esp. 311-12.
31. Manilius, Marcus, *Astronomica*, II, 462; IV, 707 & 217 (trans. G.P. Gould, Cambridge, Mass., 1992), Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, v, 22.
32. Van Buren, D., "The Scorpion in Mesopotamian Art and Religion," *Archiv Für Orientforschung*, XII, 1937, 1-26.
33. See e.g. Ulansey, D., *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries*, Oxford, 1989 and articles in Hinnells, J.R. (ed.), *Studies in Mithraism*, Rome, 1994.
34. For scorpions on Sassanian seals, see Bivar, A.D.H., *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals of the British Museum*, London, 1969, p1.11 & 24. For amulets, Bivar, A.D.H., "Towards an Integrated Picture of Ancient Mithraism," in Hinnells (as in note 33), (61-73) 72-3, figs. 9 A & 10A.
35. Bivar, *Op.cit.*, 1994, 73, quotes D. Pingree regarding the use of the lion and scorpion amulet to cure Pope Boniface VIII of kidney stones in 1301. In addition to its connection to the genitals, the constellation scorpio also ruled the kidneys.
36. See reproduction of the statue in Chandra, P., *The Sculpture of India 300 B.C. - A.D. 1300*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1985, 79, fig.26. Upon examining this statue in Calcutta, I found that the form of the scorpion is not entirely legible. The identification nevertheless seems to be correct judging from the remnants as well as the traditional association of scorpion and lizard in related literature and art. On the Hoysala statues, see Postscript.
37. See Bajpai, K.D., "Some Interesting Gaṇa Figures from Panna, *Lalit Kalā* No. 10. 1961. 23 & pl.XIII, fig.4.
38. Granhoff (as in n. 14).
39. See Das, H.C., *Tantricism : A Study of the Yogini Cult*, New Delhi, 1981; Dehejia, V., *Yogini Cult and Temples : A Tantric Tradition*, New Delhi, 1985 and Desai (as in n.1), 81-9.
40. Pingree, D. *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, 2 vos., Cambridge, Mass., 1978,

intro. : 3-41.

41. *Ibid.*, 3.
42. *Ibid.*, 199-201.
43. *Ibid.*, 201-203.
44. This and the following translations of Sphujidhvaja are by Pingree, *Op.cit.*, with a small exception in this verse. The word for genitals used in this and related Sanskrit texts is *guhyanī*, from the singular *guha* or *guhya*, which literally means to be 'secret', 'private' or 'hidden' and also denotes 'private parts' or 'pudenda' and 'anus'. See Monier-Williams, M., *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Delhi, 1993 (reprint), 360. On the basis of the original meaning of both the Greek and the Sanskrit text, I have taken the liberty of altering Pingree's translation of Ch. 1, 21, which is worded "... penis and anus of the Lord."
45. Pingree (as in n. 40), 23.
46. Al-Bīrūnī, M. Ibn Ahmad, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of Astrology*, London, 1934, 210-16. See Pingree, D., "Al-Bīrūnī's Knowledge of Sanskrit Astronomical Texts.," in *The Scholar and the Saint*, New York, 1975 and Khan, M.S., "An Examination of Al-Bīrūnī's Knowledge of Indian Astronomy", in Swarup, G., Bag, A.K. & Shukla, K.S., *History of Oriental Astronomy*, Cambridge, 1987, 139-45. The Scorpion also appears in the astrological section of the *Bundahišn*, a Middle Persian text of the 9th or 10th century A.D. (considered to be a compilation of much older material) as "the house of progeny."
47. Pingree (as in n. 40), 195-7.
48. *Ibid.*, 201 and Pingree, D., "The Indian Iconography of the Decans and Horas", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, XXVI, 1963, 223-54, esp.228.
49. For representations of the "Zodiacal man" in manuscript illuminations, see Bober, H., "The Zodiacal Miniature of the *Trés Riches Heures* of the Duke of Berry - Its Sources and Meaning," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 11, 1948, 1-34, and Ackerman, J., "Artists in Renaissance Science," in Hoeniger, T.D., *Science and the Arts in the Renaissance*, Washington, 1985, 104-6. For texts describing the melothesia : Pingree (as in n.40), 199-203.
50. *Ibid.*, 199.
51. See Sivapriyananda, S., *Astrology and Religion in Indian Art*, New Delhi, 1990, figs. 10 & 7.
52. *Agni Purāna* 279, 57-8 & 298, 10-11 a.
53. *Ibid.*, 300, 28.
54. See Zimmer, H., *Hindu Medicine*, Baltimore, 1948 and Filliozat, J., *The Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine : Its Origins and its Greek Parallels*, trans. D.R. Chanana, Delhi, 1964.
55. *Agni Purāna* 303, 1-7. Trans. by N. Gangadharan, *The Agni Purāna*, Delhi, 1970, III, 835.

56. *Liṅga Purāṇa* 50, 25.
57. *Skanda Purāṇa* 1, 1, 25, 23.
58. See Deonna (as in n. 20), 645-54; Budge, W.E.A., *Amulets and Talismans*, New York, 1970, esp. 21, 51, 103-15, 306, 357 & 419 and Hinnells (as in n. 30), 299-300.
59. See esp. Donaldson, T.E., "Propitious - Apotropaic Eroticism in the Art of Orissa," *Artibus Asiae*, 37, 1-2, 1975, 75-100; Desai (as in note 4), 1985, 109-11 & 202-3, and Kalidos (as in n.4).
60. Desai (as in n. 4), 1985, 93-95.
61. This explanation was kindly communicated to me by Prof. A.P.Jamkhedkar, Ex-Director of Archaeology & Museums, Maharashtra, Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute, Mumbai.
62. See Maity, S. K., *Masterpieces of Hoysala Art*, Bombay, 1978, fig. 81 and Settar, S., *The Hoysala Temples*, 2 vols., Bangalore, 1992, fig. 232. Although I have not yet examined the Hoysala temples for scorpions, some of those at the temples of Belur, Halebid and Somanathapur have been noted in the literature. Presumably, there are many more which need to be traced and studied. A nude figure of this kind with a scorpion and two lizards in the background, is located on a stone in the Halebid Museum. It may come from the Nagareśvara Temple in Halebid, excavated in 1986. I am indebted to Carmel Berkson for this information and for her very kind help and advice in this study.
63. For tales of the *viśakanyā*, see *Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva Bhaṭṭa - The Ocean of Story*, Penzer, N.M. (ed.) & Tawnwy, C.H. (tr.), New Delhi, 1968.
64. For precise passage see p. 14 above.
65. I wish to express my gratitude to Mrs. Radha Chakravarty, Senior lecturer in the Department of English, Gargi College, University of Delhi, who translated this song into English for the present paper. Following is her complete translation:
- The scorpion, alas
In the shade of the peepal tree I sat for a moment
After filling my pitcher, alas.
- (Refrain) : The evil scorpion climbed on to me
Alas, I'm dying, someone please remove the scorpion
What an evil scorpion.
- (Lines sung by healer) : I perform the magic chant
Leave her tender body and go away,
go away, go away.
It mounts even higher, it has not gone, the evil scorpion
What fire has it kindled in me, the evil scorpion
It spreads all over my body, the evil scorpion
What an evil scorpion.
The mantra was false, false too the healer
Come home, my love, come, come.
Look, look, the scorpion has dismantled

Its sting lies broken, the scorpion has gone.
 Seeing my beloved, I wonder where the scorpion has gone
 What an evil scorpion.

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KUMĀRA, KĀRTTIKEYA AND THE PEACOCK

SADASHIV A. DANGE

Assimilation of different religions finds expression in various ways, some of them being : fight and reconciliation parentage and incarnation, vehicles and the rider god, and through friendship between god-heads. The two most interesting examples of such assimilation are of the Goddess on the one hand, and Kārttikeya on the other. Assimilation is seen also among the Vedic gods;¹ but that is out of the present consideration. In certain cases, older gods appear as the door-keepers of the newly emerged gods. The god Kārttikeya appears emerging from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Rām.*) and becomes more prominent from the *Mahābhārata* (*Mb.*) onwards. The *Rām.* mentions many shrines in the hermitage of Agastya who had already crossed to the southern portion of India, 'subduing' the Vindhya mountain. The myth has it that he saw the mountain rising every time, and ultimately made it impossible even for the sun to traverse. Agastya got a promise from the mountain when he came to it, in the course of his journey, that it would go down to him to cross and that it would be in the same position till he returned. It was agreed. And, the sage never returned.² It will be readily seen that it was a ploy to praise the mountain and the sage as the first from the north, apart from any change in the terrain. Among the various shrines at the *Rām.* are mentioned that of Nāgarāja (cf. Mahānāga already at *Śat. Br.* XI. 2-7-12) and of Kārttikeya (*Rām.* Aranya 12.19;21). The name Skanda is also mentioned for Kārttikeya (*Rām.* Bāla 37.28, along with Kārttikeya, 29, who is mentioned also earlier, 36.20). In the Puranic lore this god is mentioned at various places; and we shall have occasion to note the same. Turning back to the Vedic context, we see that, though the Kṛtikās are mentioned in the Vedic texts, Skanda is mentioned only in the later Vedic text of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VII.27.2). However, the point requires examination, as he is not mentioned in the earlier Veda.

Looking to the earlier Veda (of the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas), the proposition of Asim Kumar Chatterjee that from the references to Kumāra, which is the fond epithet verging on its getting to be a name of Kārttikeya in the post-Vedic Hindu texts, it cannot be taken to mean that Kumāra was regarded as a god of war in the Veda, is quite acceptable.³ He rightly questions the implication of J. N. Banerjea, that the names, Kumāra, Kārttikeya and Skanda could be taken as authentic as they occur in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (II.9.1.11-12). They have definitely to be taken as later interpolations like others that occur therein, such as Mahādeva, Gāṅgaucya, the various names

of Gaṇesa, Keśava, Gaurī and so on (*Ibid.* 2 - upto the end of the section). However, his statement, that in the Vedic literature, "Kumāra appears only as one of the aspects of the Ṛgvedic god of war, Agni,"⁴ has to be slightly modified. His suggestion that Kumāra is mentioned with the chariot of Yama, without any comment, would make one believe that he accepts Sukumar Sen's suggestion of Kumāra being the prototype of Skanda-Kumāra.⁵ This is not true. The Kumāra in the *Rgveda* here (X, 135.3-5; X.1.35, in Chatterjee's book is obviously a misprint) cannot be taken to refer to Kumāra Skanda-Kārttikeya, as the verses which refer to Kumāra here are of riddle-type; and they do not mention Yama, though the hymn is said to be traditionally composed by Yama, which name occurs in the first verse of it. Sāyaṇa, the commentator, conjectures more to the point in seeing Naciketas in the Kumāra here, but cannot be accepted; because, Naciketas is not seen as accepting any chariot from Yama in the Upaniṣadic myth told at some length.⁶ No Vedic scholar has accepted the view that Kumāra has to be taken as the prototype of the later Kārttikeya. We may add, that the chariot here has nothing to suggest it to be a war-chariot. One place in *Rgveda* (*RV*) which could be taken as indicating Kumāra to be Agni is where the *kumāra* (not a proper noun by all means) is said to be borne by his mother, and the others do not see his face except the *ṛṣi* (seer of the hymn) (*RV* V. 2. 1-2).⁷ Another *kumāra* is Somaka (*Ibid.* IV. 15.10). And even Indra is referred to as *kumāra* (VIII. 69.15; however, the word is *kumāraka*). In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VII. 26.2) there is a reference to Sanatkumāra about whom it is said that he was called Skanda. Sanatkumāra is not mentioned in the earlier Veda, nor Skanda. At the most, as Chatterjee has rightly opined, at this period Skanda was a separate deity, although not as a "god of War."⁸ The identification appears to have been suggested from the portion 'kumāra' appearing at the end of the name Sanatkumāra. This would appear to mean that Skanda-Kārttikeya cannot be taken as a Vedic deity. However, he came to be an important member of the later (post-Vedic) Hindu pantheon. An examination of the concept behind the word *kumāra* in the *RV* shows it to be not only of a 'boy', but of a 'small wonderful boy' (cf. VIII. 69-15 *arbhako na kumārakah*, said of Indra). Sāyaṇa seems to have hit the nail on the head, when he renders *arbhaka* as "*svalpaśarīrah*"; a sort of a dwarf; and, the concept falls in the category of the belief in the dwarf of manifold power, found worldwide. The Hindu example is of Vāmana, Viṣṇu – the 'dwarf that pervades' (the word *vāmana* also suggesting *baṭu*). The earliest pictorial and archaeological evidence comes from Egypt, where the dwarf Ptah is the leader of eight dwarfs called Khnumu,⁹ the total coming to the auspicious number 'nine'.¹⁰ Kumāra is a magnified *kumāraka*; or, the other way round! In essence, Kumāra is a boy who has yet not attained his youth. This answers the description of Kārttikeya at his stage of a *kumāra*, when various gods offer him, among other things, even a cock to play with and also a peacock,

the latter to play with and also as his vehicle. On the contrary, Agni, who experiences sexual desire for the wives of the sages, or inversely, whom the wives of the sages desire to unite with in love and Svāhā – the daughter of Dakṣa Prajāpati – exploits the situation (according to the various myths), according to later texts, has to be understood as an earlier stage of inversion of Kumāra the boy. Kumāra-Kārttikeya corresponds more to the north Indian (especially Maharashtra) version of the god, who is unmarried;¹¹ Skanda-Kārttikeya, without the addage Kumāra, fits the south Indian version, having two wives – Vallī and Devīyāyanī. Now, Devasenā and Asurasenā are two sisters according to the northern tradition; but Devasenā is his wife, while Asurasenā is abducted by the demon Keśin. Obviously, these two sisters are the anthropomorphosed armies of the rivals; and Kārttikeya is the leader-husband of the former. It is this way that he is often referred to just as *senāpati*, which became his yet another name. Apart from the epithet *senapati*, the name Kumāra requires further probe in the Vedic context.

In a myth of creation, which is rather different from other myths due to its being specifically told in the context of the Piling of the Altar (Agnicayana-ritual), Prajāpati creates the various things required at filling the fire-altar. They are waters; the heated waters create foam, which creates clay when heated. When the clay is heated by Prajāpati, it created sand; it created pebbles; they created metal ore from stone which was created earlier from the pebbles; from metal ore came gold; from it was created the syllable (*akṣara*) as it flowed (fr. $\sqrt{kṣar}$). It flowed eight times becoming eight-fold; from it was created the metre Gāyatrī, which has eight syllables in each of its foot (*pāda*). The things that were produced were eight in number, corresponding to the number of syllables in the foot of the Gāyatrī, all through heat. Heat being the characteristic of Agni, they all are forms of Agni (and the metre Gāyatrī is the special metre of Agni).¹² Then was Bhūḥ (Bhūmi=Earth) created (obviously from Agni). On this earth the beings were created; and, with their help the 'Lord of Beings' consecrated various things for one year. 'Lord of beings' was the master of the house. He and the beings had Uṣas (Dawn) as the 'wife.' (But, it was not a human relationship, however). The beings were the seasons. They cast their 'seed' (*retas*) in the 'wife' Uṣas. After a year a boy (*kumārah*) was born (*Śat.Br.* VI.1.3.8). This would make it clear, that the principle of heat gave birth to Kumāra and also other things. The point is indicated in the very first para-sentence, "Hence from a heated Man waters are produced" (these waters are perspiration; and, in the case of the primeval Man=Puruṣa, they are cosmic waters; *tasmāt puruṣāt taptād āpo jāyante*). This is the first half of the myth. It is further said, that the *kumāra* wept as he was born. Hence, Prajāpati asked him why he was weeping. The boy said, that he was not free from evil as he had no specific name. Prajāpati named him Rudra, which would mean that Kumāra is, first of all, Rūdra. It is said, that as Rudra is also Agni, the latter became also like Kumāra.

He (Kumāra=Rudra=Agni) was called Rudra, because he cried (wept; fr. \sqrt{rud} , 'to cry', 'weep'). He said, he was mightier than Agni and asked for another name. Getting the various names he said that he was mightier than all of the gods whose names he usurped, this way. The other names are: Śarva, which this account links to the waters, which are 'all' (*sarva*); Paśupati ('Lord of cattle', which is a unique epithet of Rudra himself), but he is equated with the plants in this myth; Ugra, who is said to be Vāyu the wind-god here (though the name appears for Śiva in the later literature, who is an aspect of Rudra); Aśani (the lightning); Bhava, conceived here as the rain-god Parjanya; Mahādeva, who is said to be the moon, who is again Prajāpati himself; Īśāna, who is said to be the sun here. These are said to be the eight forms of Agni, Kumāra being the ninth. It is said, that the boy (Kumāra) entered these forms one by one. It is precisely said that these nine constitute the 'three-times-three' state of Agni (*agnestriṅtā*).¹³ Further it is said that this boy (*kumāra*) is not seen as Agni; he is seen in these forms of his, as he enters their forms (*ibid.* VI. 1.3.9-19). It will be seen that almost all these names indicate Rudra in various aspects, the most prominent being Śarva, Ugra, Bhava, Mahādeva and Īśāna. The point made is a matter of popular belief, and also a practical common experience. A name is not seen; it is the object that bears it that is seen. It is stressed that one should name a son that is born; it drives away his sin; he may have a second and even a third name (*ibid.* 9).¹⁴ There is one more point; and an important one, for that matter. The forms are only eight; they are all of Agni=Rudra. But, about Kumāra there is difference purposefully kept. All the eight are *rūpāni* (appearances, forms,) in the cosmos. They are visible (or, concrete). Name is a subtle principle. And the *kumāra* bears all these names and is manifold. This is his nature of the *kumāra*; and, it is already suggested in the *RV.* in the concept of the *kumāraka*; he is also the *arbhaka*; and, it is seen also in the name Rbhu,¹⁵ the wonder-working brothers, the concept going to the wonder-working helper dwarf. We might suggest that the same principle is involved in the philosophical thought 'minutest of the minute; grossest of the gross' (*aṅor aṅīyān mahato mahīyān*). And, in the mythical expression the same is seen in the god (Kṛṣṇa) assuming the miniature and the Great form in a moment and with ease. Another aspect of the *kumāra*-concept is where a formidable One is formed with the combination of many and with a variety of weapons. We have the comparable example of the Goddess¹⁶ (named, Durgā; but it is not restricted to this name alone; it is a pattern and is seen in other cases). The parallel between Kumāra-Kārttikeya and the Goddess is striking. Skanda is said to be created specially for killing the demon Tāraka; yet, he is also said to have killed the demon Mahiṣa, the famous victim of the Devī who got the name Mahiṣasuramardini.¹⁷ (Skanda and Mahiṣa *Mb.* Vana. 231. 82-96). Devī appears prominently in the destruction of Mahiṣa in the post *Mb.* period; but, already at the *Mb.* Skanda is accompanied


by many goddesses of various appearances, demonesses and demons (Śalya 44. 24ff). Some of the goddesses have most expressive names; to mention some: Prabhāvalī, Viśālākṣī (and other names from the Vedic tradition); Kotarā, Eḍī, Bheḍī, Samedī, Kukkuṭikā, Śaṅkhalikā, Kuṇḍarikā, Kumbhikā (*Ibid.* 46.3-ff; and 13ff; Gokarṇā, Mahiśānanā etc. 25 and others, ff. from the non-Vedic context). With all these he proceeded to kill Mahiṣa and killed him (*Ibid.* 73) and also Tāraka (*Ibid.*). Various gods give him strikingly potential weapons and play-things and also other items that show a combination of the Vedic and the non-Vedic: Indra gave the *mahāghaṅṭā*, Viṣṇu the Vaijayantī garland, Brhaspati the *danḍa*, Gaṅgā the *kamṇḍalu*, *Kṛṣṇājina* was given by Brhaspati, Garuḍa the peacock, Aruṇa the cock with the red crest and so on (*Ibid.* V V. 45-51). The same description, more or less, occurs earlier (45. 27-37). This will show that the motif of Kumāra has its seeds in the Vedic context though it took up further embroidery in the later period.

Now, about the peacock. The peacock appears as a special vehicle of Kārttikeya, though the *Rām.* does not show this association. He is said to be *mayūra* in the *Mb.* (Vana 232.16). At another place he is said to be riding the peacock (Anuśāsana 14.278 *mayūram āsthāya* cf. *Brahmavai P.* Gaṇapatikhaṇḍa 17.14 *mayūram vāhanārtham ca*). He is said to have been given a peacock endowed with colourful feathers (*Ibid.* 86.21 *mayūram citrabarhiṇam*) by Garuḍa. In addition to the peacock, he was given the cock with a red crest, as noted above (Śalya 46.51). At this place it is Aruṇa who is said to have given the cock; at the Anuśāsana the same god is the giver of the cock, which is said to be of the colour of the fire (*agnisarikāśam*), and the peacock is given by Suparṇa, which is another name for Garuḍa (v 21). In the Vanaparvan the cock is with the red crest, though no god appears as its donor; the cock is said to be of a great size, and with it he is said to be playing (*tāmracūḍam... mahākāyam upaśliṣṭam kukuṭtam*) and roaring (Vana 225. 24-25). The Purāṇas have additions. The *Padma P.* (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 41.118-151) deals with the birth of Kārttikeya at some length with the same known details; but, says that the cock was given to him by Tvaṣṭṛ (the father of the gods in the Veda) and that Kārttikeya played with it (*Ibid.*). According to the *Brahmavaivarta P.* (Gaṇapatikhaṇḍa 17.12) his vehicle is the peacock; and at the installation of his idol, and his worship, a goat,¹⁸ a cock and a peacock is to be arranged (*Bhaviṣya P.* Uttarakhāṇḍa 42.11-16). The *Skanda P.* (I.2.47. 85-101) informs that when the gods complained to Kārttikeya about the misbehaviour of his band of ghosts, the latter god became angry, with the result that a woman got produced from the mid-portion of his eye-brows. She was terrible to look at, was engulfed with flames and had twelve eyes. She was called Guhaśakti ('Power of Guha'; the latter is one of the names of Kārttikeya). At the command of the god, she went to the place called Śirobhavana (variant name Sarojavana) mounting on a peacock and started killing the unruly ghosts. Some of the ghosts changed

their forms and escaped. The peacock feather is used in magic and for conjuring (*Agni P.* 140. 1-13). The peacock is mentioned in the *RV* and other Vedic texts; but, it is not associated with any particular god, though the horses of Indra are said to have tails like those of the peacock.¹⁹ The peacock is seen represented on the icons of certain kings. This is seen from a coin of the king Huiṣka. In it the god, named here Mahāsenā, is shown with a banner in his right hand surmounted by a bird.²⁰ This bird is, probably, the peacock. Huiṣka ruled in the 2nd century A.D. On some of the coins of Kumāragupta the peacock appears.²¹ Judging from the name of the king, Kumāra, it would appear that he was a devotee of Skanda Kārttikeya. Some of the coins belonging to the Yaudheyas bear the figure of Kārttikeya seated on the peacock; and the coins are assigned to the third or the fourth century A.D.²² All this would show the popularity of the god, and his peacock.

What is pertinent is the probable confluence of the Kumāra concept of the Veda and the Kārttikeya-Skanda concept of the latter period. We have suggested above, that Kumāra is more of a cosmic concept associated with the fire-god. In the *Rām., Mb.* and later, there are two versions of the birth of Kārttikeya. One from Śiva's semen that fell off without entering the womb of Pārvaī, as the gods did not desire a son to be born of this couple fearing that the child would be terrible.²³ And, yet they wanted a son of Śiva to destroy Tāraka. Thus, according to one version he is the son of Śiva. According to another, it is Agni himself that creates Kārttikeya with his sperm deposited in the wives of the seers,²⁴ through the cunning of Svāhā, the daughter of Dakṣa, who later gets to be his wife. This second version, it would be seen, treads on the lines of the myth of the birth of Kumāra from the *Śatapatha Br.* in which Agni=Rudra dominates. It is to be particularly noted, that in the account from the *Śat.Br.* Kumāra is a subtle aspect of Agni-Rudra; and the other forms, together with Rudra, are very much the same as of the later Śiva. This would mean that the later version of the birth of Kārttikeya, who is also called Kumāra, is only a reflection of the Agni version, without the wife of Śiva. This accounts for Pārvaī not receiving Śiva's semen. The pattern in all the accounts appears to be similar, as far as the birth of the god is concerned. Let us put it down: We start from the *Śatapatha Br.* (*Śat. Br.*), as at the *RV* stage, there is no nature of a myth for this account. The plane is divine.

(See table on next page)

'Seeder' 1. <i>Sat. Br.</i>	Great Being	'Seed' <i>retas</i> (heat) cf. earlier, perspiration of Prajāpati	Woman Uṣas	Agents - -	Child Kumāra-Rudra (Agni)
2A. <i>Epic- Puranic</i>	Śiva	<i>retas</i> 	Pārvatī Agni	Gaṅgā Kṛttikās (śaravaṇa-gold)	Kārttikeya (Skanda) = Kumāra
2B. "	Agni	<i>retas</i>	- wives of the sages, through Svāhā	- Kṛttikās "	"

Equation and motif :

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| 1. A. | Kumāra = Rudra = Agni
(has various forms: Bhava,
Īśāna, Mahādeva, Ugra, etc.) | 'Child' of great might and
potential. |
| 2. B. | Heat in water | Tremendous force.
Leader of the army of gods.
(senāpati; Husband of
Devasenā; Mahāsenā) |

The *kumāra*, looking small in size, has the potential of leading the great army; because, he has cosmic strength. Hence, all forces – divine and demoniac – follow him to crush any opposition to the divine wish.

What about the cock and the peacock? They are not heard of in the Vedic Kumāra-context. The *Atharva* and the *RV* and the *Sat.Br.* do not mention these creatures in the context of the Kumāra. The *Rām.* also does not mention them, or even the peacock, nor does the *Arthasāstra* mention them, which mentions Senāpati²⁵ as the presiding deity of one of the gates in the context of the building of forts, the others being Brahmā, Indra and Yama (II.4.17-19). But, there is no mention of peacock. Probably, there is no propriety to mention it, though it is already associated with the god at the *Mb.* A very pertinent point crops up here. Which is the source of the peacock in the concept and description of Kārttikeya? It has been suggested²⁶ that here we are face to face with a graft of the south Indian god Murugan (or, Murukan, as the name is pronounced in Tamil). This god also came to be called Subramanya (mostly among the brahmins in south India) due to the northern Vedic influence (It is a corrupt pronunciation of the Vedic Subrahmanya). This, obviously, occurred when the northern religious ideas mingled sufficiently with the southern; and it indicates a sufficiently long stay together in south India. But, the name Subrahmanya does not appear in any of the two epics,

though it became popular in south India to denote Murugan, like Kārttikasvāmi and Kandasvāmi (= Skandasvāmi). Actually, Murugan and Subrahmanya appear to be two different gods upto the reign of Ugrasena Pāṇḍya, the fifth descendant of the Pāṇḍya dynasty of Madura. (Ugrasena, it should be noted, was the Śaiva king; Ugra already occurs in the *Śat.Br.* passage, we have seen above, as a name and form of Kumāra Agni whose other names are Mahādeva and Iśāna). According to one tradition, in a temple at Tiruchendur (formerly known as Tiruchirai) in the Tinnevely district, the sculpture on the right wall was of Murugan, seated on a peacock, while on the left was depicted the image of Subrahmanya with his wife, on an elephant.²⁷ This has, very probably, to be taken as an example of the process of assimilation of these two cults started by the Pāṇḍyas, who were adherents of the Vedic religious cult from the north. There is reason to believe, that this integration had started at the period of the first Pāṇḍyan king and the depiction came later; or, may be even before. But, how much before? Now, though Kārttikeya (Skanda, far less Kumāra) has never been known as Subrahmanya in the Epics (both *Rām.* and the *Mb.*), the *Mb.* has him addressed as *brahmanya*, *brahmaja*, *brahmavid*, *brahmesaya*, *brahmavratām varīṣṭha* ('greatest of those who follow the vow of 'brahma,' which indicates Vedic sacrifice), *brahmapriya*, *brāhmaṇa-savratī* (which means 'co-follower of the vow practised by the 'brāhmaṇas' *brahmajña* and *brāhmaṇānām netā* ('leader of the *brāhmaṇas*,' *Mb.* Vana 232.11). These epithets from the ancient tradition, along with the name Subrahmanya from the Vedic context was a bridge for the meeting of Murugan and Subrahmanya and for their ultimate assimilation. There is a sound reason for this unique fusion. Subrahmanya is not only the ritual name of the assistant of the Adhvaryu priest²⁸ in the Vedic Soma (Agnistoma) sacrifice; it is also used for Indra in the litany called Subrahmanya.²⁹ Thus, Kārttikeya is not only a leader – and new leader in the changed social set up when Indra was receding from leadership of the gods – in the north. As the son of Agni, and born in the sacrificial circumstances when the sages were performing a sacrifice on the heavenly plane according to the myth, he was the very product of Brahman (which is sacrifice in the Vedic ritual context; see note 24). And, as the new leader, surpassing Indra, had been needed to assimilate even the non-Vedic godheads seen all over at the period preceding the *Rām.* and *Mb.*, he was 'created' as the new Senāpati. This is clear from the fact, that in his procession and coronation along with the Vedic gods those from other cults are seen.³⁰ When the followers of the Vedic sacrificial cult met the south Indian deity, Murugan, they saw in the latter the 'second' of their own new and dashing leader. The pattern of assimilation is not new. We may just bring to our mind the relationship between Indra and Kṛṣṇa, though the latter defeated the former in the episode of Govardhana. They joined hands. The former was Indra; the latter 'was named' Upendra (*up-Indra*).³¹ A bit of some more probe reveals the common points in the

personalities of Murugan and Subrahmanya-Kārttikeya. They both are accompanied by demonesses and other waywards on their march. About Kārttikeya we have already marked this trait. Murugan is said to have been accompanied by demonesses dancing, as he was smashing the devils and demons, according to a poem by Nakkiar³² who is placed in the fifth century A.D., which is the period of the Pāṇdyas. He is known as Seyon (which means Red God) and is considered to be the son of Korraivāi³³ (About Korraivāi, called also Korravī we shall see later). Though he is said to have subdued the demons, he is also associated with demons; and, according to one myth, the demon Iḍumbara was defeated by him in a fight. As he was about to kill the demon the latter's wife begged his life; and the demon was saved. The demon, however, requested him to keep him as his gate-keeper. This was granted.³⁴ It is important not to miss a detail associated with this myth from south India. We have seen how Agastya figures in initiating the Vedic culture in the south after subduing the Vindhya mountain. According to the present myth Śiva, once, gave two small hills to Agastya to carry them to the south so that the sage could worship himself (Śiva) and Śakti there. In fact, the two hills were Śiva and Śakti themselves. Agastya left the hills in the forest and proceeded alone, after carrying them upto a certain distance. He entrusted the task of carrying them further to Iḍumbara (Iḷumpan), who was his disciple. The disciple carried them for some time like a *kāvāḍi*, one on each shoulder tucked at the two ends of a stiff bamboo. On the way, he too stopped for a while; and, when he returned to carry them further, he could not lift the holy burden, as the *Kāvāḍi* hills got fixed in the earth. So, the demon-disciple went up one of the hills. He saw there a young boy with a bamboo-staff in his hand. The boy claimed that the hills belonged to him. The demon challenged and there ensued a fight, as mentioned above. The boy, in fact, was Murugan (Subrahmanya) himself.³⁵ The account has a two-fold significance. Firstly, it indicates that Agastya had won over the indigenous people (here represented by Iḍumbara), whom the new settlers saw as 'demons', because the latter did not accept their cult; but, afterwards they accepted it and both got fused. Secondly, Murugan was also not the deity of certain other tribes and they were also 'demons' for the followers of Murugan. The case is not isolated. It is like Rāma helping the Vānaras, and being helped by them, against the 'demons' of Laṅkā. Such cases, and myths, obtain in the history of the mixing of cults and civilizations. In the case of Subrahmanya, it appears that he came with a subsequent Vedic migration to the South, may be fourth century A.D.

About Skanda-Kārttikeya we have already seen how he is said to have been accompanied by demonesses. He has his devil-'mothers' (*mātarah*; Vana 230. 24ff; 231. 12-21.) He is *bhūteśa* (*Ibid.* 232.3). Among his soldiers are Śaṅkukarna and Niśumbha, renowned demons in the Hindu mythology (*Mb.* Śalya 45.56) and others (*Ibid.* 44.24). Like Murugan, who is a young

boy and yet powerful, as noted in the myth of Agastya just above, Kārttikeya is a child suddenly growing large in size (Śalya 44.33) *bālo'pi balavān*; earlier 4 *śiśuḥ*) and fond of playing with tiny toys (*ibid.* 7, *bālakrīḍanakaparaḥ*). Murugan is 'Red God' (Seyon). Though Skanda-Kārttikeya is not described as being so, he is the son of the fire-god. More striking is his cloak. He wears clean red clothes (Vana 229.31 *arajase vāsasī rakte vasānah*). This would be sufficient to think Murugan to be another aspect of Skanda, and would be believed to be so by those who are so told. Another detail is that Skanda-Kārttikeya is given the cock by Agni himself; and this cock is symbolic for Agni. This bird is *tāmracūḍa* (as has been already noted above; but to remind cf. Vana 225.24 and would symbolize the flaming crest of Agni), which is said to be his alternative banner (*ketu*), and is held high on the crest of his chariot (*ibid.* 32 *rathe samucchrīto bhāti*), like the peacock, and is apt to be seen as the emblem of Murugan due to its colour. About the fame of Murugan it is said that he would cause a heart-throb in young girls. This is not generally seen with Skanda. However, his epithet 'husband of maiden(s) and (yet) separate' (*Mb.* Śalya 44.6 *kanyābhartā vibhaktaśca*) is intriguing and there occurs a queer account.³⁶ Now, the most conspicuous is the vehicle, the peacock, which is seen with both these gods.

From the records and the discussion above, it would appear that the peacock might be borrowed from Murugan. This supposition might gather strength from the fact that the Vedic records do not have this bird associated with Kumāra. The mention of the peacock and the other description about Murugan becomes prominent from the fifth century A.D. Though the *Rām.* refers to Kārttikeya (as noted at the beginning of this discussion), it does not mention the peacock. However, the *Mb.* mentions it as his unique vehicle. The point is, if he has *ratha* (chariot), how could a bird be his *vāhana*. This detail was felt to be intriguing also to the narrator; because, at one place the bird is said to be his banner (or, on his banner (Vana 232.3 *mayūraketuḥ*), which would suit his chariot. At another he is said to 'ride a peacock' (Anuśāsana 14.27 *mayūram āsthāya*; cf. *Brahmavai P.* Gaṇapatikhaṇḍa 17.14). In any case, this would indicate that the peacock of Skanda-Kārttikeya came from a non-Vedic source. But, it does not necessarily seem to have come from Murugan, after the mixing of the two cults. Already in the *Mb.* (finalized by the third century B.C. latest) there is evidence of the entry of the bird from the cult of a goddess, who was identified with the one dominant goddess, Durgā. Though the original name of the goddess is not clear, she seems to be a special goddess of the cowherds, and was already popular at, or even before, the period of the Pāṇḍavas. Yudhiṣṭhira is said to have praised her in her shrine, where she was having the banner of the peacock-feather (Virāṭaparvan 6.14 *dhvajena śikhi-picchānām virājase*); and earlier she is addressed as having a circle made of peacock-feathers (round the head? cf. *ibid.* *mayūra-piccha-valaye*). The same is the case when

Arjuna is said to have paid her homage (Bhīṣma-parvan 23.6 *śikhi-picchadhvaje*). Though these references are said to be later,³⁷ how late could they be? The lateness is said to be due to the allusions of Kṛṣṇa and his sister Āryā (killed on the stone by Kāṁsa; she was the same as Yogamāyā or Yoganidrā). What seems to be true is that this goddess already existed earlier and the cowherds at the time of Kṛṣṇa adopted her as theirs. At the *Harivamśa* (Viṣṇu-parvan 2.40ff) she is described as having a trident, a sword with the golden handle, having a saucer filled with honey in one hand, having armlets of peacock-feathers and holding a staff with peacock feathers surmounting it. She seems, originally, to be a serpent goddess; because she is, here, described as having serpents decorating her arms, and called Vindhyaśini. The combination of the opposite creatures is one of the characteristics of a fusion of cults; and here, it is seen in the presence of the serpents and their enemy, the peacock.³⁸ The influence of the peacock detail is seen in the crest of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. The position seems to be that the cult of the six-headed god, conceived as a prodigious boy, was already prevalent in some parts of ancient north India, under the cult of the Devī, with close association of the peacock and the serpents. With her absorption with the Vedic concept of Kumāra, and with that of the Devī being accommodated in the general concept of Durgā, the myths about the Kṛttikā-Kārttikeya were formed. This seems to be the reason why there is close similarity between the associates of Skanda-Kārttikeya and the Devī. Other gods in the Vedic tradition followed and got adjusted in this assimilation. When the Vedic cult followers settled in the south of the Vindhyas, the *brāhmaṇas* had this nucleus with them. This would mean that the peacock was not borrowed from the Murugan cult. Murugan might have been the god of the wild south Indian tribe, Kurava;³⁹ but, his resemblance to Skanda-Kārttikeya stupified the *brāhmaṇas*, and they worked towards their identification. The south and the new settlers united and formed a single cultural whole. The Pāṇḍyan kings worked out a further fusion for the socio-political need on a religious basis.

The antiquity of Murugan is uncertain. But there seems to be no doubt about the prevalence of the cult prior to the period of the Pāṇḍyas, Pallavas and the Coḷas. During the period of the Pāṇḍyas a Mātāṅkī (Sanskrit, Mātāṅgī) sang the praise of Kaṭirvel (Murugan) in the assembly. This was in imitation of the dance and song of the goddess Korravāī on the battle-field, along with her attendants, behind the chariot of the victorious king, who, himself, danced in his chariot. The Mātāṅkī was not herself a goddess; she only imitated her. But, in the earlier context of the Korravāī, the goddess was the protecting spirit for the king.⁴⁰ Murugan, as her son,⁴¹ with her attendants of fearful countenance, gets an added lustre here as the ferocious leader. This would liken him to Skanda-Kārttikeya with his band of goblins and the son of Pārvatī (for all practical purposes, though not actually born of her),

in her aspect of the Devī (Durgā or Kātyāyanī or Kālī). The epithet-turned-synonym for Murugan, as we have noted, is Kāṭirvel. The word means 'Spear of light.' This corresponds to another epithet-name of his, Velāyudhan, which has a Sanskrit tinge (*Vela*=spear+*āyudha*), which means 'Having a spear as a weapon.' His name Daṇḍapāṇi, attests his having a bamboo staff in the myth of Agastya and the *kāvadi*. He is also called more Kanakaśakti ('having a golden spear'). Now, these epithets are seen also for Kārttikeya, who is said to have been given a *daṇḍa* by Brhaspati (*Mb.* Śalya 46.50), and the *śakti* (Vana 225.24). The peacock (and the cock also in the case of Kārttikeya) show that these gods came from wild tribes. Murugan was from the Kuravas, as noted above. About Kārttikeya, the exact source is uncertain; yet these birds betray his wild source. Murugan has his shrines on the hills, as a general observation; and the Agastya-Idumbara myth cannot be taken as an isolated case. In the accounts of the birth of Skanda, as soon as he is born, he is said to have been associated with the 'White mountain' (Śveta-parvata).⁴² These accounts and the general appearance was enough to identify these two gods from originally different cults. There is an additional point of the bell (*ghaṇṭā*) to suggest the wild demoniac source of Skanda-Kārttikeya. The army of demons that went along with him is said to be carrying bells (Śalya 46.55 *nairṭim senā ghaṇṭocchritaketanā*; even he carries *śaktighaṇṭā* Anuś. 14.278). Indra is said to have given one *ghaṇṭā* to Skanda and the other to Viśākha (Vana 231.19), who is an aspect of Skanda who has three others beside himself (Śalya 44.37 Śākha, Viśākha and Naigameya). It should be noted, in this connection, that the *śakti* along with the *ghaṇṭā* is a marked characteristic of Rāvaṇa and his army. The *śakti* of Rāvaṇa is *aṣṭaghaṇṭā* (having eight bells, *Rām.* Yuddha 101.30; we have *aṣṭaghaṇṭāmahānāda*, 104.20f). The demon Maya has the same (*Ibid.* 4.8. *aṣṭaghaṇṭām mahasvanām*).

From what has been said above, and until now, it is clear, that in Skanda-Kārttikeya there was not only a fusion of various cults; he served as the leader for all and had become a sociopolitical symbol, taking also with him the Vedic Kumāra.

Notes and References

1. For which see, Sadashiv A. Dange *Vedic Sacrifices, Early Nature*, Appendix A, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1999.
2. *Mahābhārata* (*Mb.*) Vanaparva, 104.11-14
3. Asim Kumara Chatterjee, *The Cult of Skanda Kārttikeya in Ancient India*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1970, p.3
4. *Ibid.* p.2
5. *Ibid.*

6. See *Katha-Upaniṣad* I.1.2. Though Yama asks him to accept chariots along with beautiful women (*Ibid.* 25), he does not. The *RV* mentions one chariot which the *kumāra* is said to ride in. Sāyaṇa is, obviously, misled by the word *kumāra* (*Ibid.* 2) and Naciketāḥ at 1 before it.
7. See Dange, "Visions in the Poetry of the R̥gveda", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, XLV, Nos. 3-4 March-June, 1996, pp. 136-147.
8. A. K. Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, p.3.
9. Donald Mackenzie, *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, The Gresham Publishing Co., London (No year mentioned, 1915), p. 79f. These nine help also Bata, in one Egyptian mythsee pp. 45-57.
10. On this see Dange, *Towards Understanding Hindu Myths*, Aryan, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 42,46, 420, 434, where instances from various sources occur.
11. According to one version from the Purāṇas (*Brahma P.* 81.3ff), he decided to remain unmarried after he was toned down by Pārvaī, when he went on enjoying the wives of the gods.
12. *Śat. Br.* V.2.1.5 and various other places.
13. The 'threefoldness' is variously stated, one being of three fires in the fire-chamber (Gārhapatya, Dakṣiṇa and the Āhavanīya), the other being the sun, lightning and the sacrificial fire in the altar.
14. The popular practice is of keeping two names, one for use and the other concealed. The belief and practice goes back to the *RV*. cf. *RV* V. 5.10 *devānām guhyā nāmāni*, VIII.41.5. The divine Cow (Vāc) has twentyone names, VII. 87.4.
15. See Dange, Review of *An Essay on the Myth of the R̥bhuv* by Félix Néve (Eng. Tr., G.V. Davane), *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*. Vol. 70 (for 1995), pp. 169-171.
16. See Vettam Mani, *Puranic Encyclopaedia*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1975, p. 467, where he describes the formation of Mahiṣāsuramardini from the *Devibhāgavata*, Skandha 5.
17. For a fuller study of the myths related to the Mahiṣāsura-mardini, see Dange, *Towards Understanding Hindu Myths*, pp. 417-470.
18. The goat, as an accompaniment with the cock and the peacock for Skanda-Kārttikeya figures also in his description at the *Mb.* : Anuś. 86 .24, where the goat (*chāge*) is said to have been given to him by Agni himself. The *Skandha P.* (V.1.34.74-75) has a goat from Agni and the peacock from the ocean, at the *Brahmā ṇḍa P.* (II.3.10.42) we have a goat from Brahmā and a ram from Śiva. It is well known from iconography, that a goat is a symbolic beast for Agni, see R.C. Agrawal, "Agni in Ear-Indian Art" *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 43, part 1, Kerala University, Trivandrum, 1965, p. 153, fig. s. 2 and 3. The *Mb.* mentions the practice of offering into the right ear of a goat, in the absence of fire: cf. Anuś. 85. 149 *karṇe vājasya dakṣiṇe*.
19. *RV*. VIII. 1.25 *mayūraseayā*, of. also I. 194. 14 *mayūryaḥ* (Fem. Pl.) that are

said to destroy poison.

20. A. K. Chatterjee *op.cit.* p.32, on the authority of P. Gardner, *Catalogue of coins in the British Museum*, pl. XXVIII and of Cunnigham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, pt. III, pp. 53-54, pl. XX 15. It may be interesting to note that the *Mb.* mentions some of the army-leaders as having the peacock-banner, cf. Droṇa-parvan 104-16, the banner of Vṛṣasena, which according to E. W. Hopkins is a Maurya name, *Epic Mythology*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1986 (1915), p. 228, The chariot, with this emblem, of Vṛṣasena is compared by the *Mb.* with that of Skanda with the peacock, iv. 18.
21. A. K. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p.42.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Cf. *Rām. Bāla* 36.6ff., *Mb. Anuś.* 85.66-70.
24. *Rām. Bāla* 37. 1ff. 11 *agnim niyojayāmāsuḥ putrārtham sarva-devatāḥ. Mb. ana* 224. 27-42, 225.1-16, where Agni is said to have united with the wives of the sages at the sacrifice. These two versions get fused where Śiva's semen is said to have been eaten and transferred to the Gaṅgā, which is thrown on the bank by her whence the Kṛttikās take it over. Another way of fusion is seen at the *Mb.*, Vana 231, where Śiva is said to enter the fire-god and Upā - Pārvaṭī enters Svāhaḥ, cf. vv. 8-10. Agni unites with the Kṛttikās, also directly, cf. 86.5-8. Here, on the heavenly plane, the wives of the sages and the Kṛttikās are the same. This would show, that, originally, the myth reverts to Agni, the Kumāra-Rudra of the *Śat. Br.*
25. R. P. Kangle does not make clear who the Senāpati is, *The Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya* (Tr, Eng.) Part II, Bombay Uni., 1972, p. 70.
26. A. K. Chatterjee *op. cit.* p. 63, 66
27. *Ibid.*, p. 61 .
28. *Śat.Br.* III. 3.4. 17ff. Later this priest is made the Udgātr.
29. Indra has Subrahmaṇya in the litany, and is addressed as such (Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra, I. 3. 1ff.). Subrahmaṇya accompanies the cart of Soma-shoots as it is brought to the sacrificial chamber. The identification of Murugan with the Indra-Subrahmaṇya is very probably, due to the peculiar exploits of Indra mentioned here. He is here alluded to as the paramour of Ahalyā (wife of Gautama); he became the *menā* (wife, or just a girl) of Vṛṣaṇaśva (to entice her and gain access to her, according to one variation.) These traits correspond to Murugan, who is said to have been a love-dart for young girls. For the new Vedic *brāhmaṇa*, Murugan must have been a mixture of Indra Subrahmaṇya and Skanda Kārtikeya, due to the latter's peacock.
30. *Mb. Śalya* 86. 1-80, we have noted this already.
31. *Harivaṃśa*, Viṣṇu-parvan 75.6, *Viṣṇu P. V.* 12.12.
32. A. K. Chatterjee, *op.cit.* p. 60

33. *Ibid.* p. 63. In Tamil red is indicated also by the word *sevappu*.
34. A. K. Chatterjee *op.cit.* p. 62, where he takes this account from P.V.J. Ayyar *South Indian Shrines*, Madras, 1920, pp. 156 among others. This account is about the hill of Paṅṅi of which there is another interesting myth. It is said that once Śiva and Pārvatī were resting at one place on a hill, surrounded by forest. They put a wager between their sons, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, according to which they would give the fruit, they were having, to the one who would go round the earth first and reach them. The boys started. Kārttikeya trotted on his peacock, but, Gaṇeśa could not keep pace on his mouse. He thought for a while, returned and went round Śiva and Pārvatī, his parents. They were glad and gave the fruit (a mango) to him as was set in the wager. When Kārttikeya returned, he was dejected. So Śiva and Pārvatī said to him what would he do with the mango fruit, because, in fact, he not, Gaṇeśa was their chosen fruit. They said to Kārttikeya, "paḷam nī" (You are the fruit). In Tamil *paḷam* means 'fruit' (cf. Sanskrit, phalam), and *nī* means 'you' Hence, it is said the place where this happened came to be called Paṅṅi = Paṅṅi.
35. Chatterjee, p. 62. Iḍumbara is the same as Iḍumban as he is also called. The difference due to The Tamil Language, *r* at the end shows respect; *ḷ* and *ḍ* have the same phonetic sign; also p=b.
36. According to one account, after crushing Tārakāsura, Skanda began making advances even to the wives of the gods and enjoying them. When, on coming to know of this, his mother reprimanded him, he decided not to marry, see *Brahma P.* 81.3ff.
37. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 224, R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works* Vol. IV. Poona p. 203.
38. In two phratries of a tribe this is common. Another such example is that of the Nāgas (Serpents) and Garuḍa, for which see Dange, *Legends in the Mahābhārata*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1969, p. 34 ff; also by the same author, *Myths from the Mahābhārata*, Vol I, Aryan, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 31 ff., cf. *Suparṇā dhyāya* XIV. 28.1, which says that from the fore-part of the wing of Garuḍa was born the peacock, and from the end the ichneumon, from the mid-portion was born a line of serpents. This goes well with Garuḍa (*Suparṇā*) giving 'his son', the peacock to Kārttikeya, *Mb.* Anuś. 86. 21, Śalya 46.50.
39. Chatterjee p. 63.
40. Saskia C. Kersenboom-story, *Nityasumaṅgalī - Devadāsī Tradition in South India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1987, p. 22.
41. Chatterjee, p. 64.
42. *Rām.* Bāla 36.19, *Mb.* Vana 225.10, Śalya 44.9 has Himalaya, Anuś. 85. 68 has Meru.

CULTURAL ASSIMILATION IN VEDIC INDIA

SINDHU S. DANGE

In the Vedic tradition there are found some features which might not be indigenous to their respective spheres but, which got so assimilated with the Vedic tradition as to have formed a part of it, reflecting the process of integration.

From the sphere of deities, mention may be made of Rudra, who is generally taken to be from the non-Aryan fold,¹ later on getting assimilated in the Vedic pantheon. There are some important traits of Rudra going well with those of the Mahāvratya of *Atharvaveda* (*AV*), as well shall see further. But Rudra cannot be said to be coming from the non-Vedic fold, there being many Vedic traits in him inspite of his terrible nature. Even Varuṇa is regarded as the chief of the *asuras*² and thus outside the Vedic fold and Rbhus as the originators of the language of the Mlecchas.³ These views obviously have to be set aside.

To come to the tribes which appear to be from the Vedic fold itself or were away from and at times antagonistic to the Vedic Aryans, which however were recognised or accepted in the Vedic fold -

A reference to the people of Sarpa-tribe (obviously totemistic tribe, later on termed Nāgas) as also of Bird-tribe⁴ occurs in the Pāriplava-ākhyāna, which is dealt with in details in the *Śat. Br.* (XIII. 4.3.9,13). Mention is here made of the *asuras*, *rakṣases* and *Matsyas* and interestingly their respective lores (Vedas) are also referred to (*Śat. Br.* XIII.4.3.10-12). These tribes might have been on the periphery of the Aryan civilisation and some of them like the Sarpas were assimilated in the Vedic fold as we shall discuss later on.

Among the tribes, Paṇis seem to be important, being wealthy. But they seem to be keeping themselves away from the sacrificial religion by not performing sacrifices and eventually not giving any gifts (*dakṣiṇās*) to the priests. With the result, they have all the derogatory words heaped on them. "O wise god (Pūṣan), pierce the hearts of the Paṇis with your saw" (*RV* VI. 53.5), says one seer, who again requests, "O Pūṣan! cut and loosen the hearts of the Paṇis." (*Ibid.*7). "Paṇi verily is the wolf" (*Ibid.* VI. 51.14) remarks another seer. The intense desire of the priests was that the Paṇis should perform sacrifices and give *dakṣiṇās* (*Ibid.* 1.180.7).

A significant trait of the Paṇis was that they were money-lenders (*bekānāṭa*). Yāska explains the term *bekānāṭāḥ* as *kusīdinaḥ*- 'money-lenders" (*Nir.* VI.

26) and the term *paṇi* as *vaṇik* i.e. 'trader' on the basis of etymology (*Ibid.* II.17)⁵. In spite of earning wealth the Paṇis seem to be stingy as can be seen from their not performing sacrifices and not giving *dakṣiṇās*. Br̥bu the head of the Paṇis however is an exception and is said to be spacious in donation as the bed of the Gaṅgā; for, he gave thousands to the priest (*RV* VI. 45.31). The seer Bharadvāja praises Br̥bu in three *mantras* (*Ibid.* VI. 45.31-33). The Paṇis may or may not be non-Aryans but they were definitely not prone to the Vedic sacrificial religion. The R̥gvedic seers seem to be keen on winning them over, as can be seen from the words, "Soften, O God! even Paṇis mind" (*Ibid.* VI.53.3 - *Paṇeścid vi mrada manah*). The expression "The rains have been held up as cows by the Paṇi" (*Ibid.* I.3211 - *ruddhā āpah paṇineva gāvah*) shows that they might be cattle-traders or keeping cows in large quantities. The *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* (*Jaim.Br.*) echoing this through a mythical account calls them 'asura' and mentions them as the cow-herds of the *devas* (II.438 - *atha ha vai paṇayo nāmāsura devānām goraskṣā āsuh*). It seems that by the time of the *Jaim. Br.* they became mythical or went into oblivion, excepting their connection with the cows or they might have been assimilated in the Vedic fold not requiring any special mention.

A note has to be taken of the Vrātyas who seem to be outside the pale of the Aryan society and for whom the *Tāṇḍya Mahā Brāhmaṇa* (*Tāṇḍ.M.Br.*) enjoins the four Vrātyastomas. These are one-day sacrifices (*ekāhas*). The sixteen-versed *stoma* is employed in each of these Vrātyastomas, the first of which is enjoined for all the Vrātyas (*Tāṇḍ. M.Br.* XVII.1.2.) The passage from the *Tāṇḍ. M. Br.* enables us to know some details about the Vrātyas. The Vrātyas were leading the life of a joined group, were destitute and were left behind. They were engaged neither in the study of the Veda nor tilled the land nor were engaged in trade. Dyutāna was the 'House-holder' (or chief) of the Vrātyas (*Ibid.* XVII. 1.7). A turban, a bow without arrow, a rough vehicle covered with board, a garment with black fringes, two goatskins : one white, one black; a silver ornament (according to Caland, worn around the neck)⁶, — all these amounted to the equipment of the House-holder (Gṛhapati) (*Ibid.* 14). The other Vrātyas had garments (according to Caland, upper garments).⁷ These Vrātyas ate food which was meant for the *brāhmaṇas*. They called good words bad; used to strike with a stick him who did not deserve to be punished; though not initiated spoke the language of the initiated. The guilt of these Vrātyas is said to be removed by the four Śoḍaśastomas (*Ibid.* 9). The *Tāṇḍ. M. Br.* at another place (XXIV. 18) mentions the sixty-one day rite of the Vrātyas — the adherents of the 'God.' As they did not beg of Varuṇa a place for worship, they were cursed by the latter that they would not know the path leading to the gods and would be devoid of a share in the sacrifice. Hence the other priests do not take sacrificial substance (rice, barley etc.) nor (a draught of) *soma* for them; to sacrifice it on their behalf.

But the *Tānd. M. Br.* specifically mentions that after the sixty-one day sacrifice performed by the Vrātyas, the herbs, milk, flesh, skin and trees were united with juice, butter, fat, hair and leaves resp. and were thus full of lustre.

One whole *kāṇḍa* (XV) of the *AV* eulogises the Vrātya and speaks of the hospitality given to him. His epithet *mahādeva* (XV.1.4) and his description as having black (*nīla*) belly and red (*lohita*) back (*Ibid.* 7) remind us of the later god Śiva who is said to be Mahādeva and *nīlalahita*. Bloomfield says that the *vrātya* seems to be a kind of a Brahmācārin, or at any rate one who has entered the Brahmanical community after having been converted from an Aryan, but non-Brahmanical tribe.⁸ Sāyaṇa on *AV* (XV.1.1) says that the description does not apply to all Vrātyas, but only to some very powerful, universally respected and holy Vrātya who was, however, not in the good books of the *brāhmaṇas* that were solely devoted to their own rites and sacrifices. The Vrātyas might be on the periphery of the Vedic Aryan fold or inside it. But they had a distinct sacrificial procedure, as can be seen from the detail in the *Tānd. M. Br.* (XXIV. 18), already noted by us.

The Vrātyastomas seem to be a subsequent and necessary development in the history of the Vrātyas, by which they could be assimilated in the Vedic Aryan fold. The *Jaim. Br.* speaks of three Vrātyastomas (II.221-225). The Vrātyastoma is dealt with by *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (*Kāty. Ś. S.*), (XXII. 4.1-28) and *Āpṣṭamba Śrauta Sūtra* (*Āp. Ś. S.*) (XXII. 5.4-14) as also by *Pāriplava Grhya Sūtra* (*Pār. G. S.*) (II.5.) It has to be noted that the work *Vrātyatā-suddhisāṅgraha* states that the Vrātyastoma like the penance for an *avakīrṇin* or the Niṣāda-sṭhapatī is to be performed in the ordinary fire (*laukika agni*) and the Vrātya could be purified even after twelve years of celibacy or if he is an ordinary person, simply after bath only once in a day, which is accompanied with the Pāvamāṇī hymns addressed to Soma.⁹ The later concept of Patitasavitṛikas from amongst the Aryans termed as Vrātyas is based on the earlier concept of the Vrātya-community which was away from the Vedic fold, may be on the periphery, but later on assimilated.

A reference to Niṣādas occurs in the *Yajurveda* (*YV*) tradition (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*) (*Tait. Sam.*) IV. 5.4.2; *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (*Vāj. Sam.*) XVI. 27; *Kaṭha Saṁhitā* (*Kaṭh. Sam.*) (XVII.17). The work *Suparṇādhyaia* (*Suparṇa.*) mentions the Niṣādarāṣṭra (VII.16) with many divisions.¹⁰ The *Mahābhārata* mentions the region of the Niṣādas on the verge of or adjacent to the sea (*Ādi.* 28.1). The opening to the country of the Niṣādas was at a place where the river Sarasvatī is said to have disappeared in the desert due to the sins of the Niṣādas, with a thought 'may not the Niṣādas know i. e. see me' (*Mbh. Vana.* 130. 3,4). Raudra - iṣṭi was allowed to be performed in the case of the Niṣāda-sṭhapatī (*Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra* VI.1.25 *sṭhapatīniṣādaḥ śabdāsāmarthyāt---etayā (raudreṣṭyā) niṣādasthapatīm yājayet*). A temporary stay among the Niṣādas is enjoined for the sacrificer in the Viśvajit sacrifice

(*Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa*) (*Kaus.Br.*) XXV. 15; *Tānd. M. Br.* XVI. 6.7; Lāt. Ś. S. 8.2. 7-9). The dwelling signifies a perfect harmony of the Niṣādas with the Aryans. Aryans seem to have married the Niṣāda girls (*Suparnā*. X. 18.5 - *dvijastu sanīśādīkaḥ sasutāḥ*--). By the time of the Smṛtis and the *Mbh.*, they were totally assimilated in the Vedic Hindu fold (*Manu. Sm.* X. 8; *Yāj. Sm.* I.91). But the commentary *Mitākṣarā* on *Yāj. Sm.* (I.91) makes a difference between a Niṣāda born of a *brāhmaṇa* and a *śūdra* woman and a Niṣāda having his livelihood by catching fish (*Mbh.* I.28.2; *Sk. P.* IV.50.64 - *niṣādā matsyaghātinaḥ velātatanivāsāśca*--) The term *pañcajanāḥ* is generally explained as *niṣādapañcamāḥ*, Niṣādas being included after *śūdra*. Yaska quotes the remark of Aupamanyava - *catvāro varnāḥ niṣādaḥ pañcamāḥ* (*Nir.* III.7), indicating the inclusion of the Niṣādas in the Vedic fold. Garuda's eating the Niṣādas as mentioned in the *Suparnā*. and the *Mbh.* is symbolic of the defeat and assimilation of the Niṣādas by the Aryans.¹¹

The same trend of assimilation is noticed in the legend of Śunaḥśepa, as related in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (*Ait. Br.*) (VII. 13-18=33. 1-6). When Viśvāmitra accepts Śunaḥśepa as his son, his fifty sons older than the son Madhucchandasa, did not approve of this act of his, while those fifty sons who were younger than Madhucchandasa accepted Śunaḥśepa as their brother. The fifty sons who did not agree with Viśvāmitra were cursed by Viśvāmitra that their descendants would resort to the lowest castes. They became Andhras, Pundras, Śabarasa, Pulindasa and Mūtibasa. It is said that most of the ~~Dasyus~~ are the descendants of Viśvāmitra (*ibid.* VII. 18=33.6) It is quite patent that the *Ait. Br.* here tries to point out that all these tribes once belonged to the Aryan fold, thus opening the doors for assimilation of these tribes, some of them actually merging and then admitted in the *pañcama varṇa*.

The Kirātas are mentioned as *pañcama varṇa*, staying in the caves of the mountains (*AV* X. 4.14; *Vāj. Sam.* XXX. 16; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (*Tait.Br.*) III. 4. 12. 1). But by the time of the Dharma Sūtra (*Mān. Dh. S.*) (X. 44) they came to be regarded as 'fallen, *kṣatriyas*.' This speaks of their assimilation in the Vedic fold in the later times.

Various references to Dasyus or Dāsasa occur in the *RV*. They were not following the Vedic sacrificial cult (*RV* VIII. 6.3; 70.11; X. 22. 8). They were rich and affluent. Among them were Ilībīsa, Cumurī, Dhunī, Pipru, Śambarasa and Varuṇ. One Dāsa king named Balbūtha is said to have performed a sacrifice, in which he gave rich *dakṣiṇās* to his priest, the scion of the Kaṇva family (*ib.* VIII. 46. 32ab). Their residence seems to be of a *pur*-type (*ib.* II. 20.8-*haṭvī dasyūn pura āyasīmitārīt* said of Indra). They are spoken of as of dark skin (*kṛṣṇa tvac*) (*ib.* 1.130.8; IX. 41.1) and as snub-nosed (*ib.* V. 29.10 - *anāsaḥ*). Śaṅkara takes the word *anāsaḥ* as *an-āsaḥ* meaning 'without mouth' i.e. unable to speak the Vedic language.¹² They are said to be *mr̥dhraṇvācaḥ* (*ib.*) i.e. 'of indistinct speech.'¹³ There are references

to Indra killing a Dasyu (*Ib.* I. 33. 4ab; IV.16.9).

It cannot be decided whether the Dasyus or Dāsas were non-Aryans. The word *dāsa* has a sense of a 'servant' in the Vedic language. Vasiṣṭha calls himself a '*dāsa*' of Varuṇa (*Ib.* VII. 86.7). Yāska states the etymology of the word *dāsa* fr. √ das - 'to diminish, to be exhausted' (*Nirukta* II. 17). Kavaṣa Ailūṣa is said to be the son of a *dāsī*, who was thrown away in the desert, but on his 'seeing' the Aponaptrīya hymn was invited by the priests in their fold (*Ait. Br.* II. 19=8.1; cf. *Kaus. Br.* XII.3). However some scholars have their own view-points in this regard. Das regards the Dāsas as the first Aryan settlers.¹⁴ Buddhaprakash maintains that the Dāsas were the affluent Aryans against whom the majority of the Aryans living in the villages stood in revolt.¹⁵ Asko Parpola is of the firm opinion that the Aryans and the Dāsas or Asuras (the words-Dāsas, Dasyus, Asuras and also *śatru* being alternate with each other) were two different clans. Varuṇa was the lord of the Dāsas or Asuras and later on this principal deity of the subdued Asuras was incorporated by the Aryans in their pantheon.¹⁶ Thus there was amalgamation of the Aryan and the Dāsa religions according to Parpola. Though the question cannot be solved decidedly, it seems that the Dāsas or Dasyus had their distinct identity like the Paṇis, only to get themselves assimilated in the Vedic fold. But as most of them probably were poor, and were employed for menial work, the word *dāsa* came to mean a 'servant.'

The Vedic texts mention that the Asuras and the Rakṣases were always in conflict with the Devas. Shendge has tried to identify the Asuras and we leave off this point.¹⁷ The point of assimilation always ruled over the minds of the Vedic thinkers, who on several occasions say that the Asuras and the Devas were 'brothers', both being born from Prajāpati. The later mythical account of the Asura king Bali as also of Hiranyakaśipu indicates that by the Puranic times the Asuras were completely assimilated in the Brahmanical-Hindu fold, and the word *asura* stood only for an evil tendency.

The matter to be taken up for discussion is about some rituals, having non-Vedic traits but later on getting entry into the Vedic tradition. The prominent example is of the rite of Agnicayana, which requires a large number of bricks. In this rite the Great fire-altar is raised above the ground, while the normal fire-altars made by the Vedic Aryans were not much above the ground. The *mekhalā* mentioned in the later period was for making the altar high, and to make the altar to be imagined as a woman. The Vedic altar was to be dug only thumb deep and practically it was a surface-to-surface structure in the main. On this background the building of the Great fire-altar with bricks and those also in five layers poses a problem regarding its origin, which scholars like Converse as well as Nama Drury have attempted to solve.¹⁸

Two raised up constructions of the fire-altar are to be taken into account

vis-a-vis the Great fire-altar built in the rite of Agnicayana. One is the structure named Rauhiṇa, which the Asuras were constructing high to reach the heaven and which came tumbling down when Indra in the guise of a *brāhmaṇa* first placed his brick in the layer of the altar but later on pulled it out, when the altar built up high was about to be completed. This is the Citrā-brick episode, in which that brick of Indra is named Citrā.¹⁹ This structure obviously is a mythical one. The other is the Achaemenian fire-altar, thought to have been built about the 6th cent. B.C. and excavated near Cyrus's capital of Pasargadae. It appears to have a top, which is quite high and hence in the photograph actual steps are seen to reach the top.²⁰

These two fire-altars—one mythical and the other real—can convincingly show that the raised up fire-altar was a special feature of the non-Vedic culture. The Great fire-altar built with bricks in five layers in the rite of Agnicayana most probably was thought of on the lines of such raised up non-Vedic structures.

Another instance of assimilation concerns the ritual of Soma. Soma is said to be coming from a very far off place and the rite of the purchase of Soma hints that it originally belonged to a non-Vedic (non-Aryan) clan. Hence the same is ritually enacted and Soma is purchased from a *śūdra* or a *brāhmaṇa* of a lower status called Kautsa, who was then driven away.²¹

The method of pressing the Soma clearly points out the trend of assimilation. The *Ait. Br.* (VI. 1=26. 1) mentions a sacrificial session of the gods, which remained unsuccessful as the gods could not destroy the evil owing to the sacrifice lacking in a detail. At this hour came a seer named Arbuda Kādraveya (the son of Kadrū the mother of serpents) of the Sarpa clan, who advised them to invoke the pressing-stones (*grāvans*) at the mid-day pressing and thus wipe off the evil thereby. Arbuda Kādraveya himself invoked the pressing-stones for the sake of the gods. But the gods being apprehensive of the Sarpa-seer looking at Soma and thus putrefying it, wrapped his eyes with his head-wear. It is interesting to note that the same practice of wrapping the eyes with the head-wear while invoking the pressing-stones at the mid-day pressing became a part of the Vedic ritual tradition. In this sacrifice, when Soma (-juice, after being drunk) was maddening the gods, they thought it to be the effect of the Sarpa-seer's chants while invoking the Soma. Hence the gods mixed his chants with their *ṛcs*. It is quite clear that in addition to the invocation of the pressing-stones as noted above, even the special chant at the mid-day pressing at the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, where this mythical account occurs, is a loan from the Sarpa-clan. Already there occur hymns by the seers of the Sarpa-clan in the later *maṇḍala* of *RV* (X. 76; 94; 175). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions the people of the Sarpa-clan and also their Veda (XIII.4.3.9) and the *Gop. Br.* clearly states the *vyāhṛti* 'Vṛdhat' coming from the Sarpaveda (I.1.10).

The account of Pururavas occurring in the *Śat. Br.* echoes the very same trend of assimilation. Apart from the dialogue-hymn moving around Pururavas and Urvaśī (*RV X. 95*), the *RV* states Pururavas to be 'the performer of a ritual' (*sukrt, Ib. I. 31.4*). The *Śat. Br.* states a mythical account pointing out how Pururavas learnt a new method of kindling the sacrificial fire from the Gandharvas, to be one amongst them so that he could stay with Urvaśī. The two methods at first suggested by the Gandharvas were (i) cooking of a mass of rice, sufficient for four persons (*cātusprāśyam odanam*); then taking each time three Aśvattha faggots, anointing them with ghee and placing them on fire with *mantras* having the words *samit* and *ghṛta*; (ii) making the upper stick (*araṇī*) of the Aśvattha wood and the lower one of the Sāmī wood. However the Gandharvas told him one more method for, the above two methods had become recondite. In the new method, both the fire-sticks were to be from the wood of the Aśvattha tree and the fire that would result from these two fire-sticks was to be the same old fire that was lost by Pururavas on the way (*Śat. Br. XI. 5.1.1-17*). The Vedic ritual tradition taking a note of this association of Pururavas with the methods of kindling the sacrificial fire metaphorically identifies the upper fire-stick (*araṇī*) with Pururavas and the lower one with Urvaśī (*Ib. III.4.1.22*; also *Kāty. Ś. S. V.1.24, 25*; *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra XX. 27-28*). The *Purāṇas* give Pururavas the credit of introducing three fires in the place of one fire.²² But in certain *purāṇas* it is said that Pururavas was beaten by the *brāhmaṇas* of the Naimiṣa forest²³. This shows the jealousy on the part of the *brāhmaṇas* may be because Pururavas was not a *brāhmaṇa* originally but a Gandharva²⁴ or a neo-ritualist.²⁵ But it has to be noted that the method of kindling the sacrificial fire with both the *araṇīs* from the Aśvattha tree, which he introduced in the Vedic ritual tradition, was originally of the Gandharvas but which later on was followed by the Vedic ritualists.

Along with the rites noted above, mention has to be made of the Mahāvratā day and the features concerning it. This is the penultimate day in the Gavāmayana *saltra* and it is specially meant for Prajāpati, who himself is *mahān* i.e. great, and the word 'vrata' signifies fast-milk (*Tāṇḍ. M. Br. IV. 10.2*; *Śat. Br. IV. 6.4.2*). In this rite, a Mahāvratīya cup of *soma* is offered in addition to the usual ones and a victim is offered to Prajāpati. A Mahāvratā *sāman* is chanted followed by the recitation of the Mahad-uktha (great laudation) of the Hotṛ. The popular details contained in the rite, important from our point of view, are as follows. An *ārya* and a *śūdra* contest for a white circular hide symbolising the sun and the *ārya* is ultimately made to win that hide. A harlot and a *brahmacārin* abuse each other on the northern side of the altar. Sexual union between a man and a woman (not connected with the sacrifice) takes place in a screened shed to the south of the Mārjāliya shed (*Kāty. Ś. S. XIII. 3.9*). There is beating of drums at all the corners of the *vedi* and striking of the *bhūmi-dundubhi*.²⁶ The wives of the sacrificer sing in chorus and play on

instruments when the priests chant. Eight servants and maids or slaves and slaves and slave-girls, placing water-jars on their heads dance thrice round the Mārjāliya (fire-) place, striking the ground with the right foot and singing popular songs in which the cows are lauded as mothers of ghee and which contain words like 'this is sweet.'²⁷ As Kane rightly states, the Mahāvratā was some folk-festival in the hoary past and it was welded on to the solemn Vedic sacrifices. However, we cannot agree with Kane when he says that the Mahāvratā festival was for 'relaxation after the weary days and months of sacrifices.'²⁸ It has to be pointed out that there was hardly or-to be correct-not any feature, for pure amusement or relaxation in the Vedic ritual. The various features noted above in the Mahāvratā rite have the motif of fertility underlying them. Hence this particular rite was attached to the Gavāmayana rite, which is a series of Soma-sacrifices extending over twelve months and which is performed for various rewards such as progeny, prosperity etc.

To turn to the trend of assimilation with regard to lores and songs, from the non-Vedic or a-Vedic spheres into the Vedic tradition :

Some such lores are mentioned in the context of the Horse-sacrifice, in the Pāriplava cycle of legends, consisting of mini-cycles, each of ten days. The Pāriplava (cycle) lasted for one year, while the sacrificial horse with the royal entourage, was away from the sacrificial chamber. Apart from the Vedas viz. Yajus-Veda, Veda of the Atharvans, Veda of the Āngirases and Sāmaveda, here are specifically mentioned Sarpavidyā (the lore of the Sarpas) on the fifth day, Devajanavidyā (the lore of the Rakṣases) on the sixth day, Māyāveda (the lore of the Asuras) on the seventh day, Itihāsaveda to be told to the people of the Matsya-tribe and fisher-men (*matsyahanah*) on the eighth day and Purāṇaveda to be told to the people of the Bird-tribe and men acquainted with the science of birds, on the ninth day (*Śat. Br.* XIII. 4. 3. 6-14). While the lores like Sarpavidyā, Devajanavidyā and Māyāveda are from the non-Vedic tradition, Itihāsaveda and Purāṇaveda are from a-Vedic tradition. As noted above, portion from the respective lore is enjoined to be narrated by the Hotr priest at the end of the day after finishing his regular duty. The mention of these lores along with the regular Vedas speaks of their assimilation in the Vedic ritual tradition. Now a question here is — In which language the Sarpavidyā, Devajanavidyā and Māyāveda were composed? If they were composed in the respective local languages, we have to suppose that the Hotr priest must be knowing these languages or there might be a narrator telling on his behalf, from the respective tribes. What the text of these lores was, has never come to light, as it is buried deep in oblivion. The *Gop. Br.* of the later times speaks of the *vyāhrtis* created by the Brahman principle from these lores. They are - "Vṛdhat' from the Sarpaveda, "Karat' from the Piśācaveda, "Guhat' from the Asurveda, "Mahat' from the Itihāsaveda and "Tad' from the Purāṇaveda (I.1.10). Here even Sarpavidyā is termed

Sarpaveda, Devajanavidyā is Piśācaveda and Māyāveda or Asuravidyā is Asurveda, showing thereby that by the time of the *Gop. Br.* these compositions had acquired the title 'Veda' and were admitted in the Vedic tradition.

Some other types of literature are referred to in the *Śat. Br.* and they are Anusāsanas, Vidyās, Vākovākya, Itihāsa-purāṇa, *nārāśamsī* and *gāthā* (XI. 5.6.8). The Anusāsanas may refer to some other matter but Vidyās, Vākovākya and Itihāsa-purāṇa originated from the ritual context.

When we take *gāthās*, *nārāśamsīs* and *ślokas* into account, we are convinced of their origin from the secular tradition. The *Ait.Br.* differentiates between a *ṛc* and a *gāthā*, calling the first *daiva* (divine) and the latter *mānuṣa* (human) (VII.18=33.6). The *Tait.Br.* relates an old mythical account that once the gods separated the dirty part from the divine Speech as also from the food. The dirty part from the divine Speech became the *gāthās* and the *nārāśamsīs*, while that of the food became wine (I.3.2.6). This indicates that in the tradition of the Black *YV*, the *gāthās* and the *nārāśamsīs* were not regarded to have respectable status as that of the Vedic *mantras*. However, in the Ṛgvedic tradition, as we see several *gāthās* in the *Ait. Br.*, the *gāthās* (√ *gai*-to sing), which were sung, came to enjoy a respectable position.

In the Pāriplava cycle, as has been noted earlier, chief of the lute-players used to sing the deeds of the past kings, thus bringing the present sacrificer-king in line with the royal sacrificers of the past (*Śat. Br.* XIII.4.3.3). These songs may verge on *nārāśamsīs* (comprising eulogy of *nara* i. e. man, generally the king). But they can better be called *gāthās*, as the latter is a wider term.³⁰ Interestingly we have some *gāthās* in the *Ait. Br.* which are termed *Yajñagāthās*³¹. Sāyaṇa says that *Yajñagāthā* is one which is sung by all the *Yājñikas*, having in view the sacrifice obviously which is being performed (*Ait. Br.* VII. 8. 32.7).³² Such *Yajñagāthās* occurring in the *Ait. Br.* are ritualistic in essence but popular in form, and were composed by the priestly class on the pattern of the *gāthās*, which were prevalent. This shows how the folk-tradition of the *gāthās* was accepted, assimilated and even made use of in the Vedic ritual tradition. According to St. Petersberg Dictionary the *gāthās* are non-Vedic.³³ Paul Horsch points out that these anonymous stanzas (*gāthās*) originated mostly in secular and popular circles. The *gāthā* literature was derived from the non-hieratic or unorthodox sphere such as the *ksatriya* milieu or the Vṛātya community.³⁴

Falling in line with the *gāthās* are the *ślokas*, which occur several places in the Brāhmaṇa-texts.³⁵ These *ślokas* form a part of the traditional lore, which is preserved in the ritualistic tradition. Composed in a popular style, they are given to support the rituals, which are laid down. Hence at several places, Sāyaṇa calls them by the term "*mantra*."³⁶

Thus several lores, narrations and compositions have been so assimilated

in the Vedic tradition as to have formed a part of it. As noted above, Horsch tries to see the origin of the *gāthā*-literature in secular and popular circles. Chakrabarti dealing with the *Pāriplava*, says that while some *Ākhyānas* originated from the theologians, popular *Ākhyānas* developed in all probability on the periphery of the sacred literature itself, being included in the *Svādhyāya*.³⁷ Hariappa opines that the practice of preserving the narrations of various events was prevalent in the tradition of the *Rgveda* or even earlier.³⁸ A convincing hypothesis is propounded by Dandekar that right from the beginning, there have been two traditions—that of the mantras and the other preserved by the *sūtas*.³⁹ The *sūtas* played an important role in composing and mostly preserving the secular type of literature, much of it was in the form of floating mass.⁴⁰ The Vedic ritualistic tradition had to incorporate the compositions brought forth by the *sūta*-tradition, framing its own compositions on the lines of those in the *sūta*-tradition.

Finally, we have to say that there is assimilation of various tribes, mixing of details from non-Vedic rituals and incorporation of secular type of literature, in the Vedic tradition. But this assimilation has come into effect through such a slow-paced but steady process that the tradition on the whole presents a compact and integrated picture.

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26. The earth-drum (*bhūmi-ḍundubhi*) is, in fact, a bull-hide with the hairy side above, spread over a hole dug in the earth to the west of (i. e. behind) the Āgnīdhṛīya shed (on the northern boundary). This hole is half-inside and half-outside the Mahāvedi. Beating of the earth-drum is actually striking this bull-hide. See Caland, W., *op. cit.*, p. 83, n. 1 on *Pañc. Br.* V. 5. 19 for *bhūmi-ḍundubhi*, *Tait. Sam.* VII. 5.9.3; *Kāth. Sam.* XXXIV. 5; *Ait. Ār.* V. 1.5.
27. Kane, P. V., *op. cit.* Vol. II, pt. ii, pp. 1244-1245.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 1245; For Mahāvṛata having an independent existence, before it was absorbed in the Soma-sacrifice, see Rolland, Pierre, "A study of a solemn Vedic

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29. The story of Śunaḥśepa in the *Ait. Br.* is said to have 100 *gāthās*, though there occur only 10 *gāthās* (VII. 18=33.6). But on the whole, the *Ait. Br.* contains a large number of *gāthās*.
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32. Śāyana on *Ait. Br.* VII. 9=32.8 ...एषा बक्ष्यमाणा यज्ञमभिलक्ष्य सर्वैर्गीयमाना यज्ञगाथा याज्ञिकैर्गीयते पठ्यते ।
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A RARE SCULPTURE OF SAGE AGASTYA AT KHAJURAHO

DEVANGANA DESAI

The celebrated Vedic seer Agastya occupies an important place in the Vedic, Epic and Puranic literature. He is described as an author of several Vedic hymns. There are 27 hymns forming the last portion of the first book of the *R̥gveda*, which is considered to be a miniature family book of the Agastya lineage.¹ In the Vedic tradition, Agastya and Vasiṣṭha are said to be the offsprings of the twin gods, Mitra and Varuṇa, both of whom were enamoured by the nymph Urvaśī at a sacrificial session. Their seed fell into a *kumbha* (pitcher) and a part of it into water. From the pitcher arose Agastya and from the water Vasiṣṭha. In another version Vasiṣṭha too was born of a pitcher and was called Kuṇḍin. Agastya was called Kumbhayoni, Kalaśayoni, Ghaṭodbhava. He was small in size when he was born, not more than a span, and therefore called "Māna."²

In the Śāntiparva of the *Mahābhārata* (342, 51), Agastya is called the son of Mitra-Varuṇa, born out of pitcher. Pitcher or *kumbha* is one important feature in sculptural representations of Agastya, particularly in northern India. Kālidāsa in the 4th century A.D. calls Agastya as Kumbhayoni and Kumbhajanman (*Raghuvamśa*, IV. 21; XV.55; XII. 31; XVI.72). In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Agastya built a hermitage on the mount Kuñjara, south of the Vindhya, which became a pilgrimage centre. He granted protection from evil spirits to dwellers in forests. Agastya gave magical weapons to Rāma.

In the Puranic mythology Agastya attained a still higher status. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (Chapter 60), Agni and Maruts took birth from a jar in the form of Agasti.³ He became the younger brother of Vasiṣṭha. Agastya is said to have subdued the Vindhya Mountains, when they obstructed the way of the sun by growing up. He asked the Vindhya to stop rising until he returned from his southern journey, but he never returned and the mountains could not rise further and obstruct the way of the heavenly bodies. Agastya is credited with drinking of the ocean in another legend in order to help the gods in their wars with the demons. He acquired the name "Samudra-culaka" for this feat.

The star Canopus, the second brightest star in the southern sky, was identified with Agastya, probably even before 600 B.C. as worked out on the basis of literary evidence by G. S. Ghurye.⁴ Kālidāsa refers to the popular belief that all waters become clear and fit for drinking with the rise of Agastya-Canopus. Varāhamihira in his *Brhatsamhitā* (Chapter 12) in the 6th

century A.D. also mentions this belief and devotes a chapter to Agastya. He identifies him with the Star Canopus. Interestingly, in the 7th century play *Priyadarśikā* by King Harṣa, the queen Vāsavadattā offers worship to Agastya-Canopus as prescribed for the king in the *Brhatsarṃhitā*.

In the *Matsya Purāna* (Chapter 61) and *Agni Purāna* (Chapter 206), there are detailed descriptions on the worship of and offerings to Agastya. The *Matsya Purāna* enjoins the installation of a *kumbha*, and decorating it with flower-garlands and clothes. On this *kumbha* should be placed a golden image of Agastya, only of one thumb size. The image should have long arms, pot-belly, and four faces. The *Agni Purāna* mentions the making of an image of this sage out of the Kāśa flowers and installing it at midnight in a *kumbha*. The *Garuḍa Purāna* (Chapter 119) also gives an almost similar description of *arghya* (oblations) to Agastya *ṛṣi*, called Kumbhayoni.

काशपुष्पप्रतीकाश अग्निमारुतसम्भव ।
मित्रावरुणयोः पुत्र कुम्भयोने नमोऽस्तु ते ॥

The cult and worship of Agastya prevailed in southern India, Java, Cambodia and Borneo in the medieval period.⁵ He is considered to be the patron saint of southern India who is supposed to have played an important role in the colonization of that region. There are many sculptural representations of this sage in the temples of Tamil Nadu. He is represented as one of the divinities, generally on the south wall of the Cola temples of mid 10th century.⁶ His sculpture is seen on the Śiva temples at Punjai, Tiruvaduturai, Tirunariyur and others. His bronze images have been found in Nallur, Tenkasi, etc. Importantly, there are separate temples of Agastya worship in Tanjavur district and Tinnevely district. There are Śiva temples named Agastyeśvara at Kilaiyur, Perugundi in Tamil Nadu. Also in Andhra Pradesh Agastya is believed to be a great devotee of Śiva. The icons of Agastya in south India show the saint as seated or standing, bearded, dwarfish figure, pot-bellied, but not, to my knowledge, in association with *kumbha*, which we see in his representations in the northern tradition.

Nearer Khajuraho, on the famous Kālañjara mountain was situated a hermitage of Agastya. The Tīrthāyātrā section of the *Mahābhārata* (III, 85-15) mentions that Arjuna visited the hermitage of Agastya *ṛṣi* and describes it as "the great and supreme hermitage." It is significant that the Kālañjara stone inscription of Viravarman, of about A. D. 1250, metaphorically compares the feat of the Candella king Kīrtivarman to that of "Kumbhodbhava" (Agastya). Just as Kumbhodbhava made to bow down the Vindhya Mountains he "made to bow down (subdued) the kings" and drank the ocean "Karnāṇava", that is, he defeated Karṇa (the rival Kalacuri king) who was in the form of the ocean.⁷ Notably, this Candella inscription uses the name Kumbhodbhava for Agastya. Another Candella inscription from the the fort-town Ayaygadh, dated

Vikrama Samvat 1317 (A.D. 1261), also compares king Kirtivarman with Kumbhodbhava who swallowed the ocean in the form of Karṇa (*Karṇa payodhi*).⁸

The sage Agastya, Kumbhodbhava, is represented in a sculpture of Khajuraho, which is situated in the Vindhya region. The sculpture is a detached piece, now preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho, Accession No. 658, (Plate VII). It is mutilated above the feet of the sage, but the depiction of the *kumbha* or *ghaṭa* on which his feet are placed helps us to identify the figure as that of Agastya. He has worn sandals (*pādukās*) similar to those seen on the figures of ascetics and of god Agni at Khajuraho. The sage is shown standing on the *kumbha* in the *samabhaṅga* posture, with weight equally distributed on the feet.

Agastya *ṛṣi* is attended in sculpture by six ascetics, three on each side, and two worshippers seated near his feet. The two ascetics on the right hold sacrificial ladle in their left hands. The ascetics close to Agastya have their hands on *katī* (hip). One of them holds his right hand in *abhaya mudrā* (gesture of fearlessness). The manner of depicting the attending ascetics is similar to that represented in the images of Agni at Khajuraho. Each one of them is shown with matted hair or *jatā* and wears a *yajñopavīta* (sacred thread).

Because the sculpture is broken we cannot say whether Agastya *ṛṣi* was represented here bearded or pot-bellied, as per his iconography in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the architectural text *Mānasāra*. But that he was depicted short-statured is indicated by the preserved edge of *prabhāvalī* (nimbus).

This is the only representation of the sage Agastya at Khajuraho. Even though small in size and much damaged, the sculpture is very significant as there are very few representations of Agastya in northern and central India, though his images, as mentioned above, are found in a large number in southern India. But so far I have not come across the *kumbha* in southern representations of Agastya. The association of *kumbha* with the sage at Khajuraho is noteworthy and fits in with the name Kumbhodbhava used in the Candella inscriptions noted above.

The design on the *kumbha* or *ghaṭa* in this sculpture is slightly larger than the carving of the pitcher on the *ghaṭa-pallava* pillars of the early 10th century at Khajuraho.⁹ The Agastya sculpture may be dated to the late 10th century. Though now a detached piece, it must have been originally inserted in a niche of a temple or perhaps of a water-tank.

Among the known or published representations of Agastya in northern India, there is a detached sculpture from the stepwell at Patan in Gujrat in the 11th century. Here the four-armed sage is seated on the *kumbha*.

He is annointed by two elephants from above and two worshippers look up in adoration. Kirit Mankodi, who has identified this figure as the sage Agastya on the basis of the large decorated pitcher on which he is seated, says, "Clearly, it is this unique seat, and the priestly character, that holds the key to the identity of the personage."¹⁰ Mankodi refers to another sculpture of Agastya in the sacred tank at Akhaj in Gujarat, datable to the 13th century.

In Nepal (National Museum, Kathmandu), there is a unique sculpture of a youthful male bust emerging from a pot, tentatively identified however as Varuṇa by Pratapaditya Pal,¹¹ and as Kalaśa as Viśvarūpa, the holy vessel, symbolizing the creation of the universe through the waters, by C. Sivaramamurti.¹² Another figure of Nepal of later date, 16th century, is illustrated by Krisna Deva who calls it Viṣṇu as Agastya.¹³ Here we see the god seated on the *kumbha*, with *yogapatta* tied around his feet, holding a *kamaṇḍalu* (pot) and attributes of Viṣṇu. We are reminded of the *Agni Purāṇa* (207, 1-20) which says : "Agastya is Lord Viṣṇu, worshipping whom one attains to Hari."

In view of the paucity of the images of the sage Agastya, Kumbhodbhava, in northern India, his representation in sculptural art of Khajuraho is significant. The publication of this so far unpublished sculpture, though mutilated, we hope, will add to the rich and varied iconography of Khajuraho as well as to the scarce sculptures of this reputed sage.

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Tarapada Bhattacharya, *A Study on Vāstuvidyā or Canons of Indian Architecture*, Patna, 1947, p. 13, says that as *māna* means measurement Agastya could be connected with architecture. Later writers recognized Agastya as a preceptor of Vāstuvidyā.
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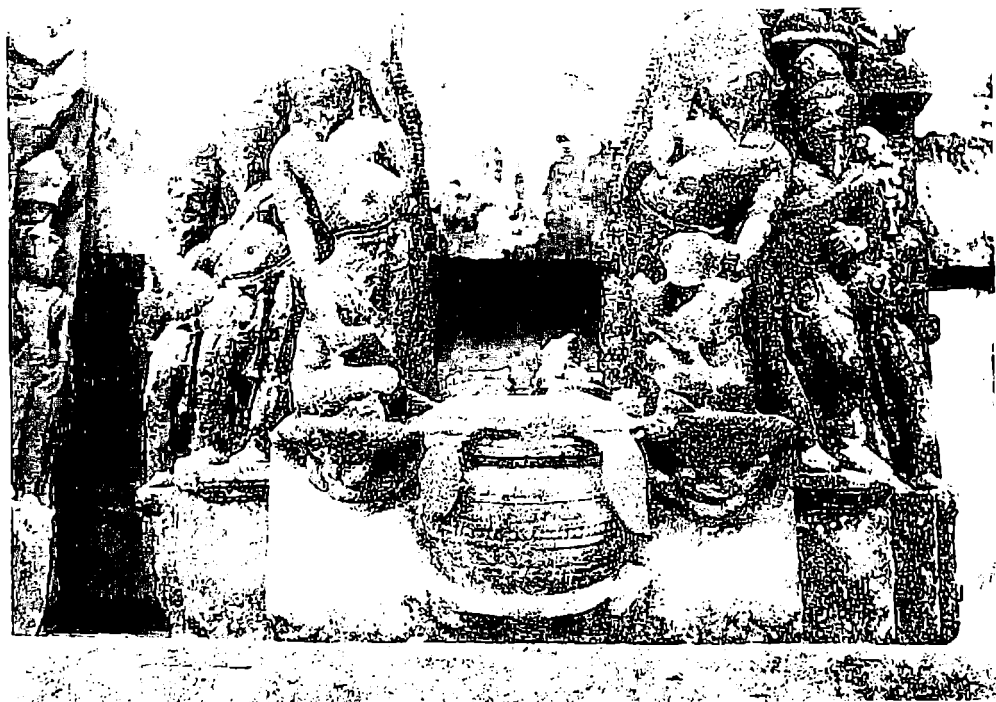
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12. C. Sivaramamurti, "A Rare Viśvarūpa", in *Rūpa Pratirūpa*, Alice Boner Commemoration Volume, Edited by Bettina Bäumer, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 41-47

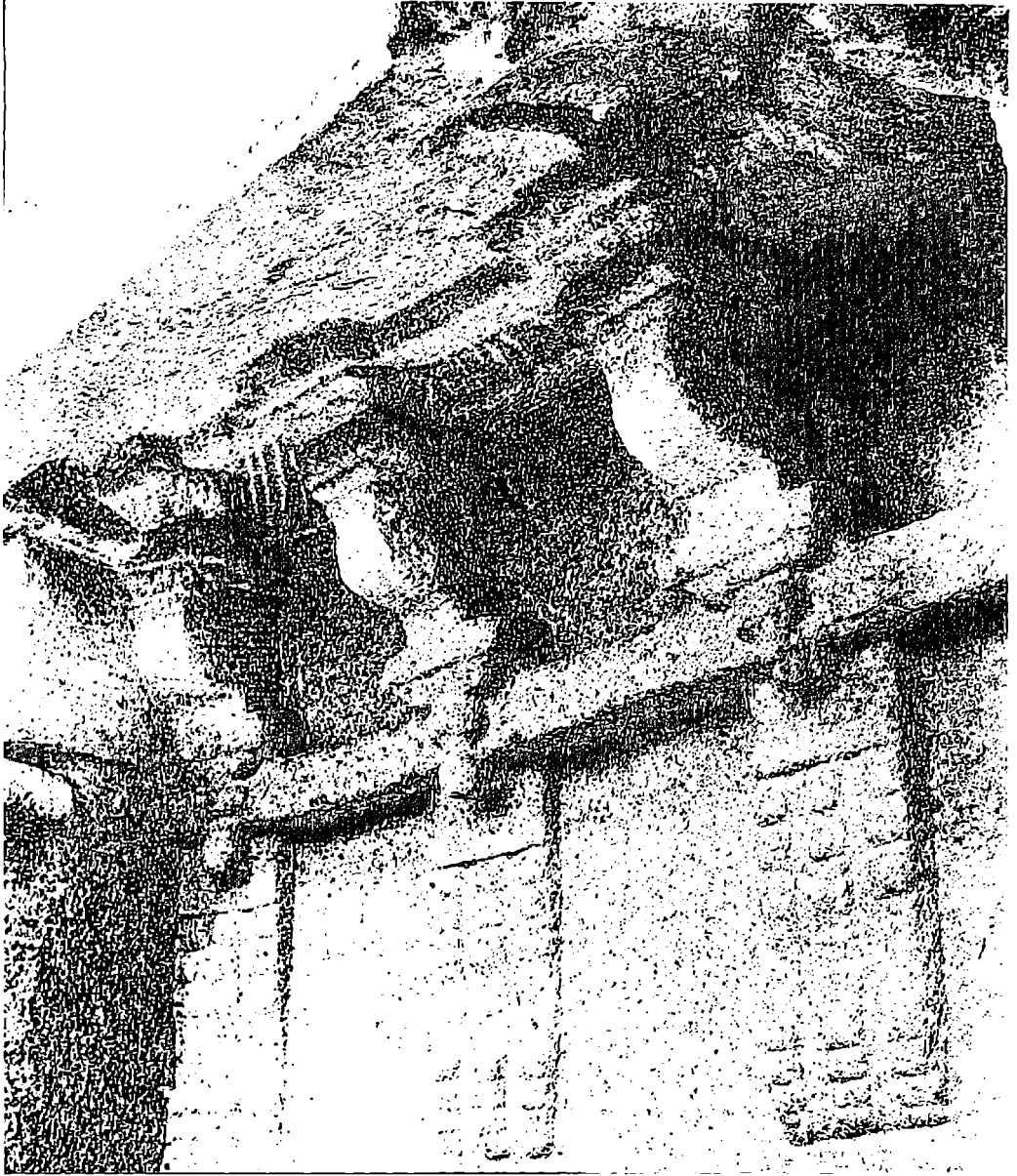
13. Krisna Deva, *Images of Nepal*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1984, Fig. 73

Illustration

VII. Sculptural representation of the sage Agastya, standing on a *kumbha*. Only his feet with *pādukās* are preserved. He is flanked by three ascetics on each side; c. 10th century A. D. Now in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho.



Sculptural representation of the sage Agastya, standing on a *kumbha*. Only his feet with *pādukās* are preserved.
c. 10th century A.D. Now in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho.



Maddalas in series, *prastara*, Bhīmaratha, Mahabalipuram.
Tonḍaināḍu style, Pallava. c. mid 7th century.



Maddalas, prastara, Nandi-maṇḍapa, Mallikārjuna temple, Pattadakal. Karṇāṭa-Drāviḍa style, Cālukya. c. A.D. 745.



Maddalas, prastara, Kailāsa temple, vimāna, Ellorā.
Rāṣṭrakūṭa c. 3rd quarter of the 8th century.

THE 'MADALA' AND 'MODILLION' IN ARCHITECTURE

M. A. DHAKY

The architectural member/element, the *madala* (or *maddala* as spelt in a Sanskrit text on Dravidian architecture), has been noted in several northern Indian *vāstuśāstras* from the 11th century onwards.¹ Functionally, it is a strut/console/cantilever; and formally a doubly sinuous carved piece figuring in different architectural contexts. It frequently occurs in southern India.² In northern India it is generally met with in the architecture of the western and, somewhat sparsely, central India.³ It appears as a compositional member supporting the balconies projecting from the pylons of the city gates, or the palace or mansion walls.⁴ Also, it is noticeable in the wells as cantilevers for the projecting blocks of stones supporting the pulleys in a well through which the water-drawing pots or jars are sent down to the water-sheet below.⁵ It, moreover, figures as an oversailing element in the composition of the peculiar variety of *torana* decorating the upper section of the *pratoli*'s or gateway's entry-way.⁶ Also it figures as a console projecting from the attic portions of tall pillars for supporting the lintels in the temples of the Caulukyan period in Gujarat.⁷ The *madala* thus figures in a variety of situations, its function in all cases is to lend support to the superincumbent architectural members. Normally, its profile is ornamented with a vegetal scroll. The gracefulness of some of the shapely varieties of the *madala* is enhanced by this additional treatment.

Corresponding to the Sanskrit term *madala*, we have a term appertaining to the Roman and subsequent European architecture, called *modillion* (also spelt *modillion*) which represents former's exact formal and functional parallel. I shall first cite here the gloss of this term given by the famous dictionaries of English language and those of architecture proper, together with the gloss of some of the noted authorities on ancient European architecture:

1. *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* : Prepared by William Little. H. W. Fowler. J. Coulson : Revised and edited by C. T. Onions, Third Edition, Oxford 1966.

Modillion (modi'lyan). 1563 (ad. It. Modiglione; ult. etym. unkn.) Arch. A projecting bracket placed in series under the corona of the cornice in Corinthian, Composite, and Roman Ionic orders.

2. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language unabridged*. Editor in Chief : Philip Babcock Gove, Ph. D. and the

Merriam-Webster, Editorial Staff : Vol. II, Springfield, Massachusetts, U. S. A. 1966.

Modillion (mō'dilyan) n-s (It. modiglione, Fr.(assumed) VL mutilion-, mutilio, fr. L mutulus modillion, mutule) : an enriched block or horizontal bracket generally found under the corona of the cornice of the Corinthian and Composite entablature and sometimes in a plainer form in other orders.

3. *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* : Jess Stein. Editor in Chief : Laurence Urdang. Managing Editor. New York 1967.

Modillion (mō dil'yan, ma), n. Archit. an ornamental cantilever beneath the corona or similar member of a cornice, stringcourse, etc. (< It modiglione < VL* mutilionem, var. of mūtuliōnem, acc. of* mūtuliō. see MUTULE, ION)

4. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica : A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information* : Eleventh Edition : Volume XVIII : New York 1911.

Modillion (A French word, probably from Lat. Modulus, a measure of proportion), a term in architecture for the enriched block or horizontal bracket generally found under the cornice and above the bedmould of the Corinthian entablature. It is probably so called because of its arrangement in regulated distances.

5. *Illustrated Glossary of Architecture 850-1830* : John Harris & Jill Lever: London 1966.

Modillion. One of a series of blocks or brackets under the corona of the Corinthian and Composite orders. The term is sometimes loosely applied to the consoles or brackets supporting a cornice.

6. *The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture* : John Fleming/Hugh Honour/Nikolaus Pevsner : Victoria, Australia 1967.

Modillion. A small bracket or CONSOLE of which a series is frequently used to support the upper member of a Corinthian or Composite CORNICE, arranged in pairs with a square depression between each pair.

7. *Dictionary of Architecture* : Henry H. Saylor : New York 1966.

Modillion (mo dil'yun), a bracket form used in series under a corona (14).

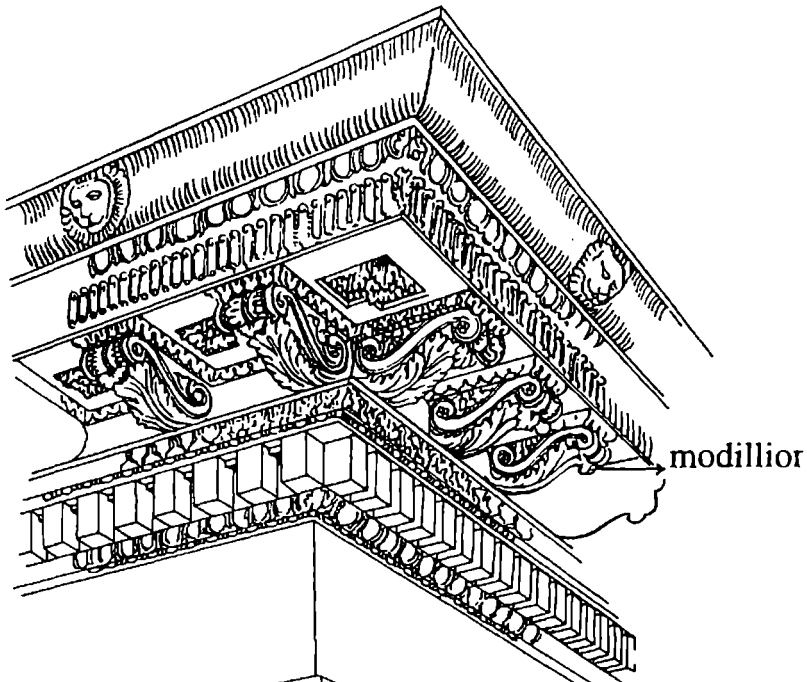
8. *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* : Sir Banister Fletcher: Seventeenth Edition : revised by R. A. Cordingley : London 1967.

Bracket. A projecting member to support a weight, generally formed with scrolls or volutes; when carrying the upper members of a cornice, brackets are generally termed Modillions or Consoles.

The question now is whether there is linguistic and formal relationship

in point of origin between the two words/terms in question, namely the *madalam* and the *modillion*. There is first, as we noticed, a formal and functional parallelism between the two : and, next, a sort of phonetic consonance-echo-or correspondence. A double semblance such as this may not be accidental. The probability is that, along with many Western motifs, elements, and ideas which drifted to India from West Asia and the Hellenic world in waves after waves from times Mauryan to post-Gupta, and subsequently also from the Roman world from the early centuries to Gupta period, the "modillion" of the early Western architecture, too, may have found its way at some date after the first century to India and took roots on Indian soil. That may first have been in South India and then, perhaps in the early medieval period, the element travelled further up to northern provinces - Mālavadeśa, Gujarat, and Rajasthan territories in particular. As for its antiquity in West, I here cite the observation of Banister Fletcher : "Greek consoles were used only as vertical brackets to door cornices, as in the Erechtheion⁸..." while "Roman consoles were used also horizontally as modillions in cornices..."⁹ Fletcher, at the next juncture, cites the example of the temple of Castor and Pollux (i.e. Temple of Concord, Rome, 7 B.C.-10 A.D.) and further observes: "The cornice of this temple affords one of the earliest instances in Rome of the use of 'modillions' or scrolled consoles, which under the Empire became an orthodox part of the Corinthian entablature..."¹⁰ (*vide* here Text Fig.)

Modillions in series, entablature, temple of Castor and Pollux, Rome,
7 B.C.-A.D.10
(after Banister Fletcher)



From this statement it is clear that the modillions "in series" (under the corona of the entablature) came to be used in the Western world at the dawn of the Christian Era, in the context first of the Roman architecture. Now, compared to the Western antiquity of this element, the earliest available Indian examples are later by over six or seven centuries. The oldest is the one found in series underneath the projecting cornice of the *śālā*, or what is called in north from times ancient, *valabhī* (i. e. ridged keel-roof) of the so-called Bhīmaratha, an oblong Pallava monolithic temple done in the early Tondaināḍu style at Mahābalipuram, generally assigned to the period of Nṛsīmhavarmā I Mahāmalla, the mean date being the middle part of the seventh century (Plate VIII).¹¹ The next instance (Plate IX) is from the recently cleared Nandi pavilion of the Mallikārjuna temple in Paṭṭadakal in Karnataka, the latter a Cālukyan foundation in Karnāṭa-Drāviḍa style datable to A.D. 745. (This pavilion, which in part foreshadows the architectural style of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period, is apparently contemporaneous with the temple.) The third example hails from the famous Rāṣṭrakūṭa monolith, the Kailāsa temple at Ellorā, the main bulk excavated and finished late in the third quarter of the eighth century (Plate X). The fourth instance, which is from Tamiḷnadu and formally somewhat different from the first three and also later in date, is in the entablature of the *ardhamandapa*-hall of the Śādyār-kōvil at Tiruccenampundi of the period of Coḷa Āditya I (dēatable to c. 889), or what is more plausible, Āditya's son and successor Parāntaka I, in which event the date would be sometime in the first quarter of the tenth century¹² (not illustrated). At least one instance is noted in the context of a temple-wall's *ratha*-buttress in the Cālukyan Karnataka, in the Someśvara temple at Lakṣmeśvara.¹³ Also a single instance is known from the ruined Manthena temple in Teliṅgāṇa tract of Andhra Pradesh.¹⁴ It becomes somewhat more frequent in later Pāṇḍyan examples as in the *vimāna* of the Sāraṅgapāṇi temple at Kumbhakonam (c. late 13th century or early 14th century) and in the buildings of the Vijayanagara and early Nāyaka periods. In all these instances, the *madalas* occur in series underneath forming as though a substructural frame, and shown as though supporting, the *kapota* (roll-awning) of the *prastara* (entablature) proper.

Turning to north India, the extant instances of *madala* are first encountered in Gujarat. The available instances, however, date from a period not earlier than 1000 A.D.¹⁵, and in Mālava not before the time of Paramāra Udayāditya, that is to say, late 11th century.¹⁶ It is no accident that the southern examples are anterior in time to northern, apparently because the primary form came from the West first to south India, through some such agency as the Roman settlers on the Coḷanāḍu coast with Kāveripattīnam as the main opening for entry into Tamiḷnadu.

At this juncture, we must take notice of the struts of the projecting balconies of the pylons on the facade of the Bhājā cave in Maharashtra (c. 2nd cent.

B.C.), which show simulation in stone of the well-chiselled but, for their shape, primitive looking segments of wood supporting the balconies,¹⁷ which later were replaced by the true *madalas*, members which exhibit double sinuosity. The Mahābalipuram example, though the oldest available of the *madala*, may not be the earliest; for, much of the brick and timber construction of the time before the Pallavas of Sirhaviṣṇu line has disappeared. What one sees at Mahābalipuram is *maddala*'s perfected sinuous shape, which may have been arrived at after an evolution of a few centuries that forewent and which must bridge the point of its first introduction in the times of Roman contacts and the period of Pallava Nṛsimhavarmā when its first encounter is today made in actuality. The element, being very suited to the Indian timber architecture, must have been adopted for indigenous constructions and next the Indian genius, as it had done with all borrowed/adopted foreign elements, evolved out of it a form which seems totally and unmistakably Indian, apparently with no shadow of suspicion of its foreign origin.

Notes and References

1. For example in the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* of Bhojadeva of Dhārā (c. A.D. 1035-1055), the *Pramāṇamañjarī* of Sūtradhāra Malla of Mālava (c. late 11th or early 12th cent.), the *Jayapṛcchā* (c. early 12th cent.), the *Aparāñjitaṛcchā* of Bhuvanadeva (c. late 12th or early 13th cent.), the *Vāsturājavallabhamāṇḍana* of Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana of Medapāla (c. 2nd quarter of the 15th cent.) and a few other works from north India. Perhaps the only work from South in which it is mentioned is the *Mānasāra* (c. 16th cent.). I forego citing details concerning these works and also shall not quote from the texts for saving space, even when citations from these may not seem irrelevant. (These will, of course, appear in the fifth part of the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, Vols. I & II.)
2. In South India, the more popular was its synonym *mṛṅgālikā*, seemingly a special or modified (down-turned) form of *maddala* used as a decorative element for the wall-pilasters and hall-columns, particularly of the Vijayanagara and Nāyaka periods.
3. Generally absent in the known examples of the sacred architecture of Kalinga and Vaṅga in Eastern India, but in late medieval times encountered in the Mughal and post-Mughal secular buildings of Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh and in the contemporaneous surviving examples of wooden architecture in western India.
4. For instance, underneath the balconies projecting from the *mahābāhus* or *kōṣṭhakas* (pylons) of the Jhinjhuvādā's fort (c. early 12th cent.) and the inner gateway of the Uparkoṭ in Junāgaḍh of about the same date, both in Saurashtra, and the Hīrā-gate at Ḍabhoi (A. D. 1255) in middle Gujarat. In palace architecture, just as it did in the mosque architecture in Gujarat (15th-16th cent. A. D.), it must have occurred in the formal constitutions of the balconies projecting from the walls.
5. In the circular well proper (*kūpa*) of the step-well at Modherā (c. beginning of

the 11th cent.) and the so-called Khaṅgāra-vāpī along the road between Junāgaḍh and Vanthalī towns (c. 2nd quarter of the 13th cent.) in Saurashtra, and the great step-well (Rāñī-vāv) in Nāḍol (c. late 11th cent.) in Rajasthan.

6. At Jhinjhuvāḍā, Ḍabhoi (Mahuḍi, Baroda, and Nāndod-gates, and Ghumli (Rāma-poḷe) in Gujarat; and Omkāra-Māndhātā (c. late 11th cent.) in Madhya Pradesh.
7. The hall columns of the Rudramahālaya temple at Siddhapur (c. 1140), those of the Śakunikā-vihāra at Bhr̥gukaccha (c. 1166) (now in Juma Mosque, Broach), the columns in the closed hall of the Ajitanātha temple in Tāraṅgā (A.D. 1166), and a few other places in Gujarat.
8. B. Fletcher, p. 247 & fig. on p. 191 c.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.* p. 187
11. This is the generally accepted date for the five *rathas* at Mahābalipuram.
12. 25 years ago, R. Nagaswamy was working on this chronological problem.
13. See M. A. Dhaky, *The Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, Vol. I, Part 3, Delhi 1997, second bind, plate 482.
14. *Ibid.*, plate 1438.
15. The earliest is that in the shaft of the step-well at Moḍherā.
16. Gate for the *ghāṭa* at the river in Omkāra-Māndhātā. Shri Krishna Deva had some years ago shown me the photographs of the structure under reference. My indebtedness for this information is due to him.
17. Cf. H. Zimmer, *The Art of India Asia*, Sec. ed., reprint, New York 1964, fig. 39; and Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, fifth ed., Bombay 1965, plate XXII, fig. 1.

The present paper was written almost 25 years ago for the Phogel Commemoration Volume and sent to Dr. G. S. Gai, Mysore, who was then editing that Volume. However, that volume never came through and Dr. Gai, unfortunately, passed away some years ago. In the office copy-files, buried in the store room, I accidentally encountered the copy of this paper, but with the first page missing. I reconstructed that page from the clues available from the footnotes and prefixed to the paper which is otherwise largely as it is, except for a few small revisions and additional references.

(The photographs and the drawing are reproduced here through the courtesy and kindness of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon.)

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- VIII. *Maddalas* in series, *prastara*, Bhīmaratha, Mahābalipuram. Toṅḍaināḍu style, Pallava. c. mid 7th century.
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style, Cālukya. c. A.D. 745.

X. *Maddalas, prastara*, Kailāsa temple, *vimāna*, Ellorā. Rāṣṭrakūṭa. c. 3rd quarter of the 8th century.

Text Figure : Modillions in series, entablature, Temple of Castor & Pollux, Rome, 7 B.C. - A.D. 10 (after Banister Fletcher).

THE MEANING AND CONTENT OF MARRIAGE IN A MATRILINEAL MUSLIM SOCIETY*

LEELA DUBE

I should begin by thanking the current office-bearers of the Asiatic Society of Bombay for inviting me to deliver before you this ninth endowment lecture in memory of Smt. Nabadurga Banerjee.¹ After listening to Dr. Banerjee about his revered mother I feel good that I have been given this opportunity to honour her memory in this way.

Marriage is a most problem-ridden subject for study and for action in the fields of welfare, law and social and cultural change. A few individuals may take a conscious decision to opt out of marriage, but this cannot be universal in any society. The meaning and content of marriage vary across societies to such a degree that anthropologists have faced difficulty in arriving at a minimal definition. Treating marriage as an isolable phenomenon for study can be self-deluding : it must be seen in its social and cultural context, which includes also religion, economy and polity.

I strongly feel that an awareness of the tremendous variation in the character of the institution can contribute to the development of criticality in outlook, to the opening up of the possibility of personal choice, and to the ending of people's insistence on just one supposedly correct path. It is with this objective that I present here an account of what I encountered in my study of a tiny island off the south-western coast of India. In 1969 I did field-work on the island, which I was already familiar with as I had worked on ethnographic material collected by a student some years earlier. I have followed later developments too.

An equally important objective is to demonstrate that, contrary to common misconceptions, there is in Islam considerable scope for the interpretation and reinterpretation of scriptures, law and everyday situations. The opinions of learned and wise people can be used to explain and justify changes in religious laws and rules, and Islam is also amenable to action based on consensus. While they faithfully adhere to the basic tenets of Islam, believers have tended to retain their social and cultural moorings. Spread across large areas and a diversity of cultures, Islam has shown remarkable flexibility by

* This is the text of the Ninth Smt. Nabadurga Banerjee Endowment Lecture delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bombay on 19th March, 1999.

evolving major adjustments with local customs and practices, kinship and legal systems and political and economic structures. South-east Asia and parts of Africa present many instances of the functioning of Islam in widely different settings. India too provides evidence that monolithic Islam is a myth.

The island of Kalpeni, which lies a little over 220 km off Calicut, is one of the ten inhabited islands in the Lakshadweep group. There are a number of small islands and islets that are exploited for their vegetation, particularly coconuts, but which, due to the absence of potable water, remain uninhabited. One such island, Bangaram, has been turned into a holiday resort for tourists from all over the world.

According to the 1991 census, the population of the Union Territory, which has been designated a Scheduled Area, was 51,681. While the people of Minicoy are culturally and ethnically close to the Maldivians, the inhabitants of the other islands are descendants of Hindu settlers from the Kerala coast. They speak a somewhat archaic and corrupted version of Malayalam with a distinct influence of Arabic. The early history of these islands is shrouded in mystery and has given rise to many controversies about the time of habitation and the first inhabitants.

Historical and linguistic evidence suggests that the major migrations took place in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. After around four hundred years the islanders came under the influence of Arab traders and became Sunni Muslims following the Shafi'i school of law. Hinduism was displaced by Islam but the form of matriliney that the original migrants had brought with them survived, and in its essentials persists until this day. According to island tradition the original migrants were Nambudiri Brahmins, Nayars, Mukkuvars (fishermen) and Tiyas (coconut pluckers, toddy tappers and tenants). The three caste-like groups – Koya, Malmi and Melacheri – have their basis in this belief in ancestry.

The most unusual feature of marriage on Kalpeni was the duolocal residence of spouses. Marriage thus did not mean conjugal residence (joint living). A man remained a member of his own matrilineal group and became a nightly visitor to his wife's house, where she lived with *her* matrilineal kin – mother, mother's sisters, maternal uncles, sisters, brothers and children. To quote Omesh Saigal, who was the Administrator of the islands from 1982 to 1985, "just after dark, torches in hand, men can be seen out on the road, on the way to their wives' houses, where they must have their dinner and spend the night. At first light the next day, after a quick breakfast.... they must hurry back to the mother's or sisters's *taravad* house, to which their day's labour must belong."

Households were not conceived of as familial units of married couples and children. Men who moved to live with their wives and children were

not viewed as full-fledged members of the households in which they had chosen to live : their identities and their rights to resources continued to be defined by their *taravads* of birth. In other words, households ideally were matrilineally constituted units.

Over the centuries the islanders sustained themselves through trade with the mainland. Coconuts were always the basis of island economy. The principal activities were the making and trading of copra and coir and coconut products like jaggery and vinegar. The islanders brought back from the mainland the necessities that they did not themselves produce - including rice, which was their staple food. They made their journeys in locally produced boats called *odams*, which was possible only in fair seasons.







We have evidence from the 15th and 16th centuries that the island functioned as colonies of rulers on the mainland. What is relevant is that from the Arakkal rulers the Laccadive group came under the control of the British in 1875, finally passing into their hands in 1902. From 1877 each island of the group had an Amin appointed by the government from among the *karnavars* who represented its important *taravads* and who assisted him in the administration of justice. During their visits to the islands the inspecting officers of the government heard and decided cases with the help of these elders. There was no codified law. The administrators were guided by the customary law of the islands along with some features of Islamic law. Tree tax was levied on *pandaram*, government land given on lease. This began during British rule and provided scope for the lower groups to obtain land. *Jenmom* land, on the other hand, was not taxed and was held mainly by Koya *taravads*. In 1922 coir depots were set up to give rice to the islanders in exchange for their coir. However, this rice was not sufficient, and the islanders had to import more from the mainland along with other items of necessity.

Descent was traced through the mother. A child belonged to its mother's group, whose resources it shared. It derived its group identity through its mother, and its rights to resources, shelter, nurturing and training through its mother's *taravad* or smaller matrilineal unit.

Property consisted mainly of land, trees, boats, houses, fishing channels, soaking pits and movables. Production activities, in which male matrikin were managers, were collective.

As on the mainland, the *taravad* was a group of individuals of both sexes who could trace their descent in the female line from a common female ancestor. The depth of these units varied from three to six generations. Usually only small *taravads* functioned as property-holding and domestic groups. Nor was a *taravad* always an economic unit. A *taravad* could split into several property groups, each carrying on production independently. It could function as a single consumption unit or as more than one (see Fig.1). Splits in a

KEY

-  Visiting marriage
-  Man living with wife
-  Karnavar
-  Domestic group
-  Property group
-  Deceased

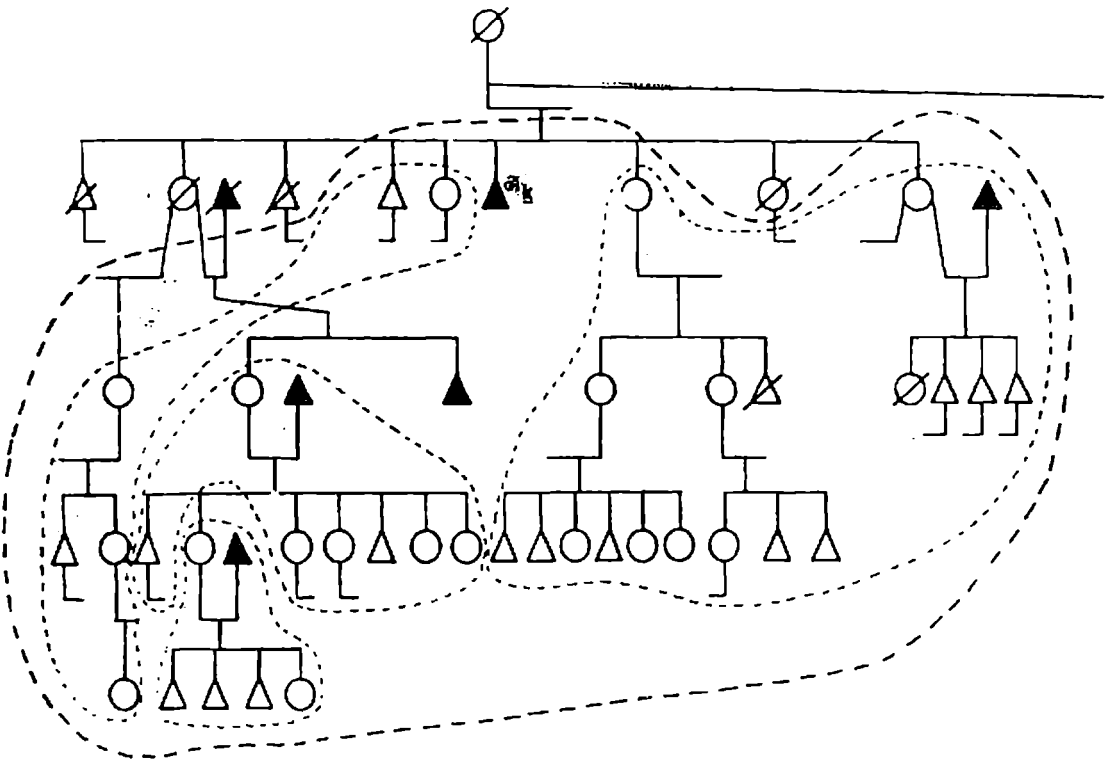


Fig. 1 Genealogy

taravad tended to run on *tavazhi* or branch lines. A branch originated from a woman, the smallest one being a woman and her children. Property was shared equally by all the children of a woman. This stirpital division was prevalent on Kalpeni and Androth : on other islands the division was on a per capita basis.

Taravad property was communal property which could not be given away or sold without the consent of all its adult members of both sexes. Absolute right of possession could not be transferred to its branches. Partitions occurred, but they did not mean permanent fragmentation. If no female member survived in a property unit, that unit's communal property would go to its nearest branch. Each member of a *taravad* had an inalienable right to a share in its property - but these shares remained part of the group's collective property and could not be disposed of by an individual. If a male member moved over to his wife's house and continued there to enjoy his share of matrilineal property (mainly in the form of coconut trees), on his death it would revert to his *taravad*.

There was also *tavazhi-taravad* property. This was property acquired by a *tavazhi* after it had separated from the *taravad* and taken with it its members' shares. Such property was known as *puthia-swottu* or 'new' property, and other branches of the parent *taravad* had no rights over it. It was the communal property of the branch that had acquired it.

All matrilineal property – whether of a *taravad* or of a *tavazhi* – was known as *velliarcha*, Friday property. Another kind of property was *thingalarcha*, Monday property. This was *swontham*, one's own, and was individually owned and individually disposable under Islamic law. Such property could be acquired through one's own efforts or by inheritance independent of one's *taravad* or as a gift. One's father was the most likely source : of course, it had to be *his* individually owned property in the first place. Monday property was a key element in the working of matriliney on these islands.

While male and female members of a *taravad* had equivalent rights to their matrilineal property, there was one difference between them. A man's share had no future with reference to his children : it would revert to his matrilineage after his death. A woman's share, on the other hand, had continuity in as much as it would devolve on her children and remain in the matrilineal group, to which she and her children belonged.

It is against this backdrop that I look at marriage on Kalpeni. The population of the island in 1962 was 2,620, divided into three groups : over 54 per cent were Koyas, traditionally landowners and boat owners; 33 per cent were Melacheris, the lowest group, who were coconut pluckers and toddy tappers, did the bulk of hard labour and had hereditary master-servant relationships with the Koyas; and 12 per cent were Malmis, traditionally

People in the Sample

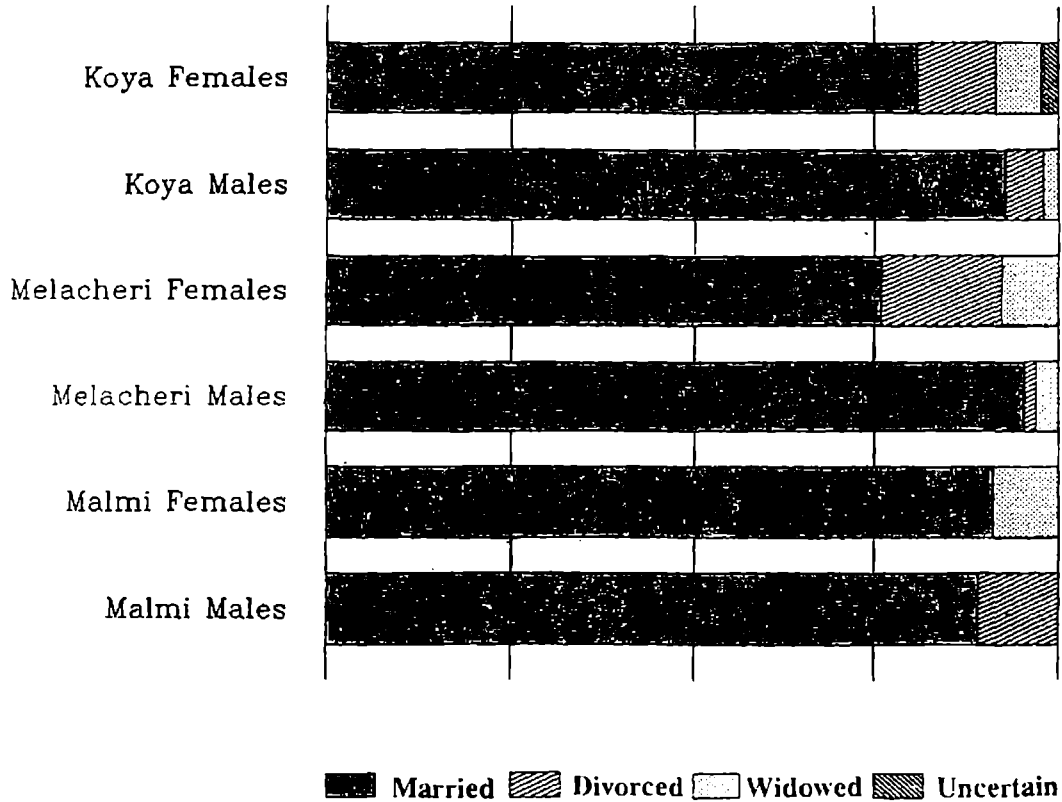


Fig. 2

navigators, who stood in the middle of the hierarchy. These three groups were mostly endogamous : that is, they did not intermarry with other groups. As supportive and illustrative evidence I propose to use detailed information about 775 marriages gathered through a sample survey of 400 ever married individuals - 222 females with 422 marriages and 178 males with 353 marriages - in 1969. In this representative sample the Koyas numbered 220, the Melacheris 140, and the Malmis 40. The bar chart in Fig. 2 gives the details.

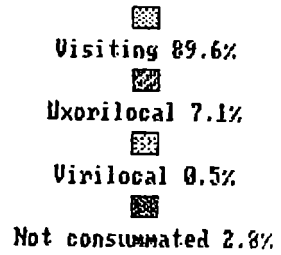
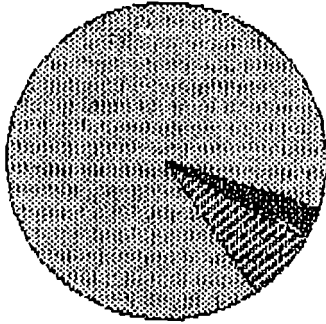
Marriage was regulated by the *sharia*, with the special characteristics of the Shafi'i school. However, although the letter of the law and relevant Islamic injunctions and prescriptions were followed, in spirit marriage in this matrilineal society seemed quite different from what is visualized in Islam. The Quran says that woman is under man's authority because god has made man superior and because he pays for her *mahr* and spends his wealth to maintain her. A woman is expected to obey her husband and submit to his will. The man is the supporter of the household and has the obligation of maintaining and protecting his wife and children.

We shall take up some of the essential elements of marriage in Islam and examine their application on Kalpeni. Marriage was solemnized by *nikah*, and *mahr* or bride-price had to be agreed upon. The bride's father acted as her *wali* or guardian and accepted the contract. A man's spending of his wealth to maintain his wife was represented by the customary payment of *chilavu* or expenses and by special payments and gifts at childbirth. Divorce followed the procedure of irrevocable *talaq*, in which a man uttered the formula three times in succession and informed the *kazi* of his action or registered it with him. Two witnesses were required . A divorced woman had to observe *iddat* for three months before she could remarry and, if she was pregnant at the time of divorce, had to wait until after childbirth. A widow observed *iddat* for four months and ten days. The islanders also abided by the Quranic injunction² that after the third utterance of "*talaq*" a man could not remarry his wife thus divorced unless she had married another man and been divorced by him as well. The Quranic sanction for polygyny was well known and operative.

On the island first marriages were invariably arranged. Prior affinal relations were taken into consideration. There was a stated preference for cross-cousin marriage, but statistics showed that the percentage of such marriages was limited. Age at marriage was rather low. The first marriage consisted of *nikah* (known locally as *kanoth*) and the consummation ceremony, *mangalam*.

Marriage entailed very limited rights and obligations. The traditional mode of residence did not result in any reshuffling of domestic units. Of the 775 marriages, over 89 per cent had started with the visiting pattern that I described

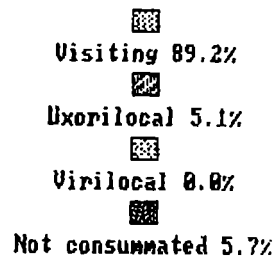
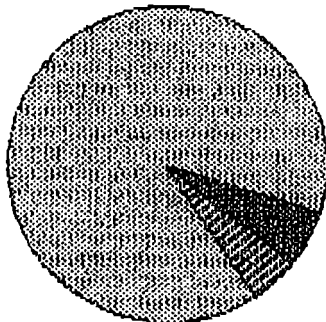
Starting Residence



Females

Fig. 3

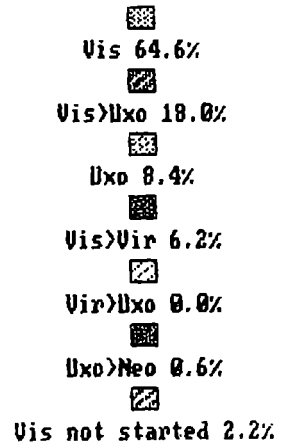
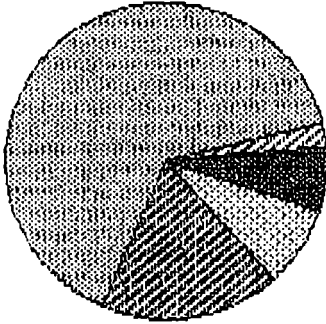
Starting Residence



Males

Fig. 4

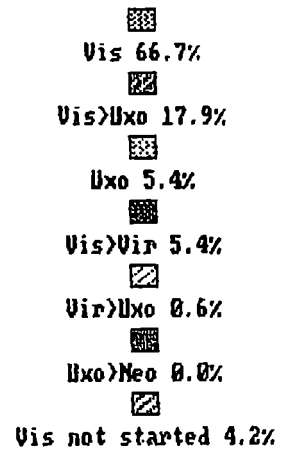
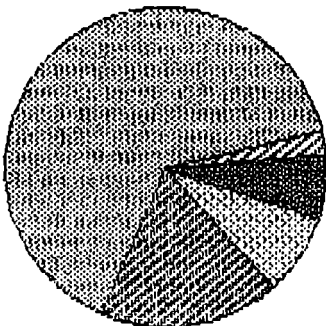
Marital Residence



Females

Fig. 5

Marital Residence



Males

Fig. 6

earlier (see Figs. 3 and 4). Uxorilocal residence, in which a man moved to his wife's house, was the initial form not in first marriages but mainly in second or subsequent marriages. A man would begin a marriage with uxori-local residence mostly when he was a mainlander or from another island, or when he had separated from his *taravad* or *tavazhi* with his share of matrilineal property, or lived uxori-locally with an earlier wife, or had an independent job.

A look at the marriages that existed at the time of my sample may be useful at this point (see Figs. 5 and 6). Of the 178 extant marriages of females, 64.6 per cent were visiting. In most others there had been a gradual change to uxori-local residence or to viri-local residence, in the second of which a woman moved to her husband's matrilineal home. In the extant marriages among males, the percentage of visiting marriages was 66.7, while that of uxori-local residence was 26.

It should be obvious that a visiting husband had to adjust much more to his wife's household than his wife had to do to *his* matrilineal home, to which she had few obligations. A woman remained secure in her own matrilineal home. The tenor of conjugal relations was unique. The notion that man was superior to woman and could exercise authority over her seemed to be absent. *Mahr* was nominal, ranging from 11 to 51 rupees, rarely 101 rupees, and represented only formal compliance with the requirement of a Muslim marriage that a man must pay for his wife. *Nikah* established the right to sexual access to each other for both spouses but did not give a man any firm rights over his wife. A woman could deny her husband entry into her house, and even when she flouted his exclusive right of sexual access to her, he had neither the socially approved right nor the means to punish her physically. A wronged husband could show his resentment by refusing to pay the expenses of childbirth, by disclaiming paternity, or by stopping visits to his wife and then divorcing her on his own conditions, which indeed was often what she wanted.

Although in theory women did not have exclusive rights to sexual access to their husbands, inasmuch as polygyny was sanctioned by religion they tended to react sharply if their husbands had simultaneous multiple marriages or even extra-marital affairs. Such situations could precipitate divorces. Bigamy was mostly short-lived. In 1962-63, of 670 married men only six were bigamists; and in my 1969 sample, of 178 married men only two were. Although the two wives in each instance did not share residence, they had to share their husband and the gifts he brought.

There was nothing resembling the appropriation of a woman's labour of her offspring by her husband or his kin group. This was in sharp contrast to the Arab world as described by many scholars, and also to our subcontinent.

Notions of deference, subservience and personal services to husbands as the moral duty of women seemed absent. A learned or knowledgeable man, or one who had great exposure to the world or was especially experienced or helpful in the management of resources, received the respect and confidence of his wife, but these were by no means the fundamental rights of all men. The development of a close and loving relationship between spouses : depended on many factors. Although there was a definite gender-based division of work, interdependence and co-operation were mainly among male and female matrilineal kin, not between spouses : cooperation between spouses could come about only over time. The mother-son tie was the strongest, although brother-sister relations were also close, as were those between other near matrilineal kin.

A visiting husband's dinner would usually be taken care of by his wife's mother or other female matrilineal kin, at least in the first few years of marriage. Men expected to be treated well in their wives' homes, and when there were disputes they would be asked by the mediators and the *kazi* about the treatment they had received there. Special emphasis would be placed on fish as a valued part of dinner. A woman's mother had an important role to play in the making or breaking of her marriage, particularly while the daughter was young and they lived together.

Islam requires a man to spend to maintain his wife. This requirement was formally met by the customary annual payment to a wife's household of two or three bags of rice and between twenty and fifty coconuts. A wife had also to be given some clothes such as loin-cloths or fabric for blouses. A *tattam* or head-cloth was a necessary item. It is difficult to say whether the *tattam* was perceived as a symbol of protection or a fulfilment of the injunction to cover the hair or a preserver of modesty. Although it was often used by women to cover only their shoulders, it was a must. With greater contact with the mainland, tea, sugar, soap, and so on were added to the customary rice and coconuts. What was paid and in what quantities depended on the financial status of a man's matrilineal group, his standing and power in it, and his own capacity to earn. A man was also expected to bring gifts such as fancy clothes, ornaments and cosmetics particularly at festivals and when returning from the mainland. During pregnancy and childbirth he was expected to provide special items like chicken, which were added to his expenses on childbirth. Such factors, as well a man's help with his children and affection for them, did contribute to the texture of the relationship : but marriage was not regulated by many normative expectations.

Often the *chilavu* remained partially or entirely unpaid, for in disputes and negotiations relating to divorce the question of arrears could be a major one. It will not be wrong to say that in most cases *chilavu* was a nominal fulfilment of the obligation of maintenance prescribed by Islam. In practical

terms it could have been a contribution towards the expenses that a woman's matrilineal house incurred in giving her visiting husband dinner and breakfast, although these were always looked upon as no more than hospitality. A man also brought gifts for his children and, if possible, paid for their education.

During the first few years of a marriage the relatives of spouses exchanged sweets at festivals and participated in socio-religious ceremonies at one another's houses. A visiting husband occasionally brought food and other items for his wife's household and helped in productive activities. There was no expectation of avoidance between spouses. After a marriage had become stable, the man might become inclined to shift to his wife's house. This was the case particularly when a man lost his mother or sister who had taken care of him, or when a woman quarrelled with her kin and needed her husband's help. A man would then pool his share of matrilineal property with his wife's resources. When spouses lived together, *chilavu* was unnecessary because the man would contribute resources, labour and management to his wife's household.

To return to children. *Nikah* established the paternity of children but not their fathers' rights over them. A child belonged to its mother's group. However, religion had given a very important place to a father. His active presence, with definite roles to play, was essential at the socio-religious ceremonies connected with his children's life cycles, particularly birth, the circumcision of boys, the ear-piercing of girls, and marriage, particularly a girl's first one.

A man's affection for his children was recognized as natural and rightfully demonstrable. A man would visit his wife's house even during the day to play with his children or would carry them wherever he went on the island. He would look forward to being cared for by a daughter when he was old. His *swontham* or individually owned property was seen as a provision made by religion to enable him to bring some material benefits to his children. Yet a man was not responsible for maintaining his children and could claim no rights over them. His affective bond with them could be life-long, whether or not his marriage with their mother continued. In many cases children might have cemented marital bonds, but the data show that they were not a definite deterrent to divorce.

The dissolution of a marriage was a very simple affair, and divorce and remarriage were common. The 222 women in my sample had entered 422 marriages and the 178 men had entered 353 marriages. The bar chart (Fig. 7) shows the average number of marriages for females and males of all three groups. But more significant is Fig. 8, which divides the people in the sample into two categories: those who had married only once and those who had married two or more times. A little more than half the Koya females and a little less than half the Koya males had married more than once, many having married several times. The percentage of Melacheri males who had

Marriages Per Person

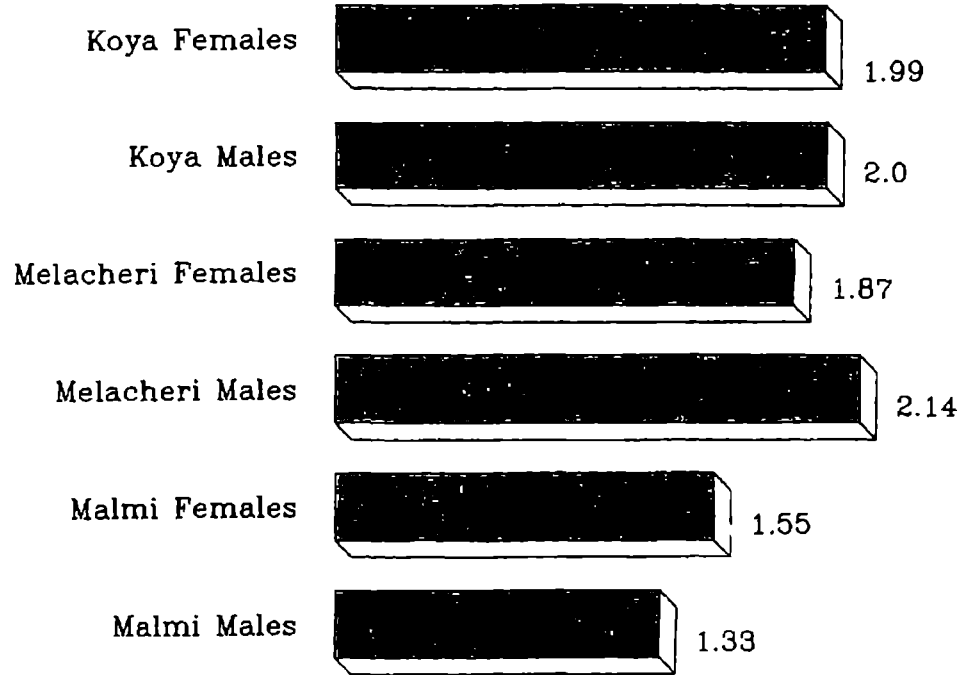


Fig. 7

Number of Marriages

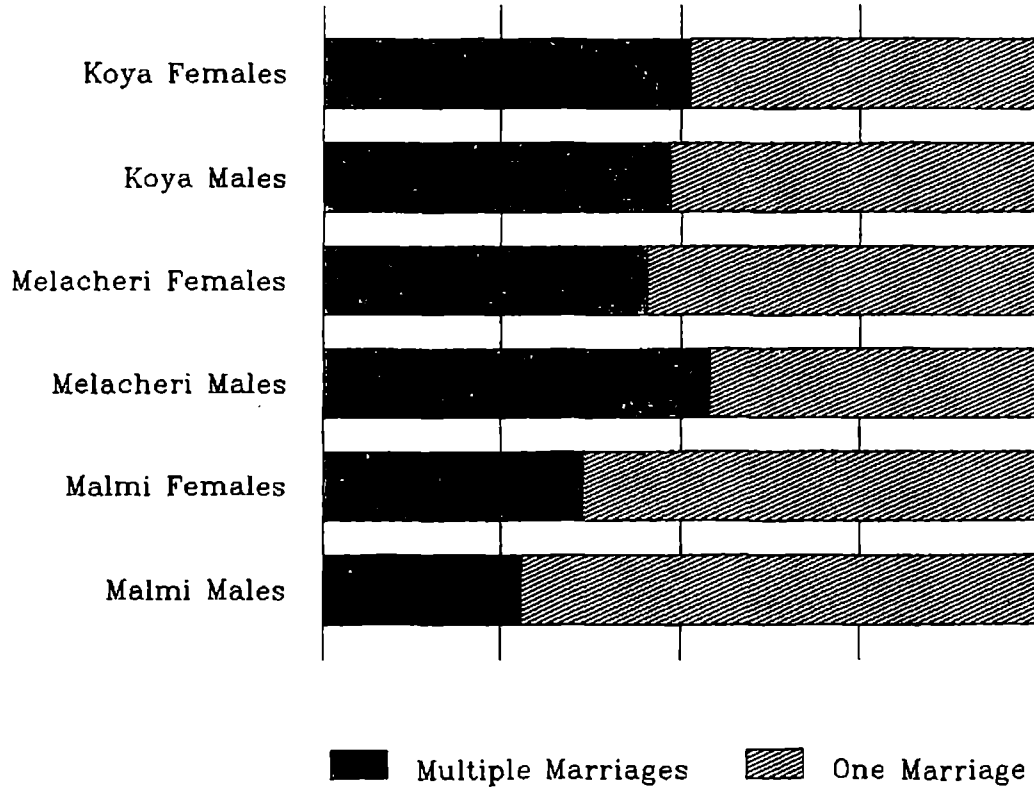
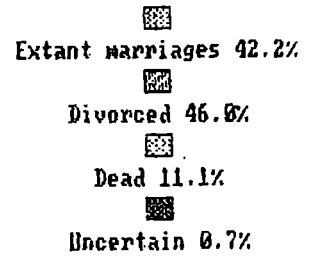
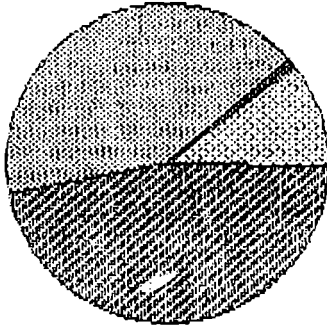


Fig. 8

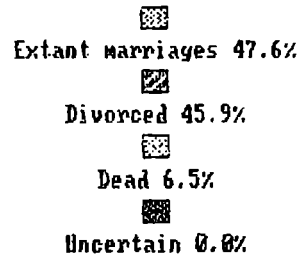
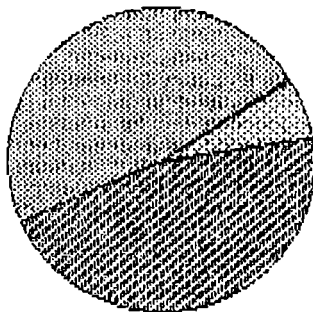
The Course of Marriages



Females

Fig. 9

The Course of Marriages



Males

Fig. 10

married more than once was the highest. Compared with them more Malmis had stuck to one marriage, but even here those who had had multiple marriages were over 25 per cent.

Taking all three groups together, over 37 per cent of females and males had had two or three marriages each. Fewer had gone beyond three marriages. The highest number of marriages for women was six while for men it was ten. In the census of total population undertaken by A. R. Kutty in 1962, the highest number of marriages for a woman was thirteen and for a man it was nineteen. These two individuals were alive in 1969 during my field visit, but they did not fall in my sample.

The first chart (Fig. 9) on the course of marriages shows that 46 per cent of the marriages of females had ended in divorce and about 11 per cent had ended in death. Only 42 per cent of these marriages were surviving ones. For males (Fig. 10) the figure for marriages ending in divorce was about the same, and that for surviving marriages was 47.6 per cent.

It is well known that in Islam, *talaq* (that is, unilateral divorce) gives a man unbounded freedom to divorce his wife at will without having to state reasons. On Kalpeni, however, *talaq* seemed to have lost its unilateral character, for even if a woman could not utter the formula she could force her husband to do it by refusing him entry into her house or by sending him a message that he need not visit her any longer. He was thus left with no option but to give her a divorce. He might delay the pronouncement and negotiate in order to be freed from having to pay his dues – arrears of *chilavu* and *mahr*. This was considered logical. He might, indeed, demand some money for granting her the *talaq* she wanted. If the woman was keen to marry someone else, she might ask that person for this payment. Thus, while the formula was that of *talaq*, what the process amounted to was the purchase of her freedom by a woman.

Divorce was frequent and did not cause much dislocation. The resources of the spouses and their units of work and residence were all separate, and in the case of joint ones they could be separated easily. Children were not uprooted. Women remained secure in their own matrilineal homes and did not lose their children. The question of children's custody did not arise; nor did that of their maintenance : both rested with their mothers' *taravads*, not with their fathers' *taravads*. The socio-religious obligations of a man towards his children were not affected by divorce. His right to see his children was not affected either. The overall quality of a man's relationships with his children might change if he remarried, but a divorce from their mother did not lead to total estrangement from them.

Marriage seemed to have a pragmatic and even experimental character on the island, particularly in first marriages and sometimes in later ones entered

into in youth. Some of these marriages were often negotiated and effected by elders, who also played a role in their dissolution. The data I collected show that over a third of dissolved marriages fell in the category of one day to two years while 17 per cent were in the category of three to five years' duration. The nominal duration of marriages ranged from just one day to over five decades. First marriages could break up even before the consummation ceremony (*mangalam*). After one or two marriages a person achieved some stability in respect of marriage. Yet the dissolution of marriages of fairly long duration, and when children had been born, was not uncommon.

Some marriages, even those of middle-aged persons, were of very short duration because they were entered into only to enable a divorced couple to remarry. In my sample survey there were several instances of remarriage between divorced couples. When a woman had not married anyone else in between, she needed someone to marry her and then divorce her so that after the *iddat* period she could remarry her earlier husband. This service was often rendered on payment : on the island there were two or three men who were known to be providers of it. In the counting of marriages per person in the study of 1962, these 'facilitating' marriages by men were explained just so by informants. This was the way to comply with the Quranic injunction. The underlying logic, expressed in the Quran – that such a severe condition should prevent the pronouncement of *talaq* in haste or out of anger or impulse – seemed unknown. Islam uses the same reasoning in preferring revocable *talaq* to irrevocable *talaq*, but this is ignored in our country.

I would like to add a note about the payment of expenses to divorced women. Dues or arrears were calculated only for the period for which a marriage existed. A divorced woman was not paid maintenance for the *iddat* period. Only if a man divorced a pregnant wife would he negotiate and possibly pay her expenses until and for childbirth. Maintenance during the *iddat* period has two elements : first, shelter and second, food and clothes. According to some jurists a husband is obliged to provide only shelter. The other opinion is that *naḥqā* includes both shelter and actual maintenance. On Kalpeni the issue of shelter was irrelevant because women lived in their own homes and had the right to some living space. Irrevocable divorce was interpreted as the complete repudiation of all obligations towards the wife, for rights and obligations were inseparable. *Mataa* or one-time compensation did not come up for discussion. With the growing consciousness of the requirements of Islam, efforts were being made to require divorcing men pay a fine that would go towards the upkeep of their children, but this was not taken seriously.

My final point is about *iddat* for widows. This lasted, as I have said, four months and ten days. In keeping with Islam, a widow had to remain secluded in her home and avoid being seen by any men with whom bodily contact was forbidden, that is, all marriageable men. Women on Kalpeni ordinarily

did not observe *parda*, and much of their work such as coir making and the beating of soaked coconut husks was carried out in the open. Moving around the island and going to the seaside were not forbidden. The seclusion enjoined by Islam for widows during the *iddat* period put a woman under severe constraints and dislocated her activities. During this period the deceased husband's kin were expected to provide support to her.

This situation was inconvenient, even difficult, for all concerned, and on Kalpeni a way out had been found. When a man was on his death-bed he could be persuaded by both sets of kin to pronounce *talaq* so that obligations and constraints on both sides became inoperative. The dying man himself might be inclined to do this. When I happened to reach a house the *kazi* was present at the side of a dying man awaiting the pronouncement of *talaq*. People explained that the man was from the Kerala coast and had no close relatives on the island. In another case the woman's children were small and needed a mother's attention. Such a *talaq* made a woman a divorcee and saved her from the difficult *iddat* necessary for a widow. There were other such instances in my sample. I must confess that my first encounter with this phenomenon left me shocked, but I soon saw that the reasoning was simple : after all, the marriage was on the verge of ending anyway, and in the matrilineal ethos of the island a woman had no obligation to observe mourning for her dead husband. This was mainly the duty of the man's matrilineal kin and to some extent that of his children.

This account of an unusual form of marriage is likely to disturb you, but it also raises many questions that should be relevant for us: for example, the relation between a woman's rights to space, children and resources and her marital stability; the cost of marital stability; the possibility of an equal relationship between spouses that is less demanding, more co-operative and not tainted by over-possessiveness and suspicion. Some marriages are bound to break, but it is important to safeguard the interests of the more disadvantaged and to ensure that children are not damaged beyond repair. In order to assure both adults and children of a supportive and caring environment and to protect them from the harmful effects of separation, perhaps we need greater flexibility in our system of households.

Notes and References

1. I thank Mukul Dube for editing and word-processing this lecture and for drawing the charts.
2. Surah II (Al Baqr), Ayat 225-230.

SACRIFICE OF A WHITE DOVE: 'FOLK MEDICINE' PRACTICE OF BENE ISRAEL COMMUNITY FROM BOMBAY

JUDITH ISSROFF

In his book about the Jews on the banks of the Ganga, Musleah (1975, p. 383) suggests that some practices date to their departure from the land of Israel during the Second Temple Period, before the Roman destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. Entries concerning the Jews of India and Bene Israel in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1974), and *Encyclopaedia of Judaism* (1989) report similar oral testimony. Shalva Weil (1980, 1986) has carefully reviewed the literature about the state of research into Bene Israel Indian Jews, including that concerning their origin and the picture is neither clear nor certain. She reports that some studies suggest non-Israelite descent, and that intercaste intermarriage between the Bene Israel and other non-Jewish groups did occur. It has been suggested that some originated in Indians whose religion has become increasingly identified with Judaism.¹ Weil cites other sources who have suggested that the Bene Israel may be of Adenese, or Babylonian, or Persian, or Yemenite, or Samaritan origin, or Jewish non-Israelites. According to Musleah (1975), legends and traditions connect the early stages with various events in the history of Israel and Judah, after the destruction of the First Temple. Hasem Samuel Kehimker (1937) is quoted as suggesting that they derived from a shipwreck off the Konkan coast of Maharashtra, possibly in 175 B.C., or from the time of King Nebuchadnezzar (587 B.C.), but Shellim Samuel opined that they derive from much earlier, viz. the 8th century B.C. The Bene Israel also have claimed that their ancestors left Galilee because of persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes (175-163 B.C.).² Legend and tradition have also traced back the earliest Jewish settlement in India to the time of King Solomon or to the period of the destruction of the Second Temple, but no reliable documentary evidence exists (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 8, p. 1349-1262.)

This communication reports additional data that support Musleah's and other authors' surmise that the origin of the Bene Israel is indeed very ancient, namely, sacrifice of a white dove and its use during illness, a practice that dates back to Temple times.

An Indian Marathi-speaking group of women from Dadar district, Bombay, who have immigrated to Israel and live in Ramle³, were interviewed during a multi-ethnic pilot study investigation of traditional and current beliefs, practices

and customs in relation to respiratory distress (especially asthma⁴) in Israel.^{5,6,7} The interview was conducted in Hebrew and English, the latter being the preferred language although the sixteen (including elderly) women present spoke Marathi between themselves. As they are Marathi-speaking, it can be deduced that they are descendants of the Black Bene Israel Jews of Cochin whose origin is obscure, as discussed above. (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 4, p. 493-498; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 5, p. 622; *Encyclopaedia of Judaism*, 1989; Shalva Weil 1980, 1986; Musleah, 1975; Kehimker, 1937). A small group of a couple of thousand still remain in the Cochin area, some ten thousand perhaps remain in Bombay, and about twenty thousand live in Israel (S. Weil, 1986, 1977). Over the centuries they maintained close contact with other Jewish communities both within and outside India (Mocha, Yemen, Babylonia, North Africa, Portugal, Holland, Britain, etc.)

The Marathi-speaking Indian Jewish community from Bombay has a fatalistic attitude to asthma. The women in the group interviewed were fascinated to hear some data gathered from other groups, including Kurdish, Egyptian, Yemenite, Middle European and Ethiopian practices. They readily volunteered information relating to similar practices. This would be expected as there was historical contact with representatives from these other Jewish Diaspora communities. Like other ethnic groups they employ various herbal remedies which they apply as pastes, or as poultices, or inhalations, or suck, or make into herbal tea, given with or without honey (See e.g. Avraham Ben Ja'akov. 1990, 1991 a, 1991-2a, b, c; E Lehner & J. Lehner. 1973; P. Kutumbia. 1974; A. Kiev (Ed.) 1964; J.O. Leibowitz, S. Marcus. 1984; J. Preuss. 1911/1978; M. Hugo. 1908, N. Crispin. 1990).

Spontaneously 'brain-storming', they shared their own traditions with me. Along with the herbal remedies they came up with a series of some 20 different treatments. Among practices unique to this ethnic group in Israel were:

- (i) Yoga breathing exercises of Arogyasathi yoga school of Yogi Knias to facilitate control and strengthening of diaphragmatic and rectus abdomini muscles which are involved with the active act of expiration (inspiration, being passive, requires muscular relaxation). It is the expiratory muscles which are in spasm during an asthmatic attack.
- (ii) They employ a form of massage of the pharyngeal region by inserting a thin, soft black catheter through the nose and out of the mouth, then moving it gently.
- (iii) There is also a form of nasal-oral douche, and other 'cleansing' systems such as swallowing ribbons of cloth 'to sop up excess mucus.' Practices like these would stimulate the vagus and autonomic nervous system in various ways, stimulate the production of the body's adrenaline—which

relieves bronchospasm. If there were middle ear infection such methods would facilitate drainage and thus help to improve chances of dealing with infection. Likewise sinusitis might lead to respiratory problems by a post-nasal drip, and drainage of the sinuses would also be aided.

These practices are unfamiliar to Western medicine, and must have been acquired by this group's contact and familiarity with practices that are common in India.

Other practices which distinguish this group are:

(iv) The administration of crab meat as medicine:

The Jews from Dadar district, Bombay feed the asthmatic child **white food** such as crab meat, although crabs are not *kosher*. Perhaps because crab meat is rich in Zinc, which trace element may well be deficient in asthmatic children, the treatment 'works'. Zinc may have a function in strengthening immunity or perhaps in inhibiting allergy. As co- or apo-enzyme to many known vitally significant enzymes, serving to activate them, free Zinc radicals released from the liver reservoir certainly serve an important if not central function of the physiological systems activated by stress.

In a life-threatening situation, such as an asthmatic attack, unkosher food is *halakhically*⁶ permissible.

Kosher (literally 'fit' or 'proper') is the term used exclusively for ritually correct and faultless objects, referring to what is proper within the law. (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 10, p. 806). The dietary laws of *Kashrut* are exceedingly complex laws and customs pertaining to the types of food permitted for consumption and their preparation (C. Roden. 1968). These dietary laws specifically set the children of Israel apart from their neighbours. They are considered 'divine statutes' and their goal is holiness, with effects on the soul, part of Judaism's attempt to hallow the common act of eating which is an aspect of our animal nature. However, like many aspects of *halakhah*⁸ the practices may be regarded as mnemonic forms designed to maintain and raise consciousness concerning life, death, soul, ethical and moral conduct, rather than as rationally explicable.⁹ The practice of *kashrut* demands sacrifice, self-discipline and determination. Forbidden foods are listed in the *Torah* (*The Bible, Old Testament*) Deuteronomy 14 and Leviticus 11. Pork, euphemistically known to non-observant Israelis as 'white meat' - *basar lavan* - is a forbidden (not *kosher*) meat - yet observant Ashkenazi Jews in Poland once gave it to asthmatic children 'to build the blood.'

Blood-letting is equated with contamination with death and the

custom of *shehita*, the ritual slaughtering of animals, taking life that we may live, is part of the process of preparation of meat. *Koshering* meat refers to the prohibition against the consumption of blood, as not ingesting blood is alleged to tame man's instinct for violence by instilling in him a horror of bloodshed. For example, the injunction against the consumption of birds of prey may be intended to demonstrate that man should not prey on others. It is forbidden to eat milk and meat together: "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk", (Exodus 23:19;34:26; Deuteronomy 14:21). Perhaps the separation of dairy and meat products can be understood as keeping separate white and life-giving, and red, blood-letting, both life-taking and death-contaminated.

Accordingly, a most unexpected practice for a Jewish group in view of the traditional taboo on touching blood was the practice disclosed by the Indian Bene Israel ladies only after some prompting among themselves, viz.

- (v) The **white** dove sacrifice : They were shy about divulging this practice and did so right at the end of our meeting, after we had spent several hours together.

After the slaughter of a dove (doubtless by proper *Kosher* ritual *shehita* - blood letting), the blood is applied to chest and back for an hour - whilst a soup is made of the dove, which is then eaten.¹⁰

Other ethnic group's use of doves: Both a Yemenite informant (from a family of traditional Yemenite healers) and an Ashkenazi¹¹ - German - Dutch origin Doctor told me about the practice which they had personally encountered of the use of a white dove in the treatment of abdominal illness, especially jaundice. The Yemenite informant said that the anus of the dove was pressed into the navel, which caused a reflex contraction of the dove's anal musculature, experienced by the patient as a sucking action. The 'healer' announces that whatever evil spirit is possessing or inhabiting the jaundice-sufferer's body is being sucked out. Prayers are recited for the health of the ill person. With a wink and a chuckle, the Yemenite healer said that if the traditional practitioner is wise, notice has been taken of a lessening in the degree of the jaundice, and when it is obvious that the patient is about to recover, then deftly the neck of the bird is over-squeezed and it dies.¹² The healer announces that the life of the jaundiced patient is no longer in danger. Life can be taken in order to save a human life. However no blood is shed or handled, and to my knowledge no broth is made.

An informant from the small Afghanistani community that derives from Persian (Iranian) Jews said that if someone was ill, a sheep or goat was ritually slaughtered and cooked, prayers said, and the meat

distributed amongst the poor, but that to his knowledge they never used doves for this purpose. During the Temple period doves were sacrificed by those who could not afford to sacrifice a sheep or goat or heifer.

Why a white dove? Counter-magic in home remedies for asthma?

If there is a theme in treatment of asthma which is specific rather than general - like ways of dealing with the evil eye¹³ or spirit possession - then it is a *trend towards dealing with white*, which characterizes the dense sputum produced during asthmatic attacks. While the material is still too sparse for any well-based discussion, such measures appeared in several ethnic groups.

- a) For instance, a Russian informant placed what he called 'allergy' to white foods as the second cause of asthma, second to 'allergy' to mothers 'of course', as if anyone would know that! Accordingly, he said, among Russians who tend not to rely on conventional medicine (Tal, L. 1982), but rather seek out healers, it is customary for **foods such as white of egg, sugar, and milk products** to be *prohibited* when children develop asthma.
- b) Amongst the Ethiopians, in order to express and to extrude the *Zar*, the spirit possession which may be considered one of the causes of asthma,¹⁴ a woman customarily asks for various material possessions, such as a **white** dress or a **white** hen. However also a red hen, coffee, or jewelry, or perfume (I. Nudelman 1993) may be requested. So she gets various things which specifically speak to her needs¹⁵ - but that may be a later addition to the traditional choice of a white magical object (to counteract 'black magic'?). I. Nudelman (1993) reports that a sheep is sometimes sacrificed during a *balazar* (translatable as 'Master of the Strange / Unfamiliar') ceremony, but does not note anything about whether it is usually or invariably a white sheep.
- c) White also plays a conspicuous part in remedies given for the treatment of asthma by Magnus Hugo (1908)¹⁶ :
 - i) "Take and cook together pistachio-sized bit of gum ammoniac (**white**) about the size of the nut of sweet galbanum, a table spoonful of **white** honey, and Machusan *nalla* of clear wine, (one *nalla* as in a town in Manchuria! -? **White** rice wine). The remedy is ready when the gum ammoniac boils.
 or as an alternative remedy:
 - ii) take a quarter log of **milk** of a **white** goat, drip it on three stalks of carob and stir with a piece of stem of *marmehin* (possibly marjoram - a whitish stem). When the stem boils the remedy is ready.

- or iii) take the excrement of a **white** dog and knead it with natopha (a type of resin-? whitish). The 'recipe' adds: "If at all possible however do not eat the dog's excrement because it unsettles the body" !
- d) At least one Syrian-origin grandmother rolled *salt* in bits of paper which were stabbed repeatedly with a needle and then placed under a sick child's bed or pillow, or burnt, in order to keep the *sheydim* (evil spirits) at bay.

In Temple Period times salt was "an indispensable ingredient of sacrifice...symbolic of the moral effect of suffering, which purifies man and causes sins to be forgiven." (*Enc. Jud.* 1972, Vol. 14, p. 613; *Ber.* 5a, p. 710-711; *The Old Testament, Leviticus, 2: 13; Talmud, Men* 20 a.) Salt plays an essential role in Jewish life, ritual and symbolism. Salt is a preservative. The idea of permanence is the basis of the covenant of salt mentioned in various occasions in the Bible - a symbol of abiding loyalty. Salt is also believed to have cleansing, hygienic and purifying powers since Biblical times, but it stings the eyes and could thus be used to sting the evil eye. Note also that salt is white in colour.

- e) As already mentioned, the Bene Israel Jews from Bombay (mainly Dadar district) sometimes sacrifice a **white** dove to make a soup for an asthmatic child. Whilst the soup is cooking the child's back and chest are smeared with blood.¹⁷

Blood was regarded as the source of life, and not to be touched except in the sacred conditions of sacrifice. (M. Douglas, 1968; *Enc. Jud.* 1972, p. 1076 ff, and Vol. 15, pp. 599-616.)

The extent to which this is taboo is demonstrated in the difficulty encountered in taking blood for medical examination from newly arrived Ethiopian immigrants (D. Chemtob, I. Kalka, Y. Fassberg 1990).

The only other ethnographic information concerning blood was gathered from a Tunisian-origin informant. My informant had an M.A. in nursing and administration, and laughed about her Parisienne psychoanalyst sister's insistence that she continue to practise all traditions, including smearing blood from any fish prepared for eating on the door jamb of the house. Fish do have special significance for Tunisian Jewry.¹⁸

In *Kabbalah* and demonology all the **colours have different symbolic meanings** (G. Scholem, 1969). Any fish with scales is used in any preparation by Tunisian Jews, but preferably they use red peppers, tomatoes and colouring when they cook fish. In Tunisia walls are painted *red*, and red blinds are hung, rationally considered 'to rest the eyes and soothe the brain'. I suggest an alternative possible interpretation: red is frequently equated with blood, which itself represents either death or life. Blood is connected with life in

Judaism. Obviously it is good to ingest a life-enhancing colour. If the red is outside then perhaps the evil eye and *sheydim* may be diverted and won't be tempted to enter anyone's body. Before cooking the fish the Tunisian Jewish families would cut off the fish-head at the doorway and sprinkle its blood on the door jamb. The Bible relates what was done in Egypt before the Exodus so that the angel of death would know to pass over that particular house and spare the firstborn son from the plague with which the non-Jews were smitten. So it seems to be a persistent practice of a Passover symbol, both a **reminder of freedom** and to signal with red-blood=death (?) outside a house to **avert or confuse or as an offering to bad spirits to pass by**. Similar ideas may be or may have been present in the origin of the Bene Israel blood-smearing of the chest area of asthmatics.

The sacrifice of the white dove may be a purification offering. Perhaps the thick white asthmatic sputum produced by asthmatics is regarded as unclean, rendering the asthmatic, likewise, unclean.¹⁹ In Temple period times blood from a **propitiatory (sin or guilt) offering** was applied to certain parts of a ritually cleansed leper's body (p. 601). Possibly the application of the sacrificed dove's blood to the afflicted asthmatic chest area may be regarded as a similar act. Or as a life-giving manifestation it may be believed to **frighten away the Angel of Death**.

Blood, a frequent element in general folk medicine, is rarely, if ever, used among Jews except in the case of nose bleeding where the actual blood lost is sometimes baked into a cake and **following the principle prevailing in sympathetic magic**, is given to a pig. (*Sefer Refu'ot*, 14b, according to *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 6, p. 1407). Priests sprinkled blood of sacrifices during the Temple Period. (See Sacrifice. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 14, pp. 599-616.) Poor people brought doves or pigeons to be offered as burnt offerings to expurgate sin or guilt during the Temple periods. The offerer carried out the symbolic act of laying his hand on the offering (Leviticus, 4:3), thus identifying it with himself. The priest collected blood and sprinkled it on the veil or on the horns of the incense altar, or added the blood to the horns of the altar of a higher rank burnt offering. The remaining blood was drained out at the base of the altar (Leviticus). A guilt offering could also be brought by a leper - and I wonder whether the ill asthmatic child is considered in a similar fashion because in the case of a leper the priest would also apply blood to certain areas of a ritually cleansed leper's body, as well as sprinkling blood round the altar. After that, like the priest, the leper could eat the flesh of the sacrifice 'In that the Lord was deprived of the service due from the infected person so long as his disease kept him outside of the pale of the ritually clean society.' *I suggest that because asthmatics produce sputum, which also is considered as an unclean issue, the asthmatic may be likened to the leper in the origin of*

this practice, and the blood-smearing ritual equated with a purification ritual as practised in Temple period times. The persistence of this practice thus attests to the antiquity of this Jewish group's sojourn in India.

Why would such a practice persist? The obvious answer is because it has proved itself to be effective.

How might the dove sacrifice lead to cessation of an asthmatic attack?

At the physiological level adrenaline is bound to be produced by the fear, awe and encounter with death which such a ceremony and smearing of blood would certainly evoke in the asthma sufferer. Adrenaline administration in very small doses (a minim per minute of a one in one thousand solution injected intra-dermally into the skin itself) always breaks an asthmatic attack after a few minutes in the author's medical experience. Claude Levi Strauss (1967) refers to the particular intense activity of the autonomic (sympathetic) nervous system in discussing the efficacy of certain magical practices.

But, as Levi-Strauss points out (p. 24): 'The efficacy of magic implies a belief in magic. The latter has three complementary aspects: first, the sorcerer's (*for which substitute 'the dove sacrifice and soup-maker practitioner's*) belief in the effectiveness of his/her techniques; second, the patient's or victim's belief in the sorcerer's power (*as is well demonstrated in the widely demonstrated effectiveness of the administration of placebos; and as Winnicott (1971) described in reporting 'Therapeutic Consultations in Child Psychiatry' which I have termed a kind of psycho-operative technique, Issroff, 1997*): and finally the faith and expectations of the group which constantly act as a sort of gravitational field within which the relationship between sorcerer (healer) and bewitched (*asthmatic patient*) is located and defined." (for).... "the magical situation is a consensual phenomenon". (*My additions are in brackets and italicized.*)

One could argue that the practice of white dove sacrifice, blood smearing and soup ingestion in the treatment of asthma is evidence that like the Trobriander and Zande described by E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1967, p. 20), the Bene Israel accept sympathetic magic "not as a force of nature, but as a cultural heritage, not as something discovered but as something co-existent in time with man, not as a vague impersonal power but as a tangible weapon of culture,...deriving its power from the knowledge of tradition..." Evans-Pritchard concludes that "the psychological purpose of magic is not served unless the ritual has a background of belief in mythology, a halo of stories about its wonder-working powers..." that must be prevalent within Bene Israel community about the effectivity of this practice, which essentially is a religious practice. Yet there is an overlap with magic and with belief in divine intervention through sacrifice, as described in the Torah, which undoubtedly has its mythical elements. "The crystallization of these stories into standardized myth (*practice*) is determined

by the affiliation of the magic with a group through the institution of ownership." (*'ownership' through tradition and prescription...*) "Any section of society enjoying special privileges, whether magical or otherwise, produces its own mythology (*that of priests in Temple times, and folk medical healers thereafter*), the function of the myth (*or mystique and power to heal invested in all healers*) being to give sanction to the possession of the exclusive privileges (*previously the sole priestly right to perform ritual sacrifice, transformed through distance, absence, the passage of centuries and a perception of necessity, and/or knowledge of how to heal*).

The persistence of this practice, or knowledge of it, however different it may/may not be in detail to the sacrifices practised in Jerusalem and perhaps elsewhere in the Diaspora before the destruction of the Second Temple, bear testament to "actual beliefs actually held by actual people (the Bene Israel) who accept them and take note of them in their everyday lives." (J. Middleton, 1967).

Contemporary Jewish thinker and theologian, Richard L. Rubenstein (1992, p. 240), interestingly, has "argued for the meaningful character of the atonement and sacrificial aspects of the Torah for contemporary Judaism. At the heart of the sacrificial system lay the unspoken conviction that human beings are more likely to repeat their characteristic failings from one generation to the next than they are to improve upon them... By means of the sacrificial system people were able to express their aggressive impulses in ways that enhanced communal solidarity and caused least harm to others instead of being threatened by the possibility of irrational and uncontrolled outbursts of violence, as we have witnessed in our own times." Rubenstein is referring to the Holocaust and other prior and subsequent genocidal activities. But there is little doubt that aggressive to murderous unconscious impulses play their part in the psychodynamic understanding of asthma in individual cases, as does guilt. There is a cathartic element in the sacrificial practice which probably also plays a role in facilitating the cessation of an asthmatic attack. And there is an unconscious public sanction of murderous impulse signalled to an asthmatic during the 'cultural container' (Margaret Mead, 1941) function that is implied in the sacrificial practice. The container function of group cultural space, refers to a safe arena for the culturally sanctioned expression of all manner of conflicts, needs, impulses and desires.²⁰

Joshua Trachtenberg (1973) pointed out how alongside the steady expansion and development of the inner life of Judaism, as religious concepts were advanced and elaborated, always the effort was made to make these something more than concepts, to weave them into the pattern of daily life, so that the Jew might live his religion, referred to by Trachtenberg as the 'badly misunderstood legalism of Judaism.'

Judaism is a religion in which separations and distinctions abound as prohibitions and as rules, and they may be regarded as mnemonics towards reminding Jews that on behalf of all life they bear the task of being conscious of consciousness of life, eternity, supreme universal God, proper ethical conduct and so on, and to give blessing constantly as part of this 'celebration of consciousness' of Judaism.

'Alongside the formal development' of the inner life of Judaism, Trachtenberg claims 'there was a constant elaboration of folk religion - ideas and practices that never met with the whole-hearted approval of the religious leaders, but which enjoyed such wide popularity that they could not altogether be excluded from the field of religion. Of this sort were the beliefs concerning demons and angels, and the way superstitious images based on these beliefs actually became a part of Judaism by more or less devious routes. So in the periphery of the religious life, the practices of magic continued; although stretched almost to the breaking point they never broke completely with the tenets of the faith.' *Trachtenberg proposes that we call these traditional practices 'folk religion' because they express the common attitude of the people as against the official attitude of the synagogue to the universe.*²¹ [My italics]. John Middleton (1967, *Introduction*) discusses the old debate in anthropology as to the borderline between "religion" and "magic", and the cultural context for drawing the "magico-religious" boundary. Trachtenberg's contention is readily supported by even a cursory browse through the comprehensive data concerning Babylonian Jewry (plus some Yemenite herbal remedies) compiled and published by Avraham Ben Ja 'akov (1991 - 2a,b,c). This work requires analysis and discussion. Sacrifice or/and prayer appeal to God's divine powers. *Trachtenberg's contention is also supported by the persistence of sacrificial practice which was once solely carried out as a religious ritual by the priests who served at the temple altar for twenty centuries in the Indian Jewish community.* There is evidence in letters discovered in the Cairo *genizah*²² that a community of Jews who served as Roman soldiers on the island of Elephantine also practised otherwise exclusively temple rituals. And the Kes (high priests/magicians/ wise men) of the Ethiopian Jews have also maintained a form of the practice of the red heifer sacrifice, the ashes from which are used to purify those priests who have been rendered ritually unclean by coming into contact with death. Originally this sacrifice could only be performed by the High Priest who officiated at the Temple in Jerusalem. But it seems likely that special dispensations were made to far-flung communities such as Elephantine, Ethiopia and India at the time when the Second Temple still stood.

Notes and References

1. Weil cites Hugh Steker (1971) who suggested that some Bene Israel may be identified as "the Indian Jew who wants to be Indian" - certainly the present study confirmed that Indian origin yogic practices are employed by Bene Israel living in Israel.
2. For some centuries they were isolated and became known to their neighbours as *Shanwar telis* ("the Sabbath-observing oilmen") indicating both their occupation and their religious observance.
3. Shalva Weil's (1977) unpublished D. Phil. thesis is a study of this community.
4. Asthma is a model psycho-socio-somato-spiritual disease with marked psycho-social effects which impact on those who attend the wheezing, distressed patient in addition to the asthma sufferer himself/herself. Respiratory distress and asthma are widespread and common in all Israeli ethnic groups, particularly in new immigrants. The pilot study revealed great diversity of practice and belief. Preliminary data were gleaned about Egyptian, Syrian, Yemenite, Babylonian (Iraqi Kurdish), Ukrainian, Ethiopian, Tunisian, Moroccan, Bene Israel Indian (from Dadar district, Bombay), Middle European-origin (Ashkenazi), Afghanistani-Iranian origin and Bedouin communities.

Asthma was chosen as the model illness because the Hebrew etymological root for 'spirit soul' (*neshama*) and for 'breath' (*neshima*) is the same. The great Jewish sage and physician, Maimonides, wrote a treatise in Arabic in 1190 about *hakatseret*, the Hebrew word for asthma which may literally be translated as 'the shortness of breath' (Rosner, F., Munter, S. 1973). Moses Maimonides, Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon, also known as The Rambam, and as Abu-Amran in Arabic (1135-1204), was a great scholar, rabbinic authority, codifier, philosopher and royal physician - the most famous and illustrious figure in Judaism in the post-Talmudic era and one of the greatest of all times. (See *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 11, p. 799.) "In the formation of his opinions on man's spiritual well-being, Maimonides' scientific and psychological experiences are closely interwoven with his religious principles." (S. M., *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972). In his treatise on asthma, "Maimonides regards bronchial asthma as largely due to nervousness, and believes that some people thus inclined react strongly to certain irritants. Correct diet and spiritual treatment, he says, have a beneficial effect on the asthmatic."

5. This study was funded by grants from P.E.F., New York, and the Jerusalem Centre for Anthropological Studies, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged, as is that of Mrs. Hadassah Schmidt of the Jerusalem branch of the Israel League for the Prevention of Lung Diseases and Tuberculosis.

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6. More information about the Jews of India can be found in S. Berry Isenberg, 1988; H.J.A. Cohen & Z. Yehuda 1976; B.C. Johnson 1985, and *Encyclopaedia*

Judaica, 1972, Vol. 4, pp. 493-498; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 5, p. 622-628; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 8, p. 1349-1362).

- 7 After centuries of dispersion and exile Jews have ingathered and returned to their homeland of Israel from at least 178 different countries, Israel becoming a natural laboratory for social, anthropological and ethnographic study.
8. *Halakhah* (from the word root *halakah*, "to go") is the codified Way of living, conduct and practice, the whole legal side of Judaism, that embraces personal, social, national, and international relationships, and all other practices and observances of Judaism in detail. (See L. J. 1972. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 7, pp. 1156-1167). In Judaism *halakhah* is distinguished from *aggadah*, a body of non-legal material, particularly of the rabbinic literature, that is regarded of lesser significance. The *halakhah* in its entirety goes back to Moses (Sinaitic divine revelation) except for various later elaborations, extensions, applications, and innovations according to new circumstance. *Halakhah* is the distinctive feature of Judaism as a religion of obedience to the word of God. It unites Jews of many different temperaments, origins, and theological opinions. The *Talmud* (literally the imperative "You will learn!") is a labyrinth of legal debate about determining actual decision in law which was collected over centuries both in Jerusalem and in Babylon; codification and debate continue to this day. (A. Steinsaltz, 1976, 1980).
9. For attempts to explain the Dietary Laws and their moral effects see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol., pp26-46, I. Epstein. 1959; Mary Douglas 1977.
10. Unfortunately, as this was only an initial pilot study interview and as yet there has been no further follow-up interview, no details are available about many issues such as: whether or not ritual cleansing is first undertaken; how the blood is cleaned off; how much blood is smeared; what prayers are said by whom, when, when thereafter, whether the afflicted person joins in the prayers/readings/if any; whether a *minyan* must be present for the sacrifice [a quorum or *minyan* of ten men must be present for communal prayer, (see *Encyclopaedia Judaica* Vol. 12. p. 67)]; whether a man or community leader (Rabbi) or the father or special elder or woman of the house performs the ritual; whether it is undertaken in all cases, or only in severe cases of recurrent attacks of asthma; or only when other treatments have failed; or in status asthmaticus; whether or not white doves are specially raised for this purpose; whether hands are laid on the dove as in the sacrificial rite of Temple times; whether the treatment is undertaken in the case of other illnesses or only in the case of asthmatics; what is done with the parts of the white dove which are not put in the soup and whether the soup is exclusively for the asthmatic, or if others present also partake; how the Bene Israel view the ceremony in relation to that of *kapparot* - and whether they perform *kapparot* ceremony [a custom, regarded by many as pagan, in which the sins of a person are symbolically transferred to a fowl that is sacrificed the day before the Day of Atonement after being swung three times round the head, while certain Psalms, and passages from the book of Job are said. The sacrificer says: "This is my substitute, my vicarious offering, my atonement; this cock (or hen) shall meet death, but I shall find a long and pleasant life of peace." The fowl is thought to take on any misfortune which might otherwise befall a person in punishment

of his/her sins. After the ceremony, it is customary to donate the fowl to the poor after throwing the intestines to the birds. A white cock or hen was especially desirable. Cocks and hens were used in this sacrificial rite because they were not used in the Temple sacrificial cult. (see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 10. p. 756-7), etc.

11. The Jews known as Ashkenazi lived in Eastern Europe, whereas the Sepharadi Jews are derived from those of Spain who escaped the Inquisition. "The concern of the Ashkenazi *Hasidim* with magic practice and phenomena has its roots in some of their theological ideas." (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 11, p. 710).
12. This anecdote bears echoes of a fragment from Franz Boas's 1930 report of the autobiography of a Kwakiutl Indian 'shaman' from the Vancouver region of Canada, quoted and discussed by Claude Lévi Strauss. 1967, pp. 31-41.
13. Belief in the evil eye, *shaydim*, (demons, evil spirits, magic, and folk practices to mitigate their effects), is still common, probably as widespread as asthma in Israel. It seems that contemporary man in Israeli society, like medieval man, as reflected in the literature on magic, "does not clearly differentiate between magic and other branches of knowledge, especially between medicine and magic. Most of the collections dealing mainly with magic do not distinguish between the treatment of an ailment according to the accepted norms of popular medicine, such as the application of heat, herbs, and certain foods, and magic means, calling for the help of angels and demons to heal the patient." (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 11. p. 710).

Ayin hara-ah: literally 'the eye of the evil': There is a widespread belief that some persons may produce malevolent effects on others by looking at them, based on the supposed power of some eyes to burn, bewitch or harm by a glance. Preventive or counteractive measures are taken to avert the effects of destructive fire or the calling into being of an evil demon who takes vengeance on the cause of wrath. If prevention is too late, then the endangered person can be saved by confrontation and war measures based on countermagic to defeat or deceive the evil eye. For example, the use of mirrors to reflect back the glance, or ornaments or amulets bearing special incantations, holy words or symbols, or specific colours to blight or confound the evil eye (blue or red) as described by many informants. A hand may deflect its rays, or an obscene gesture, or its influence may be shamed by grasping the thumbs of each hand in the other and proclaiming: "I, so and so, son/daughter of so and so, am of the seed of Joseph whom the evil eye may not affect." All informants described variants of these measures. See *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 6, pp. 997-1000.

See *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 11, pp. 703-715." To date there is no serious study on the sources on which medieval Hebrew magic works drew. The various influences have neither been defined nor classified and no clear distinction can therefore be made between the following sources: the Assyrian and Babylonian (which apparently also influenced the Talmud), the Hellenistic (Jewish-Hellenistic and Greek), the ancient Egyptian and their later adaptations during the syncretistic

periods of the Roman Empire, the original Arabic and their fusion with the Persian and Indian, and the European which were intermingled with Arabic and other sources. Principally, however, there is as yet no way to distinguish in every case between traditional Hebrew magic, derived from the Biblical and Talmudic periods, and the magic elements which reached Jewish writers from foreign sources. Until such studies are made, only impressions and generalizations can serve as basis for any assumption as to the nature of medieval Hebrew magic works.

Though there are no detailed studies on hand, there is no doubt that Jewish medieval magic drew on all the above mentioned sources." (Y.D.,p.709) "There is no essential difference in the basic magic formulas and the attitude toward magic between the various nations, countries and periods." I perceived the same situation as current in Israel, and would add possible traditional Chinese medical 'magical' practices to the list of influences, and whatever practices are prevalent in India.

Folk medicine is discussed as part of Folklore (in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol., pp. 1405-1410) as a means of overcoming anxieties and fears and for the prevention and cure of diseases. Folk beliefs, superstitions and remedies have been transmitted by Jewish communities from generation to generation, even where there were normative medicine and physicians.

14. Ethiopians also consult *Ba'al Tonquai*, and *Ba'al Zar* - Master of the Strange: '*balazar*' (See I. Nudelman. 1988, 1993; R. Almond. 1974; H. Alpert. 1985; A. Weingrod (Ed.) 1985; J. Kennedy. 1967; S. D. Messing. 1967; S. D. Menuchin-Itzigsohn, R. Ben Shaoul, A. Weingrod, D. Krasilovsky, 1984; C. Zuckerman-Bareli, M. Ronen. 1988; D. Chemtob, I. Kalka, Y. Fassberg, 1990). The *balazar* deals with whatever stranger identification or estranged feeling has brought about the illness, usually attributed to, accepted and attended to as a manifestation of looking for attention which is given via dance. It does not seem to be attributed to evil spirit possession which kind of belief system operates in the Yemenite community, as well as in Egyptians, Europeans, Syrians amongst others.
15. According to Chola S. D. Menuchin-Itzigsohn (personal communication, 1994).
16. Babylonian Talmud Tractate Gittin 69a - 69b.
17. I have not come across any other report of this practice in the literature, but I do not pretend to have undertaken comprehensive source searches.
18. *Fish* is considered in general important to eat. In *gematria* the Hebrew for fish (*dag*) is numerically equivalent to *shabbat*, the sabbath, the seventh day of rest, which represents wholeness, will heal, make whole. Fish in water also symbolize re-birth, and fertility.
Newly married Tunisian couples are encouraged to step over a large fish the day after their wedding as an assurance of happiness and protection from evil. Also in Egypt fish was the first meal to be eaten in a new home. In Persia fish is eaten on New Year's Eve to cleanse the people from evil. Today the shape of a fish has become a symbol: embroidered on a cloth and carved in

metal it is believed to ward off the evil eye. Sometimes during the Passover feast a fish head is placed on the table together with the other special symbols in the hope that Jews and those present should always be 'at the head' (C. Roden. 1968, p. 165).

19. Re. Essenes, (or as they are today named, the Qumran community):
Vermes translation of the Community Rule states 'Whoever has spat in an Assembly of the Congregation shall do penance for thirty days.' And in Josephus: *The Jewish War*: They are careful not to spit into the middle of other people or to the right..'
20. Like the play 'space' or area or paper on which the 'squiggle' game or play therapy occurs in therapeutic consultations in child psychiatry, the 'cultural container' referred to by Margaret Mead (1941) can be considered as the external equivalent of the innermost personal 'potential space', the 'container' which is the sleeping dream. In psychoanalytic terms, an asthmatic attack in certain cases can be considered a failure of a patient's inner container potential, that of the sleeping dream space to contain, symbolize and experience the conflicts which are expressed instead in an actual psycho-somatized asthmatic attack (J. Issroff. 1990).
21. Re. folk medicine and magic in Judaism see A. Kiev (Ed.) 1964; J. O. Leibowitz, S. Marcus. 1984; J. Preuss 1911/1978 and re. Judaism see also Zimmels, H.J. 1952; Zuckerman-Bareli, C. Ronen M. 1988; Sered, S. 1988; Goldberg, H. (Ed.) 1987; Robertson Smith W. 1889; Epstein, I. 1959, M. Buber. 1967.
22. *Genizeh* literally means 'storing,' and refers to a place for storing ritual books or objects that have become unusable. (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 7, pp. 404-407). Judeo-Arabic documents found in the Cairo Genizeh reveal that between the tenth and twelfth centuries commercial relationships existed between Jewish communities in southern Europe, North Africa, Egypt and Aden, and the West coast of India (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 8, p. 1350). Legend has it that such relationships existed even in Hasmonean pre-C.E. times. (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, Vol. 5, pp. 622-628).

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ABHINAVAGUPTA'S CONCEPT OF KĀVYA AND NĀTYA

V. M. KULKARNI

There is no independent work on literary criticism by Abhinavagupta (Abhinava). He, however, wrote commentaries on three works dealing with Poetics and Dramaturgy :

1. *Locana* on Ānandavardhana's (Ānanda) *Dhvanyāloka*¹ (*Dhv*)
2. *Nāṭyavedavivṛti*, better known as *Abhinavabhāratī* (*A.Bh.*) on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*² (*NS*), and,
3. A *Vivaraṇa* on *Kāvyaakautuka* by his respected teacher, Bhaṭṭa Tauta (also spelled elsewhere as Tota). This *Vivaraṇa* commentary, however, has not been so far discovered, possibly, it is lost for good. Bhaṭṭa Tauta's work *Kāvyaakautuka* too is lost. Abhinava quotes him in *Locana* but more frequently in *A. Bh.* From Abhinava's quotations we may infer that it was a work of great merit bristling with many original ideas pertaining to *kāvya* and *nāṭya*.

The first two commentaries are already published. They are hailed as outstanding of their kind. They are not only highly useful in understanding the original texts but also in constructing Sanskrit Aesthetics as they are rich in aesthetic ideas. Abhinava has discussed a series of questions pertaining to beauty and *rasa*. What is the nature of beauty? Whether it is subjective or objective; whether the *sthāyibhāva* (permanent emotion) itself is *rasa* or *rasa* is altogether different from the *sthāyibhāva*, whether all *rasas* are pleasurable / (ānandarūpa) or some are pleasurable and some others painful. Whether *rasa* is *laukika* (worldly) or *alaukika* (nonworldly); who is (or what is) the *āśraya* (seat or location) of *rasa*; whether the *rasas* are meant to provide sheer pleasure (*prīti*) to the spectators or are also meant to give (*moral*) instruction in the four ends of human life (*puruṣārthas*)? These questions are dealt with elsewhere.³ In this article it is proposed to deal with Abhinava's concept of *kāvya* and *nāṭya* as expounded in his commentaries on *Dhv.* and *NS*.

Abhinava, for his concept of *kāvya* is largely indebted to Ānanda, who declares at the very beginning of his *Dhv.* '*kāvyaśyātmā dhvaniḥ*'⁴ 'Suggestion is the essence of poetry'. He holds that word and its meaning constitute its *śarīra*, body. He cites the view of some of his opponents who say : '*śabdārthaśarīram tāvat kāvyam*', "Word and its meaning together are the body of poetry." But it would be wrong to mistake the body for its soul.

The worth of a poem is to be judged by reference to its central essence, its inner meaning, and not by its outward, external form. Some other opponents might say : 'sahṛdaya - hṛdayāhlādi - śabdārthamayavatveva kāvya - lakṣaṇam.' ⁵ Poetry may be defined as the very composition of such words and their meanings as will delight the mind of sympathetic (or responsive) readers (or hearers) — 'sahṛdayas'. These opponents have in mind, of course, Ānanda's self - chosen coteri of 'sahṛdayas', when they say 'sahṛdaya-hṛdayāhlādi.'

By *dhvani* Ānanda implies the threefold *dhvani* : 1 *vastu* (matter of fact, bare idea) 2 a figure of speech and 3 *rasa - bhāvādi* - (*rasa*, emotion and the like). Abhinava, his follower, goes a step further and asserts that in reality suggestion of *rasādi* (*rasa*, *bhāva* and the like) is the soul, the very essence of *kāvya* as in the long run or ultimately, suggestion of fact or bare idea, and suggestion of figure end in *rasa*, *bhāva* etc., as the case may be.

When Ānanda declares that *dhvani* is the soul of poetry, he has in mind the suggested meaning : *rasādi*, charming, lovely, beautiful meaning of *rasa-bhāva* and the like. According to Ānanda as well as Abhinava, the secondary (or metaphorical or implied) meaning (*lakṣaṇika artha*) conveyed by *lakṣaṇā* is not beautiful enough. When we say 'agnir māṇavakaḥ' (lit. "The boy is a fire" what we mean is that the two entities *māṇavaka* and *agni* share certain *guṇas* (qualities); that is, there is a *sādṛśya* between them - both blaze up (one bursts out in anger, the other bursts into flame quickly or easily). Or take the generally given example, 'Gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ', there is a settlement of cowherds on the river Gaṅgā, by *lakṣaṇā gaṅgā* means *gaṅgātīra* and the phrase means 'The settlement of cowherds is on the bank of the river Gaṅgā. The purpose of this *lakṣaṇā* is to suggest the purity and coolness of the settlement of cowherds (*ghoṣa*). But in these (and other) examples of *lakṣaṇā*, although there is suggestion, there is hardly any beauty. As far as beauty is concerned, what is true of *lakṣaṇā* is also equally true of 'arthāpatti' — presumption, says Abhinava. The stock example of *śrūtārthāpatti* - presumption based on hearsay is 'pīno devadatto divā na bhunkte' It means : "Devadatta who is fat does not eat during the day and so he must be eating at night."

Thus what is really essential to poetry is beauty. In the above examples of *lakṣaṇā* and *śrūtārthāpatti* there is hardly any beauty worth the name. Mere suggestion is not enough to make a poem. It must create sufficient beauty. Ānanda uses the key expression *cārutva - pratīti*⁷. For this Abhinava adds the fine expression '*visrāntisthāna*⁸ as well as *visrānti dhāma*⁹. These expressions remind us of Bharata's *visrānti-janana*', one of the purposes of the *nāṭya*, set forth in the first *adhyāya* of *NS*. These words mean 'that which affords the reader restful joy.'

In a beautiful passage in connection with *cārutva-pratīti* (= *saundarya-pratīti*) Abhinava offers a new definition of *kāvya* : "As for what has been said (by a critic) : "Then the perception of beauty will be the soul of poetry, we, in fact, accept this; the only point of dispute is about the name - whether to call it *cārutvapratīti* (perception of beauty) or *dhvani* (suggestion).¹⁰ And further what has been said - If the perception of beauty is called the soul of poetry, then even the perception of beauty resulting from direct experience through senses (for instance, seeing a sunset, hearing a melodious song, smelling the fragrance of a flower, etc.) will be the soul of poetry. To this we reply, says Abhinava, when we are discussing the question - 'What is the soul of poetry made up of word and its meaning? the question of calling the perception of beauty, resulting from direct sense-experiences, simply does not arise."

Ānanda declares that *dhvani* (suggestion) is the soul of poetry. It might be threefold - either a *vastu* (bare idea, fact) or an *alamkāra* (figure) or a *rasa* (sentiment). His able, innovative and ingenious commentator Abhinava, goes a step further by playing down both the *vastu-dhvani* and *alamkāra-dhvani* to give pre-eminent position to *rasa-dhvani*. To give one example, at one place he says :

'*tena rasa eva vastuta ātmā, vastvaalamkāra-dhvanī tu sarvathā rasam prati paryavasyete*'¹² This means : Therefore really speaking, *rasa* alone is the soul (of poetry). *Vastu-dhvani* and *alamkāra-dhvani*, really speaking, finally end up in *rasa*."

Among his successors it is Viśvanātha, the author of *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, follows his lead and defines poetry as '*vākyam rasātmakam kāvyam*'; meaning 'Poetry is a sentence the soul whereof is *rasa*.' He explains the term *rasātmaka* as follows : '*rasa evātmā sārārūpatayā jīvanādhāyako yasya*'. That is '*rasa* alone is the soul (of poetry) - it breathes life in it - is its very essence.'

Incidentally, it may be pointed out here that this innovative definition of *kāvya*, poetry, did not find favour with the poeticians who followed him. In fact, in the seventeenth century the great authority on poetics, Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha criticises this definition as too narrow in his famous work, *Rasagaṅgādhara*; for if accepted it would deny the status of poetry to a good deal of poetry - which falls under the two types of poetry wherein a *vastu* (bare idea, fact) or an *alamkāra* (figure) is suggested. So too we find great poets have described in their *kāvya* natural scenes of beauty like water - stream, waterfall, spring, whirlpool, (the sun-rise, the setting moon etc.) There is no touch of *rasa* in these and such other descriptions (yet they are appreciated by sensitive readers). Viśvanātha's definition eminently suits the variety of *kāvya* called *uttama* but fails to take note of *madhyamakāvya* and *adhama* or *citra kāvya*.

Uttama denotes the highest or the best, *madhyama* the second-highest or mediocre and *avara* (or *adhama*) not the highest or the lowest division of poetry. In the *Uttama kāvya* the *vyāṅgyārtha* (suggested sense) is more charming or prominent than the *vācyārtha* (the expressed sense). In the *madhyama kāvya* the *vyāṅgyārtha* (suggested sense) is not more charming or prominent than the *vācyārtha* (expressed sense). The *avara* (or *adhama kāvya*) is devoid of any distinct suggested sense.

The new doctrine of *dhvani* (suggestion, the suggested meaning) enunciated by Ānandavardhana and ably supported by Abhinavagupta and adopted by Mammata, in his famous *Kāvya prakāśa*, won a dominant position in Sanskrit poetics. The *vyāñjanā vṛtti* was stoutly opposed by Dhānīka in his *Kāvya nīṭaya*. He advocated the cause of *tātparyā vṛtti* (Signification or Purport). Bhoja identified *dhvani* (suggestion) with *tātparyā* : '*tātparyāmeva vacasi dhvanireva kāvye /*

What is called in common parlance purport (or signification) is called *dhvani* (suggestion, suggested sense) in poetry.

Mahimabhaṭṭa rejects *vyāñjanā vṛtti* outright and asserts that *anumiti* (Inference) could easily account for what was explained by *vyāñjanā*. He however, frankly declares that he has no difference of opinion with Ānandavardhana on the issue that *rasādi* (*rasa*, *bhāva* and the like) constitutes the soul of poetry :

Kāvyaśyātmanī samjñīni rasādi-rūpe na kasyacidvimatih /

Abhinava's Concept of Nāṭya :

Bharata in the opening chapter of his *NŚ* called *Nāṭyotpatti*, has four verses describing the essential nature of *nāṭya*. When the demons complain to Brahmā that the play staged in heaven shows them in a bad light he replies that the drama is absolutely fair and impartial to both the gods and the demons : "In the (said) play neither you nor the gods are exclusively presented. The *nāṭya* is a re-narration (*anukīrtana*) of the (various) states (of mind) or emotions (*bhāvas*) experienced by man all over."¹⁴

Further on Brahmā says : "I have created this *nāṭya* which holds up a mirror to (*anukarṇa*) the actions and behaviour of the people it deals with (lit. is endowed with) the various states of mind and consists of the various states or conditions (of happiness and misery)."¹⁵

"You should not therefore, O demons, get angry with gods. For this *nāṭya* is only an imitation (*anukarṇa*) of the seven islands i.e. of the whole world."¹⁶

"When human nature with its happiness and misery is depicted (in a dramatic work) and presented (before the spectators or audience) by means of acting through gestures and the like (viz., words, costume and manifestation

of involuntary states like perspiration, horripilation, etc.,) it is called *nāṭya*.¹⁷

This very verse is further on repeated in *Daśarūpakavidhāna*.

Now, Bharata did not feel the need to explain the terms *nāṭya*, *anukarāṇa* and *anukīrtana* he used in his definitions or description of the essential nature of drama. Abhinava takes upon himself this task—he being his commentator. In the course of his exposition he not only expands Bharata's ideas but also brings in his own ideas, which are rather difficult and philosophic.¹⁹ The exposition of the significance of the technical terms *nāṭya*, *anukarāṇa* and *anukīrtana* after Abhinava will attest to the truth of this statement.

(i) *Nāṭya* :-

Now there are quite a few passages in *A.Bh.* which deal with the essential nature of drama and thus shed abundant light on Abhinava's concept of *nāṭya*. The following are some of such passages freely translated in English :

1. A drama (*nāṭya*) is a thing which is totally different (*vyatirikta*) from worldly things (*laukika padārtha*) and also different from such things as their (worldly things') imitation (*anukāra*), reflection (*pratibimba*), picture or painting (*ālekhyā*), resemblance (*sādharmya*), superimposition (*āropa*), determination (*adhyavasāya*), fancy (*utpreksā*), dream (*svapna*), an illusion or a phantom or unreal apparition (*māyā*), jugglery (*indrajāla*) and the like. So far as the sensitive and sympathetic spectator (*tad-grāhaka*, 'tad' standing for the drama) is concerned, it is essentially *rasa*. This *rasa* can be perceived (or cognised) by direct experience (*saṁvedana*) in the form of aesthetic relish or enjoyment (*āsvadana*) which is entirely distinct and different from right knowledge (*samyag-jñāna*), erroneous knowledge (*bhrānti*, e.g., mistaking a pearl oyster for silver), doubt (*saṁśaya*), non-ascertainment (*anavadhāraṇa*), non-determination (*anadhyavasāya*) and worldly knowledge (*vijñāna*).²⁰
2. (The context : In the first ever drama, staged in heaven, the *daityas*, demons, were shown as suffering a defeat at the hands of the gods. On their complaint Brahmā pacifies them saying : the gods and demons depicted in the drama were not the real ones. The real ones exist outside the drama, the theatre, free from any anxiety or trouble. The gods and the demons which the sensitive spectators see on the stage are, in fact, in their idealised or generalised or universalised form.) When the sensitive spectators watch them on the stage, says Abhinava, they are not seen as the real ones (*na tattvena dhīḥ*), they are not seen as resembling one another (*sādrśya*) as in the case of twins; they do not mistake them for real gods and real demons through erroneous knowledge (*bhrānti*) as in the case of a pearl-oyster for silver; they do not see them as superimposed as one would do in the case of a Vāhika (an inhabitant of Punjab) and a bull ' - Vāhika is a bull' (*āropa*); they do not fancy them to be as it were the gods

and demons as one would fancy the face of his beloved as the moon (*utprekṣā*); they do not see them to be their picture (*citra*) or model (*ālekhyā*); they do not see them as imitation as in the case of pupils who repeat or reproduce the instruction given to them by their preceptor (*guru-sīṣya* - *vyākhyā-hevāka*); they do not see them as suddenly created as in magic (*indrajāla*); they do not see them as appearances effected by tricks as in sleight of hand (*hasta-lāghavādi māyā*) etc. In all these cases there is indeed, a lack of universalisation (*asādhāranatā*), the spectators being in a state of indifference (*audāsīnya*) will not be able to enjoy aesthetic pleasure (*rasa*).²¹

3. This passage occurs in *A.Bh.*²² Its lucid translation by Masson and Patwardhan deserves to be reproduced here.

"A drama is a matter (*artha*) that is to be steadily (*nīscala*) cognised (*adhyavaseya*) by a profoundly concentrated mind (*ekaghanamānasa*), which is undergoing a direct experience (*sākṣātkārayamāna*), lit. a matter which behaves like, i.e., is as vivid as a direct experience (of the incidents presented) due to the power of the actor's acting. It is revealed by means of one or another of the various kinds of dramatic poetry (*kāvyaविशेषा*, such as the *Nāṭaka* (*Prakaraṇa*) etc. Although this matter consists of an endless number of *vibhāvas*, etc., nonetheless because all insentient objects (*jada*) ultimately end up in being perceived (by some sentient being), and because the perception (of insentient objects) terminates in the perceiver (*bhoktarī*) and because all the perceivers (in a drama) terminate in the chief perceiver (i.e., the major character); therefore the nature of this matter is a permanent mental mood that belongs to a particular perceiver known as the "hero"²³

Abhinava then goes on to explain how through the process of universalisation (*sādhāranīkaraṇa*) and because of the identification (*tādātmya*) of the spectators with the universalised (*sthāyibhāva*) (permanent mental mood or emotion) and because it is apprehended by aesthetic enjoyment (*rasanā*), which consists in aesthetic repose, whose nature is the unobstructed apprehension (*sāmvedana*) of one's own pure consciousness, it is called by the name of *rasa*. And so *rasa itself is nāṭya* (drama) (*tena rasa eva nāṭyam*)²⁴

Abhinava then briefly refers to the view of others (*anye*)²⁵. These others are most probably the followers of the *Sāṃkhya*s, according to whom the drama is a combination (*sāmagrī*), of i.e., consists of things like *abhinaya* (i.e. *anubhāvas*), the consequents, etc. (*ādī*). 'Ādi' includes the *vibhāvas*, the determinants, and the *vyabhicāribhāvas*, the transitory states, which are *bahir-dṛśyamāna* i.e., external and visible to the eye. The 'nāṭya' is etymologically explained as 'nāṭasya karma nāṭyam'. The

nata-karma (or *vyāpāra*) covers the whole gamut of acting (*abhinaya*). Keeping this in mind they say : 'rasas proceed from drama.'

(ii) Anukarāṇa :-

The words *anukarāṇa*, *anukṛti*, *anukāra* are synonyms. *Anukarāṇa* or *anukṛti* is derived from *anu* + *√kr* (meaning 1. 'to do afterwards', to follow in doing. 2. to imitate, copy). *Anukarāṇa* therefore means 'imitation'. Bharata himself, who uses the term in defining *nāṭya*, has not explained his concept of *anukarāṇa*. It is first explained by Bhaṭṭa Tauta in his work on poetics called *Kāvya-kautuka*. This work, however, is lost. Bhaṭṭa Tauta was Abhinava's teacher. In refuting Śaṅkuka's twin concepts of *anukarāṇa* and *anumiti*, employed in explaining *rasa-sūtra*, Abhinava has reproduced his teacher's criticism showing thereby that he too is in agreement with him.²⁶

To understand and appreciate the concept of *anukarāṇa* and its refutation by Bhaṭṭa Tauta (and Abhinavagupta) the reader is referred to the whole discussion in the A.Bh.²⁷

The article 'Śaṅkuka - A Defence' by R. B. Patankar²⁸ may be also read with profit for a clearer understanding of Śaṅkuka's position. Here only some of the arguments based on *anukarāṇa* are briefly mentioned.

1. To say that one thing is an imitation of another, you must have some proof. Thus the actually perceived drinking of water or milk (*payahpāna*) can be taken to be an imitation of the perceived drinking of the wine (*surāpāna*).
2. Only if one has experienced the original (*mukhyāvalokana*) can one recognise its imitation. But none has had a prior experience, say of Rāma's *rati*. How can then anyone claim that the actor is imitating Rāma's *rati* ?
3. When the spectator perceives the actor and says 'he is Rāma', it should be taken as a true perception or cognition, if it is not disproved at a later stage; if it is so proved to be false, it should be regarded as a false cognition (*mithyā-jñāna*). In fact, however, even if no invalidating cognition appears, it will always be a kind of false cognition.
4. If 'to imitate' is taken to mean to do something which is like the original (*sadṛśakarāṇa*), and if the original be not available to the actor, how on earth, can he imitate ? If 'to imitate' is taken to mean as 'following after', 'doing something after something else' (*paścātakarāṇa*) such imitation would extend to our everyday life as well. (In other words, if *anukarāṇa* is understood this way, there is *anukarāṇa* everytime someone does something which has already been done by someone else !)
5. It is true Bharata has said 'Drama is an *anukarāṇa* (imitation) of (all the things and peoples in) the seven islands (i.e., the whole world).' Here

anukarāṇa is not to be interpreted as an imitation. It is to be interpreted thus : Drama shows the various people and the various things we find in our day-to-day life.

(iii) **Anukīrtana :-**

As stated earlier under Abhinava's concept of *nāṭya*, when the demons complain that the play performed in heaven shows them in a bad light, Brahmā with a view to pacifying their anger says :

In the drama, neither you nor the gods are exclusively (*ekāntataḥ*) depicted. The drama is an *anukīrtana* - an imitation of the emotions or things (*bhāvas*) in all the three worlds.

Now what is the precise meaning of the term *anukīrtana* ? It is generally rendered in English as 'imitation' or retelling or renarration. The Sanskrit term *anukarāṇa* or *anukṛti* is also rendered as 'imitation', as we have already seen.

The word '*anukīrtana*' comes from *anu* + *√kīrt* which means to relate after or in order, to narrate, to tell, to repeat. So it literally means 'retelling' or 'renarration'.

Abhinava, who is a great philosopher and an ingenious and innovative commentator, while interpreting the concept of drama brings in his own original ideas and interprets Bharata's words *anukarāṇa* and *anukīrtana* in the sense of a re-perception (*anu-vyavasāya, anuvyavasāyaviśeṣa*)

Now, the term *anuvyavasāya* properly belongs to logic. It is thus explained :

"Perceptive knowledge according to Nyāya is acquired by going through three successive steps, viz., *indriya-sannikarṣa, jñāna* and *anuvyavasāya*. When an object like a jar is brought before us our organ of sight first comes into contact with it, and carries an image of the object to the mind which conveys it to the soul. This organ is called *pratyakṣa-pramāṇa*, efficient cause of perception. This image is then converted into a cognition *buddhi* having the form '*ayam ghaṭaḥ*' 'this is a jar'. This cognition (*ghaṭa-jñāna*) again being a property of the soul, the Ego becomes *ghaṭa-jñānavān*, which when combined with the ever present *ahamkāra* 'I am' results into the compound consciousness, '*ghaṭajñānavānahamasmi*' or '*ghaṭam aham jānāmi*' 'I know a jar'. This last consciousness is called '*anuvyavasāya*' because it always follows '*vyavasāya*' or simple cognition. Hence the cognition 'This is a jar' (*ayam ghaṭaḥ*) is said to become the subject matter of the consciousness 'I know'.... The definition thus states a peculiar doctrine of Nyāya."²⁹

This *anuvyavasāya* is, says Abhinava, like a direct perception (*pratyakṣakalpa*)³⁰. It is not a replica of reality but aesthetic re-perception of the facts of our everyday life. He unambiguously declares : '*idam anukīrtanam*

anuvyavasāya-viśeṣo nāṭyāpara-paryāyah nānukāra iti bhramatavyam (The meaning of the term *anukīrtana*, lit. renarration, found in the verse is a particular re-perception; the word *nāṭya*, Drama, is only a synonym for it. We should not mistake *anukīrtana* to mean *anukāra*, imitation. Abhinava explains, how there is no place for *anukāra* whether *niyatānukāra* or *aniyatānukāra* imitation of specific things or of indefinite or non-specific things.

So Abhinava says : 'Drama is then a matter of cognition by a special form of re-perception (*anuvyavasāya*)³¹.

Abhinava further explains the nature of the re-perception. It is also called by other names like *rasana* (tasting), *āsvādana* (enjoying), *camatkāra*, *carvaṇa* (relishing), *nirveśa* (immersion), *bhoga* (enjoyment), etc. Although this re-perception consists in the light (*prakāśa*) and *ānanda* (bliss) of our own consciousness, is affected or coloured (*ruṣita*) by various mental states and is therefore varied (*vicitra*). Drama is only what appears in this re-perception.

In conclusion, Abhinava says : Drama is only a re-perception (*anuvyavasāyatmakam kīrtanam*), a form of consciousness (*sarṁvedanam*) affected or coloured by discursive cognitions (*ruṣita-vikalpa-sarṁvedana*). Re-perception is consciousness of perceptive knowledge, and not a form of imitation. If, however, you say that it is an imitation or reproduction in the sense that it follows the doings of real ordinary life, there is no harm. When the two things - *anukīrtana* and *anukarāṇa* - are known to be quite distinct there is no harm if instead of *anukīrtana* (re-perception) the word *anukarāṇa* (imitation or reproduction) is employed.³²

***Kāvyaṁ ca nāṭyaṁ eva* : Poetry is Drama**

Kāvya is divided into two classes : *drśya* or *prekṣya* and *śravya*. The former is *abhineya*, the latter *anabhineya*. Thus poetry is not enacted but only read and heard whereas drama is enacted and seen. *Rasa* is common to both *kāvya* and *nāṭya* and *sahṛdayas*, sensitive and sympathetic readers and spectators, enjoy *rasa* when they read poetry or witness a play being enacted. A drama appeals to the ear and is a spectacle to delight the eyes, whereas a poem appeals to the ear only. Aesthetic pleasure at its highest is possible, says Abhinava, only in a larger literary work (*prabandha*). And that is, in fact, only possible in the ten types of drama. In support of his statement he quotes Vāmana : '*Sandarbheshu tṛṣa-rūpakam śreyah | taddhi citram citrapaṭavadviśeṣa-sākalyāt |*'³³

"Among the larger works the ten types of drama are the most praiseworthy - in other words, the drama is the best, the finest of all forms of creative literature. The perfection of literary composition. 'For it is variegated and hence complete or full and wonderful like a picture.'"

While commenting on '*tasmān nāṭyarasāḥ smṛtāḥ*' (NS VI. 33.d) Abhinava

says : *Rasas* arise from drama, which is a combination of *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and the like.) Or we may say that *rasas* are nothing other than drama. For a drama is only a collection of *rasas*. *Rasas* are only found in the drama. When *kāvya* acts like a drama (on the stage of reader's mind) *rasa* is also found in *kāvya*. Our respected teacher (Bhaṭṭa Tauta) says : '*rasa* arises in a *kāvya* if we see things as if they were taking place before our very eyes. As he says in his *Kavyakautuka* :

"In a *kāvya* that is not enacted, it is not possible to have full aesthetic pleasure. When things like a garden, a beautiful woman, the moon, etc. are vividly and elegantly described by a sparkling imagination then they appear as if they were happening before our very eyes."

Others (*anye*) however, say that there is aesthetic pleasure even in *kāvya* because of the exceeding beauty produced by excellences (*guṇas*) and figures of speech (*alankāras*).

Abhinava, however, says : "*kāvya* is primarily only drama (lit. nothing but the ten types of drama). Aesthetic pleasure is fully realized by means of appropriate language *vṛtti* (style), *kāku* (intonation), *naipathya* (dress, costume), and the like. But in epics (*sargabandha*) etc. we find inappropriate things like the heroine speaking in Sanskrit (instead of Prakrit). Because of the presence of other charming things in the epic, etc. such inappropriate things do not appear glaringly as a defect. ...Therefore *rasas* are found only in drama and not in our day-to-day world. And *kāvya* is nothing other than drama.³⁴

In other words, according to Abhinava, there is little difference between poetry and drama. The little difference is : In poetry because of the poet's vivid description, the *vibhāvas* etc., which generate *rasa*, appear to a *sahṛdaya* (sensitive and sympathetic reader) most clearly *as if* he was witnessing them before his very eyes, *pratyakṣa-sākṣātkāra-kalpa*; but in drama, when it is enacted (by gifted actors), the *sahṛdaya*' spectator directly witnesses them (the *vibhāvas* etc.) *pratyakṣa-sākṣātkāra*.

Notes and References

1. *Dhvanyaloka* of Ānandavardhana (*Dhv.*): ed. with the *Locana* of Abhinavagupta (Abhinava) and the *Bālapriyā* of Rāmaśāraka by Pattabhirama Shastri, Haridāsa Sanskrit Series, No. 135, Benares, 1940.
2. *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata-muni (*NŚ*) with the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* (*A.Bh*) by Abhinavagupta, Chapters 1-7, Vol. I, ed. K. Krishnamoorthy, 4th edition, Oriental Institute, Vadodara, 1992.
3. *Outline of Abhinavagupta's Aesthetics*, V. M. Kulkarni, Saraswati Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad - 380001, 1998.

4. *Dhv.* I. 1.
5. *Dhv.* I. p. 22 : सहृदयहृदयाह्लादिशब्दार्थमयत्वमेव काव्यलक्षणम् ।
6. Cf. *Locana*, p. 37 : न हि 'सिंहो ब्रुः' 'गङ्गायां घोषः' इत्यत्र रम्यता काचित् ।
7. *Locana*, p. 105 : 'चारुत्वप्रतीतिरर्हि काव्यस्यात्मा स्यात्' इति तदङ्गीकुर्म एव ।
नाम्नि खल्वयं विवाद इति । यच्चोक्तम् - 'चारुणः प्रतीतिर्यदि काव्यात्मा प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणादपि सा भवन्ती तथा स्यात्' इति ।
8. *Locana*, p - 433 : चारुरूपं विश्रान्तिस्थानं, तदभावे स व्यञ्जकत्वव्यापारो नैवोन्मीलति, प्रत्यावृत्त्य वाच्य एव विश्रान्तेः क्षणदृष्टनष्टदिव्यविभवप्राकृतपुरुषवत् ।
9. *Locana*, p. 473 : व्यङ्ग्यस्य च चारुत्वं रसाभिव्यक्तियोग्यतात्मकम्, रसस्य स्यात्मनैव विश्रान्तिधाम्न आनन्दात्मकत्वमिति नानवरथा काचिदिति तात्पर्यम् ।
10. *Locana*, p. 105, Vide f.n. 7 above.
11. *Locana*, p. 105 : यच्चोक्तम् चारुणः प्रतीतिर्यदि काव्यात्मा प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणादपि सा भवन्ती तथा स्यात्' इति । तत्र शब्दार्थमयकाव्यात्माभिधानप्रस्तावे क एष प्रसङ्ग इति न किञ्चिदेतत् ।
12. *Locana* p. 85.
13. The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha (Paricchedas I, II, X Arthālamkāras) with exhaustive Notes and *The History of Sanskrit Poetics* by P. V. Kane, 3rd edn. 1951, Pariccheda I. p. 5.
14. नैकान्ततोऽत्र भवतां देवानां चानुभावनम् ।
त्रैलोक्यस्यास्य सर्वस्य नाट्यं भावानुकीर्तनम् ॥
- NS I. 107
15. नानाभावोपसंपन्नं नानावस्थान्तरात्मकम् ।
लोकवृत्तानुकरणं नाट्यमेतन्मया कृतम् ॥
- NS I. 112
16. तन्नात्र मन्युः कर्तव्यो भवद्विरमरान्प्रति ।
सप्तद्वीपानुकरणं नाट्यमेतद्दिविष्यति ॥
- NS I. 117
17. योऽयं स्वभावो लोकस्य सुखदुःखसमन्वितः ।
सोऽङ्गाद्यभिनयोपेतो नाट्यमित्यभिधीयते ॥
- NS I. 119
18. This verse, with one or two variants, is repeated at NS III.19.144.
19. See, for example,
- i. तदिदमनुकीर्तनमनुव्यवसायविशेषो नाट्यापरपर्यायः ।
- ii. तेनानुव्यवसायविशेषविषयीकार्यं नाट्यम् ।
- iii. ... प्रयोक्त्रा दृश्यमानेन योऽनुव्यवसायो जन्यते सुखदुःखाद्याकार-
तत्तच्चित्तवृत्तिरूपरूपितनिजसंविदानन्दप्रकाशमयः अत एव विचित्रो रसनास्यादन-
चमत्कारचर्चणनिर्वेशभोगाद्यपरपर्यायः तत्र यदवभासते वस्तु तन्नाट्यम् ।

iv. तस्मादनुव्यवसायात्मकं कीर्तनं रूपितविकल्पसंवेदनं नाट्यम् । तद्वेदनवेद्यत्वात् । न त्वनुकरणरूपम् ।

- *A.Bh.* I pp. 36-37

20. *A.Bh.* I. p. 3, last para : तत्र नाट्यं नाम लौकिकपदार्थव्यतिरिक्तं...
रसस्वभावमिति वक्ष्यामः। See also f.n. 33
21. *A.Bh.* I. p. 35 तथाहि तेषु न तत्त्वेन धीः । ...द्रष्टुरीदासीन्ये रसास्यादायोगात् ।
22. *A.Bh.* I. p. 260, lines 6-9 : तत्र नाट्यं नाम... भोक्तृविशेषस्थायिचित्तवृत्तिस्वभावः ।
23. See *Aesthetic Rapture* Vol. II, p. 60, f.n. 353.
24. Read *A.Bh.* I, p. 260, last para '*Sā caika-cittavrttiḥ* ...to p. 261, first five lines ending with '*tena rasa eva nāṭyam*'
25. *A.Bh.* I, p. 285 :
अन्ये त्वभिनयादिसामग्रीमयं बहिर्दृश्यमानं नाट्यं नटधर्मः कर्मरूप(? नाट्यं नटकर्मरूप-)मित्याशयेन नाट्याद्रसा इत्याहुः ।
This emendation is first effected by R. P. Kangle (*Rasa-bhāva-vicāra*, p. 199).
Cf. येन त्वभ्यधायि 'सुख-दुःखजननशक्तियुक्ता विषयसामग्री बाह्यैव - साङ्ख्यदृशा सुख-दुःख-स्वभावो रसः - तस्यां च सामान्या...।
(This paragraph occurs on p. 27; it is presented here with slight rearrangement in accordance with Kangle, *ibid* p. 146.)
26. In support of this statement attention of the readers is drawn to the following passage from *Kalpalatāviveka*, by an anonymous author, pub. L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad - 380009 1968, (p. 306).
रसो न प्रतीयत इति रसस्य प्रतीत्यभिव्यक्ती मुख्यतया उत्पत्तिश्लेषचारेण भद्रतोतस्याभिमतता । एष एव च पक्षो यथोपाध्यायं शिष्या इत्याचार्यस्यानुमतोऽत एव च, प्रतीत्यादिव्यतिरिक्तश्च संसारे को भोग इत्यादिना तत्र तत्र रसस्य प्रतीत्यादिकमाचार्यः स्वयं व्यवस्थापापिष्यतीति शङ्कादिमतनिरसनानन्तरमुपाध्यायमतं न प्रदर्शितम् ।
27. *A. Bh.* I. p. 268, para 1 to p. 270, para3 ending with तस्माद्भावानुकरणं रसा इत्यसत् ।
28. This article is published in *Some Aspects of the Rasa Theory*, ed. V. M. Kulkarni, B. L. Institute of Indology, Delhi, 1986.
29. *Tarka-Samgraha of Annambhatta* ed. Y.V. Athalye and M. R. Bodas, Bombay Sanskrit Series No. LV, 1930, BOR Institute Poona - 4, (page 174).
30. *A.Bh.*, I p. 43 :
प्रत्यक्षकल्पानुव्यवसायविषयःलोकस्य सर्वस्य साधारणतया स्वत्वेन भाव्यमानश्चर्यमाणोऽर्थो नाट्यम् ।
31. *A.Bh.* I, p. 37 :
तेनानुव्यवसायविशेषविषयीकार्यं नाट्यम् ।
32. The reader is referred, in this connection, to the translation of *A.Bh.* I 107 (pp.35-37) by R. Gnoli in an Appendix I (pp. 93-101) to his work : *The Aesthetic Experience According To Abhinavagupta*.
33. *A.Bh.* I, p. 281 : संदर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः । तद्विचित्रं चित्रपटवद्विशेषसाकल्यात् इति ।
Kāvya-lamkāra-sūtra-vṛtti of Vāmana, I.3. 30-31.

34. *A.Bh.* I, p. 285 :

वयं तु ब्रूमः काव्यं तावन्मुख्यतो दशरूपकात्मकमेव । ... तेन नाट्य एव रसा न लोक इत्यर्थः ।
काव्यञ्च नाट्यमेव ।

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10. *Outline of Abhinavagupta's Aesthetics*, V. M. Kulkarni, Saraswati Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad - 380 001, 1998.
11. *Rasagāṅgādhara of Paṇḍitaraja Jagannātha* (Mar.), Vol. I. by Prof. R. B. Athavale, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, 1953,
Rasa-bhāva-vicāra, (*Nāṭyaśāstra* with *Abhinavabhāratī*, Ch. s. VI + VII (Translation in *Marathi*), Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya Sanskriti Mandal, Mumbai, 1973.
12. *Some Aspects of the Rasa Theory*, ed. V. M. Kulkarni B. L. Institute of Indology, Delhi, 1986.
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14. *The Sanskrit Drama*, A. B. Keith, Oxford University Press, 1964.

YAJÑĀ AND PŪJĀ -

A COMPARISON OF THE RITUAL ARCHETYPES

NATALIA R. LIDOVA

The correlation between *yajñā* and *pūjā* may well be one of the most complicated problems in Indology. *Yajñā* and *pūjā* are known to have been mutually counterposed in the Indian tradition. At any rate, they were topical in different periods of its evolution. *Yajñā* held pride of place as a solemn rite in the Vedic time, while *pūjā* became widespread in the post-Vedic era to become the central ritual of Hinduism. Many scholars cling to the idea of a Vedic origin of *pūjā*, regarding it as a *yajñā* which went through specific transformations, though no substantiated explanations of these supposed changes have yet appeared.¹ Perhaps, the only attempt of this kind was made by J.A.B. van Buitenen², who hypothetically traced *pūjā* to the *Pravargya*, a Vedic ritual which precluded the *soma* offering. Based on a similarity of the purely external aspects of ritualism, his concept failed to win broad recognition but, on the contrary, was subject to ample and well-deserved criticisms.³

As we can assume, *yajñā* and *pūjā* coexisted within one Vedic culture as two rituals mutually equal in status, and the mid-1st millennium B.C. merely started to gradually oust the former and give a dominant position to the latter. This assumption, however, clashes with one simple fact : *pūjā* is not described in any ritual monument of the Vedic era, which means that this type of adoration was perfectly alien to the Vedic-Brahmanic ritualism. More than that, the root "*pūj*"⁴ extremely rarely occurs in the Vedic monuments - in one *Rgvedic* hymn (*RV.VIII. 17.12*) and on several instances in the later Vedic monuments, in particular, the *Āśvalāyana*-and the *Śāṅkhyāyana-grhyasūtras*. Descriptions of *pūjā* appear in monuments from quite a different time - medieval ritual texts whose names vary from one particular Hindu confession to another. Their most generalized name, the *Āgamas*, reflects a terminological delineation offered by tradition itself, with whatever that pertained to the Vedic-Brahmanic religion in its orthodox variety known as the *Nigama*, while the ritualistic system which emerged on the basis of *pūjā* was termed the *Āgama*⁵. However approximate the dating of *Āgamic* texts may be, the oldest of these had not emerged before the 4th-5th century A.D.⁶ These texts have recorded already rather advanced stage of development of the *pūjā* cult, the first mentions about which concern to much earlier epoch - the middle of the first millennium B.C. We can state that

one of the first-ever detailed descriptions of *pūjā* was saved in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, treatise on theatrical arts forming on stretch of centuries and existing as the canonical text already in the 1st-2nd century A.D.⁷ Not staying here on a problem why just the specialized treatise on a drama has saved one of the most ancient descriptions of *pūjā*, we shall concentrate our attention on other major problem : Whether *yajñā* and *pūjā* were genetically linked or were rituals totally independent of each other.

Above, we noted the attempts to compare *yajñā* and *pūjā*. Some emphasized the similarities between the two, others brought out the differences. Irrespective of this, they all proceeded from comparisons between the outward aspects of the ritual practice, with extremely vague results. More than that, there was a sophisticated religious system behind each of these two rituals, with a multitude of rites, some of them much differing between themselves. It was impossible to compare all rites without exception, while a selective comparison was not representative enough.

A comparison of rituals appears to be destined for success only if it proceeds from a specific methodological approach which allows to compare not the outward aspects of rites but ritual principles underlying them. Here, our task is reduced to the identification of what we may conventionally term the "ritual archetype" at the basis of *yajñā* and *pūjā*. As I see it, the most salient features of a ritual archetype are determined by three principal aspects, which can be put into the form of three queries. The first, "Where?", pertains to the arrangement of the ritual space; the second, "How?", to the type of the offering; the third, "What for?", describes the ritual goals of the worship.

To bring out the ritual archetype of *yajñā*, I proceeded from the *Brāhmaṇas* which characterized the principal conceptual bases of the Vedic ritualism, as well as the *Śrauta*-and *Śulba-sūtras* which contained essential technical details of the actual ritual. The ritual archetype of *pūjā* was reconstrued on the basis of ritualistic chapters in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Sāttvata Saṃhitā*, which preserved testimony of the ritualism of the *Pāñcarātra*, considered the oldest form of the *Vaiṣṇava* religion, and the *Saiva Āgamas* - the *Ajīta*, the *Raurava* and the *Mrgendra* (this latter being one of the so-called *Upa-Āgamas*).

The arrangement of the ritual space

As we know, the Vedic cult had no temples, with all rites performed in the open. The altar, the principal ritual structure, was erected in a painstakingly chosen grass-grown lawn with a level surface (*ŚBr.* 1.2.11-17; *TBr.* III. 2.9.1-12)⁸. Despite the vast diversity of their shapes, the Vedic altars were practically similar in their structural aspect. The lower platform, known as *vedi* – the altar proper – was a slightly elevated area shaped as a bird, a tortoise or a geometrical figure, depending on the rite for which it was intended. It was large enough to hold the priests who performed the ritual

and the *yajamāna*, sacrificer. According to the *Śulba-sūtras*, this area was smoothed out before the *vedi* was made (*BauŚS.* 1.2-1.13; *ĀpŚS.* 1.2-1.7)⁹. Next, a geometrical figure repeating the outline of the future altar was drawn on the ground with the utmost precision. This was one of the crucial moments, as the task was not merely to observe the prescribed shape and size but to orient it on a chosen cardinal point—most often, east. Next came the actual construction of the altar with several tiers of bricks imposed on each other to repeat the drawn figure as precisely as possible. On this elevation was placed another altar, *agni*, intended to carry the fire. Also made of brick, this altar was far smaller, and occupied only a tiny part of the *vedi*. As a rule, several *agni* altars were built on one large *vedi*, all different in shape and function (*ŚBr.* 7.1.1.1-37).

In the elaborate semantics of the altar, the combination of the *vedi* and the *agni* represented the unity of the male and the female elements as their conjunction, with its mighty fertilizing power, was represented at a formal structural level. With this, the very arrangement of the altar was to impart a unique creative power to the ritual (*ŚBr.* 1.2.5.15). This was all the more important since the altar was erected with the one express purpose to ensure direct contacts between the worlds of gods and mortals, build an invisible sacral channel which would translate the sacrifice into the world of gods. As Vedic monuments testify, the altar in this act represented the terrestrial world and the earth as such. The *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* says: "As large as the altar is so large is the earth." (*ŚBr.* 1.3.3.9; III.7.2.1). The *Taittirīya-Brahmaṇa* makes a similar statement (*TBr.* III.2.9.12). These same *Brahmaṇas* contain a direct identification of the altar with the earth (*ŚBr.* IX. 4.2.3; *TBr.* III.3.6.2). This identification is of tremendous importance since the earth was merely one zone of the threefold Vedic universe, which consisted of the terrestrial, aerial and celestial spheres.¹⁰ In this, there was no place more sacred in the terrestrial world than the altar—its centre, a kind of navel which connected the micro- and macrocosmos. This aspect deserves special notice because the fact that the altar represented only one part of the triune universe - the one linked closer than any other with the human world - is of essential importance for our comparison between rituals.

Rites of *pūjā* type used a *maṇḍala* instead of an altar to arrange the ritual space¹¹. *Viṣṇuite* and *Śivaite* texts, which reflect a fully developed cult, present the *maṇḍalas* as sophisticated ritual diagrams containing a great number of symbolic elements (*Raur.* XIX.1-7; *Mrg.* VIII.46-52)¹². The *maṇḍala* described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is far simpler, though without an essential difference from the later *maṇḍalas* (*NS.* 3.20-22; 5.65-77). More than that, its clear and precise structure makes it possible to view this *maṇḍala* as a classical instance. A circle which limited the ritual space, the centre—the abode of the supreme deity, and a vertical axis were the basic elements of the *maṇḍala*¹³.

Though the symbolism of the circle with an emphasized centre and a vertical axis belongs to the oldest—possibly, original—cult ideas known by the human race, and has been found in many cultures devoid of any mutual connections, the *maṇḍala* as magic circle was totally unknown in the Vedic ritualism, and there are no ritual texts of the Vedic era to contain its description. A very tentative hypothesis that requires ample related studies may be advanced here : the assumption that the origins of the *maṇḍala* are to be looked for in the graphic representation of the circle which preceded the erection of circular Vedic altars. As far as we can judge by Śulba-sūtras, the altars themselves, circular or shaped as a chariot, had another name, while the preparatory circle was termed “*maṇḍala*” in an overwhelming majority of instances.¹⁴ To bear out our assumption, the Vedic and the Āgamic monuments present the rites preceding the drawing of the *maṇḍala* as practically similar. A level ground area was selected and cleared of everything redundant. Then it was evened out, and on many occasions ploughed, after which the *maṇḍala* was drawn on the ground. This, however, exhausted the similarity between the Vedic and the Āgamic *maṇḍalas*, because the culture of *pūjā* advanced the *maṇḍala* circle as the basic cosmological symbol, while *yajña* cult viewed it as a mere technical element and never made independent ritual use of it. Of pivotal importance is the fact that the *maṇḍala* used in *pūjā* did not merely replace the Vedic altar. This is borne out not so much by their outward difference as by the essential difference between their semantics. As we have just pointed out, the Vedic altar represented only the earth, while the *maṇḍala* symbolized the entire Universe. Its circle stood for the visible borderline of Cosmos, the centre coincided with the centre of the Universe, while the vertical represented the symbolical universal axis and the arbor mundi at the same time. The border of the *maṇḍala* - a regular closed line with no beginning or end, not merely emphasized the inner space viewed as the ideal Cosmos contrasted to the outward chaos but started a potentially infinite circular movement which embodied the idea of eternity and totality. Though the trespassing of the *maṇḍala* circle was expressly prohibited it had ruptures known as the doors (*dvāra*) in precisely determined points, which allowed access to the inner space (*NS.* 3.21; *Mrg.* VIII.36,48,50). The movement within the *maṇḍala* was also far from free but confined to the *vīthi*, “streets”, and arranged in such a way as to have the centre of the *maṇḍala* always to one’s right (*Mrg.* VIII. 29). Thus the worshippers who entered the *maṇḍala* had to make endless *pradakṣiṇās*, skirting its symbolical centre in solemn circular movements.

As they treated the *maṇḍala* as a model of the Universe, the Āgamic monuments ordered it precisely oriented on the four cardinal points (*NS.* 3.21; 5.95-97; *Mrg.* VIII. 51), which was thoroughly alien to the Vedic altar, oriented on the east. The points on the circle which corresponded to the cardinal and midway points were the holiest, and guarded by the *Lokapālas*,

divine patrons of the cardinal points. There was, however, no point in the *maṇḍala* more sacral than its centre, identified with the centre of the Universe and viewed as the abode of the supreme god (*NS.* 1.94; 3.23; 5.74; *Aj.* XXVII. 39-53; 64-90; *Mrg.* VIII. 35-36). It was there that his image or symbol was placed, and the worshippers directed their aspirations to this point.

Post-Vedic culture made the *maṇḍala* the basic structure-building symbol, used to arrange all kinds of sacral space viewed as an integrated Cosmos created round a predetermined centre.¹⁵ The Vedic culture knew no temples. Their emergence and sweeping spread in the Hindu era is now interpreted by scholars as the pivotal difference between *yajñā* and *pūjā* ritualism, now as a natural evolution of the idea of the Vedic altar.¹⁶ This particular context makes it **essentially** important that the construction of any Hindu temple was directly linked to the *maṇḍala*¹⁷. An invisible *maṇḍala* lay at the foundation of the temple and was used as schematic representation of Cosmos on a horizontal plane, while the temple unfolded it vertically like the sacrificial pillar. It is of tremendous importance that the temple succeeded to the sacral content of the *maṇḍala* as image of the Universe, and so differed from the Vedic altar not only in architecture but semantics.

However much more complicated that the *maṇḍala* the temple may have been in its structural aspect, their liturgical function was similar. Just as in the centre of the *maṇḍala*, an effigy of the deity viewed as supreme by each particular confession was placed in the centre of the inward templar space, with the *Lokapālas* and other deities of the pantheon arranged on the cardinal and midway points (*NS.* 3.23-32; *Aj.* 39. 1-3; *Raur.* 33. 1-2). The *pradakṣiṇās*, too, were made round the supreme god in the temple as in the *maṇḍala*.

As we can conclude from all this, *pūjā* rituals accepted a way thoroughly different from the Vedic to arrange the ritual space modelled with the help of the *maṇḍala* or the temple. No less important, this sacral space embodied thoroughly different ritual ideas.

The type of the offering

From the question, "Where?", we ought to proceed to the "How?" and analyze the type to sacrifice in *yajñā* and *pūjā* rituals. The Vedic religion, based on fire worship, brought its offerings only by burning. The long ritual activities of the Vedic priests had a preparatory nature, framing the central event when the fire was kindled on the altar, and the offering put into it - usually milk, melted butter or grain.¹⁸ Animals were also sacrificed in many rituals, with the meat cut on one of the altars (*ŚBr.* III.7.3. 1-13). The *soma*, however, was the principal and universal embodiment of sacrificial offering in the Vedic era. The most secret and sacral instants of the service in the solemn Vedic rites came when the plant was brought to the sacred site,

its juice squeezed and diluted, and then poured into the fire. (*ŚBr.* II. 4.4.11-16).

When we discuss the typology of *yajña* sacrifices, we cannot but notice that it is characteristic of many non-iconic cults within the various religious traditions of ancient world. As we know, the Vedic religion did not recognise effigies of deities. Though particular anthropomorphous features were imparted to certain members of the Vedic pantheon - suffice it to mention the Golden Arms of Savitar - this does not imply that their statues or symbols were used in the ritual. The gods were ideal presences at the altar: unseen substances who attended the sacrificial worship. As they started *yajña*, Brahmins invoked the gods to come down to the terrestrial world and occupy their places on the altar. As I see it, the very absence of divine effigies determined the pivotal features of the sacrifice. A physically palpable offering, with its earthly fleshly quality, could not be presented to the unseen gods, so it had to be stripped of flesh and turn into a sacrificial substance or quintessence which would shed a greater part of its earthly properties and acquire properties of the divine world. To this demand fire owed its exceptionally elevated status. Only a physically destroyed offering, wholly devoured by *agni's* flames, could embody a gift complete and irretrievable. Becoming invisible as it left the earthly world with the smoke rising over the fire, this offering reached the gods to feed and please them. As an earthly god, Agni was, on the one hand, close to the human world, while on the other, he was part of the world of gods due to his divine nature. This, and his ability to transform the offering, determined the mission of Agni as an intermediary who delivered earthly gifts to the divine world. "Agni having become a horse carries the sacrifice to the Gods," says the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* (*ŚBr.* I.4.1.30). Vedic theology ascribed an universal scope to the dualism of fire and sacrifice, which determined the most esoteric premises of the religion.

In *pūjā* rituals, the sacrifice of flowers, incense, food and water was usually offered without fire as intermediary. The offerings were merely piled at the foot of a statue of a god or an object symbolizing him, for instance, the *kumbha* vessel (*NS.* 3.33-44; 5.102-103; *Aj.* XXVII. 112-150; *Mrg.* III. 1-54). Animal sacrifices, with their bloodshed, were totally absent. No references to *soma* can be found, either, while the solemn Vedic rituals revolved round manipulations with it.

As I see it, the difference of sacrifices in the analyzed rites was directly rooted in the fact that *yajña* was a non-iconic cult, while *pūjā* embodied the adoration of a visible images of god. It may appear not so important, at first sight, whether one brings an offering to an unseen god or his worshipped image. In essence, however, this aspect determines two thoroughly different paradigms of the ritual mentality. In this sense, the presence or absence of an effigy of god may be regarded as the heart of the matter, not merely interconnected with the pivotal qualities of the ritual archetype but something

that determines these qualities. Let us analyze practical manifestations of this theoretical premise. The absence of images of the divinity in the Vedic cult dramatically bloated the importance of intermediaries between the divine and human worlds. These were, first of all, the Brahmins, who performed the ritual and, due to their closeness to the suprapersonal world, acquired a divine status.

Despite all the holiness of the altar, to which only the sacrificer was admitted with his small retinue alongside the priests, this altar was, nevertheless, part of the earthly world. So it took specially trained Brahmins to call divine attention to it and invoke the gods to actually attend at the crucial time of sacrifice. Their mediation ensured the very chance of the *yajamāna*'s contact with gods. Through them alone could he appeal to the gods for a reward.¹⁹ As we pointed out, the invisibility of gods made Agni another and no less indispensable go-between. That quality of god which defied his visual representation was logically connected with the type of sacrifice. In the final analysis, the Vedic religion owed its extreme esotericism to this quality.

In *pūjā* rituals, the sacral space—whether the *maṇḍala* or the temple—was seen as the macrocosmos which reflected the universal order, with every deity having a place of his own. The images of gods placed at certain points of the ritual space according to the sacral hierarchy were in this sense, visible expressions of the universal order and harmony. At the same time, these images elevated the ritual onto a higher plane as they produced the impression of a visible presence of gods. Unlike the Vedic altar, which only the chosen few could ascend through doors which symbolized the points of the Universe and opened into the human world, the Hindu temple could be attended by all the faithful without exception. The space which they entered was regarded as the abode of gods, and its statues as actual deities. Doubtless, the contemplation of gods deeply moved the congregation. A worshipper's communion with a visible god did not demand Brahmins as intermediaries as each could bring him a prayer from his heart and make his individual supplication. In the final analysis, this very factor was the basis of later concepts which presupposed thoroughly personal communion with the deity.

Unlike the Vedic Brahmins, regarded as earthly gods possessing an exceptional right of communion with the divine world, the priests who performed *pūjā* never aspired to this elevated sacral status. They were mere professionals well-versed in all the performing subtleties of their ritual. At the time by which the structure of *pūjā* had taken its final shape, their mission was reduced to serving the statues of gods—waking them in the morning, dressing and adorning them, and their entertainment. The sacrificial offering was only one, though the crucial, part of this vast ritual. The sacrifice was interpreted as feeding. Comparatively simple, it did not require the mediation of fire. Viands, water and fruit were piled at the foot of divine effigies according to a set

of simple rules. Whatever did not require cooking on fire was put to the left hand of the god, while boiled dishes - usually several kinds of porridge - were laid on the right. It was, however, flowers which became an universal equivalent of the pious offering and symbol of *pūjā*. They were sacrificed in every ceremony: In the Vedic ritualism, on the contrary, flowers were never regarded as an offering proper, while garlands - which only rarely appeared in rituals of *yajña* type - had a more decorative than sacral function.

This comparison makes clearer the difference between the determinant religious paradigms of *yajña* and *pūjā*. The correlation between the sacral status of the god and the offering brought is the pivotal property of these paradigms. The intangible and unseen god demands a fleshless sacrifice as the fire devours it. A god actually present, on the contrary, can be offered a visible and physically palpable gift.

This essentially important difference determined, among other features, the lesser esoteric quality of *pūjā* ritualism, as compared to the Vedic. This ritualism treated gods not as inconceivable substances but as physical entities, immortal by nature but involved in the rotation of time, with its cycles of slumber, wakefulness, dressing, repasts and entertainment. Of these latter, the principal were music, songs and dances (*Raur.* 19.1-8) directly connected with the tradition of ancient Indian theatre and the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

The ritual goals of the worship

Now that we have compared the ritual site and the character of sacrifice, let us analyze the last of the component parts of a ritual archetype we proposed for study - the ritual goals of worship. As we know, the Vedic ritual was always ordered by a particular donor, *yajamāna*, who often immediately participated in this ritual, on his own or with his consort, as the case might be. The *yajamāna* was the starting point of the ritual, which could not take place at all without one. It was the *yajamāna* who hired the Brahmins, paid for the erection of the altar, attended *yajña* from beginning to end, and - what mattered most - gave the Brahmins their *dakṣiṇā* as remuneration for the ritual performed (*ŚBr.* 1.9.1.2). Of major importance was his personal interest in the ritual, and his desire to achieve some practical result or other, which the texts of the *Brāhmaṇas* described as necessary prerequisite for a successful ritual. On the other hand, the *yajamāna*, who was to enjoy all the fruit of such a ritual, was regarded by the *Brāhmaṇas* as the body (*ŚBr.* IX.5.2.16) and the lord (*ŚBr.* XIV.3.1.34; *ABr.* II.26). The performance of a solemn ritual was an extraordinary event in the life of a Vedic *Ārya*, which imposed on him ample duties, among them fasting (*ŚBr.* I.1.1.7-10) and limitations in sexual conduct, wanderings and speech (*ŚBr.* III.1.1.10). *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kṣatriyas* - members of the two upper classes in the Vedic community - ordered an overwhelming majority of these solemn rituals. *Vaiśyas*

did it on much rarer occasions, while *Śūdras* never.

Such personal messages were alien to *pūjā* rituals. The results of the offering concerned not only the congregation present at a particular *pūjā* but all the faithful and even all denizens of the terrestrial world. The performance of *pūjā* never depended on a particular donor. It was a cyclic ritual which took place every day and, in exceptional conditions, could be performed without any worshippers present. The easy access to its liturgical practice is among the key aspects of *pūjā* ritualism. Not only the twice-born but all the faithful without exception could enter the temple unhindered, and attend the sacrifice. This concerned women, *Śūdras* and persons of the mix-castes. We can assume that as *pūjā* was spreading in the Aryan milieu, the social strata which had never before been admitted to the performance of many Vedic rituals now became involved in the community's religious life.

As our comparison shows, the ritualism of *yajñā* and *pūjā* never coincided in any of the basic aspects of religious practice which determined the type of the arrangement of the ritual space, the way of bringing the offering, and ritual goals of the adoration. As I see it, this gives us sufficient ground to assume that *yajñā* and *pūjā* ascended to different ritual archetypes, with different sacrificial structures and symbolisms. The boundaries of this paper do not allow me to dwell in detail on the similarities between *yajñā* and *pūjā* rituals.²⁰ No one of these similarities, however, exceeds the limits of the particular, and so cannot disprove our general conclusion that, in its basic features, *pūjā* ritualism did not intrinsically belong to the Vedic cult but to a totally different system of religious views and another ritual archetype. At the same time, these shared features do not confirm a generic link between *yajñā* and *pūjā*. Again, as I see it, no transformation of *yajñā*, even the most arbitrary and thorough-going, could result in the emergence of *pūjā* destroying the pivotal constituents of the Vedic ritualism. The sheer presence of these similarities, however, shows that, as they emerged, *pūjā* rites were not walled off from the Vedic ritual culture but, on the contrary, inherited a wealth of features from it.

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14. BŚS. 18.5. ṣoḍaśiṃ purastādviśaya upadhyāya tayā saha maṇḍalaṃ parilikhet/
The ṣoḍaśi (brick that is taken away) is placed in the middle of the east side and with it the circle is to be drawn.

AŚS.7.5. maṇḍalāyāṃ mṛdo dehaṃ kṛtvā madhye śaṅkuṃ
nihatyārdhavyāyāmena saha maṇḍalaṃ parilikhet /

The circular (gārhapatya fire), a circular mound of earth is made and a pole fixed at the middle. (With this pole as centre) a circle is drawn with (a radius equal to) 1/2 yāyāma plus the extra.

NS.3.20-23 ālikhena maṇḍalaṃ pūrvam yathāsthānam yathāvidhi//
samantatas'tu kartavyā hastāḥ ṣoḍaśa maṇḍale/
dvārāṇi cātra kurvīta vidhanā ca caturdiśam//
madhye' caivātra kartavye dve rekhe tiryag ūrdhvage/
tayoh kakṣyāvibhāgena daivatāni niveśayet//
Padmopaiviṣṭam brahmāṇaṃ tasya madhye niveśayet/

(The gods should be installed) with the drawing of the *maṇḍala* in the proper place, as follows from the commandments and precepts. On the circle of the *maṇḍala* must be measured 16 hastas (cubits), and here must the doors be made according to the precepts, opening to the four (cardinal) points. And through the middle of it must be drawn two lines directed upward diagonally. In the apartments (made) by these (two lines), the deities should be installed. In the centre (of the *maṇḍala*) should be placed Brahmā seated on a lotus.

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DRAMATIC IRONY IN SANSKRIT AND GREEK PLAYS

LEELA SALGAONKAR

"When we go to the theatre, we should not go as if we are visiting a chemist's shop but as if we are going to enjoy a great feast", remarked a drama-critic.

It is for this emotional feast, we visit the theatre. It is the excitement coupled with exploration of human nature that contributes to the aesthetic delight. So the theatre entertains, enlightens and stimulates us.

The present age has witnessed marvellous technological developments of the stage-craft. The lighting arrangements can produce a moonlit-night or a bright morning. The melodious music leaves us enthralled and spellbound. However, nothing can take the place of the spoken word. The spoken word and the spoken word alone rules supreme.

Thus drama is a composite art. A well-knit plot, convincing characterization, racy and crisp dialogues and above all conflict—the soul of drama—contribute to the success of a play.

Rightly, Aristotle emphasized the importance of the plot, the factor on which the edifice of a play stands. The plot develops taking many dramatic turns, leading to tense situations, in which dramatic irony plays a very significant part. It is a device frequently used by a dramatist to intensify the effect of the situation.

Let us try to know what is meant by Irony. A simple definition cannot be given as it is too complex and elusive a term to be subjected to the framework of definition. Irony is a blanket term under which witty remarks, light-hearted banter, sarcastic scoffing, pleasant teasing by twisting the words in the context and an understatement, can be covered. For instance, take the understatement with an ironic tone:

"A conference is a meeting, where it is decided when and where to meet again."

Irony derived from *Eironeia*, which means pretended ignorance, was used by Plato in his *Republic*. It is known as Socratic Irony as Socrates always adopted the pose of a man who knew nothing. Afterwards *Eironeia* was used by Cicero to denote a figure of speech, in which indirect praise by ironical blame and vice versa or a left-handed compliment was suggested.¹

The counterpart of this figure of speech in Sanskrit literature is known

as Vyājastuti (feigned praise) or Vyājanindā (feigned censure), e.g., a verse from *Bhojaprabandha* is as follows:

सर्वदा सर्वदोऽसीति मिथ्या संस्तूयते जनेः।
नारयो लेभिरे पृष्ठं न वक्षः परयोषितः ॥²

“Oh King, you are praised falsely by people as a beneficent donor all the time. Two things you have never given - your back to your enemy and your heart to other women.” The poet means to say to King Bhoja “You are ever victorious and devoted to your wife.”

Irony, in this sense consists in ‘bringing of the opposite, the complementary impulses’ in order to achieve a balanced poise.³ In ordinary parlance, it always meant that, something is being said while something quite different is conveyed. Friedrich Schlegel maintained - “Irony was the recognition of the fact that the world in essence is paradoxical and that an ambivalent attitude alone can grasp its contradictory totality.”⁴

Irony is also to be distinguished from satire, with which it is many times associated. Contradiction or incongruity in human life or nature is at the root of irony, while a certain amount of bitterness marks the concept of satire. Irony aims at absurd while satire confines itself to ludicrous, e.g. G.K. Chesterton’s witty remark, “Thousands of women marched from home, shouting, “We will not be dictated to and become stenographers.” There is a pun on ‘dictate’ and the incongruity makes it irony, while, when a wife is called ‘bitter-half’, instead of better-half, the bitterness in the satire is self-evident. So the basic feature of every irony is a contrast between a reality and an appearance. That is why James Fiebleman has placed Irony higher than satire.⁵ Sarcasm is considered the crudest form of Irony.

F. L. Lucas has rightly stressed the importance of Dramatic Irony. “Tragedy has in her quiver two more keenly pointed shafts than this - Suspense and Tragic Irony.”⁶ Dramatic Irony has been classified into two types - Verbal Irony and Situational Irony, though combination of both can heighten the dramatic effect. Dramatic Irony demands the ignorance of one or more characters on the stage, while the audience is aware of the facts. Thus the ironic contrast between the knowledge of the audience and the unawareness of a character in the play, intensifies the tragic tone, with the result, the audience, in god-like omniscience and detachment can appreciate the scene with all its complexities.

Dramatic Irony is not a flash of surprise, to produce a mere sense of shock; but it exhibits the latest realities of a situation, which is more complex than it appears on the surface. Thus there are more layers of meaning than those that meet the eye - one obvious for the characters while the other is the deep significant note for the audience. Greater the Victim’s blindness; more striking is the impact of irony. The tragic note reaches its crescendo,

while the cosmic element gives us a peculiar thrill.

In Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Duncan says - "This castle has a pleasant seat/ Nimbly and sweetly recommends itself/ Unto our gentle senses", when actually he is walking towards death.⁷ This is an illustration of verbal dramatic irony. Another one we find in a Marathi play - '*Mālā Draupadī*', by Prof. Vidyadhar Pundalik. Draupadī, on the eve of the coronation ceremony, at the end of the *Mahābhārata* war, exclaims proudly, "Tomorrow I will be the happiest woman. All my dear ones are saved. My sons are hale and hearty and all my enemies are vanquished. The cup of my happiness is full to the brim."⁸ Little does she know that, that very night all her five sons would be assassinated brutally by Aśvatthāmā. No great dramatist has failed to exploit the potential possibilities of dramatic irony.

Literary criticism in Sanskrit literature presents a dramatic device known as *Patākāsthānakam*. It has some elements in common with dramatic irony. It is defined as follows:

यत्रार्थे चिंतितेऽन्यस्मिंस्तल्लिङ्गोऽन्यः प्रयुज्यते।
आगन्तुकेन भावेन पताकास्थानकं तु तत्॥⁹

When instead of the thing thought of or expected, another of the same character emerges in an accidental way, it is called *Patākāsthānakam*. There are four varieties of it.

1. In an ambiguous situation, the aim of the hero is realized unexpectedly and the outcome exceeds the expectation e.g. In *Ratnāvalī*, King Udayana is in love with Sāgarikā and is eager to know her response. Sāgarikā and her friend leave the garden hastily, as the monkey has released the maina from the cage. After the arrival of the king, the maina repeats the speech of love-lorn Sāgarikā. The king also finds his picture drawn by Sāgarikā and she had left the board there, while leaving the place hurriedly.¹⁰
2. The hyperbolic statement, applicable to the present may indicate a future event.
3. When in doubt, something is being said and the doubt is removed by the word or words of another character though uttered in a different context, fit the dramatic context and thus foreshadows the future action.

There is a very fine illustration of both these varieties in Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa's play - *Veṇīsamhāra*.

While assuring Bhānumatī, King Duryodhana recites a verse, in which the last expression is ममोरुयुग्म् (My pair of thighs). Then a messenger comes and says -

"Broken - broken!"

"By whom?"

"By Bhīma!"

"Whose?"

"Yours."

It indicates a future event. Then the messenger explains :

भग्नं भीमेन भवतो मारुता रथकेतनम्।

The flag on your chariot is broken by a terrible gust of wind.¹¹

- 4) The fourth variety is characterised by Paronomastic words. It is a pun e.g. The Principal of a college tells the father of a student -
Principal : Your son is really an outstanding boy of our college.
Father : Thank you! I am very happy to know it.
Principal : He is an outstanding student; because he is always standing out of the class.

The common elements in dramatic irony and Patākāsthānakam are as follows:-

- i) The suggestion of the future events.
- ii) An unknown factor is the spring of the action.
- iii) A purposeful deception by fate or a person presents incongruity.

However, it must be said that the scope of Patākāsthānakam is narrower, while the frontiers of dramatic irony have been extended repeatedly.

Bhāsa, who is described as 'the smile of poetry', has used this device abundantly and with spectacular success. The contrast between man's hopes and the dark force known as fate is well-brought out in *Pratimā*. It is a play based on the *Rāmāyana*. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa have left for the forest at the command of Kaikeyī. Daśaratha, father of Rāma tells Sumanta, the charioteer to bring back the children after persuading them with sweet words. Daśaratha, who is in deep swoon, regains his consciousness by somebody's whisper, that Sumanta has returned. The hope is revived momentarily. Daśaratha asks, "Has Sumanta come back with Rāma?" The answer is: "शून्येन रथेन। But the chariot is empty." This proves too great a shock for the old King. He exclaims:

"If the chariot is empty - alas! My hope has been shattered. Indeed, Death has sent this chariot to take away Daśaratha."

शून्यः प्राप्तो यदि रथः भग्नो मम मनोरथः।

नूनं दशरथं नेतुं कालेन प्रेषितो रथः॥¹²

The audience has realized that there is no hope of life for Daśaratha, when the slender thread of hope is cut off. It is a case of unintentional verbal irony.

Another illustration from Bhāsa's *Pañcarātram* is steeped in situational as well as verbal irony. The scene is delightfully humorous. The victim is blissfully ignorant of reality, while all other characters and the audience are aware of the truth. Let us read the scene from *Pañcarātram*, Act II. The play is based on the *Mahābhārata*.

Pāṇḍavas were about to complete one year of their living incognito. When they went to the forest, Abhimanyu was a child, who stayed with his maternal uncle Śrīkr̥ṣṇa. Duryodhana snatched away sixty thousand cows of King Virāṭa, only to expose the identity of Pāṇḍavas. Abhimanyu had unknowingly joined the fray on the Kaurava side. When Bhīma saw him, he kidnapped Abhimanyu, with characteristic impulse and brought him in their camp. Bhīma expected Arjuna to be happy to see his son, but surprisingly Arjuna did not appreciate this impulsive act. The contrast of their reactions intensifies the dramatic impact. Arjuna blamed his brother, "Why have you conquered him at the beginning of his career? You have made him diffident, his mother miserable and Lord Śrīkr̥ṣṇa angry."

At this juncture Abhimanyu, the personified pride of the Pāṇḍavas appeared on the scene. He carried himself with all the dignity that befits him. However, he was ignorant of the identity of his enemies. When Arjuna addressed him 'Abhimanyo', he was highly displeased. He expected them to address him respectfully by his family name. The two questions that follow convinced him that those people were uncivilized. The first question was about his mother "सुखमास्ते ते जन्नी। How is your mother?" Abhimanyu's response was very curt. "What? You speak of my mother?" But this remark had no effect on Arjuna, who put the second question "अभिमन्यो ! अपि कुरालो देवकीपुत्रः केशवः।" Is Śrīkr̥ṣṇa, the son of Devakī well?" Abhimanyu asked haughtily, "कथं तत्रभवन्तमपि नाम्ना। Do you address him only by his name? Don't you have any courtesy?"

A very humiliating question was put by Arjuna - "Having Arjuna as your father, Śrīkr̥ṣṇa as your maternal uncle, is it proper for a youngster fully armed like you to be defeated?" Refuting the unfair charge, Abhimanyu snapped at him, "Just count the arrows with my name" meaning the victims of his arrows are in legion.

The scene progresses steadily when Abhimanyu was exasperated with his uncultured 'enemies', while all the elders were in a very fine mood to tease him.

"Oh that is just mere bragging! How is it that you were captured by a soldier on foot?" This question was answered haughtily by Abhimanyu - "Please, add 'without a weapon.' Remembering all the while, I am the son of a great warrior-Arjuna, how can I strike any one, who is without a weapon?" Bhīma was extremely thrilled with the reply. He exclaimed to himself-

"Blessed indeed is Arjuna, who has heard both the facts - the highest esteem in which he is held by his son as well as his great exploits on the battlefield."

To tease Abhimanyu further, Bhīma proudly announced, "My strong arms are my natural weapons, and with their help I fight. Only weaklings like you take up a bow." Abhimanyu's royal blood boiled within him and he questioned Bhīma sarcastically, "Do not say so! Are you my middle uncle Bhīma, who has long and broad arms and whose prowess is incomparable? These words are worthy of him only."

King Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest uncle, was watching the scene with a slight detachment and yet enjoyed every moment of it. He remarked, "I do not get angry with his bad temper. On the contrary, I am amused by it." He had unconsciously expressed the very sentiment of the audience. Finally, Abhimanyu was instinctively drawn towards his elders and the enemy camp became his home. Then like a good boy, he wanted to be excused. All of them embraced him after twelve years.

अयं स हृदयाह्लादी पुत्रगात्रसमागमः ।

यत्तद् द्वादशवर्षान्ते प्रेषितः पुनरागतः ॥¹³

"This is the touch of my somebody so delightful to my heart (of (my) son's body). He had been away and after a gap of twelve years, has appeared again."

To pass from the familiar world of Sanskrit heroes, to the Greek world of mighty men, is quite a rewarding experience. It is a strange world, where delicate human emotions are juxtaposed with crude elements of hatred, revenge and retribution.

Though the wheel of fire rotates rapidly, the human heart, with its affliction and affection, courage and dejection is basically the same.

Euripides in *Iphigenia At Aulis* presents a great dramatic event in the Trojan War. Greek fleet cannot make any progress on the sea, owing to the unfavourable winds. Kalchas, the priest and the prophet, who has a grudge against Agamemnon, the Commander-in-Chief of the Greek army, orders him to sacrifice his eldest daughter Iphigenia to the war-goddess, Artemis. Agamemnon is torn between his affection for his daughter and his duty as the Commander-in-Chief to his countrymen. He sends a letter to his wife to send his daughter to Aulis as she is to be married to Achilles. The second letter, in which he changes his plan, is unfortunately seized by his brother, Menelaus.

Iphigenia is very happy when she meets her father, Agamemnon, who is very sad. The scene between the daughter and the father is full of dramatic

irony.

Iphigenia: Hail! Well hast thou done, father, bringing me.

Agamemnon: Well? I know not how to answer this.

Iphigenia: Ha! So glad to see me - yet what a troubled look!

Agamemnon: On Kings and Captains weigheth many-a-care.¹⁴

It goes on and on, when Agamemnon cannot bring himself to tell the truth, while Iphigenia tries to cheer up her worried father.

After the arrival of Iphigenia and her mother Klytemnestra at the military camp, at Aulis, they meet Achilles by chance. There is mutual admiration when the queen and the great warrior meet. She looks upon him as her future son-in-law, while Achilles is completely ignorant of the fact that Agamemnon has invited his daughter under the pretext of wedding with him. Achilles wonders who is the lady 'Crowned with peerless loveliness.'

Klytemnestra I am Leda's daughter, Klytemnestra named
 Am I, King Agamemnon is my Lord.
 Stay - wherefore flee? – Nay. Give me thy right hand
 To clasp, the prelude to espousal.

Achilles : How sayest? Mine hand in thine?
 Ashamed were I before thy lord,
 Of such unsanctioned touch.

Klytemnestra : 'Tis wholly sanctioned, since thou art to wed,
 my child, O son of the Lady of the sea.

Achilles : What wedding this? I know not what to say -
 Except of crazed wits this utterance come.

Klytemnestra : 'Tis all men's nature so in shame to shrink
 Before new kin and talk of spousal rites.

Achilles Lady, thy daughter have I never wooed,
 Nor word of marriage Atreus' sons have said.

At this juncture, an old servant appears on the scene and reveals the truth to both the confused characters.

Old Servant : Thou hast all the sire will sacrifice
 Thy child to Artemis¹⁵

Klytemnestra is furious to know that the marriage of her daughter was a lie. Finally Achilles becomes the champion to save her.

Iphigenia is naturally shocked to know the truth. Her first instinctive impulse

is to live; but when she realises how much depends on her voluntary death, she is ready to sacrifice her life for national honour.

Twenty years later Iphigenia is at Tauris. Euripides in *Iphigenia At Tauris* brings out the sentiment of pathos in episodes after episodes that intensify the dramatic experience. The human sacrifice at Aulis ended mysteriously - when Iphigenia was replaced by a deer. The goddess had taken Iphigenia to Tauris, where she is a priestess. Her hatred towards the Greeks is so great, that she desires to sacrifice the first Greek that comes on that island; but the first Greek youth, who visits the island with his friend, happens to be her younger brother Orestes. He is commanded by Apollo to bring back the image of the goddess to Athens. All the dialogues are full of ardent feelings, in which dramatic irony helps to develop the plot.

Thus, as stated earlier, dramatic irony is not just a flash of surprise or an unexpected event. It is a wonderful phenomenon, when the spoken word is being uttered, the delicate music of unspoken words mingles with it. A rich dramatic experience, with its interplay of various emotions and various layers of meaning, can be achieved by dramatic irony. Silence is vocal, we say. When the echo of that vocal silence finds its place in many hearts, at one time, the dramatic art has achieved its goal. This is the significant power of dramatic irony.

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HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PATRIOTIC SONGS IN GUJARAT (1920-1947)

KUNJALATA N. SHAH

The freedom struggle against British rule, amongst other things, led to the creation of a vast body of patriotic literature in the various languages of India.★ The Gandhian era, in particular, witnessed a tremendous proliferation of patriotic songs which were enthusiastically sung all over the country. They were sung collectively at political gatherings and in protest processions, expressing as they did political sentiments of the masses. Utilising many different folk forms such as *rasdas*, *garba*, *bhajan*, *akhyan* and *pawda*, riddles, regional popular lyrics, these songs established a whole new genre, which helped stir the patriotic fervour of the awakened Indian. The folk and popular literary forms in their turn, acquired new vigour from the patriotic content which infused these songs. Using traditional symbols, popular metaphors and idioms, these songs achieved their aim – to effectively disseminate patriotic and nationalistic messages to the people and to reach their heart.

What was unusual about such songs, was that they were not always written by well-known poets, but were often composed by anonymous patriots, literate and illiterate, who were inspired by the times they lived in and the intense patriotic fervour which pervaded the very air of those times. Because these songs are a reflection of the sentiments of the masses, they give us significant insights into their socio-cultural sensibilities, thus providing an important source of study of the history of the freedom struggle from below.

This paper examines popular patriotic songs composed during the Gandhian period in Gujarat, in a historical context, and discusses in particular, songs composed by women who actively involved themselves in the freedom struggle under Gandhiji's guidance.

I

Gujarat had a variegated pattern of political culture in the pre-Gandhian period, different regions and cities responding differently to British rule. While commercial Ahmedabad was moderate in its politics, Surat remained a centre of agitational politics. Its citizens reacted sharply against unjust British laws in 1844, 1848, 1860 and again in 1878. Its press was both militant and vociferous and the district a stronghold of extremist politics, under the Patidars and Anavil Brahmins. Though revolutionary politics did not take root in Gujarat,

the regions of Baroda and Kheda did witness revolutionary activities under the influence of the Arya Samaj and the presence of revolutionaries such as Arvind Ghosh and others in the State of Baroda. The Swadeshi movement, that had developed in Gujarat much before the Partition of Bengal contributed greatly to promoting patriotism and politicizing the urban masses of Gujarat. However, large masses of rural and tribal areas were untouched by political movements.

During the pre-Gandhian period, Gujarati literature dealt somewhat sporadically with the themes of patriotism and nationalism. Dalpatram (1820-1898) though an admirer of British rule, was the first poet who in his long poem 'Hunnar Khan ni Chadhai' written in 1851, revealed the spirit of economic nationalism. He pointed out the importance of Swadeshi, explaining how the country was being drained of its wealth by the influx of *Vilayati* or foreign goods. He appealed to start industries. His contemporary, Narmad (1833-1886), in his poems 'Virsinha', 'Sahu Chalo Jitva Jang', 'Jai Jai Garvi Gujarat', demonstrated a fiery patriotic zeal. The first patriotic novel *Hind ane Britannia*, written in 1885 by Ichchharam Suryaram Desai (1853-1912), boldly criticized British policies in strong, telling phrases which evinced intense patriotic fervour.

B. M. Malbari (1853-1912) (a well-known social reformer) and Khabardar (1881-1953), – the two Parsi poets – composed many poems reflecting patriotism. Another noteworthy poet of this period was Harilal Harshadrai Dhruv (1856-1896), whose poems showed his intense devotion for the country and his anti-British sentiments. His collection of songs, *Kunj Vihar*, published in 1895, has a section of poems on *Swadesh Bhakti*, that is, devotion to one's country.

During this period, many amateur poets, inspired by patriotism, wrote patriotic songs and poems that were incorporated later in the collection of popular national songs of the Gandhian period. Vasant Vinodi (Chandulal Desai), a doctor, Maganbhai Patel (1905 - 1970) and Jivabhai Patel, lawyers, were such poets.

The Gujarat Sahitya Sabha compiled the first collection of patriotic poems entitled *Deshbhakti na Kavyo* in 1905. But it was *Swadeshi Kirtan* which formed the first collection of popular patriotic songs composed to be sung collectively. It was compiled by the Swadeshi Mitra Mandal of Ahmedabad in 1909, priced at only half an anna, in order to invoke *bhakti* or devotion to Hind Devi, the new object of worship. The Swadeshi Mitra Mandal was established in 1906 in the wake of the fervour generated during the Bengal Partition Movement. It organized Swadeshi Kirtan Programmes in order to propagate the idea of *swadeshi* at the grass-roots level. A picture of Hind Devi, a new icon, was worshipped at such programmes and popular songs

from this collection were sung as *bhajans* or *kirtans*. Thus, a patriotic song was elevated to the status of *bhajan* or *kirtan*. This was the first successful experiment to utilize a traditional popular literary form for the purpose of infusing patriotism among the masses. This collection contained poems and songs of Narmad, H. Dhruv, Vasant Vinodi, Jivabhai Patel, Maganbhai Patel, Khabardar etc.

II

Gandhiji's arrival in Ahmedabad in 1915 soon transformed the political culture of Gujarat. He infused radical ideas and a new life in the political life of Gujarat. He electrified Gujarat. His striking genius is seen in his politically mobilizing all sections and communities of society - Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, mill-owners, traders, workers, peasants, students, women, children, the western-educated middle class etc. As a result, the freedom struggle assumed the character of a mass movement. Gandhiji's influence was not only confined to political activities but it pervaded the field of education, literature and the social reform movement. The entire nation breathed in the Gandhian ethos. During this Gandhian period, patriotic songs became the effective carriers of Gandhiji's message to illiterate people of the rural, urban and tribal regions. They were written in a simple language and captured the spirit of the age. Through these songs, Gandhian ideas filtered down to the very grassroots. They stirred feelings of patriotism among the masses and inspired them to fight against an unjust, alien rule. They also shaped public opinion. Themes such as Khadi, the spinning wheel, temperance, Hindu-Muslim unity, the removal of untouchability, non-violence, formed the repertoire of these songs. Some songs also had woven into them, stories of national events such as Jalianwala Bag's tragedy, the Dandi March etc. These songs not only became an integral part of mass participation in the national movement but were also written to be sung on various occasions such as weddings, festivals etc.

This period witnessed a great spurt in the writing and composing of patriotic songs. The popular poets of this period were not always intellectuals. Many of them were patriots and were inspired by the love for their country. Many unknown and anonymous poets also composed some famous patriotic songs. Some prolific poets were, the blind poet Hansraj, Vasant Vinodi, Maganbhai C. Patel, Dr. Hariprasad, Lalit, Khabardar, Jyotsnaben Shukla, Keshavdas G. Shah, Gijubhai, Tribhovan Vyas, Kunvariji Mehta, Jugatram Dave etc. During this period innumerable collections of national and patriotic songs were published.¹ Their price ranged from one paisa to eight annas. Not always containing great literary merit, these songs were nevertheless important because they echoed the patriotic sentiments of the people, and more significantly, helped to maintain the momentum of the freedom struggle. Their popularity can be evinced from the rapid sale of these booklets. Eight thousand copies of *Sangram Geeto*, published in 1930 by the Satyagraha Chhavni, Anand

were sold out in just four days. Five thousand copies of *Vanarsenana Geeto* written by Gijubhai, published in 1930 were sold out just in three weeks. Five thousand copies of *Ranshingu*, published in 1930 from Bombay were sold out in two days.

The spinning wheel or *rentio* became the national symbol of *Swaraj*. Khadi, hand spun and hand woven cloth and *rentio* became the subject matter of many popular songs. In 1922, Maganlal Bapuji (Godhrawala) composed a song in the folk form of *garba* which was addressed to women. It became very famous and popular.

परदेशी कापड छोडो ने सुंदर खादी पहरो,
मारी बहेनो, स्वराज लेवु सहेल छे,
भपका ने फैशन छोडो, जाडी खादी पण पहरो...मारी बहेनो

Here, the poet appeals to women to give up foreign cloth, pomp, show, fashions and adopt Khadi however coarse it may be. He adds: "by doing so, Oh, my sister, we shall easily win Swaraj."²

Another popular song was entitled : 'Balak ni Mangani' (A child's demand) written in simple language, by an anonymous poet.

मा मने खादीनी टोपी अपाचो,
खादीनी टोपी अपाचो...मा मने
खादीनु पहरेण, खादीनी धोतली,
खादीनी कथा पहरेचो... मा मने
खादीनुं दफतर, खादीना जोडा,
खादीथी सुंदर बनाचो...मा मने

(Oh mother: give me a khadi cap, a khadi *Peharan* (shirt), a *dhoti*, a khadi bag and khadi shoes. Make me look beautiful oh, mother, with Khadi.)

In 1930, a collection of songs was published by C.P. Chudgar entitled *Khadi ane Lagan na Geeto* from Wadhwan. Poets were inspired by various events of the freedom struggle and skillfully wove these events into folk and literary forms. Tribhuvan Vyas, teacher and a leading poet from Saurashtra wrote a narrative *garba* - *Ratanbano Garbo* - in which the episode of Jalianwala Bag was vividly described. This *katha* or a narrative *garba* written in verse was set to music while being narrated to the masses. It was an adaptation of the *akhyan* form or Manbhatta's *katha* form to suit the new context. An anonymous poet composed a popular song '*Danko Vagyo*' that was sung throughout the Gandhian period. It is in the form of a battle cry.

डंको वाग्यो लडवैया, सुरा जागजो रे,
सुरा जागजो रे कायर भागजो रे

"There is a battle cry, oh brave soldiers : awake, those who are cowards

will flee.”

Another notable prolific poet was a blind poet Hansaraj. He hailed from Amreli. His songs reflected intense patriotism in which he expressed his strong anti-British feelings. His long poem ‘*Topiwalana tola uttarya*’ became very famous.

टोपीवाला ना टोळा उत्तर्या
उत्तर्या कोई आथमणे ओवारे रे
परदेशी भूख्या टोपीवाला ना टोळा उत्तर्या रे.

The song was published in 1922 and immediately became very popular. The British Government found it seditious and wanted to arrest him, but did not do so because Hansraj was a blind man.³ Another famous song he wrote was sung by the masses throughout the struggle in India, and published on the front page of *Navjivan* dated 4th June, 1922. It was written in Gujarati-Hindi.

नहीं रखनी, नहीं रखनी
नहीं रखनी, सरकार जालीम नहीं रखनी
...
जलियावाला बाग में भीतर
निःशस्त्रों पर गोली चलाकर
मार्या कैक हजार, जालीम
लालजी को पिंजर पाया
अयसी हय सरकार जालीम.

This poem expresses the poet's anger against the oppressive government. Here he most emphatically demands that such an autocratic government should be done away with. The song refers to the massacre of thousands of unarmed people at Jalianwala Baug by the oppressive British Government and also the imprisonment of Lala Lajpatrai after the incident. Swami Anand wrote in 1922 that whenever this song was sung during the Congress meetings at Anand, people used to be greatly moved.⁴

In 1923, Keshavdas G. Shah published a collection of some militant songs entitled *Hamara Hakko* from Broach. It was priced at one paisa. He was the manager of the Gujarat Sahitya Mandir of Broach. These songs became popular. Later he restarted his Paisa series from Bhavnagar in 1930 entitled *Deshi Geeto ane Swaraj Bansi, Yuddha Geeto ane Swaraj Kirtan, Desh Darpan ane Swaraj Murli, Desh Darshan ane Swaraj Veena* etc.

Quite often, Gandhi, the fountainhead of the patriotic movement, was himself the subject of many *rasdas* and *garbas*.

During the Bardoli Satyagraha Movement of peasants in 1928, short and simple songs that kept up the spirit and morale of the people were sung

in villages. When the rural folk gathered in *Sabhas*, they sang and danced national *garbas* and *rasdas*.⁵ Religious songs or *bhajans* composed by Meera, Narasinha Mehta, Kabir, Brahmanand were also sung at these meetings.

The following songs of Fulchand Shah became popular during the Bardoli Satyagraha.

वागे छे वागे छे, वागे छे, मारा बापुनी वीरहाक वागे छे
डोले छे, डोले छे, जुलमी राजना राजपाट डोले छे.

This song says: "The oppressive rule is tottering because my Bapu's battle cry is heard everywhere."

The Civil Disobedience Movement inspired many poets. The stirring Dandi March became the theme of many popular songs and *kathas*. A song entitled 'Mohan Mithu Pakave' became popular.

दांडी तणा किनारे, मोहन मीठु पकावे
मोहन मीठु पकावे सैनिको सो पकावे...दांडी
एकसो ने चार योद्धा बापुनी संग चाले
सत्याग्रही पकावे, सरकार ते झूठवे... दांडी
अहिंसातणा सैनिको शस्त्रो विना झड़ूमे...
सरकारी जुल्म सामे गांधीजी शीर उठावे.

This song describes Gandhiji with his 104 volunteers extracting salt on the shores of Dandi. It also tells how, without any weapon, Gandhiji and his soldiers fought against the oppressive government.

From the 1930s onwards, a number of songs were written on the national flag, or *Jhanda*. Collections of children's songs and *Prabhat Pheris* or morning processions, were published in large numbers. All these collections usually repeated older popular songs but added some new songs.

Here it is interesting to note that some collections contained militant songs that overtly criticized the British Government and showed intense hatred of British rule. A series of such collections were published by Shivdas Kesaria (probably a pen-name) in 1930, from Bombay, entitled *Sarkarnu Uthamnu* (Funeral of the Government), *Nar Yagna* (Human Sacrifice), *Dagmagti Satta* (Tottering Power) etc. These collections were priced at one, two to three paise and were sold in great numbers. Militancy in tone as well as in content increased during the Quit India Movement, leading to the confiscation by the government of many such collections of aggressive songs. One such confiscated collection entitled *Ranchandi*, is discussed in detail in the next section.

A popular representative militant song is cited here :

तारा वागे नगारा हवे मोतना रे,
हजी चेती ले ओ सरकार... तारा

तारी सत्ताना उखडे मुखिया रे,
हजी चेती ले ओ सरकार... तारा

...
तारा पुरवना पाप पेदा थया रे
तारा पापे डूबे तारं नाच... तारा
शाप लागे ले, त्रीस कोटी जीवना रे...
तेने तापे गळे तारा हाड ...तारा

The song says, "Oh Government : it is not too late for you to be cautious. The tolling of your death knell can be heard, and your power is being uprooted. Your boat is drowning, it has become heavy with your past sins. Your bones are melting in the heat of the curse of thirty crores of people."

Though it is not in the purview of the theme of this paper, a mention may be made of some elitist poets, who, inspired by Gandhiji's ideals, wrote patriotic poems. Nahnalal Kavi, Umashankar Joshi, Sundaram, Jhaverchand Meghani, Sneharashmi were some such poets. Meghani's songs gained great popularity among the masses because of its style of folk-lore.

III

A significant feature of the Gandhian period was the wide participation of women in the national movement. Thousands of them left the seclusion of their homes in order to participate in the freedom struggle. They picketed shops selling foreign cloth or liquor. They propagated 'khadi', a symbol of Swaraj. They marched shoulder to shoulder with men in processions and sang patriotic songs. The song became their weapon in the non-violent struggle. *Prabhat Pheri* (morning procession) was an important activity, when women went in procession in the early morning, singing national songs. These songs infused the atmosphere with the spirit of patriotism. Gandhiji had advised women to sing appropriate songs and *bhajans* during the picketing of shops. As a result many songs were specially composed for women, while some women even composed their own songs. These songs also carried the message of Khadi, *Swadeshi*, temperance etc. to women. This was significant as more than 95 per cent of women in India at that time, were illiterate. Nationalistic songs were composed for women to be sung on occasions of wedding, Gorov and Navratra festivals. Folk literary forms such as *garbas*, *kirtan*, *garbi*, *katha*, traditionally nurtured in Gujarat, were utilised creatively and meaningfully in order to mobilize women politically. These songs used traditional symbols and metaphors in a new context.

Shardaben Mehta, a prominent woman leader, reminisces in her book that *garbas* based on themes of nationalism and women's emancipation were sung by women during the Navratra Festival in the Maha Vidyalaya of Ahmedabad.⁶ Many *Rashtriya Garbavalis* or collections of national *garbas*

were composed during the Gandhian phase.

During the Bardoli Satyagraha many peasant women actively participated in the passive resistance against British rule. Some middle class women leaders such as Sharadaben Mehta, Mithuben Petit, Jyotsnaben Shukla, Bhaktiba, actively encouraged these peasant women in the Satyagraha. Special songs, *garbas*, *rasdas* were composed to keep up their spirits and morale. Interestingly many women such as Jyotsnaben Shukla, Vadangauri, Pushpaben Vyas, and an anonymous rural lady from Valod, composed national songs. The last mentioned poetess was a peasant woman and her song '*Dhanya Bardoli*' became very famous. The style and language of the song were distinctly rural. The most outstanding among them was Jyotsnaben Shukla who became the leading poetess of the Gandhian period and her poems found a permanent place in most of the important collections of national songs. She was not a professional poetess but was inspired by patriotism and nationalism.

Jyotsnaben was born in a Brahmin family in Surat in 1892. She studied in the Sanatana Dharma Kanyashala. In 1904, she was married to Bahusukhran Shukla, a teacher in a Baroda School. Baroda at that time was a centre of revolutionary activities and Mr. Shukla was influenced by revolutionary ideas and their home soon became a meeting place of revolutionaries. Jyotsnaben too was greatly influenced by them and was infused with feelings of patriotism and hatred against British rule. Her natal family, too, was nationalistic in outlook and had adopted the ideal of 'Swadeshi'. Her husband died in 1914 and she moved to Surat where she became the Secretary of the Stree Samaj, a women's organization. She became an honorary teacher in a girls' school but wrote for journals and newspapers. She had great respect for Gandhiji but did not join the Indian National Congress. However, in 1928 she plunged into the Bardoli Satyagraha and thereafter remained very active in the national movement.⁷ She became one of the most outstanding women leaders of Gujarat and went to jail many times. The following song written by her became popular during the Bardoli Satyagraha.

खेडूते रंग राख्यो, खेडूते रंग राख्यो,
हारे बारडोली अे टेक पूरो पाड्यो,
खरे ते रंग राख्यो, खेडूते रंग राख्यो,
हा रे वीर नारीओनी प्रेरणाओ झीली
हा रे मृत्यु साथे निडर बाध भीडी
खेडूते रंग राख्यो, खेडूते रंग राख्यो

This poem praises steadfastness of peasants of Bardoli. It says, "Their brave women inspired them to face death boldly."

Other topical songs were '*Satta Bale Chhe*', '*Bardolina Rang*', '*Vir Poojan*' etc. During the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 she wrote '*Swarajnu*

Mangalsutra, ' a famous song.

Later she also prepared a collection of songs for young girls to be sung during the festival of Gorav.⁹ She wrote :

गोरमा नो वर केसरियो, स्वरज लेवा जाय रे गोरमा !
हाथमा पूर्णी तकली, कांततो कांततो जाय रे गोरमा !

"Gorma's husband, Kesaria with spindle and cotton in his hands, is spinning his way to Swaraj."

Her collection of poems entitled *Bapu* was published from Surat in 1948. It contained poems and songs on Gandhiji composed on different occasions from 1928 to 1948.

In 1930, Rukshmani Ranchhoddas Parekh published a collection of her own poems from Bombay, entitled *Swarajya Strotaswini*. It had poems on the nationalist themes such as *Rentio*, *Ahimsa*, National Flag, *Swadeshi* etc.

In the same year, Indumati Chimanlal Sheth and Mrudulaben Sarabhai, eminent women leaders of Ahmedabad and Secretaries of the Videshi Kapad Bahishkar Samiti, published a collection of national songs entitled *Geeto* containing songs on Khadi and *Swadeshi*.

डंको वाग्यो भारतनी बहेनो जागजो रे
बहेनो जागजो रे विदेशी त्यागजो रे

was an important song which made a fervent appeal to women to wake up and abandon foreign goods. This collection advertised the use of Khadi.

In Ahmedabad, in 1930, another collection was published consisting of popular songs to be sung for the *Prabhat Pheris*. It was compiled and published by Lilavati Harilal Desai, the Secretary of the Picketing Committee, in Ratanpol, Ahmedabad. It was priced at one anna and contained songs for each day of the week.

In 1930, an interesting collection of songs published from Wadhwan, was *Lagnana geeto*, songs to be sung on the occasion of weddings by C. Chudgar. Here again, while the structure and style were of the traditional wedding songs, the content was strongly Gandhian and patriotic. The songs in this collection emphasized the importance of Khadi and *Swadeshi*. A representative song is cited below :

आवो आवो वेवाणो पधारो रे, अम आंगण आज पधारो
तमे आव्या बहेन पहेरीने खादी रे, अेमा देश तणी छे आबादी
तमे गांधीनी आज्ञा पाळी रे, तमे ममता विदेशीनी टाळी,
धन्यवाद तमो ने वेवाणो रे, तमे धर्म सतीनो छे जाण्यो

The song welcomes guests from the bride's in-laws' family and expresses

happiness at their wearing Khadi clothes. It congratulates them on obeying Gandhiji's wishes, and on giving up foreign goods, for, by doing this they are adding to the prosperity of the country.

IV

In 1942, during the Quit India Movement, songs became more militant and aggressive. Gandhiji had provided the people with an inspiring slogan of 'Do Or Die'. People fought against the British rulers with great determination. As many national leaders were in jail, the angry masses became violent. Poets too became militant and expressed their fury in songs. Many poets wrote *garba* songs, invoking fierce goddesses - Chandika, Kali, Durga, Bahuchari, Ambika - to destroy the British empire in India. These *garbas* were sung and performed at the Navratra festival by urban and rural men and women. The Navratra festival is dedicated to the goddess Shakti, the universal energy, the almighty and powerful deity who destroys the evil. In Indian mythology she is Mahishasuramardini, the destroyer of the demon Mahishasur. She is invoked by devotees to protect them from evil and demonic powers. Women dance around the *Garbo* or perforated pot with a lighted lamp inside, a symbol of the goddess herself. Poets of Gujarat, keeping these religious aspects in mind, utilised the 'garbo' form to express their acute hatred against British rule. They invoked the goddess in order to destroy the oppressive rule of the British. Thus, they added a political dimension to *garba*. These political *garbas* were meant to incite people against British rule. Poets retained the *garba's* traditional lyrical structure and style. In these new political *garbas* the British were represented as demonic and evil while Indians were represented as benevolent and good. Churchill and other British leaders were depicted as Satanic and wicked, while Gandhiji, Jawaharlal, Vallabhbai, Subhashchandra were shown as good and heroic.

Ranchandi, a collection of similar defiant *garbas* was published in 1942 from Bombay by one Kunvarji Shah, the owner of a printing press in Kalbadevi. He edited and published them in the name of Mohanlal Desai, Vasantram Vakil and Munshi Maheshwari. These *garbas* were ascribed to the poet Chandidas. The collection was nominally priced at one anna. In order to popularize these *garbas*, the publishers stated that their permission was not required for reprinting them. This collection of fiery *garbas* was confiscated by the Government, and Kunvarji Shah, the publisher was arrested and jailed.⁹

Excerpts from three representative *garbas* cited below, show the intensity of patriotic fervour in these songs.

मा, नवरात्रि रदियाळी रे चंडिका रमणे चढया
 मा, ब्रिटनने मेल जो बाळी रे चंडिका रमणे चढया,
 बे सैकाथी पाप ते आविया रे, आवीने अमने नडया
 ए पापने मेलया टाळी रे, चंडिका रमणे चढया

.....
 “तमे टळो” अहिंधी, सौ कहेता रे तोय हजी न टळ्या,

एणे जापान थी क्ककड खादी रे हिटलरथी अडक्या
 हवे हिन्दथी जाशे हारी रे चंडिका रमणे चढया.

Here the poet expresses his fury against the British. Chandika, the fierce goddess is invoked to burn Britain. It says, “for two centuries, the British have exploited and harassed us, now Chandika, in her rage of fury will destroy them.” The poet also exhorts the people of India to be vigilant as the British have not left India in spite of being warned by the ‘Quit India’ movement. Finally, he feels sure that Britain will definitely be defeated by India as it has already been badly trounced by Japan and Hitler.

ब्रिटानियाने गांसडा पोटला बांध ब्रिटानिया बहु कीधा ते केर,
 देशना दीकरा दीया जेवा, अने काइक ने दीधा डेर... गांसडा
 मलको आखो हळगी गयो तो ये तने ना आव्यु भान
 काळनो डंको वागी त्खो ल्या, मोतना तेडा जाण... गांसडा
 जूटो वचनीयो, कपट मां शूरो, जुटे भरी डंफास
 नफट निर्लज खडो तु जाशे, तारी हवेना लागशे लाश...गांसडा
 फट रे भूंडा लडता न आवड्यु, हलकी किधी ते जात...
 चढी सवारी ओ आव्या लुटारू (पण) तु तो मोटो कमजात... गांसडा
 हाय रे ब्रिटानिया, फट रे ब्रिटानिया, घरडा ये नांखी धूल
 राजपाट तारा थशे निकंदन, उखडी जाशे जडमूळ...गांसडा

This *garba* in scathing language expresses wrath against the British. The *garba* is addressed to Britannia (who in the poem is given a male identity) who is asked to pack his bags and leave the country which he has oppressed. Britannia is warned that he faces sure death. Though his empire is in flames, he still does not take care. He is condemned as a shameless, cunning traitor and a liar. The poet adds: “Other invaders in the past looted India but none was as bad as you.” He says angrily at the end, “get out Britannia, shame on you ! Your power will soon be uprooted.”

भारतमाता ए कागळ मोकल्या रे,
 कालिका व्हेली व्हेली आव,

काळका, दरिया पारथी उमटी रे
 टोपीवाळाओनी कतार
 तारी तगतगती किरपाण थी रे
 एना कंठनो रच जे हार... कालिका

Here, Bharatmata is shown as sending a letter to the goddess Kali (a fierce goddess) inviting her to come soon and kill the “Topiwallas” (British) with her sharp dagger and to make herself a necklace of their skulls.

All these political and nationalistic *garbas* had a fiery tone and a patriotic content. These songs sung enthusiastically by the masses reflected the patriotic ethos of the country during the Gandhian period. They formed a significant part of the popular culture of those times. They referred to contemporary events and situations, and were meant to incite people against British rule in a situation which was already volatile, and were greatly successful in their aim.

Notes and References

- ★ This is a revised version of the author's paper published in *Pushpanjali*, Essays on Gandhian Themes in Honour of Dr. Usha Mehta, Delhi, 1999.
- 1. A list of some important collections is cited below : Keshav H. Sheth, *Swadeshi Geetawali*, 1919; Khabardar, *Bharatno Tankar* (Bombay, 1919); Indulal Yagnik (ed.), *Rashtra Geet* (Ahmedabad, 1923); Dahyabhai Patel (ed.), *Swaraj Garbavali* (Nadiad, 1922); Bhikhabhai Vyas, *Rashtra Garbi* (Ahmedabad, 1923); Andhakavi Hansraj, *Rashtriya Rangeeto* (Bombay, 1930); Gijubhai Badheka, *Vanarsenana Geeto* (Bhavnagar, 1930); H. N. Parikh (ed.), *Azadina Geet* (Ranapur, 1930); Sombhai Bhavsar (ed.), *Gandhi Balgeeto* (Ahmedabad, 1943); Leelavati Hariilal Desai (ed.), *Prabhat Geeto* (Ahmedabad, 1930); Paradkar, *Rashtriya Raaskunj* (Bombay, 1930); Chimanlal Bhatt, *Gandhi Katha Geeto* (Ahmedabad, 1930); Mohanlal Verma (ed.), *Rashtriya Geeto* (Bombay, 1930); C. P. Chudgar (ed.), *Khadi Tatha Lagnana Geeto* (Wadhawan, 1930); Bhayani Ratilal, *Dandina Raste* (Bombay, ND); Keshavlal Nagindas (ed.) *Swadheentana Geeto* (Ahmedabad, 1922); (A large collection of these works is in the library of Mani Bhavan, Bombay.)
- 2. This and the following translations intend to convey meaning and they are not verbatim translations.
- 3. The Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay. Home (Special) Department file No. 355 25 D of 1923.
- 4. Swami Anand, Foreword in *Swadheenta na Geeto*, Keshavdas Nagindas (ed.) (Ahmedabad, 1922).
- 5. Shardaben Mehta, *Sambharna* (Baroda, 1938), pp. 369-70.
- 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-85.
- 7. Jyoti Sangh, *Jyoti Vikas Yatra* (Ahmedabad, 1971), pp. 79-81.
- 8. Jyotsnaben Shukla, *Goravna Nava Geeto*, (Surat, 1930).
- 9. The Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay. Home Department File No. 8003/A-320 dated 23rd October, 1942.

ŚRADDHĀ IN THE SPIRITUAL EVOLUTION OF MAN

NAGIN J. SHAH

In *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 2.4.5 and 4.5.6 there occurs the famous statement : *ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyaḥ mantavyaḥ nididhyāsitavyaḥ*. It refers to the four stages of spiritual evolution. They are *darśana*, *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* (= *vijñāna* = *dhyāna*). Here the term 'darśana' is employed in the sense of *śraddhā*. This is corroborated by the two trios mentioned in the two statements (7.18-19 and 7.25) of *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. In 7.18-19 there occurs : *nāmatvā vijānāti, matvaiva vijānāti ... nāśraddadhan manute, śraddadhad eva manute*. Thus here the trio of *śraddhā*, *manana* and *vijñāna* is mentioned. In 7.25 we have : *evam paśyan evam manvāna evam vijānan*. Here the trio of *darśana*, *manana* and *vijñāna* is mentioned. The first trio corresponds to the second one. Hence the first member of the first trio viz. *śraddhā* exactly corresponds to and is identical with the first member of the second trio viz. *darśana*.

These four stages are mentioned even in the oldest Jaina canonical work named *Ācārāṅgasūtra* (Prathama Śrutaskandha 4.1.9). There occurs : *ditṭham suyam mayam vinṇāyam*. Again, under the guise of 'three jewels' (*ratnatraya*) the Jainas have accepted these four stages. The 'three jewels' are *samyag-darśana*, *samyag-jñāna* and *samyak-cāritra*. They declare that these three constitute the path leading to liberation.¹ A spiritual aspirant first attains *darśana*, then *jñāna* and at last *cāritra*. They themselves explain the term 'darśana' in the sense of *śraddhāna*.² Their *samyag-jñāna* includes *śrutajñāna* and *matijñāna*.³ They originally meant *śravaṇa* and *manana*. In *Upaniṣads* also the term 'matī' is used for *manana*.⁴ And Pūjyapāda in his commentary on *Tattvārthasūtra* 1.9 writes : *mananamātram vā matīḥ*. But the Jaina logicians in their zeal to create their own Jaina Logic transformed *śravaṇa* and *manana* into two special types of knowledge, forgetting altogether their original meaning, function and spiritual context. But in the Jaina logician's conception of *śrutajñāna* and *matijñāna* there are certain elements that positively prove that *śrutajñāna* and *matijñāna* are the logical transformations of spiritual *śravaṇa* and *manana*. The Jainas maintain that *matijñāna* covers sense perception, memory, recognition, cogitation and inference,⁵ which are mutually so different in nature. They cannot satisfactorily answer the question as to why they have brought mutually so different cognitions under one head of *matī*. We can explain this phenomenon satisfactorily if we understand *matijñāna* to stand for *manana*. In *manana* (reflection), one employs all the *pramāṇas* viz. sense perception, memory, etc. without knowing which *pramāṇa* he is employing or what nature

the *pramāna* has. This shows that *manana*, in the scheme of four spiritual stages, includes all the *pramānas*. Again, the Jainas cannot satisfactorily answer another question : When mutually so different cognitions (sense perception, memory, recognition, cogitation and inference) are brought under one head of *matī*, what prevented them from including *śruta* (verbal testimony) too in *matijñāna*. If we do not take into account the original scheme of four spiritual stages, then we can definitely say that there is nothing to prevent them from including *śrutajñāna* in *matijñāna*. But in the scheme of four spiritual stages, *śravaṇa* stage necessarily precedes *manana* stage. This old tradition of four stages, on which the Jainas have built the super-structure of their theory of knowledge, compelled them to keep *śrutajñāna* separate from *matijñāna*. This is the remnant of old spiritual tradition. *Cāritra* can be taken to stand for *dhyāna*, the fourth stage, because *dhyāna* is the acme of spiritual practice or because it signifies the entire spiritual discipline beginning with five *yamas* (prime virtues). So, we conclude that the Jaina 'three jewels' tally with the four stages of spiritual progress mentioned in the *Upaniṣads*.

The Buddhist too seems to accept the four spiritual stages mentioned in the *Upaniṣads*. The Pāli *Piṭakas* refer to them. In *Majjhimanikāya* I.135 we have : *yam piḍaṃ diṭṭhaṃ sutam mutam viññātam... tam pi netam mama nesohaṃ asmi na meso attā ti*. This shows that the Buddhists have no objection to the four spiritual stages as such; what they object to is the *ātman* which is presented as the object of *darśana*, etc. They would like to have Truth or *Dharma* (= Reality or Law) in place of *ātmā*. It should be left to the aspirant to find out for himself what Truth or Dharma is. In *Suttanipāta*⁶ there occurs the following statement : *na diṭṭhiyā na sutiyā na ñāṇena...ti bhagavā visuddhiṃ āha, adiṭṭhiyā asutiyā añāṇā...nopi tena*. Though here *darśana*, *śravaṇa* and *jñāna* are mentioned we may take *jñāna* as including both *manana* and *vijñāna*. The import of the statement is that though *darśana* etc. are the necessary means for the attainment of the highest purity of *citta* that enables it to grasp the whole Truth, they are not sufficient for the attainment of that highest purity. Maybe, they would like to have explicit mention of *śīla* in the scheme of spiritual stages.

In Buddhism *sammā-diṭṭhi* means *śraddhā*. *Sammādiṭṭhi* or *śraddhā* is at the root of all spiritual practice and all spiritual qualities. It is the first member of the Eightfold Noble Path (*ārya-aṣṭāṅgika-mārga*). In the lists of virtues or requirements of liberation, *śraddhā* is always mentioned first. The definition of *śraddhā* given by the Buddhist is very important. It is as follows : *śraddhā cetasaḥ prasādaḥ (Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, II. 25)*. In Sanskrit Dictionaries too we find this meaning recorded. What is *prasāda*? We have the following answer : *prasādo nāsravatvam (Sphuṭārthā, VIII.75), yad dhi nirmalaṃ tat prasannaṃ ity ucyate (Abhidharmadīpavṛtti, p. 367)*. Thus *śraddhā* means purity of *citta*. We are told that it is the very nature of *citta* to be

inclined towards what is truth and what is real. *Citta* is naturally endowed with this inclination.⁷ But this natural faculty is obstructed or clouded by attachment, obstinacy or dogmatism. And it is manifested on the removal of adventitious defilement of attachment which acts as a great and prime obstruction to the attainment of truth. Thus *śraddhā* here means purity of *citta*, resulted from renouncing attachment to preconceived notions and inherited views or doctrines. It means the manifestation of *citta*'s natural inclination towards truth. For the truth-seeker or spiritual aspirant this is the must because only such a pure *citta* can grasp truth when confronted in the search. In this sense of purity of *citta*, we may describe this *śraddhā* as *nirākārā*. It has no content. All the views, notions, theories and doctrines, for the truth-seeker, fall in one category. They all are *sādhya* or *parikṣya*, none of them is *siddhānta*. So, here there is mere inclination towards truth, readiness to accept the truth when presented. Let us remember that it is very difficult to free oneself from the views and doctrines among which one has been brought up and which one has indiscriminately accepted, not only accepted but have been made so deeply rooted in one's being that they have become part and parcel of one's personality. Hence for the truth-seeker the most difficult task is to emancipate himself from them.⁸ This stage of *śraddhā* precedes the stage of *śravaṇa*.

Having renounced the attachment and attained the required purity of *citta*, the truth-seeker or spiritual aspirant approaches a spiritual teacher who claims to have known the truth and reality. He approaches him with humility and respect.⁹ But before approaching him, he should examine his character and behaviour and decide for himself as to whether he really deserves to be called spiritual teacher. He should find out if he is afflicted with greed, aversion and attachment. He should examine him to make sure that he is not a cheat and that he has no selfish motives. If his fame is very great, then his character requires even closer investigation and examination because fame makes a person more prone and exposed to vices. By direct observation and by the study of informations supplied by reliable persons the truth-seeker decides whether he possesses the required spiritual qualities.¹⁰ A reliable and truthful person is called *āpta*. The two special qualities of an *āpta* are : (1) He has no desire to deceive others. (2) And he always speaks out what he has known without any distortion.¹¹ It is only after he has satisfied himself in this way that he approaches him. He associates with him and serves him. He is perfectly in receptive condition. He gives his ears and listens to the doctrine.¹² Having listened to the doctrine he may have the intuitive feeling that the doctrine taught to him is the truth. This intuitive feeling is *śraddhā*. This *śraddhā* is *sākārā* in the sense that it has content. This is the second stage of *śraddhā* which follows *śravaṇa* and *precedes manana*. The inclination towards truth has now developed into the intuitive feeling that the doctrine one has heard from the mouth of the spiritual teacher is the truth.

Having listened to the doctrine the truth-seeker or spiritual aspirant should put it to the test of reasoning and logic. We are told that having listened to the doctrine the aspirant bears or retains it in his mind. And finding proper time, place and favourable conditions, he examines the meaning of the doctrine.¹³ All our spiritual teachers ask us to examine what they have propounded or preached. In *Tattvasaṅgraha* (3588) Śāntarakṣita quotes an old verse. It says: "Just as goldsmiths test gold by burning, cutting and rubbing, even so, O monks, wise men should accept my statements after examination and not out of respect for me or not looking to my greatness."¹⁴ A Jaina Ācārya Haribhadrasūri who was a great Brahmin scholar before his adopting the Jaina spiritual discipline declares: "I have no attachment for Mahāvīra, nor have I hatred for Kapila and others. But I should accept him as an authority whose words are rational."¹⁵

The truth-seeker should neither accept the doctrine heard from the mouth of the spiritual teacher nor reject it. He may accept it provisionally to test and verify it. This is the reason why the spiritual teachers themselves appeal to us not to accept their statements on authority. They ask us to examine them and to accept them if they are found true and wholesome and to reject them if they are found false and unwholesome. Whatever doubt there is in the mind of the aspirant about what he has listened to should be removed by reasoning and logic. When the heard doctrine stands to reasoning, then it gets established. And *śraddhā* now becomes *ākāravalī* (supported by reason).¹⁶ In Pali-English Dictionary (PTS) we are told that the term *ākāra* is also employed in the sense of 'reason, ground, account.' Doubts obstruct and shake *śraddhā* if they are not removed by reasoning. Doubts are not to be suppressed by dogmatism and obstinacy. They are to be exterminated by reasoning. This *śraddhā* is described as of the nature of *aveccappasāda*.¹⁷ The purity of *citta* is greatly enhanced. And whatever attachment or dogmatic clinging there might have been in the mind of the aspirant now gets greatly removed. The purity is achieved by reasoning. Reason (*manana*) has been assigned a great role to play in the spiritual evolution of man. This has been recognised in all the ethical systems of India. No spiritual teacher should run down reason. One who has not passed the stage of reasoning (*manana*) is not qualified for meditation. Only that object which is established by reasoning is worthy of being the object of meditation. After rational examination, the aspirant's intuitive feeling that what he has heard from the mouth of the spiritual teacher is the truth becomes very strong, gaining support from reason.

After the examination of the doctrine, it becomes worthy of being the object of meditation and there arises in the aspirant the desire to meditate on it. After the rise of the desire, he exerts himself for meditation. In other words, he engages himself in the first meditation (*prathama dhyāna*) characterised by *vitarka* and *vicāra*. Therein he weighs the doctrine. There

is deep and concentrated consideration of the doctrine. After that he puts forth even greater efforts and embarks upon the second meditation (*dvitīya dhyāna*) characterised by the total absence of *vitarka* and *vicāra*¹⁸. Having fulfilled their mission in the first meditation they retire in the second meditation. At this stage the *citta* is absolutely free from thought. We are told that it is absolutely free from the agitation caused by *vitarka* and *vicāra*. When the second meditation reaches its climax there is complete removal of attachment and as a result the *citta* attains its supreme purity. This supreme purity is called *adhyātmaprasāda*¹⁹. Due to it the doctrine or truth is perfectly reflected in the *citta*. The aspirant directly experiences or sees it. This is *sākṣātkāra*. It is called *prajñā*, the highest knowledge or understanding, which penetrates the truth.²⁰

Śraddhā grows as it passes through the stages of *śrāvaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana*. The attachment or dogmatic clinging is removed more and more as the *citta* passes through these stages and as a result more and more purity (*prasāda*) is attained. With the attainment of more and more purity the truth is grasped by or reflected in the *citta* more and more clearly. Thus with the growth of *śraddhā*, knowledge also grows or develops. And it reaches its perfection in *prajñā*. *Prajñā* is the result of the complete extermination of *rāga* (attachment) on account of deep non-reflective meditation. In Jainism too *kevalajñāna* (pure perfect knowledge) or *anantajñāna* is the result of total destruction of *rāga* on account of *śukladhyāna*.²¹ And in the Pātañjala Yoga, *prasankhyāna* (the supreme knowledge) or *anantajñāna* (infinite knowledge) is attained on the total removal of *rāga* (attachment) due to the *samādhi* called *dharmamegha*.²²

As we have already seen, Jainas employ the term '*darśana*' in the sense of *śraddhā*.²³ For them the intuitive conviction or feeling that *jīva* (soul), *ajīva* (non-soul), *āsrava* (inflow of karmic matter), *bandha* (bondage of soul with the inflow of karmic matter), *saṁvara* (stoppage of the inflow of karmic matter), *nirjarā* (partial dissociation of the bound karmic matter from soul) and *mokṣa* (total and absolute dissociation of the bound karmic matter from soul) are the fundamental verities is for them *śraddhā*.²⁴

As soon as the soul cuts *granthi* or the Gordian knot of intense attachment and aversion and attains inner purity capable of producing *śraddhā*, *śraddhā* makes its appearance. However, in the case of some souls this appearance requires the aid of instruction, while in the case of others its appearance is natural, automatic, without requiring any aid of instruction. Even though the internal main cause, the inner purity, is identical, the Jainas divide *śraddhā* into that originating by nature (*naisargikā*) and that originating through instruction (*adhigamajā*) keeping in view its non-dependence or dependence on instruction.²⁵ The noteworthy point is that Jainas maintain that there is, in fact, one *śraddhā* which is attained by some with the aid of instruction and by

others without that aid. They do not regard the *naisargikā śraddhā* and the *adhigamajā śraddhā* as two necessary gradual stages of *śraddhā* in the case of one and the same individual. This is the established position of the Jainas. Its logical defect is made manifest by the right question raised by Pūjyapāda in his *Sarvārthasiddhi*. The question is : Is there the knowledge of *jīva* etc. present in the *naisargikā śraddhā*? If yes, then it too is *adhigamajā śraddhā*. If no, then how can there be conviction of their verity?²⁶ An answer to the question is that the *śraddhā* originating by nature and the *śraddhā* originating through instruction are really two gradual stages of *śraddhā*, appearing one after another in the case of the same individual. One is the stage preceding *śravaṇa* or instruction and the other following *śravaṇa*. The *śraddhā* of the first stage, which is not caused by instruction, is naturally devoid of knowledge of *jīva* etc. because the person concerned has not yet heard about them. It is simply of the nature of spiritually wholesome inclination. The dawning of the spiritually wholesome inclination is attended by radical change in the outlook. The whole horizon changes. The spiritually wholesome inclination or attitude is nothing but a kind of purified state of consciousness, that enables the soul to grasp the truth. On the other hand, *śraddhā* of the second stage is caused by instruction and hence it does have knowledge of *jīva* etc. But the Jainas have failed to answer the question rightly in this manner on account of their faulty established position which is characterised by the total loss of memory of the original old tradition of the gradual stages of *śraddhā*, which is preserved in *Upaniṣads*²⁷ and the Buddhism. But we do find, here and there, certain traces of the forgotten tradition. We note below such statements, ideas or concepts as are reminiscent of the old tradition.

(1) To the best of my knowledge, in the entire Jaina literature one comes across a solitary statement in Āc. Devagupta's commentary on Vācaka Umāsvāti's *Sambandhakārikā* 1, which goes against the established tradition and clearly recognises *naisargikā śraddhā* and *adhigamikā śraddhā* as two gradual stages of *śraddhā*, which are assumed successively by the consciousness of the same individual. The statement in point is : *naisargikā avāptaśraddho ' dhyayanādibhir ādhigamikam [śraddhānam] avāpnoti*.

(2) The Jaina thinkers recognise two types of *śraddhā* (= *samyag-darśana*) - *naiścayikā* and *vyāvahārikā*. The description of the former corresponds to that of the *śraddhā* preceding *śravaṇa*, while that of the latter with that of *śraddhā* following *śravaṇa*. The qualitative transformation of a soul – resulting from spiritual development – which is of the form of an *inclination* towards validly cognising what is cognisable, renouncing what is worthy of rejection, accepting what is worthy of acceptance, is *naiścayikā śraddhā*. On the other hand, the intuitive conviction that *jīva*, etc. are verities is *vyāvahārikā śraddhā*.²⁸

(3) The five distinguishing marks of *śraddhā* (*samyag-darśana*) are mentioned in the Jaina philosophical works. They are as follows :

(a) *Śama* (tranquillity) - This is the mental state when the passions like anger, greed, etc. are suppressed or controlled and desires for worldly pleasures are properly curbed. Pt. Sukhlalji maintains that it is the mental state of calming down of the vices like wrong insistence etc. that result from a misplaced partisanship of philosophical views.

(b) *Samvega* (spiritual craving) - The mental state characterised by intense desire to be free from worldly bondage.

(c) *Nirveda* (disgust) - Feeling of disgust towards what is spiritually unwholesome.

(d) *Anukampā* (compassion) - The mental state marked by the desire to remove misery of those in misery and hence by the tenderness of heart.

(e) *Āstikya* (positive and constructive attitude) - Open mindedness and readiness to accept truth presented in any manner, in any language and by any one is what is meant by *āstikya*. It is opposed to dogmatism. It is this attitude which is regarded as *śraddhā*. And we do equate *āstikya* with *śraddhā*. This *śraddhā* is that *śraddhā* which precedes *śravaṇa*.

In the *Dhavalā* commentary on *Saṅkhandāgama* it is stated that these five are not the marks of *śraddhā* (*samyag-darśana*) but that in fact they together constitute the nature of *śraddhā*, their manifestation itself is *śraddhā*.²⁹ Ultimately this means that the internal purity attained on account of removal of intense attachment, which makes one inclined towards what is spiritually wholesome and true is *śraddhā*. This *śraddhā* is identical with that *śraddhā* which precedes *śravaṇa*. And it is this *śraddhā* that can be rightly called *naisargikā*.

Now let us study the view of Sāṅkhya-Yoga thinkers. Pātañjala Yoga recognises the importance of *śraddhā* and considers it to be the prime source or basis of the entire yogic discipline beginning with *yamas* (prime virtues like non-violence etc.) and ending in the highest *samādhi*. The definition of *śraddhā* given by Vyāsa in his *Yogabhāṣya* verbally tallies with the one formulated by the Buddhist Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. It is: *Śraddhā cetasaḥ samprasādaḥ* (1.20). Neither Vyāsa nor his commentators explain *samprasāda* as purity (of *citta*). For Vācaspati *samprasāda* means craving or intense desire. And he maintains that its object is the *tattva* (Truth / Reality/Soul) known through the basic scripture, inference or the instruction of the spiritual teacher. Thus, according to him *śraddhā* is nothing but craving for the direct realisation of the *tattva* known indirectly through scriptures etc.³⁰ So, this *śraddhā* corresponds to the one which follows *śravaṇa*. For Vijñānabhikṣu *samprasāda* means liking or delight, and hope too. It is liking for or delight in the yogic practice. And it is also hope that the yogic practice one has undertaken may be accomplished successfully.³¹ Prof. S.N. Dasgupta

had before him the words of Vijñānabhikṣu, when he wrote : “*Śraddhā* ...includes a sweet hope which looks cheerfully on the practice and brings a firm belief in the success of the attempt.”³² One who, having known the path of yogic practice through instruction of the teachers, has undertaken yogic practice, likes it and delights in it and entertains hope that it may end in grand success. Thus Vijñānabhikṣu’s interpretation too points to that *śraddhā* which follows *śravaṇa*.

It is interesting to note that like many important technical terms found in Buddhism, the term ‘*adhyātmaprasāda*’ also occurs in Pātañjala *Yogasūtra* (1.47)³³. What does it mean in this system? Patañjali himself states that when clearness or lucidity is attained in the non-reflective meditation due to the stoppage of *vicāra*, there occurs *adhyātmaprasāda*. Vyāsa explains that when *citta* is freed from obscuration of impurity, it has a pure steady flow not influenced by *rajas* and *tamas* which respectively cause agitation and delusion (=attachment-aversion). This is called clearness or lucidity. When *citta* attains this clearness or lucidity in non-reflective meditation, then a yogi gains *adhyātmaprasāda*³⁴. Svāmī Hariharānanda Āraṇya in his commentary on Pātañjala *Yogasūtra* 1.47 writes : *adhyātmaprasāda/adhyātma = grahaṇaśakti vā karaṇaśakti; usakā prasāda yā nairmalya... buddhi hī pradhānatayā ādhyātmika bhāva hai* (Hindi)³⁵. So, in simple language, in the non-reflective meditation all agitation and impurities are removed from *citta* on account of the retirement of *vicāra* and the stream of consciousness becomes lucid and transparent and the *citta* attains supreme purity. This purity of *citta* is *adhyātmaprasāda*.

So, we can very well interpret ‘*cetasaḥ samprasādaḥ*’ occurring in Vyāsa’s definition of *śraddhā* as purity of *citta*. And this purity becomes more and more intense as it passes through *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *dhyāna*. But it is sad that we find no explicit enunciation of this fact in the Pātañjala Yoga.

The initial purity of *citta* which makes the aspirant inclined towards what is spiritually wholesome and true naturally protects him and prevents him from going astray.

This paper attempts to search for the primary meaning of *śraddhā* in the spiritual context, to indicate the stages *śraddhā* passes through, to find its connection with the gradual growth of understanding, and to show its fulfilment in the final realisation of Truth. So, it does not discuss the etymology³⁶ of *śraddhā*, nor does it give an account of different senses in which it was employed by different authors in different contexts.

Notes and References

1. *Samyagdarśanajñānacāritrāṇi mokṣamārgaḥ* / *Tattvārthasūtra* (= *TS*), I.
2. *TS*, I.2
3. *matīśrūtāvadhimanahparyāyakevalāni jñānam* / *TS*, I. 9.
4. *Maitreyi! ātmano vā are darśanena śravaṇena matyā vijñānenedaṃ sarvaṃ viditaṃ* / *Bṛhadāranyaka Up.*, 2.4.5
5. *matīḥ smṛtiḥ sañjñā cintā 'bhinibodha ity anarthāntaram* / *TS*, I. 13.
6. 839
7. Compare : *tattvapakṣapāto hi dhiyām* (= *cittasya*) *svabhāvaḥ* / *Yogavārtika*, I. 8.
8. Compare : *Kāmarāgasneharāgāv iṣatkarānī vāraṇau*
dr̥ṣtirāgas tu pāpīyān durucchedaḥ satām api //
Vītarāgastotra by Ac. Hemacandra.
9. *saddhājāto upasāṅkamanto payirupāsati...* / *Majjhima-Nikāya* (*MN*), II.173.
10. *MN, Camkisuttū*
11. *Nyāyasūtra-Bhāṣya*, 1.1.7.
12. *...payirupāsanto sotāṃ odahati, ohitasoto dhammaṃ suṇāti, ...* / *MN*, II. 173.
13. *sutva dhammaṃ dhāreti, dhāritānaṃ dhammānaṃ atthaṃ upaparikkhati, ...* / *MN*, II. 173.
14. *tāpāc chedāc ca nikaṣāt suvarṇam iva pañḍitaiḥ* /
parīkṣya bhikṣavo grāhyaṃ madvaco na tu gauravātī /
15. *Pakṣapāto na me Vire na dvesaḥ Kapilādiṣu* /
Yuktimadvacanāṃ yasya tasya kāryaḥ parigrahaḥ //
- *Lokatattvanirṇaya*, 38.
16. *ākāravatī saddhā dassanamūlikā dalhā asamhāriyā...* / *MN*, I. 320.
17. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, VI.75.
18. *atthaṃ upaparikkhato dhammā nijjhānaṃ khamanti, dhammanijjhānakhantiyā satī*
chando jāyati, chandajāto ussaḥati, ussaḥitvā tuletī, tulayitvā padaḥati, ... / *MN* II.
173.
19. *Vilarkavicāraḥsobhavirahāt ... adhyātmaprasādaḥ* / *...tasmāt tarhi śraddhā prasādaḥ*
! tasya hi dvīṭīya-dhānalābhāt samāhitabhūminiḥsaraṇe sampratyaya utpadyate /
so 'tra adhyātmaprasādaḥ / *Abhidharmakośa - bhāṣya*, VIII.7.
20. *pahilatto samāno kāyena c 'eva paramasaccaṃ sacchikarotī, paññāya ca taṃ ativijjha*
passati / *MN*, II. 173.
21. *Jaina Philosophy and Religion*, Nagin J. Shah (tr.), Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi,
1998, p. 74.
22. *prasāṅkhyāne 'py akusīdasya sarvathā vivekakhyāter dharmameyhaḥ samādhiḥ*

I tataḥ kleśakar manivṛttiḥ tadā sarvāvarṇamalāpetasya jñanasyānantyāj jñeyam alpam / Yogasūtra, IV. 29-31.

tad dharmameghākhyam dhyānam paramam prasankhyānam Vivekakhyāter eva parākāṣṭheti yogino vadanti / Yogavārtika, I.2.

Compare *dharmamegha-samādhi* with Buddhist *dharmameghā bhūmiḥ*.

23. *tattvārthaśraddhānam samyagdarśanam / TS, I.2*
24. *jīvājīvāsṛavabandhasamvarnirjarāmokṣās tattvam / IS, I. 4*
25. *tan nisargād adhigamād vā/TS, I.3*
ubhayatra samyagdarśane antaraṅgo hetus tulyo darśanamohasyopāśamaḥ kṣayah kṣayopāśamo vā/ tasmin sali yad bāhyopadeśād rte prādurbhaveti tan naisargikam / yat paropadeśapūrvakam jīvādyadhigamanimitam tad uttaram / Sarvārthasiddhi on IS, I.3.
26. *nisargaje samyagdarśane 'rthādhigamaḥ syād vā na vā / yady asti, tad api adhigamajam eva/na arthāntram / atha nāsti, katham anavabuddhatattvasya arthaśraddhānam iti/ I.3*
27. *Śraddhā* preceding *śravaṇa* is mentioned in that famous sentence *ātmā vā are* etc. from *Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* while *śraddhā* following *śravaṇa* is referred to in the two trios we have mentioned in the beginning.
28. Upādhyāya Yaśvijayajī in his *Samyaktva Saṁsthāna Caupai Bālāvabodha (gāthā 2)* writes as follows : *darśanamohanīyakarmano je vināśa kṣaya upāśama kṣayopāśamā rūpa, tehatḥi je nirmala malarahita guṇanum thānaka upajaim te niścaya samakita jāñim / (Old Gujarati)*
Also see *Dravyasaṅgrahaṭīkā, gāthā 41.*
29. *Ṣaṅkhaṇḍāgama - Dhavalāṭīkā*, Ed. H.L. Jain, Amarāvālī, 1939-42, p. 51.
30. *sa ca āgamānumānācāryopadeśasamadhigatatattvaṅviśayo bhavati, sa hi cetasaḥ samprasādo 'bhirucir atīcchā śraddhā / Tattvavaiśārādī, I. 20.*
31. *samprasādaḥ prītiḥ yogo me bhūyād ity abhilāṣaḥ / Yogavārtika, I.20.*
32. *Yoga Philosophy*, S. N. Dasgupta, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1979, p. 331.
33. *nirvicāravaiśārdye 'dhyātmāprasādaḥ / Yogasūtra, I. 47.*
34. See Vyāsa's *Yogabhāṣya* on the above aphorism.
35. *Pātañjala-Yogadarśanam*, Svāmī Hariharānanda Āraṇya, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1980, p. 138.
36. The word '*śraddhā*' is formed from *śrat* (probably meaning heart) + *√dha*. On the basis of idg. *kred'√dhe*, Latin *cred-do* and Avestan *zrazd*, the Indo-European language scholars declare that the word '*śraddhā*' is very ancient, and they accept this etymology Prof. R.N. Dandekar in his paper '*Hṛd in the Veda*' (*Siddhabhāratī* Vol. I, Ed. Vishvabandhu, Hoshiarpur, 1950, p. 141) writes : "A philological study of words meaning 'heart' in the cognate idg. language would show that, properly speaking, the Sanskrit equivalent of the original idg. word *kered*, *kred* should have been *śrd*. In its place *hrd* which is actually a rhyme word, has been preserved.

It seems, however that *śrd* also has been preserved in Sanskrit in another form, viz. *śrad*." In his commentary on Nirukta, Mukunda Jha Bakshi gives the following etymology : *śrat itī satyanāma pūrvapadam / tad asyām dhīyate itī śraddhā /* (*Nirukta*, Nirṇayasāgara Press, Mumbai, 1930, p. 425.

PURĀNAS ON THE VĀKĀTAKAS

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

I

Introductory

The Vākātakas, who rose to political power about the same time as the Imperial Guptas in mid-third century A.D. and had close relations with them, played a pivotal role in the politico-cultural configuration of Central India and Deccan for a little over two-and-a-half centuries up to about the close of the fifth century A.D. And the *Purānakāras* could ill-afford to ignore them. And the Purānas supply highly significant, albeit very brief information about some facets of their early annals.¹ They shed welcome light on the original territory and early history of the dynasty for some three generations and the termination of their rule over their original territorial possessions. And this highly valuable evidence is analysed in the light of other relevant data, especially inscriptional, in these pages.²

II

Original Territory : Vindhyan Region

The Purānas³ give an account of what they call *vaidesika nr̥pas*⁴, and Pargiter takes them to be the 'Dynasties of Vidiśā, & c.'⁵ From a general perusal of the passages concerned at least some of them appear to have flourished in the post-Andhra (post-Sātavāhana) period (viz. third century A.D.). But all of them were not concerned with Vidiśā (in Madhya Pradesh) even remotely.⁶ Therefore the expression *vaidesika nr̥pas* ought, more appropriately, to be taken to denote 'kings of various regions'⁷ so that all the rulers mentioned in the passages thereunder may be accommodated. Certain manuscripts of the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata*⁸ state that king Śīsunandin and his younger brother Nandiyaśas flourished at the end (or after the termination) of the lineage of the Śuṅgas.⁹ This is followed by the averment that in his (Nandiyaśas's) family were born three kings, viz. (1) Śīśuka, the daughter's son (*dauhitra*) of Nandiyaśas, who ruled over (or from) Purikā, (2) Vindhyaśakti and (3) his (viz. Vindhyaśakti's) son Pravīra.¹⁰ If Pravīra and his father Vindhyaśakti were in any way connected by blood with the other kings referred to earlier in the same passage is difficult to determine, though the statement that there were three kings in the lineage of Nandiyaśas and reference immediately thereafter to Śīśuka, Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravīra would appear to suggest such a connection. But keeping in mind the utterly confused state

of the Purāṇic accounts at this place we cannot reach a definite conclusion on this point.¹¹ However, as Vindhyaśakti is mentioned as the progenitor of the Vākāṭaka dynasty in some records of its later members, we may be pretty sure that Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra were the first two members of the Vākāṭaka dynasty well-known from the inscriptions of their descendents. The only difference between the Purāṇic and epigraphic accounts is that the former names Vindhyaśakti's son as Pravīra and the latter as Pravara Sena. This difference can be easily explained by assuming that one was the personal name and the other was adopted at the time of coronation. Pravīra most probably was his personal name and Pravara Sena the coronation one (*abhiṣeka-nāma*)¹². Another possibility, albeit much less likely,¹³ is that Pravīra was an epithet assumed by or given to Pravara Sena I in allusion to his heroic victories that resulted in his becoming the undisputed master of an extensive area spreading from the Vindhyan region of Madhya Pradesh to Vidarbha and perhaps beyond in the Deccan and enabled him to observe a large number of costly and protracted Vedic sacrifices.

That the Vākāṭakas had during the beginning nothing to do with the Vidiśā region is shown absolutely unambiguously by the description of the Vākāṭaka monarchs as *Vindhyakas* or belonging to the Vindhyan region immediately following the reference to the four sons of Pravīra becoming kings.¹⁴ This is closely comparable to the mention of the immediately preceding Sātavāhanas¹⁵ as Andhras or Andhra-jāṭiyas in the Purāṇas which also gave rise to much unwarranted debate regarding their original home or territory of their rule.¹⁶ The Vākāṭakas thus began their political career in the Vindhyan region.

Vindhya versus Ṛkṣavat

There is however, great uncertainty regarding the location of the Vindhya *vis-a-vis* the adjacent Ṛkṣavat mountains both in ancient Indian literary lore and among modern historians and geographers. The name was used in a wider and a narrow sense. When employed in the former sense, the name Vindhya connoted the entire mountain-range spreading roughly from Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh to the Arabian Sea in Gujarat and includes the ranges of both these mountains which are treated as two of the *kula-parvatas* (chief mountains). However, when distinguished from one another, the only point of agreement is that the river Narmadā formed the dividing line between the two. But there is considerable disagreement among the Indologists regarding the respective designation of the mountains lying to the north and south of this river owing to the confused ancient traditions on the subject. Some scholars opine that when used in a narrow sense the Ṛkṣavat and Vindhya connoted the mountain ranges to the north and south respectively of the Narmadā.¹⁷

But this position is based entirely on a confused statement of Nilakanṭha, a mediaeval commentator of the *Harivamśa* and some confusion among the

Bhuvanakośa sections of a few Purāṇas and ignores certain vital points which leave absolutely no doubt that the actual position was just the other way round, viz. Vindhya denoting the mountain-range to the north of the river Narmadā and Rkṣavat that to its south. This postulation finds support from overwhelming early literary and epigraphic tradition, and, to add to it, the name is at present commonly used in this sense. We would refrain from launching a searching analysis of the entire gamut of the material bearing on this incidental question, and should just like to invite attention only to some clinching data.

To begin with, Rkṣavat is the protonym of what is now commonly known as the Sātpuḍā range, the latter being a distant derivative, partially though, of the former. In the Nasik inscription of the nineteenth year of the reign of the Sātavāhana monarch Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi his father Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is described as the lord of several mountains including the Vindhya (*Vijha* in its Prakrit form) and the Rkṣavat referred to in its Prakrit form Chavata,¹⁸ marking an intermediate stage in its march from Rkṣavat to Sāta. The derivative of Chavata would, of course, be Chaata as a substitution of *va* by *a* which following the normal course, got assimilated itself with the preceding *a*, which resulted into its lengthening, viz. Chaata turning into Chāta. Then, as known from several epigraphs, coins and literary evidence, in southern Prakrits sibilants and *c* and *ch* were interchangeable. For a few instances, *Chimuka* turned into *Simuka*,¹⁹ *Śānta* into *Cānta*,²⁰ *Sātakarṇi* into *Cātakarṇi*,²¹ and *Vāsiṭhī* into *Vāchitti*.²² Conversely Chavata could by a similar process become *Sāta*. And the terminal suffix *puḍā*, which is indubitably a much later accretion, was added most probably for indicating the layers.²³ Secondly, the references to the Vindhya mountain and the Vindhya forest (*Vindhy-ātava*) in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita* (Ucchvāsas VII and VIII) in connection with the princess Rājyaśrī being traced by her brother Harṣavardhana cannot certainly refer to the mountain-chain to the south of the Narmadā. Likewise, the description of the Vindhya as the sporting mountain (*krīḍā-giri*) of the Candella king Yaśovarman²⁴ and of the Kalacuri king Kokalladeva I (of Tripurī) as occupying the *Vindhya-tata*²⁵ cannot apply to the mountains to the south of the Narmadā. Then, the poet Vākpati in his Prakrit poem *Gaudavaho* verses worship to the goddess Vindhyaśrī. This would show that Vindhyaśrī in the Mirzāpur district of Uttar Pradesh where the hallowed temple was located was treated as a part of the Vindhya ranges in the early eighth century A.D. And to add to it, we still have several localities named after the Vindhya mountain in North India, e.g. Vindhyaśrī and Vindhyaśrī, while there is none to the south of the Narmada. It is consequently obvious that the confusion in the Bhuvanakośa sections of the Purāṇas and the erroneous observation of Nīlakaṇṭha, born of unintended confusion, by itself, cannot form the basis of such an epoch-making theory as the location of the two mountains as done by some scholars including stalwarts like H.C. Raychaudhuri and D.C.

Sircar. And finally, this point is clinched conclusively by the stock example *Uttaro Vindhyaṭ Pāriyātraḥ*, 'the Pāriyātra is to the north of the Vindhya', in the grammatical text of Śākaṭāyana (II.2.75),²⁶ which would lose all sense if the R̥ksavat were to intervene between them. Pāriyātra, as is well-known, was the ancient name of the Aravally mountain in the present state of Rajasthan, and the statement that it was to the north of the Vindhya should leave absolutely no doubt that the latter lay to the north of the Narmadā.

III

Kāñcanakā : Earliest Vākātaka Capital

Relevant in the present context is the stanza referring to Pravīra or Pravara Sena I in the reconstructed Purāṇic text which reads as under :

*Vindhyaśakti-sutaś-c-āpi Pravīro nāma Vīryavān /
Bhokṣyate ca samāḥ ṣaṣṭim purīm kāñcanakām ca vai*²⁷

The normal meaning of this verse would be that the valorous son of Vindhyaśakti named Pravīra would rule over (or from) the city of Kāñcanakā for sixty years. This is in close agreement with Pargiter's rendering.²⁸ But K.P. Jayaswal proposed to amend the terminal quarter as *Purikām Canakām ca vai* and accordingly concluded that Pravīra (viz. Pravara Sena I) ruled over the twin cities of Purikā and Canakā.²⁹ This emendation found a staunch supporter in V. V. Mirashi who championed it on the ground that in case Pargiter's reading were to be adopted, it would render the particle *ca* meaningless which would, in that case, have to be regarded as inserted in the line only for the sake of completing the quarter (*pāda-pūrāṇa*).³⁰ This was also the main ground cited by Jayaswal in support of his contention. However, it is pertinent to note that not a single manuscript consulted by Pargiter contains the reading *Purikā* in this context.³¹ And in the case of Purāṇic texts one need not stretch grammatical and linguistic considerations beyond a certain point as words like *hi*, *tu*, *ca* and *vai* were not infrequently used without any meaning as the Purāṇic compilers often found it difficult to complete the stanzas otherwise. If one were always to look for a meaning of such words one would be landing oneself in absurdities and resultant disappointment. Not to speak of the occurrence of these adjuncts for the fulfilment of metrical requirements in the entire range of the dynastic sections of the Purāṇas, the quarter immediately preceding the one under review in the same line referring to Kāñcanakā contains another unnecessary particle *ca*³². So we perforce prefer Pargiter's reading according to which Pravīra or Pravara Sena I ruled (from) the town of Kāñchanakā (alone) which was evidently his only capital.³³

The location of Kāñcanakā therefore is of paramount importance for determining the original territory under the rule of Pravīra and consequently

of the Vindhya (Vākāṭaka) family to which he belonged. And this town can easily be equated with the modern village of Nachnā or Nachnā-kī - talāi in the Panna district of the Bundelkhand division of Madhya Pradesh.³⁴ The present name can be easily shown to be a descendant of its ancient name. It is quite likely that in course of centuries that have elapsed the two (initial and concluding) *kā* - s got dropped and the remainder - *ñcana* was transformed into Nacnā by the addition of the vowel *a* to *n* for the sake of convenience of pronunciation. The initial palatal *ñ* also got turned into dental *na*, for there is hardly any word commencing with the palatal *ña*.³⁵ This identification seems to satisfy all the conditions. Several early monuments including a couple of early Vākāṭaka lithic records³⁶ and an early Gupta-Vākāṭaka temple³⁷ standing at the site are quite well-known. We may thus conclude that the Vindhyan tract including a major portion of Bundelkhand-Baghelkhand region formed part of the Vākāṭaka kingdom during the reign of Pravīra-Pravara Sena I and, as will be seen shortly, continued under the dynasty for some more time. The Vindhyan region formed the core of the early Vākāṭaka kingdom as shown by a couple of other considerations as well. The name of the founder of the dynasty, Vindhyaśakti, clearly reveals that he had carved out for himself a kingdom in the Vindhyan region and it formed the main source of his strength,³⁸ and Kāñcanakā was probably founded by him.

IV

Pravīra (Pravara Sena I), Son of Vindhyaśakti

His son and successor Pravīra or Pravara Sena I was very powerful as revealed by his observance of numerous Śrauta sacrifices involving costly fees (*bahu-dakṣiṇā*) and his assumption of the supreme imperial title of *samrāt*, and could just not remain contented with a small principality restricted to the Vindhyan region. As a result of his extensive conquests were added fresh territories to his kingdom which now extended as far south as Vidarbha and was large enough to be shared by his four sons as averred in the Purāṇas.³⁹ But the close association with the Vindhyan region continued for another few generations as clearly established by the meaningful name Vindhya (i.e. Vindhyan) employed for the dynasty in the Purāṇic accounts immediately following the description of Pravīra or Pravara Sena I and his four sons.⁴⁰

It may thus be concluded reasonably that the Vākāṭaka original territory lay in the Vindhyan region of the present state of Madhya Pradesh which, as we shall see, continued under the dynasty for a few more generations. However, before concluding attention must be invited to the intriguing fact that while the dynasty is referred to as Vindhya in the Purāṇas, this name is conspicuously missing in the epigraphic records of the family all of which call it by the name Vākāṭaka alone. As stated above, this is analogous to the Sātavāhanas who are called by this name only invariably in their own

records whereas the Purāṇas mention them only as Andhra or Andhra-jāfiya. And Vākāṭaka, like its counterpart in question, was obviously the dynastic or family name while Vindhyaśakti referred to the region where their original principality was located. Again, like Sātavāhana, the name Vākāṭaka seems to allude to the eponymous hero from whom the dynasty traced its origin. It is not impossible, though by no means certain, that Vindhyaśakti was only an appellation or secondary name of the first king of the dynasty and Vākāṭaka was his personal name.⁴¹ Alternatively, the dynastic name might have been derived from a locality closely associated with the Vākāṭakas. In this context Jayaswal invited attention to the modern village of Bāgāṭ in the northernmost part of the former Orcha state, some six miles east of Chirgaon in the Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh and thought that the family-name was its derivative. He also felt that Vindhyaśakti himself adopted the name of the town as dynastic appellation.⁴² One must, however, be prepared for the possibility of the similarity of the two names being purely accidental. And even if it was connected with the name Vākāṭaka, it is more likely that the locality was named after the Vākāṭakas rather than the reverse being the case. It is pertinent to note in this connection that there are some such names in Vidarbha as well⁴² and have to be explained in a similar manner.⁴³

V

Kolikilas

Reference must be made here to the mention in the Purāṇas of a people or dynasty called Kolikila or by some such other name mentioned in connection with, and immediately prior to, the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti.⁴⁴ It must be mentioned in this context that the Kolikilas are first mentioned as one of the 'various local dynasties' and then Vindhyaśakti is referred to. Whether the two were connected in any way is difficult to decide for want of necessary evidence.⁴⁵

VI

Early History

The *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas mention ninety-six years in connection with Vindhyaśakti.⁴⁶ Since such a long reign is almost an impossibility, the period appears to refer to his exceptionally long life that must have provided him an opportunity to carve out at least a fairly large principality. As we have seen, the Purāṇas give Pravīra or Pravara Sena I a long reign lasting as long as six decades which is not only not impossible but quite commensurate with his numerous attainments including wide-spread conquests. They also aver that he observed the Vājapeya or Vājimedha (Aśvamedha) sacrifices carrying profuse fees to the priests.⁴⁷ The use of the plural number in this connection leaves no doubt that the number of the said sacrifices performed by him

was at least three. The copper-plate charters of his descendants give the number of *Aśvamedhas* observed by him as four and also add substantially to the list by including in it *Agniṣṭoma*, *Āptoryāma*, *Ṣoḍaśī*, *Atirātra*, *Vājapeya*, *Brhaspatisava* and *Sādyaskra*.⁴⁸ The performance of so many sacrifices is indicative of the measure of his great power and wealth as well as his enthusiasm in following Vedic religion.

As pointed out earlier, the Purānas aver that four sons of Pravīra or Pravara Sena I would become (viz. became) kings. Had it not been for the Washim plates of Vindhyaśakti II bringing to light Pravara Sena I's son Sarva Sena, who founded the now well-known Vatsagulma (Washim) branch of the dynasty⁴⁹ in addition to his already known son Gautamīputra,⁵⁰ this Purānic statement would have been dismissed as a myth. As of now we know only two branches of the dynasty, viz. Padmapura-Nandivardhana-Pravarapura and Vatsagulma,⁵¹ the remaining two offshoots still remaining unknown. It is possible that these may come to light in future when some new records are discovered.⁵²

We believe that Pravīra (Pravara Sena I) had divided the kingdom among three of his sons during his lifetime with the intention of eliminating possible troubles over succession after his demise, retaining with himself a part of the realm because his remaining son, Gautamīputra, was a minor (too young) to wield the reins of administration. In fact, he never came to the throne as he predeceased his father who was in consequence followed in the kingship by his grandson (Gautamīputra's son) Rudra Sena I. In this case therefore we have got to take *putra*, 'son', in the sense of grandson.

And we have definite evidence that the Vindhyan region continued under (the Padmapura-Nandivardhana-Pravarapura branch of) the Vākātakas till some time in the reign of Prthivī Śeṇa I about mid-fourth century A.D. It is established by the Nachnā-kī-talāī⁵³ and Ganj⁵⁴ lithic inscriptions of a certain Vyāghradeva who is described as meditating upon the feet (*pādānudhyāta*) of the Vākāṭaka *Mahārāja* Prthivī Śeṇa. He was almost certainly a vassal of Prthivī Śeṇa. There is no doubt about this Prthivī Śeṇa being a Vākāṭaka monarch in view of the explicit statement to this effect in the two inscriptions. But there were two kings of this name among the Vākāṭakas, viz. (1) Prthivī Śeṇa I, son and successor of Rudra Sena I, and (2) the last known king of the Padmapura-Nandivardhana - Pravarapura branch of the dynasty bearing this name. And scholars are naturally divided about the identity of the king mentioned in these two records.⁵⁵ But if the Purānic Vindhyaikas are taken to be the same as the Vākāṭakas and the Vindhyan region is admitted as their original territory, one can't but concede the equation of the Vākāṭaka king under reference with the first king of this name and the inscriptions in question as an incontrovertible proof of the continuation, howsoever precarious, of the Vākāṭaka authority over this territory. The supporters of the alternative position have to face the fact that the entire area in the late fifth century

A.D. when Prthivī Śeṇa II flourished was under the imperial Guptas as both the Uccakalpa and the Parivrājaka Mahārājas, who held this region between them, were their vassals.⁵⁶

VII

Date of Compilation of Vamśānucarita Section of the Purāṇas

And finally, we may touch another problem concerning the Vindhyakas=Vākātakas. The use of the plural number with the Vindhyakas (*Vindhyakānām*) would show that the Purāṇa compilers had in mind at least three generations of the dynasty in their mind, viz. up to Rudra Sena I. But the reference to the end of the Vindhyaka family (*Vindhyakānām kule-tīte*) looks quite significant historically. It most probably implies not the termination of the Vindhyaka or Vākātaka dynasty but of its rule over the Vindhya region. As we have seen above, the rule of the Padmapura-Nandivardhana - Pravara-pura branch of the Vindhyakas-Vākātakas continued over this area till some time during the reign of Prthivī Śeṇa I. According to the chronology acceptable to us, which does not differ substantially from that propounded by most other historians, Prthivī Śeṇa I ruled from c. 355 to 385 A.D.⁵⁷ If the two lithic inscriptions of his vassal Vyāghradeva are placed even about the beginning of his reign, they have to be dated around c. 360 A.D., it would therefore follow that at least the concerned section of the Purāṇas was finalised after this date. But it conflicts with Pargiter's view that the *Matsya* account received its final shape around mid-third century A.D. as it ends with the Andhra=Sātavāhanas and the local kingdoms that survived them a while and the other accounts following the lead given by it and incorporating some slightly later material were given their present form about 320-330 or perhaps 335 A.D.⁵⁸ We are, however, inclined to date these later, accounts a few decades later, say slightly after 360 A.D.

VIII

Resumé

To sum up, we may aver that a critical analysis of the Purāṇic data in the perspective of relevant epigraphic evidence leads us to the following positions :

- I. The Purāṇas refer to the Vākātakas as Vindhyakas because their original territory lay in the Vindhyan region of Madhya Pradesh. This is a proof enough to eliminate the theory of some historians tracing their origin somewhere in Andhra Pradesh wherefrom they immigrated at first to Vidarbha and later to the Vindhyan region of Madhya Pradesh.⁵⁹
- II. The Vindhya, when distinguished from the Rkṣavat, denoted the mountain-range to the north of the river Narmadā and Rkṣavat that to

its south known at present as Sātpudā, the first component whereof (Sāta) is a linear descendant of Ṛkṣavat.

- III. Pravīra of the Purānas is identical with the Vākāṭaka king Pravara Sena I, who was the performer of costly and protracted Vedic sacrifices and the real founder of the greatness of the dynasty.
- IV. The Purānic statement that the four sons of Pravīra became kings need not be taken literally as referring to his sons only. It seems that Pravīra=Pravara Sena I had, in order to stall future troubles over succession, partitioned his extensive territories into four parts three of which were allotted to his three sons who had grown major and retained the fourth part meant for his fourth son, Gautamīputra, who later predeceased him and never came to the throne. In this part including the Vindhyan region his son (and Pravīra's=Pravara Sena I's grandson) Rudra Sena I rose to power. Thus in this case *putra* has to be taken to refer to his grandson.
- V. The Vindhyan region continued under the Vindhyakas = Vākāṭakas till some time during the reign of Rudra Sena I's son and successor Pṛthivī Śeṇa I. During his time this area was administered on his behalf by his vassal Vyāghradeva. The Vākāṭaka hold over this region had become quite precarious due to the tide of the Gupta emperor Samudra Gupta's powerful victorious expeditions, and as of now there is absolutely nothing to indicate Vākāṭaka rule over this region after Pṛthivī Śeṇa I. The Vākāṭakas had hereafter nothing to do with the trans-Narmada region in the north. Thus ended the rule of the Vindhyaka-kula in its original territory.
- VI. The reference to the termination of the rule of the Vindhyakas most probably indicates that the Purānic accounts referring to this episode have to be dated some time after around 360 A.D. at the earliest.

Notes and References

1. *Vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Vākāṭakas : Sources and History* (hereinafter referred to as *VHS*), Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 147 ff., for a detailed discussion of the history of the Vākāṭakas.
2. We have used in these pages the text as reconstructed by F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāna Text on the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (hereinafter referred to as *DKA*), Oxford, 1913.
3. It is only the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* Purānas that give an account of the Vākāṭakas. The *Matsya* had already closed its dynastic section about mid-third century A.D. and consequently the references to the Vindhyaka-Vākāṭaka kings find no place in it.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50, for the reconstructed text and pp. 72-73 for its English rendering.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 48 (Sanskrit text) and 72 (English translation).
6. Nakhavān, who is evidently identical with the Kṣaharāta Mahākṣatrapa Nahapāna (*ibid.*, p. 49, text-line 4) and is mentioned in the list, for instance, is not known to have had even a remote connection with Vidiśā which is not named in any record, literary or epigraphical, of his reign.
7. Vide K. V. Ramesh, "On the Vākātakas and their Inscriptions", *The Age of the Vākātakas* (hereinafter referred to as *AV*), ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Harman Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 29-30, who also is of the same view though we differ fundamentally from him inasmuch as he places the original home of the Vākātakas in Vidarbha against all the evidence to the contrary.
8. The *Malsya Purāṇa*, as stated above, does not contain this account as its dynastic section had already been closed.
9. *Śuṅgānām tu kulasy-ānte Śīśunandir=bhaviṣyati/
Tasya bhrātā yavīyāms-tu nāmnā Nandiyaśāḥ kila//*
DKA, p. 49, text-lines 7-8.
10. *Tasy-ānvaye bhaviṣyanti rājānas-te trayas=tu vai/
Dauhitrāḥ Śīśuko nāma Purikāyām nṛpo=bhavat //
Vindhyaśakti-sutaś=c-āpi Pravīro nāma Vīryavān/
Bhokṣyate ca samāḥ ṣaṣṭim purīm Kāñcanakām ca vai//
Yakṣyate Vājapeyais=ca samāpta-vara-dakṣinaiḥ/
Tasya putrāstu catvāro bhaviṣyanti narādhipāḥ//*
Ibid., pp. 49-50, text-lines 9-10 and 1-4.

But if one were to rely upon the statement that these rulers flourished at the end (or immediately after the termination) of the Śuṅga rule one would have to place the beginning of the Vindhya = Vākāṭaka rule sometime about end-first century B.C. / early first century A.D. which would be over two centuries prior to their definitely ascertained period. This and some other known facts cast doubts about the reliability and dependability of the Paurāṇic chronology.

Also the statement that Śīśunandin, his younger brother Nandiyaśāś and his daughter's son Śīśuka ruled over (or from) the town of Purikā is in contrast to the statement that Vindhyaśakti's son Pravīra ruled over (or from) the city of Kāñcanakā. The two statements would be simply irreconcilable if these kings are supposed to have been the predecessors of Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravīra=Pravara Sena I unless we surmise that Vindhyaśakti or his son Pravīra had, for some unknown reason, shifted the dynastic capital from Purikā to Kāñcanakā. But in that case we shall have to believe that the pre-Vindhyaśakti kings were the rulers of the Sātpuḍā (Ṛkṣavat) region for as we shall just see, Purikā was located on the foothills of the Ṛkṣavat according to the *Harivamśa* and Vindhyaśakti or his son shifted northwards to the Vindhyan region. It would then go against the Purāṇic tradition describing the first two Vindhya-Vākāṭaka kings and their four descendants as belonging to the Vindhyan region which finds support from the inscriptional evidence.

11. The relationship is almost impossible in view of the statement that Śīśuka and apparently his predecessors ruled over (or from) Purikā (on the foothills of the

Rkṣavat) and Vindhyaśakti's son Pravīra had his capital at Kāñcanakā which, as we shall just see, is identifiable with Nachna in the Parna district of Madhya Pradesh far to the north of Purikā.

12. For the naming pattern including the practice of adopting a name different from one's personal name on the occasion of coronation (*abhiṣeka*) during the Vākāṭaka period, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Some Aspects of Personal Names in the Vākāṭaka Inscriptions", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 254-63.
13. In view of the explicit averment that Pravīra was his personal name (*Pravīro nāma*) and also his description as endowed with bravery (*Vīryavān*) we are constrained to hold that the practice of assuming coronation-names among the Vākāṭakas was inaugurated by the second king, the real founder of the dynasty, Pravīra, who assumed the name Pravara Sena (= 'possessing excellent army') at the time of his anointment.
14. *Vindhyakānām kule=ṭite*.
DKA, p. 50, text-line 1, under 'Dynasties of the Third Century A.D.'
15. We have shown elsewhere (*Early History of the Deccan : Problems and Perspectives*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1987, pp. 38-44; *The Śātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas: A Historical Framework* (hereinafter cited as *SWKHF*), Dattsons, Nagpur, 1988, p. 80) that the Śātavāhana rule continued over the Vidarōha region for some seven decades after other areas had slipped away from their authority and it was from them that the Vākāṭakas captured it towards the close of the third/beginning of the fourth century A.D. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, *VSH*, pp. 168-69.
16. For a full discussion of this problem, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Śātavāhanas : Original Home and Nomenclature", *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate & Research Institute*, LIV-LV, 1994-95, pp. 377-89; "Purānic Evidence on Andhra-Śātavāhana Original Home, Nomenclature and Chronology : An Analytical Study", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, LXXII, 1997, pp. 121-24 and relevant notes and references at the end; *SWKHF*, pp. 7-15.
17. For this view, see H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 2nd edn., University of Calcutta, 1958, pp. 108-14; D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd edn., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1972, p. 57.
18. V. V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas*, Maharashtra Board of Literature and Culture, Mumbai, 1981, p. 45, line 2.
19. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Presidential Address", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1978, pp. 969-70.
20. *Cāmtasa* for *Śāntasya* on a copper vessel containing a large hoard of silver punch-marked coins spotted at Chik Sandogī, Dharwad District, Karnataka, and *Cāmtamūla* for *Śāntamūla* met with in Ikṣvāku inscriptions (*Ibid.*, p. 969) may be cited as only two of the many instances.
21. This is the correct reading of the king's name in the legend on the reverse

of the Sātavāhana silver portrait coins.

22. In our opinion this is the correct reading of the first part of the metronymic in the legend on the reverse of the silver portrait coins issued by the Sātavāhana monarchs who happened to be Vāsiṣṭhīputra.
23. In view of it the popular notion that Sātpuḍā means the seven sons or an equal number of folds of Vindhya as recorded in the *C. P. District Gazetteer* for Betul by Russel (1907, p. 258) must be dismissed simply as utter nonsense. This apparently late legend is intended to explain away the otherwise queer name, taking *sāt* in the sense of seven and *puḍā* to have descended from *putra*. For this reference, see H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 112, fn. 5.
24. F. Kielhorn, "Inscriptions from Khajuraho : Stone Inscription of Yaśovarman of the Year 1011", *Epigraphia Indica*, I, 1892, pp. 125-26, verse 13.
25. V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri - Chedi Era, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (hereinafter cited as *CII*), IV, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, 1955, p. 210, verse 16 (Bilhārī Stone Inscription of Yuvarājadeva II).
26. See V. S. Agrawala, *Matsyapurāṇa - A Study*, All India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, 1963, p. 194.
27. *DKA*, p. 50.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
29. *History of India : 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, Motilal Banarsidass, Lahore, 1933, p. 16, fn. 3. *Vide* also p. 70. According to Jayaswal, Kāñcanakā and Canakā were probably alternative names. Our attention is also drawn to the *Kalki-Purāṇa* (III. 14. 2-21) reference to the Kāñcanī purī as the capital of the Nāgas. See *ibid.*, pp. 16 -17.
However, even without the suggested emendation it is quite easy to get this meaning as Purī could well stand for Purikā.
30. *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas, CII*, V, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1963, p. xii. It is rather strange to find both Jayaswal and Mirashi turning a blind eye to similar meaningless particles occurring elsewhere in the same passage.
31. *DKA*, p. 50, fn. 33.
32. *Bhokṣyate ca samāh ṣaṣṭim*.
33. If just for the sake of argument we concede the emended reading, we must attempt to locate the two cities of Purikā and Canakā, it being very germane for settling the contentious issue of the original home of the Vākātakas. The *Harivamśa* (Viṣṇuparvan, 38.22) avers that the town of Purikā was situated at the foot of the Ṛkṣavat mountain :

Ṛkṣavantam samabhitas=lire tatra nirāmaye/
itā sā purī ramyā Purikā nāma nāmatah//

We have already seen that Ṛkṣavat was the ancient name of the mountain-range to the south of the Narmada presently called Satpuda which is its derivative. Purikā must accordingly have been situated on the slopes of the Satpuda range

and must be looked for not too far from the southern bank of the Narmada. It is noteworthy in this context that Varāhamihira's *Br̥hatsamhitā* also locates Purikā in the south-eastern division of Bhāratavarṣa, which is in keeping with the suggested location. *Vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Varāhamihira's India*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1996, p.90. It was tentatively located by J. F. Fleet (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, p. 446) in the open area to the south of the island-village of Onkār Māndhātā in Madhya Pradesh where the map shows the villages of Godurpurā, Bainpurā, Baintanpurā and Dhokā. *Vide* P. K. Bhattacharāya, *Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1977, pp. 217-18, for inscriptional references to Purikā.

34. K. P. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 16, fn. 3.
35. Despite these close similarities, however, one can't be quite certain regarding this identification though it looks at present most probable not just due to the close affinity between the two names but also because of its antiquity and find of a couple of Vākātaka inscriptions and a beautiful temple marking a landmark in the evolution of the Gupta-Vākātaka style of temple architecture.
36. *CII*, V, pp. 89-91.
37. For the temple, see Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, XXI, Pls. XXV-XXVI.
38. Vindhyaśakti II or Vindhya Sena of the Vatsagulma branch of the dynasty had, of course, nothing to do with the Vindhyas, and the name was just repeated without any significance.
39. The town of Canakā of the emended reading of Jayaswal has also been identified by him with Nachna only. Mirashi, who is a strong champion of the theory of a South Indian origin of the Vākātakas, however, is in favour of locating it 'somewhere in the central part of the Andhra State' (*A Comprehensive History of India* (hereinafter *CHI*), Vol. III, Part I, eds. R. C. Majumdar and K. K. Dasgupta, Peoples' Publishing House, New Delhi, 1981, p. 131), while earlier (*CII*, V, p. xviii) he only stated that Vindhyaśakti probably ruled from Canakā which was the older capital and that 'it has not been identified.'
40. *Vindhyakānām kule-tīte*, *DKA*, p. 50. The Vindhyaka-Vākātaka equation was first mooted by Jayaswal (*op. cit.*, pp. 55 and 66) and is conceded by some other historians including D. C. Sircar (*A History and Culture of the Indian People* (hereinafter *HCIP*), II : *The Age of Imperial Unity*, eds. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, 2nd edn., Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai, 1953, p. 218). While it is taken generally to denote a Vindhyan origin of the Vākātakas, Mirashi (*CHI*, III, p. 130) feels that the Vākātakas were so called after the founder-king Vindhyaśakti, which is quite unconvincing.
41. However, that it could not have been just an epithet or secondary name is clearly indicated by the records of the later members of the Vatsagulma branch beginning with Deva Sena that refer to him as the first (*ādi*) king of the Vākātakas. So we have to take it as his proper name. Evidently the practice of adopting coronation names was yet to be initiated and it was started by his son and successor Pravīra who adopted Pravarasena as his official name at the time of his coronation. Thereafter

all the kings are known to have taken *senā*-ending names on the occasion of their anointment and Sena now became something like a surname which should be given in historical writings separately beginning with the capital S.

42. For these names and the theory based thereon of the Vidarbha original home of the Vākātakas, see S. V. Sohoni, "A Note on the Original Territory of the Vākātakas," *Journal of Indian History*, XLIX, 1971, pp. 135-42.
43. They were named after the Vākātakas who ruled over Vidarbha for some two centuries which created a great impact and led to the naming of a few places after them.

However, the dynastic name Vākātaka may be a contracted and slightly altered form of some Sanskrit words or names like Varakātaka or more probably Vyāghrakātaka by the well-known linguistic processes of elision and elongation. It is noteworthy in this context that the Vākātaka epigraphs are familiar with place-names terminating in *kaṭa* or *kaṭaka*. It was in that case a local name later turned into a dynastic nomenclature.

44. The *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇa texts, as reconstructed by Pargiter (*DKA*, p. 48, text-line 15), mention at the end of the account of 'Various Local Dynasties' a group of kings whose name has been spelt variously as Kilakila (*Matsya*) and Kolakila (*Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*). The reconstructed text reads:

Teṣ-ūtsanneṣu kālena tataḥ Kilakila nṛpāḥ (Matsya)

Or

Tac=channena ca kālena tataḥ Kolikilā vṛṣāḥ

(*Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*)

The variant readings that make difference in the spelling of the name are, according to different *Matsya* manuscripts, Kilākala, Kilikila, Kilakala and Kilaukila and, according to those of the other two texts, Kolākika and Kilakila. Most of the manuscripts of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (*ibid.*, p. 48, fn. 82) spell the name as Kailakila, Kaikila, Kelikila and Kaiṣilāna and speak of them as Yavanas:

Teṣu channeṣu Kailakilā Yavanā bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanti.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (*ibid.*, p. 48, fn. 82) gives the reading *Kilakilā (Kilakilāyām)* which may mean a locality, river or region:

Taiḥ Samsthite tataḥ Kilakilāyām nṛpatayo.

The variant readings are Kalikilā, Kalimkila, Kimlimkilā and Kinkilā.

The text is so very corrupt as to make it impossible to determine the exact connotation and meaning. The reference may be to a group of kings (dynasty) known as Kolikila, etc., who might/might not have descended from the Yavanas or it may have been a local name.

45. Immediately following the above the reconstructed text of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* reads:

Tataḥ Kolakilebhyas=ca Vindhyaśaktir= bhaviṣyati.

The Purāṇas in this connection give the variants Kelikila, Pholikola (*Vāyu*) and Kilakia (*Brahmāṇḍa*). The corresponding stanza is not found in the *Matsya* as its account was closed immediately after referring to the Kilakila etc.

It is difficult to determine if there was any connection between these rulers and the Vākātakas. Jayaswal admits the relationship between the two (*op. cit.*,

pp. 66-67), while it is denied by A. S. Altekar (*A New History of the Indian People* (hereinafter *NHIP*), VI: The Vākātaka-Gupta Age (hereinafter *VGA*), eds. R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, Reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1960, p. 96; *Early History of the Deccan* (hereinafter *EHDY*), ed. G. Yazdani, Oxford, 1960, p. 154;). However, if the wording is to be depended upon, it would mean that Vindhyaśakti arose from the family of these kings. But Pargiter (*DKA*, p. 72, Engl. tr.) renders the text as 'Then after the Kilakilas Vindhyaśakti will reign.' We are unable to determine the relationship, if any, between them because of the utter confusion among the Purāṇas in this matter.

46. The *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas read as follows (*ibid*):

Samāh ṣaṇ=ṇavatīm jñātvā pṛthivīm tu sameṣyati

In place of *jñātvā* a manuscript of the *Vāyu* Purāṇa called *e Va* by Pargiter gives the variant *bhūtvā* (*ibid.*, p. 48, fn. 86) which is preferable and probably original as it would give a better sense, viz. 'having been' which would indicate that the figure refers to his long life, and not to an almost impossibly long reign.

47. The reading of the relevant portion reconstructed by Pargiter has been given above and it refers to his observance of the Vājapeya sacrifice (at least three), but the reading in *e Va* manuscript cited by him (*ibid.*, p. 50, fn. 35) would have the name of the sacrifice as Vājimedha or Aśvamedha.

48. *CI*, V, p. 12, lines 1-2.

49. *ibid.*, pp. 96-98.

50. It is only a metonymic, the personal name having been left unrecorded.

51. We are against designating one branch of the dynasty as main or elder as done by some scholars and for the sake of convenience are inclined to name the two known branches after their respective capitals.

52. Attempts have, without any supporting evidence, been made by some scholars to locate the remaining two branches of the dynasty. Altekar proposed to have them located in Kosala and Andhra (*EHDY*, p. 163; *NHIP*, VI: *VGA*, p. 102 - eastern provinces) and Mirashi (*CHI*, III, p. 134) in parts of South Kosala and southern Maharashtra. However, in view of the fact that only a few years later we find some other dynasties ruling in these regions, these views look highly improbable.

53. *CI*, V, pp. 89-90.

54. *ibid.*, p. 92.

55. J. Dubreuil (*Indian Antiquary*, LV, pp. 103ff.), R. C. Majumdar (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XII, pp. 1ff.), K. N. Dikshit (*EI*, XVII; p. 362) and V. V. Mirashi (*CI*, V, pp. xxvii-xxviii; *CHI*, III, p. 141) are in favour of identifying him with the second ruler of this name. D. C. Sircar, who was earlier inclined to equate him with Pṛthivī Śeṇa I and adduced palaeographic evidence in support of this contention (*HCIP*, III: *The Classical Age*, eds. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai, 1954, p. 179, fn. 1) gave up this position later in favour of Pṛthivī Śeṇa II and felt that the Vākātakas ousted the

Guptas from Bundelkhand around end-fifth century A.D. (*Select Inscriptions*, I, 2nd edn., University of Calcutta, 1965, p. 456 and fn. 1) only to change his position later (*The Age of the Vākātakas* (hereinafter *AV*) ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri, pp. 47-50). As against it Jayaswal (*op. cit.*, p. 73), H. C. Raychaudhuri (*Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edn., University of Calcutta, 1953, pp. 541-42) and Altekar (*NHIP*, VI: *VGA*, pp. 109-10; *EHDY*, p. 173) favoured his equation with Pṛthivī Śeṇa I.

56. The Parivrājaka records begin with the expression *Gupta-nṛparājya-bhuktau*, and even though the Uccakalpa records don't profess their allegiance to the Guptas explicitly, they must also have been their feudatories as their territory was situated to the north of that under the Parivrājakas.
57. *Vide VSH*, p. 212.
58. *DKA*, pp. xiiff.
59. For a discussion and refutation of this theory, see *AV*, pp. 3-6: *VSH*, pp. 150-53.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN EARLY CĀLUKYAN PERIOD★

B. V. SHETTI

The early Cālukya dynasty is occasionally called the early Western Cālukyas to distinguish it from the family of the same stock and lineage, which ruled at Veṅgi and Lāṭa.¹ There were some other Cālukya royal families as well, flourishing several centuries later. There were the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, those of Vemulavāḍa and the Caulukyās of Gujarat.² The records of the families of Veṅgi, Lāṭa, Kalyāṇa and Vemulavāḍa, however, claim their descent from the Badami family.³ Nothing, however, can be definitely stated about the relations of the Caulukyās of Gujarat with the original line of Badami. The capitals of all these royal Cālukya families were different. In the light of these differences in the nomenclatures of these families, it would be better to call the one under study as the Cālukyas of Badami which ruled over the Deccan and the adjoining regions from *circa* 540 A.D. to 757 A.D. with its capital at Vātāpi, the present Badami, in Bijapur District of Karnataka. The other house may be called the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The official records of the early Cālukyas shed light on the polity and administration of the period. Since these records were issued by the ruling monarchs, they contain several details of the day-to-day functioning of the government. The epigraphs bear testimony to the fact that the king was not a mere sovereign or figurehead, but a supreme executive and head of the State.⁴ He was the ultimate dispenser of justice.⁵ The primary function of the king was to protect his subjects from internal disorders and foreign invasions. A strong army and a police force were essential for preserving law and order.⁶ A few epigraphs refer to police officials like the *daṇḍapāśikās*, *caurādhikaraṇas*,⁷ *cāṭas*, and *bhaṭas*⁸ indicating the existence of a police force to maintain law and order. The Chiplun Plates of Pulakeśin II call him the exterminator of wicked persons and defender of learned people.⁹

The Kāsāre Plates of Allaśakti, a feudatory of the Cālukyas, mentions *daṇḍapāśikā*¹⁰ but he is not mentioned in the official Cālukyan records. Several inscriptions of the North Indian royal dynasties also refer to this official.¹¹ As the prefix *daṇḍa* suggests, he is an official who dealt with crime and punishment. So it seems that this official looked after the apprehension of criminals and punishing them.

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In the Kāsāre Plates an official named *caurādhikaraṇa* also figures in the list of informants of the charter.¹² The same official is also mentioned in the records of the Gupta kings and other North Indian rulers.¹³ He was probably an officer of the criminal investigation department appointed to apprehend culprits and produce them before the law courts.

Several Cālukyan grants mention *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas*¹⁴ and record that gifted property should not be visited by these officials. A *bhaṭa* means a soldier and a *cāṭa* probably means a policeman. Some scholars regard them as signifying armed troops, while others equate them with regular soldiers.¹⁵ They were probably working under the supervision of police officials like *daṇḍapāśikās* and *caurādhikaraṇas*. They were ordinary members of the police force. Their duties included keeping watch over habitual criminals and apprehending them.

The Cālukyan king as usual was the supreme court of justice. He was most fitted to the task, being well versed in the *smṛtis* and *dharmaśāstras*.¹⁶ He seems to have been assisted by administrative officials.

An inscription belonging to a Cālukyan feudatory refers to the commitment of offenses, and punishment prescribed for them.¹⁷ There were elders in the village and towns whose help and assistance was sought in these matters¹⁸. They seem to have been associated with the village *pañcāyats* or peoples' courts. The Cālukyan records, however, refer to some police officials and prescribe fine for certain crimes.¹⁹ This could be possible only through some legal agency which naturally must have been the court of justice, where the criminals were brought by police officials for purpose of trial.

The purpose of these trials and punishment was both retributive to prevent further commitment of crime by the same person and to reform him into a good citizen. The Cālukyan records refer to fine imposed for commission of certain crimes. The Lakshmeshvar inscription of Vikramāditya II refers to fines for thefts and other minor offenses numbering ten.²⁰ The fines for the various offenses are laid down here specifically to prevent the village authorities from exhorting money from the offenders.

The same fact could be traced in the Anjaneri Plates of Pṛthvīcandra Bhogaśakti, feudatory of the Cālukyas.²¹ The town council is empowered to levy following fines : rupees 108 for outraging the modesty of a virgin; rupees 32 for adultery; rupees 16 for the mutilation of the ear; rupees four for bruising the head²², rupees 108 if a merchant's son is found to have illicit connection with a female labour; and should one be caught in the act of adultery whatever 8 or 16 elders – *mahallakas*–²³ of the town council shall determine that shall be final. This has been promulgated by the illustrious king Tejavarmarāja.

A few records discovered at Pattadakal reveal that offenders were punished with ex-communication and loss of caste and the forfeiture of the property of the accused.²⁴ There could be certain exceptions for skillful persons who were outcast, who could as well be readmitted into the original caste.²⁵

Huien Tsang, referring to the soldiers, says, if one of the champions meets a man and kills him, the law of the country does not punish him²⁶. It indirectly makes it evident that murder was punishable with capital punishment but immunity was granted to soldiers.

The Aihole *Praśasti* also states that the king should not covet others' wives.²⁷

A Badami inscription from Jambulinga temple refers to the penalty for breach of contract. It is narrated that two-thousand membered *mahācaturavidyā samudāya* of Vātāpi had remitted the spoils of the cobblers of the place in favour of Nidiyamara.²⁸ A breach of the order is threatened with penalty.²⁹ This is what we could gather from the records about a few crimes and penalties prescribed for them. Significantly enough, the dynastic records do not mention anything about the apprehension of criminals and the procedure by which culprits and defaulters were charged and finally punished.

Sources

This paper deals with Crime and Punishment in the early Cālukyan period (A.D.540-757) as revealed through the stone inscriptions, copper-plates and other sources mentioned below:

1. Aihole Praśasti (Meguti inscription of Pulakeśin II), A. D.634-635, *IA*, Vol. V, p.67f; *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 237f; *ASW*, Vol III, p. 129f; *EI*, Vol. VI, pp.1-12.
2. Anjaneri Plates (second set) of Bhogaśakti, *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 225f; *CI*, Vol. IV, pp. 154-59.
3. Badami Temple Inscription, 8th century A. D., *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 8-9, No. 4.
4. Chiplun Plates of Pulakeśin II, *EI*, Vol.III, p. 50; *CPIAPGM*, Vol.I, p.6.
5. Kāsāre Plates of Allaśakti, a feudatory of the Cālukyas, dated A. D. 653, *CI*, Vol. IV, p. 110f.
6. Lakshmeshvar Inscription of Prince Vikramāditya II, *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 188-91.
7. Pattadakal Inscription, *IA*, Vol. X, p. 164f.
8. Huien Tsang, *Siyuki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translated by S. Beal, Vol. II, London, 1906, p. 256.

Abbreviations

- CA* Majumdar, R. C., *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954.
CG Majumdar, A. K., *The Chalukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1956.

- CII* Mirashi, V.V. (Ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV, Ootacamund, 1955.
- CPIAPGM* Ramesan, N., *Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Vol. I, Hyderabad, 1962.
- DKD* Fleet J.F., *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, Bombay, 1896.
- EHD* Yazdani, G., *The Early History of the Deccan*, 2 Vols., London, 1960.
- EI* *Epigraphia Indica*
- HD* Kane, P. V., *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, Poona, 1946.
- HIA* Puri, B. N., *History of Indian Administration*, Bombay, 1968.
- HK* Desai, P. B. and others, *A History of Karnataka*, Dharwar, 1970.
- HSI* Sastri, K. A. N., *A History of South India*, Madras, 1966.
- IA* *Indian Antiquary*
- IEG* Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966.
- KI* Panchamukhi, R.S., *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Dharwar, 1941.
- OC* Satyasraya, R. S., *Origin of Chalukyas*, (Studies in Rajput History, Vol. I), Calcutta, 1937.
- SIP* Mahalingam, T.V., *South Indian Polity*, Madras, 1955.
- SMHD* Khare, G.H., *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, Poona, 1930.

Notes and References

1. *DKD*, p. 335 and note I.
2. *CA*, pp. 250-54, *EHD*, Vol. II, pp. 469-513.
3. *OC*, p. 97; *CG*, p.5.
4. *SIP*, p. 17; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 233; *HSI*, p. 167; *HIA*, p. 209.
5. *HSI*, p. 167; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 233; *HIA*, p. 209.
7. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110f, *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 195f.
8. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; Vol. XIV, p. 330f.
9. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I. p.6.
10. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110f.
11. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 986; *IEG*, p. 81.
12. *CII*, Vol. IV. p. 110f.
13. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 984; *IEG*, p. 71-72.

14. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303; *SMHD*, Vol. I. p.1.f.
15. *HD*, Vol. III, pp.983 and 993; *HIA*, pp. 139-140.
16. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p.161f.
17. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 225f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p.154f.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 154f.
19. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110. Several Cālukyan grants refer to the *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas* who are refrained from visiting the gifted property. The *cāṭas* and the *bhaṭas* are equated with police personnel - *HD*, Vol. III, p. 983; *HIA*, p. 212; *IEG*, p. 67.
20. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
21. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 154; *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 59f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p.161f.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 164f.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 162f.
26. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256.
27. *KI*, Vol. I. p. 8f.
28. *Ibid.*
29. पददार नियुक्तचित्त वुतैरपि धीर्यस्य, *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 4.

JAINA TEMPLES OF BURHI CHANDERI IN BUNDELKHAND

C. B. TRIVEDI

Burhi Chanderi, ancient *Girijāsapatnikasthāna*, as evident from the Stone Inscription of Raṇapāladeva (A.D. 1042-43),¹ also Chandrapur, perched on the northern pleateau overlooking the Betwa plain amid the jungle, till now infested with notorious dacoits, is located on the eastern bank of the Orr (ancient *Urvaśī*), eight kilometers north-west from Chanderi, the legendary capital of Śiśupāla of *Mahābhārata* in District Guna, Madhya Pradesh. Because of its strategic importance and political conditions, caused by the tripartite struggles between the Pālas, the Pratihāras, and the Rāṣtrakūṭas, followed by the internecine fightings among various vassals of the Pratihāras themselves, the possible invasions of the Turks, the political head-quarter was shifted from Siyadoni (modern Siron Khurd, Lalitpur District, Uttar Pradesh) as evident from the devastations where hardly any evidence of structure or remains of temples exists.

As evident from the inscription, a hermitage (*āśrama*) was found by Prabodhaśiva, who was disciple of (name lost) the Śaiva ascetic Dharmaśambhu at a place belonging to Gaṅgā. The name of disciple given is Vinamuni belonging to the Mattamayūra clan of Śaiva Ācāryas of *Kadambaguhā* (Kadwaha) branch. Remains of *āśrama* comprise of a rectangular hall built of ashlar. Whole of the area was replete with number of Brahmanical and Jaina temples as evident from the ruined remains and number of sculptures, more than three thousand, now shifted to the Museum at Singhpur Palace. Among these a few remain extant in various stages of preservation. Jaina temples, built within the boundary built in medieval period, still exist. For the Jaina sculptures it appears to be a veritable workshop during the Later Pratihāra as evident from the find of number of sculptures huddled together, probably meant for transportation to other centres of Jaina pilgrimage.

Jaina Temple, I

The easterly oriented construction reveals a partly preserved *pañcaratha garbhagrha* with further divisions. The *pīṭha* resting on *kharasīlā* is constituted by neatly chiselled *bhīṭa* adorned with indented diamonds followed by *cippikā*, again *bhīṭa* with its top marked by a horizontal band of single pearls, *jādyā-kumbha* carved with incised lotus-petals, a plain deep recess, plain *cyma reverses*, *kaṇi* and *grāsapaṭṭī* bedecked with finely cut *gargāraka* band.

The *vedibandha* is constituted by *khura* adorned with incised motif at the corners, *kumbha* decorated with an incised band of lotus design and topped by lotus petals. The neatly cut *kalāśa* reveals offsets decorated with *simha-mukhas*, in relief *grāsapaṭṭī*. The *adhishthāna rathikās* crowned by triangular *udgama* within rounded pillaretted niches, decorated with *bāndhanā* have three figures.

The *janghā* portion, partly preserved, comprises of mouldings with *ṭhakārikā*, *padmapatra* and *maṇi-bandha* (a band of double rectangular beads) similar to that of the Kandariyā Mahādeva temple, Khajuraho.

It is a *nirandhāra prāsāda*. Its lavish embellishment, bold mouldings suggest Kacchapaghāta or Candella influences when the region was ruled by Abhyadeva V.S. 1124 (A.D. 1067), and his son Candrāditya, the scion of Harirājadeva and Raṇapāladeva.² (Pl. XI, A)

Jaina Temple, II

The Jaina shrine Ādinātha is survived by shell; it comprises of a *garbhagrha* raised on four pillars surmounted by a superstructure of two hollowed chambers one upon the other, perched on the *dvistara chādyā* suggests the existence of the Nāgara śikhara, now supported by indiscreet stone rubbles. (Pl. XI, B, XII, A)

The sanctum doorway is *catuḥ-śākhā*, composed of stencilled *patra-vallabhī*, *puṣpa-śākhā* simulating spiniferous bones of the Nāga, terminating over the river goddesses with the bust of Nāgas with folded hands. The *mithuna-śākhā* flanked by *apsarās* in various moods, comprise of three panels within the pillaretted niches, surmounted by single *caitya-udgamas*. Except the dexter lowest panel, depicting two males and a prostrate human figure, the former carry weapons. Others are couples but not erotic. The fourth-the *bāhya śākhā* comprises of *padma-latā*, emerging above the seated couple. While the latter runs over the *uttarāṅga*, the first, second and *bhūta śākhās*, the door-lintel. The *pedyas* show river goddesses in *tribhāṅga*, profusely ornate with exquisite jewellery flanked by *cāmaradhāriṇīs* and a dwarf under the canopy.

The *lalāta-bimba* portrays four-armed Cakreśvarī carrying in extant hands a *cakra* and seated on the Garuḍa. On either ends are Ambikā carrying a child and Sarasvatī holding Viṇā adorned with *makaramukha* carrying in upper left and right lower hand *pustaka* and *kamaṇḍalu*. She is seated in *lalitāsana*. On the recessed panels are three Tirthankaras on either side in *khadgāsana*. On the sur-lintel are shown flying *gandharvas* flanked by two *yakṣiṇīs*.

The *udumbara* rests on *candraśilā* exquisitely decorated with lotus-petals, flanked by Śaṅkha-nidhīs. It shows *mandaraka* flanked by elephant-head on

either side with stemmed lotus flanked by Udadhi-kumāras, seated on crocodile, and holding *ghaṭa*.

The overdoor panels are masterpieces of Chanderi art. The lower panel shows a Jina seated in *padmāsana* flanked by Tirthaṅkaras in *khadgāsana*. Other five figures on either side on the recess are engaged in merry-making, dancing, playing drums and flutes. The upper panel registers sixteen auspicious dreams. From left to right are elephant (*Airāvata*), bull with charming hump, lion, four-armed Padmaśrī, garland, Sūrya, Candra, *matsya-yugma* (pair of fish), a pair of vases, celestial lake (agitated ocean), *deva-vimāna*, *Nāgendra-bhavana*, heap of jewels, and smokeless fire. According to canonical texts these dreams belong to Digambara tradition.

The pilasters supporting the structure are fabulously decorated. The two pilasters in two segments are moulded. They depict *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalāṣa*. They have spiral bands, *padma* and two male figures flanked by *śārdūlas* and carry two tiered *bharaṇis* which support the architraves decorated with *grāsamukhas*.

In view of incompleteness of the structure it is not possible to conceive the plan of the shrine. The workmanship of the doorway, more precisely the depiction of sixteen auspicious dreams on the upper doorway, make it datable to the middle of eleventh century A.D. when the region was ruled by the successors of Raṇapāladeva.³ Incidentally, the auspicious dreams have also been shown in Jaina temples at Devagarh, and Ādinātha and Ghantai temples of Khajuraho almost of the same period.

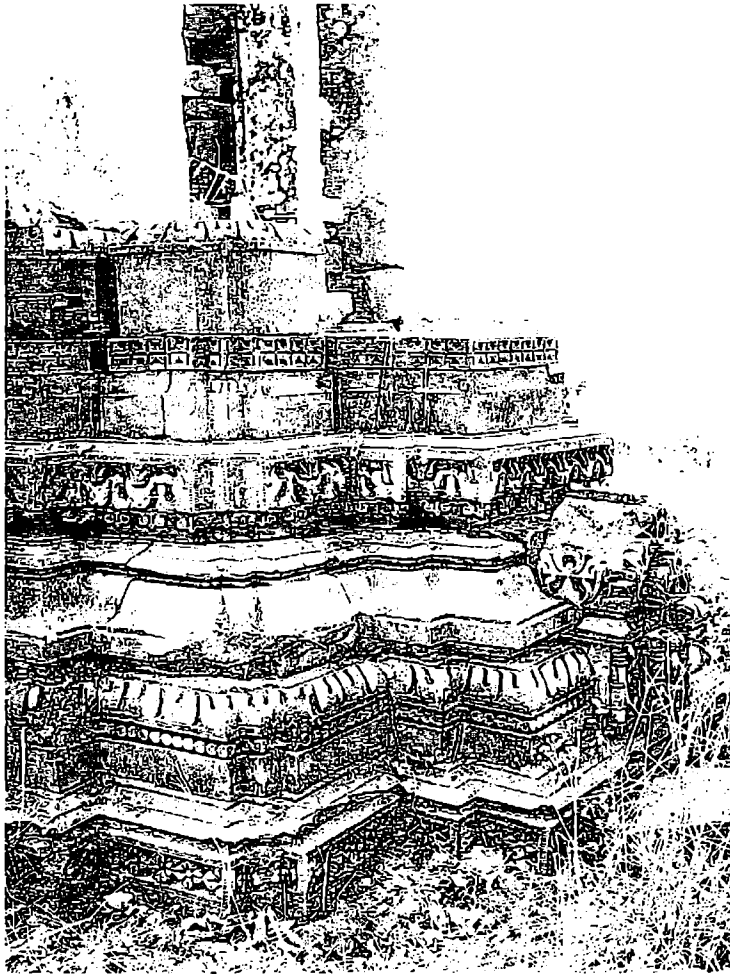
Besides, the dot-and-diamond pattern and spike-like *mālā-grāsa-paṭṭikā*, the double register over the door are the *Kacchapaghāta* conventions. But some ornamentation e.g. double-beaded border and the sculptural style are influenced by the Candellas when the region was ruled by the local Pratihāras.

Thus, it is not only the political influence but the interaction of regional styles caused by migration of sculptors and artists. Even now, in remote villages regional styles interact and overlap with change in the dialect and in accordance with the environment.

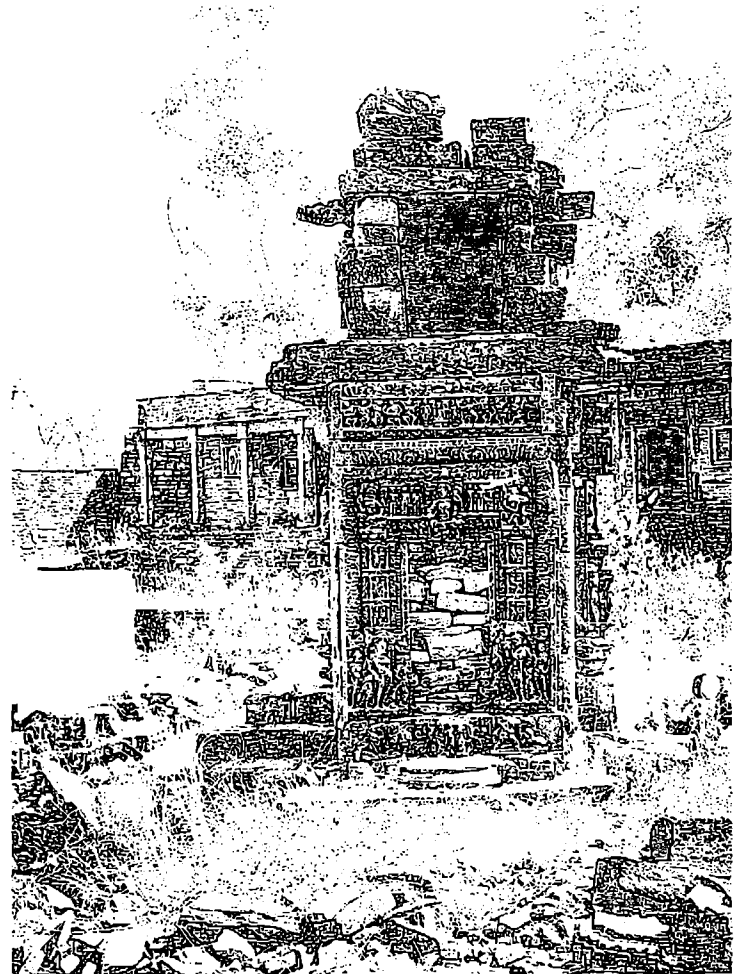
It is after scientific clearance of the site more details regarding plan and other details may be available for further studies.

Doorway of the Jaina Temple

The doorways (Plate XII,B) appear to have been transplanted from the actual site. On the jambs are shown *Caubisī* (Twenty-Four Tirthaṅkaras) in four panels in *khadgāsana*. The *lalāṭa-bimba* portrays Ṛṣabhanātha flanked by *caurī* bearers and on recesses standing Tirthaṅkaras. Above are shown in panels Gandharvas and a scene depicting Ācāryas in front of *sthopana*



A. Burhi Chanderi, Jain Temple No. 1, north-east corner detail.



B. Burhi Chanderi, Jain Temple No. 2, Ādinātha Temple, view from west.

A. Burhi Chanderi, Ādinātha Temple, ruins of the temple,
from south.



B. Burhi Chanderi, Doorway of Jaina Temple.

(crossed wooden stand). The *udumbara* is as usual and does not call for any attention. It may be dated to *c.* middle of twelfth century A.D.

Pillars

The pillars of variant types have since been shifted. Those fixed on the verandah of new structures can be classified.

The shafts of pillars rest on the *rucaka kumbhikā* and are moulded or fluted with *sūtra* decoration; their cylindrical part is decorated with *madhya-bandha* and vase and foliage. Other varieties are *Bhadra*, bevelled with *bandha* one over the other and separated by a groove, and hexagonal shaft decorated with *patrāvali*. There are also simple pillars without any decor.

Notes and References

1. C.B. Trivedi and Balchand Jain, "Budhi Chanderi Inscription of the Time of Raṇapāla Deva, V.S. 1100, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXVI, No.1, pp. 88-90, Sept. 1976.
2. Harihar Nivas Dwivedi, *Gwalior Rajya ka Abhilekh*, S. No. 627, 628, 632, 633, pp.85-86. *Chanderi Prastar Abhilekh*, Gwalior, 1947; *Guide to Chanderi*, p.8.
3. Michael W. Meister, "Jaina Temples in Central India", in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky, Ahmedabad, 1975.

List of Illustrations

- XI, A. Burhi Chanderi, Jaina Temple No.1, north-east corner detail.
 XI, B. Burhi Chanderi, Jaina Temple No. 2, Ādinātha Temple, view from west.
 XII, A. Burhi Chanderi, Ādinātha Temple, ruins of the temple, from south.
 XII, B. Burhi Chanderi, Doorway of Jaina temple.

Acknowledgement

For the photographs I am thankful to the American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon, and to my friend Shri Henry Michael, Head Photographer of Bhopal Circle, Archaeological Survey of India and other colleagues who during the author's visit saved him from the attack of honey-bees during 1972, when he was busy cataloguing the sculptures available at the site.

PHILOSOPHICAL NOTIONS APPLIED IN SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

UMA VAIDYA

Modern universities have introduced the study of applied science as a new branch in most of the subjects. However, the application of scientific theories or philosophical notions was not a new concept for Ancient Indian scholars. Philosophy is generally considered as a study of abstract principles which are to be mentally conceived, but it is interesting to note that many philosophical notions are applied in Sanskrit Grammar and thus this grammar is elevated to the status of a Darśana. Mādhavācārya in his 'Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha' includes Pāṇinian grammar under the name 'Pāṇini Darśanam.' The study of Sanskrit grammar shows that it fully justifies its status as a Darśana.¹

It is proposed to discuss three important notions in Ancient Indian Philosophy as are applied in Sanskrit grammar. The first part of this paper will discuss the Macro-Micro-Cosmic-Relationship and the theory of causation. It is generally considered as a domain of philosophy and thus to trace such relationship means to trace the philosophy of grammar. Bhartṛhari's *Vākvapadīya* explains the philosophical matter in abundance besides the ideas relating to general linguistics and the forms of Sanskrit language and thus he is considered as the main exponent of the philosophy of grammar.

The macro-micro-cosmic-relationship can be explained through Bhartṛhari's concept of Śabdabrahman which has probably emerged from the Upaniṣadic quotation as 'Om ityekākṣaram Brahma'². The universe consists of infinite number of objects and phenomena, arranged in a temporal and spatial sequence and of the words which are expressive of them. The universals of these objects and phenomena [which are called 'Jāti'] and their expressive words already exist in the word-principle as potentialities. As long as they exist only in that state they can neither be known nor can they enter in the worldly usage. For that, the particulars which reveal them and which are also present in the Word-principle have to emerge from it. When they emerge, the Universals of the objects and the words inherent in them are distinct from one another in the relation of the expressed (*vācya*) and the expressive word (*vācaka*). In this way, the Word-principle is the ultimate source of the universe consisting of *vācakas*. This *vācya*, being Micro and the *vācaka* being Macro, it is the Macro-Micro - cosmic-Relationship between the words and the Word-principle. As these two elements together form the cosmos, the macro-micro-relation reaches to the height of cosmic relationship.

The main argument is based on a principle which all the systems of philosophy have adopted, namely, that the cause persists in all its effects and that the nature of the cause can be deduced by observing what persists in all the effects. Our knowledge of the objects in the cosmos is interwoven with the word. One cannot cognise an object without cognising the word first. One finds that all the manifestations of Brahman are intertwined with the word and so it is concluded that their root-cause Brahman must be of the nature of the word, it must be the 'Śabdātattva'. The consciousness of the word forms a part and parcel of our knowledge of objects.

As the knowledge of the objects depends upon the words, the objects are called 'Śabdopagrāhya'. The Śabdabrahman which is beyond the limits of the sense-organs seems to fall within the limits of sense organs through the words and it can be inferred through the objects. Thus, the words are the manifestors and the 'Śabdabrahman' is that which is manifested.

The Word-principle is the one and the supreme but the apparent plurality of the world is due to different inherent factors of the Brahman. These factors seemingly divide it into different entities although its different aspects are mutually inseparable. When Bhartrhari identifies the word with the Word-principle he matches all the qualities of the Brahman with the word and says that there are three important attributes or forces of the word and they are dhāraṇa (retention), br̥hṇaṇa (expansion) and pratyāvartana (revival). These basically are the inherent qualities of Brahman. The relation of Word-principle to the word is called 'vivarta' by Bhartrhari in his *Vākyapadīya*³. This 'vivarta' is the real expression of macro-micro-cosmic-relationship which explains the cosmic events and the objects. Thus, it can be concluded that the 'śabdādvaita' - doctrine in Sanskrit grammar is the application of Advaita-theory in Indian philosophy.

The second important philosophical concept under discussion is the notion of Time and it is related with the concept of tense in Sanskrit grammar. It is observed that the texts like *Vākyapadīya* have the philosophical approach to the problems of language. All the while the authors of such texts try to understand the basic notions underlying the forms and with this view only the author of *Vākyapadīya* examines the notion of Time which is at the base of Sanskrit-tense forms. The Sanskrit-root is conjugated in three tenses. (Here the subdivisions are not calculated). For Bhartrhari, Time is the most important *śakti* of Brahman which also is called *svātantryaśakti*, as a result of which the whole of the phenomenal world is presented to us in a temporal sequence. Time is one but the divisions are imposed upon it. On it depend all the different kinds of changes (śabdavikārah)⁴ which bring about the multiplicity in beings. Time is responsible for birth, continuity and destruction of everything in cosmos, because it has two types of functions, prevention (*pratibandha*) and granting permission (*abhyanujñā*). This is one aspect of the notion of

Time and it explains various stages of the existence of the object. Another aspect of Time helps to measure or determine the action. It is a means to measure an immaterial thing as action and it explains the verbal forms. Though it is one it supports the infinite variety of actions. Time is responsible for the temporal sequence in which all phenomena take place and all the objects appear. A particular tense is a particular point of Time and the concept of Tense in general presents a particular action in a temporal sequence. When one says *abhavat*, *bhavati* or *bhaviṣyati* he means to express the definite sequence of *bhavanakriyā* temporal order. This expression of the action by a particular tense of a verb can be called the presentation of the concept of Time. If this Time is one and indivisible on philosophical level how do the grammarians divide it as past, present and future is the question. The answer is that the division is imposed on the 'Time' and moreover tense is not only one kind of division which is imposed on Time but there are many other divisions too, e.g. the spring, the summer and the winter are the seasonal divisions while short and long are phonemical divisions. The terms short and long may create a problem. If the words and the phonemes are eternal according to the grammarians how can they be divided into long and short? The answer is that the words like long and short are the qualifiers of the process of utterance and not of the words or phonemes.

The *uccāraṇakriyā* can be fast or slow and not the word. In this way, the concept of *hrasva* and *dīrgha* or the verbal forms used in a particular tense reflect on the philosophical notion of Time as applied in Sanskrit grammar.

The third part of this paper discusses the concept of *Abhāva* in the *Vaiśeṣika Darśana* along with the concept of *Lopa* in *Pāṇinian* grammar. The six systems of Indian philosophy are of ancient origin. According to the historical philosophical records the *Yoga* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems date back to the 3rd century B.C. However, *Pāṇini's* date according to the records is 5th century B.C. It is observed that these systems only consolidate and codify the ideas which were existing much before.⁵ *Pāṇini* in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has framed rules to state the elision i.e. *Lopa*. This operation of *Lopa* in *Pāṇini* is of various types and many word-formations are explained through these rules. Dr. *Siddheshvara Varma* in his book titled as '*Pāṇini and Elision*' has presented a detailed study of the rules instructing different types of elision in *Pāṇini* and classified them with certain criteria. He has studied the rules with structural or processive aspect, with the conventional aspect and also as an extension to the domain of syntax and intonation. The word elision in the sense of absence is discussed in accentuo-syntactical context by him.⁶ These rules can be studied as a separate *Lopaśāstra*. *Pāṇini* has defined this word as '*Adarśanam lopah*' P.A. 1.1.60. The word '*adarśana*' indicates the absence of a particular object either natural or artificial and it is named as '*Lopa*' in the *Pāṇinian* system. However, the commentary named as *Bālaṃanoramā*⁷ explains the word *adarśana* as *aśravaṇa* because the science of grammar is meant for the

explanation of words and the word or śabda is the object of ears or ākāśa. Knowing well that śabda is the object of hearing and the word adarśana indicates perception which is the faculty of sight, Pāṇini has purposefully used the word adarśana instead of āśravaṇa. According to him, it seems, that abhāva can only be known, (if at all it can be known) by perception and by no other sense-organ. Thus, he defines elision with the word 'adarśana'. However it matches with the Vaiśeṣika concept of abhāva because for the Vaiśeṣikas non-existence is the object of perception.⁸ Though Pāṇini has not stated it explicitly he has suggested it. The Pāṇinian concept of Lopa is of an operational category while the Vaiśeṣika concept is of a substantial category. In both the texts the non-existence is of a positive nature though the words used to indicate this non-existence are of negative nature in the language. It can be stated that the operation of grammatical category was transformed into a philosophical substance. That what is suggested by Pāṇini through the word 'adarśana' is established in the Vaiśeṣika philosophy they look upon the abhāva as cakṣurgrāhya. Even the zero suffix KVIP in Pāṇini, which is a sign of a particular type of abhāva serves as a positive function.

The four types of non-existence have two main divisions in the Vaiśeṣika-system i.e. the Non-existence of relation and the Non-existence of identity. The former kind namely that of relation is either a) *antecedent* as the non-existence of jar before it is fashioned by a potter (it is called as *prāgabhāva*) or b) *consequent*, as the non-existence of a jar after its destruction (it is called *pradhvarṁsābhāva* (or c) *Absolute* - the non-existence as darkness which is produced by complete non-existence of light. The examples of *śaśaśṛṅga* or *vandhyāputra* or *ākāśapuṣpa* are given to explain this absolute non-existence (it is called as *atyantābhāva*) d) *The non-existence of Identity* falls in the second group. It is the non-existence of one kind of thing as for example a cow is non-existent in a goat because the features of a cow do not exist in a goat. (This type is called as *anyonyābhāva*.)

These types of non-existence are now to be studied in the light of Pāṇinian concepts.

The chronological order shows that Pāṇini was prior to the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. The comparative study of elision - indicative rules in Pāṇini and that of the notion of *abhāva* in Vaiśeṣikas may conclude in the statement that Vaiśeṣikas have developed the notion of *abhāva*, the seeds of which were already seen in Pāṇini. Pāṇini's approach towards Lopa is too abstract and hypothetical though it is a comprehensive principle.

Here follows the study of the four types of *abhāva* alongwith some Pāṇinian concepts. The *prāgabhāva* bears the notion of the *prātipadika*. A *prātipadika* in Pāṇini is a crude word-form, which shows the absence of the *pratyayas* either of suP or of tiN. This *prāgabhāva* can be destroyed after the creation

of an object, so also the *prātipadika*, when enjoined with the *pratyayas*, never remains a *prātipadika* but is transformed into a *pada* either a *subanta* or *tinanta*. Thus, it can be said that 'absence of suffixes before the *pada*-designation is called the *prāgabhāva*.'⁹ The *prāgabhāva* can also be explained with the ingenious idea of 'it-lopa' in Pāṇinian grammar. The aphorism 'Tasya lopaḥ' P.A. 1.3.9 indicates a very peculiar type of elision. The 'it's' i.e. the indicatory letters are elided before the main stuff carried by them enters into an operation. The concept of 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā,' which is explained as a disciplined or systematic option is well known in Sanskrit grammar. The rule 'Tasya lopaḥ' indicates towards the 'Vyavasthitalopa' i.e. the systematised elision. The aphorism states that the indicatory letters are not to be calculated in the main frame of the grammatical operation. This type of elision i.e. *abhāva* can be explained as *prāgabhāva*, that is 'mukhyakāryāt prāgeva abhāvaḥ'. Still, these indicatory letters, though elided exert total control over the place where the operation has to take place. The rule 'ādyantau ṭakitau' P.A. 1.1.46 indicates towards the importance of indicatory letters even after their elision. From this viewpoint they exhibit the quality of 'pradhvarṣābhāva' also. The 'pradhvarṣābhāva' can be matched with that kind of elision where the residual effect of the elision is seen. In some Pāṇinian rules even after the elision of a particular suffix the operation or the effect caused by that particular suffix remains. As for example, the rule 'Nakṣatre ca lupi' - P.A. 2.3.45. The word which denotes a constellation takes the suffix 'a' and extends the sense of the constellation-indicative-word. After enjoining the suffix, aṅ the word denotes the whole time-passage when the constellation is seen. (cf. *Tena yuktaḥ kālaḥ*). This particular suffix is elided by the rule 'lubaviṣeṣe' - P.A. 4.2.4. At this instance though the suffix is not seen after its elision, its effect of denoting the extended sense remains. This type of elision is specified with two qualities : 1) Elision by the particular word *lup* and 2) The presence of the effect caused by the suffix even after its elision.¹⁰ In the Vaiśeṣika system this type of non-existence of a jar can only be understood when one has the picture of the place with jar (before its destruction) in his mind. The mind holds impression of the existence of the jar in its earlier state and that effect which is carried over, enables one to understand or perceive the state of non-existence. The similarity between Pāṇini and the Vaiśeṣikas lies in a point that both the systems hold that there is residual effect of the existence of either a suffix or an object even after its destruction and though it is on the mental level it helps to perceive even the state of non-existence. The third type of non-existence which is named as 'atyantābhāva' in the Vaiśeṣikas can also be traced in some Pāṇinian rules. Such rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* ordain complete elision of a particular suffix or a part of the *prakṛti* by either of the words as *lopa*, *luk*, *ślu* or *lup*. These rules are the instances of *atyantābhāva*. For example - The rule 'Lopo yi' P.A. 6.4.118 ordains the elision of the vowel 'a' in the root *hā* before the 'yādi sārvaḥātuka pratyaya.'

(This rule is the *apavāda* of the rule jahateśca P.A. 6.4.116 which states itva or itva of the Vowel ā) when the verbal form jahyāt is explained, the ā of the root is totally elided before yādisārvadhātuka. That is to say in such rules the elision has permanent effect and it states total non-existence i.e. atyantābhāva. The atyantābhāva in the Vaiśeṣikas resides only at the conceptual level as they provide the examples as *śāśāśrīga* and *vandhyāputra* which are absolute non-entities but in Pāṇini *atyantābhāva* is also qualified by the earliest *bhāvasthiti*. At this point the Vaiśeṣikas differ from Pāṇini.

The fourth type of *abhāva* is called *anyonyābhāva*. 'The qualities of a cow are non-existent in a goat', is an example of this type of non-existence. Pāṇini's concept of *deśa* may be considered as this type of non-existence. The concept of *ādeśa* presupposes the elision of the *sthānin* i.e. the particular element where the *ādeśa* takes place. This elision is not stated explicitly but it is taken for granted because *Prakṛti* and *ādeśa* cannot stay at one and the same time as the water and the air cannot stay simultaneously in a bottle which is being filled with water. In the *ādeśa*-rules in Pāṇini, *Prakṛti* surrenders itself for the sake of *ādeśa*. For example, when Pāṇini frames the rule 'asterbhūḥ' P.A. 2.4.52 he means that the root 'as' is substituted by the root bhū in a particular situation. Here the *prakṛti* is replaced by the *ādeśa*. The Vaiśeṣikas may explain the term *anyonyābhāva* as 'anye anyasya *abhāvaḥ*'. In Pāṇini it can be explained as 'anyasya krte anyasya *abhāvaḥ*'. To summarise the discussion about the concept of *abhāva* in Pāṇini and in the Vaiśeṣikas, it can be said that the shades of non-existence as shown by the Vaiśeṣikas are slightly different from those of Pāṇini. It is seen from this discussion that the concept of *abhāva* has gone through various stages. In Pāṇini the application of the notion of *abhāva* is by the word *lopa* primarily and by the words *luk*, *ślu* and *lup* secondarily in the explanation of the word-forms i.e. the *rūpasiddhi*. The earlier Vaiśeṣikas (in the 3rd Century B.C.) accepted it only as a corollary to the *bhāva*-state but have not granted the status of a substance. This situation remained for a considerable time and in the second century B.C. after the *Prāśastapādabhāṣya* on *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* the notion of *abhāva* was granted the status of a separate substance and was counted as the seventh one along with the first list of six substances. Thus, the graph of the evolution of the concept of *abhāva* can easily be drawn.

In conclusion, it can be stated that these theories i.e. the theory of Śabdabrahman, the notion of Time and the concept of *Abhāva* have their own warranting explanations and are the proofs of the fact that the Sanskrit grammarians have profoundly and seriously thought over the philosophical, metaphysical and epistemological background before framing the science of Sanskrit Grammar.

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व्याकरणे प्रागभावः इति वक्तुं शक्यते।
 10. १. लुप्तसंज्ञया लोपः।
२. लुप्तमानस्यापि प्रत्ययस्य अर्थोपस्थितिः।

FOREIGNERS WITH HORSES AT VIJAYANAGARA

ANILA VERGHESE

Vijayanagara City, the present-day Hampi, served as the capital of the Vijayanagara kingdom from the mid-fourteenth century till A.D. 1565 when, following the disastrous battle of Tālikoṭa, the city was sacked and deserted. The Vijayanagara state was constantly at war not only with the Muslim Bahmanīs to the north, but also with its many Hindu neighbours. Horses played an important role in the Vijayanagara militia and the horse-trade, which was controlled by foreigners, was of considerable economic and military significance. In this paper an attempt is made to corroborate the sculptural evidence with the substantial literary references to the role of foreigners in the dealings in horses at Vijayanagara.

Contemporary literary and epigraphical sources refer to many foreigners who visited Vijayanagara as travellers, emissaries or ambassadors, mercenaries and traders (especially horse-traders). The sculptural representations at the site provide proof of most of these categories as well as of types not directly mentioned in the literary references, namely, of foreign entertainers who engaged in vigorous dance and music.¹

The import of war horses into southern India began in the early centuries of the Christian era. But this trade assumed importance during the Coḷa period when the cavalry started to play a more important role. During the pre-Vijayanagara period the horse-trade was mainly in the hands of native horse merchants known as *kudiraicettis*. But with the expansion of the Sultanate of Delhi in the South and the foundation of the Vijayanagara and Bahmanī kingdoms, the mode of warfare in the South underwent a radical change which made the armies more dependent on efficient cavalry. As a result, the demand for imported horses increased tremendously.² The foreign policy of the kings and sultans of the Deccan was, therefore, largely influenced by their anxiety to secure a good supply of horses.³ The continuous conflicts between the Vijayanagara state and the Bahmanī kingdom generated a considerable demand for Arabian and Persian horses from Aden and Hormuz, particularly as the climate of southern India was not suitable for the rearing of good quality steeds. Horses remained among the most important items of import into Vijayanagara under all the three dynasties that ruled from the city : Saṅgama (1346-1485), Sāluva (1485-1505) and Tuḷuva (1505-1565). A sea-change was also witnessed in the nature of the horse-trade : the *kudiraicettis*, or native horse merchants, practically

disappeared from the field.

From about the middle of the fourteenth century till the close of the fifteenth century the horse-trade became the virtual monopoly of Arab merchants.⁴ They fully exploited the hostility between the two rival kingdoms and not only pushed up the prices of horses but also imposed unreasonable terms on the buyer state. The haughty behaviour of these foreign horse-traders so exasperated Virūpākṣa II (1465-1485), the last ruler of the Saṅgama dynasty, that he turned them out of his kingdom. This precipitated a serious military crisis since the scarcity of imported horses led to the decline in the efficiency and strength of the army.⁵

Sāluva Narasiṃha (1485-1491), who succeeded Virūpākṣa II, was anxious to restore the power and prestige of the Vijayanagara state and for that he needed to increase the strength of the army. Therefore he induced the Arab horse-traders to return by offering them extravagant terms. He was forced to revive the Pāṇḍyan practice of paying for the horses that died during the course of the voyage to India.⁶ According to Nuniz he took the imported horses dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardaos*; and for those that died at sea, the traders brought him the tail only and the king paid for them just as if they had been alive.⁷

The Arab dominance in the Indian Ocean trade ended with the arrival of the Portuguese in these waters. The Portuguese built their first fort in Cochin in 1503. Six years later they won a major sea battle when they defeated a combined Egyptian-Gujarati-Calicut fleet. In 1510 Goa was acquired by them and in 1515 Hormuz⁸. From the early sixteenth century onwards the Vijayanagara *rāyas* and the Portuguese entertained mutually cordial relations. This served their own respective purposes, namely, horses for the former and maritime trade for the latter. Besides, both had a common enemy in the Ādil Shāhīs of Bijapur.

Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509-1529) opened negotiations with the Portuguese, who now practically held monopoly of the horse-trade, to grant him the exclusive right for the purchase of horses imported by them. Initially the Portuguese governor hedged, stating that such an agreement would adversely affect their trade. However, subsequently, on account of political exigencies, the Portuguese agreed to give the exclusive right for the purchase of all imported horses to the *rāya*, provided he paid them thirty thousand *cruzados* per annum for the supply of horses and sent his servants to Goa to collect the animals.⁹

The good relations between Kṛṣṇadevarāya and the Portuguese were continued by Acyutarāya (1529-1542), who purchased 13,000 horses from them every year; besides these imported steeds he also bought country-breds.¹⁰ Nuniz has described the importance of horses in this king's military establishment : among the 50,000 soldiers directly maintained by the *rāya*

were 6,000 horsemen who belonged to the palace guard; he had 1,600 grooms who attended to the horses and also 300 horse trainers.¹¹

The last of the Tuluva rulers, Sadāśiva (1542-1565), concluded a treaty with the Portuguese in 1547. One of the terms of this treaty was that Vijayanagara should have the monopoly of the horse-trade of Goa.¹² So close were the economic links between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara state that the latter's defeat in 1565 struck a rude blow at the prosperity of the Portuguese trade and from that time onwards it declined.¹³

Foreign mercenaries were also employed in the Vijayanagara army. For example, a copper-plate grant claims that Devarāya II (1424-1446) had "ten thousand Turushka horsemen in his service."¹⁴ It is likely that the term "Turushka" is used to signify Muslims in general and could have included not only Turkish Muslims but also other alien Muslims and even indigenous ones. Muslim soldiers served as cavalymen and archers. A few Portuguese were employed in the sixteenth century Vijayanagara forces. Sources do not specify whether or not they served as horsemen. They certainly functioned as expert artillerymen; for Nuniz recounts the services rendered by Portuguese musketeers in the capture of Raichur fort in 1520 by Kṛṣṇadevarāya¹⁵. It is also believed that there were nearly 3,500 Portuguese among the Vijayanagara troops at the battle of Tālikoṭa.¹⁶

Let us now examine how far the sculptures at Vijayanagara support and confirm the information provided by these literary sources.

The 'Hampi Ruins' are located on the south bank of the river Tungabhadra in the Bellary district of Karnataka. The remains of the core of the erstwhile capital are spread over an area of approximately twenty-five square kilometres. For the sake of convenience, this area can be divided into three functional zones : the 'sacred centre' to the south of the river, the 'irrigated valley' which is an intermediate zone of agriculture, and the 'urban core' further south; in the western end of the latter is the 'royal centre'. Within this area are still extant numerous monuments, both religious and secular. The wealth of sculptures on the structures and elsewhere attest to the vibrancy of life in this great metropolis. Vijayanagara stone sculptures can be broadly classified into the following types : monoliths, wall panels, reliefs on pillars, piers, lintels and plinth mouldings, reliefs carved on boulders and reliefs sculpted on stone slabs. The representations of foreigners with horses, that are still extant on monuments, appear only as reliefs on wall panels and as friezes on plinth mouldings. There are also a few stray reliefs that may once have been part of some edifice. There are no monolithic statues of them; nor do they appear among the numerous themes carved on stray boulders all over the site. The depictions of these foreigners with horses occur only on a few monuments, both on secular as well as religious structures. They are found in both the

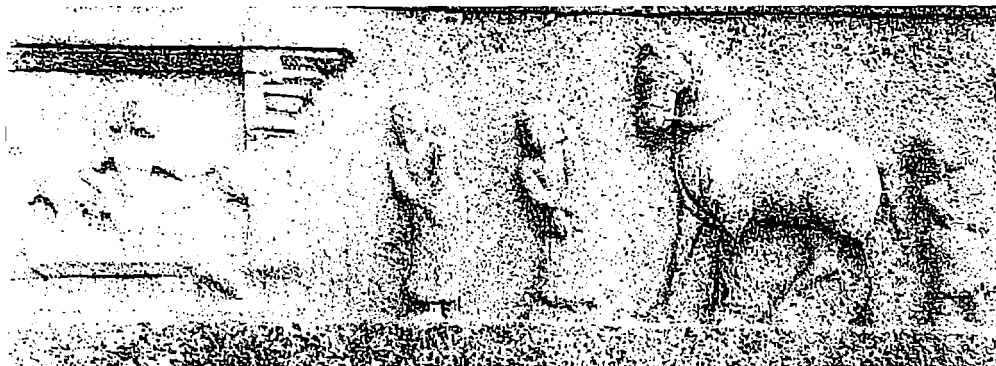
'sacred centre' as well as in the 'royal centre'. The extant sculptures can be arranged, more or less in a chronological sequence, in the following order :

1. Those on the so-called 'Mahānavamī Platform'
2. The reliefs on the enclosure wall of the Rāmacandra temple
3. Three reliefs on stone fragments that are not in their original locations/structures. Two were found in the palace zone; the third is reset into the outer east *gopura* of the Virūpākṣa temple
4. The reliefs on the plinth moulding of the Viṭṭhala temple
5. The carvings on the plinth moulding of an unfinished *gopura* to the south-west of the Viṭṭhala temple complex

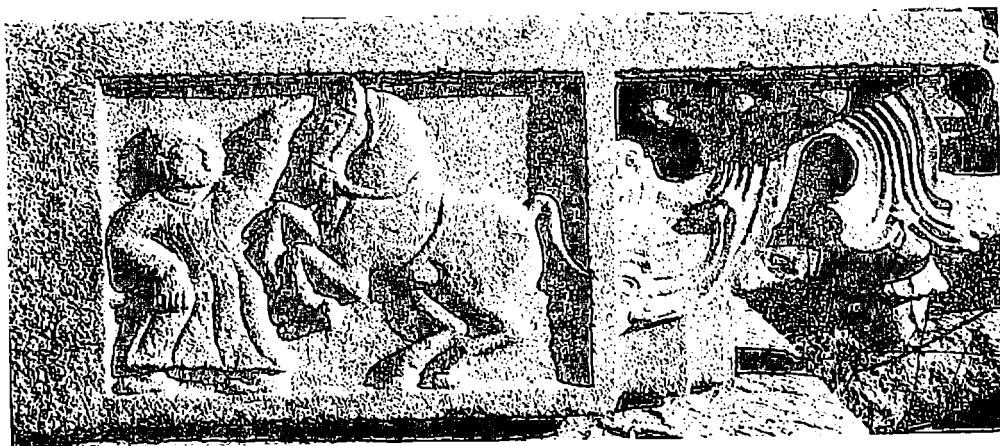
Of these, the first two are in the 'royal centre' and the last two in the 'sacred centre'; of the monuments listed, while three belong to temple architecture, one is a platform connected with courtly rituals and the last is a gateway.

The enormous Mahānavamī Platform was built in successive stages spanning almost the entire history of the site as a capital, that is, from the late fourteenth century to the sixteenth century.¹⁷ The wall surfaces of this platform are elaborately sculpted. There are four phases of such sculptures. A unique feature of these carvings is that they are entirely secular in nature. The depictions of the foreigners belong to the earliest phase of sculpture, mainly of the late-fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries; they are found on the south-facing wall, where among the numerous reliefs are seen here and there, leading horses or occasionally leading or riding on camels, foreign-looking men, characterised by their long robes or coats, head-cloths, scarves or caps on the head, usually sporting beards and moustaches. They appear to be a generic type representing the Arab traders who frequented the west coast ports or other West/Central Asians. Occasionally these traders are shown bowing before a seated royal or courtly personage; they are obviously presenting their animals, led by grooms who also appear to be foreign, to the dignitary.

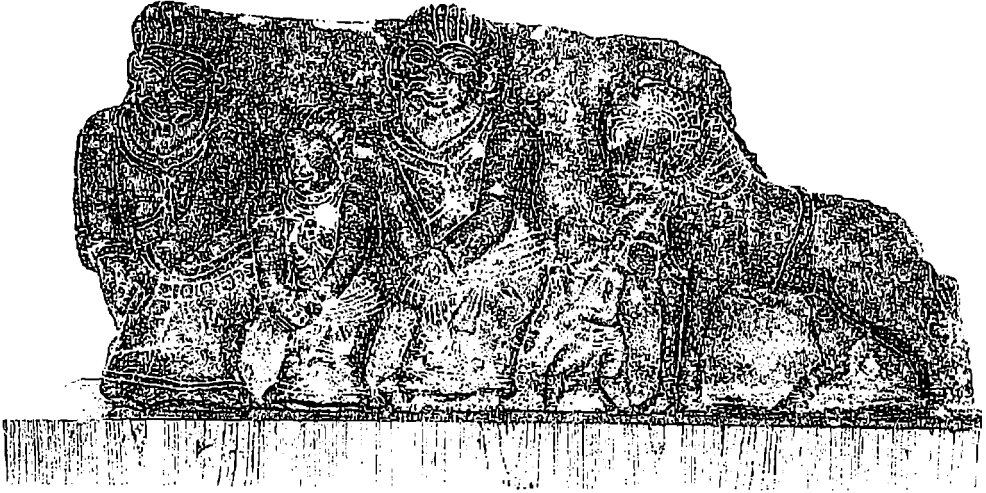
The Rāmacandra temple is of the early fifteenth century¹⁸. The enclosure wall of this temple is unique in that it is the only example of a temple enclosure wall at the site that is decorated by continuous rows of friezes. On the outer-face of the wall these panels represent scenes of royal pageantry : processions of elephants, horses, soldiers, dancers as well as a few mythological themes. The second frieze from the bottom is of an endless procession of caparisoned horses, led by grooms. Here and there are seen courtly figures, seated within pavilions and attended by servitors, reviewing the procession. Before the royal figures are standing foreigners in respectful attitudes. The robes and head-cloths worn by the leaders of these groups with horses reveal that they are, in



A. Arab horse-traders paying their respects to a royal personage, enclosure wall of the Rāmacandra temple.



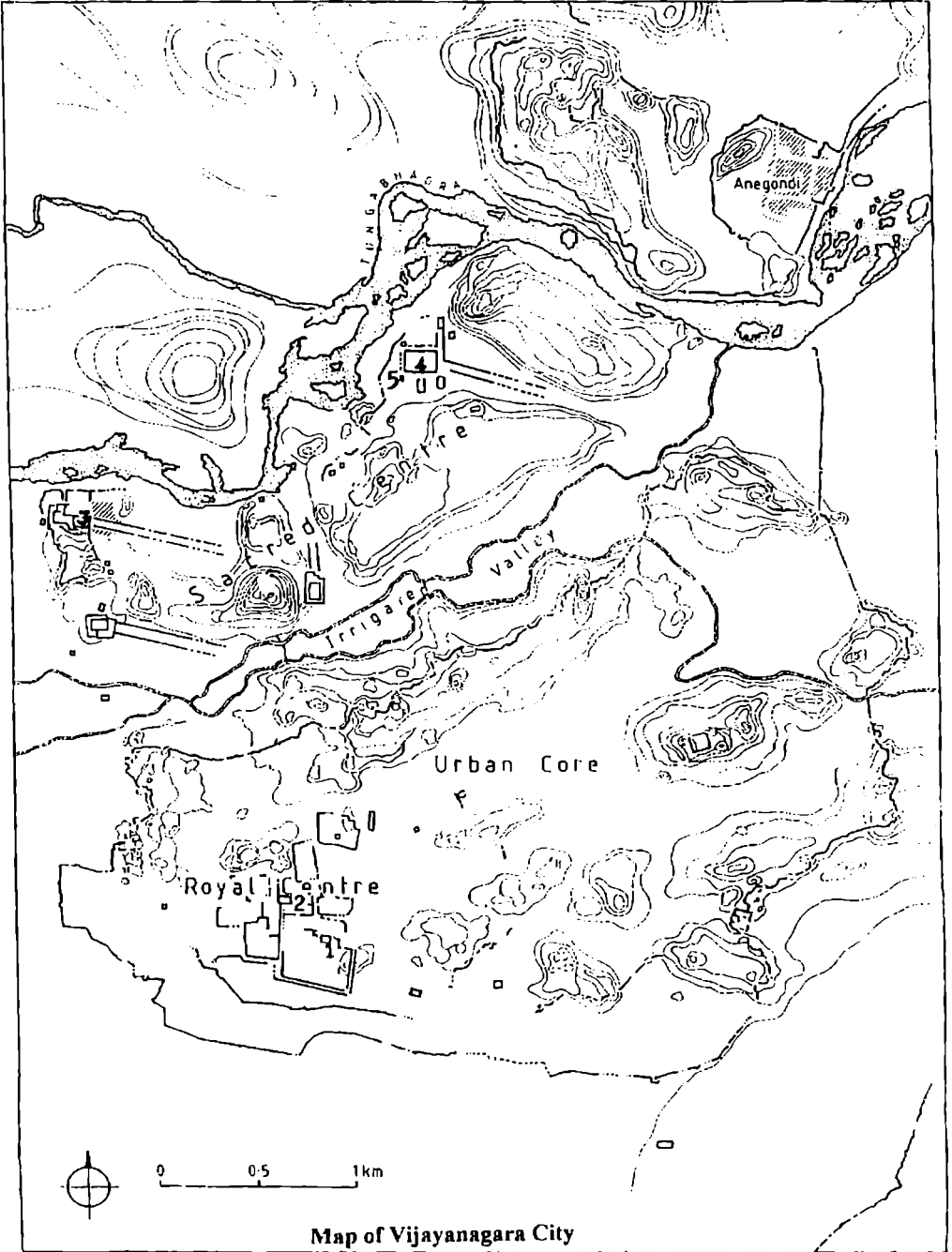
B. Relief of a foreigner leading a prancing horse (fragment lying in the palace zone).



A. Relief of foreign horse-traders (now in the site archaeological museum).

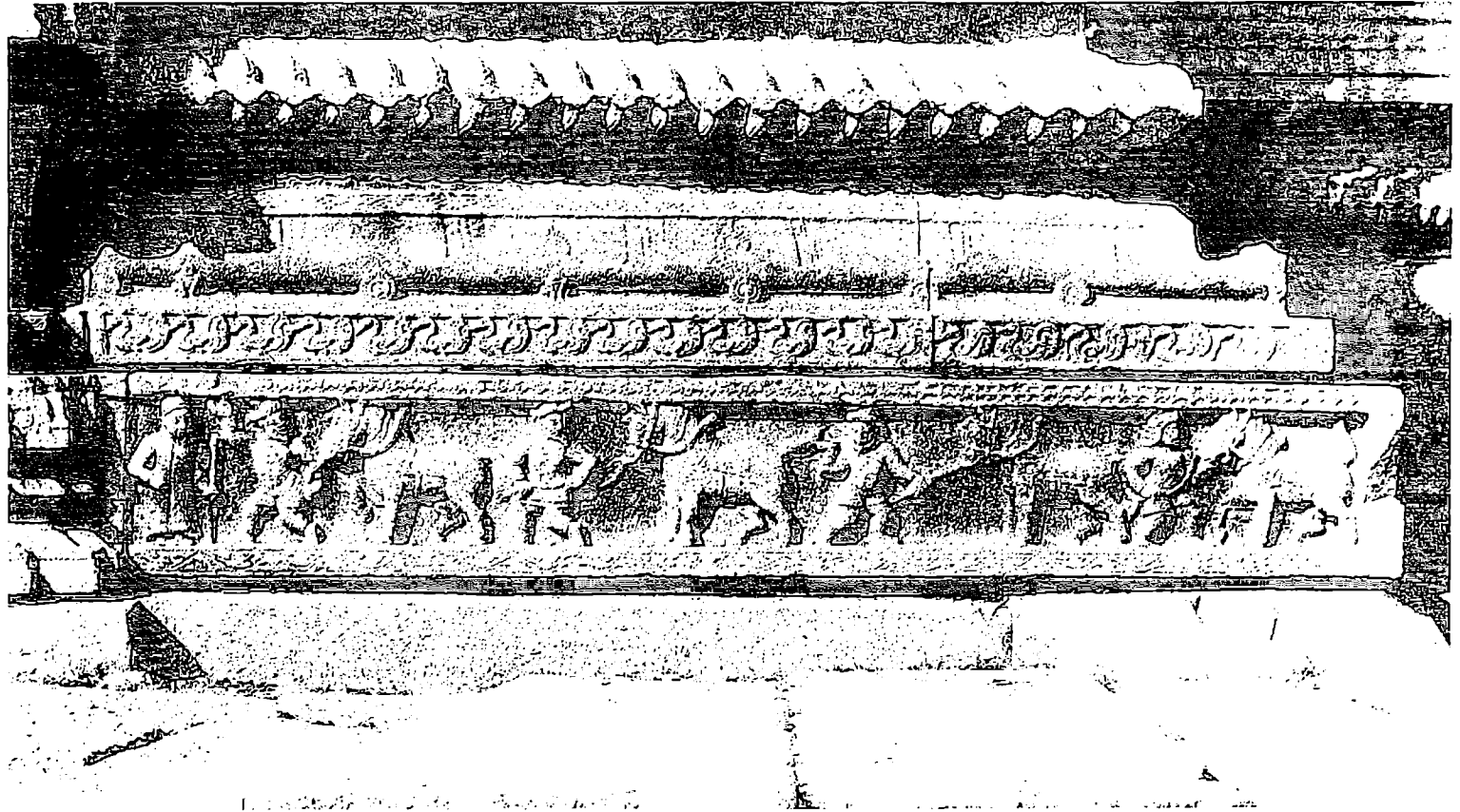


B. Portuguese horsemen (plinth of the gateway to the south-west of the Vitthala temple).



Map of Vijayanagara City

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|---------------------|
| 1. Mahānavamī Platform | 2. Rāmacandra temple | 3. Viṇūpākṣa temple |
| 4. Viṭṭhala temple | 5. Gateway to the south-west of the Viṭṭhala temple | |



Frieze of Portuguese with horses (plinth of the *mahāmandapa* of the Vitthala temple).

all likelihood, Arabs, probably traders delivering the steeds. (Plate XIII, A).

On the third tier from the bottom, there are rows of soldiers on the march. Occasionally a rider on horseback is also noticed. But these, by their attire, are evidently indigenous.

Of the two stray pieces of sculpture found in the palace zone, the first is now placed among a group of carvings displayed in the open space to the south-east of the Mahānavamī Platform. The carving is on an architectural member, probably a part of a lintel slab or a projecting bracket. Here, sculpted very vividly, is a foreign male leading a prancing pony. The man's long, full-sleeved, flowing robe and peaked skull-cap indicate that he is in all likelihood a foreign Muslim. (Plate XIII, B).

The second slab is now in the site archaeological museum. It is a broken piece of sculpture and it is not clear whether or not it had once formed part of some architectural work. The extant piece reveals three foreigners, namely two adult men and a youth, standing with joined hands in a respectful posture. Perhaps, on the portion now no longer extant was some Vijayanagara dignitary to whom they are offering their obeisances. A groom, probably an Indian, leads a beautifully decorated steed. The three foreign men appear to be West or Central Asians. They are well attired in full-sleeved robes or coats buttoned above the waist, with elaborate sashes or girdles around the hips. All wear striped caps or turbans. The two grown-ups have beards and moustaches (Plate XIV, A).

It is not possible to date these two sculptures as they are only fragments and they are not attached to any dateable structure. Stylistically one could attribute them to the mid or late fifteenth century or even to the very early sixteenth century.

The huge outer east *gopura* of the Virūpākṣa temple as extant today appears, on stylistic grounds, to be an eighteenth or even early nineteenth century reconstruction. A fifteenth century gateway, which was thoroughly repaired by Kṛṣṇadevarāya in 1509-10¹⁹, probably stood at the same spot. Due to the various vicissitudes that the site suffered subsequent to the reign of this monarch, the *gopura* appears to have been damaged and almost thoroughly rebuilt in its present form. This reconstruction used materials from the earlier ones and some fifteenth century stone slabs with reliefs were reset into the stone base of the gate. On the western side of the gateway, to the north of the entrance passage, is the relief of a horse led by a bearded man who wears a long robe and a peaked cap.

The foreigners depicted in all the above-mentioned reliefs are Asiatics, many of them Arabs. In contrast, those on the two sixteenth century structures, which have carvings of foreigners, are predominantly of Portuguese. The first

is on the plinth of the front, open pillared hall of the principal shrine within the Viṭṭhala temple complex. This hall can be stylistically assigned to the last phase of building activity in the city, prior to its destruction in 1565. It is generally identified as the 'swing pavilion' constructed in 1554 by a chief closely connected with the Vijayanagara court²⁰. Here on the *jagati* moulding of the plinth is a detailed rendering of a procession of horse-dealers with steeds; occasionally they appear before a seated royal figure. These men, who are shown leading horses by their reins, are according to H. Heras "faithful portraits of the Portuguese fidalgoes of the sixteenth century. Boots, trousers, coat and bonnet all belong to their ancient well-known apparel."²¹ These men have moustaches that are turned upwards and trimmed triangular shaped beards. Heras identifies one of the figures at the head of the group of these horse-traders as a Christian padre (Plate XVI). While the fidalgoes are dressed in fitting coats and trousers, this figure wears a long robe, buttoned down the front. He has a drooping moustache and a beard; a staff is held in one hand. Occasionally, amidst this long procession of horses led by the Portuguese, one can also see Indian attendants and some West Asian grooms. Evidently the Portuguese had to employ others to help them with the transport and care of the horses.

The last monument with sculptural depictions of foreigners is the incomplete gateway to the south-west of the Viṭṭhala complex. Only the plinth of this structure is standing. Evidently it was being erected when the climacteric events of 1565 stopped all the constructional work at the site. On one of its plinth mouldings is another elaborate procession of well-decked horses led by attendants; occasionally a man is shown seated on horse-back. The tight-fitting trousers, buttoned jackets and the wide-brimmed pointed hats worn by these men indicate that they are Portuguese, as in the Viṭṭhala temple example. One of the men wears a long coat instead of the jacket and trousers. He bows before a seated figure, who, by his appearance, is evidently also a Portuguese (Plate XIV, B).

The figures of the Europeans and their apparel are keenly noted and accurately rendered by the Vijayanagara sculptors. Moreover, the artists observed that Europeans carry their bodies differently from Indians. This has been precisely documented in these friezes.

In connection with horses, Vijayanagara literary and epigraphical sources also make passing reference to foreign mercenaries. Of the Turkish or other Asiatic cavalymen there are scarcely any examples in Vijayanagara sculpture, except for a possible example or two on the Mahānavamī Platform, that is if the mounted foreigners on it are taken to be soldiers. Of the Portuguese soldiers, there is one example in the Viṭṭhala temple complex. Here the finely executed sixteenth century south-east corner pavilion, commonly called the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*, has some pillars from which emerge rearing *yālis* on each

of which is a mounted warrior. One of these, flanking the steps on the west side, has a Portuguese archer in action seated on a *yāli*. But, since he is on a *yāli* and not on a horse, he does not quite fit into this category of foreigners with horses.

Of the above-mentioned renderings of foreign horse-traders in Vijayanagara sculptures, in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century examples are of Asiatics, often Arabs; the mid-sixteenth examples are of Portuguese. The sculptures substantiate the importance of the horse-trade for Vijayanagara and the fact that it was in the hands of foreigners, first the Arabs and later the Portuguese. These foreigners are rendered in a fairly stereotyped manner. The sellers of horses are usually shown leading their animals, or very occasionally seated on them. Every now and then they are seen offering their respects to a seated dignitary; in all, except the last mentioned example, these are evidently to Vijayanagara courtly personages. If the Vijayanagara state relied on these foreigners for their supply of and expertise in horses, the aliens in turn depended on the patronage of the Vijayanagara court for the success of their commercial ventures.

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THE HISTORY OF DALITS IN PUNE

ELEANOR ZELLIOT

While much has been written of India's **dalits**, a word meaning depressed or oppressed which generally refers to ex-Untouchables, there is no study of their urban **history**. When did Untouchables first come to the city? What did they do? Where did they live? When did they organize for change? What did reformers attempt to do for them? How did the city change their lives? In what ways are the lives of Dalits and non-Dalits intertwined? What did Dalits contribute to the city? This essay is an attempt to answer these questions in the context of the city of Pune, with the realization that documentation is scarce, and many observations are either personal or partial.

The Shivaji-Peshwa Period

The earliest living area of Untouchables in Pune was the Maharwada which formed part of the village which became Mangalwar Peth. The village was added to Pune around 1663 when the city was briefly conquered by Shaista Khan (Gadgil 1945 : 13). Originally called Shaistapur, and then Astapur, which seems to be a variation on that name, Mangalwar Peth lay beyond the Nazari stream, to the east of the old Kasba, and was populated by Malis and Mahars. The village had been separated from the city by a wall built when Pune came under the dominance of the Delhi Sultanate in the first decade of the 14th century. The wall was gone, however, when Shivaji re-conquered the city in the 17th C. and he made his capital in the more easily protected hill fort of Raigad in the Konkan after driving out Shaista Khan.

A British census in the Peshwa Daftar of 1822 indicates that Mangalwar had retained the features of the old village all through the Peshwai period; it listed the 288 Mahars and 26 Mangs who lived there as watan-dars - traditional village servants who hold watan or land for their service (Gadgil 1952 : 22). I have been told that Tadiwala Road, immediately north of the Railway Station, is the area of the old Mahar watan, but I have found no record of this. In any case, the watan brought the Mahars little wealth. Shashikant B. Sawant estimates that, according to a 1764-1765 survey, Mangalwar was almost three-fourths huts (Sawant 1973:44). In fact, it had deteriorated so much (*kharab padli*) that it was not officially recognized as a ward from 1746 to the end of the Peshwa period (Gadgil 1945:15).

A great necessity in a pre-modern city is the scavenger, the remover

of human waste. The word used in this period, Halalkhor, is Persian and there is no Marathi equivalent, nor is there a Marathi-speaking caste which performs this work. Gujarati Untouchables were imported to Pune, probably as soon as the city grew to the point where folk could not use the fields as a latrine. The 1822 census in the Peshwa Daftar notes a Halalkhorpura near Mangalwar Peth, with 148 souls (Gadgil 1952:22). Sometime in the 20th century, the more common term Bhangi completely replaced "Halalkhor".

The leather-working Chambhars would also have been a necessity from the very earliest period. Although the Marathas did not use leather saddles, they did need shoes, buckets, harness and other leather goods. Chambhars seem to have lived in various areas of the city, since their shoe repair and leather work was needed everywhere, and they were considered less defiling than Mahars, Mangs and Halalkhors. A few Dhors also came to Pune to do tanning, but later were largely replaced by Muslims.

As the city expanded in the last half of the 18th century, various low castes came to live in the east, the traditional direction in the villages of Maharashtra for Untouchable quarters. Nana and Bhawani as well as Mangalwar Peths became the chief areas for Dalits. Bhawani Peth was added in 1767 (Kosambi 1980 : 147). Vijay Tendulkar's play, *Ghashiram Kotwal*, uses "Bhawani" as a symbol of the prostitutes area. Nana Peth, just north of Bhawani, was founded in 1790 and named after its founder, Nana Phadnavis (Kosambi 1980:149), and it became a mixed area of the traders for whom Nana had planned the Peth and Dalits. Both Bhawani and Nana contained important temples : the goddess in Bhawani Peth and Hanuman (Hanmant) in Nana.

The police duties of the Mahar in the village may have been brought into the constabulary of the city, but that is not clear. The Kotwal of Poona, an important post combining police chief and mayor in some respects, was appointed by the Peshwa from 1764 on. In the decade following, he had about 2,500 men in his force, but since the terms constable, orderly and walandar are used, not Mahar, we do not know their castes. However, the name Ramoshi, a low but not untouchable "criminal tribe", in British parlance, often appears in the records. When the hated Ghashiram Kotwal was put to death, he was bound "and the cord held by a man of the tribe of Bungi", according to an English narrative of the year 1791 (Parnasis 108). The Englishman probably got it wrong because Mangs, not Bhangis, were the traditional executioners as well as ropemakers, but surely some Untouchable performed such unpleasant duties.

The Peshwa Daftar mentions Untouchables in legal matters from time to time. Gokhale (1988 : 164-165) notes that Mahars claimed the right to the hides of dead cattle and to gifts on designated holidays, and that Mahars as well as Kunbis, Guravs and Kumbhars could be used for compulsory

labour. It is also clear that the mixing of castes in sexual matters was a serious offense. The family of Babaji Gurav had to pay a fine of Rs. 50 in 1743-44 because he had illicit relations with a Mahar woman. (Gokhale 1988 : 167). Ramchandra Krishna Angal, a Brahman, was ex-communicated for sexual relations with a Mang woman (Gavali 1988:132). A Chambhar woman accused of adulterous conduct was allowed to perform an ordeal, and rewarded with a sari when she passed the test of hot iron rods in her hands (Gokhale 1988:186). The Peshwa's courts also settled disputes between Untouchable castes outside Pune, and in 1776-1777 Nagar Mahar complaints of Kunbi and Mang obstruction in such matters as the taking of hides and the offering of food to Mariai were settled in the Mahars' favour, after Pune and Paithan Mahars were consulted (Gavali 1988 : 119-120).

There are a number of indications that caste occupations were controlled. For instance, Mahars were stopped from transporting dried fish from the Konkan for sale in Pune when Kolis, traditional fishermen, complained (Gokhale 1988 : 142). But when one sees the colourful list of occupations gleaned by Gavali (1988 : 55-58) from the Peshwa Diaries, one wonders if there wasn't a good bit of mix. He lists as artisan work such known Untouchable jobs as rope-maker and shoe-maker, but who made the arrows? worked in bamboo? made bricks? hewed wood? made charcoal? polished the tools and weapons? groomed the horses?

There are also legends among Dalits about life in Peshwai Pune. Most common is the widely held belief that Untouchables had to carry a pot so that their spit would not foul the ground and a broom with which to eradicate their footsteps. The father of Jotirao Phule (1828-1890), who undoubtedly had known the last decades of Peshwa rule, told him this legend, and other stories of unusual punishment for Untouchables (Shinde 1985 : 70 n. 36). But Mahars also served in the Peshwa's armies. There are legends of Mahar heroism in Shivaji's time, chiefly in guarding forts, but there is clear evidence that Mahars actually saw field combat in Peshwa armies. Testimony to the Indian Statutory Commission (Vol. XVI, 1930:58) turned up at least one "Depressed Class" voter who held a jagir granted by the Peshwa for services on the battlefield.

Charles Kincaid's lively gossip about Pune provides almost the only light touch about the Peshwa period. Look for a grave at the foot of Parvati Hill, he says, and you will find a marker for the Mang who attended the Peshwa's rhinoceros, but "ended his career with its horn through his body." When Kincaid visited the spot at the turn of this century, a Mahar was in charge, and there were signs of offerings of fowls. Kincaid was told that the Mang's ghost supposedly spirits away fair women of high caste, leaving them "soiled and helpless on the roadway!!" One wonders about the covert meaning of that one. And he also notes new Vetal and Mhasoba stones near the spot,

with a Mahar attendant (Kincaid 1908 : 88-89).

Statistics for Pune taken immediately after the Peshwa period are the fullest of any census for the purposes of this paper, but not entirely satisfactory. The Peshwa Daftar, Jamav Section, of 1822 contains figures on population, ownership of animals, occupation, type of house -- all tabulated for 99 castes -- and a classification by ward for 113 castes. The relative numbers of Brahmans and the Untouchable castes are indicative of the Brahman nature of the city (Gadgil 1952 : 42-45) :

1	Brahman	16,755
23	Chambhar	578
31	Mochi	26
83	Dhor	133
90	Holar	35
96	Mahar	867 (plus 288 in Mangalwar Peth)
98	Mang	235 (plus 26 in Mangalwar Peth)
99	Halalkhor	613 (plus 138 in Mangalwar Peth)

Since Brahmans are at the top and Bhangis at the bottom, the ranking must be in status order, which places the Chambhar and the Mochi quite well up on the list.

Occupation statistics are difficult to interpret, since only four categories are used : well-to-do, traders, artisans and, fourth, labourers and beggars. All the working Untouchables except the Holar are classed as artisans and the numbers indicate about one in four persons was employed. Eleven Holars are "labourers & beggars". The animal statistics are interesting, if not very useful. Chambhars owned 5 cows, Mangs 9 and Halalkhors also 9; Mahars had only 6 cows, but also possessed 8 horses and a host of other animals! (Gadgil 1952 : 46-49).

The ward statistics confirm what we already suppose : Chambhars lived in eight of the 13 wards, Gunj, Ganesh and Nana (Hanmant) having the largest number. Mahars are chiefly confined to Bhawani and Nana (and the uncounted Mangalwar); Mangs are spread somewhat evenly between Gunj, Nihal, Shukravar and Nana and Halalkhors live overwhelmingly in Bhawani Peth (Gadgil 1952:53-56).

The Coming of the British

The establishment of Poona Cantonment (usually called simply Camp) in 1818 meant a major change in the history of the Dalits. Untouchables came to serve the British as house servants, butlers, menials and keepers of horses and donkeys, and later both British and Parsis as drivers - and, until the late 19th century, as soldiers. In fact, Mahars associated with the British may have come during Peshwa times. A report of Bahirav Raghunath

to Nana Phadnis notes that Charles Warre Malet came to Pune as envoy around 1790 with "six topiwalas... 35 horses, 200 guards, 100 servants, 50 Kamathi porters, 75 palanquin men, 425 Mahars, 2 elephants, 4 palanquins" and a Muslim dancing girl (Kincaid 1908:135). Sardesai (1968 : 324) simply refers to 425 Mahar guards. We do know Mahars served in the British army from the very beginning.

A number of Mahar localities grew around the British Army : areas near the barracks at Ghorpuri and Wanowri, and at least four quarters in Camp: Bhimpura (old Kamatipura) and Sholapur Bazaar as well as two Modi Khanas. Modi Khana, a term used for the commissariat or stores of the army and for the entourage which followed the army as well, was established near what is now Synagogue Street, and there is a sunken stone marking the place of the pestilence goddess Mariai, whose worship was in the care of Mahars, still in that street. New Modi Khana was established a little later, at the south end of "Main Street", now Mahatma Gandhi or M.G. Road. Some inhabitants claim that it was built for Mahars who worked with mules; others that it was for army pensioners. Bhimpura, it is said, was built for syces, which would fit with the traditional Mahar duty of caring for the travelling official's horse.

New Modi Khana is a colony of one room pukkha houses, built in double storied rows with a large public area for each four sided open square of houses. Now in prime territory, the houses still rent for very little, and the area has continued to be largely a Dalit area with a public hall for meetings and a vihar for Buddhist activities, in spite of some "gentrification", to use a Western term. Ganpatrao Pawar put his Siddharth Reading Room and Library here before moving it out to a main street in Camp to increase its use. Many of New Modi Khana's inhabitants now hold government jobs reserved for Scheduled Castes, but one could still see women rolling bidis (which for some inexplicable reason seems to be an occupation open to Untouchables) in the area's lanes quite recently.

Chambhars live here now as well as other low castes, artisan castes such as tailors, and Buddhists, and one, "Nirmal," a song writer, became active in Ambedkar's movement, even while going each day to the large Chambhar shoe repair shop on M.G. Road.

The city also grew to the west, and in the 1920's crossed the Mutha river to the area that is now Shivaji Nagar. This brought another old Maharwada, Bhamburda, just south and west of the Mula-Mutha sangam, into the City. A colony of Buddhists still lives in Bhamburda, in small houses around an open court that is used for public meetings as well as the ordinary traffic of a community. The offices of Pune Municipal Corporation are on the edge of the old Bhamburda Maharwada, as is the 7th century cave temple of

Pataleshwar. On a 1945 map, Gadgil shows a "Municipal Mang Colony" on the west bank of the Mutha, just north of Sambhaji Park where Bal Gandharva Theatre now stands (Gadgil 1945). That rope-making colony was moved across the river when Lloyd Bridge was built in 1930 (Patel 1955 : 244).

One of the most conspicuous slums in the western area is Wadarwadi, a huge area tucked in between Fergusson College Road and the hills, just southwest of the lovely area of Model Colony. The Wadars are not Dalit in the sense of ex-untouchable; they are a Kannada speaking people who had in British terminology the status of a "tribe". However, they are skilled stone and earth workers, and came to Pune to build stone works, possibly as early as 1782, when underground masonry drains were begun, and surely in the next century with the coming of the railroad and the need for earthen works. The Wadarwadi colony itself was probably started about 1910 in conjunction with a new drainage system. Some 20,000 people now live here (Bapat 1981 : 171), the majority Wadars but with Buddhists and other castes mixed in. It's an area of crowded, sub-standard housing, but with a lively community spirit. (See Rao 1990.)

Other areas became important centres of Dalit life during British times. Range Hills quarters replaced an older area for workers in the Ammunition Factory in Kirkee, established in 1869. Evidently the dangerous work of munitions provided early industrial opportunities for Untouchables, and many Mahars either moved to the Kirkee area or came in to the factory from nearby villages. Range Hills consists of government housing for workers and Ammunition Factory retirees; it is now a very active centre for Buddhist activities, although government regulations allow no religious or private building. Range Hills offers a sterling example of change : the daughter of a Buddhist couple with minimum education won a full scholarship in 1989 to do graduate study in Physics at the University of California!

Depressed Class areas are not generally marked physically, as is the Maharwada in a village. One can find them by noting the existence of an old Mariyai shrine, since that goddess was in the care of the Mahars, or a new Buddhist Vihar. Most, but not all, of the Mariyai temples in the care of Mahars have been converted to Buddhist viharas. Other viharas were built after the conversion of 1956 and are hence post-British but mark older colonies. There is a Mariyai temple in Yeravda which indicates an early Mahar settlement. A Buddhist vihar near the Mental Hospital reveals the fact that Mahars, now Buddhists, live in considerable numbers in employee quarters. Another area of Mahar living is near the airport, which was constructed about 1930.

The World of the Untouchables in 1912

A remarkably complete picture of Untouchables in Pune at the height

of the British period can be found in the sociological essays of Harold Mann, an English agriculturist who had a deep personal interest in the "Depressed Classes." His survey deals only with Poona City, not the Cantonment or the Suburban area, which should be remembered in assessing Dalit progress. Pune then was a city of 111, 381 persons, of which, Mann estimated in lieu of any official Census figures, 7000 to 8000 were of Untouchable castes. "They live segregated from the rest and, being segregated, are largely unknown to the general public." (Mann 1967 : 180). To show this ignorance, he quotes a statement from the 1881 Bombay Gazetteer which he called "libelous" :

The depressed classes include Chambhars, Dhors, Mangs, and Mahars. They live in dirty huts outside of the town, idle, dishonest, given to drinking, thieving and telling lies. Both men and women are of loose morals and husbands and wives are changed at will. Of Mahars, some are in the native army, some are domestic servants to Europeans, some are day labourers, and some are sweepers. Labourers and scavengers begging for remains of dishes served at dinner and for a morsel of food will remain crying at doors for hours together. Chambhars make shoes, Dhors tan hides, and Mangs make ropes and brooms. They live in abject poverty and have scarcely any bedding beyond a blanket. They go almost naked and have no metal pots in their houses. Their women work as day labourers and do house work. They cannot read and write and seldom send their boys to the schools which Government have opened for them. (Quoted in Mann 1967:180)

At least half of this description is incorrect now, states Mann, and probably never was accurate; he felt Untouchables were "not worthy" of those remarks. The Untouchable classes do not, in large proportion, live in dirty huts outside the town, although some do, they are **not**, as a class, idle, nor dishonest nor thieving nor heavy drinking more than others, and while "lowly and despised", they do **not** live in the abject poverty described. To gain an accurate impression, Mann and his assistants, many of them from the Untouchable classes, interviewed "1400 households, or probably at least between 80 and 90 per cent of the total" of Dalits in Pune proper (Mann 1967:181).

Mann's figures refer to 2066 Mahars, the largest of the five castes: Bhangis, Chambhars, Dhors, Mahars and Mangs. One fourth of the Mahars surveyed were **watandars**, descendants of those formerly attached to the villages which Pune had encompassed. They owned their land and their houses, which were "more or less well built." Three-fourths of the Mahars had come to Poona from the outside for work and "live under much more squalid and unsatisfactory conditions" than the watandar Mahars. They paid a ground rent of eight or so annas a month and built their own huts, generally of mud and roofed with corrugated iron or old kerosene tins. The landlord did nothing but "put

a latrine in the field." (Mann 1967:182)

Somewhat less than fifty percent of the Mahar population worked : 574 men, 197 women and 71 children : 144 for the Municipality as sweepers, coolies, etc.; 69 in one of the two factories in the Pune area : a silk and cotton mill and the ammunition factory at Kirkee; 145 for the railway; 138 as domestic servants; 326 as coolies; and 120 miscellaneous, including masons, sellers of firewood, wardboys in hospitals and beggars. The average earnings of Mahars were 9.9 Rs. per month for men, 4.1 for women and suprisingly enough, 9.1 for children, which included boys up to 18 and girls up to marriage at 15 or 16. (Mann 1967 : 182-183)

Mann found the 526 Mangs who were interviewed in more squalid circumstances, with "no status in the community and ... hence far less self-respect...than among the Mahars." Fully half the Mangs worked, which included the traditional rope making which women could do in the street just outside their homes. A greater proportion of Mangs worked for the Municipality and as coolies; far fewer (only 6 and 4 Mangs respectively) worked in factories and the railroad. Mang children earned much less than Mahars, 4.5 Rs. per month, and men and women slightly less. (Mann 1967:184-185)

Of 798 Chambhars, who occupied the highest social and economic position of these groups, few women and children worked, and all but 25 men were involved in the bootmaking and leather-working trade. Mann did not deal with the related caste of Dhors (tanners) because they were few in number and tanning in Pune was generally done by Muslims (Mann 1967:185-186).

Mann has interesting findings about the Bhangis, the "scavengers and removers of night-soil, "lowest in the social scale, but often possessed of well-built and clean housing," and "far more permanent residents of Poona than...some of the previous classes." Wages for the 373 Bhangis interviewed worked out to 7.7 Rs. per month for both men and women, and 5.6 for children. All did traditional work, eighty percent for the public authority. Because so many in the family worked, the total income per family per month was 18.2, about five rupees a month higher than any of the others. (Mann 1967:186-187.) (Pune still has Bhangi Colonies, although a 1929 Bhangi strike greatly increased the number of flushing latrines. (Patel 1955:233)

Mann found the family size of the Untouchable classes very small, with only the Chambhars averaging four, a good thing since housing usually consisted of one small room. In a 1916 article, Mann looked at the housing of Untouchables in Pune. Here he seems to contradict his earlier denial of the conditions described in the 1881 *Gazetteer*. In parts of the city, "neglect prevails to an almost inconceivable extent. It is at its worst in the rainy season, and at that time visits to some of the quarters inhabited by Mahars and Mangs

show a state of things which has to be seen to be believed" (Mann 1967:194). Even the Watandar Mahars lived in less than satisfactory conditions. The pucca houses of the Mangalwar Peth area were more closed in than were huts, and the space around them extremely limited (a condition that still exists).

For non-watandars, renting open space and building a hut was the chief option. Gadi Tal and Bhokarwadi were typical of these areas, states Mann (and it was Bhokarwadi in which Shinde was to establish his chief Depressed Class Mission centre a little later than Mann made his observations). Here the land belonged to the Municipality, and there were fairly adequate latrines and a good tap water supply, although the drains remained kachcha. Living quarters for the Bhangis were far better, with 84 of the 89 families interviewed living in a pucca house. The overall picture, however, "makes one ashamed." Mann decries the wisdom of those who want to simply close off the worst areas and drive the people away and notes that he has proposed a model colony, a proposal sanctioned but not funded. (Mann 1967 : 202.) His 1912 words are often echoed today.

Gadgil's Pre-World War II Study

Although D. R. Gadgil's invaluable study of Pune was published in two volumes in 1945 and 1952 much of the data is from late 1930's surveys. And although Gadgil was enormously interested in the Depressed Classes, his statistics are for a fairly small sample; he could include only the city and the suburbs, not the Camp; and he does not deal with such fascinating questions as the relative place of watandar and non-watandar Mahars. The aggregate picture of Depressed Class life is not as complete as Mann's, but the statistics are our only clue to change, and the incidental information is very telling. The tabulation of the occupation of 382 Depressed Class heads of families (out of a total survey of 4529) is worth reproducing in full, since it shows the very beginnings of occupational advancement (Gadgil 1952:77) :

Occupational Grade	Mahar	Chambhar	All D.C.
Unskilled manual work	94	7	185
Skilled manual work	41	39	101
Lowest professions and administrative posts	19	1	29
Small business	9	3	23
Highly skilled and supervisory manual work	10	1	15
Clerks and shop assistants	2	1	4
Intermediate professions		...	...
Medium business		1	1
Highest professions and salaried posts			
Owners of factories, etc.			

Pensioners	...	...	1
Beggars and Prostitutes	8	1	15
No earner	1	...	7
<hr/>			
Total	184	54	382

Comparing these as best one can to Mann's statistics for 842 Mahar workers, and assuming Mann's categories of sweepers and coolies would count as unskilled labour, one finds more than half the Mahars worked in unskilled manual labour in 1912, only slightly more than in 1937! However, some advance has been made, it seems, in "lowest professions", clerkships and supervisory manual labour.

Overall, Gadgil's school statistics show a great change. The category titled "Backward Classes" includes Depressed Classes and the low castes immediately above them, but as Gadgil uses it seems to include only Untouchables. The enrolment figures were gathered in 1937-38 (Gadgil 1952:286-287) :

Category of Institution	Backward Class Boys	Class Girls	Total Student Enrolment
<hr/>			
Arts Colleges			
Fergusson	14		1370
S.P.	9		881
Wadia	6		412
Professional Colleges			
Engineering	3		210
Agricultural	1		174
Law	14		363
B.J. Medical School	...		303
High Schools for Boys	153	...	7811
Middle School	54	4	383
High Schools for Girls	...	14	2395
Training College for Men	41	...	278
Training College for Women		6	98
Seva Sadan Training College	...	2	68
V. J. Municipal Tech.	5		61
Tailoring Colleges	6	...	79

Schools and institutions with no Backward Class enrollees have been omitted from this list. Some interesting facts emerge from such raw statistics: look at the disproportionate number enrolled in Law School! Note the

pre-eminence of Fergusson in educating Dalit men at this time. (I have been told by a Buddhist woman that she did attend Fergusson in this period, but not under the caste name of Mahar.) In another table, Gadgil tells us that the Poona Seva Sadan Hostel for Depressed Class Women housed 4 women attending college, which must include half the 8 women in the Training Colleges noted above (Gadgil 1952:293). The High Schools most important in the education of Dalits were Nutan M.V. and Camp Education Society, with over 40 students each. The New English School, surprisingly enough, had 26 Backward Class students. The number of boys in teaching training confirms an observation I have made in interviewing activists in the Ambedkar movement : much early leadership came from Mahar school teachers. (Compulsory education was instituted throughout the city in 1943, and Patel claims that the greatest emphasis was given on "Backward" areas. However, the most crowded school in the city was No. 29 in Bhangi Galli in Bhawani Peth, where two masters taught 133 boys. (Patel 1955:356-7)

Incidental information in Gadgil's volumes adds to the total picture : Out of 220 sellers at the Juna Bazaar on Sunday, May 9th, 1937, 46 of the men and 8 of the women were Mahars, the largest single caste involved, and 26 of the women sellers were Chambhars (Gadgil 1945:241). One has an image of the most enterprising of the Dalits re-cycling old material this way, and of Dalit women engaging in public commerce in a way that few other Marathi-speaking women at the time did. A 1938 survey showed that the great preponderance of casual labour was Maratha, and Gadgil found that the organized group at the Budhwar stand did not allow Depressed Classes to seek employment there (Gadgil 1945:251). Gadgil noted 81 shoe making and repair concerns in 12 Peths, most of them owned by Chambhars (Gadgil 1945:185-6). Later in the volume, he notes 64 leather and foot-wear shops in Poona; his sample investigations indicated all were owned by Chambhars or "Bohori" and Khoja Muslims (Gadgil 1945:233-4). But he comments that Chambhars were losing ground to new entrants in the manufacturing and import business and becoming, "wage-working artisans largely engaged in repair work" (Gadgil 1945:185-6).

N. M. Joshi's study of urban handicrafts, also published by the invaluable Gokhale Institute, is less pessimistic. He notes that leather work in Pune in the 19th century was second only to metal in importance (Joshi 1936:60). He also tells us, however, that the European kind of foot-wear came into the hands of "Pardeshi Mochis" in the late 19th, leaving only the "Indian foot-wear" to the Marathi-speaking Chambhars (Joshi 1936:82).

Post-Independence Dalit Life

After 1947, Pune began to change its character, becoming in time a major industrial city. As the factories marched toward the West on the

Bombay-Pune road, the areas surrounding them engulfed older villages. One of these was Dapodi, but I only know of the old Maharwada here because 37 claimants to the Mahar watan decided to give that land to be a Buddhist centre. The new buildings of the Trailokya Bauddha Mahasangha, the Indian Branch of the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order based in England, rise on the old Mahar watan. How many other Mahar wadas have been encompassed by growing Pune is anyone's guess.

About twenty years after the Gokhale Institute's first survey of Pune, a re-survey was made, but less intensely and with fewer personal notes than Gadgil's. Shivajinagar (Bhamburda), Mangalwar, Nana, Bhawani, and the Camps in Pune and Kirkee were where the preponderance of Depressed Classes lived. The best statistics for my purpose are for occupation and income, and there is an interesting note on education at the advanced level. The per capita income was 219.1 Rs. per year, far below the 356.8 average, but much better than in 1938, which saw Depressed Classes making 60 Rs. to the average of 139.7 (Sovani et al 1956:87). There is improvement in the numbers of Depressed Classes in highly skilled and supervisory work, in the intermediate professions and in clerical positions. The change is not startling, however. But the percent of Backward Class students in the three arts colleges had increased from 1 to 2 percent; and in the professional colleges from 2.5 to 4 percent. And 2 percent of B. J. Medical College students were from the Backward Classes (Sovani et al 1956:527).

The fifth Gokhale Institute survey of socio-economic life in Pune was made by Richard Lambert in 1957. At that time, Pune possessed only five private factories employing over 100 workers. Lambert found the Backward Castes held 11.2 percent of the factory positions, but only 4 worked at the Biscuit Factory and 208 of the 478 workers at the Textile Mill, the oldest of the factories. 46 Buddhists should be added to that number, none of them making biscuits (Lambert 1963:234). That low number in the industry associated with food makes one wonder. The rather astonishing statistic in Lambert's table on occupational class by caste is that no Backward Class person was a clerk in any factory, and only in the Paper factory were they supervisors in any significant degree (Lambert 1963:153).

The real change in Pune, however, was to come with the Buddhist conversion beginning in 1956, the working of the reservation system in government jobs and educational facilities, and the droughts which drove refugees from the countryside into Pune. The first two phenomena brought immense progress; the third added vastly to Pune's poor, badly housed, and pool of unskilled labour.

Post-independence Pune saw two phenomena in the physical setting of Dalit life : the growth of housing colonies which provided the possibilities

for a lower middle class life style for educated Dalits and, more obvious, a tremendous growth of shantytowns. As the city became an important industrial centre, the migrants moved in, far more than could be accommodated in regulation housing. The percentage of Pune inhabitants, a large part of them Dalit, which lives in slums is truly horrendous. Bawa (1987:246) estimates that in 1984 there were 340 slum pockets housing 33 percent of the population. The City Engineer described 14 of these so large as to be called mini-townships. Earlier figures indicate the rapid rise after the famines of 1966-67 and the even more severe famine of 1972-73: in 1951 7.6% of Pune's population lived in slums; in 1968 it was 11.6% and in 1976, 27% (Bapat 1981:178). In more graphic terms, Bapat notes that there were 54,194 huts in 1976 for 57,941 families; there were only 6,300 huts in Pune in 1951 (Bapat 1977:49).

Bapat does not delineate specific castes in her excellent study of Pune's slum housing, but reports that Backward Classes constituted 38.18 percent of the 605 households she interviewed, and 55.27% of the Hindu households. The Buddhist population was 10.25% of the sample (Bapat 1981:202).

The other major kind of new housing for Dalits is far different. The great Panshet flood in July 1961 destroyed much of the older part of Pune, submerging Mangalwar Peth and Bhamburda as well as many other areas. Government sanctioned loans brought about 122 registered housing societies, of which 28 societies, with memberships of 700, were "Backward Class." By January 1963, 583 dwellings for these societies were under construction. (Brahme 1967:103-104). The building of these housing colonies was very slow, and certainly no answer to the multitudes living in shanty towns. But the colonies today, scattered in various areas of Pune, are good places to live: small but comfortable houses, surrounded by trees and flowers and well kept. Parnakuti Housing Society (which actually was formed in 1948, before the flood, but not able to move into new housing until 1963) and Dr. Ambedkar Housing Societies are to the North of Deccan College, in what was once waste land. Vijaya is just off Ganeshkhind Road on the way to Poona University. There are other co-operative societies for Dalits, including one inhabited chiefly by Bhangis, but no one has yet, to my knowledge, made a study of these most interesting answers to city living.

A third sort of housing colony for slum dwellers has just begun to take shape. The site for Bibwewadi, a massive city-sponsored housing colony to the south of Pune on the Satara Road was set aside in 1970, but when Meera Bapat did the research for her shantytown book, she was not sure anything would ever come of this noble effort to house slum dwellers (Bapat 1980:219-220). An article in the *Poona Digest* in 1986, however, could report happily on "one of the most ambitious and novel slum clearance projects ever undertaken in India" (Gopal 1986: 20-23). It was expected that 7,000

slum dweller families from the foot of Parvati Hill would be moved to Bibwewadi, and by the time of the article, 1,400 families had been shifted to their own homes. Monthly instalments were to be paid to the city for 15 years, and then the owners would receive a 99 year lease. The family I visited in Bibwewadi was a Chambhar family, just moved from the bank of the Mutha Right Bank Canal. The row house consisted of two small rooms, and the surroundings were still bare and brown, but the atmosphere was hopeful.

Change has not only come in housing styles. We have no further statistical studies on caste and occupation to help us see progress, but it is clear that hundreds if not thousands of Dalits in Pune hold responsible positions in Government institutions and industries. The Maharashtra Government Resolution of 9th April 1968 directed that Scheduled Caste converts to Buddhism be admitted into the 13% reservation in Government services, a contravening of the Central Government policy (which has since been changed). This meant high level state positions were open to declared Buddhists, which is probably the most ambitious section of Dalits. The percent of Scheduled Castes in Class I (4.8%), Class II (7.4%), Class III (12.6%), Class IV (19.3) that obtains at the all India level would probably have to be more heavily weighted at the upper end for the Dalits of Pune. There is no such pressure to provide "compensatory discrimination" for Dalits in private industry, but there seems to be at least some greater opportunity. One does come across an occasional high level worker from the Christian or Buddhist communities.

The statistics for Scheduled Castes and Buddhists seem generally to be for Pune district, not Pune City. Patwardhan does give unpublished 1961 statistics for Poona Corporation : 6,899 Mahars, 17,879 Mang, 7,440 Chambhar, 478 Dhor, 260 Holar and 25,006 Buddhists (1973:11), a total of 58,026 in a population of 7,22,518 for Pune City (*Maharashtra Gazetteers Supplement* : 12). Pune has grown to more than 17 lakhs since then, however, and we have no firm statistics on the proportion of Dalits now, considering the influx due to the drought or for job opportunities. District statistics show 58,035 Scheduled Castes and 1,28,150 Buddhists in 1961 and 1,75,402 Scheduled Castes and 1,60,980 Buddhists in 1971 living in urban areas (*Maharashtra Gazetteers Supplement* : 15), but these include, of course, more than Pune City. The same source indicates an even greater percentage in the influx of Scheduled Tribes to the urban areas of Pune District : 3,871 in 1951 to 18,050 in 1981, but while Scheduled Castes in Pune District are preponderantly urban, Scheduled Tribes are still overwhelmingly rural. I have omitted Scheduled Tribes from this essay, except to note Gare's fine study in the bibliography (Gare 1976).

Occupational statistics are chiefly for the slums, and indicate, as one would imagine, fully half do unskilled manual labour. There is, interestingly enough, an organization run by Buddhists which attempts to place *Scheduled*

Castes and Scheduled Tribes in positions open and reserved for them. When I visited, a dozen Scheduled Tribes people from northern Maharashtra were sleeping on the office floor while they were attending a training school for food workers.

The system of Government reservations for Scheduled Castes - and now for Buddhists - has been extended to universities, and there are now at least six or seven Dalits teaching in Pune's colleges and at Poona University. But I believe only one is from Pune; the others come through the ranks of Shivaji University or Marathwada University, or Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi.

Statistics on Scheduled Caste mobility for Maharashtra as a whole indicate the state stands next only to Gujarat and Kerala in literacy, next only to Gujarat in urbanization, and first in terms of percentage of job seekers (Bose 1985:140). Adding Buddhists to these statistics would probably enhance Maharashtra's place.

The political power of Dalits in Pune seems not to be of much consequence. Seats are reserved in the Corporation, and corporators do function on a local level but are not particularly well known in the city. A Lok Sabha seat is reserved for Scheduled Castes from Bhawani Peth; in the 1950's six seats were reserved in the Municipal Council : Somwar and Mangalwar, Nana, Bhawani, Greater SW Poona, Greater NW Poona and Yeravda. However, the Republican Party has not been able to take advantage of the very real politicization of Buddhists and at least some Scheduled Castes. The problems of the Republican Party founded by Ambedkar in 1956 continue to be the idea that it is only for Buddhists and Mahars and its internal splits. Studies are available only for elections in the 1960's (Rosenthal 1970; Sirsikar 1965, 1973). There are some unusual facts : a Buddhist, Bhausahab Chavan, served as Mayor, an somewhat honorary post, for a year; a Pune Brahman woman, Dr. Neelam Gorhe, was on the Republican Party ticket in the 1989 national election. Also, the Dalit Panthers may be considered a political force and there is considerable use of the political system made by Dalits in the slums, according to Janet Contursi (1989).

The various classes of Dalits today make a complex picture. Here we will assume that slum dwellers' conditions and the occupations of the uneducated bear considerable resemblance to Mann, Gadgil and Bapat's stories, but that for many Dalits there have been enormous changes. Even in the shantytowns there is some change. At times one sees the flag of the militant Dalit Panthers flying over the huts. In some slums, there is a concerted effort to gain amenities from the Municipal Corporation (Contursi 1989). To understand those and the even more substantial changes, it is necessary to look at the higher caste Hindu reformers and their work as well as at the leadership that has come from the Dalit classes themselves. To do this is to understand that Dalit life

has been entangled in elite thought and action in Pune far more than is generally supposed. The following notes also put flesh and blood behind the statistics and the changes.

Reform and Reformers in Pune

Reform in Pune involves all classes - the Mali reformer Jotiba Phule, the reform minded Brahman elite, the high caste Maratha V.R. Shinde, the Englishman Harold Mann, the Brahman writer and teacher S.M. Mate, and the Mahars and Mangs themselves, Shivram Janba Kamble first among many.

The earliest efforts of Jotiba Phule (1828-1890) to educate the masses were for Untouchable girls. His first school was established in 1851 in Ganj Peth, with his wife as teacher, and a second near the Shukrawar Talimkhana. In 1854, there were three schools with 200 pupils (Shirgaonkar 1970 : 359). The schools received a few rupees from the Dakshina Prize Committee of the Bombay Government and from the European community, but were opposed by the higher castes and not always understood by the lower. Keer, however, reports that the Brahman Vishnupant Thatte taught at Phule's first school for several months, until high caste harrassment forced his leaving, and that the second school was at Annasaheb Wasudeo Chiplunkar's own home in Budhwar Peth, although "by stealth" (Keer 1964 : 29-30). In any case, it is clear that the schools did not last long, and Phule turned to writing and to religious reform. It's a pity that we have no record of the later lives of Phule's Untouchable pupils.

Phule met an early nationalist and physical enthusiast named Lahujiroo Mang, skilled in the martial arts, in 1847 (Gore 1989:20). Lahuji Rangaroot Mang and Ranba Mahar brought children from their communities to Phule's schools (Keer 1964:29). Lahuji Mang also instructed both Phule and later the revolutionary martyr, Vasudeo Balwant Phadke. Biographies of Phadke refer to Lahuji Buwa, omitting his caste. The name of Lahujiroo is actually the only definite Pune Dalit name connected with a personality and a historical record that we have until the turn of the century.

The next wave of reform consisted chiefly of pronouncements, but such pronouncements as to legitimize radical change. Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856-1895) wrote almost entirely in Marathi and is little known outside Maharashtra. His early death may have prevented the development of specific reform institutions, although he did press for such matters as the opening of public water taps to all castes. His teachings on caste influenced later activists in Pune and I found several radical caste Hindu reformers in other parts of Maharashtra who refer to themselves as disciples of Agarkar.

Another member of the liberal Brahman group which included Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Mahadeo Govind Ranade was R.G. Bhandarkar (1837-1925),

chiefly known for his extraordinary Sanskrit scholarship. Here he can be taken as an example of the position of the Pune reform Brahmins. As President of the 9th Indian Social Conference in 1895, he spoke in such a way as to indicate he not only hoped for change in the Mahar and Mang position but allowed a Mahar religious figure into his home :

"The Mahars and Mangs on this side of the country and the pariahs on the other, who form the lowest classes, have been entirely neglected...A Mahar Haridasa... [said] while performing a kirtana at my house a few years ago, ...'The Vedas and Shastras have cast us aside, but the Santas or saints of the middle ages have had compassion on us'...and I believe from the opportunities I have had of observation, that the despised Mahar possesses a good deal of natural intelligence and is capable of being highly educated. So that to continue to keep him in ignorance is to deprive the country of an appreciable amount of intellectual resources." (Bhandarkar 1928:498)

Keshavsut (Krishnaji Keshav Damle, 1866-1905), the earliest modern Marathi poet, had been educated at the New English School in Pune. Later, he wrote a most sympathetic poem on "The First Question of the Untouchable Boy," who puzzled over why some people were "high" and some were "low". An even more unusual source of a new vision was Hari Narayan Apte (1864-1919), the great Marathi historical novelist. Gandhi's secretary has recorded a conversation between Gandhi and Apte on the matter of reform. Mohandas K. Gandhi told Apte the programme of the Servants of India Society regarding Untouchables was too radical and Apte answered "Yes, let there be a rebellion. That is just what I want." (Desai, 1953 : 52-53)

Most of the moderate reformers were inspired by the Prarthana Samaj, and the Samaj did include branches for Untouchable members, but when a member of the Samaj went ahead with a major programme specifically for the Depressed Classes, the Samaj did not support it. Vitthal Ramji Shinde (1873-1944) created the Depressed Classes Mission in 1906 and moved its central office to Pune in 1913. He had established a night school in Pune in 1905 under the auspices of the Prarthana Samaj, but the Boys' and Girls' Hostels developed later were much larger undertakings, eventually with extensive grounds of their own. Ahalya Ashram for Girls was placed in Sadashiv Peth near Peshwe Park in an area called Borkarwadi, which according to Harold Mann was a slum area for Depressed Classes. The Hostel for Boys, now called Maharshi Shinde Hostel, was in Nana Peth. Shinde not only helped to educate the first generation of reformers from the Untouchables themselves, he responded to their demand for leadership from among themselves. He created a constitution for the Mission in 1920 mandating that a majority of the members of the Managing Committee be Untouchables, a proviso accepted by the Pune branch but not by Bombay. Shinde secured the Indian National

Congress' commitment to "remove all the disabilities imposed by religion and custom upon the Depressed Classes" in 1917, but he went too far for Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who denounced Untouchability but refused to sign a declaration of "non-observance of untouchability" in personal life (Ghugare 1983:14). At about the same time Shinde came into conflict with Dr.B.R. Ambedkar over the issue of appointment (his position) or election (Ambedkar's position) of Untouchable representatives in Legislatures, and he drew back from a position of leadership for the Depressed Classes. (Gore 1990:177). The most radical, the most active, the most understanding of the caste Hindu reformers after Phule, he still had to give way to leadership from within the Depressed Classes themselves and to their political ambitions. A minor but telling sign of the fame of Shinde's work is that during the 1920 famine about 1000 Mangs sought a haven in Depressed Class Mission precincts (Gore 1989:176).

S. M. Mate (1886 - 1957) was as deeply committed to the Untouchable cause as Shinde, but chiefly in the field of polemic writing and literature. Professor of Marathi at the New English School and then at S.P.College (largely Brahman) in Pune, he was sometimes called Mahar Mate or Asprushya Mate. His *Asprushya Vichar* came out in 1922, and his *Asprushyancha Prashna* in 1933 introduced a new term—those who are not touched, rather than those who are "untouchable". *Upekshitanche Antaranga*, a book of short stories which attempted to explore the mind of the "neglected", was published in 1941. Mate seems to have been the first to write short stories about the lives of Untouchables and "tribes" such as the Ramoshi. Written with great sympathy, his stories have been acknowledged by Dalit writer Shankarrao Kharat as pioneering; Gangadhar Pantawane, editor of the chief Dalit literary magazine, acknowledges their realism. But some Dalit writers, such as Baburao Bagul, note Mate's unavoidable position as an outsider. Mate is, unfortunately, neglected by both caste Hindus and Dalits today.

One Englishman must be added to this list of reformers : Dr. Harold H. Mann (1872-1961), agriculturist, sociologist, and faithful friend of the Untouchables of Pune. He was Principal of the Agricultural College at Poona and Agricultural Chemist to the Bombay Government, and later Director of Agriculture for the Bombay Presidency. He not only wrote the first analyses of the lives, housing and work of Untouchables, he championed their cause at every opportunity for the twenty years (beginning in 1907) he lived in Pune. He attended the meetings of the early Mahar reformers, wrote them upon his return to England, is remembered still as an unflinching supporter.

With the backing of Shinde and Mann in his early years, a leader emerged from among the Untouchables classes of Pune who went far beyond the reformers' vision, initiating the first sophisticated petitions to the government and the first mass action, a "satyagraha" for temple entry. Shivram Janba

Kamble (1875-1941) was a remarkable figure. A butler in the Masonic Lodge in Camp, he used that position to learn English and the ways of English protest. The list of what he and a staunch group of supporters did is impressive. He founded an "Anna Fund" which brought fifty or sixty people together to plan projects for the "Depressed Classes." He and the Thorat brothers opened a night school in 1912 which ran until 1933. There, English was taught to "postmen and peons," and more leaders were trained. He seems to have been the spokesman for a large group of active young Mahars, some of them educated through Shinde's institutions.

In 1910 Kamble and Subhedar Bahadur Gangaram Krishnajejee of the "Conference of Deccan Mahars" sent off a petition to the British Government asking for employment of Depressed Classes in public service and the police and readmission into the army. The argument was knowledgeable, pointing out the demonstrated abilities of the Untouchables as well as the progress of the lower classes in Great Britain itself! Kamble also helped secure the Dnyaneshwar Hostel for Boys which was opened in 1922, the Government's first such effort, with Dalit supervisors from the beginning.

The Parvati Satyagraha of 1929 was the most dramatic event in the history of Dalits in Pune. Shivram Janba Kamble, Subhedar Gadge, a young Chambhar named P.N. Rajbhoj who later became Ambedkar's business manager, K.G. Patade (probably a Mang), R. Thorat, the non-Brahman leader K.M. Jedhe and the Brahmans N.V. Gadgil and S.M. Joshi were among several hundred Satyagrahis who gathered at the foot of Parvati Temple Hill. Twelve of them, including four women, attempted to climb the stairs to the temple but were beaten back. Rajbhoj's injuries took him to the hospital. Parties of five then sat before the Parvati gate day and night for four months, but the temple remained closed. K.B. Bhopatkar, a Brahman lawyer and member of the Mahasabha, appealed to the Trustees; N.C. Kelkar, M.R. Jayakar and Jamnalal Bajaj offered to mediate, but to no avail. Incidentally, Congress and Gandhi basically disapproved of Untouchable-led temple entry effort. Parvati remained closed to Untouchables until independence. (See N.V. Gadgil 1962; Navalkar 1930; Sadhu 1988; Zelliott 1972.)

Kamble was an early admirer of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, and both were present at a farewell meeting for Dr. Harold Mann (Navalkar 1930:112-113). There was a break, however, between the two men in 1930, when Ambedkar spoke for Indian Independence, albeit with safeguards for the Depressed Classes, and Kamble continued to support British rule. In spite of the disagreement, Kamble is clearly an important figure in forming what became the Ambedkar movement. But after the Parvati Satyagraha, leadership passed to Ambedkar and Bombay.

There are still more influential caste Hindus, such as Pralhad Keshav

Atre (1898-1969), a Brahman and one of Maharashtra's most controversial journalists, dramatists, and editors, who was principal of Camp Education Society High School in Pune before his days of fame. At times, I am told, the School was composed of 80% Backward Classes students. Atre's newspaper, *Maratha*, carried the sketches of Shivaji, Phule and Ambedkar on its masthead. There are still caste Hindu reformers now, but none quite as famous. Baba Adhav is perhaps the most active of caste Hindu reformers, with an especially innovative programme for inexpensive meals for hamals as well as a campaign in the villages around Pune for the opening of wells to all. Bhalchandra Phadke of the University of Poona is a faithful supporter of Dalit intellectual activity and has written *Dr. Ambedkarariche Samajchintan*, among other works. Dr. M. P. Mangudkar continues the Jain tradition of reform begun by Bhaurao Patil by re-publishing works by Phule, Shinde and Ambedkar. But the day for caste Hindu leadership is over, and the names of Dalits that come to mind as activists are creators and contributors rather than reformers.

The Contributions of the Dalits

In spite of these reformers and the early leadership in Pune of militant Mahar activity, Pune has not remained one of the chief centres of Dalit activity. Bombay, Nagpur and Aurangabad seem to be greater centres for cultural, political and educational achievement. This is not to say that Pune is without creativity or activism, but that it is no longer in the forefront. I will note a number of well known Dalit activists and writers, but I also want to suggest reasons for Pune's less dominant role.

One reason at the tip of everyone's tongue is that Pune is a Brahman town. But then it was a Brahman town in the days of Phule, Shinde and Shivram Janba Kamble also. While Brahman dominance may be important, two other reasons must be mentioned. Dalit localities are very scattered, and while a number of them do hold community festivals, encourage study and provide support for activism, there is no natural centre of activity. More important, however, is the lack of an educational centre. A Dr. Ambedkar College in Yeravda was opened only in 1986, while educational institutions led by and dominated by Dalits began in Bombay in 1946, in Nagpur shortly after, and in Aurangabad in 1954. The Colleges in which Dalits predominate have been centres of activity in Bombay, Nagpur, and Aurangabad.

Pune is noted as an educational centre, and efforts to provide education for "Backward Classes", which includes Dalits, have been ongoing since Shinde's day. The long list indicates both Dalit eagerness for education and a certain commitment on the part of Pune. In addition to the two hostels which continue from Shinde's early efforts, and the Sant Dnyaneshwar hostel for boys in Camp begun in 1922, the *Directory of Social Welfare* compiled by Sharad W. Gokhale (1969) lists these institutions : Sanskar Kendra for

women in Yeravda; Dr. Radhakrishnan Hostel, the Adi Dravid Welfare Association and the Adarsha Vikas Mandal in Kirkee; Jawaharlal Chhatralaya in Shivjinagar; Rana Pratap Sarvodaya Chhatralaya in Ganj Peth; Sant Janabai Vasatigriha for girls and Shri Santaji Mofat Vachanalaya in Camp; Union Boarding House in Gokhale Nagar, begun by Bhaurao Patil's Rayyat Shikshan Sanstha, based in Satara; Vidyavikas Vasatigriha and Poona Harijan Uplift Society in Sadashiv Peth; Bharat Dalit Sewak Sangh in Ghorpadi Peth; Dalit Varga Vidyarthi Hitsamvardhak Mandal in Nana Peth; Magas Vargiya Margadarshan Kendra, Prakash Mitra Mandal and Samaj Jeevan Vikas Sanstha in Bhawani Peth; Mahatma Gandhi Vichar Prasarak Mandal in Nana Peth; Sainath Sahakari Mitra Vikas Mandal in Bopodi. Some of these institutions are hostels, some are reading rooms, some are organizations begun by Dalits themselves to serve as centres for activity. None, however, can take the place of an educational institution at a high level in which Dalits form the greater part of both students and faculty. That combination seems to create a dynamic force which has put Maharashtra as a whole in the forefront of Dalit creativity.

But there has, of course, been Dalit creativity. It can be said that the current important Dalit Sahitya movement found its first clear voice in Pune. Shankarrao Kharat published the first of his many books in 1959. *Bara Balutedar* told the stories of the twelve traditional village servants, including that of Rama Mahar, modelled after Kharat's own father. These stories were followed by some twenty other books, some making vivid the lives of people Kharat had served as a lawyer, others about the Ambedkar movement and the conversion to Buddhism, and one his own autobiography. Kharat is still writing, but Pune has produced no other such famous Dalit author. The stream of Dalit literature that now seems unending comes from Bombay, Nagpur, Aurangabad more than from Pune.

Sumitra Bhavé has given us a unique voice in her interviews of eight Dalit Pune women. While the idea for the book and the editing are not by Dalits, the story-telling ability as well as the life of the women is very clear in *Pan on Fire* (Bhavé 1988).

In the field of Dalit theatre Pune can also claim an early lead. B.S. Shinde created Dalit Rangabhumi in a city noted for its theatre, but in a day when Dalit theatre was unknown. Using untrained actors, and at first usually with high caste women actresses since the Mahar *tamasha* background had been rejected in the push for reform and acting was not considered a respectable profession for educated girls, Shinde created the first Dalit theatre. His plays are based on Buddhist themes as well as Untouchable hardships. Dalit Rangabhumi flourished for a number of years, with a variety of plays and an ever increasing number of capable actors, actresses and directors from the Dalit community, but fell victim to splits, as do many Dalit organizations.

Another innovator in theatre is Shilpa Mumbriskar, who lives in that old Mahar centre, Mangalwar Peth. She has organized street theatre and produces message plays, sometimes hilarious, which are put on in the Dalit areas. I saw a very effective street drama on the problem of drinking in Bhamburda, and practice for another on women's problems in the community hall of New Modi Khana. Mumbriskar also starred in *Bai*, a documentary about the problems of the slums directed by Sumitra Bhawe and made under the auspices of a women's organization, Streevani.

The traditional Mahar entertainment of Tamasha continues in Pune, but is avoided by the educated and condemned as sexist by some reformers. Ambedkar also found it vulgar, but the jalsa groups which carried his message all over Maharashtra used some of the techniques of tamasha, and the importance of drama and music and singing parties in the Buddhist localities as well as in the more sophisticated theatre of Dalit Rangabhumi continues today. Dr. K.R. Kiravale of the Dr. Ambedkar Housing Society feels differently from the reformers about tamasha, and is working on a history of Mahars through tamasha history. Certainly the tamasha groups I saw in the Buddhist localities (as opposed to the tamasha theatre) made reference to Ambedkar and the movement in respectful ways and the women did not behave provocatively, even as the troupe performed the usual tamasha jokes, music and dance.

A present day reformer from the Dalit community, Vilas Wagh, may stand as symbol for the kind of changes Pune life has seen since the days of Kamble. Wagh runs a small publishing outfit which brings out works by Dalit writers on current activities. A recent example is a history of the Dalit Panthers. He also runs a sort of marriage bureau! Married to a Brahman teacher as committed to reform as he, Vilas Wagh and his wife proclaim that inter-caste marriages are the wave of the future, and encourage them in all possible ways. Wagh also has established a hostel and school for prostitutes' children!

The Dalit Panthers of Pune, while producing no all-Maharashtra leader, have been very active in certain localities from time to time. The Panthers were organized in Bombay in 1972 to protest atrocities against Dalits and spread rapidly for a few years, but now are active chiefly on the local rather than the state level and in different ways. One of the Pune branch's most interesting activities in recent days was to bring political leaders from all factions of the Ambedkar political movement together to urge unity. The major figures did appear before a large group of enthusiastic young Dalits in Nehru Memorial Hall in Camp in 1986, but unity did not last many days.

One memorable year the head of All India Radio in Pune, the Mayor of Pune, and the Chief of Police were all of Untouchable background, symbolic of the changes made by Governmental effort and ambition from Dalits themselves. Bhausaheb Chavan, that one time mayor of Pune, has gone on to create

some remarkable institutions, using as a base his old village Maharwada in Charholi on the northern outskirts of Pune. A housing project, a co-operative for rickshaw, truck and taxi drivers, a sewing co-operative for women, are products of his work. A staunch Buddhist, he invited the Dalai Lama to attend one of his inaugural functions!

In regard to the Buddhist conversion, Pune also has a half creative, half unexciting record. Very soon after the conversion, D.P. Ranpise with the help of Professor P.V. Bapat prepared materials for religious use from Pali texts. V. R. Ranpise wrote and published *Bauddhanchi Bharatatil Pavitra Tirthakshetre*, a remarkable guide, in 1962, and published a guide to chants, names and festivals in 1964. D. D. Pawar began publishing a Buddhist periodical *Dhammarajya* in 1976. But while individual localities have small buildings for Buddhist gatherings, no large vihar has yet been built, in spite of much planning. On the other hand, Pune is the centre for the work of the Trailokya Bauddha Mahasangha, which not only teaches the dhamma but trains dozens of teachers, holds retreats, runs a child care centre, and maintains a Buddhist bookstall on the square which is dominated by the statue of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

While it is clear that Mahars, now largely Buddhist are the activists and the change makers among Dalit groups, other groups have their own achievements, either traditionally or in the beginnings of modern creativity. Chambhars take part in the Ravidas dindi that is at the forefront of the Dnyaneshwar palkhi which goes on pilgrimage from Alandi to Pandharpur every year. Garibdas Baba of Poona is a Mang kirtankar, instrumental in bringing about many changes in daily living among Mangs (Patwardhan 1973 : 54). Ram Kamble of the Dalit Swayamsevak Sangh and Sudhakar Waghmare, an admirer of the writer Annabhau Sathe, are exhibiting new sorts of leadership among Mangs. The legacy of the remarkable Lahuji Mang may yet reappear in modern ways.

Dalit Memorials in Pune

Pune is a city which memorializes its great citizens in all sorts of ways - Ranade Institute, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Phule market, Tilak Smarak Mandal, etc. etc. There are innumerable place names for the reformers, but there is also some physical evidence of the importance of Dalits even though no Pune Dalit citizen is yet famous enough to merit a statue or a building. There is a statue of Dr. Ambedkar near the Railway Station - and here on the anniversaries of Dr. Ambedkar's death (December 6) and birth (April 14 (ch)), great crowds gather for observances. The Jayanti sees processions from almost all Buddhist localities, drumming, playing lejjime, marching toward the garden in which Ambedkar's statue stands. The *hamals* of the railway have donated a ladder which is affixed permanently to the statue, to allow garlands to be placed around Ambedkar's neck all through

the year.

The bust of Annabhau Sathe, the best known Mang writer, has been placed near the Ahilyabai Holkar memorial at Saras Bagh, with appropriate community and city observances. Both Ambedkar and Sathe were based primarily in Bombay, but they are symbols of accomplishment for Pune Dalits.

For the Chambhar caste, the Hindi saint, Raidas, or Ravidas, is an important symbol and a dindi for Raidas is part of the Dnyaneshwar Palkhi that leaves Alandi for Pandharpur. A temple to Ravidas was built in a Chambhar colony in Ganesh Peth in 1952. The temple also encompasses a monument stone to a now unknown travelling Chambhar holy man of a hundred years ago.

Mahars also have a old holy place for one of their own, little known to most Pune people. Gopal Swami was a Mahar holy man, says S.Y. Waghmare, whose samadhi was near the Race Course. A British soldier, coming home drunk, had a mystical experience on the site, reformed, and created a lovely garden at the samadhi spot. Gopal Swami's *padukas* are still there in that garden, a quiet and peaceful spot for those who wander into the area or who come to pay reverence.

One monument important to Dalits is a pillar erected on a battlefield, sixteen miles from the city. The Koregaon pillar commemorates the soldiers of the British army who fell in an 1818 battle against the Peshwa. Of the 49 names of the 2nd/1st Regiment recorded on the pillar, 22 are Mahar, identifiable by the *nak* ending used at that time (Cadell 1938:154-155). the Koregaon monument was used as a gathering place for Mahar meetings in the 1920's and 30's and again in the present day as a rallying place for Dalit Panthers. A miniature replica of the pillar was part of the cap badge of the soldiers of the Mahar Regiment until Independence, and the commemoration of militant bravery that Koregaon represents is important today.

Will Dr. Ambedkar College, now coming up near the Dalit housing colonies in Yeravda, be a centre for Dalits and a cultural influence in the future? Even if not, it is clear that Dalits will continue to be an active and creative part of the Pune scene.

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Pune Chronology

S = Shakespear

T = Taraporewala

1604 1st mention of Pune - made over by Ahmednagar to Malloji Bhonsla, Shivaji's Grandfather. S 6

1637 Shahji's residence. S 7. Never a walled & fortified town.

1669 British to Bombay.

1670 Tannaji killed at Sinhgarh. S 68

1730 Shanwar Wada begun. 1732 open. T 15

1735 Bajirao capital. T

1749 Temple to Shiva built by Balaji at Parvati for cure of wife's foot. S 50

1755 Two members of Bombay Council, Spencer and Byfield, visit Peshwa. S 12.

1772 Mostyn appointed Resident. 3000 English. S 13.

1778 1st British Force. 591 European, 2300 sepoys, 1500 gun lascars. Conflict at Talegaon. S80-81.

1780-1817 1st cantonment. Collector's Office to Poona Hotel. Garpir. S. of Jewish Synagogue. Vacated for battle of Kirkee. burned. Post in post office. Elephant stake. S. 17.

1785 - 1791 Sir Charles Malet resident. Rebuilt burned Sangam Residency. S 19

1792 Mahadji Scindia visits to invest Peshwa. Camped in Bamburda plane. S22

1794 Scindia cremated / wari at Wanowri.

1801 Baji Rao m. Vittaji Holkar. Cremated nr. Holkar temple & bridge, Kirkee. See Crawford 40 ff.

1802 Holkar's raid. Did not allow Poona looting. S 79. And because of this Peshwa and British help.

1803 1st Poona-Bombay highway. Via Kalas. Laid out by Wellesley, joins present highway 3 miles beyond Chinchwad. S 25. Famine. Sawant 20.

1811-1819 Elphinstone Commissioner and Resident.

1817 Kirkee Battle. 3000 Arabs and Gosains. S 31. Peshwa fled. Col. de Pinto & Portuguese on Maratha side. S 54.

1818 Jan 1. Poona Horse & 102nd Grenadiers "won undying fame" at Koregaon. S55. Baji Rao baffled at Satara, turned North to flee to hills of Pune. Staunton almost accidentally withstood 3000 Arabs with 800 men. S 56. 271 or 800 killed. Marathas drew off hearing of Gen. Smith's approach. Monument on wrong side of river ! 16 miles out. S 57.

1819 Present Cantonment. Grounds of 4 villages : KGKKhori, Mali, Manjeri, Wanowri.

1821 Sanskrit Pathshala (T) (U affiliation 1860; Deccan College and New building 1868.)

1822-23 Cantonment boundaries pretty much set. S 36

1822 Kirkee. Sawant p. 22

1827 Shanwarwada fire.

1830 Bhor Ghat Roadway. T

1835 Hot Weather Capital

1842 English class added to Pathshala. 1851 Poona College. T

1841-2 Lady Jamsetji - Bund over Moolla. Crawford 233

1847 Lakdi pul replaced by stone bridge. S 22. Race Course S 37. 2nd in 50's S 37

1849 Dnyanprakash. T

1854 Poona Engineering Class and Mechanical School, became College of Engineering. K Handbook 19

- 1860 Sir Bartle Frere built native industries (?) Crawford 70
- 1861 Railroad 119 miles. T
- 1863 Residency on P and T site destroyed by fire. S 25
- 1863 Rail Communication to Poona. T
- 1868 Ammunition Factory, Sawant 22. Present location Deccan College
- 1871 Present Government House. S 26
- Vicharavati Sree Sabha. 8 members. T 20
- 1876-7 Drought - Famine
- 1878 Education in higher agriculture ed. after famine. Classes at College of Science. Poona and farm. T. Byramjee Jeejibhoy Medical School. Handbook 23
- 1880 New English School
- 1882 Camp Education Society
- 1883 Shikshana Prasarak Mandali
Nutan Marathi Vidyalyaya. T
- 1884 Maharashtra Girls' Education Society. Handbook 23
- 1885 Deccan Education Society and Fergusson College.
Deccan Paper Mills. Handbook 51
- 1896 Anatha Balikashram. D. K. Karve. To Hingne in 1900. T
- 1905 Servants of India Society
- 1908 Seva Sadan. T
Poona College of Agriculture. Handbook
- 1910 Bharatiya Itihas Samshodhak (?) Mandal
- 1916 Indian Women's University. 1920 SNT. T
- 1917 Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
- 1918 Shivaji Maratha Society
- 1924 Law College
Shikshana Prasarak Mandali started Mimansa Vidyalyaya which became
- 1928 S.P. College (Sir Parashurambhau Patwardhan of Jamkhindi)
- 1930 Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics
- 1961 Panshet flood
- 1971-72 Drought

REVIEWS

EKAM SAD VIPRĀ BAHUDHĀ VADANTI, G. C. PANDE, Sampurnananda Sanskrit University, Varanasi-2, First Edition, 1997, pp. 8+87, Rs. 80 (Sanskrit)

The work under review contains two brilliant lectures on religion delivered (in Sanskrit) in Prof. Griffith Memorial Lecture Series by G. C. Pande, a profound thinker and versatile scholar, at Sampurnananda Sanskrit University.

The work is comprehensive and compact, authentic and lucid, closely and cogently reasoned and well documented. It evaluates various approaches to religion – philological, sociological, anthropological and psychological. It makes assessment of comparative and historical methods adopted by them. It succinctly explains views of the great thinkers like Augustine, Barth, Hobbes, Hume, Hegel, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Sigmund Freud and Kierkegaard. It examines the role played by observation, reason and intuition (*pratibhā*) in understanding religion and also presents their critique.

The first lecture deals with the object of the lectures, meaning of the term '*dharma*'; transcendental unity of all religions, activities aiming at this unity and their varieties. The second lecture explains the stages of spiritual experience, method of their critical examination, value of the conviction of the inevitability of death, importance of the theory of karma and rebirth in spiritual living, religion of the performance of duties, and religion of the renunciation of all activities.

While discussing the meaning of the term '*dharma*', Prof. Pande refers to the well-known definition of *dharma*, namely, 'that which sustains society or keeps men together is *dharma*.' The term 'religion' too suggests the meaning of bond. The treatment of types, classification, aspects and stages of religion is indeed very interesting. There are two types of religion – one leading to prosperity and the other leading to the highest spiritual Good. Again, the fourfold classification is presented. One class is formed by religions based on or shrouded in tribal culture, the second by those based on eternal authorless basic scriptures (*āgama*), the third by those based on basic scriptures propounded by prophets, and the fourth by eternal universal (*sanātana*) religion of real yogis.

Prof. Pande informs us that both the Indian and non-Indian thinkers have noticed eternal universal (*sanātana*) religion pervading all forms, stages, sects or traditions of religion. It is the object of intuition (*pratibhā*), while its manifestations, modes or forms are the objects of articulate speech (*vaikharī*), finding their expression differently in different basic scriptures written in different

languages.

In the Age of Enlightenment in Europe new ideals arose and they influenced thinkers in other parts of the world. Hume's positivism and Darwin's theory of evolution urged thinkers to investigate the original source and gradual development of cultures and religions. This led to the origination of the science of comparative religion, which shook to their roots the ancient forms of faith. This science has given out many branches, the one founded by Max Müller closely resembles comparative philology. Its other branches fall under various social sciences. And history of religion pervades all these branches.

Prof. Pande rightly observes that though the study of religion started by Max Müller was called scientific, it was not dispassionate and free. It was vitiated by the preconceived notion of the supremacy of Christianity. For him and other Christian scholars Christianity was the perfect religion, while all other religions were imperfect. Though they recognised some truth in every religion under the influence of German liberal theology, they put all Non-Christian religions in lower scale of evolution. In doing so they were influenced by Hegel's philosophy of religion. Hegel's dialectic recognises Non-Christian religions at lower stages in the dialectical process of evolution and regards Christianity as the highest and perfect evolute at the top of the process. May be, this gave rise to the idea of fulfilment. Some Christian scholars declared that all religions wait for their fulfilment in Christianity.

'That which sustains society or keeps men together is religion' – this definition of religion is favoured by anthropologists. What is it that binds the members of a tribe together? Sacraments, festivals, rituals etc. bind men together. God is nothing but tribal group itself. There is nothing otherworldly or spiritual which binds the members together.

The importance of economic conduct in religion, propounded by the predecessors, was led to its climax by Karl Marx. Economic system is the cause of waxing and waning of religion. Marx established his new materialism having turned upside down the Hegelian dialectic. Matter, the ultimate real, undergoes progressive transformation due to the inner conflict and assumes unprecedented novel forms, man being the highest one. Even human society firmly founded on economic system transforms itself into progressive novel forms on account of inner conflict. And religion is dependent on society and social institution. Following the economic system the structure of society undergoes revolution from Age to Age and fosters and influences religious thought and system and their close associate the class-possessed-of-power, and the illusory spirit. Man survives on account of his skill and labour, whereas religion tries to push him into the whirling waters of illusory and imaginary future happiness in heaven. According to Marx, human freedom is possible when man knows his dependence or bondage. Prof. Pande has several points

against Marx. How can the insentient material elements transform themselves into man? And how can the social changes dependent on economic system lead to the future happiness of man? Again, it should not be assumed that economic motives are the only ones which govern human behaviour. Marx's views that the evolution of forms of society is a process of natural history and that the changes in social stratification proceed from one another in the manner of a dialectical process are strange. For Hegel intelligence was the defining characteristic of man, and he maintained that evolution of man is caused by the development of spiritual knowledge and not by material process.

Some contend that religious intellect or God's will favouring religion governs history. This view finds support from Augustine, Toynbee and Indian theory of incarnation (*avatāravāda*). In their view religion is not contained in history but it is history that is contained in religion. History and its instruments have their own limitations.

At least some psychologists neglect the higher aspirations of man. For them man can do no more than set their original instinctual impulses in motion - their self-preservative instinct, their love of aggression their need for love, and their impulse to attain pleasure and avoid pain. Some other psychologists include religion or its Essence in its material cause (*upādāna*) *citta* or mind. It is like regarding a mud-born (= lotus) as of the nature of mud or regarding a reflection in a mirror as of the nature of glass. This is nothing but an illusion, a gross fallacy. According to Freud, desire (particularly sex desire) is the prime source of all types of human activities including even religious ones. Prof. Pande rightly points out that desire is recognised as the first and foremost force even in the Veda, but that it can choose either of the two courses - one of the sensual pleasure and the other of spiritual perfection. Following the first course man becomes miserable, while following the other he becomes pure and attains bliss. For Freud desire means only uncontrolled desire. It is hostile to all reason, understanding, knowledge, blind to its own limitations, and its purification is impossible. Psychoanalysts do not recognise soul or pure consciousness. Nor do they (in contrast to the Buddhist) recognise *citta* as naturally pure, and defilements like desire etc. as adventitious. So, for them conquest of desire is impossible and the attainment of pure and pristine state of soul or *citta* too is impossible.

Prof. Pande observes that reason is incapable of deciding which philosophy is ultimately true. Reason points out new and new possibilities, suggests novel hypotheses, gives rise to varied views, unprecedented arguments and even innumerable logical flaws. Realising the limitations of reason Mādhyamika Buddhists and Advaitins like Harṣa consider all philosophical views to be false. The ultimate Truth transcends reason or logic. Words of *āgamas* are not rational but symbolical, suggestive of spiritual experience. They indicate the

means, suggest the spiritual feelings. They do not express facts, nor do they propound rational doctrines. They are for gaining the knowledge of spiritual means, while the Truth is to be realised by oneself in the innermost recesses of one's own heart. And it is not that without this or that *āgama* one cannot attain Truth. In fact, *āgama* is a word of an *āpta* (a reliable person). And *āptas* are available everywhere and at all times provided one has intense spiritual craving and is dispassionate and sincere in his search for Truth. Arjuna found an *āpta* in his charioteer, Āsuri in Kapila, and Vivekananda in Ramakrishna.

Dharma means sincere and wholehearted search for the highest spiritual Good. And this search differs from aspirant to aspirant due to the difference in their states and means. The inner conflict or contradiction noticed in the words of an *āpta* is attributed to their falsity by the scholars of comparative philosophy. But according to Indian tradition it is due to the difference in the states of aspirants to whom they are addressed. Again, the same is the reason why preachings of the great sages exhibit diversity. But the ultimate Truth they aim at is the same. One Truth manifests differently under different conditions.

Prof. Pande, while dealing with man's spiritual development, observes that man is endowed with power to reflect over merits and demerits of things, which enables him to attain what is beneficial and avoid what is harmful. Thus this discriminatory power of intellect governs his behaviour. On reflection he finds that pleasure derived from the enjoyment of worldly objects is always mixed with much misery or in the end leads to misery, it being dependent on external objects is transitory, and it also clouds or perverts his intellect; on the other hand, the spiritual bliss is not attended with misery, not dependent on external objects and hence eternal, and purifies and enhances the faculty of knowledge. Having been disillusioned by the enjoyment of sense pleasure, he wholeheartedly undertakes his search for the highest spiritual Good or Bliss and resorts to spiritual discipline which spiritually uplifts him and leads to the highest spiritual Good.

Prof. Pande recognises that conviction of the inevitability of death makes man inclined towards the spiritual path. Closely connected with it are the ideas of rebirth and karma which play important role in the spiritual living of man. The discussion is highly illuminating.

One more important observation is made by Prof. Pande. He informs that non-attachment (*vairāgya*) and its importance in religio-spiritual practice were first recognised by the *Śramaṇa* religions like Buddhism and Jainism as also by the *Mahābhārata*.

With all his stupendous erudition, power of acute analysis and deep understanding of history and culture, Prof. Pande critically expounds all the

aspects of religion while presenting a masterly survey of the study of religion conducted by various branches of learning in modern times. Concepts and views referred to are always explained along with criticism to which they are subjected. This excellent work is certainly a most welcome addition to the modern scientific literature available in Sanskrit language. It does merit translation in Hindi and other Indian languages.

Nagin J. Shah

JAINA PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION (*Jaina Darśana* by Muni Shri Nyāyavijayaji), Translated by NAGIN J. SHAH, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, First Edition 1998, pp. xxv+469, Rs. 450

This is an English translation of Muni Śrī Nyāyavijayaji's Gujarati work entitled *Jaina Darśana*. The book is mainly meant for the general reader who wants to know the Jaina religion and philosophy in their true spirit. The original Gujarati work has become very popular and has run into twelve editions. It is therefore, quite proper that the B.L. Institute of Indology decided to make the work available to the wider class of readers who do not know Gujarati by getting it translated into English. Dr. Nagin J. Shah has translated the thoughts of Muni Śrī Nyāyavijayaji in lucid and simple English. The reader does not get the feeling that he is reading a translation and not the original work.

The work is divided into six chapters : 1) Essentials of Jaina Philosophy. 2) Jaina Path of Purification (liberation). 3) Reflection on some problems of Metaphysics, Ethics and Spiritual Development. 4) Karma Philosophy (Law of Moral Causation). 5) Jaina Logic. 6) Non-sectarian and Liberal Outlook. At the end of the book are appended under the heading 1) 'Gospels of Mahāvīra' : Gospels of Mahāvīra's noble teachings as found in the *Uttarādhyayana* and *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*, 2) Select Bibliography, very useful but limited to the secondary sources in English only, and 3) Author, Title, Word and Subject indices.

Such works are meant to give something about everything. They are of the nature of 'Omnium gatherum'. They are expected to give lucid persuasive and authentic statement of the problems but not their critical and in-depth analysis. The author in his introduction to the original Gujarati work makes it clear that the title of the book '*Jaina Darśana*' is used not in the technical sense of 'philosophy' of darśana-śāstra but in the sense of religious sect (dharma sampradāya) and hence the work intends to give 'information about religious and philosophical thought of a religious sect known as Jaina-dharma'. (p. xvi). In such works, the author normally uses persuasive language, takes

the stance of impartial thinker arriving at conclusions after objective and critical scrutiny of different views and makes use of play on words such as 'sampradāya' and 'sampradāha'.

The tone and style of the book is not that of a disputant, but one of understanding. The approach is not critical in the sense of finding faults with and distorting other views and doctrines. On the contrary the author shows great understanding of the non-Jaina doctrines and even quotes from them approvingly at many places. In the chapter on non-sectarian and liberal outlook, the author quotes extensively from Ācārya Haribhadra Sūri showing how he, remaining faithful to the Jaina view, could appreciate the truth and wholesomeness of the teachings of other religious and philosophical schools. (p. 419- 425). Following the footsteps of the great Ācārya, Muni Śrī Nyāyavijayaji reproduces some verses from his own Sanskrit work 'Anekānta-Vibhūti' bringing out spiritual significance of various conflicting doctrines. (pp. 390-394)

The author has explained various difficult theoretical doctrines such as Anekāntavāda, Nayavāda, Syādvāda, Saptabhangī, Six dravyas, Nava tattvas, Karma theory in a simple language. He has also explained practical teachings in a very convincing and persuasive way. He also interprets old doctrines in a novel way to suit the modern times. His special interpretation of '*paraloka*' is a case in point (pp. 314-316). He points out that the term '*paraloka*', though generally understood to mean "the birth after death in any one of the four main classes of living beings" (p.314), it literally means 'another world' i.e. living beings other than one's own self (p. 315). Our visible '*paraloka*', therefore is this human society and animal world. It is also one's own progeny—biological and cultural. Thus improving conditions of '*paraloka*' is to help improving social and natural conditions around us. This is really a novel interpretation compatible with the modern secular perspective.

This work would satisfy the need of a layman both the follower of Jainism and the non-Jain who wants to know what Jainism in essence is by giving him very authentic exposition in a lucid style. But it also is likely to go a long way in creating further interest in the tenets of Jainism leading the reader to a further study. The author therefore has rightly expressed his wish at the end of the book, that "as a result of reading this book there may arise in the mind of readers desire to know further about religion and philosophy and they may be eager to read great works of great men." (p. 434)

The printing and get up of the book is quite impressive though for an ordinary middle class reader its price may be found too high. However educational institutions and public libraries can afford to keep the copies of the book and spread the message of interfaith understanding in the society which is torn by fanaticism and intolerance.

ESSAYS IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY, NAGIN J. SHAH, Published by Dr. Jagruti Dilip Sheth, Ahmedabad, 1998. pp. 152, Rs. 120

This is a collection of nine essays on divergent problems discussed in the classical Indian Philosophy. The problems chosen are : Time, Space, Nirvāṇa, Īśvara in Pātañjala Yoga and Early Nyāya-vaiśeṣika schools, Distinction between Jñāna and Darśana, Dharmakīrti's theory of knowledge, Vyāpti and Jaina view of Testimony. These problems do not form a unity. There appears to be no common thread running through all these problems. These essays were written or published earlier on specific occasions at different times which are now brought together in anthology. The selection of the topics does not seem to be guided by any principle. The collection therefore lacks unity of thought. The only unity is that all the essays, with a possible exception of the essay on Time deal exclusively with Indian theories and that in many essays reference is made to the Jaina views at the end.

The author, however, deserves compliments for bringing to light subtle distinctions in understanding and interpreting a concept even in the same school. Thus he shows how the concept of Īśvara originally found in the Yoga sūtras of Patañjali gets transformed at the hands of Vyāsa, Vācaspati and Vijñānabhikṣu. Similarly he also brings out the subtle distinctions between the treatment of Īśvara by Kaṇāda, Akṣapāda Gautama, Vācaspati and Praśastapāda. His discussion of the problems is based on the sound knowledge of primary sources and his treatment is quite critical. His language is very precise to suit the critical treatment of the problems. In both the cases he claims that Īśvara which originally meant Jīvanmukta came to mean the world - creator in both the schools. (pp. 57 and 72)

While discussing the Buddhist notion of *nirvāṇa* the author refers to the Buddhist view that there is no *ātman* over and above *citta*. This is known as *anātmavāda*. He rightly ascribes *ātmavāda* i.e. the view that there is *ātman* over and above *citta* to *Sāṃkhya*. But his observation that even Jainas do not accept *ātma-dravya* over and above *citta-dravya* seems to be quite unorthodox. He says, "what they call *ātman* is *citta* only." "The Jaina gave the name "*ātman*" to *citta* while the Buddhist mostly did not give the name *ātman* to *citta*. This gave rise to the wrong belief that Buddhists are *anātmavādins* while Jainas are *ātmavādins*. (p. 38). This view seems to be controversial and may be rejected by many scholars of Jainism. The same point is repeated by him in his essay "On the problem of Jñāna-Darśana" (p.90). In this essay he has drawn a comparison between Sāṃkhya-yoga, Buddhism and Jainism on the problem of Jñāna-Darśana.

In the essay on "Vyāpti" the author discusses various solutions offered by the Nyāya Vaiśeṣika, Jainism and Buddhism to the problem of how to

know Vyāpti. He finds Nyāya Vaiśeṣika solution as well as the Jaina notion of *tarka* unsatisfactory. He gives a new interpretation of Dharmakīrti's view according to which sense-experience gives us only series of point-instants and the necessity of causal relation and identity are intellectual constructs not derived from experience but are a priori.

In his essay, 'Jainas on Testimony' he discusses the Nyāya Vaiśeṣika, Buddhist and the Jaina views. The Naiyāyika accepts testimony as an independent *pramāṇa* while the Vaiśeṣika and the Buddhists reduce it to inference. The Jainas refute the view that the testimony is a form of inference and recognise *śruta jñāna* as different from inference. The author however thinks that the differences between inference and testimony pointed out by the Jaina logicians are trivial and do not provide adequate grounds for treating verbal testimony as an independent *pramāṇa*. It is not clear, however, how the author can show that the semantic relation between a word and its object is not different from the relation between the probans and the probandum.

The second essay is on Space. It is a simple exposition of the Jaina view of Ākāśa, distinguishing it from the other Indian views. The first essay on Time is unique firstly because it refers not only to the Indian views but also to the western views on time. It is not clear why did the author think it necessary to refer to the western views only in the case of time. Moreover the essay is just a collection of views of different thinkers from diverse fields. There are views of western philosophers as diverse as Aristotle, Descartes, Spinoza, Kant, Bergson, Alexander and Whitehead. Then there are views of the physicists like Newton and Einstein, and views held by various Indian systems of philosophy and astronomers and finally the Jaina view. The essay does not raise the question whether these diverse thinkers were addressing themselves to the same issue. Is there no difference between the problems about time raised by physicists, astronomers and philosophers? The author who is critical about the Jaina views on testimony, *tarka* and what may be called Jaina *ātmavada*, merely states almost dogmatically the Jaina view of time - the two halves, the period of progress and the period of decadence and even the twelve parts (*ārās*) and the argument to treat time as an independent substance. The author seems to have a special attraction for the notion of substance. He does not ask what does one achieve by calling space, time, *dharma*, *adharmā*, *puḍgala* and *jīva*, substances? Are they substances in the same sense? Do various philosophers in the western and Indian traditions use the word 'substance' in the same sense? Does it make sense to ask, as the author asks, whether the function of time can be done by *ākāśa* or *dharma* or by any other substance or non-substance?

Except the first two chapters, the rest of this tiny book of 150 pages is a rare specimen of genuine attempts at philosophising in the classical Indian philosophy. The author is critical, unbiased and he quite often gives unorthodox

and controversial solutions. This, to my mind, is the strength of the book and it is for this questioning nature of the discussion and unorthodox character of its conclusions supported by sound evidence from the original sources that I would like to recommend this book to the advanced students and scholars of the classical Indian philosophy.

S. S. Antarkar

THE BHĀGAVATA (ŚRĪMAD BHĀGAVATA MAHĀPURĀṆA), Vol. IV. Part II - A - Skandha XI, pp. IX - XXVIII i + 127, and part II - B, Skandha XI, pp. V-XXII + 63, critically edited by Prof. K.K. Sastree; Both volumes published by the B.J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad. 1998, Rs. 400 (Parts II-A - and II-B).

The B. J. Institute of Learning And Research, Ahmedabad, has published a critical edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Vol. IV, Part II A and Part II - B in the year 1998. Both the parts have been critically edited by Prof. K. K. Sastree.

At the beginning of Vol. IV Part II A, there are a few plates borrowed from some manuscripts. A brief preface has been written by Bharati Shelat, Director, B.J. Institute, Ahmedabad. Diacritical marks for Devanāgarī alphabets and abbreviations have been indicated.

Prof. K. K. Sastree has written separate introductions to the critical edition of *Skandha* XI and XII of the *Bhāgavata*, wherein we are told that the text of the *Ekādaśa Skandha* is based on 28 MSS. in different scripts, and the text of the *Dvādaśa Skandha* is based on 27 MSS. Both the introductions contain a list of these MSS. along with details about them. Commentaries of Śrīdhara, Vīra Rāghava and Vijaya Dhvaja were consulted for the critical editions of *Skandha* XI and XII. Printed texts of the Kumbhakonam, Gorakhpur, Nirānaysagar, Madras and Nadiad editions have been utilised for the preparation of the Concordance. Under critical study of the *Ekādaśa Skandha*, the editor has discussed at length *Bhāgavata Mārga* propounded in the *Ekādaśa Skandha* with special reference to its evolution; and the critical study of the *Dvādaśa Skandha* contains a discussion on chronological and astronomical particulars of Kali Age, and lists of those dynasties which are given in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. A table of contents of *adhyāyas* has been given in the beginning of both the *Skandhas*. Variant readings are given in the foot-notes. Words of the variant readings are underlined with wavy lines. At the end of both the *Skandhas* there are detailed explanatory critical notes which will be certainly useful to students and research scholars. Interpolations in both the *Skandhas* have been listed under separate critical notes.

The work is systematic and comprehensive, and it reveals great pains taken by the editor in the Critical Edition of the *Bhāgavata*. Various MSS and the printed editions have been thoroughly examined. Scholars will undoubtedly welcome this edition. The editor deserves compliments for this laborious task.

However, it has to be pointed out here that there are a number of misprints which can be corrected in the second edition of this work. In such a scholarly work, style of expression in introduction could have been better.

Prof. K.K. Sastree and the B.J. Institute of Learning And Research, Ahmedabad deserve hearty congratulations for publishing this edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāna*.

Jaya Chemburkar

ARHAT PĀRŚVA AND DHARAṆENDRA NEXUS, Editor M. A. DHAKY, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, and B. L. Institute of Indology, Delhi, 1997, pp. 148, plates 67, (English & Hindi), Rs. 400

The Jaina Indological studies are enriched by this important work on the theme of the Jina Pārśvanātha and his association with Dharanendra, the lord of the Nāgas. This monograph contains papers of the Seminar organized by the Bhogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology in Delhi, and convened by Prof. M. A. Dhaky. The papers on the theme are contributed by doyens in the field such as Dalsukh Malvania, the late Umakant P. Shah and Sagarmal Jain. Out of 14 papers, two are in Hindi.

Prof. Dhaky introduces the central issue of the volume : "to find an explanation for the well-known association of Nāgarāja Dharanendra with Jina Pārśvanātha." The papers investigate the mythic, theological, liturgical, socio-anthropological aspects, surrounding this special association of the 23rd Jina with the snake deity. This connection is not traceable in literature earlier than 1st century B.C. The book deals with this relationship from the earliest available canonical literature and from representations in sculpture.

Among the 24 Jinas, the last two, viz. Pārśva and Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra), are considered to be historical figures. Dhaky examines the surviving scattered sources on the biography of Arhat Pārśva and says that he was an ascetic-scientist, a methodical thinker, who was born in Varanasi. He questions the gap of 250 years between him and Jina Vardhamāna and suggests that Pārśva could not have started the ascetic career before the beginning of the 6th century B.C. Prof. Dhaky also says : "In the ultimate analysis, it is very likely that, much that the Nirgrantha religion for the past many centuries

stands for and preaches is based on the original teachings of Pārśva. Even the well-known Nirgrantha methodology of examining the idea or object from four-fold view points, of *dravya*, *kṣetra*, *kāla*, and *bhāva*, is also the gift of Pārśva."

The teachings and philosophy of Pārśva particularly from the *Isibhāsiyāñ* (*Ṛṣibhāsitāñ*), a text of c.1st century B.C., and other canonical works are examined by Sagarmal Jain. He brings out the distinctness of Pārśva's sect from that of Vardhamāna. Though both of them belonged to Nirgrantha section of the Śramaṇic traditions, and though there are certain common concepts in their teachings, Pārśva's doctrines are distinct from those of Vardhamāna. His monastic discipline was not so strict as that of Mahāvīra. Dalsukh Malvania while giving an account of the Jina Pārśva states that after surveying the available Nirgrantha canonical literature it can be said that his biography was in a continuous process of growth. He discusses Pārśva's theories about the cosmos (*loka*) and transmigration.

The mythic episode of the meditating Pārśva being protected by the Nāga divinity Dharanendra from the torrential rains sent by his past enemy Kamāṭha features in several papers. This *upasarga* myth of the obstructions caused to Pārśva's meditation by Kamāṭa, reborn as Meghamālī, has been examined by U.P. Shah. The story of Nāga Dharanendra is not seen in early āgamic literature, but its different versions are available by 1st century B.C. - A.D. in literature and in sculptural representations of Mathura region. But there is no literary or archaeological evidence before c. A.D. 400 to support the prevalence of the belief in the *upasarga* by Kamāṭha. Shah cites some of the 6th - 9th century sculptures of Aihole, Badami, Ellora and elsewhere illustrating the *upasarga* by Kamāṭha.

The papers on the regional representations of Pārśvanātha throw good light on the variations in the theme and give different versions of the episode, though his portrayal in the two standard postures, viz. seated in *dhyāna mudrā* and standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā*, are common to all regions. The representations of the attendant divinities, viz. Dharanendra and Padmāvati, and the obstructions of Kamāṭha vary in different regions.

In Mathura region images of Pārśvanātha are found from the Kuṣāṇa period. S. L. Rastogi discusses in Hindi the early images of Uttar Pradesh from the Kuṣāṇa period to the 12th century. In central India, it is from 5th century A.D. that we see the images of Pārśvanātha. Amar Singh has given a good survey of the Pārśva images and temples from the Gupta period to the 13th centuries A.D. in Madhya Pradesh and Bundelkhand region of U.P. covering important dynasties, including the Pratihāra, Cedi, Candella, Kacchapaghāta and Paramāra. He has pointed out the iconographic variations according to different schools of art. The iconic representations of Orissa

and Bengal are ably covered by D.R. Das, who draws our attention to certain individual iconographic traits. Some sculptures of the Jina include the eight planetary divinities. Also in Orissan images, the Jina is seldom accompanied by Padmāvati, his *śāsanadevī*. Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari has presented an interesting picture of Pārśva images from the Jaina caves of Ellora in Maharashtra, discussing different features in portrayals of northern and southern India. He elaborates upon the lively rendering of the *parikara*, and the *upasarga* inflicted by the demon in the images at Ellora. He says that the details of the various *upasargas* in the Ellora figures almost correspond with the details in the *Pāsanāhacariū*. Pārśvanātha in the figural art of Karnataka is very well described by A. Sundara, who covers the sculptures from the Vātāpi-Cālukya period to the Vijayanagara period. He draws our attention to the rare narrative panels in the Pārśvanātha temple in Halebid of A.D. 1133.

There are two articles dealing with the available epigraphical material from southern regions, particularly, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, from c. 5th to 11th century A.D. K.V. Ramesh says that the earliest direct epigraphical mention of Pārśvanātha in Tamil Nadu occurs in the Pāṇḍya inscription in the Aivarmalai cave in Madurai district of A.D. 870-71. Mādhav N. Katti writing on the inscriptions of Karnataka points out that so far no direct reference to Jina Pārśva is seen in the Cālukya and Rāṣtrakūṭa inscriptions, but the inscriptions of the 10th, 11th century, though mostly donative, furnish some important account of the temple-building for Jina Pārśva.

The pilgrimage centres of Pārśvanātha in Gujarat in the medieval period are dealt with by Dhaky, while those of Rajasthan are described by Vinay Sagar. There is an interesting paper by Dhaky on Arhat Pārśva with Dharaṇendra in hymnic, literature beginning from the first reference on this relationship in the *Paūmacariya* of A.D. 473 to late medieval Nirgrantha devotional compositions capturing "the mythico-mystical vision" which the sculptors correspondingly attempted to represent. "

The monograph thus presents a comprehensive and multiple perspective on the Jina Pārśvanātha. The Editor, contributors and the patron institutes deserve compliments for this neatly produced, readable and interesting volume.

Devangana Desai

Isibhāsiyāim Kā Prakrit-Sanskrit Śabda-Kośa, Prepared and Edited by K. R. CHANDRA, Pub. Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad - 380009, 1998, pp. 140, Rs. 60

Isibhāsiyāim (Sk. *Ṛṣibhāsitānī*) is a unique Jain canonical work - unique because it contains the sayings (*bhāsitānī*) of sages (*ṛṣis*), who did not,

strictly speaking, belong to the Jaina fold. This work attests to the catholicity and magnanimity of heart of the early Jain thinkers who collected the sayings of the Non-Jain *ṛsis* to form a canonical text. Incidentally, the text points to the existence of the common ethical thought in the various early religious sects.

It is generally accepted that the forty-five texts which form the Jain canon cannot have originated at one period of time. Scholars have distinguished between the earlier and later strata of the Jain Canon. Regarding the antiquity of *Isibhāsiyāim* Dr. Walter Schubring observes : "That we have the old *Isibhāsiyāim* before us cannot be doubted. Numerous indisputably genuine reminiscences in language and style link the work up with the *Āyāra*, the *Sūyagaḍa*, the *Uttarajjhāyā* and the *Dasaveyāliya*, the seniors of the canon." (Introduction to *Isibhāsiyāim*, 1974 edn., p.2). The Jains use the word *isi* (*ṛsī*) in the sense of *muni*. In the present work, however, the word *isi* (*muni*) carries an additional or special meaning or idea of his being a *pratyekabuddha* (one who has attained or arrived at the highest knowledge by himself, understood the truth by his own efforts but does not preach it to others). The names of the *pratyekabuddhas* include some names which figure in the Vedic and Buddhist literature.

It is very desirable to conduct a linguistic study of the senior canonical works for discovering the archaic form of the Ardhamāgadhī language. Dr. Chandra, an eminent scholar of Prakrit language and literature from Ahmedabad took upon himself this arduous task. He prepared the present exhaustive Prakrit - Sanskrit Word to Word Index of the *Isibhāsiyāim* along with those of other senior texts of Ardhamāgadhī canon for the specific purpose of tracing the oldest Ardhamāgadhī vocabulary and archaic morphological forms to serve as an aid to linguistically re-editing the oldest portion of the Jaina Canonical work *Ācārāṅga*. For it is well known that the language of the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canon, handed down to us is greatly influenced by Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit.

Dr. Chandra has taken great pains in preparing the Index under review. It is bound to be of great use to scholars working in the field of Indo-Aryan linguistics.

While going through this Index one notices a few misprints :

- p. 16, col. 1 : *ādyamadhya* (for *ādyamadhyā*) *vasānānām*
 p. 63, col. 2: *tivra-vahne* for *tivra-vahneḥ*
 p. 109, col. 1 : *saddhamava* - for *saddhamma* - *vakkadāṅam*
 p. 112, col. 2 : *valkala-cīriṇā* for - *cīriṇā*

One comes across a few errors as well.

- p. 3, col. 2 : *adaṇie aṭavyām* for *māṛge*.

Note : 'adaṇi magge' - *Deśi* - *Śabda* - *Sangraha* 1.16

- p. 7 col. 2 . *aiṭhāhāe asthāghāyam* for *astāghāyam*

Note : *atthāha* adj (*astagha*)... *athāha* ...*gambhīra* PSM, p. 49, col 2.
atthāha adj (*deśī*) see *atthaggha* PSM, p. 49, col. 2
atthaggha adj (*deśī*) ... *agādha*, *gambhīra* - PSM, p. 48, col 3.
 p. 123, col 1 : *Samvuda* - *Samvrta*
Sarivudam - *Samvrttam*

There is some confusion. *Samvuda* is to be rendered into Sanskrit as *Samvrta*. It conveys the meaning of 'restrained'. Cf PSM, p. 853 Col 2.

Samvrtta means 'became, happened'.

p. 123, col. 2 : The Prakrit expression *Samsāra* - *Kantāram* is thrice rendered into Sanskrit as *Samsāra-Kantāram*. It should be rendered in Sanskrit as 'Samsāra - Kāntāram.'

These few misprints and errors hardly detract from the great merit of Dr. Chandra's painstaking, industrious and thorough work, the Index under review.

V. M. Kulkarni

PROFESSOR KANE'S CONTRIBUTION TO DHARMAŚĀSTRA LITERATURE, S. G. MOGHE, D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., F-52 Bali Nagar, New Delhi - 110015, 1997, pp. 380, Rs. 500

This is an elegant volume consisting of 19 papers of Dr. P. V. Kane, the author of the monumental *History of Dharmasāstra*. Dr. Moghe studied these articles and has presented them here with adequate notes and in a meaningful sequence. Most of these articles deal with aspects of Dharmasāstra which were not elaborated by Dr. P. V. Kane in his *History of Dharmasāstra*. These articles were conceived by Dr. Kane with a view to settle some of the complicated points which arose in his study, such as chronology and textual variations.

The book opens with a proper introduction by Dr. Moghe. This is followed by *Dharmasūtra* of Śaṅkha-Likhita. This text of *Dharmasūtra* was lost after the 14th century. It was most labouriously reconstructed by Dr. Kane after gleaning the scattered textual material from various sources. Dr. Kane compares the style of this work with that of Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra* and relegates the text to the period 300 B.C. to A.D. 100. The work of Śaṅkha - Likhita supplements earlier compendiums on Dharmasāstra.

Then there is a paper on Asahāya - the commentator of *Gautama Dharmasūtra* and *Nāradaśmṛti*. Very little was known about this great commentator. Dr. Kane tells here about the *bhāṣyas* Asahāya has written and traces his influence on Vijñāneśvara.

Tantravārtika is the subject matter of another paper. Here, Dr. Kane highlights all relevant references regarding Dharmaśāstra from this text of the great Mīmāṃsaka, Kumārila-bhaṭṭa.

Passages from *Rājamārtanda* on *tithis*, *vratas* and *utsavas* are the subject matter of another paper and are of great value in understanding the cultural life in ancient India. There is an interesting paper on *Mahābhārata* citations in the *Sābara-Bhāṣya*. Also in another paper, the verses in *Mahābhārata* are compared with various Dharmaśūtras and similar other works.

There are two short papers on - 1. Dvaitanirṇaya and 2. Vedic Mantras and Legends in the Purāṇas. Then there comes a long essay on The Predecessors of Vijnāneśvara. Here, a critical estimation is presented of notable commentators viz. Asahāya, Viśvarūpa, Bhārucci, Śrīkara and Medhātithi.

Among other papers, more important are - 1. Kalivarjya, 2. Paurāṇa Dharma and 3. Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. In fact, there are three articles which have a bearing on Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Modern management science also acknowledges Kauṭilya's contribution to the science of administration.

All these papers of Dr. Kane are freshly edited by Dr. S. G. Moghe with a rare insight in Dharmaśāstra. Dr. Moghe has a good grounding in Mīmāṃsā and this has stood him in good stead in accomplishing this edition. He has added copious footnotes at relevant places and this, in its turn, has added new dimensions to the papers published long ago. The editor has presented the updated reference material with academic vigilance. He has added his own article, titled 'Prof. Kane's Method and Interpretations - A Review.' In this, he has appreciated Dr. Kane's method of retrieval of old texts and his skill in editing ancient manuscripts, particularly *Vyavahāra Mayūkha*, published in 1925. It was Dr. Kane, who inspired the editor and many other scholars all over the world, to carry on research in Dharmaśāstra literature and the tradition continues.

The book has been nicely printed with minimum misprints and the publishers have maintained their standard of book production.

The volume will serve as a supplement to the History of Dharmaśāstra and would be valued among scholars in this field.

N. B. Patil

A COMPANION TO DHARMAŚĀSTRA, SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI, D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd. Sri Kunj : F. 52 Bali Nagar, New Delhi 110015. 1998. pp 265, Rs. 350

Dharmaśāstra is a generic name for that literature which lays down norms of individual and social behaviour in a Hindu religious society. The book under review, as the name indicates, is a companion volume on Dharmaśāstra and contains material that would be helpful in the study, in this regard.

The sages of yore codified customs, as well as individual and social behaviour patterns, and this literature came to be called as *Smṛtis*. This literature is categorically different from the literature of the Vedic period known as *Śrutis*, a more sacrosanct literature, which defies mutation. The *Smṛtis* are more pliable and reflect customs of a particular period. *Śrutis* have over-riding authority.

Dharmaśāstra is a sum total of all the teachings in *Smṛtis* and commentaries thereon, which form the core of Hindu law throughout the ages. It was a remarkable exercise on the part of Mahā Mahopādhyāya Dr. P. V. Kane to have compiled a detailed History of Dharmaśāstra Literature in five volumes running over 7544 pages.

The purpose of Prof. Banerji's book is somewhat limited. It aims at presenting such material as would facilitate a more detailed study of Dharmaśāstra by providing a brief background material and all the necessary indices of names and works, referred to in Dharmaśāstra literature. Thus, the book provides all that is necessary for an indepth study of Dharmaśāstra.

The book opens with a brief introduction dealing with the land and the people, the meaning of Dharma, both as per the early and later writers. This gives in a nutshell, the contents of Prācīna and Navya Smṛtis.

The second chapter deals with political, social and religious background of Dharmaśāstra. The author believes that the 'political conditions mould the society of a country to a considerable extent, the society, in its turn, plays an important role in shaping the literature, religious and profane.' (p.9). So after surveying the historical conditions in the Vedic age, the author describes the same, in the Epic and Purāṇic periods. Here, the Brahmanical religion was imperilled mainly by two factors, viz., Buddhism and Tantrism (p. 31) 'womenfolk and Śūdras embraced /in droves.' Buddhism upheld ethics rather than the bloody ritual practices of sacrifices. As a counteraction, the Brahmanical society composed Purāṇas to attract the laity from the folds of Buddhism. Purāṇas provided a simplistic religion of (Purāṇic) *mantras* and *vratas*. These were linked with material well being of an individual. The spate of Purāṇic literature over the centuries gave a popular base to religion.

While the third chapter deals with the Authors of Dharmaśāstra,

alphabetically, the fourth deals with their works. Both the chapters taken together, serve as an index to the entire Dharmaśāstra literature.

The fifth and the last chapter, running over 68 pages presents the results of the critical study of the author, of the *Smrtis* in general. The treatment is topical. Here, the author says that 'some important social practices obtaining now, have lost their original significance and forms, sometimes influenced by superstitions and covetousness of the sacerdotal class.' (p. 99). He cites the instances of *Upanayana* and *Śrāddha* and the incongruence of their performance in the old fashions. The author further examines position of women and the custom of *Sati*. He refers to Ishvarchandra Vidyasagara's views on *Sati* and his citation of *Parāśara Smṛti* V. 30, in support of widow-remarriage. Levirate (Niyoga) has been discussed. The question of untouchability and Euthanasia are also discussed. The author has also expressed on socialistic trends in Manusmṛti and has discussed basic juridical principles.

The book contains eleven appendices which supplement the contents of the book. The glossary and index will prove useful for lay readers.

The author has taken care not to enter in polemics in Dharmaśāstra. His eye was on referencial material and he has succeeded in presenting the same with clarity. A publication of this sort was very much needed. The author deserves to be congratulated for an excellent execution of the job. The paper and the printing are good.

N. B. Patil

SAMANTABHADRA'S ĀPTAMĪMĀMSĀ - CRITIQUE OF AN AUTHORITY,

Translation, etc. by NAGIN J. SHAH, Sanskrit-Sanskriti Granthamālā, 7, 1999. Ahmedabad. Price not given.

Sanskritists have every reason to be happy that Prof. Dr. Nagin J. Shah has continued doing research work even after his retirement - perhaps he does more work than he formerly could. After publishing some works relating to the *Nyāya-Maṅjarī* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa and his collections of articles on Philosophical studies on his own, he has now brought out Samantabhadra's *Āptamīmāṃsā* which he aptly calls 'Critique of an Authority', along with English Translation, Introduction, Notes-comments and Akalaṅka's Sanskrit commentary *Aṣṭaśatī*. He has rightly selected the *Āptamīmāṃsā* for this scholarly treatment as Samantabhadra's work served as a model for later Jaina thinkers and writers while criticizing what they considered one-sided philosophical views.

In the introduction. Dr. N. J. Shah has made a detailed and objective survey of Nayavāda and Anekāntavāda and their evaluation of other philosophical schools. According to Jaina thinkers, a real thing (*sat*) has many, even infinite

characters, it is many-sided (*anekāntātma*). Moreover, both the substance (*dravya*) and the mode (*pariyāya*) constitute the true nature of a thing. It is permanent as far as the substance is concerned, but origination and destruction are certainly there in the modes. Moreover, in the real thing there are general features as also unique features - universality and particularity. And the problems of similarity-dissimilarity and one-many have also to be considered in relation to a real thing which is thus ontologically a confluence of opposites in the true sense of the term - a unique synthesis of opposites. Knowledge of any one aspect of a thing is called *naya*, and so also the judgement based on this partial knowledge. A *naya* is a view-point which does not rule out other view-points in regard to the real thing, and is the expression of a positive truth as conditioned by our intention etc. It cautiously qualifies itself with the word 'Syāt' (it could be thus from a particular standpoint in a certain sense). As Dr. Shah rightly says, Anekāntavāda integrates the *nayas* into a consistent and comprehensive synthesis. The Jaina Anekānta philosophy has tried to emerge as the whole synthetic concrete truth from the mutual conflicts of what it considers to be abstract partial truths represented by the several philosophical schools. For presenting a synthesis of all likely philosophical views on some point the Jaina thinkers devised the *methodology of Saptabhaṅgī* – the sevenfold way of predication.

The Anekāntavāda is imbued with the true spirit of Ahimsā - it finds some truth in each and every view and accepts all the views in its fold by attempting a perfect synthesis.

The 114 verses of the *Āptamīmāṃsā* can be divided into 10 sections each of which presents the Jaina position on some problem of philosophy - contrasting it with two one-sided positions whose synthesis it claims to be.

Vv. 1-8 mention the characteristics of a true 'Tirthāṅkara', cautioning that some such could be found even in a juggler or an ordinary celestial being. The emphasis is on ethico-religious matters.

Section 1 (vv. 9-23) Is a real entity existent or non-existent by nature ?

First alternative - A real entity is absolutely existent by nature.

Second Alternative - A real entity is absolutely non-existent by nature.

(iii) (a) Both alternatives.

(b) Neither alternative - a real entity is absolutely indescribable.

(iv) Conditional acceptance of all the four positions - a real entity is somehow existent by nature, somehow non-existent, somehow both, and somehow indescribable.

The same approach is found in the case of the other problems.

Section 2 (vv. 24-36) Is a real entity one with every other real entity, or is it different from every other real entity?

Section 3 (vv. 37 - 60) Is a real entity permanent or momentary?

Section 4 (vv. 61-72) Is there the relation of distinctness or non-distinctness between a composite body and its component parts, a quality and the thing qualified a universal and the particular possessing this universal?

Section 5 (vv. 73-75) Is there the relation of dependence or of independence between an entity and its features?

Section 6 (vv. 76-78) Is inference or scripture the authoritative source of knowledge?

Section 7 (vv. 79-87) Is cognition subjective or does it have an objective reference?

Section 8 (vv. 88-91) Is fate or tenacity of purpose and endeavour the decisive factor in one's career?

Section 9 (vv. 92-95) Do virtue (*punya*) and sin (*pāpa*) arise from respectively causing pleasure and pain to others, or do they arise from respectively causing pain and pleasure to oneself?

Section 10 (vv. 96-100) Does worldly bondage (*bandha*) result from even slight ignorance or does *mokṣa* (liberation) result from even a little knowledge?

V V. 101-114 present a general summing up of the whole discussion.

Sections 8-10 are interesting to every type of reader, and so also Samantabhadra's approach to the problem.

Section 8 tackles the problem whether fate (*daiva*) alone or tenacity of purpose and endeavour (*pauruṣa*) alone leads to success. Samantabhadra has very wisely concluded that the favourable and unfavourable things that come our way without any premeditation on our part are due to one's *daiva*, while the good and bad things that come to us depending on premeditated determined planning are due to one's *pauruṣa*.

In Section 9, two views regarding *pāpa* and *punya* are given. One view is that *pāpa* is accumulated as a result of causing pain to others, while *punya* as a result of causing pleasure to others. The other view is that *punya* results from causing pain to oneself and *pāpa* from causing pleasure to oneself. Samantabhadra concludes that the sinful or virtuous character of an act does not depend on how it affects the doer or the person at the receiving end, but on whether it has been performed with an unclean or a clean mind.

In Section 10, the problem discussed is whether worldly bondage can

result from even a little ignorance or liberation result from even a little knowledge.

Samantabhadra's own view is that worldly bondage results when one is overpowered by moral delusion and *mokṣa* when one is free from it.

In Sections 8-10 we find that in respect of these ethico-theological problems, Samantabhadra rather than sticking to his policy of synthesis of two extreme views, prefers to steer clear of either and emphasises the primacy of goodness of motive over the act or the effect of ignorance or knowledge, even when maintaining the formal structure of his argument which could suggest that he is accepting both the solutions.

Dr. Shah has translated the verses of the *Āptamīmāṃsā* into English with some elaboration where necessary to make the text understandable. His explanatory remarks are, as he himself has said, of two types, 'notes' and 'comments'. The 'notes' which are few in number and brief in size are attached to the concerned particular verse. The 'comments' are an exercise in critically amplifying the argument offered by the author, and in most cases a comment is appended to a group of verses.

Dr. Shah has fully appreciated the force of Samantabhadra's arguments and shown the importance of his contribution to Jaina logic and philosophy. At the same time Dr. Shah has not hesitated to point out the anomaly in the arguments advanced by the author wherever he has noticed it (see Introduction, p. 31, and Text, p. 83). At times one feels that his comment is rather harsh, e.g. when he says, "But to say, ...that if virtue and sin are earned as a result of respectively causing pleasure and pain to others, they should possibly be earned even by an inanimate object (that might possibly be instrumental in one's causing pleasure or pain to others) makes little sense." Such arguments were advanced in all discussions of a dialectical character pointing about *anupapattis*. The reader would have benefitted even more had Dr. Shah given at places the gist of Akalaṅka's Commentary *Aṣṭaśālī*.

We only hope Dr. Shah will continue to give Sanskritists the gifts of a number of philosophical works.

Esther A. Solomon

SĀHITYAŚĀRĪRAKAM, (Sanskrit) by REWĀPRASĀDA DWIVEDĪ, pub. Director, Publications Department, Sampūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya, Varanasi - 221002, 1998, pp. 218, Rs. 200

The present work is based on a series of three lectures delivered by Professor Rewa Prasad Dwivedi (Dr. Dwivedi) in Sanskrit in memory of Pattabhīramashastrī at Sampūrṇānanda Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya, Varanasi, in

1997. It is graced with a brief introduction by Dr. Mandan Mishra, Vice Chancellor of the University. It highlights the academic distinctions in Dr. Dwivedi's brilliant career, his remarkable achievements as Professor of Sanskrit Literature at the Kashi Hindu Vishvavidyalaya and his rich contribution to Sanskrit studies, his scholarly critical editions of Kālidās's works, which won him international reputation, and by his own independent works, some of them Śāstric and others creative – written in elegant Sanskrit.

De and Kane divide Sanskrit Poetics into different schools : 1. *rasa* 2. *alamkāra* 3. *rīti* (*guṇas*), 4. *dhvani*, 5. *Vakrokti* and 6. *aucitya* respectively headed by Bharata, Bhāmaha-Udbhāta, Vāmana, Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka and Kṣemendra. Dr. Dwivedi refers to these schools but observes that all these schools are *ekādhikaraṇa* - (having the same substratum or *viśaya*). One and the same Kāvya can be evaluated and appreciated and judged from the point of view of, say, *rasa* or *alamkāra* or *rīti*, etc., thus suggesting that these schools are not exclusive.

Dr. Dwivedi, instead of 'school', uses the word *dhāma* (a dwelling-place-a city) : 1. Śāradā (Kashmir) - 2. Dhārā, - 3. Kāñcidhāma - and 4. Kāsidhāma - *āmnāya*. These are, as it were, the four pillars on which his theories are based. It deserves special mention that the Kāśi-dhāmāmnāya or the Kāśi-prasthāna solely and wholly rests on Dr. Dwivedi's own original writings namely, *Kāvyaalamkāra-kārikā*, a treatise on Sanskrit poetics. 2. *Nātyānuśāsanam*-dealing with the theory of Sanskrit Dramatics and a few essays listed by the author on p. 134 of his treatise. This *prasthāna* or *darśana* is highly original. It is replete with new ideas and concepts about poetry and critical comments and new interpretations. It would be unfair to judge his new *darśana* in a very short review like this. Regarding his new concepts, however, attention may be drawn to the author's concept of *alamkāra*. Throughout the history of Sanskrit Poetics we find the word *alamkāra* used to mean figures of speech like *upamā*, *rūpaka*, etc., and in a wider sense, beauty : For example, read the following *Sūtra* and *Vṛtti* thereon in Vāmana's *Kāvyaalamkāra-sūtra-vṛtti* 1.1.2

सौन्दर्यमलङ्कारः ।

अलङ्कृतिलङ्कारः । करणव्युत्पत्त्या पुनरलङ्कारशब्दोऽयम् उपमादिषु वर्तते ।

Now we find this word used by Dr. Dwivedi in an altogether new sense of *alambhāva* meaning 'paryāpti' - adequacy. This needs fuller explanation. So too his definition of *Kāvya* as *Jñāna*. This also is quite unfamiliar to a Sanskrit reader. It would therefore be prudent on our part to leave out this *darśana* for separate, independent, long review article in a future issue of the Journal.

Dr. Dwivedi's *Sāhitya-sārīrakam* is a critical and comprehensive work dealing with almost the whole of Sanskrit Poetics. In the *Sanstava* (praise)

he pays homage to the worthies including his late lamented revered teacher Pandit Shri Mahadeva Shastri and expresses his resolve to demolish Ānandavardhana's doctrine of *dhvani* and set forth his new and novel *darśana* relating to Sanskrit *Sāhitya*. In the second and third *adhikaraṇas* Dr. Dwivedi deals with the different topics of *ālarṅkāra-śāstra* with which we all are well acquainted with this difference that now and then the author adds his critical comments, throws fresh light and passes perceptive remarks in the course of his exposition of these familiar topics.

First about *dhvani* : Ānandavardhana's newly discovered theory of *dhvani* (the implied or suggested meaning) as the soul of poetry and the new *śabda-vṛtti* of *vyañjanā* (the power or function of suggestion) brought about a total revolution in the point of view from which poetry is to be judged. This doctrine was ably supported by the great philosopher Abhinavagupta and faithfully followed by eminent ālarṅkārikas like Mammaṭa, the author of the famous *Kāvya-prakāśa*, hailed as Vāgdevatāvātāra, Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, the last great writer on Sanskrit Poetics, not to speak of lesser lights like Ācārya Hemacandra, Viśvanātha, the Sāhitya darpaṇakāra, and many others. Undaunted by the name and fame of the intellectual luminaries Dr. Dwivedi attacks this new fangled theory of *dhvani* (and *śabdavṛtti-vyañjanā*) and makes a determined attempt to prove that his theory of *dhvani* and his *śabdavṛtti-vyañjanā* do not receive support from fundamental śāstras like Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya. He further shows how Jayantabhaṭṭa, the great Naiyāyika in his *Nyāyamañjari* and Śrīharṣa in his *Naiṣadhīya* and *Khaṇḍanakhāṇḍakhādyā* have denounced this concept.

Dr. Dwivedi, it would seem, agrees with Dhanika, the author of a work called *Kāvyanirṇaya*, and a commentary *Avaloka* on Dhanamjaya's *Daśarūpaka* who argues in favour of *tātparya* : "There is no such limitation of *tātparya* to the expressed sense (as held by the Dhvani-vādins). *Tātparya* extends over the whole range of the speaker's intention and covers all implications coming up in the train of the expressed sense."

Bhoja declares : '*tātparyam eva vacasi dhvanir eva kāvye*' (Tr. "In ordinary speech and writing the purport is called *tātparya* but the purport in poetic expression is called *dhvani*.") The entire discussion in *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* regarding *tātparya* vis-a-vis *dhvani* is somewhat confusing. Dr. Dwivedi, however, observes : "It is kind of Bhoja of generous heart that he mentioned *dhvani* and gives it a proper place in his scheme of things. To tell the truth, it deserves to be demolished - thrown out. In all other *darśanas* except *vyākaraṇa* it is not even mentioned by name. Even Bhoja has not recognised it as a *śabdavṛtti*" ... (p. 97). Dr Dwivedi cites the authority of Mahimabhaṭṭa also who refutes the theory of *dhvani*. He holds that between the *vibhāvādi-pratīti* and *rasādi-pratīti* there is sequence. Between them there is the relation of *sādhya* and *sādhana* (the means and the end) and not the relation of *vyaṅgya-vyañjaka-bhāva*; he claims that *dhvani* could always be reduced

to inference: (*anumāna*).

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Bhaṭṭanāyaka (935-985 A.D.) wrote a work called *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* (now lost) for demolishing *dhvani* (*dhvani-dhvaṁsa*). Though now lost, several passages from it have been quoted by later writers. He differed from the *Dhvanyāloka* on two points : 1. *Dhvani* defies, eludes definition and 2, that it is purely *svasaṁvedya* (See Kane : *The History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 1951 ed., p. 213).

Dr. Dwivedi criticises severely Ānandavardhana on another account as well. He expressed his righteous anger over his citing Prakrit *gāthās* depicting illicit love as examples of the best type of poetry (*dhvani-kāvya*). He takes Mammata also to task for citing a Sanskrit stanza embodying the words of a *bāla-vyabhicāriṇī* as an example of *Uttama Kāvya*.

Now, the controversy between art critics, some of them holding the view that art is for the sake of art and some others holding the opposite view that art is for the sake of life and that it is connected with, if not directly at least indirectly, with morality. One old Indian authority, cited by M. Hiriyanna in his *Art Experience* (p. 52) says : "That is a true poem which treats of the doings of the good and the great", implying that art must necessarily have a moral view. Dr. Dwivedi's criticism flows from his strong belief and faith that art is for the sake of life and that it cannot be divorced from morality keeping the ultimate good of the society in view.

It may not be out of place to point out here that it is Dr. Dwivedi who draws the attention of scholars to the use of the word *Sāhitya for the first time* by Ānandavardhana (p. 126). In footnotes NO.S 1-2 on the same page he indicates that this reference does not occur in earlier works on Sanskrit Poetics nor of modern scholars like Kane, Raghavan and G. T. Deshpande.

Sanskrit scholars all over the country, nay, even the world, would heartily welcome this very valuable contribution to Sanskrit Poetics. It would indeed be a good thing if this *Sāhityasāñirakam* is translated in lucid Hindi and English for the benefit of scholars unacquainted with Sanskrit.

V. M. Kulkarni

THE ANCIENT CHRONOLOGY OF THAR : *The Bhāṭṭika, Laukika and Sindh Eras*, ANTHONY GORDON O'BRIEN, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, pp. 211, Pls. 16, Maps 2, Rs. 450

The purpose of this book is to describe the ancient systems of calendrical reckoning peculiar to the Thar Desert, their origin and the political and military

background against which they develop.

Between 1975 and 1978 during frequent visits to the Jaisalmer District of Rajasthan, the author, Anthony Gordon O'Brien, copied and, where possible, photographed some 500 historical inscriptions engraved on stone, most of which remain unpublished. He covered as wide an area as physical and financial restraints permitted, alone on foot for the first two years but towards the end, with the assistance of grants from the Max Müller and Boden funds of Oxford University, by jeep accompanied by a driver. He also made further brief visits in 1985 and 1987. Approximately half of these finds, generally the more accessible ones, were discussed in his unpublished D. Phil. thesis, 'Bhāṭī Inscriptions of Jaisalmer' (1979). This book is based upon an analysis of 260 dates recorded in the Bhāṭṭika era and its predecessor which occur in epigraphs located within Jaisalmer District.

Over the past thousand years the Bhāṭī Rajputs and other princely families of Thar have erected epigraphic monuments to commemorate their ancestors and to record the foundation of reservoirs and temples. These monuments, precisely dated, lie scattered in vast numbers, disarrayed across the desert. Hitherto, they have been virtually unknown to archaeologists and historians and have long since become unintelligible to the people of Thar.

The author has invented a method of verifying precisely in accordance with the parameters of the standard medieval astronomical authorities, historical dates issued from any part of South Asia. This method, once computerised, would enable epigraphic dates to be verified almost instantly without the frequent errors that tabular calculation is prone to.

The first chapter of the book deals with Jaisalmer, the second chapter consists of the Bhāṭṭika, Laukika and Sindh eras, the third chapter is devoted to the historical influence of the Bhāṭṭika (Sindh?) era, the fourth chapter includes the astronomical significance of the Laukika and Bhāṭṭika (Sindh?) eras and the fifth chapter ends with conclusions.

The book deals with copious notes and references. The Appendix covers verification of dates, estimation of solar date corresponding with quoted lunar date, estimation of solar day number and ahar number corresponding with quoted lunar date, calculation of Julian equivalent of quoted lunar date, and detailed method of verifying calendrical data in Jaisalmeri epigraphs.

The lists and tables are provided with useful data on dates and eras. The Explanatory Index covering forty-seven pages is very exhaustive and useful. Based almost entirely upon original research, this book cannot be ignored by historians of Rajasthan and Sindh. It should also be of great value to students of South Asian epigraphy. Readers will be fascinated to discover that a region of such apparent desolation harbours so rich a depository of

historical and calendrical data.

This publication would certainly serve as a model for researchers if they undertake similar ventures in exploring other remote areas in India.

Anthony Gordon O'Brien deserves our highest compliments for placing this prestigious publication before us through the Oxford University Press. I wish the author applies and gets the Rolex Awards for Enterprise of the year 2000.

B. V. Shetti

THE ṚGVEDA AS ORAL LITERATURE, NILANJANA SIKDAR DATTA, Herman Publishing House, New Delhi, 1999; pp. 1-224 plus Bibliography, Index, Rs. 640

The work starts with the objective of studying common structures and "word-blocks" that are supposed to be used by the Ṛgvedic poets in imitation of the earlier ones. In doing so, the author has tried to apply a method that has been developed by some western scholars in respect of works in other literature, such as, for example, the Heroic Poetry. The intension is welcome; and the efforts of the scholar are laudable.

In contrast to the efforts of other scholars, western as she has mentioned, her work was simpler as she had ready material on hand by Maurice Bloomfield (*Ṛgveda Repetitions*) and of J. Gonda (*Stylistic Repetitions in the Ṛgveda*). She has also used T. G. Mainkars work (*Some Poetical Aspects of the Ṛgvedic Repetitions*). Having worked with the help of these earlier systematic efforts, her work was to see if there is any system in the repetitions, so as it would help, or which might have been of help, in the early period of Ṛgvedic composition. However, what happens to be presented is not very striking, though one cannot ignore the efforts that the scholar has put in classifying her observations under suitable heads as : (1) Thematic Similarities in the Ṛgvedic Repetitions; (2) Poetical Aspects of Repetitions; (3) Repetitions Relating to Families; (4) Magical Aspect of the Repetitions; and (5) Material Aspect of Orality. The classification would clearly show, that the various chapters are essays on repetitions; and most of the work is rearrangement of the repetitions worked by Bloomfield and Gonda. We have here deitywise study also; but, the expressions and epithets collected for them do not go to show how they influenced or helped oral copying. One feels here the likeness of the efforts of Gonda (again) in his *Epithets in the Ṛgveda*, which the scholar under consideration does not mention (or, possibly, she does not know this work). We have no difficulty in believing, with the scholar, that repetitions are an easy way to remember, and that, hence, they are copied by poets of the later Ṛgvedic

layer. But, she has not shown precisely if such expressions are a deliberate copy, and, if it is, in what way. One feels she should have been able to guide us where there is a clear copy and where there is just a subconscious imitation, due to conceptual impressions about the nature of a deity evolved in the tradition. Many times, the discussion turns to mythological details regarding a deity; but, in what way these details could have influenced, or helped, is not precisely attempted. Hence, the work turns out to be, more or less, a (good) documentation, rather than indicating any insight.

The author has done well to jot down some of the peculiarities of expressions in a particular family of seers. Thus, *brhad vadema vidathe suvīrah* is noted as that of the Ṛṣamadas. The point is, why similar expressions occur in the verses of seers of other families. For example, cf *suvīrāso vidatham ā vadema* (I.117.25, the seer being Kaksīvat; VIII.48.14, Kāṇva Pragātha). Likewise, *vayam syāma patayo rayīnām* (VIII.48.13, Kāṇva; IV.50.6 Vāmadeva; V.55.10 Śyāvāśva). It would appear to be difficult to give any reason for such repetitions and similarities. But, one could think. The catch-word appears to be *vidatha*, which indicates an assembly. There were many occasions for assemblage; and we have such indications as *samana*. The argument could be, what is the difference between a *samana* and a *vidatha*? And, of course, sacrifice. Were there probable get-togethers where recitations could be held? The thought could reveal the psychology of showmanship. Parallel practices do show their presence in the ancient world. The tribal Africans, when they came together for ritual, entertained the assembly with stories and songs, known already or newly composed. One could contemplate some such custom among the Vedic Aryans, apart from the rigid sacrificial sessions, where recitations might have been held, which might result in easy imitation of style. An example in this respect, though not exact, is of the Pāriplava-ākhyāna at the Horse-sacrifice. The present work shows total lack of any reasoning regarding such probabilities of imitation. Why, for example the four verses in the Āpī Hymns of the Viśvāmitras and the Vasīṣṭhas (III. 4.8-11 = VII.8-11) are exactly the same? Is it just copy or has it some political reason? On such counts, the work does not go any step ahead, appearing to involve itself in flat documentation.

Before giving the script for printing the author does not seem to have taken care to edit it to conform to the usual norms of least scholarship expectations. Apart from mistakes of diacritical marks at a number of places (which could be ignored as typographical errors), there are interesting cases which reveal misunderstanding the nature of words and *sandhis*. Thus, we have *usā adya iha* (p. 91), which is queer. The original is *uṣo adya* (RV I. 113.7). Likewise, *uṣo nodya* (we expect *no 'dya*; and the Samhitā actually has *no adya*). Such instances are numerous. The use of capital letters in Sanskrit transliterated passages for a proper noun (as is the case with the

English language) is jarring; but it is persistent here; for ex. *Kṛṣṇā tamāṅsi*; here *kṛṣṇā* is not even a proper noun. The diacritical ~ on *n* of *tamāṅsi* and all such places speaks about the equipment of the author. For *parjanya vṛṣtmān iva* we have *vṛṣtmā iva*, leaving the nasal. Actually, it should be *mā iva* as in the Saṁhitā. There is a fault in leaving off the *n*. We have *Samiddhāno Agni* for the actual reading *samidhāno agniḥ*. And, why *S* and *A* capital?

An important problem about the repetitions and the oral method is the mistakes that would occur in the course of time. Though the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā is taken to be, and appears to be, preserved as it was, the Rkprātīśākhyā (Śaunaka) is clear about the dangers of mistakes in the oral method (ch. 14). It bases its observations on the chastity of the metre, which it takes as the central point. In that vein, the author could have examined the places where there could have been changes in the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā itself as suggested by Macdonell in 1900 itself. The present reviewer had taken a note of the work of Fr. A. Esteller (in the reviewer's Presidential Address at the AIOC Session at Santiniketana, 1980; *Proceedings*, BORI, Pune, 1982) in this direction. Another point that the author could have touched is of passages from the Ṛgveda appearing in other Saṁhitās, and the changes that appear therein. (cf. ṚV X. 152 and Atharvaveda = AV I.21; ṚV X. 174 and AV I.29; ṚV X. 101 and AV III. 17; ṚV VII.55. and AV IV.5 etc.). True, such passages maynot be taken as *of* the Ṛgveda; but, a study of this type could have given a fresh edge to the author's efforts. For such comparative study of the oral tradition, Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance* could have been helpful. Even otherwise, the author has relied heavily on the works of Bloomfield and Gonda, and sent the work without keen scrutiny (as was expected, as noted above) to the press. One more point to be noted in this work is, that for Sanskrit quotations, in many cases the Italics is used (, which is right); but, in equally a large number of places just Roman is used ! One does not see why this happened.

The looseness in methodology that marks the diacritical signs and the use of Italics and Roman together in the case of Sanskrit, is seen also in the Bibliography. The titles of books appear sometimes in double inverted commas, sometimes in single inverted commas and all times in Roman letters, without such commas. Books appear, at times without the year of publication (even without a note, that no date of publication is given in the original). for ex. Finnegan, Ruth, African Oral Literature, Oxford. Here is another (of many others) example : Frazer, J. G., The Golden Bough, Macmillan, 1949. But, what about the place of publication and also that there are volumes of this work? It will be futile to point out the various shortcomings of the Bibliography.

Having said all this, one cannot deny that the effort is (just) markable.

The most interesting chapter is "Magical Aspects of the Repetitions"; and she has pointed out how some repetitions could have worked as charms. However, one observes that she has not even touched the concept or *yātu*, and *yātumāvat*, occurring at a number of places in the R̥gveda, when she has mentioned Shamanism in other sources. She has referred to Mircea Eliade; but has not examined his views, which means she just follows him. It is true to say that the concept of magic and the hymns showing magic are (generally speaking) a later phase of the R̥gveda; but, one would expect comment on the famous expression at RV III. 53.22-23, where some Vedic scholars see magic. Vasīṣṭha (VII, i.e. the older R̥gveda) is angry at being called a *yātudhāna* (RV VII.104.16). What is the implication? In the context of the restoration of the soul, she mentions beliefs from other sources to say that souls could leave the body and escape (p.206), but does not clarify whether the belief is associated with one soul in the body or two souls, a concept common among tribals, and even among the Vedic people, as is seen from the Brhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad (IV. 3.9-10). In the context of the magical driving away of the dreams (i.e. bad ones), she refers to the belief associated with Trita Āptya, which is good but leaves the passages from the AV (VI. 46; XIX. 57) which are more important for the formation of the dream, and reflect the idea of one soul being lead by Dream, while the other reposes in the body. Even the older R̥gveda has the belief in the dream (or sleep) being caused by a spell (II. 15.9 where Indra dupes Cumuri and Dhuni, this way). She believes, with Oldenberg, that the "dragging" of Apālā through the "hole of a chariot" (actually, through the central hole of the wheel) is a spell, but does not seem to know that this was according to a later myth recorded by the Sātyāyana Brāhmaṇa, the RV only saying "purified thrice" (VIII. 91.7 *triṣpūtvī*). This shows want of care. This trait we have already hinted above. Even, here, speaking about the magical nature of the *yūpa*, she wrongly quotes as *hamsāviva śreṇiṣo yatānāḥ*, in place of *hamsā (ḥ) iva*, unmindful of the plural *yatānāḥ* (RV) and misreads *dhṛāji* (धृ) as "*ghṛāji* (घृ) (p. 210)." One feels sorry that one cannot commend such labour.

Sadashiv A. Dange

CONVERSION, CONTINUITY AND CHANGE : LIVED CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTHERN GOA, ROWENA ROBINSON, Sage Publications : New Delhi, 1998, pp. 236, Rs. 375

This book, based on the author's doctoral research in a Catholic village in the Salcete district of Goa, deals with the dynamics of a converted community and its relationship with the wider Hindu society and the indigenous culture

within which it is embedded. The village was part of the 'Old Conquests' area, converted to Catholicism by the Portuguese four centuries ago. When the author did anthropological fieldwork in 1992-93, the issue of Christianity and conversion had still not exploded violently in the Indian polity and society, although it has been an undercurrent in certain political discourses for a long time. The material that is presented in the book, shows an intricate interrelationship between the Catholic community and Hindu society in this region, which has been broadly harmonious at the level of culture, with the former displaying aspects of both autonomy from and continuity with the latter. This picture that emerges is also, in part, due to the reasonableness of the author and her refusal to take an extreme position in the academic debate on conversion and its impact on the converted : a debate marked by considerable polarisation.

To those studying non-Hindu communities in India, the dilemma is whether to emphasise what is shared with Hindu society or whether to underline the distinctiveness. Actually, it is not possible to take an either/or stand in this regard. Given that the history of conversion in India is long, almost as long as the origins of the proselytizing religions themselves, and multi-faceted as well, the process is not reducible to a single set of explanations. There are those who look on these undoubted elements of shared culture as 'vestiges' from the Hindu past, implying that they do not have any function or meaning in the current community life of the converted. But the ethnography of such communities does not bear out this position. Then there are those who see India as essentially Hindu, with Christianity and Islam as foreign implants. Again, the living religious practices of these communities show a high embeddedness in indigenous culture, and hence it is undeniable that syncretism is a reality on the ground. Then there are those who argue that conversion brings about a definite change in religious and social practices, and it is important to focus on this and to look upon the converted community in its distinctiveness. Some approaches give primacy to the ideological reasons that push the converted to opt out of the hierarchical Hindu social order. The author of this book steadfastly maintains the position that there is cultural continuity as well as discontinuity between the two communities in Goa. Her approach is to study religion not as a theological abstraction, but in concrete practice, within the social universe of the villagers, which is defined by the boundaries of village, caste and kinship. Her effort is to track how meaning takes shape on the ground in everyday life. The author points out that the conversions to Christianity in the 19th and early 20th centuries often happened because communities of low social status wished to move out of the inequalitarian caste society, but that the earlier phase of conversions, in fact, often maintained and at times even buttressed caste hierarchy and perpetuated inequality among the converts.

In the chapter dealing with the socio-political context of conversion, a historical sketch is attempted of the Portuguese intervention in Goa, where about one third of the population is Catholic. Conversion to Christianity is inseparable from the Portuguese project of mercantile and military conquest, says the author. In the region of the 'Old Conquests' which were converted in the 16th century, conversion was much more strident, entire villages were converted, and social separation from the surrounding Hindu community was sharp. In the later period of the 'New Conquests', the proselytizing mood was quieter. Robinson details the destructive methods of conversion in the early period, which included penalties like the annexing of property for refusing to convert, the taking over of orphan Hindu children into Christianity, favouring the converted with jobs in administration, deception and manipulations, including feeding beef to the unsuspecting, thus rendering them outcaste and leaving them with no option but to convert. The attack on Hindu religious practices like idol worship was given teeth through the Inquisition, which was instituted in Goa in 1560 and completely withdrawn by 1812. A key strategy was through the mass conversion of *gauncars*, or the high caste rural landed elite. Yet, argues the author, the converted were not helpless, passive victims. The *gauncars* for example, did not merely convert for pragmatic reasons of preventing their property from being annexed. They also attempted to recapture their former power and privileges that successive Muslim rulers had taken away, by aligning themselves with the new rulers. The ferocity of the Portuguese attack was especially directed towards the Muslims. They needed the support of the Hindus, and conversion to Catholicism was seen as a route to achieve this. But the missionaries did nothing to erase the pre-existing hierarchies, in fact they buttressed the position of the converted *gauncars*. In some ways, there was also a convergence between caste society and Catholicism in the matter of retaining hierarchies, not so much in terms of purity-pollution beliefs, but in terms of social ranking. Thus there were both temporal and spiritual motivations on the part of the converts. Just as for the missionaries too, religious, economic and political motivations were part of one package deal. But Catholicism was not unable to adapt itself to local social needs. Eventually over the centuries, the missionaries did forge links with local practice. And the converts did adapt their new religion to their old beliefs, in a fair measure. The author thus ably argues against simplifying this process. The interaction between the converters and the converted was a complex one with many dimensions and the outcome, in the form of lived Christianity in Southern Goa reflects this intermingling of the two cultures.

How this interaction actually took shape in daily life is described in three chapters that deal with the village, its annual ritual cycle centering around the Igorichem fest, and life cycle rituals of birth, marriage and death. What the detailed and painstaking ethnography shows is that even though the ritual cycle of the Catholics came to revolve around the feasts of the Catholic

calendar, and the life cycle rituals followed the patterns and procedures prescribed by the Church, they have been, over the centuries, recast in ways that are analogous to festivals and rituals from the local Hindu calendar. Certain indigenous practices prohibited by the missionaries have got reworked into an acceptable format, i.e. through adaptation. While Hindu purity-pollution beliefs have been given up, associated ideas about social precedence, rank and privilege, as well as endogamy have been retained. On the whole, Catholics have not given up the indigenous socio-ritual practices, but maintained and adjusted them to the new faith. Converting communities do not abandon their old patterns abruptly, but integrate them with new beliefs, in a way that meets their current social needs.

The point worth noting is that despite, in this case, the violence of the original conversion, and despite conflicts and contestations, the process of integration of the converted with the indigenous culture has been, at a deeper level, harmonious. This is an important insight. But of course scholarly detail and a balanced perspective are not effective tools for convincing those who would use the past selectively for their current political agenda. Perhaps that battle has to be fought at another level.

A minor irritant, if one could call it that, of the book is that it does not forget that it is a revised Ph.D. thesis. A certain amount of tedious detail, a tendency to seek legitimacy through over-referencing, and an occasional lapse into a staccato and mechanical ethnographic format of the old style are permissible in a thesis, but have to be transcended in a book in the interests of readability and flow. As a contribution to the study of non-Hindu communities in India, this is a welcome publication. May we suggest to the author that the impact of Catholicism on the fabric of Goan society and culture as a whole is also not inconsiderable and worthy of scholarly investigation too, in the interests of demonstrating mutuality in processes of cultural exchange?

Kamala Ganesh

INDIA : BRITISH INDIAN CAMPAIGNS IN BRITAIN FOR INDIAN REFORMS, JUSTICE AND FREEDOM 1831-1947, KUSOOM VADGAMA Banyan Tree

publishing, London, 1997. Price not given.

Kusoom Vadgama is an optometrist who has pursued her great interest in Indian History for the last nearly 2 decades. She has written a book which has been very carefully researched and documented. The book is a valuable source material for the student of Indian history working on the contribution of the British and Indians in Britain to the cause of Indian nationalism.

The book is divided into 9 chapters with an introduction. The author

starts by giving a short account of how interest in India and Indian culture and civilisation emerged in England lending support to the Indian National Movement by sympathisers such as William Wedderburn, Bradlaugh, George Yule and Joshua Wedgewood. This led to the beginning of publicity for the national aspiration of Indians. On the Indian side, Dadabhai Naoroji, M. M. Bhavnagari and Shapur Saklatwala through their work as elected members of the House of Commons used all their skills in putting forth the Indian view point.

In the first chapter, she deals with parliamentary debates and public campaigns on India. Reports, debates and speeches are given in detail, bringing out the extent of support and otherwise to the Indian cause. It seems that any debate on India in the House of Commons caused the majority of members to fly from the House leaving discussions to be carried out by a few veterans interested in India, such as John Bright and Bradlaugh, which means that parliamentary activity did not much help the Indian cause. However, there were very strong and active groups of Indians and British who formed several organisations in support of India who led strong movements all over Britain in support of India's demand for national rights. The author has described the work of these organisations such as the Indian Reform Society, the Indian League, the Indian Home Rule League, the Indian Freedom Foundation amongst others. The most active was the British Committee of Indian National Congress which held some 30 meetings in 1890 alone, both in England and Scotland. In all the meetings held by these bodies, resolutions were passed in support of Indian aspirations and petitions were sent to the House of Commons, which helped to put pressure on the members to support the Indian cause. Detailed accounts of the meetings held in the Albert and Caxton Halls have been given. Most of the prominent Indian leaders visited England to help get support for the cause of Indian freedom. Delegations from the Indian National Congress which included Lokmanya Tilak, Annie Besant, Lala Lajpatrai and later Mahatma Gandhi and Sarojini Naidu were amongst those who addressed the British public.

Side by side with the meetings and lectures given by these organisations, we find a number of journals and weeklies published by Indian and British supporters. The first and most important journal was 'India' started in 1890. This was followed by 'Indianman' in 1914, 'Hind' in 1921 and the 'Indian Bulletin' in 1934. Ms. Vadgama has reproduced many articles in full, showing both support and opposition to India's cause in these journals. She goes on to describe Indian student activities in England in the major Universities such as Oxford and Cambridge, where budding young Indians put forth the cause to India through the Indian Majlis and the debating societies. Very interesting views were put forth and will be of great use to the historian. For instance, Mr. Jinnah in his talk in June, 1923 to the Indian Association

in London, started by Indian students, spoke of the need for all Indians to unite and admitted that non-co-operation had achieved great things. As she states, reported Indian issues in the Press had the advantage of being read by all English speaking nations of the world and had considerable impact on the formation of public opinion.

Ms. Vadgama devotes a chapter on the American support and sympathy for India created by the visit of Lala Lajpatrai and Swami Vivekanand amongst others. This led to the formation of the Indo-American Association which held their meetings in various parts of America. Reports of these meetings were published in the 'India'. She also traces the support given to the Indian sections of the Canadian public.

There is a detailed account given of the Round Table Conference and Mahatma Gandhi's reception in England. She has drawn attention to the recently opened Indian Political Intelligence files of the Scotland Yard and Metropolitan Police. For the first time, a number of so far unknown organisations and their India associated activities in Britain and America have come to light. She gives some indication of these contents particularly with reference to Mahatma Gandhi's activities in England.

In the final chapter, we find a record of British reaction to the granting of Independence to India from the London Times and other papers. The exhaustive reproduction of debates, articles, letters in the press, reports of meetings and organisations and the activities of India's supporters in England definitely adds to the sources available to the historian. An appendix gives short biographies of prominent Indians and British supporters of India's aspirations and again they are useful as a source for the historian.

Miss Vadgama has indeed added to the historical material of this period. The book is beautifully brought out on artpaper with a prolific number of photographs and sketches very attractively displayed. It is a pleasure to see such a book.

Mani Kamerkar

HOUSE AND HOME IN MAHARASHTRA, Ed. by IRINA GLUSHKOVA and ANNE FELDHAUS, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, Chennai, Mumbai: 1998 pp. 247, Rs. 450

This is a collection of papers presented at the Sixth International Conference on Maharashtra Culture and Society held in Moscow at the Centre for Indian Studies of the Institute of Orientology in May 1995. The papers presented on the theme of house and home explore the many faceted concept of 'ghar'

in Maharashtra. They bring out the social, cultural and historical life of the people of Maharashtra emanating from the centre of one's life, 'ghar'. In Marathi 'ghar' signifies 'house', 'home' and 'hearth.' It thus encompasses the many sided parameters of society: the economic, social, psychological, linguistic, religious and cultural. The papers presented cover most of these aspects and also bring out the interaction of 'ghar' with caste and class.

The book is divided into four sections, each dealing with a specific aspect of 'ghar', but all are interrelated. The first section deals with 'house and home' in a historical manner. Tatyana Elizarenkova discusses how 'house' and 'home' are viewed in the R̥gveda. She brings out the fact that the notion of 'house' in the R̥gveda is not strictly connected with a building but was perceived as a 'home.' She finds only one feature of the physical reality of a house, and that is 'dvara' (door). Victoria Vertogradova writes on 'Village, House and Women's Behaviour', in Ancient Maharashtra. Through the use of Prakrit poetry she has brought out the different levels of houses based on class/caste divisions. She is also able to analyse the different stages of girls'/women's world from premarital rites onwards.

The second section deals with women in their parents' homes and in their in-laws' houses. Many of the writers have particularly brought out the position of women, their many faceted roles viz. the 'ghar' and the power structure within and without the 'ghar.' Particular emphasis is placed on the opposite pulls of 'maher' (maternal home) and 'sasar' (marital home) in Anne Feldhaus' article 'God, Goddesses and the Domestic Realm in Maharashtra', and Meera Kosambi's narratives of women. Thomas Dhabri writes on the concept of Sasar-Maher in the abhangs of Tukaram and Indira Jhumbare brings out the cross-cultural comparisons of Sasar-Maher. They all bring out the longing of women to be surrounded by sisters and parents. Women, it seems, long for closeness to a loving and compassionate refuge, found usually in the Maher.

Other aspects of the 'ghar' are brought out in the section on Home and Household. James Laine discusses the meaning of Gruhastha in Maharashtra culture. With the use of classical Sanskrit Literature and later of Marathi literature, particularly the Bhakti literature, he comes to the conclusion that in the earlier period the householder was both worldly and accepted a religious obligation. In some cases the householder takes on the saint's model and the religious role of a householder supercedes the role of a householder. The four other writers in this section deal with various other aspects of men and women's relationship to their households and the importance of the domestic atmosphere in the social and cultural life of the individuals.

Section IV deals with 'Gods and Devotees at Home' and has four articles. Of particular interest is the description and meaning of the 'Devghar' in the

Maharashtrian home by Mahesh Elkunchwar. Another article adding to this theme is on home shrines of the Kokna tribe by Cornelia Mallebrein. Both bring out the importance of the family Gods and their role in keeping the family together and the obligations they impose. Elkunchwar points out the role of modernisation and the nuclear family in reducing the importance of the 'devghar', whereas Mallebrien describes the continuing close relationship between the tribal community and their Gods they keep in baskets in their 'devghars.' Her article has some fine photographs of these 'Gods' and interesting details about them.

This collection of articles makes a valuable contribution to the social anthropology of Maharashtra. It brings together history, sociology, religion and culture in describing and placing the role of home and house in Maharashtra.

Mani Kamerkar

DEVĪ : GODDESSES OF INDIA, Ed. by JOHN S. HAWLEY, and DONNA M. WULFF, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, 1998, pp. xiii+352, 1 Map, and 31 Black and White illustrations, Cloth Rs. 295, Paper Rs. 195

The book under review has a list of eminent contributors, each commenting on one facet of Devī. The book is divided into two parts - this first treating the Goddess as Supreme, and as a Spouse; the second part treats local goddesses eliciting pan-Hindu reverence. Two chapters, Coburn's Devī / The Great Goddess, and Kinsley's Kālī / Blood and Death Out of Place have already been published in another volume (The Divine Consort : Rādhā and the Goddesses of India) under the same editors. Hawley, in his Prologue comments on the sudden popularity gained by Santōṣī Mā, till she even took over the temples of some local goddesses, usurping their worship. He reasons that more than the gods, the goddesses are imbued with qualities which are tangible, and permeate the world around us. These are *prakṛti*, *māyā*, *bhū*, etc. Thus these goddesses answer to this universality of appeal, irrespective of location, and relate to the Great Goddess. But, it is seen that deities, irrespective of their gender, share not only attributes and weapons, but also abstract qualities. This can be seen on a perusal of the 108 or 1008 names of any deity used in worship. This merely indicates that at the transcendental level a deity is the Supreme Being and may be described by such qualitus. But to answer to the needs of devotees a particular form is taken with its peculiar weapons and attributes. Coburn (Devī / The Great Goddess) takes the *Devī Māhātmya* text as a watershed in the religious literature pertaining to the Goddess. In this text, Devī is *māyā*, *prakṛti*, etc., but she is equated to the Supreme Being. The Madhu-Kaitābha episode in the *Mahābhārata* is

associated with Viṣṇu. Here, it is only when Devī, by her grace, leaves Viṣṇu that he is able to destroy the demons. Again, the god Skanda is involved in killing Mahiṣa in the same epic, whereas here Devī kills him.

A new level of interpretation is given to the concept 'śakti' in the text. Śakti thought as power is Devī. She also brings out her own śakti, Caṇḍikā. Further down in the myth, all the śaktis (Mātr̥s) enter into Devī.

Coburn ideates a fresh thought that Devī's origin as narrated in the *Māhātmya* underlines her secular supremacy. She therefore is the only fit being to tackle the demon Mahiṣa.

The Goddess Vindhyavāsini (Vindhyavāsini / Local Goddess yet Great Goddess, Humes) has *Vindhya Māhātmya* as her *sthalapurāna*. But slowly this is being replaced by *Devi Māhātmya*. The people accept this change because, by this process, the local goddess gets universalised. Economic advantages are gained due to the place becoming an important pilgrim centre.

The strange attraction that the *mysterium tremendum* has, can be gauged by the treatment of the goddess Kālī by Kingsley (*Kālī / Blood and Death Out of Place*) and McDermott (*Epilogue / The Western Kālī*). Kingsley perceives that Kālī threatens order and stability. She is a constant reminder that life is often chaotic, in spite of feeble human attempts to bring a semblance of order into it.

McDermott (*Epilogue / The Western Kālī*) views Kālī against a western setting. That the goddess is found relevant in cultures far removed from that of her origin, reinforces our view of the multivalency of the goddess, and her symbolism. Her image is used therapeutically to channelise aggression and rage in patients, and for ritual meditation to fulfil certain desires.

Kālī's image is of the Great Mother, chthonic, and therefore a synthesis of bounty and death, fecundity and destruction, a generous mother and a vengeful demanding goddess. This idea pervades all cultures and areas of the Goddess cult, but undergoes transformations according to the local cultural demands, remaining basically unchanged. Thus it is difficult to understand the author's view that the malefic image of Kālī, and similar goddesses, resulted from the patriarchal influence (of the conquerors) acting on the indigenous goddesses of matriarchal (conquered) cultures. Questioning the correctness of interpretation by the Westerner of the Kālī image, McDermott asks, who can really interpret her correctly. All interpretations are 'correct' in so far as it satisfies the novice. This is Hinduism, and the secret of its perenniality. Narayanan (Śrī / Giver of Fortune, Bestower of Grace) explains the Viśiṣṭādvaitic concept of Śrī, who is never separated from Viṣṇu. She acts as the mediatrix, and with her compassion softens Viṣṇu's justice. Even though there are some local goddesses re-aligned to Śrī, and worshipped in separate shrines the

sthalapurāṇa will reiterate the goddess' inseparable relationship to Viṣṇu.

In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Rādhā does not find mention. Devotion to Kṛṣṇa is emphasised, and this is followed in Vaiṣṇava theology. Though Rūpa Gosvāmi follows this trend in his philosophy, his two plays (*Vidagdhamādhava* and *Lalitāmādhava*) advocate equal devotion to both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The *Kīrtans* in Bengali Brajbhuli also lay equal emphasis on both. Thus a marked difference exists between the Sanskritic and folk traditions in their advocacy of devotion, points out Wulff (Rādhā / Consort and Conqueror of Kṛṣṇa) Doniger (Saranyū / Saṁjñā. The Sun and the Shadow) sees many inversions and variations in the R̥g Vedic myth of Saranyū / Saṁjñā. Savarṇā is the surrogate mother for Saranyū's children. *Varṇa* in Savarṇā's name in the earlier source denoted class (as mortal / immortal), but in later developments of this myth, it came to mean colour. Savarṇā in still later mentions is called Chāyā, literally 'shadow', the connotation now becoming clear.

Saṁjñā's son Manu is the propogator of the human race, and thus Saṁjñā is the progenitrix. Since in the myth, Saṁjñā is not a real person, but only an image or an illusion, Doniger sees in this a religious statement of the Vedantic view that existence is an illusion.

The river Gaṅgā is inextricably woven into the texture of Hindu life. She is an indispensable part of any worship, and is herself worshipped as 'Mother', *Gaṅgā Māi* (Eck-The Goddess in Hindu Sacred Geography).

Possession by the Goddess is treated by two authors, Caldwell (Bhagavati / Ball of Fire), and Erndle (Śerānvālī / The Mother Who Possesses). Possession is seen as the throbbing presence of the goddess, experienced by her devotees as a proof of her immanence. Caldwell studies this phenomenon in the context of the *Mudiyettu* dance ritual in Kerala, while Erndle studies two women in Punjab. Caldwell concludes that the cathartic advantage derived from the ritual performance accrues only to the male members of the village. Sociologically, it is seen as of little value to the women.

Studying the folk tale in a village in Rajasthan, Harlan (Satī / The Story of Godāvarī) finds the villagers dissuading a woman from committing *satī*, as against the popular belief that a widow is pushed onto her husband's pyre, against her will. The 'sat', that is, the inherent goodness in the woman impels her to become a *satī*. This ideal attitude is never present in real life situations.

The chapter on Bhārat Mātā (Bhārat Mātā / Mother India and Her Militant Patriots by McKean), studies one temple in the holy city of Hardwar built by Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) activists. The VHP has used the mother goddess motif to concretise Bhārat Mātā as a goddess. The author sees Freudian Oedipal Complex in the situation where the devotees are Bhārat Mātā's children,

and they would not hesitate to commit patricide, against their father, seen as the Muslims / the secular state. Hence she has coined the new term 'matriots.'

The goddess motif is so rich that it has elicited such widely different comments on her various facets in this book. It is indeed a rhapsody of the Goddess with 'so many happily discordant notes' (Hawley, p. 26) and, '... a fitting reminder of the varied ways that Devī has seized the human imagination, whether devotional or academic...' (Coburn, p. 44). Our assessment should be tempered with insight into the real situations in India. We need not belabour Western yardsticks of gender bias, etc., to suit Indian situations. In real life there may be as many cases of freedom for women as there are of suppression. This need not lead us to make quick generalisations (cf. Narayanan : Śrī, p. 108, f.n.43). All in all, this book cannot be read 'in a few minutes', as the Prologue says. It is a thought-provoking anthology and a fitting follow-up to the editors' earlier volume.

Indira S. Aiyar

RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS AT VIJAYANAGARA AS REVEALED THROUGH ITS MONUMENTS, ANILA VERGHESE, Manohar, American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 1995, pp xiii + 285, 21 Figures + 59 Black and White Plates; 25 Maps; Series Price Rs. 750

The Vijayanagara Kingdom's history has been covered by many foreign (European and Muslim) travellers, as eye-witness accounts. Eminent Indian historians relied heavily on these sources to write their accounts of the kingdom. The author of the book under review rightly perceives that though the foreigners' accounts may be accurate on many fronts, their understanding of Hindu culture and religion would necessarily be biased, and they would view our custom as outlandish. Thus the later historical accounts based on these would also not present an objective view.

Vergheese supports her choice of monuments (that is, temples and epigraphy) as the source of information of her book, because they present an account not coloured by outsiders. They would of course be glorifying or justifying an action of royalty, but would remain true to the spirit of the intentions of its patron. Since the subject of the book is religious traditions, the author has at her disposal an enormous amount of lithic material right at the site. Her field survey shows that there are 350 sites of temples, or their ruins. She has used literature of the period sparingly, only to corroborate her findings, wherever necessary.

There are two styles of temples seen in the area—the Karnāṭaka style which is of a simple pattern, and the more complex Tamiḷ style. As rituals got elaborated a larger temple complex was required, and the Cola style fulfilled the need. Thus the Tamiḷ pattern soon displaced the earlier style.

The three dynasties which ruled Vijayanagara were the Saṅgamas, the Sāḷuvas, and the Tuḷuvas. Amongst these, the two very great rulers were Devaraya II (of the Saṅgamas) and Krishnadevaraya (of the Tuḷuvas). Both were scholars, patrons of arts and literature, and strengthened their kingdom. Krishnadevaraya built many new temples, and enlarged existing ones. He has also authored a Telugu work. He was brilliant in politics, expanding his kingdom, and keeping the Muslims under check.

For the sake of convenience in documenting the temple and other sites, Anila Verghese has divided the area of the city; (to which this study is primarily confined), into five functional zones : the Sacred Centre with the largest temple complexes of the city, the intermediate Irrigated Valley; the Urban Core containing a concentration of the population; the Royal Core, or the Palace Zone contained in the previous area; and still beyond, the sub-urban area containing remains of a few temples. The maps of detailed sections of the city, as well as the layouts of the temple complexes add greatly to the interest of the text.

Leading us from a period just prior to the Vijayanagara kingdom, the author in her introductory chapter gives a background of its history, religion, and archaeology. As seen from the monuments, there are detailed accounts of the many cults prevailing in the kingdom, in the ensuing chapters (chapters 2-6). Śaivism was popular in this area even prior to the Vijayanagara kingdom. During and after this period also it continued in its popularity. Virūpākṣa, a form of Śiva has enjoyed continued worship, right upto the present. The Saṅgama rulers placed their realm under the protection of this deity. But this changed under the last Sāḷuva king, and all the Tuḷuva kings. The worship of Viṭṭala outshone that of Virūpākṣa. There is even an interesting anecdote in the Viraśaiva literature that the eclipsed god Virūpākṣa, angry at the neglect in his worship brought the downfall of the kingdom !

Hindu kings were the representatives of God on earth, and were empowered with divinity. They maintained social order and were responsible for fertility and prosperity. Their secular leadership was reinforced by religious activity. Thus the kings of Vijayanagara celebrated festivals on a lavish scale, the most important being of course the *Mahānavami / Vijayādaśami pūjā* (Chapter 8). One is struck by the startling similarity to the ancient Egypt's Pharaohs, who also ruled their kingdom by *dharma* (Ma'at). They erected grand temples, celebrated festivals, and by their ritual activities increased the fertility and prosperity in their realm. In the Hindu kingdom, the royal involvement in religious festivals resulted in employment to thousands of skilled labourers. It gave

a fillip to dance and music. This era was a watershed in the evolution of South Indian fine arts.

We have always been told of Vidyāranya's help to the brothers Harihara and Bukka in establishing the Vijayanagara kingdom, maintaining it as a bulwark of Hinduism, and spreading Hindu dharma all over the South. This has come under fire from recent scholarship. No doubt Vidyāranya and the Śringerī *matha* rendered invaluable services in strengthening Hinduism. Harihara I ruled from the city Anegondi. It was Bukka I who shifted his capital to Hosapattana (New City), which was later called Vijayanagara (City of Victory). Harihara II gave large endowments to the Śringerī *matha* and it rose to prominence. It is surmised that the importance given to the *matha* was to offset the prominence of Vaiṣṇavism which enjoyed support by the Tuluva kings. Be that as it may, mathas even during the Pallava and Coḷa reigns were important centres of learning. They disseminated knowledge similar to the *āśramas* of the Upaniṣadic period. They were usually attached to a temple and the head of the *matha* helped in the temple administration. The *mathas* were not only seats of higher learning, but popularised religion amongst the masses by holding religious discourses. They helped spread the Bhakti movement. Vijayanagara was no exception to this, and there existed a symbiotic relationship between the king and the *mathādhipatis*.

Religious tolerance found in this kingdom is truly astonishing. Foreign visitors repeatedly and admiringly underscore this fact. There was absolutely no restriction placed on anybody to practise his creed. On the other hand, royalty often extended a protective hand over other creeds, and lent active support to them. Jaina places of worship were richly endowed by royalty. Muslims were employed in the army and were given permission to build mosques. In fact, they were even allowed to slaughter cows within a restricted area.

Kings meticulously tried to keep Vijayanagara a centre where different creeds could peacefully coexist, and people could live together in religious harmony. As for the different sects in Hinduism itself, all temples were equally well endowed by royal grants. Icons from other parts of the kingdom, and even from outside the kingdom were brought in and set up in worship. Human nature being what it is, there had been dissensions amongst the Hindu creeds. But the kings had always intervened, and settled the disputes amicably. This eclecticism of the kings is brought out by the author, through the inscriptions.

After the battle of Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi (Talikota, as it is popularly known) in 1565 A.D., the kingdom was robbed systematically by bands of robbers. It was later plundered by the Deccan armies. Still, the city was not destroyed. What was left was robbed and destroyed by spoilers and looters. The conflict between the kingdom and the Muslims was purely political, and not religious,

the author concludes. In the present political milieu, we could take a leaf out of this history of the great 'Hindu' kingdom, and learn to nurture religious tolerance. Religion is a sensitive issue, and is used to whip up social unrest by politicians with narrow personal end. It is heartening to learn about the famed Indian tolerance as it existed in the Hindu Kingdom.

This is a very well brought out book, with the section of the text supported by the illustrations and maps. There are two Appendices. Appendix A lists the royal grants to temples, with the inscriptional data; Appendix B gives a preliminary list of the monuments in the 'Sacred Centre' and the 'Irrigated Valley'. This book does fill a lacuna in the earlier accounts of the kingdom, and thus serves a very useful purpose.

Indira S. Aiyar

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES (Literary and Performing Arts, Prakrit and Apabhramśa Studies) Volume 2, H.C. BHAYANI, published by Parshva Publication, Nisha Pole Naka, Jhaverivad, Relief Road, Ahmedabad - 380001, 1998, pp. 243, Rs. 250

Dr. H.C. Bhayani (Bhayani) is one of the topmost indologists in the country today. His first volume of *Indological Studies* was published in 1993. Now, the second volume is being presented to the world of Indological students. It contains Bhayani's research papers and notes relating to Prakrit, Apabhramśa, Gujarati, etc. They deal mostly with some historical problems, Lexicological and exegetical matter and etymologies, and were published during the long period of 1945 to 1997. A Few of the notes are translated from Gujarati. The paper, The Prakrit of the Early Jain Canonical Commentaries aims at demonstrating how for the history of the Prakrit language, the early Stratum of commentaries on the Jain Canon can provide us with quite valuable data. In his paper on The Prakrit of the *Nānaparīcamīkahā* Bhayani observes that the flexibility of the language of Jain Prakrit works imparts them a sort of fresh and living touch which is generally missed in other Prakrit works. Of all the papers his paper on the sources of Prakrit illustrations of Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar is most outstanding. It attests to his profound scholarship, diligence, industry and careful application to his chosen work. His three papers relating to Apabhramśa language along with his small book *Apabhramśa Language and Literature*, B.L. Institute of Indology, Delhi, 1989, constitute his invaluable contribution to Apabhramśa Studies.

His note on interpretation of some passages of *Gauḍavaḥo* deserves our

special attention. His writes : "N.G.Suru has rendered a great service to the students of Prakrit Literature by giving a careful English translation along with explanatory notes, of the highly important but equally difficult *mahākāvya*, the Gaṇḍavaho of Vākpatirāja written about 730 A.C." He then discusses interpretation of eight of its verses and offers alternative renderings which are at once appropriate and convincing. Reader's attention may here be drawn to p. 142. (8) v. 495. "The sense of the verse is not correctly grasped by Suru. Goūra - Gopura means 'the city gate', no 'balcony'. Nīsāmaṇṇa means 'unique', not 'generality'. *Parihā* = Parikhā means 'moat' (around the city), not 'rampart'..."

In a brief review it is not possible to dwell on the merits of each and every paper. So also there are many interesting notes on various words from some Prakrit and Sanskrit Texts. By way of example we may here refer to two or three such notes:

(1) 'Caitya' (pp. 186-87) - "In Prakrit Caitya (*ceia*) is widely used in the sense of a temple in general. But Hemacandra notes in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* that 'caitya' and 'vihāra' signify a Jain temple. Now this is a quite significant change of meaning when we consider that this meaning developed possibly after the disappearance of Buddhism from India."

(2) 'Bhadanta' (pp. 206-207) : In Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* the expression 'bhadraṃ te' occurs as a formula of blessing, of averting evil or formal greeting... Bhadanta is quite well known in Pāli as a term of respectable address or adjective with respect to Buddhist mendicant, monk, etc. Its contracted form 'bharṇte' (for bhaddarṇte) is frequently used similarly in the Jain Āgamaṣ...The address thereby expresses his or her reverence and good wishes : 'Bless you!', 'Let no evil visit you'.

(3) 'Paraḍī' : upper garment (pp. 197-199). V.238 in Hāla's *Saptaśataka* in translation means : "The farmer buys a bull in exchange of his upper garment during the month of Māgha, keeping in view the breasts of his charming young wife that were veritable smokeless fire of rice-husks."

Bhayani examines the occurrence of the Prakrit word in the various *gāthās* cited by the various *ālarṅkārikas* and concludes that the correct form of the word is 'pāraḍī' derived from the Sanskrit word 'prāvāra' (p. 198).

One regrets this otherwise excellent work is disfigured by misprints. Scholars of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa would congratulate, with the reviewer, Bhayani for making these research papers and notes easily accessible by collecting them in this volume.

DURGĀ AS MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, A DYNAMIC MYTH OF GODDESS,

INDIRA AIYAR, Gyan Publication, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 350 + 47, Rs. 780

The cult of the Great Goddess goes back to the earliest Palaeolithic times. India is the only civilisation where the worship of the Mother goddess has an unbroken history. The pastoral Aryans extolled her as Mahiṣasuramardini, the Buffalo Trampler. The Devī Māhātmya, a part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* studied independently, eulogises her in this role. Indira Aiyar's book looks into the mythic aspect of this episode, hitherto unexplored. The present volume was originally presented to the Bombay University for the doctoral dissertation.

This book is divided into five chapters. The first chapter, entitled Study of Myth and its Meaning, is an in-depth study of a myth : its origin, characteristics, functions, development and transformation. Western scholarship on myth and its meaning is succinctly presented; from Malinowski and his functionalist theory to Levi-Strauss and his structuralist approach without overlooking Jungian archetypes. With this background, the author moves on to study the chosen myth of Durgā as Mahiṣasuramardini.

For a better understanding of the Devī myth, the origin and spread of the Devī cult is undertaken in the second chapter entitled, The Cult of the Mother Goddess (origin and diffusion). From the Palaeolithic period to be the Indus Valley culture period, the archaeological remains are a veritable goldmine of information. The origin of the cult is attested to the Southern Steppes of Russia and the area of diffusion is the Fertile Crescent, from Crete and Anatolia to the land between the Euphrates and the Tigris bounded on the North by the Caucasus. The period of its development was from the Neolithic to the Christian era. Of the Palaeolithic period we have ochre washed figurines of the female form with explicit delineation of exaggerated maternal organs. Funerary, fertility and mystery cults as well as Sumerian, Minoan and Mycenaean Goddesses are carefully examined. With the development of agriculture women came to hold important positions. The Earth mother was understood as the source of all life and death. Kingship itself was connected with the goddess cult and it was the throne Goddess who was considered to confer royalty on the kings. Closer to home, the symbolic yoni stones and seals of the Harappan culture attest a deep-rooted goddess cult.

The third chapter examines the Vedic period. The Great Goddess is necessarily ambivalent; she is the benevolent Aditi and the malevolent Nirrti as is seen in the early Vedic religion. What follows is a brief description of each of the various goddesses of the period including the lesser known ones like Bhārati, Ilā, Sinivālī, Anumati, Hri, Puṣṭi, Bhūti, Sitā, Māyā, Umā, Rātri and śaci. This is then explored in the socio-historical context when man evolved from the food gatherer to the cultivator. The Great Goddess,

who was now perceived as the maternal principle of nature, giving life to the flocks and mankind grew in prestige. Inter-marriage brought indigenous brides with their own faith and the Aryans were drawn to this icon-worshipping cult which was infinitely more appealing than a grand yajña. Women in this society enjoyed a high status: they had equal rights to education and property, participated in rituals and economic activities. However with the Brāhmaṇas the position of women gradually declined. With foreign invasions between 200 B.C. and 300 A.D. women were reduced to subjugation and effacement. Interestingly a religious change in the the position of the Goddess cult seems to echo the altered status of women.

The fourth chapter entitled the Mātṛs and Kālī, the author traces the origins of these goddesses and studies their development through literature and philosophy. One of the important features of the goddess cult in India is the wide diffusion of the cult of groups of goddesses or Mātṛs. Usually seven in number they are never worshipped individually. They are goddesses without husbands and are analogous to the Dravidian village goddesses. Kālī, the Terrible Mother, personifies the fiercer aspect of the Great Goddess. Kālī comes from the Sanskrit root "to rotate " or "to turn around." Thus she came to stand for eternal time and therefore annihilation. In the latter half of the chapter the mother-goddess-devotee relationship is both psychogenically and sociogenically with insights from Freud and Jung.

Chapter five, Durgā – The Great Goddess is an exhaustive study of Durgā who when she is compounded with Kālī becomes the Great Goddess and crystallises into Maḥiṣāsūramardīnī. The origin of Durgā, her various names and their development through the Epic, Purāṇas and Buddhist Jātakas have been minutely researched . Once again a socio-historical background as well as an Indo-European perspective makes this chapter a most enlightening one. The myth of Maḥiṣāsūramardīnī, Asuras, their origin and later development and the symbolism in iconographic representations are carefully examined to bring out thier polyvalence.

This book which begins with symbolism in myths ends with symbolism in iconography. Iconography is indeed the concretization of myth. An extensive bibliography, which follows, will be greatly useful to serious students of early Indian religious history.

One of the most commendable aspects of this piece of brilliant research is that it is eminently readable. The language is simple, the ideas clear and the presentation pleasing.

Vidya Vencatesan

DEVALA SMṚTI - RECONSTRUCTION AND A CRITICAL STUDY - (INTRODUCTION AND TEXT), Vol. I and Vol. II by Dr. M.L. WADEKAR, published by Koshal Book Depot, Delhi, 1996 and 1997, pp. 1-351 and 1-337. Price Rs. 480 and Rs. 400

Dr. Wadekar's attempt at reconstruction of the lost Devala Smṛti is certainly laudable particularly against the background of the incomplete, and futile attempts of other scholars like S.C. Banerji and Pandita Udaya Vīra Śāstrī. In the matter of reconstruction of the lost texts, Dr. Wadekar has followed the model laid down by P.V. Kane and K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar and others.

As regards the contents of the first Volume, it must be stated here that Wadekar has exhaustively discussed the bio-data of the Smṛtikāra Devala, necessity of reconstruction of the text of the Devala Smṛti, General information of the Smṛtis and the causes for the extinction of the smṛtis and the methodology of reconstruction. Further, the text of the Devala Smṛti is arranged under the four heads of Ācāra- Adhyāya pp. 1-207, Vyavahāra Adhyāya pp. 208 - 214, Prāyaścitta Adhyāya pp. 223 -294 and Pariśiṣṭam - Devaloktam Jyotiṣam - including the Saṁskārah, Kṛṣṇiḥ, Grahācāra and Ariṣṭahāni pp. 320-329 and the Bibliography pp. 331 -357.

So far as the second volume is concerned, Wadekar has discussed in all seven chapters, reconstructed text-out-line, reconstructed text-date, reconstructed text-region of its origin, text summary of the reconstructed text, the distinctive features of the text under the religious features, sacramental features, ritualistic features, expiatory features, social features and legal features. He has further discussed Devala's philosophical speculations, his indebtedness to Sāṁkhya and Yoga and the Relevance of the present text in the modern age. He has devoted one more section as an appendix for Authors and Works mentioned in the text, Mantras quoted and indicated in the text, place names occurring in the text, three more articles on Devala- A forgotten Authority on Jyotiṣa, the unnoticed Devala exposition of comets and additional verses ascribed to Devala in the Yatidharmasamuccaya of Yādava Prakāśa, and lastly the index of verses. At the end, he has given General Index to both the volumes and Bibliography.

As regards the treatment given by Wadekar to the subject, it must be stated here that it is very exhaustive, thorough and systematic. He has also adopted the comparative outlook in respect of the views of Manu, Yājñavalkya and Devala.

Wadekar has fixed the probable date of the Devala Smṛti as not later than 200 A.D. He has also thrown light on the personality of Devala as a Brahmvādin, philosopher, Yogin, Jyotiṣa and his acquaintance with the Caraka and Śilpa Śātra. He has also added that the present reconstructed

text indicates three different strata from the 1st century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. In these strata, there is the inclusion of matter of Śūdras, Smṛtis and Vratas from the Purāṇa. Wadekar has also explained the ten impediments in the Yoga p.163, shown 11 respectable persons according to Devala pp.29 - 30, and simple and practical explanations of Yogic terms on the part of Devala. He has also brought to light the priority of Devala to the Sāṅkhyakārikā p. 172 and the Vedānta influence on Devala p.171.

Some of the novel views of Devala particularly in comparison with the views of the other Smṛtikāras deserve special notice here :-

1) When, however, the adequate number of brāhmaṇas is not available, and it is impossible for a person to perform the Śrāddha in its fullness, Devala has given seven substitutes for which attention may be drawn to the Volume II p.50. But it may be noted in this context that in Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra*, there is no place for this point.

2) As regards the number of Yajñopavītas to be used by a person, Devala goes to the extent of suggesting the number from 1 to five, as is clear from the discussion in the Devala Smṛti Vol II p.61.

3) Devala gives consolation to a sonless person. He does not agree with other Smṛtikāras that a person, without having a son, goes to hell. From the discussion in the Devala Smṛti Vol. II, pp. 37-38, it becomes clear that if a person properly brings up his daughter and gives her in marriage, he does not go to hell.

4) As regards the consanguinity (sāpiṇḍya), the general view is that one should not marry a girl falling within 5 degrees on mother's side and 7 degrees on father's side. Devala has a special view. If a girl of proximate relation is to be married, at least she should be beyond three degrees from father's and mother's side.

5) On theft Devala has a novel view. Devala holds that the stealing of the books, manuscripts, cover, holder, wrapper etc. becomes very sinful. Such a person committing the theft of the writing material becomes completely dumb on this earth. (Vol. II, p.99)

6) As regards Bhrūṇa, Devala has a special view that is reflected in the passage No.1541 quoted on p. 209 of the first volume. When a small child, holding a weapon in the hands, comes to attack a person, one who kills such a child does not become a killer of a child but by not killing such child, he becomes a killer of a child. For the different meanings of Bhrūṇa, attention is drawn to the discussion of the present reviewer in 'A peep at Indology' p. 32, D.K. printworld, Delhi, 1994.

7) The Dharma-Śāstra authors accept *gurutaḥpagamana* as a great sin.

By the word Guru, Devala includes 11 persons such as Upādhyāya, father, eldest brother, king, maternal uncle, father-in-law, protector, maternal grand-father and paternal grand-father, senior-most in the caste and uncle. Devala holds (Vol. I passage No. 10, page No. 2) that cohabiting with the wife of the above mentioned 11 persons is a great sin. Devala's interpretation of the word 'Guru' as inclusive of eleven persons is perhaps the widest interpretation of the term.

8) The Devala Smṛti is composed in Northern India and probably in the Sindha country as pointed out by Wadekar. The Social importance of this smṛti lies in re-admitting into the Hindu fold the persons who are converted to other faiths. Compared to Kane's treatment of this point Wadekar's treatment is rather meagre. But he has done more justice to this topic by contributing a paper on this aspect of re-admittance to the Journal of the Oriental Studies of Aligarh University, Vol.V. Nos. 1-2, 1988 pp. 159 -161. Here he has given the chart of the expiations as per duration of stay, and act. This will have to be considered as an improvement upon Dr. Kane's treatment in the History of Dharma- Śāstra.

Coming to the identification of the places mentioned in the Devala Smṛti Vol. I pp. 210-218, one will have to say that Wadekar has shown his interest in the Geography of India. Though Dr. Wadekar has made the best use of the material available in the fourth volume of Kane's monumental *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, he has not stated the chapters and verses given by Kane. Here one is almost tempted to say that he had an opportunity to use those figures . He could have compressed the matter from it. At one place his information on Malahārī Vol. II p. 213 is not found in Kane's work. But his treatment of the place Prthūdaka is complementary to the matter of Kane. Here one will have to remember that Kane's treatment of this topic is very exhaustive, methodical and systematic. Further, for the Āditya Tirthas and Lohita, Wadekar has, not at all utilised the matter from Kane's work.

As regards the Bibliography given in both the volumes, it must be stated that Dr. Wadekar has consulted a large number of books and naturally one will not be justified in expecting him to consult more works. The novel feature of the bibliography is that he has consulted the manuscripts in the Oriental Institute of Baroda, for the purpose of reconstruction of the Devala Smṛti.

Dr.Wadekar deserves credit for collecting about 2,500 passages ascribed to Devala scattered in the vast Dharma Śāstra literature. The present reviewer, however has come across three places which are not found in collection of the quotations from Devala in the reconstructed text.

1) Sarvajñanārāyaṇa in his commentary on the Manu-Smṛti III. 37 quotes a line from Devala which runs as follows :-

दातुः प्रतिग्रहीतुश्च पुनात्यासप्तमं कुल' मिति ।

2) In Kullükabhāṭṭa's *Śrāddha-sāgara* the following line occurs (on page No. 108) :

'आनन्त्याय भवेत् श्राद्धम् ।'

In the Vidyāmādhaviya Vol. III p.65, there is stanza quoted from the astrological quotations of Devala on the point of bad *tithis* on which one should not undertake any journey. This stanza runs as follows :-

'शुक्लपक्षे प्रतिपदि पञ्चदश्यां तथैव च ।
न याति यातः स्वगृहं वित्तनाशं तथाऽऽनुते ।'

This work is published by Mysore University - 1926. It would be out of place in this review to draw Dr. Wadekar's attention to the two learned papers of Prof. Lallanji Gopal on 'Asita Devala in the Śānti Parva of the *Mahābhārata*' published in the Journal of the A.B.O.R.I., Vol. No. LXVIII for 1987 (150th Birth anniversary volume of R. G. Bhandarkar) pp. 245-267 and his another paper 'Was there a Devala Dharma Sūtra?' published in the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Vol. XXXVII pp. 189-197. One would like to know his reactions on these two papers of Lallanji Gopal.

Finally, I close this review by congratulating Dr. Wadekar from the bottom of my heart, for his excellent presentation of the reconstructed text of Devala-Smṛti and his treatment to the topics, fulfilling the dream of Kane, also serving as a model for the new students of Dharma Śāstra. Students of Dharma Śāstra will remain indebted to Dr. Wadekar for his sincere service to the cause of Sanskrit learning in general and Dharma Śāstra in particular.

S. G. MOGHE

BRAHMA-VĀDA (Doctrine of Śrī Vallabhācārya), G. V. TAGARE, Foreword by GOSWAMY SHYAM MANOHAR, D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd. New Delhi. 1998. pp. 120 + xiii. Rs. 170.

The book 'Brahma-Vāda has a foreword by Goswamy Shyam Manohar, a descendant of Vallabha Sampradāya. As the title suggests, the book aims at giving a broad outline of philosophy of Śuddhādvaita of Śrī Vallabhācārya. The book consists of 9 chapters and two appendices. Out of these 9 chapters, first four chapters deal with the general historical sketch of Indian philosophical thought, life sketch of Vallabhācārya, pre-Brahma-Sūtra teachers, and pre-Vallabha Vedānta.

Chapter five onwards the important doctrines of Vallabha Vedānta are discussed. They are namely 'The Concept of Deity', 'The Concept of Akṣara

Brahman', 'The Individual Soul (jīvātman)', 'The Jagat (world)', and 'Epilogue'. These chapters give a very authentic information of important tenets of Vallabha Vedānta. It mentions original verses from Tattvārtha-Dīpa-Nibandha, Aṅu Bhāṣya on Brahma-Sūtra, etc. Yet one constantly feels that the author just mentions the important topics of Śuddhādvaita and does not elaborate them e.g. while discussing the concepts of Deity (chapter 5) he refers to Vallabha's views on *pramāṇas*. While referring to *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as a separate Śabda pramāṇa he writes, "In case of Bhp, Vallabhācārya regards that only the meditational part (Samādhi bhāṣā) of Vyāsa, should be regarded as authoritative. Further he writes," by *samādhi bhāṣa* of Vyāsa Vallabhācārya means what Vyāsa expressed after experiencing it while in a trance (Samādhi) or philosophical verse." He does not elaborate it any further. He should have written at least some details about the important status of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, as it is not accepted as *pramāṇa* by any other school of Indian Philosophy. The concept of Akṣara Brahman, is also explained in a very brief way. He enumerates 11 epithets of Akṣara Brahman, and also gives references from Brahma Sūtras (3 ref. in all) to support some of the epithets of Akṣara Brahman. While writing about further details of the concept he gives a comparative account by distinguishing it from other Vedānta schools. Though it is relevant, yet one feels that more place should have been given to Vallabha Vedānta itself rather than its comparative account.

It is in the 7th chapter on "The Individual Soul' (jīvātman), the author has avoided the temptation to give a comparative picture and has given more space for positive account of Vallabha Vedānta. It not only mentions the atomic nature of soul but also gives reasons to accept the doctrine. In this chapter all important aspects are covered in a satisfactory way and one feels that one is consistently reading something about Vallabha Vedānta without comparing it with anyone else.

The account given about *jagat* covers only four pages. It is too small to be called a chapter. It discusses Brahman as the material cause of the world and mentions *abhinna-nimittopādānakāraṇa*. But a very important contribution of Vallabha Vedānta i.e. its unique theory of causation viz. *avikṛta pariṇāma vāda* is neither mentioned nor elaborated. The glossary includes the terms *avikṛta pariṇāma vāda*, *āvīrbhāva* and *tīrobhāva*, but the chapter does not. A somewhat detailed discussion of these concepts would have been a relevant addition to the chapter. Chapter nine is 'epilogue' which summarizes the importance of Vallabha Vedānta.

Chapter 1 to 4 cover the background of Vallabha Vedānta. First chapter presents a life sketch of Vallabhācārya which consists of six pages and is of historical importance. Chapter 2 deals with a wide canvas of Indian philosophy from Vedas to Brahmaśūtras. Even though the title gives us the impression that the main focus would be on Vedic philosophy, the chapter also refers

to Śaiva monist and dualist schools. But here also the information given is too brief to do justice with the wide canvas of Indian Philosophy. In this chapter philosophical concepts are used in a confusing way. Eg. on p. 13 Divinity is referred to as He or It, and further stated that Sāṃkhya do not accept 'His' existence. The next few lines refer to 'Some *para-tattva*. Two or three lines after this some odd concept 'ITNESS of some such Thing' is used. It is very difficult to understand its meaning and what adds to the confusion is the interrelation between He/It/Some parattva / 'ITNESS of some such thing' etc.

In the same chapter on p 15 at the end of the 1st paragraph it is said that antagonism between Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva is baseless and unscientific. It is very difficult to understand as how a religio-philosophical antagonism can be scientific or unscientific. The areas covered by religio-philosophy and science are radically different. Similarly nothing is stated to support as to why or how the antagonism is baseless.

Chapter 3 is about pre-Brahmasūtra teachers. It tries to co-relate pre-Brahmasūtra philosophy and philosophy of Vallabha Vedānta. It also gives a comparative picture from the view point of other Vedānta schools. The information given is relevant, important but again is too brief.

Chapter 4 is about 'Pre-Vallabha Vedānta Thought'. It includes Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara, Bhāskara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīpati Paṇḍit. It also refers to 'Vallabhācārya's views' (p 47). The chapter is useful as the notes refer to original works of pre-Vallabha Vedantic thinkers.

If the book is read from chap. 5 to 8 it gives too brief, yet authentic information about tenets of Vallabha Vedānta (along with original Sanskrit verses). If chapter 2 to 4 were also directly about tenets of Vallabha Vedānta, like the very important doctrine of *pusti*, they would have formed a real substantive part of the subject under study.

Shubhada Joshi

VATAKKUNATHAN TEMPLE COMPLEX, TRICHUR, VIJAYARAGHAVAN S. NAYAR, Mumbai, 1998, pp.167, Pls. 102, Price Rs. 300

This book is the updated version of the study of Vatakkunathan temple complex, Trichur, a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Pune in 1979 by my friend Vijayaraghavan S. Nayar.

The book deals in six chapters, historical background, architecture of the Vatakkunathan temple complex, stone sculpture, paintings, wood carvings,

and temple administration. He has also added glossary of architectural terms and bibliography. However, there is no index.

The historical background covers the phase of Kulasekhara Perumal (800-820 A.D.) to modern phase. Architecture of the temple complex deals with the main temple of Vatakkunathan and other subsidiary shrines. The sculpture section besides dealing with usual Brahmanical gods and goddesses covers some unusual sculptures like Vettakaran, Simhodaran, and Śāstā or Ayyappan. Besides some important gods and goddesses the paintings include Bhīṣma on bed of arrows and battle scenes from the *Mahābhārata*. Of particular interest is the scene of Vāsukī Śayana which is unusual and rare. A number of wood carvings, portraying sexual acts, form a significant part of the tradition of this temple complex. These include representations of 'puruṣāyitam', 'cunnilingus', fellatio or orgies of different types. The presence of devadāsī system as mentioned in the lithic records adds further spice to the fare that the temple presents. The extant stone inscriptions throw a good deal of light on the temple administration.

Dr. Nayar deserves our compliments for throwing light on this lesser known temple complex with good number of illustrations and relevant data.

Unfortunately, the illustrations are printed on poor quality paper which diminishes the value of the publication. It is hoped that in the next edition of the book a good quality art paper will be used. The proof reading of the publication is not done with proper care. As a result a number of misprints have crept in. The diacritical marks also should have been used more meticulously. A research publication like this ought to have been provided with a useful index.

B. V. Shetti

SCULPTURE AT VIJAYANAGARA, ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE, ANNA L. DALLAPICCOLA and ANILA VERGHESE, Manohar, American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 1998. Price : Rs. 1100

Sixth in the Vijayanagara Research Project Monograph Series, *Sculpture at Vijayanagara* should be viewed in the context of the entire, remarkable, nearly two decades of in-depth study at the Vijayanagara site. In the early eighties, that intrepid innovator, architectural historian George Michell prepared a long-term plan for the study of Vijayanagara society in all its multi-aspected dimensions. The dream and the concept has become an ever burgeoning reality. Superb organizer, Michell's modus vivendi is unique in the annals of the documentation of India's past.

In those early years, he invited up to thirty professionals : architects, photographers, anthropologists (including the current director, John Fritz) and students of ancient Indian culture for annual four months' camps at the site. Under his direction they worked as a team of disinterested researches, with no motive other than the satisfactions inherent in the search for knowledge. Students were enthusiastically invited to learn and participate. Throughout these years, Michell overcame all manner of problems - bureaucratic obstructions, financial difficulties, emergencies, not to mention the diverse physical discomforts. Soon a permanent, vigorous team of other Vijayanagara scholars, including the authors of this monograph, joined the project.

Urban planning, ceramics and prehistory, chronology, religious affiliations, temple building, and dynastic histories have been among the main pre-occupations of the researchers, but scant attention has been accorded to the sculpture *per se*. Now Dallapiccola and Verghese have taken upon their broad scholarly shoulders the task of shedding more detailed light on what until now had been considered to be of lesser importance by earlier scholars, who often had only brief photographic encounters with the subject.

Because the authors are art *historians*, the emphasis is not on aesthetics or artistic concerns of the artist but on the contextual ones of their field. Only the first two chapters deal with style analysis. In contrast to their predecessors, they do believe that the 'now aesthetic', concentrating on 'movement', 'expression', 'imagination', or 'empathy, is of 'seminal importance', and that there are some 'exquisite' and 'sophisticated' carvings. Yet they also admit that 'sculpture at the capital never achieved (such) a high quality' among other reasons because the sculptors had the final painted plaster coating in mind as they carved the granite.

This brings up a fundamental problem concerning the use of critical language in descriptive analysis. If we apply terms like 'movement', 'boldness', 'emergence', or 'exquisite', to the carvings here, would the difference in quality be taken into account, if, for example, the same words would describe the best Hoysala friezes? All girls may be pretty, but some are prettier than others. I would venture the guess that earlier sculptors would not have been content with what to them (and to me) is largely a body of overly standardized, often malproportioned and graceless shallow reliefs, with little configurational complexity or, with the yalis on the external columns of some temples as the exception, with three-dimensional capability. A distinction must be maintained as to what is authentic in a work of art; we must not minimize the greatness of the productions of other periods by applying the same descriptive vocabulary in all cases. That can only confuse the problems of aesthetic criticism.

Let us admit, as I think the authors in the final analysis do, that if the entire history of Indian sculpture is held up as model, the Vijayanagara output

would have to be approached only on its own terms. We can come to it with a sense of enjoyment of its charms, folk associations and lighthearted approach and read the descriptions with appreciation of what has been brought to our notice.

But having gotten that off my chest, I return to the next twelve chapters, which indeed are about what the sculpture reveals for the historian and the visitor. One can only admire the vast material included in the main body of the text. Focusing on the variety of subject matter, the authors see the sculpture as texts to study and document the ethos and involvements of Vijayanagar times. There is interest in old and sometimes new iconographical formulas, narratives, religious cults, including specific gods, goddesses, saints, aescetics, satis and heroes, also beasts and birds, ornamental motifs and fashions in dress. We also learn Vijayanagara chronology.

The appendices - seven of them! - tell of the authors' deep involvement in the details of the site. They have lived and breathed the atmosphere there, and their ample charts, their reportage of the positions of the Rāmāyaṇa panels on the various temples, the chronology of the monuments and positions of pillar relief in the principal temples, for example, will boggle the mind of any library or home reader, marvelously accurate and functional as this information may be.

May I shift attention briefly to the designer and publisher of such a book? The information so meticulously gathered with such effort and its great benefit can only be absorbed at the site by student and tourist who no doubt would rather carry a less bulky volume. I have sadly learned that these large books end up as coffee-table displays, or they are considered to be too heavy and costly to ship overseas. As our purpose is to awaken the spark in the viewer, let us make it less difficult for the less scholarly enthusiasts to participate in the wonders of Indian temple art and architecture. This volume is actually a very intricate guide, which if it had accurate plate identification, preferably aligned along with the text, and if the clear line drawings and maps by Tim Martin and Graham Reed had been properly captioned, would have served a very valuable purpose.

For a thorough documentation and description of the sculpture that exists at the site, the authors are to be highly congratulated. We look forward to the next in the series.

Carmel Berkson

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE, NORTH INDIA, BEGINNINGS OF MEDIEVAL IDIOM, c. A.D. 900-1000, Vol. II, Part 3, Ed. M. A. DHAKY, American Institute of Indian Studies, and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, 1998, in two volumes. Text xxviii + 426 pages, 207 drawings, 20 maps, 913 photographs. Rs. 5000 for the set.

This monumental volume is part of the series brought out by the American Institute of Indian Studies since 1983. The series present a scholarly analysis of temples all over India, which has now become a standard for studying Indian temple architecture in academic and research institutions the world over. The present volume, like others in the series, has a systematic, well laid down scheme of presentation. Each chapter deals with a dynastic grouping of temple sites of a region, starting with a map of the region, the genealogical table of the dynasties associated with the building of temples, and giving a historical introduction, architectural features, and iconic details of the monuments, accompanied by their plans. The terminology of Vāstu texts is employed in describing the architecture and sculptural decoration of monuments. The present volume is appropriately dedicated to the memory of Prof. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala, who combined textual scholarship with knowledge of actual monuments.

This encyclopaedic volume with 21 chapters reveals amazing energy of its Editor, Prof. M. A. Dhaky, who is also the main contributor to the chapters. The eminent historian of architecture, Shri Krishna Deva has written seven chapters, while Prof. Michael Meister, who was an editor of the earlier volumes, has contributed one chapter in this volume.

In her Foreword, Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan observes that with the passage of time from the days of the ancient to the medieval temple, the Indian mind and its intellectual and artistic discourse becomes more complex and multilayered. But, as she points out, there still is the singular concern with the notion of the formless and many forms even with the multiplicity of images and expansion of architecture.

The volume covers an important phase of India's temple architecture at the dawn of medieval period, when the temple attained a "truly architectonic image." The divine and human figures in its sculptural art "added worldly colour together with otherworldly intentions. And their specific placement on the exterior of the temple body clarified their functions as well as the iconological import of their association." It is significant as Prof. Dhaky says in his Introduction, that "for the first time the *prāsāda* looked as Puruṣa embodiment of Eternal Man, as well as the configuration of the total Cosmos."

The temple architecture in North India is surveyed in this volume under

four broad geographical sections : Central India, Upper India, Western India, Eastern India, and within these regions the styles that prevailed under the rule of important medieval dynasties such as the Later Pratihāras of Kanauj, the Kalacuris of Tripurī, the Guhilas of Medapāṭa the Solāṅkis of Aṇahillapāṭaka, the Paramāras of Candrāvālī, the Gurjara - Pratihāra Feudatories and Successors in Mālava, and so on. Krishna Deva's chapter on the Candellas of Kālāñjara and Kharjūravāhaka rightly includes the Viśvanātha temple. Earlier, this temple was believed to have been consecrated in A.D. 1002 (V.S. 1059), but recently, on reading the date of its inscription as V.S. 1056, it is dated to A.D. 999.

We see in this book some of the masterpieces of temple art of medieval India such as the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, the shrines at Kotai and Kerakot in Kutch, Western India, the Ambikā Mātā temple at Jagat in Rajasthan, and the Lakṣmaṇa and the Viśvanātha temples at Khajuraho. But no less important are the temples at Dudhahi, Survaya, Kadvaḥa, Roda, Osian, Baroli, Ghanerav, Kakoni, Rajorgadh, Karodi Dhaj and others, the descriptions of which along with drawings of plans and photographs significantly add to the understanding of the history of temple architecture. There are descriptions of *vāpīs* and *kuṇḍas*, step wells and tanks, at Vasantgadh, Atru, Dedadara, Umta and other lesser known sites. A chapter on the Brahmanical Sāhi kings of Northwest Frontier and West Punjab by Krishna Deva adds material to the Nāgara sub-style temples.

There are significant iconographic and sculptural depictions in the temples of the 10th century, which are illustrated and described in the volume. Sculptors of local dynastic powers reveal new facets of imagination in their carvings, which are noticed in the art of Kakoni, Harsagiri, Rajorgarh in Rajasthan. In the ceiling of the Kotai temple of Kutch, we can see a remarkable rendering of the *Hallīśaka nṛtya*. In the Sūrya temple of Mandesar (Tush), near Udaypur, the ceiling has figures of seven *nāyikās* (some now missing) and Kāmadeva, which, as Dhaky notes, is in accordance with the unpublished text *Vāstuvidyā* of Viśvakarmā. The cultural, religious and historical background of monuments, which each chapter provides, will be of help to students of ancient Indian culture. Scholars of Indian literature would like to read, for instance, that the famous allegorical work, the *Upamitibhava-prapañcā-kathā*, was completed by Siddharsi in the *maṇḍapa* of the Jaina temple in Bhillamāla (Abu region) in A.D. 906.

This volume contains not just a description of temples and their architectural features, but it provides us material on various stylistic elements and conventions of different regions, their co-existence, interweaving and transformations. We get a glimpse of stylistic elements and their migrations, and of the birth and growth of architectural styles in different regions of north India. No researcher on Indian temple architecture can afford to miss reading and consulting this scholarly publication. The excellent reproduction of photographs and drawings

adds to the richness of the text. The Editor, contributors and the American Institute of Indian Studies should be complimented for their dedicated work which will last like the temples of this creative period.

Devangana Desai

OBITUARY NOTICES

Prof. Ram Joshi (1924-1998)

Prof. Ram Joshi, an eminent educationist, an erudite scholar and distinguished citizen of Mumbai, passed away on 14th September, 1998 after a long and patient battle with cancer, at the age of 74. The deadly disease would take its toll was only expected yet it left many mourning for him silently.

Prof. Ram Joshi was born in a middle class family. His father, a primary school teacher, inculcated in him the principles of honesty, integrity and hard work and added was his own sparkling brilliance. Soon he became the favourite of all those who came into his contact. Gifted with a rare intelligence, which combined with leadership qualities even at a young age, gave out a promise of reaching very far in academics. A totally self-made man, he did scale to great heights.

He lost his father at a very young age. But he held his head high and shouldered the responsibility of holding the family together along with his elder brother. This he did commendably and overcame all the difficulties. For some years, he stayed in 'Pune Anath Vidyarathi Gruha' and completed his schooling. He proceeded to Bombay and joined the Ramnarain Ruia College. However, the 1942 Quit India Movement kept beckoning him from close quarters and he entered the freedom movement and became a student-leader. Later, he completed his M.A. with Political Science and joined as a teacher in Political Science. He lectured at the R.A. Podar College, R. Ruia College and thereafter at S.I.E.S. College. But it was his association with S.I.E.S. College that is remembered even today. He left an indelible impression as the Principal of this college for 15 years. With his total dedication and involvement, he brought out an academic excellence to make this Institution much sought after by the students. He had this rare gift of enriching whatever he touched and his Midas touch transformed ordinary into excellence.

His striving for excellence in education was richly rewarded when he was invited to become the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay. The times were not easy. Prof. Ram Joshi proved equal to the challenges that he faced and restored not only its credibility but also brought glory with his skilful handling of the affairs of this premier university.

After retiring as the Vice-Chancellor, he returned to teaching, particularly in several Universities abroad. He was considered an authority on "Indian

Political Thought" and "The Life and Teachings of Mahatma Gandhi." It was due to his efforts that Mani Bhavan started the Post-Graduate section on "Gandhian Thought." The Osmania university of Hyderabad conferred an honorary D. Litt. on him.

He was not only an excellent teacher but was also a very sincere social worker. He served as a Municipal Councillor in the Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) from 1952-61 and he started and nurtured many social institutions. In his later years, he strove hard to reform Early Childhood and Primary Education, because according to him this was the base of education which had to be very strong to build a new society of good citizens. He succeeded in bringing about reforms in the State of Maharashtra in primary education which even today is accepted as 'Ram Joshi Formula.' Prof. Ram Joshi was a much loved and respected person for his many admirable qualities. He was a very persuasive orator who could cast a spell on any audience with his erudition. He had mastery over many languages like English, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and Urdu.

As a person, Prof. Ram Joshi was very warm and friendly. With his pleasing and charming personality, he could always spot talent wherever it existed. This ability helped him to collect people from diverse fields for diverse jobs and therefore he could always find the right person for the right job. Prof. Ram Joshi was known to be a "Quintessential Gentleman."

Besides teaching, lecturing and doing social work, he loved all the good things of life as well. He was a lover of music, fine arts, performing arts, cricket, chess and travel.

He will be greatly missed by all those who knew him. He left behind his wife, son, daughter, grandchildren and a very large circle of friends, admirers and students.

The Asiatic Society of Bombay feels a deep sense of loss by his demise. He served as the Trustee of the Society from 1994 onwards until death snatched him away from us.

Vimal Shah

DR. L. B. Kenny

(1913-1999)

Dr. Leeladhar B. Kenny, born on 10th December 1913, passed away in his residence at Dadar, Mumbai on Thursday, 8th July 1999. His demise has cast a gloom among his family members, associates, friends and student community.

Dr. Kenny was a freedom fighter and took active part in the 1942 Quit India Movement.

He secured his Ph. D in 1945 from the Indian Historical Research Institute (presently known as the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture), St. Xavier's College, Mumbai. Late Rev. Fr. H. Heras was his guide. The subject of research was "Pre-Mauryan Magadha."

Dr. Kenny was formerly Professor of History in Siddharth College and later in St. Xavier's College, Mumbai. He was one of the most popular professors with 45 years' teaching experience, who instilled enthusiasm and interest in his students for the pursuit of historical studies. Hundreds of students passed under him. His memory is ever cherished by them.

In the Mumbai University he played a vital role as Chairman of the Board of Studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture and as Dean of the Faculty of Arts.

He was a well-known research guide and eleven students secured their Ph.D. degrees under his guidance from the Mumbai University. As a research guide he was associated with the Prince of Wales Museum and the Asiatic Society of Bombay. He was also a research guide in History at the S.N.D.T. Women's University and Shivaji University, Kolhapur.

Dr. Kenny was a keen investigator to ascertain historical truth. In the course of his career, he attended many conferences and published a large number of research papers.

In recognition of his scholarship, he was elected President of Section I (Ancient History) of the 34th Session of the Indian History Congress held at Chandigarh in 1973. His presidential address, entitled "The Challenge of Indian History," evoked deep interest in critical study of Indian History and was published in 1974.

Personally, Dr. Kenny was a gentleman with qualities of head and heart and helpful to everyone. He attempted to study the history and culture with rationalist outlook - typical of a person of independent nature and fearless in his expressions.

He was President of the University of Bombay College Teachers' Union and Maharashtra Federation. He faced imprisonment during the period of Emergency, sacrificing a lot for the betterment of teaching community.

Dr. Kenny was Vice-President of the Asiatic Society of Bombay from 1975-1979. He donated a generous amount to the Society for holding endowment lecture every alternate year on the subject related to Urbanization.

He was member of Experts' Advisory Committee for Export of Non-antiquities,

Archaeological Survey of India, since 1969.

I pray that the departed soul may rest in peace.

B. V. Shetti

Prof. S. A. Dange

(1922 - 1999)

It is true that an invisible line always exists between life and death. A person becomes a thing of the past when he is no more with us. Little did I know on 12th August, 1999, when senior retired teachers of Sanskrit met in R.R. College that it would be my last meeting with Dr. Sadashiv Ambadas Dange. Of course, he was ailing for some time before that. I couldn't imagine that he would be no more with us after about 2 1/2 months.

His span of life was from 23rd August, 1922 (Hinganghat, Vardha) to 25th October, 1999 (Mumbai). Dr. Dange married Miss Sindhu Page in the year 1955.

Initially for 7-8 years after graduation Dr. Dange was a staunch worker of the R.S.S. for which he worked in Hubli. A man who was likely to become cine-artist ultimately became a Sanskrit Pandit.

He was highly qualified. He was double M.A. in Sanskrit as well as in Hindi. He earned a Diploma in Linguistics. He did not stop after earning his doctorate under the guidance of Dr. Karambelkar but went on doing his research independently. He was awarded D.Litt. in Sanskrit - which was a great achievement.

He joined the University of Bombay as Reader in Sanskrit in 1969. Subsequently, he was chosen to be the R.G. Bhandarkar Professor of Sanskrit in 1979. He continued to hold the post till he retired in 1982.

He pursued the topic and detailed study of pastoral symbolism from the Rgveda. The theories that he had put forth may not be acceptable to all but he had pursued this topic as his life-time research.

The branches of his specialisation include primarily the Vedic literature and especially rituals. Besides this, he was devoted to the study of Hindu Mythology. He had a comparative outlook of the other mythologies of the world. Dharma-Shastra was his second love.

A special mention has to be made of his work 'Hindu Dharma āṅi Tattvajñāna' (1973). The State Government of Maharashtra considered this as the best book for the year in Marathi. He was also awarded the Chiplunkar

Prize by Pune University (1974) and a prize of the Kesari Maratha Trust followed. In 1976, he received an award for his book in Marathi "Āsvatthācī Pāne" from the Government of Maharashtra.

Besides this, he was awarded a Silver Medal by the Asiatic Society of Bombay for his outstanding contribution to the study of Indology (1980).

He was given "Vishishta Puraskar" by the Uttar Pradesh Sanskrit Academy during the year 1987. The State Government of Maharashtra recognised his contribution to Sanskrit Studies in 1990.

The President's Certificate of Honour was conferred on him for his efforts to promote Sanskrit Studies. In 1994, the Government of Maharashtra granted him an award for his book *Purāṅkathāncā Arthavāda Āṇi Vivecana*.

Dr. Dange was a voluminous writer. About a score of books are there to his credit. Besides the award-winning books mentioned above, special mention may be made here of his *Encyclopaedia of Purāṅic Beliefs and Practices* (in five volumes), *Pastoral Symbolism from the Ṛgveda* and *Myths from Mahābhārata*.

He was a Life-Member of the Asiatic Society of Bombay. He used to contribute articles to the Society's Journal, and actively participate in the seminars organised by the Kane Institute.

The number of research papers he read at various seminars and sessions of Oriental Conference and research articles contributed to the various reputed Oriental Journals total 250. He also delivered before learned bodies series of lectures on Vedic and Mythological subjects.

Twelve students received the Degree of Ph.D. under his able guidance.

He was extremely humble in his attitude towards others. Pride and prejudice were far away from him. He was very firm in his views but he would not hesitate to correct himself if he thought it fit. His expression was lucid. A difficult subject became simpler to his students. And naturally he earned popularity.

As a person, he was very quiet and unassuming. He endeared himself to his colleagues and students alike. Dr. Dange's death is a great loss not only to the field of Sanskrit research but also to everyone who came in his contact.

G. H. Godbole

Acknowledgement of Books Received

1. *Astrological Biographies* by Bepin Behari, Motilal Banarsidass.
2. *Living in God* by Roy Eugene Davis, Motilal Banarsidass.
3. *Ayurveda : The Gentle Health System* by Hans H. Rhyner, Motilal Banarsidass.
4. *Osho Rajneesh and His Disciples* (Ed.) by Harry Aveling, Motilal Banarsidass.
5. *Elephanta : The Cave of Shiva* (Ed.) by Carnel Berkson, Motilal Banarsidass.

**TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS**

अ	.....	a	औ	.....	au	ठ	.....	ṭha	भ	.....	bha
आ	.....	ā	क	.....	ka	ड	.....	ḍa	म	.....	ma
इ	.....	i	ख	.....	kha	ढ	.....	ḍha	य	.....	ya
ई	.....	ī	ग	.....	ga	ण	.....	ṇa	र	.....	ra
उ	.....	u	घ	.....	gha	त	.....	ta	ल	.....	la
ऊ	.....	ū	ङ	.....	ṅa	थ	.....	tha	व	.....	va
ऋ	.....	ṛ	च	.....	ca	द	.....	da	श	.....	śa
ॠ	.....	ṝ	छ	.....	cha	घ	.....	dha	ष	.....	ṣa
ऌ	.....	ḷ	ज	.....	ja	न	.....	na	स	.....	sa
ए	.....	e	झ	.....	jha	प	.....	pa	ह	.....	ha
ऐ	.....	ai	ञ	.....	ña	फ	.....	pha	ळ	.....	ḷa
ओ	.....	o	ट	.....	ṭa	ब	.....	ba			
		(Anusvāra)			ṁ	×		(Jihvāmūliya)			ḥ
		(Anunāsika)			m	⌒		(Upadhmanīya)			ḥ
		(Visarga)			ḥ	s		(Avagraha)			,

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS**

		ARABIC									
ا	a	z	.....	z	ق	.....	q	ق	.....	i or e
ب	b	س	.....	s	ك	.....	k	ك	.....	u or o
ت	t	ث	.....	sh	ل	.....	l	ل	.....	ā
ث	th	ص	.....	ṣ	م	.....	m	م	.....	i, e
ج	j	ض	.....	ḍ	ن	.....	n	ن	.....	ū, ō
ح	ḥ	ط	.....	ṭ	و	.....	w	و	.....	ai, ay
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	ي	y	ي	au, aw
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y	ي	silent t ḥ
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ء	ʾ	ء	
ر	r	ف	f	ا	a	ا	
		PERSIAN									
پ	p	چ	ch	ژ	zh	ک	g

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1. Papers submitted for publication in the Society's Journal may be offered by any Fellow or Member of the Society. Papers by Non-members must be communicated through a Member unless the Non-Members have been specially invited to contribute.
2. All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Mumbai - 400 023.
3. Papers must be presented in a final form completely ready as copy for the press prepared in accordance with the regulations printed below. Papers should be typed on one side of each sheet in double spacing on paper, leaving a margin of at least 3.5 cm. at the left hand side. Sheets should be numbered consecutively at the top right-hand corner.
4. Footnotes, numbered consecutively through the article, should be typed on a separate sheet at the end and not at the foot of each sheet. They should also be typed with double spacing.
5. Both photographs and line drawings, including maps, will appear as "plates" and "figures", numbered consecutively in Roman and Arabic numerals throughout each article. Captions should be typed on a separate sheet.
6. The Editorial Committee will determine whether a paper shall be printed and, if printed, in what form.
7. Contributors are urgently requested to use the system of transliteration adopted by this Society. A transliteration sheet has been appended in the issues of the Journal.
8. Contributors are urged to study the conventions employed in recent issues of the Journal, particularly the style of citation of books and periodical articles and the bibliographical information inserted at the head of reviews. Titles of books should be in italics i.e., should be indicated in the typed script by underlining. Titles of books cited should be given in full at the first citation; thereafter reference should be made by using only significant words in the title, but with sufficient clarity to avoid doubt or confusion. Uniformity of abbreviations must be observed throughout the paper.
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