(Established in 1804)

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Editors
V. M. KULKARNI
DEVANGANA DESAI

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JOURNAL OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Volume 75/2000
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INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE ON SOUTH
INDIAN HEREDITARY CRAFTSMEN

JAN BROUWER

1. Introduction
The focus of this article is on Indian men and their mind as the Makers of the World.[1]

Most studies on Indian craft either focus on one aspect of the crafts such as the history, the aesthetics, the technologies, or ignore the indigenous knowledge on crafts, or both.

My perspective is that of an anthropologist who is interested in the Indigenous Knowledge System (IKS) in which artisans operate. The IKS refers to the mentality component of culture, more precisely the codes which inform the civilization that is the totality of artifacts and other texts, written or oral, and the society or the people and their institutions.

This means a holistic approach to the topic of crafts and craftsmen. It implies not taking western concepts of Time and Space, and such economic concepts as Money and Debt, for granted. On the contrary, I will make these concepts, along with the perception of society, part of the object of study.

When I am talking about South Indian crafts and craftsmen, I refer to blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, sculptors and goldsmiths, all of whom call themselves Viśvakarmā.[2] Their collective ideal is concerned with autonomy and completeness. It gains significance through the homology between the mythical Lord Viśvakarmā and the Viśvakarmās in the real world. The ideal Viśvakarman is self-contained or an image of autonomy, as the equation of his bodily parts with the basic elements and deities also serves to demonstrate. He is completeness in himself, because he is the beginning and the end, good and bad, is formless and has form, he is all deities, he is male and female; in short, he is the universe. This autonomous and complete image of Viśvakarmā is significant, because the Viśvakarmā craftsmen in the world are his reflected forms.

Our journey into the mind of the Makers of the World begins with the act of a witness. We attend the installation ceremony of a temple idol (*mūlamūrti*). It is an auspicious, yet controversial event, which serves as an eye-opener to us. It brings out a contrast of complementary interpretations in terms of

autonomy, independence or social exclusiveness versus dependence, embeddedness or social inclusiveness.

A deeper understanding of the observed indigenous conflict between social exclusiveness and social inclusiveness can be gained through a closer look at the artisans' secret crafts lexicon. Through my personal participation in each of the crafts for about three months, I found that the craftsmen employ a lexicon that only they know. With the help of a few of them, I was able to compile a dictionary of about 2000 terms. The analysis of this compilation reveals the Viśvakarmā perception of the Self (as a group) and Society in terms of Life and Death.

Armed with the knowledge of the Viśvakarmā representations, we shall then visit the goldsmiths in action. Here we will see how the craftsmen link representation with action. In the analytical process of the artisans' "inner conflict", two core concepts draw our attention; the concept of completeness and the concept of money.

With this discovery, our treasure hunt ends. The evaluation of the journey's results may begin. It will be seen that the indigenous economic concepts behind the artisans' practices are relevant for design of development projects for artisans and training modules for craft programmes, and even to modern artisans and workers in small enterprises within and without the crafts sector. This way an anthropological understanding can do justice to the Makers of the World.

2. The Sculptor and a Finished Idol

In the following case, the chief patron had asked the Viśvakarmā to install the idol and to open the eyes in the sanctum and not inform the Brahmins about it but merely to invite them to conduct the various other rituals (*divasa* and *homa*).

A Kuruba (shepherd caste) leader had built a new temple in the centre of a growing town in Kolar District. He had made arrangements with local Brahmins for the regular service of the new temple for which a Viśvakarmā sculptor had made the idol of Lord Aiyappa. He had promised the rights of installation and eye-opening to the sculptor and invited local Brahmins, as well as few from Sringeri, to conduct the rituals.

The Kuruba had taken a lot of trouble to make a grand show. Until the moment of the actual opening of the eyes of the image, all ceremonies went well. The Viśvakarmā did not object to the Brahmins entering the sanctum after he had technically installed the idol by the 'hot method.' As soon as the sculptor entered the sanctum thereafter, to open the eyes of the image, the Brahmins called the Kuruba and told him that the *homa* had not yet

been completed and nobody should enter the sanctum (*garbhagrha*). The Viśvakarmā protested and claimed the right to open the eyes in the sanctum to which the Brahmins responded that they would leave the place. As the selected auspicious time (*muhūrta*) for the eye-opening was approaching the patron found himself in an awkward position. At the eleventh hour, he granted the disputed right to the sculptor and had to find other priests for the continuation of the *homa*. Of course, all local Brahmins refused co-operation and the patron had no option but to call local Viśvakarmā priests to do the job. A couple of years later, however, I learned that a migrant Brahmin had filled the vacancy of priesthood to serve Lord Aiyappa.

The conflict between the Viśvakarmās and the Brahmins concerns a clash of interests, and interpretation. On the one hand, the Brahmin has been given the priestly rights of the temple by the ruler, and thus nobody else has the right to do any work inside the sanctum. When I mentioned examples of Viśvakarmās installing idols, the Brahmins said that this was a result of their influence with the Maharaja of Mysore. The king (*yajamāna*), who sponsors the temple and idolmaking, may go himself, in the company of his Brahmins, to the Viśvakarmā, to order the idol, to check the progress of the carving and to collect the finished idol, but in most cases he leaves these duties to the Brahmins. According to the Viśvakarmās, the Brahmins as emissaries of the king are the *yajamānas* and hence they cannot perform the installation ceremonies. This view gives the Viśvakarmā the opportunity to establish his autonomy, to make his product really 'complete' and to become an exemplar of completeness himself. Thus, on the temporal plane, the relationship between the sculptor and the Brahmin is seen as the same as that between the Brahmin and the *yajamāna*. Thus - *śilpī* : Brahmin: : Brahmin : king.

This view is supported by the information given in the architectural manuals as presented by Beck, who says that the particular patron who financed the temple is thought of as 'buried' in the sanctum (*garbhagrha*) as an ascetic (1976:238). Hence, he is not thought to be present as *yajamāna* and this leaves this function to the Brahmin. If the Brahmin were to allow the Viśvakarmā to conduct the installation and eye-opening, he would have confirmed himself as the *yajamāna* and lost the last of his remaining transcendence. If the Viśvakarmā gives in, he would be regarded as one of the servants (*śūdras*) of the king.

With their reference to the role of the king in the conflict, the Brahmins acknowledge their dependence on the king (for their livelihood). And it is precisely here that the position of the Brahmin is the same as that of the Viśvakarmā.

3. Perception of Self (as a group) and Society

The paramount source for the Viśvakarmā views on Self and Society is the secret craft lexicon.[3] A cursory examination of the caste names and the corresponding terms in the lexicon reveals a certain pattern. First of all, the named castes can be divided into those residing in towns or cities and those who are basically settled in rural areas. The urban castes are named either by manufactured objects, or cultural terms, while the rural castes are named by natural terms. The Brahmins, the Barbers, the Fishermen and the Leather workers are named by **temporal terms,** notably some of them related to **Death.** In contrast to the urban castes, the rural castes are named by natural terms. The entire classification of caste names seems to be urban-biaṣed. Among the urban castes, the manufacturers, viz., the weavers and the oilpressers, are named by manufactured objects, while the potters and washermen are named by a verb related to their craft and service. Interestingly, the principle underlying the classification is not guided by mutual exclusiveness.

On considering the manufacturing castes, their terms are dominated by manufactured objects or craft-related terms with the exception of the stonecutters. The service castes are named by either an action aspect of craft or a Death inflicting action, with the exception of the toddytapper.

The aforementioned exceptions — stonecutters and toddytappers — as well as three other terms, viz. those for Viśvakarmās, traders and Muslims, draw our attention. The traders, stonecutters, toddytappers and Muslims have in common that their mothertongue is not Kannada. The traders and toddytappers speak Telugu, the stonecutters speak Tamil and the Muslims speak Urdu. In a situation where all others who are named speak Kannada, these four groups are different and classified accordingly. However, they are all named by very different terms, which has to be explained.

The Muslims of the list are the only group which is not Hindu. This difference is marked by their term which belongs to an entirely different set (names of characters of the scriptures) which is not used for any of the Hindu groups. There is a slight resemblance here with the term for trader. This term too does not belong to any of the other sets used for naming the other castes. Traders, in contrast to all others, operate entirely within the market economy and they do so individually. The toddytappers are named by a term for 'firewood.' This is a term belonging to the natural order, but of a particular kind. The purpose of firewood is to destroy, i.e. not to live.

The case of the stonecutters is a special one and will be discussed below along with the term for blacksmith.

The list thus shows that the Viśvakarmās perceive society in terms of

a cultural order, or more precisely, in the temporal aspect of the cultural order and its outsiders in terms of a natural order.

In contrast to the perceptions of Society, the Viśvakarmās perceive themselves in terms taken from the crafts. A first look at this list shows that the terms for meat are all manufactured objects and related to the Viśvakarmā crafts, while all those for vegetarian eatables are named by a colour code. The non-vegetarian eatables fish and egg, which themselves are different from both meat and vegetarian food, have each two names of which one is a manufactured object (like the codes for meat) and the other a botanical species. The codes for vegetarian food are named by a craft-related term (joint [of wood] and level) with a colour code added (in which the analogy is hidden). Like the codes for the ambiguous fish and egg, the alcoholic drinks are named by two codes, viz. a craft-related term ('powder') and a colour. Here too the analogy is formed by the colour.

The principal metals used by the Viśvakarmā craftsmen have also been named, but only one is coded by a manufactured object. In contrast to iron, copper and gold, brass is an alloy covering various metals and thus the analogy with the code becomes clear. The colour term for copper requires further study. The codes for iron and gold are discussed below.

Finally, three terms of which only the one for a subcaste is a manufactured object (a tool). The other two terms, namely, for a Viśvakarmā and for a blacksmith, are most interesting and will be discussed after the following summary.

All the terms related to their customs and habits belong to the cultural order. They are indeed manufactured objects. The Viśvakarmās thus view themselves as well as others in terms of a cultural order, but whereas Society is viewed in termporal terms they view themselves in spatial terms (because the latter are three-dimensional manufactured objects). However, there are three significant exceptions : (i) a member of the Viśvakarmā caste is called "spark of Fire", (ii) the blacksmith is called by the name of a bird, namely, "heron", and (iii) the blacksmith's principal raw material-iron-is called "forehead". Before discussing these exceptions, my insights into the basic pattern of the lexicon are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 : Viśvakarmā views on Self and Society

ORDER	SELF	SOCIETY
Cultural order	Spatial terms	Temporal terms
Natural order	Blacksmith	Non Hindus
		Non Kannadigas

Two exceptions of the two sets of terms. viz the blacksmith (Self) and

the stonecutter (Society) may now be compared with the help of the information provided in the so-called handbills. Herein the blacksmith is associated with the Element **Earth** and with the colour **White.** In the lexicon the stonecutter is named by the Element Earth and the blacksmith by the white-coloured bird, the heron. Both the blacksmith and the stonecutter are classified in terms of the natural order. The colour of the bird for blacksmith is the same as the colour in the handbill associated with the blacksmith. The blacksmith, in his capacity of ironminer, as well as the stonecutter have one action in common; they break into the natural order to obtain their chief raw material (rock). I shall return to this aspect below.

Furthermore, the handbill associates the blacksmith with "origin power" and the goldsmith with the "the power of knowledge" and with the Elements **Earth** and **Sky** respectively. The Sky stands for Space and via the goldsmith Space is associated with knowledge. The complementary opposition between Self and Society is thus also one between Space (spatial terms) and Time (temporal terms) as well as one between knowledge (of the equivalents) and ignorance.

Interestingly, the lexicon terms for Society or the World are temporal, notably those associatd with Death. The spatial terms for Self, in so far as they are not manufactured objects and not related to persons or their customs and habits, are those taken from the flora and the crafts. Viewed in contrast to the concept **Death** which underlies the terms for Society, this may be interpreted as terms to which the concept **Life** is basic. Moreover, the handbill as an exegesis of the Viśvakarmā "culture" in the image of the single body with five heads, associates the total Viśvakarmā with the Five Elements of Life.

At this point the blacksmith draws our further attention. The blacksmith as miner breaks into the existing natural order. But this statement is only true if the smith is viewed as belonging not to the cultural order but to the natural order; his violent activity of breaking into the natural order is nullified *ab initio.*

The problem of the blacksmith may be formulated as a contradiction between his violent activity of making iron and the dependence of all five craftsmen on iron for their tools. In view of the Viśvakarmās' claim to brahmin status, such dependence is acceptable within the caste, but not outside. Thus, on the one hand the blacksmith has to be a Viśvakarmā, but he is too violent to be a brahmin on the other. Apparently the participants themselves are aware of this problem as the analysis of his situation, the lexicon, the narratives and the handbills show.

Like a bird who moves from the earth to the sky, the blacksmith moves

from the natural order (Earth, Time) to the cultural order (Self, Space). The heron (Ardeidae : eicomiformes, suborder Ardeaco) seems to be the appropriate choice. It is a non-vegetarian and all-white bird *of which the sexes are generally alike.*

From the narratives it has been concluded that the blacksmith has an androgynous nature similar to the dual nature of the Goddess. In the handbills, the blacksmith is associated with the colour 'white' and with the 'original power' (**śakti**).

I shall now return to the two most formidable terms of the list for the Self. The Viśvakarmā is called "spark of **Fire.**" This association with the third of the Five Elements is interesting, for neither in the narratives nor in speech is the origin of Fire explained. But the participants have been cautious : the Viśvakarmā is not Fire itself, he is only a spark of Fire. The association, however, is befitting. In the story of the primordial blacksmith, the source of Fire is not mentioned, but the smith himself does not get burnt. I concluded that this means that he has magical power. This power is then seen as a "spark of Fire." Furthermore, the association of Fire with the female - in the Fort story; in the smith's workshop - corresponds now with the ideal of completeness of the Viśvakarmā in whom the female/male distinction is resolved. In the handbills, the Element Fire both destructs and creates the universe : the Viśvakarmā associated with this Element embodies the complete demiurgic act. And here the Viśvakarman resembles Prajāpati, or rudimentary renouncer.

This takes us to the term for iron; the *forehead*. In the narratives iron is identified with the Goddess Kālī. Thus, in the participants' view, iron is the head of the Goddess. From ethnographic sources we know that the blacksmith, who smelts the iron-ore, performs an animal sacrifice, because Kālī in her manifestation as iron demands it. He also sacrifices an animal to his furnace, which is a manifestation of the Goddess. He is thus a sacrificer. He himself is the beneficiary of the sacrifice through which he establishes a relationship with her. However, in the āyudhapūjā, he cuts the sacrificial victim on the anvil, smears some fresh blood on the furnace and places the victim's head on the anvil, which is a manifestation of Śiva. In the handbills, Manu, the original blacksmith, is considered a manifestation of Viśvakarman as Śiva. The slaying of the victim on the anvil, and subsequet placing of its head on it, suggests a self-sacrifice by the Viśvakarmā blacksmith. In other words, he is not only sacrificer or sacrifier, but also sacrificial victim. The unity of these three positions in one self answers the Viśvakarmā ideal of completeness in oneself. At the same time, it reminds us of Prajāpati who is the primordial sacrificer, victim and officiant.

By implication, the blacksmith is identified with Kālī. By killing himself,

he thus also kills the Goddess and what she stands for : **Time.**

The Crafts Lexicon has thus added to our understanding of Viśvakarmā views. It classifies Society in terms of Death, and by abstraction, the Self in terms of Life. The Five Elements are not only used to explain the Self on both the individual and collective (caste) levels, but also to overcome the central problem of discrepancy between claimed and conceded status, namely through the Element Earth.

4. The Concept of Completeness

For small enterprises I have studied the practices and their underlying concepts in the case of jewellery production.

The case of the Viśvakarmā goldsmith shows that his constrained connection with society, expressed through time, finds its origin in his perception of Self and Society. The crux of the Viśvakarmā artisan's cultural ideology is the view that ultimate liberation and prosperity should be reached without any attachment to the world. Hence relationships should be denied (for example through intervention of a deity) or made incidental (for example through the use of money).[4] The artisan finds a solution for his problem in a relationship with the Goddess who provides him with Time. Concomitantly, this explains his ritual donations and honoraria (*dakṣiṇe*) to her as the term indicates : a payment in exchange for a ritual service. Interestingly, the word for a gift to the Goddess is not *kanike,* but *dakṣiṇe.* The latter is cognate to *dakṣiṇā* which is associated with Death. The goldsmith and the Goddess thus exchange Life and Death. At the same time, the complementary opposition contains a contradiction : the mediating role of the Goddess.[5]

The other important connection is the one the goldsmith has with the Shroff. The goldsmith receives principal raw material from the Shroff, as well as money. He thus receives the Goddess (in her material manifestation) and does not return the gesture. He cannot and should not present a gift to the Shroff, as the latter, like all non-Viśvakarmās, belongs to Society (Death).

This observation has two implications : (i) the goldsmith returns the gift from the Goddess by offering presentations to her temple in the direction of ever flowering life, while (ii) the **money** received from Death terminates the relationship of exchange.

From the Shroffs I learned that the goldsmiths never actually repay loans that they have given to them. (The average outstanding loan is about Rs. 30,000/- per goldsmith per year). Of course, the goldsmith cannot repay a loan, for this would imply a form of reciprocity which once received would end the social relation attached to it. Would he repay the loan, it would mean recognition of the relationship. On the other hand, the Shroff is not

keen on repayment of outstanding loans. For him it is through lending debts that he has command over men, and more precisely, over the best goldsmiths.

In this context, it is also possible to deduce the views on **profit.** The Shroff makes his profit (*lābha*) by buying gold at cheaper rates than the official one, and by selling jewellery to his customers. He thus makes profit **at both ends** of the process of a deal. The margin of his profit links him with society. In the Shroff's view, money creates a relationship : the more he pays the goldsmith, he thinks, the better and more he will work for him; the smaller the margin at selling time, the better his relationship with the customer.

In contrast to the time of profit-making by the Shroff, the goldsmith makes his profit **within** the process of manufacturing (the wastage [*tyamana*] and the wages [*majuri*]). Together wastage and wages are his profit called *lābhadevi,* which literally means added by the Goddess. The temporal process of transformation of substance (gold) into form (product) is thus the result of a cosmic exchange between the male and female constituent parts of the universe and not the result of a worldly transaction.

A closer look at the dialectic relationship between the ideal Viśvakarmā placed outside the world and the Viśvakarmā craftsmen of ·the social world reveals the way in which the Viśvakarmās cope with the fundamental break between the two orders. The ideal concept of the universe constituted by a male and female part, becomes a complementarity of the male, female and neutral in the world. The place of the ideal Viśvakarman is, in the world, taken by the craftsman specialist and generalist. The unavoidable use of external agents in the world is then either mediated by the Goddess or denied by making them incidental.

The Viśvakarmās conceptualise the Self (as a group) and Society in terms of a transcendent completeness. On the boundaries of the transcendent order of the Self and mundane order of the Society for which they manufacture their products, the Goddess Kālī is drawn to square the circle of completeness by her dynamic effectiveness.

The **finished products** of four crafts are not complete products at the time of delivery.[6] When a product is ready to be delivered, the craftsman calls it 'finished' ('I have finished [*mugiside*] it'). This is an original Kannada word from the verb *mugisu,* which means 'to conclude' or 'to finish' and it is used as such. The semantic value of *mugisu* does not stretch to include 'to complete.' For the verb 'to complete' and the adverb 'completeness', there is only a Sanskrit loan word in Kannada, which is textual rather colloquial (*pūrṇa*) or 'complete', 'perfect' : pūraṇa or completion; or *pari-pūrṇate* or 'completeness', 'entireness'. The participants use these terms in the context

of the mythological Lord Viśvakarman.

The distinction the artisans make between (i) **finishing** a work and **completing** a work, and (ii) between the use of these two terms in two different contexts (textual versus colloquial) adds to our understanding of their perceptions and actions concerning the delivery of their product. The carpenter's bullock cart does not yet carry the final linchpin; the peak (*kalaśa*) for the temple tower does not yet include the iron rod to fix it, the eyes of the temple idol (*mūrti*) still remain to be opened with the black for the pupil, and the wedding necklace still lacks the black beads (*karimaṇi*). The craftsman hands over each of these products to the respective patron sometime before the patron is going to use them. The time lag between delivery of the product and its functioning in the world may vary from craft to craft and from patron to patron. Shortly before pressing the product into service, the patron conducts a ceremony during which the craftsman actually completes the products (putting the linchpin, fixing the peak, opening the eyes, attaching the beads).

Naturally, after having delivered his incomplete product, the craftsman engages himself in a new work (*kelasa*). After some time, while this work is in progress, he receives a call from the previous patron to attend the ceremony to complete the previous job. The craftsmen call it a 'new work'. In our words, each work - the old one, the new one, and the completion of the old one - is considered to be a separate assignment. Thus, the manufacturing of a product up to its delivery and the making of the product ready for functioning are viewed as two different assignments.

This system of breaking up a single production into two different assignments is not restricted to the members of one caste (Viśvakarmā) or to so-called traditional artisans. In modern construction work, carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians, glass setters, painters, polishers and similar artisans of any caste background follow the same system.

In its most simplistic form, the reasoning behind this "splitting system" is thus : the transcendent order is the order of completeness and perfection. It is placed outside the world which human beings only reach on their death. The avoidance of completion and perfection is thus one of avoidance of Death. This is to be seen both metaphorically and sociologically. For during the time lapse between 'finishing' and 'completing' a product, the artisans begin a new job for another patron. The cultural ideology is thus inseparable from the mundane survival strategy : here too domains that in the West and in the modern state are separated, are intertwined.

The perception of society in terms of **intertwined domains** follows directly from the world-view. As the case of the Viśvakarmās demonstrates, the transcendent order is the order of virtues, completeness and perfection, for

which qualities there is no place in the world.

The case of the traditional artisans has demonstrated that indigenously a distinction is made between a *finished product* and a *completed product.* The finished product is not complete and thus not perfect, while perfection is attained by completing the product. The same distinction was observed among modern artisans, particularly in the construction industry. This study too revealed that in small enterprises in different industrial sectors the same concepts prevail.[7]

At this stage we do not know the world-view of the stake-holders in the enteprises except that they share the dominant cultural ideology on the sub-continent. We do know the world-view of the Viśvakarmā artisans. It will be useful to compare the situation of the Viśvakarmā artisans with that of the factory worker.

In general, the Viśvakarmās and all others share the view that the social world is imperfect, unfinished, violent, full of vices, a world of interdependence and chaos, a world of relative purity; in short the social world is **Life.** The other world - the transcendent order of the hereafter - is the realm of perfection, completeness, non-violence, virtues, autonomy, absolute purity, of cosmos which means order. Only through death one can attain this. This order outside the social world is **Death.**

While defining their position **in** the world, the Viśvakarmās have ritualised their crafts through an imaginary isolation of the crafts from the world. Their life in the world (Life) is thus intimately linked with the imaginary purity of the crafts. In section Two, we have seen how they then solve the problem of coping with unavoidable dependency on outside agents and with that of the delivery of the end-products.

The factory workers are not in a position to follow the Viśvakarmās in their imagination and subsequent solutions. This, however, seems not impossible as our recently completed case study in the electronics industry in Mysore demonstrates. In the case of one of the factories, by rejecting imperfect and thus incomplete products in front of the worker, the management has in fact introduced an imaginary isolation of each worker with his work and helped him to retain the purity of his micro cosmos.

5. The Sculptor Revisited

Remember the conflict surrounding the installation of the temple idol? What, then, was the conflict about? It was certainly about status and prestige. It was even about such a worldly matter as money. But status, prestige, and money belong to the idiom of the world as well as to conventional scientific lexicon. At most these terms help us explain practices and increase

our knowledge. I wish to take them as expressions of underlying concepts. Downloading the metaphors into chains of transformations will lead to an understanding of the indigenous conceptualisations and patterns of thinking.

Thus, in the case of the finished temple idol three actors were involved: the sponsor, the Brahmin and the Viśvakarmā. Arithmetically, the problem appears as to how to match a binary opposition - king and brahmin - with a trinary structure - king (sponsor, power), brahmin (officient, authority) and a third element to make the vindicated power effective in the world.[8]

The sponsor as establisher of the temple acts as a king. As such, he has to be the first among the equals, arbiter in worldly affairs and in general a mediator between conflictuous parties. The only instrument at his disposal is money. He perceives the conflict as one of bargaining. Paying the sculptor a little more to complete the idol outside the sanctum, however, did not work. For, the sculptor does not link the payment with the work, and the completion of the idol is an act that does not belong to the world.

For the Brahmin, the ritual and economic domains of society are intertwined. He was given the priestly rights of the temple and they became operational with the installation of the idol. More important than this argument is his view of the Sanctum with idol as his ritual space. More precisely as a representation of the transcendent order of which he is the exemplar in this world. It is the secular space where all worldly distinctions are superseded by his transcendent authority. Here, there is no place for others.

The sculptor, like the other Viśvakarmās, conceptualises his craft as a transcendent act. The installation of a finished idol before the eye-opening, marks the end of a craft assignment only in terms of time. The act of eye-opening is a new assignment in Time.

For the sculptor, this does not contradict his view of the entire crafts process as a single act of making his knowledge manifest in terms of Space. The completion of the idol by the act of the eye-opening is metaphorically a matter of a single Space. For the entire crafts process - from the raw material up to and including the eye-opening is a single transcendent action in which there is no place for anyting or anybody connected with Society. The act and the Viśvakarmā are Life and as such opposed to Society (Death).

The outsiders' view of the workshop and the sanctum as two different spaces is clearly a matter of geographical thinking. It is based on the assumption that there is no disconnection between the transcendent order and the imminent order of the world. In this view, the workshop, the idol and the temple belong to the same order.

Obviously, this is not the indigenous view. The Viśvakarmā view of the

workshop and sanctum up to and including the eye-opening of the idol as belonging together, I propose to call the geometric view.[9] No amount of money given by the sponsor could take the sculptor of any space other than the sanctum to open the idol's eyes. For, all other Space belongs to the world, or to Society, that is, Death. To ask the sculptor to move out would be to kill him.

Notes and References

1. The data on which this paper is based were collected during almost uninterrupted field work in Karnataka since 1975. Among the various sponsors of the field work, I wish to mention in gratitude the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (New Delhi) for making possible the data collection on the secret crafts lexicon and the Centre for Advanced Research on Indigenous Knowledge Systems (Mysore) for supporting the data collection on indigenous economic concepts. I also wish to thank Mrs. Mamata Gupta of Mysore for her comments on an earlier draft. The usual disclaimers apply.

2. A critical analysis of the Viśvakarmā ideal and its material and social expressions is given in my book *The Makers of the World - Caste, Craft and Mind of South Indian Artisans.*

3. The secret crafts lexicon is still a living tradition. Therefore, it needs to be protected and the compilation lists cannot be published. With the informants I have agreed that the complete lexicon can be consulted by scholars on application at the Centre for Advanced Research on Indigenous Knowledge Systems at Mysore.

   In Kannada this lexicon is called **adurubasha.** *Aduru* means 'iron-ore' but also 'deceit', while *basha* means 'language'. The name may thus be translated as 'language of the smith' or 'language of deceit'. When informants speak English, however, they call it the 'secret language.'

   The lexicon consists mainly of nouns which are either Kannada (but with a different meaning), or any other Indian language, or terms the source of which is not known. There are few **adjectives** and even less **verbs.** So far no pronouns or adverbs have been found. This does not at all mean that these do not exist. Furthermore, at this stage, it seems that the nouns follow Kannada declensions and the verbs Kannada conjugations.

   The analysis of the *Crafts Lexicon* requires dilligent application and close attention. However, one reservation should be made here : I am only able to compile this lexicon on the promise of not publishing the terms with full reference and as if a dictionary.

   First of all, a distinction has to be made between the *Crafts Lexicon* and the *Crafts Technical Vocabulary.* The latter vocabulary consists of technical terms of the crafts which may or may not be known to non-craftsmen. Although there is no secrecy as far as these terms are concerned, non-craftsmen usually do not known them. For some of these terms there are also secret terms, which are part of the Crafts

Lexicon and thus known only to the craftsmen. The Technical Vocabulary is not our concern here.

4. Elsewhere I have presented the Viśvakarmā view on Self (as a group) and Society at length. See : Brouwer 1997b.

5. The Viśvakarmā perception of society in terms of Death seems not to be an isolated one. For Galey demonstrated that the debts of men resemble debt toward death and that the world is ordered by debt. The relationship between death, debt and society seems to be a key perception in Indian Indigenous Knowledge Systems. (Galey 1983)

6. Although the carpenters, coppersmiths, sculptors and goldsmiths quote their patrons as saying that they conduct the 'deliverypuja' for their prosperity, it is the Viśvakarmā perception of his craft and his position in the world which demands this pūjā and his activity therein. Notwithstanding the similarity in performance of the *delivery pūjā* and the *āyudha-pūjā*, the structural position of the ceremony is different. Here I observed a congruence between the Viśvakarmā view and the general perception prevalent in society regarding iron products. And of course, the blacksmith does not need a pūjā, for his relationship with the Goddess is not one of the 'worship of sacrifice', which **pūjā** literally means, but one of sacrifice itself. (See : Brouwer 1995)

7 Recently I completed a pilot study on conflict between modern and indigenous economic concepts in Small Enterprises at Mysore. The first findings will be published in the Economic & Political Weekly (Mumbai.)

8. The root paradigm of a perfect and static, all distnctions superseding, objective transcendent order and the dynamic, imperfect, if not conflictuous and interdependent order of the world (Heesterman 1985) calls for a **trinary structure in the world.** The logic is simple. The complementary opposition between the exclusive category and the inclusive category is based on the former's need for livelihood (the fruits of 'power') and latter's need for 'authority' (the vindication of 'power'). The exclusiveness of the one category makes the structure at once unworkable and a third element needed. For the king it was the Goddess; for the government it is the Goddess or the **guru** in the political domain. In the social domain of sub-castes it is again the Goddess or the guru. In the material domain the male and female categories are supplemented by a neutral category.

9. It seems to me that the European Indigenous Knowledge System (IKS) is dominated by geographical thinking and the Indian or even Asian IKS by geometric thinking. The data on indigenous navigation and instrumentation also seem to point in that direction.

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HOUSE-BUILDING ACCORDING TO THE MATSYA PURĀṆA

JAYA CHEMBURKAR

The Puranic literature is of encyclopaedic nature, dealing not only with religion and philosophy, but also with a number of various topics of mundane interest as well. It throws light on various aspects of the ancient Indian society. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (*Mat. P.,* 200 AD - 400 AD) has devoted six chapters (Chapters 252-257) to an elaborate discussion on house-building. This article proposes to examine the residential building-construction activity dilated in the *Mat.P.*

Preceptors of Vāstuvidyā

The *Mat.P.* enumerates the preceptors of *Vāstuśāstra*, who were eighteen in number. They were (1) *Bhṛgu,* (2) *Atri,* (3) *Vasiṣṭha* (4) *Viśvakarmā,* (5) *Maya,* (6) *Nārada* (7) *Nagnajit,* (8) *Viśālākṣa* (9) *Indra,* (10) *Brahmā,* (11) *Svāmikārtika,* (12) *Nandīśvara,* (13) *Śaunaka,* (14) *Garga,* (15) *Vāsudeva,* (16) *Aniruddha,* (17) *Śukra,* (18) *Bṛhaspati* (*Mat.P.*252.2/4). Instructions regarding *Vāstukarma* or *Śālākarma* 'house-building' have been laid down in the *Gṛhya Sūtras* (*Gr.Ss*) also.[1] But the *Gr.Ss.* have not mentioned any names of the preceptors of *Vāstuśāstra,* which would imply that the *Gr. Ss.* themselves were the first to lay down the rudiments of *Vāstuvidyā.* But at the time of the composition of the *Purāṇas* (*Ps.*), *Vāstuvidyā* had developed, and different persons had composed treatises on this subject. Some of these may be mythical persons, as stated by Agrawala.[2] Their works are not extant today, except those of Maya and Viśavakarmā. But there is a possibility that some of these works at least, were known to the author of the *Mat. P.* The above mentioned preceptors of *Vāstuśāstra* must have represented different schools of architecture.[3] In its miscellaneous composition, the *Mat. P.* has inserted a brief treatise on *Vāstuvidyā.* The enumeration of eighteen preceptors in the *Mat.P.* appears to have been based on the existence of different architectural traditions, which were known to the *Mat.P.*

The *Mat.P.* had dilated construction activities and many other details related to house-building. They are as follows :

Auspicious Periods for House-building

All the endeavours of a man are always in the direction of success, glory, happiness and everything that is auspicious and void of evil. Therefore a new house which one builds for his dwelling must be such where one

can stay happily and peacefully without any nuisance from seen and unseen evil. Naturally the construction of a house has to start at an auspicious time. In this regard the *Mat.P.* has mentioned the different months, which are auspicious or inauspicious for building a house (*Mat.P.* 253.2-5). Auspicious asterisms also have been mentioned (*Mat.P.* 353.6). Barring Tuesday and Sunday all the other days are said to be auspicious (*Mat.P.* 253.7a). Similarly evil and beneficial *Yogas* or 'conjunction of the planets' have also been told (*Mat.P.* 253.7b, 8a). The best *muhūrtas* 'auspicious moments' have been stated (*Mat.P.*253.8-9a). Even today people follow these instructions.

Vāstuparīkṣā

In connection with building construction, even today we talk of agricultural land and non-agricultural land. Agricultural land is not rocky and, therefore, is considered unfit for building-construction. Rocky soil is conducive to the stability of a house. This nature of the soil was taken into account while selecting land for building a house. Like the *Gr.Ss.*,[4] the *Mat.P.* also lays down that before starting the construction of a house, it is necessary to test the nature of the soil (*Mat.P.* 253.11a). Four different colours of soil viz. white, red, yellow and black, respectively for Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra have been prescribed (*Mat.P.* 253.11b).[5] The combination of different chemicals and minerals present in the soil results in different shades. It will be seen here that the *Mat.P.* unlike *Gr.Ss.* prescribes soil for the construction of a house for a Śūdra. The *Gr.Ss.* have not laid down type of land for a Śūdra. This is because, in course of time, the position of the Śūdras improved. "If a Śūdra was unable to maintain himself and his family by serving *dvijas* 'twice-born', he was allowed to support himself by having recourse to crafts like carpentry or drawing or painting pictures" (*Manu* X.99). Devala quoted in the Mitākṣarā of *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* I.20, prescribes that the Śūdra should serve the twice-born and may engage in agriculture, cattle-rearing, carrying loads, sale of commodities, drawing, painting, dancing, singing, etc. i.e. the Śūdras were free to earn. Secondly, due to the influence of Jainism and Buddhism, the Vaiśya community gave up agriculture which involves injury to insects and worms in the fields, in course of various agricultural activities. Thirdly, cultivation of fields involved different laborious jobs in the open fields. The Vaiśya community, therefore, preferred trade and commerce which were comparatively less troublesome than agriculture. Agriculture, thus became an occupation of the Śūdras and the position of the Śūdras improved and they were allowed to build houses for themselves, and that is why the *Mat.P.* has prescribed black soil for the Śūdras. Black soil being fertile and the Śūdras being cultivators could cultivate vegetables, flowers, fruits etc. in the premises of their houses. The earth tasting sweet, pungent, bitter and astringent has been described fit for a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra respectively (*Mat.P.* 253. 12b, 13a).[6] Different types of salt and minerals in the soil

result in the different tastes of the soil.

Three tests have been described for selecting the right type of land for house-building. They are -

(1) A hole is to be dug, one foot and a half, square in shape, and it is to be besmeared with cowdung; melted butter is then to be put in a *kuchcha* "earthen pot" and four wicks should be put in it, one in each direction. If the eastern wick burns more brightly than the rest, it means the plot of land is good for the Brāhmaṇas; if the southern wick is more bright, the land is good for the Kṣatriyas, if the western wick is more bright the land is good for the Vaiśyas; the brightness of the northern wick shows that the land is good for the Śūdras; and if all the four wicks are equally bright the land is said to be good for all the four classes of people (*Mat.P.* 253.14, 15). There may not be logical, rational thinking in this test, but it might have had mystic significance for the people of that time.

(2) Another method of testing the land is to dig a pit. Then the pit is to be filled with the excavated earth; if the excavated earth be more than the hollow filled, the house constructed on that ground is said to be prosperous; if the earth is insufficient, it means loss; and if it be just enough, then the result will be normal (*Mat.P.*253.17).

(3) According to the third test, the land is to be ploughed and sown with some seeds; if the seeds sprout and become big in three, five or seven days, the land should be known to be the best; if the sproutings are small, that land is to be rejected; if the sproutings are tolerably high, that land is of middling type (*Mat.P.* 253.17,18). Here the sprouting of the seeds indicates fertility of the soil. The two tests viz. (2) and (3) together imply that the upper layer of the soil should be soft, fertile so as to be able to put forth sprouts of the seeds, where useful plants and trees can grow, but the deeper layer of the land should be hard and rocky providing stable support to the house from underneath.

Division of the Plot and Positions of the Deities in the Divisions of the Plot

After testing the land as described above the plot of land is to be sprinkled with *pañcagavya* 'mixture of five products of a cow viz. milk, curds, ghee, urine and cowdung'. This is done to purify the land. Then lines are to be drawn with gold, ten lines towards the east and ten towards the north, intersecting each other (at right angles, forming eighty-one squares) (*Mat.P.* 253.21, 22). The ground is to be divided into eighty-one squares (*ekāśītīpada* 9 × 9) for a residential building, and for building a *prāsāda* or temple it is to be

divided into sixty-four squares (8×8 *catuksastipada*). The following diagram shows how eighty-one squares are to be formed and the allotment of .these squares to different deities. These squares are called *padas*. Eighty-one squares have been allotted to forty-five deities (*Mat.P.*253.22). These deities are to be worshipped with an offering of clarified butter (*Mat.P.*253.22,23).

Nine squares (3×3) in the centre constitute the abode of Brahmā (*Mat. P.*253.9a); on the four sides of Brahmā are the deities viz. *Aryamā, Vivasvān, Mitra* and *Prthivīdhara* each of whom occupies three squares, and are called *tripadas* (*Mat.P.* 253.33). In each of the four corners there are five deities, each occupying one square, e.g. the north-east corner is occupied by *Āpa, Āpavatsa, Parjanya, Agni* and *Diti.* Each of these deities is called *padika* (*Mat.P.* 253.32). Between each pair of two corners, there are twenty deities five on each side and each occupying two squares and, therefore, are called *dvipada* (*Mat.P.* 253.32b), e.g. Jayanta, Kūliśāyudha, Sūrya, Satya and Brgu on the east and the rest *dvipadas* on west, north and south as shown in the diagram.
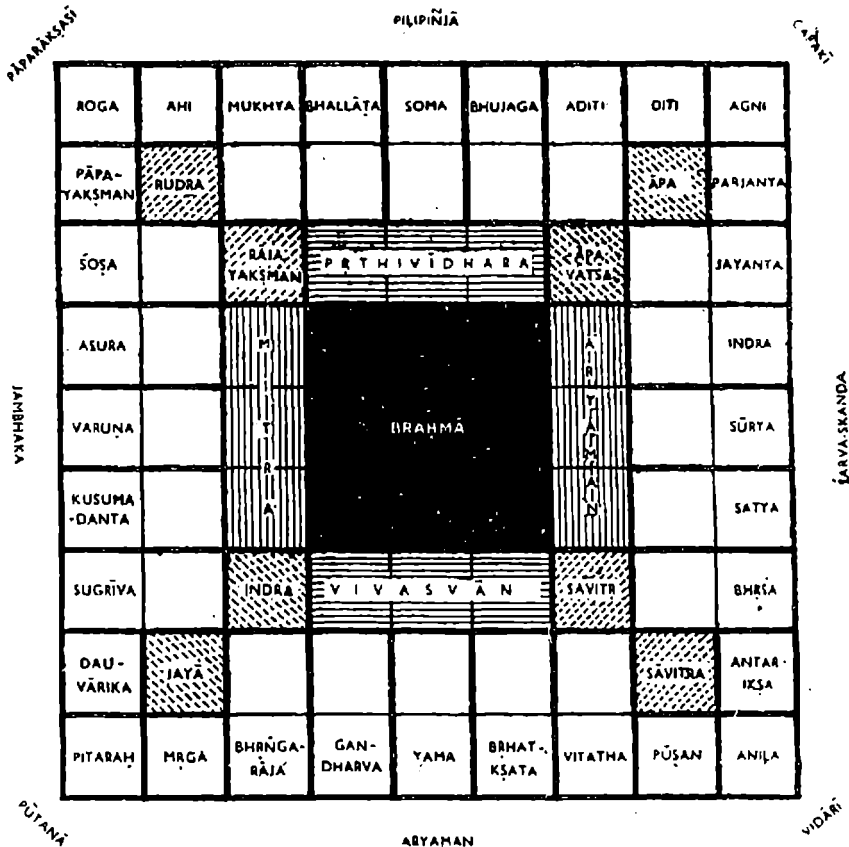
Vāstupuruṣamandala

Vāstudeva or Vāstupuruṣa

The concept of *Vāstudeva* or *Vāstospati* or *Vāstupuruṣa* i.e. the presiding deity of *vāstu*, i.e. land or house, is as old as the *Rv.* In the *Rv.*, hymns have been addressed to *Vāstospati* or *Vāstupuruṣa*, the presiding deity of a *Vāstu* (*Rv*, VII 54.1-3, VII 55.1). The *Mat.P.* narrates the following account about *Vāstupuruṣa* and explains how the gods came to be associated with *Vāstupuruṣa*. A demon who emerged from Śiva's sweat started oppressing the gods. The gods being terrified by him captured him from all sides and trampled him. Each god remained on that particular part of the body of the demon, which was overpowered by him. (*Yena yatraiva cākrāntam sa tatraivāvasatpunaḥ! nivāsātsrvadevānām vāsturityabhidhīyate!! Mat.P.* 253.1). Being trampled by the gods, the demon was to occupy the site lying low (*adhomukhaḥ*), facing the earth with his head in the north-east. The demon was called Vāstu because all the gods stayed on him. He was to receive for his food the offerings made at the time of *Vāstu-Śānti* and *Vāstu-Pūjā* (*Mat.P.* 253.13-17).

The *Mat. P.* 253.39-46 describes in detail the possession of the different parts of the body of *Vāstupuruṣa* by the different gods in the plan of eighty-one squares in the plot for house-construction.[7]

The plan of the land dividing it into certain number of squares has its origin in the plan of construction of Vedic altar. The number eighty-one also appears to have had significance for the ancient Indians. Besides the number of squares must have been useful in locating and measuring the different parts of the house. Allotment of different squares to different deities projects the metaphysical doctrine that the Cosmic Principle is all-pervading. These gods, which are the different manifestations of that Single Principle, are different forces or powers, and the land/house is as though bestowed with different powers for its protection, through the medium of *Vāstupuruṣa*.[8]

The intersections of the diagonals in the plot are termed *marma* 'vital point' (*Mat.P.* 253.36); these are not to be hurt while constructing the house nor while giving gifts. Nails, impurities and injury (to Vāstu) are to be avoided (*Mat.P.* 253.37,38). These precepts imply that *Vāstupuruṣa* should be comfortable in the ground. Happiness of the owner of the house was believed to depend on the comfort of *Vāstupuruṣa*. Therefore, the owner of the house has been instructed that at the commencement of the construction, if he feels an itching sensation on his body, it is to be inferred that there is a nail or some foreign matter under the ground. The owner should remove the nail from the corresponding part of the body of *Vāstupuruṣa* (*Mat.P.* 253.49). A nail in the vital part of *Vāstupuruṣa* is said to be dangerous. If there is any part defective or any part in excess, it should be removed. (*Mat.P.* 253.50).

These instructions appear to be rooted in superstitions.

By the technical word *sūtra-pāta* is meant the division of the plot into equal eighty-one squares or sixty-four squares with the help of a string used as a measuring tape. The word *padavilekhana* means making of deep marks on the plot. (*Mat.P.* 256.6,12).

Materials used in Construction

Materials used in construction were (1) well-burnt bricks, (2) timber, (3) and mud (*Mat.P.* 254.41). There is no reference to making of bricks, but the word 'well-burnt' (paveṣṭikā) (*Mat.P.* 257.40) indicates that baking of bricks was known.

Regarding the use of type of timber, and the process of obtaining it, avoiding timber of trees regarded as inauspicious etc. the *MatP.* has given detailed instructions (*Mat.P.* 257.1-19.)

On an auspicious day one should go to a forest and first offer worship to the trees proposed to be cut (*Mat.P.* 257.1-2). The wood of milky trees should not be used for building-construction, nor should the wood of trees inhabited by a large number of birds (for not depriving the birds of their shelter), or of one burnt up by fire, be used, nor of the tree cut down and torn by wind (*Mat.P.* 257.4). Similarly the wood of the trees broken by elephants, struck by lightning, semi-dried up or dried up of itself should not be used, because these trees show that they are not strong enough to withstand the onslaught on them and hence the wood of such trees is not considered strong enough for being used in construction. The wood of trees growing near a *caitya*, 'a place of Buddhist worship', or a sacrificial place, a temple, confluence of two rivers, a burial ground, a well and a tank should in no case be used for house-building (*Mat.P.* 257.5,6). There are certain spots or places such as − burial-ground, a well or a tank etc. which according to popular belief or superstitions are haunted by evil spirits capable of harming the prospects of the builder of the house. Therefore, the wood from such places appears to have been forbidden.

There is no mention of use of stone for residential houses (*Mat.P.* 254). The walls should be of burnt-bricks, or they may be made of wood or they may be earthen walls (mrṇmaya bhittikā) (*Mat.P.* 254.41). A chapter has been devoted to the topic of "collection of wood" (dāru-āharaṇa), but nothing has been said about use of stone in construction of residential houses. But use of stone, in addition to bricks and timber was allowed in temple-construction. (*Mat.P.* 269).

. **Pillars**

One of the important features of the Indian architecture, right from the Mauryan period, was construction of beautifully decorated pillars. The *Mat.P.* has described polygonal pillars with different names. If the pillars were square, they were known as *rucaka*; if they were octagonal, they were called *vajra* (*Mat.P.* 255.1-2). A pillar with sixteen sides was known as *dvivajra* and the one that had thirty-two sides was called *pralinaka* and *vṛtta* was one, which was circular in the centre. (*Mat.P.* 255.3). These five pillars were *mahā-stambhas* 'huge pillars'. The *Mat.P.* has not said anything more about the *mahā-stambhas*. Probably a *mahā-stambha* was the central pillar which was fixed on the foundation stone, and which supported the roof of the house. Attention was paid to the decoration of the house, for which lotuses, creepers, leaves, earthen pots were to be carved on the pillars. All the pillars were to be divided into nine parts and the lowest one for carving was made the base of the pillars. Above it, in one part was a *ghaṭa*, 'a pot', and in the other one a lotus. These decorative pillars resemble the Gupta pillars.

Measurements of a pillar are stated to be as - "the breadth of a pillar should be equal to the altitude of the house multiplied by seven and divided by eighty and the height (shaft) of the pillar should be equal to breadth multiplied by nine" (*Mat.P.* 255, 1,2).

Entrance Doors

Normally a building had four door-ways, one in each direction, and it was encircled by an enclosure-wall, i.e. compound-wall. On the basis of absence of an entrance-door in a particular direction, houses were named differently, e.g. a house without an entrance in the west was known as *Nandyāvarta*, those without it in the south or in the east or in the north were known as *Vardhamāna, Svastika* and *Rucaka* respectively (*Mat.P.* 254.1-5). The doors must face the exact cardinal points and must not be turned to any of the corner directions, and the doors should be placed in the middle part of the side-walls, i.e. equal parts of the walls should be left on two sides of the walls.

The width of the door-way is to be in certain ratio to the width of the room and the height of the door-way be twice the width. (*Mat.P.* 254.42). Doors were named differently according to the directions in which they were constructed; e.g. the eastern door was named *Indra* and *Jayanta*; the southern door was named *Yama* and *Vilatha* (*Mat.P.*255.7,8). *Puspadanta* and *Varuṇa* were the names of the western door, and lastly the northern door-way was named *Bhallāta* and *Saumya* (*Mat.P.* 255.9). The doors were obviously named after the respective guardians of the quarters. Even today the entrance and exits of large premises and pavilions are named after directions in which

they are situated. The names given facilitate exact entry and exit on the part of the people.

The door-ways should be clear, they should not be blocked by any obstruction. Some of these obstructions are a road, a tree, a well, a pillar etc. (Mat.P. 255, 10-14). If the obstruction cannot be avoided, a little distance that is to be kept from the object of obstruction upto the door, has been laid down : The minimum distance to be kept, should be twice the height of the house. The technical words for height, width and depth are *uccharya*, *viṣkambha* or *pṛthu* and *bāhulya* respectively (*ucchrāyād-dviguṇam bhūmim tyaktvā vedho na jāyate!!!*(Mat.P. 255.14)[9]. If the door-ways are blocked, various evils and calamities are said to befall the inmates of the house. (Mat.P. 255, 10-14). Mention of several calamities appears as deterrent; what is meant is light and fresh air should not be obstructed.

Opening and closing of the door-ways by themselves have been described as resulting in evil consequences (Mat.P. 255.15). Similarly height of the doors, higher or lower than the specified measurements, has also been described as resulting in calamities (Mat.P. 255.16). These instructions are meant to bring home to the builder of the house that there should be no flaws and mistakes in construction, precepts regarding measurements should be strictly followed. Other doors of the house should not be decorated more than the main entrance door (*mūladvārāttathāsnyattu nādhikam śobhanam bhavet, Mat.P.* 255.18b). The entrance door should be decorated with ornamental designs like pitchers, flowers, leaves or the images of god. (Mat.P. 255.19). Pitchers, flowers and leaves are looked upon as auspicious symbols. Everyday at the main entrance-door, worship should be offered with water and offerings (Mat.P. 255.19). This is a daily simple rite. Even today in Maharashtra, there is a practice of sprinkling water in the morning at the entrance doorway, and drawing auspicious diagrams with *rāṅgolī* and offering simple worship.

Measurements of the walls have been stated. In all the buildings the measurement of the *Garbhagṛha* 'inner chamber' determines that of the doors and the height of the roof etc. The width of the door-way - *dvāra-viṣkambha* - should be sixty eight *aṅgulas* i.e. 4ft and 3ins. (Mat.P. 254.42). Its height (*ucchraya*) should be twice the width, i.e. eight ft. six ins. The breadth of the door-jambs, (*dvāraśākhā-bāhulya*) should be as many *aṅgulas* as the number of cubits, *kara* (i.e. measure equal to *hasta*)-in the height of the door-way. The door-sill (*udumbara*) and the lintel (*uttarāṅga*) should be one half and one quarter respectively of the width of the door-jambs. (Mat.P. 254, 43,44).

The architectural terms related to the door-jambs and the door-way, known as *Tulā* and *Upatulā* have been described. The *Tulā* is entablature placed on the capital of a pillar or door-jambs and the *Upatūlā* is the lintel supported

on the *Tulā*. The width of the *Tulā* should be equal to that of the door-jamb (*Stambha-tulyā tulā proktā*), but reduced only by one-ninth part of the width of the pillar so as to be accommodated quite firmly on the top of the capital (*Mat.P.* 255.5). The *Upatulā* i.e. the lintel which is placed on the above entablature of the door-way should be made somewhat reduced in width of the *Tulā* (*Mat.P.*255.5).[10]

Unit of measurements used in construction of a house were *aṅgula*, ' breadth of a finger', and *hasta* or *kara*. The finger may be that of a master or of the mason, and *hasta* or *kara* meant measure of the fore-hand. These units were common to all the texts, both Northern and Southern.[11]

Locations of Rooms

There are specific instructions for the construction of different rooms. In the north-east corner of the house, the place of worship and *Śānti-gṛha* (probably a place for meditation, or a place for resting) should be made. In the south-east the kitchen and to the north should be made the place for storing water, and the general godown i.e. storeroom should be made in the south-west (*Mat.P.* 256. 32-34). Bathing place and *Vadhasthāna* i.e. place for killing (probably sacrificial animals, or birds and animals for eating) should be outside (the house), granary should be in the north-west and work-shop should be outside (*Mat.P.* 256.35). Such a house is said to be lucky for the owner. It may be pointed out here that the *Mat.P.* has not mentioned any construction in the cardinal directions except the north, probably because this was too well known. Or the specific instructions regarding construction in intermediate quarters imply that the cardinal directions should be used for the construction of other rooms used for dwelling purpose.

Extension of a House

A house should not be extended in one direction only. If extension is to be made, it should be made uniformly and symmetrically in all directions (*Mat.P.* 256.28, 29). this instruction is aimed at making the house look impressive and proportionate on all the sides.

Construction of Vīthikā and Several Storeys

Another feature of construciton was Vīthikā and several storeys. *Vīthikā*, "corridor or a veranda' in front of a *śālā* or a room' was one third of the room in width. (*Mat.P.* 254.37). Such a house was called *soṣṇiṣa*. If the *vīthikā* was built on two sides, it was called *sāvṣṭambha* house; and if it was on all the sides, the house was called *susthita.* (*Mat.P.* 254.38). Houses with storeys were also built. Here there is a reference to the height of the storeys. The first storey should be one sixteenth of the width of the house plus four cubits. The succeeding storeys were to be decreased by

one twelfth of the height of the preceding storey. (*Mat.P.* 254.39,40).

Trees

The role of environment in the life of man has been always recognised. Therefore, from environmental point of view while constructing a house, attention was paid to plantation of certain trees in certain specific direction. Auspicious and inauspicious trees have been mentioned (*Mat.P.* 255.20-24). If one did not cut down the growth of inauspicious trees which was believed to bring misery, one was at least to plant auspicious trees near them in order to nullify their evil effects. (*Mat.P.* 255.20-24). Well-being of the inmates of the house was always guarded.

Rituals

In keeping with the Indian tendency to ritualize all action, and spiritualize all life, house-building activity was also incorporated in religious injunctions.[12] The *Mat.P.* has briefly described the rituals for the new house.

According to the *Mat.P.* *Vāstu-yajña*, ' ritual for the house ', is to be performed five times (*Vāstu-yajñastu pañcadhā! Mat.P.* 256.11a). The first *Vāstu-yajña* begins with *sūtra-pāta* i.e. measuring of the ground plan and dividing it into eighty-one squares by drawing lines with coloured thread or gold (*Mat.P.* 253.19,20,21). It has been already stated above that eighty-one squares are allotted to forty-five deities. Out of forty-five deities, thirty-two deities viz. (1) Śikhi, (2) Parjanya, (3) Jayanta, (4) Indra, (5) Sūrya, (6) Satya (7) Bhrsa, (8) Ākāśa, (9) Vāyu, (10) Puṣan, (11) Vitatha, (12) Gṛhakṣata, (13) Yama, (14) Gandharva, (15) Mṛga, (16) Bhṛṅgarāja (17) Pitṛs, (18) Dauvārika, (19) Sugrīva, (20) Puṣpadanta, (21) Jalādhipa, (22) Asura, (23) Śoṣa (24) Pāpa, (25) Roga, (26) Ahi, (27) Mukhya, (28) Bhallāṭa, (29) Soma, (30) Sarpa, (31) Aditi and (32) Diti should be worshipped outside Vāstu i.e. outside the diagram of eighty-one squares, in the north-east corner with an offering of clarified butter. The remaining thirteen deities are to be worshipped inside the diagram. *Aryamā, Savitā, Vivasvān, Vibudhādhipa, Mitra, Rajayakṣmā, Pṛthivīdhara, Āpavatsa* - these eight deities are to be worshipped inside the diagram in the eastern side and the other five deities viz. *Āpa, Āpavatsa, Parjanya, Agni* and *Diti* are to be worshipped inside the diagram in south-eastern corner. These deities also are to be worshipped with an offering of clarified butter. This is the mode of worship of the deities in the diagram (*Mat.P.* 253. 22-33). (1) This is the first rite wherein through the worship of these several deities *Vāstupuruṣa* is worshipped. (2) The second relates to the fixing of the main pillar. (3) The third special ceremony is to be performed when the door of the main entrance to the house (dvāravaṁ śo carya) is fixed in its position. (4) The fourth ceremony takes place after the construction of a house is completed, and when the owner of the house enters the new

house for the first time; this ceremony is called *grhapraveśa*. (5) The fifth
may be performed when there is an occasion to appease *vāstu*-deity. (*Mat.P.*
256.1-11).

The second ritual related to the fixing of the main foundation pillar has
been described as follows.

After the selection of the site, construction should start at an auspicious
hour. (*Mat.P.* 256.5). Some jewels should be deposited under the ground.
Over the jewels, a slab of stone is to be placed, and on the stone all kinds
of seeds are to be kept (*Mat.P.* 256.6a). Then a pillar is to be bathed with
all medicinal plants by four Brāhmaṇas wearing white clothes, and reciting
Vedic mantras. Then that pillar is to be fixed by artisans after putting around
it clothes and ornaments (*Mat.P.* 256.6b-8). This should be accompanied
by chanting of Vedic mantras and sounding of musical instruments. Next the
Brāhmaṇas are to be fed. Lastly, *homa* is to be performed with ghee and
honey with the Vedic mantra *Vāstoṣpate pratijānīhi...* etc. (O Vāstudeva please
acknowledge us... etc.) (*Mat.P.* 256.9).[13] It may be explained here that the
bright lustrous jewels deposited in the ground appear to be the symbol of
the Sun. The Sun maintains balance of the planets, the jewels also would
maintain balance of the pillar. Putting of seeds in the ground is an expression
of desire for fertility and prosperity. Stone was not used for residential
construction that means the pillar was made of timber or bricks. Bath was
given to it with all medicinal plants to protect it from white ants and fire.[14]

(3) The same ritual is to be performed while fixing the main entrance door.

(4) After completing the construction, the owner should offer to the Brāhmaṇas,
    a jar full of water, curds, uncooked rice, fruits, flowers, gold and clothes,
    and then being led by the Brāhmaṇas entry should be made into the
    new house. Homa and sacrifices should be performed according to the
    domestic rites prescribed in the *Gr.Ss.*

(5) Similarly for the appeasement of Vāstu-deity also (*Vāstuśamane ca*) he
    should perform a rite, and offer food to Brāhmaṇas (*Mat.P.* 256.22-23).

Such rites are performed even today. This would show how house building
activity is closely related to religion. These rites were believed to possess
mystical power, which could prevent evil, and they were all the more necessary
when the houses were built of flimsy material like wood and timber.[15].

Concluding Remarks

The above discussion would indicate that the construction activity was elaborate. It comprised of examination of the plot of land, obtaining of wood, division of the ground plan measurements, construction of pillars, raising of doors, planning of different rooms in different directions etc. Attention was paid to the care of environment, influence of auspicious and inauspicious elements around, performance of simple rites at different stages of construction, etc.

In Chapters 252-257, the *Mat.P.* has dealt with construction of residential buildings. But in these chapters there is no mention of windows, sanitary arrangement. The *Mat.P.* is silent on training of mason, their duties, instruments used by them. It is possible that there being other treatises on architecture, in that period, many such details related to construction were well known to the society, and therefore, probably the *Mat.P.* has not referred to them.

The classification of houses into four, five types of pillars, description of walls, reference to *tulā* (*Mat.P.* 255.5) and *upatulā* (*Mat.P.* 255.5) technical terms in architecture indicate developed state of architecture. Instructions regarding four doors in four quarters, corridor or a veranda indicates large houses with large premises. Decorations on the doors, similarly beautiful carvings on the pillars speak of refined aesthetic sense of the people. Construction activity is a reflection of the affluence and prosperity of the period of the Gupta empire, which witnessed relations of India with foreign countries and their influence of Indian culture. The above discussion would indicate that in the time of the *Mat.P. Vāstuvidyā* had made progress over the rudiments of *Vāstuvidyā* found in the *Gr.Ss.*, and from the thatched house of the *Sūtra* period (600 BC-200BC), emerged a brick-built house, sometimes with several storeys. But the old tradition of taking into account such factors as geography, astronomy, religion, superstitions, mythic beliefs still continued.

Notes and References

1. cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol.74; pp. 1-18.

2. Agrawala, Vasudeva S., *Matsya Purāṇa - A Study*; p. 342.

3. *Ibid,* p. 342.

4. cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 74; pp.2-4.

5. cf. *Ibid.,* p.4; cf. also *Agni Purāṇa* p.247.1.

6. cf. *Agni Purāṇa* p. 247.2.

7. cf. Also *Garuḍa Purāṇa*; Chap. 46; *Agni Purāṇa* Chap. 247.

8. "The forces of all the Devas are concentrated on the limited sanctified area of the Vāstu'. cf. Agrawala, *"Matsya Purāṇa - A Study;* p.345; also cf. "From this originated the system of placing figures of gods in the various directions of a temple." Bhattacharya. Tarapada; *A Study of Vāstuvidyā or Canons of Indian Architecture;* p.4.

9. cf. Also *Agni P.* 104.31-34.

10. cf. Agrawala, Vasudeva, *Matsya Purāṇa-A Study,* p.352.

11. cf. Bhattacharya, Tarapada, *A Study of Vāstuvidyā;* pp. 221-222.

12. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay;* Vol. 74, p.10.

13. *Ibid.,* pp.10-11.

14. *Ibid.,* p.6.

15. *Ibid.,* p.12.

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Editorial Note :

The diagram of the Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala is courtesy *The Hindu Temple* by Stella Kramrisch, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Reprint 1976.

CONSTELLATIONS IN VEDIC RITUAL TRADITION

SINDHU S. DANGE

The knowledge about constellations forms an integral part of the sacrificial lore, for, the constellations are mentioned in connection with various rituals.[1] *Rgveda* (*RV*) mentions the word *naksatra* (1.50.2;III.54.9;VII.86.1) and the sacrificial texts in the ritual tradition refer to them. The constellations consist of one, two, three, four stars but Krttikās are many stars (*Satapatha Brāhmana* = *Sat. Br.* II 1.2.2). The *arthavāda* passages occurring in these texts in this connection reflect the beliefs about the constellations prevalent in the Vedic times.

The association of the constellations with the sky is explained by the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (*Tait. Sam.*) in an *arthavāda* in the context of New-moon and Full-moon sacrifices. Based on the cosmic drama of waxing and waning of the moon, it is said that on the Full-moon day Vrtra the demon is slain but on the New-moon day he rises again. Therefore, the *mantras* uttered at the Full-moon and the New-moon refer to these recurring events. It is said that when Indra taking his thunderbolt went against Vrtra, Sky and Earth entreated upon Indra not to hurl the thunderbolt at them and chose a boon that the Sky should be adorned with constellations and the Earth with variegated things (*Tait. Sam.* II.5.2.5).

The word *naksatra* as pointed out by Kane is used in three senses[2] : (i) a star in general; (ii) 27 equal parts of the zodiac; and (iii) asterism in the zodiacal belt (which may each consist of one or more stars). When the word *naksatra* means a star in general, this star (*naksatra*) obviously is the sun. In the context of establishing the fires (Agnyādhāna), the *Sat. Br.* lays down that if the sacrificer is desirous of having a *naksatra* for setting up his fires, then certainly the sun is a faultless (*anaparāddham*) *naksatra* and through that auspicious day (marked by the rising and setting of the sun) he should try to obtain the benefits of whichever of those constellations he may desire (*Sat.Br.* II.1.2.19). The reasoning here is supported by the etymology of the two words viz. *āditya* and *naksatra.* The *Sat.Br.* states here that originally *naksatras* were different powers (*ksatras*) as is the sun yonder. The moment he arose, he took (*ādatta*) from them their energy (*vīrya*) and their power (*ksatra*). Hence is the sun called '*āditya*' (*Ibid.* II.1.2.18). The gods then remarked that they who have been powers shall no longer be powers. So the powerlessness (*na-ksatratvam*) of the *naksatras* (*Ibid.* 19)[3].

Inspite of such an etymology, the general belief regarding the constellations is that they are the lights of those righteous men (*jana*), who go to the celestial world (*Śat.Br.* VI.5.4.8). This belief occurs in the context of the rite of building the Great Fire-altar (Agnicayana) when the fire-pan made of clay is to be baked and so the prayer here is to Dhiṣaṇās.[4], connected here to *dhiṣṇyas* (the fire-hearths), for baking the fire-pan. The Dhiṣaṇās metaphorically are said to be the constellations. It is as though with the stars that he bakes the fire-pan (*Ibid.*). The *Tait.Br.* also voices the same thought. There was (cosmic) water in the mid-region. The constellations (*tārakā*) crossed over (*ataran*) it, so their power of crossing (*tārakatva*). One who performs sacrifice here (terrestrial place), resorts to this world (i.e. the upper one, where the stars are).[5] The constellations are indeed the houses of gods (*Tait.Br.* 1.5.2.5).

The *Tait.Br.* speaks of the constellations as forming the body of Prajāpati as... Hasta is the hand (i.e. two hands); Citrā is the head; Niṣṭyā (Svātī) is the heart; Viśākhās (two stars) are the thighs; and Anurādhās are the feet. This is the Nakṣatriya Prajāpati (*Tait.Br.* 1.5, 2.5). In later times the Purāṇas elaborate this concept and speak of constellations as a whole forming the body of Viṣṇu (*Vāmana Purāṇa* (=*Vām.P.*) 54, the whole chapter), Janārdana Viṣṇu (*Bhaviṣya P.* Uttarakhaṇḍa 108.16ff) or even Śiva (*Vām.P.* 5.38 ff), taking these gods to be the Nakṣatrapuruṣa.[6]

In the rite of Agnicayana, the Fire-altar is said to be the constellations, for the number seven hundred and twenty of the bricks is calculated from twenty-seven constellations, each constellation having twenty-seven secondary stars accompanying it (*Śat.Br.* X.5.4.5). The correct calculation comes to 729, but as pointed out by Eggeling, the Fire-altar being identical with the Year, the (729, taken as) 720 bricks represent the days and nights of the year.[7] The information from the *Taittrīya Saṁhitā* (*Tait.Sam.*) helps us to know more in this respect. In the rite of Agnicayana, the *Tait.Sam.* while laying down the placing of bricks representing constellations (*nakṣatra-iṣṭakāḥ*), says that these are the lights of the sky, which he wins and constellations are the lights of the doers of good deeds (*Tait.Sam.* V.4.1.3).

The *Tait.Br.* mentions two types of constellations viz. Devanakṣatra and Yamanakṣatra. The list of the Devanakṣatras starts with Kṛttikās and ends with Viśākhās and that of the Yamanakṣatras begins with Anurādhā and ends with Apabharaṇī (*Tait.Br.* 1.5.2.6,7). The constellations are mentioned here for laying down that a ritual act is to be performed under the particular constellation meant for it. The exact location of that constellation[8] (for it will move from east to west) at the time of that ritual also is to be decided beforehand at the day-break itself, for after the rise of the sun, the constellation will not be visible. Hence till the time the sun has not traversed the sky

and not reached that location of the constellation, the ritual act deserves to be carried out.[9] This way alone the person can be said to perform the ritual on an auspicious day. The *Tait.Br.* here quotes the examples of Yajñeṣu and Satyadyumna who obtained their desired aims, for the priest Matsya made them perform sacrifice at the auspicious hour (*Ibid.* I.5.2.1). The *Tait.Br.* explains the names of the Yamanakṣatras by giving their etymology. In the fight with the *asuras*, at the Anūrādhās the gods became prosperous (fr.√ *rai* - to give). At the Jyeṣṭhaghnī (Jyeṣṭhā as it is commonly known) the gods killed a towering personality (*jyeṣṭha*) among the *asuras*. At the Mūlabarhaṇī the gods shattered the original place of residence (*mūlam nivāsasthānam*) of the *asuras*. A hymn from the *Atharvaveda* (*AV* VI.110) which is for 'a child born at an unlucky time,' mentions three constellations viz. Jyeṣṭhaghnī ('She that slays the oldest'), Vicṛtau and Mūla, which are all the constellations in the 'Scorpio' (asterism). The *Kauśika Sūtra* (XLVI. 25) also says that the *AV* hymn (VI.110) is to be used for a child born under a *pāpanakṣatra*. At the Aṣāḍhās the *asuras* were not able to bear (*yanna asahanta*) the disaster caused by the gods. At the Śroṇā (Sāyaṇa - 'a collection' *saṅgha*) the *asuras* had many attacks from the gods. At the Śraviṣṭhās (commonly known as Dhaniṣṭhā) the *asuras* bore (i.e. heard) wordy attacks from the gods. At the Śatabhiṣak the gods thought about the attack from the *asuras* or counter-attacked them (Sāyaṇa-*abhiṣajyata*). At the Proṣṭhapadās the gods became ready with their weapons against the *asuras*. At the Revatī the gods uttered terrible words (*aravanta*) to frighten the *asuras*. At the Aśvayujs (*aśvayujoḥ*) the gods harnessed the horses to the chariot. At the Apabharaṇis the *asuras* had to lose (*apāvahan*) the lives of great warriors in the battle (*Tait.Br.* I.5.2.8,9). Sāyaṇa in his commentary on this passage states that these constellations are known as Yamanakṣatras for they became the cause of *asuras'* death like Yama (*yamavad asurāṇām maraṇahetutvāt yamanakṣatrāṇi*).; We have already noted the details about the Devanakṣatras. The *Tait.Br.* says that one should perform rituals when the Devanakṣatras are there. By that he will be performing the ritual on an auspicious day (*Ibid.* 9).[10] The *Kauṣītaki Br.* enjoins that he should perform the sacrifice under the constellation of his choice (IV.12). This has in view a particular thing desired by the sacrificer and its relation with a particular constellation, obviously based on the belief about that constellation.

Belief about the efficacy of constellations was so deep-rooted in the mind of the Vedic ritualists that the *Tait.Br.* states that villages, towns etc. on this earth are like constellations helping the human beings. Therefore the place which is *aślīla* (*aśrīra* – without any glory) and thus not of any good use, should be avoided for residence as well as for performing sacrifice (*Tait.Br.* I.5.2.6). A *brāhmaṇa* (obviously a priest here) together with the twenty-seven constellations is counted as the twenty-eighth. As the ritual is depedent on the appropriate constellation, so it is on the appropriate instruction of a *brāhmaṇa*

(*Ibid.* I.5.3.4 and Sāyaṇa on it).

The concept of constellations reaches also to that of day and Year. The five divisions of day such as *prātah* (morning), *sangava, mādhyandina* (mid-day), *aparāhṇa* (after-noon) and *sāyam* (evening) are said to be five auspicious constellations and the four joint periods of these parts are *aślīla* constellations (without any glory left with them), for with them (i.e. with their glory) the sacrifices such as Agniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin and Atirātra are made. These nine, the *pradoṣa-kāla* (the advent of night) and the *Uṣaskāla* (the dawn) make the number eleven and the twelfth is the *brāhmaṇa* (priest). This number twelve makes a year and a person performing a ritual daily obtains fruit which could be obtained by performing it for a full year (*Ibid.* I.5.3.1-3).[12]

An interesting *arthavāda* occurs in the *Tait.Sam.* in the context of an *iṣṭi.* This *iṣṭi* is laid down for a person, caught hold of by *yakṣman* (ailment of consumption) and in this *iṣṭi* offerings are given to the Sun (*āditya*) on the New-moon day.[13] The mythical account in the *arthavāda* runs as follows. Prajāpati gave his thirty-three daughters to King Soma i.e. Moon. The thirty-three daughters here are the thirty-three constellations.[14] As King Soma was partial to Rohiṇī, being enamoured of her, the other daughters of Prajāpati (i.e. wives of Soma) became angry and approached their father. Prajāpati made King Soma take on oath, the word of which was not abided by the latter. Hence every month *yakṣman* (consumption) seizes King Soma (*Tait.Sam.* II.3.5.1-3; also *Kāṭhaka Samhitā = Kāṭh. Sam.* XI.3). The *arthavāda* is to explain the lunar nature of the constellations and the waning and waxing of the moon.

Of all the constellations which find mention in the ritual context, the important ones are the Kṛttikās comprising of seven stars. While laying down *iṣṭis* on the Devanakṣatras the *Tait.Br.* speaks of the oblations offered to these stars individually and mentions them by name. The seven stars are - Ambā, Dulā, Nitatni, Abhrayantī, Meghayantī, Varṣayantī and Cupuṇikā (*Tait.Br.* III.1.4.1).[15] The Kṛttikā constellation is particularly that of Agni. A mythical account occurring in the *Tait. Br.* states that when Agni desired to take food for the gods, the sacrificer offered eight-potsherd cake to Agni on the Kṛttikā constellation. Thus the sacrificer became a giver of food to the gods through Agni with the help of the Kṛttikā constellation (*Tait.Br.* III.1.4.1). In the rite of Agnicayana, while laying down the bricks named Sayuj, the *Tait.Sam.* says that by Agni (Fire) the gods went to the heavenly world and became the yonder Kṛttikās. He for whom these are put down goes to the world of heaven, attains brilliance and becomes resplendent (*Tait.Sam.* V.3.9). The belief underlying here is that the constellations are the righteous persons, who have gone to the heavenly world. The ritual-texts enjoin the establishing of Agni or Agnis (Agnyādheya) on the constellation Kṛttikās.[16] The main reason, most probably a true observation based on the astronomical data available at the time of the *Śat.Br.* is that

all other constellations move away from the east, while the Krttikās do not (*Sat.Br.* II.1.2.3; and also II.1.2.4 — The group of stars called Saptarṣi rises in the north but the Krttikās do rise in the east). Krttikās thus sticking to the east, which is the quarter of the rising sun, are regarded as the most appropriate constellation for establishing the fires — Gārhapatya and especially the Āhavanīya (*Ibid.* II.1.2.1). The basic concept here is that the Sun and Agni.are the two aspects of the same source of light and lustre.[17] The Āhavanīya fire-altar is always to the east. The ritual-texts put forward many *arthavādas* while laying down the establishing of Agni or Agnis under the constellation Krttikā. The *Sat.Br.* says that by this he would establish rapport between his fires and the constellation. The other lunar constellations consist of one, two, three or four stars but the Krttikās are the most numerous of them. The sacrificer thus obtains abundance. Again the Krttikās do not move away from the eastern quarter, while the other constellations do (*Ibid.* II.1.2.1-3). Another opinion stated by the *Sat.Br.* is that a person should not set up the fires under this constellation, for originally the Krttikās (the seven stars of this constellation) were the wives of the sages called Rkṣas (the stars in the Great Bear). But as the Rkṣas rise in the north and the Krttikās in the east, the latter faced hindrance in having union with their husbands (the Rkṣas). A person establishing his fires under the Krttikās may face the same fate (*Ibid.* 4). The *Sat.Br.* however presses forth its final word that he should establish his fires under the Krttikās for Agni is their mate, with whom they can have union (*Ibid.* 5). In the *Kāth. Sam.* occurs a mythical account that the gods could not know the quarters. Then the Krttikās illuminated the eastern quarter for Agni. When he establishes the fire under the Krttikās, he indeed establishes it in the east. This constellation belongs to Agni. The Krttikās are said to be the head of Agni (-Prajāpati). When he establishes the fire on the Krttikās, he becomes prominent in the world to be placed at the head. The Krttikās are seven and seven are the vital breaths in the head. By establishing his fire under the Krttikās, he obtains control over all the sense-organs and vital breaths, nourishment of his offsprings and cattle (*Kāth. Sam.* VIII.1).

The *Maitrāyanī Samhitā* (*Mait.Sam.*) restricts the establishing of fires of a *brāhmana* under the Krttikās for a *brāhmana* belongs to Agni and Krttikās also to Agni. The Krttikās are the head of Prajāpati and Agni is the mouth. By the head (here 'mouth') is food eaten and so he obtains proper food, when he establishes the fire on the Krttikās. The seven Krttikas are the seven vital breaths in the head, which are placed in him (*Mait.Sam.* I.6.9). The *Tait.Br.* echoes the words of the Samhitās (*Tait.Br.* I.1.2.1; I.5.1.1). The Krttikās are the mouth (*mukha*) of the constellations. He who establishes fire under the Krttikās becomes the chief (*Tait Br.* I.1.2.1-'*mukhya*' fr. '*mukha*').

However, right from the beginning there was some apprehension about this constellation. We have noted above the unfavourable opinion from the

Śat.Br. Here is the one from the *Tait.Br.* It points out that this constellation belongs to Agni, which burns (i.e. can burn) houses, hence it is to be avoided (*Tait.Br.* I.1.2.1).

To turn to the constellation Rohiṇī. The *Kāṭh. Sam.* lays down establishing of fire (in the rite of Agnyādhāna) under the constellation Rohiṇī and supports it by the *arthavāda* which points out that the gods as well as Prajāpati established their respective fires on the Rohiṇī (*Kāṭh. Sam.* VIII. 1). The *Tait.Br.* also enjoins the constellation Rohiṇī for the rite of Agnyādhāna and the *arthavāda* here states that Prajāpati created Agni on the Rohiṇī and the same Agni was established by the gods under the same constellation. Thereby the gods ascended all the heights (of glory and gain). This is the *rohiṇītva* (nature of ascendance) of the constellation Rohiṇī (fr. √ *ruh-* 'to ascend'). One who establishes Agni on the Rohiṇī prospers and ascends all heights (*Tait.Br.* I.1.2.2). It in interesting to note that Sāyaṇa in his commentary on this passage introduces the constellation Rohiṇī as one without any defect (*nirdoṣam nakṣatram*). This may be in comparison with the blame attached to the Kṛttikās, as we have noted already. The *Tait. Br.* prescribes the constellation Rohiṇī for the rite of Odanasava,[18] for this constellation with other seven ones is *brāhmaṇa*[19]. Sāyaṇa makes this clear by saying that this constellation is praiseworthy like a *brāhmaṇa*. The priest by performing the Odanasava takes the sacrificer to the towering position among all equals. This rite is to be performed at the time of the rising sun, as all the beings become joyous at the rising sun (*Ibid.* II.7.9.3,4). Though not pointed out by Sāyaṇa, the mention of the constellation Rohiṇī in this rite, which is to be performed at the hour of the rising sun, is very appropriate because the rising sun is the one who is *'rohan'* ('ascending' fr. √ *ruh--* 'to grow, ascend').

It is interesting to see that the same tool of etymology has brought cattle in connection with the constellation Rohiṇī. The *Śat.Br.* while laying down the constellation Rohiṇī in the rite of Agnyādhāna, has the *arthavāda* that Prajāpati set up his fires under the Rohiṇī and obtained creatures thereby, which remained with him unchanged and constant, like the red cows (*rohiṇīs*). So the nature of the Rohiṇī (*Śat.Br.* II.1.2.6). Here the etymology is based on the colour of the red cow (*rohiṇī*). The *Śat.Br.* mentions (even) the cattle setting up their fires (?) for the Agnyādhāna, thinking that they might attain (*rohema*) the desire of men and they obtained it (*Ibid.* 7). Here the etymology is the usual one from √ *ruh-* ' to ascend', here 'to attain'. These etymologies reflect on the thought-process of the Vedic ritualists. The *Mait. Sam.* lays down setting of fire under the constellation Rohiṇī by a person desirous of cattle, for the plants grow under this constellation, multiplying the cattle thereby (*Mait. Sam.* I.6.9). The *Tait.Br.* prescribes an *iṣṭi* (sacrifice) in which *caru* (rice boiled in milk) is to be offered to the god Prajāpati as also to the constellation Rohiṇī. The *arthavāda* here runs as follows : When Prajāpati

created creatures, the latter fled away from him. He desiring their return, meditated on the constellation Rohiṇī and offered *caru* to the Prajāpati of yore (Sāyaṇa — *atītakalpagatāya prajāpataye*) and the Rohiṇī. So whatever 'dear' has left a person, that returns to him, who offers this oblation and performs this *iṣṭi* (*TaitBr.* III.1.4.2) Rohiṇī is regrded as the constellation of Prajāpati. (*Ibid.* 1.5.1.1). Of a person, who establishes his fires after coming back from journey, the metre Virāj of the *mantras*, is said to ascend upwards and become the constellation Rohiṇī. He prospers thereby. Here both the metre (i.e. Speech) and constellation are taken help of for the ritual of establishing fires (*Ibid* I.1.10.1-6 esp. *Ibid* 6).

To turn to the constellation Citrā. The *Śat.Br.* lays down setting up of fires under the Citrā constellation. The mythical account occuring here as *arthavāda* runs as follows. Gods and *asuras* both sprang from Prajāpati were contending for superiority and were desirous of rising to the heavenly world. The *asuras* constructed the fire-altar Rauhiṇa with the thought of ascending (*samārokṣyāma* — fr.*sam-ā-√ruh*) to the other world. Indra became apprehensive that if they become successful in constructing the fire-altar, they would prevail over the gods. Hence having secured a brick, he approached the *asuras* disguised as and calling himself a *brāhmaṇa* and expressed a wish to put his brick there, to which they agreed. He put his brick there and when the fire-altar was very near to completion, wanted to have his brick back. He pulled it out and down came the fire-altar, with the *asuras*. Indra converted those bricks into thunderbolts and clove the necks of the *asuras*. The gods expressed with surpise and joy — "Wonderful it has been with us that we have slain so many enemies." So the wonderful nature (*citrātvam*) of the constellation Citrā. Wonderful it becomes with him, who sets up his fires under the Citrā for, he thereby slays his rivals and his spiteful enemy (*Śat.Br.* II.1.2.13-17)[20]. The *Mait. Sam.* relates the same mythical account, where the brick of Indra is called Citrā and the setting up of fire on the Citrā is laid down for a person, whose rival and enemy is slain thereby (*Mait.Sam.* I..6.9). The *arthavāda* noted above also figures in the *Kāṭh. Sam.* but here the brick of Indra is not called Citrā, while the constellation Citrā is said to belong to Indra (*aindram nakṣatram*). It is said that if a person wants to take away the enemy's strength and valour, he should set up fire under the Citrā (*Kāṭh.Sam.* VIII.1). The *Tait.Br.* taking into account the meaning of the word *'citra'* as 'variegated', lays down an *iṣṭi* in which eight-potsherd cake is to be offered to both Tvaṣṭr and the constellation Citrā, if a person desires to have offsprings of variegated nature (as Sāyaṇa explains for the next sentence—*citram nānāvidhatvam- putrapautraduhitṛdauhitrarūpeṇanānā-vidhatvam* i.e. consisting of sons, grand-sons, daughters and sons of daughters). The *arthavāda* here is that the god Tvaṣṭr desired to have 'variegated' progeny. He (not Tvaṣṭr as such but some individual of olden times yet to be known as Tvaṣṭr, on the lines of Sāyaṇa's explanation on the *Tait.Br.* III. 1.4.1, which

we have noted above in the context of the constellation Kṛttikā) offered an eight-potsherd cake to both Tvaṣṭr and the constellation Citrā (*Tait.Br.* III.1.4.12). The *Tait.Br.* seems to be carried away by the meaning of the word *'citrā'* (also *'citra'* as 'variegated') and so lays down this constellation for the Horse-sacrifice, explaining it by an *arthavāda* statement that the Horse-sacrifice, due to many rituals of varied nature to be performed in it, is indeed 'variegated' in nature (*citram vā etat karma*). Hence the constellation Citrā enjoined for the Horse-sacrifice for getting prosperity (*Ibid.* III.8.2.1. Does this indicate that prosperity also would be many-faceted ?).

To turn to the constellation Phalgunīs (having two stars Pūrvā and Uttarā). The *Ṛgveda* (*RV* X.85.13) mentions the constellation Phalgunīs by the name Arjunīs. This constellation is said to belong to the god Bhaga or at times to the god Aryaman. The *Kāth.Sam.* lays down setting up of fire under the constellation Pūrvā Phalgunīs by a person desiring good fortune, for this constellation belongs to god Bhaga (god of bounty). One who desires that his offsprings should be generous (with a desire to give) should set up fire under the constellation Uttarā Phalgunīs, for this constellation belongs to god Aryaman - the god who always gives (*Kāth.Sam.* VIII.1).[21] The *Mait.Sam.* also ascribes the Pūrvā and Uttarā Phalgunīs to the same gods as seen above (*Mait.Sam.* I.6.9).

Interestingly the *Tait.Br.* states that he should not set up fire under the Pūrvā Phalgunīs for, that is the last night of the year. A person setting up fire under this constellation as though sets up fire at the back of the year and so becomes sinful (*pāpīyān*). He should set up fire under the constellation Uttarā Phalgunīs, for that is the first night of the year. He as though sets up fire at the mouth of the year and becomes prosperous. Sāyaṇa enlightens us on this passage by saying that for the setting up of fire with some desire in mind (*kāmya ādhāna*), both Pūrvā and Uttarā Phalgunīs are important, but for regular setting up of fire (*nitya ādhāna*), the Uttarā Phalgunīs are recommended but not the Pūrvā Phalgunīs (*Tait.Br.* I.1.2.8). The *Śat.Br.* does not make any distinction between these two and in clear terms lays down setting up of fire under the Phalgunīs. Under the Pūrvā Phalgunīs the advancing (*purastāt*) sacrifice accrues to him and under the Uttarā Phalgunīs a progressive (*uttarāvat*) wellbeing accrues to him (*Śat.Br.* II.1.2.11). The *Śat.Br.* says that the Phalgunīs are Indra's constellation and corresponds to him in name. The mystic name of Indra is Arjuna[22] and so are the Phalgunīs called Arjunīs. And as nobody can dare to utter the mystic name ('Arjuna') of the god Indra, even the constellation Phalgunīs are not called by their name Arjunīs. Hence their name 'Phalgunī' (*Ibid.*). The *arthavāda* here reflects the belief that the name stands for the very person, one of whose names is kept secret. A person can be overpowered and can fall prey to black magic if his name is known to all. Hence the real name is kept secret and the other for

communication.[23]

To turn to the constellation Punarvasu. If the original or the first setting up of fires proves unsuccessful (i.e. in case the sacrificer does not become prosperous or even sustains losses) there is laid down the repetition of the *ādheya* rite i.e. the setting up of the fires.[24] The Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas prescribe the Punarādheya rite specifically under the Punarvasu constellation.[25] The *arthavāda* occuring in the *Tait.Br.* in this regard explains the name Punarvasu taking the help of etymology. The gods being affluent desired to establish Agni. Due to their being proud of wealth, Agni was not established properly. With the result, their choicest wealth left them. They established Agni again under the Punarvasu constellation. And their choicest wealth returned to them. If a rich person (by any stroke of fate) becomes wretched in condition, he should establish fire under the Punarvasu constellation and so comes back to him his choicest wealth (*Tait.Br.* I.1.2.2,3). Sāyaṇa explains the name Punarvasu in his commentary on the passage from the *Sat.Br.* (II.1.2.10) as − *nakṣatram caitat naṣṭasya vasunaḥ punaḥ prāptihetutvāt punarvasvākhyam.* Here the belief is clearly based on the principle of sympathetic magic based on the words *'punar'* ('again') and *'vasu'* ('wealth').[26]

The next constellation is Mrgaśīrṣa, under which a person may set up his fires. An *arthavāda* account occuring in the *Tait.Br.* brings out the importance of this constellation. Once Soma desired to rule over the kingdom of plants. He gave away a *caru* of unhusked rice-grains to Soma (obviously the deity of former times!), only to acquire the kingdom of plants for him. From the *mantras* it appears that actual offerings were given in the name of the constellation also − *somāya svāhā mrgaśīrṣāya svāhā invakābhyaḥ svāhā--* (*Tait.Br.* III.1.4.3).

The *Sat.Br.* maintains that the constellation Mrgaśīrṣa is the head of Prajāpati and head means excellence. So he should set up his fires under the constellation Mrgaśīrṣa (*Sat.Br.* II.1.2.8). The *Sat.Br.* here states another opinion that as the constellation Mrgaśīrṣa is the body of Prajāpati and body is unholy, sapless and a mere dwelling (*vāstu*), he should not set up his fires under that constellation (*Ibid.* 9). However the final view-point is to set up the fires under this very same constellation (*Ibid.* 10).[28]. The *arthavāda* occurring earlier in the *Sat.Br.* explains the connection of Prajāpati with this constellation. The *Sat.Br.* alludes to the myth of Prajāpati having a passion for his own daughter (either the Sky or the Dawn); uniting with her; Rudra, on the insistence of other gods, shooting a three-knotted arrow at Prajāpati and injuring him (*Ibid.* I.7.4.1 ff).

The constellation Abhijit from its very name indicates victory over one's adversary, attacking him from the front side. The *arthavāda* in the *Tait.Br.* points out how in the fight against the *asuras*, the gods scored victory over

them under this very constellation. Hence the constellation Abhijit well deserving its name - fr. *abhi* - √ *ji* - 'to conquer'; this is, while advancing from the front side - *abhi* (*Tait.Br.* I.5.2.3,4).

An interesting belief occurs regarding the constellation Svātī also called by the name Niṣṭyā. It is said that whosoever desires that his daughter should be dear to her husband, should give her in marriage on the constellation Niṣṭyā. She becomes dear to him and does not return to her father's place i.e. repudiated by her husband (*Ibid.* I.5.2.3).

About the constellation Hasta, it is stated that whosoever desires that presents should be offered to him, should set up his fires under this constellation, for whatever is offered with the hand (*hasta*) that indeed is given to him (*Śat.Br.* II.1.2.12). Here again the *arthavāda* has taken the help of etymology (the name 'Hasta' fr. the noun *hasta*).

The constellation Ārdrā is associated with Rudra. The *arthavāda* occuring in the *Tait.Br.* relates that once Rudra longed for cattle (He is already known as Paśupati). So he offered to Rudra[29] in waters a *praiyaṅgava* (of Priyaṅgu fruit) *caru* on the constellation Ārdrā. Therefore he obtained cattle (*Tait.Br.* III.1.4.4).

The constellation Revatī is associated with the increase of cattle. The *arthavāda* in the *Tait.Br.* states that when Prajāpati created the cattle, they resorted to one constellation after the other, only to remain the same in number without any increase. However when they resorted to the constellation Revatī, they multiplied. Hence whatever offering is to be given in the sacrifice, it should be on this constellation (*Ibid.* I.5.2.4).[30] It has to be noted that this constellation figures in the list of the Yamanakṣatras (*Ibid.* 8, 9) and the etymological explanation of the word is that on this constellation the gods uttered such sounds (*revatyām aravanta*, fr. √ *ru* - 'to make a sound', actually 'to roar') which frightened the *asuras*.

Sacrifice in the Vedic tradition was never viewed as a procedure on the terrestrial level only, but it far extended to the cosmic level to which conceptually it belonged, and incorporated into its gamut even the constellations, which could have entry here due to the beliefs of yore attached to them.

Notes and References

1. For detailed information about the constellations, see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. I, under the title ''Nakṣatra''; Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V, pt. I, 2nd ed., Poona, 1974, pp. 495 ff; Pandit Vasantkumar R., ''Origin and Growth of the Jyotiṣa-śāstra'', *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XXVI (New Series), Part 2, Arts No. Sept. 1957, pp. 83-90; also Dange

(Mrs.) Sindhu S., ''Constellations", *Hindu Domestic Rituals - A Critical Glance,* Ajanta Pubns., Delhi, 1985, pp. 1-9. (dealing with 'Constellations' in the Hindu samskāras).

2. Kane, P.V., *op. cit.,* p. 495.

3. Aufrechet and Weber state the etymology of the word *'naksatra'* from *nakta-tra* meaning 'protector of night' (√ *trai-* to protect), while Macdonell and Keith, *op. cit.,* give it from *nak-kṣatra-* 'ruling over night.'

4. Eggeling J., *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* Part III, SBE Vol. 41, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1989 (1894), p. 243, note 1.

5. *Nirukta* III.20 gives the etymology of the word *nakṣatra* fr. √ *nakṣ-* to obtain.

6. See Dange, Sadashiv A. *Encyclopaedia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices,* Vol. I, Navrang Pubn., New Delhi, 1996, p. 306.

7. Eggeling, J., *op.cit.,* Part IV, SBE Vol. 43, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1978 (1885), p. 383, notes 1 & 2.

8. The *Tait.Sam.* (V.4.1.4) states that the constellations move both towards west and east. The *Śat.Br.* (II.1.2.3) however says that all constellations except the Kṛttikās move away from the east. It says that the group of stars called Saptarṣi, rises in the north but the Kṛttikās rise in the east (*Ibid.* II.1.2.4).

9. Sāyaṇa on *Tait Br.* (I.5.2.1) -- *tacca nakṣatram yāvat prācyām udayam prāpya paścimābhimukham gacchati /*

   For the passage *Tait.Br.* (I.5.2.7,8) -- *yāni devanakṣatrāṇi tāni dakṣiṇena pariyanti / yāni yamanakṣatrāṇi* (7) *tānyuttareṇa iti/* Sāyaṇa takes the suffix *'enap'* in the sense of 'vicinity' (*adūrārthavācitvāt*) and says that the Kṛttikās etc. move to the southern side near the devaloka and Anūrādhā etc. on the northern side near the Yamaloka.

10. The *Tait.Br.* further states the Puronuvākyā (invoking) and Yājyā (offering) *mantras* of each of the Devanakṣatras and the Yamanakṣatras (III.1.2.1, 2).

11. The word *saṅgava* is derived fr. *sam-go*--the time when grazing cows are collected for milking or when they are together with their calves (3 *muhūrtas* after the *prātaḥ*)

12. The *Tait.Br.* puts forth here another idea, replacing the *pradoṣa-kāla* and the *uṣaḥ-kāla)* by night (*āgneyī rātriḥ*) and day (*aindram ahaḥ*) and the *brāhmaṇa* by the sun (*ādityaḥ*), making again the number twelve to represent Year (I.5.3.4) and the daily ritual to be equal to the ritual performed for the whole year.

13. This is obviously because on the New-moon day the moon comes so close to the sun that it is 'eaten' up by the latter. So to release the moon offerings are given to the sun.

14. Twenty-six constellations and the seven stars of the Kṛttikā constellation make for the number thirty-three.

15. Also *Kāṭh.Sam.* (XL.4) for these names; *Tait.Sam* (IV.4.5.1) while laying down

the bricks in the names of the constellations, mentions these names in the context
of the Kṛttikā constellation.

16. *Kāth.Sam.* VIII.1; *Mait.Sam.* 1.6.9; *Tait.Br.* I.1.2.1; 5.1.1; *Śat.Br.* II.1.2.1.

17. *Śat.Br.* II.3.1.36-- When the sun sets, then Agni is the light and when the sun
rises, then Sūrya is the light.

18. For Odanasava - *Tait.Br.* II.7.7. The Kalpa tradition as quoted by Sāyaṇa on
this passage, lays down that a person desirous of good food should perform
the Odanasava, in which four offerings of the cooked rice are given, each with
a *mantra.*

19. See Sāyaṇa on *Tait.Br.* II.7.9.4 where he quotes from the tradition of the Jyotiḥśāstra.

20. Also *Tait.Br.* I.1.2.4, 5 & 6.

21. *Tait.Br.* I.1.2.3, 4 refers to these two constellations but reverses the presiding
gods in that Pūrvā Phalgunī is governed by Aryaman and Uttarā Phalgunī by
Bhaga.

22. The great *Mahābhārata* personality Arjuna is said to be the son of Indra. Is it
the reflection of this name 'Arjuna' occuring in the ritual tradition ? It is enjoined
that after seeing a rainbow, a *'snātaka '* (i.e. a student, who has taken a final
bath as a mark of completion of his studies at the preceptor's hermitage, and
is to enter the stage of a house-holder) should not say directly the word *'indradhanuḥ'*
but should say the word *'maṇidhanuḥ '* (*Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* II.7.13). This is
obviously to avoid the anger of the god Indra. It is interesting to note that the
twin-trees uprooted by the child Kṛṣṇa are the 'Arjuna'-trees. Does the name
of the trees indicate Kṛṣṇa's clash with Indra, as we see in the 'Govardhana'-
episode ? Probably 'Yes' ! See Dange, Sindhu S., *The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa-
Mytho-social Study,* Ajanta Pubns., Delhi, 1984, pp. 166-170, 187-189.

23. The belief occurs in the *ṚV* where the god Apām Napāt is said to have a secret
name (II.365.11ab) and Varuṇa is said to know the secret names of the 'cows'
(VII.87.4), For the information from the Gṛhyasūtras, see Dange, Sindhu S., ''Naming
of the Child (Nāmakaraṇa) '', *Hindu Domestic Rituals – A Critical Glance,* pp. 21-24.

24. Eggeling, J., *op.cit.,* Part I, SBE Vol. 12, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1988 (1882),
p. 285, note 2.

25. *Tait.Sam.* I.5.1.4; *Kāth.Sam.* VIII.15; *Mait.Sam.* I.7.2; *Śat.Br.* II.1.2. 10; *Kauṣ. Br.* 1.3.

26. Sāyaṇa explains this with the help of a term in Mīmāṁsā namely *'liṅga',* on
which principle, one can join the two concepts viz. that of the constellation Punarvasu
and the rite of Punarādheya (Sāy. on *Śat.Br.* II.1.2.10).

27. The constellation Mṛgaśīrṣa is also named 'Invakāḥ' (Fem. Plural), as it indicates
a group of stars.

28. In the *Aitareya Br.* the myth of Prajāpati and his daughter becomes a star-myth.
Prajāpati transforms himself into a roe-buck (*ṛsya)* and approaches his own daughter,
who assumes the form of a doe (*rohit*). Prajāpati is pierced by the arrow of
Bhūtavat (i.e. Rudra) who is created by the gods out of their most fearful forms.

Prajāpati is bounded up to the sky, where he becomes the constellation called Mṛga (i.e. Mṛgaśīrṣa) and his daughter becomes the constellation Rohiṇī.

29. Sāyaṇa here says that the passage should be explained as he has done in the case of the passage of the same Br. (*Tait.Br.* III.·1.4.1.) - 'Agni offering to Agni under the Kṛttikā' i.e. Agni a person in former birth, afterwards became Agni. Similarly here, Rudra offering to Rudra of former times.

30. Sāyaṇa in his comm. on this passage remarks that the offering of cattle enjoined by such expressions as *vāyavyam śvetam ālabheta* etc. prior to the Soma-sacrifice should be undertaken under the Revatī constellation.

EARLIER NAMES OF THE KHAJURAHO TEMPLES

DEVANGANA DESAI

Khajuraho in central India preserves 23 temples, out of the 85 temples mentioned in legendary accounts, which were built during the reign of the Candella dynasty in the period *circa* AD 900 to 1150. The temples were dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Causath Yoginīs, and to Jaina Tīrthaṅkāras. The names of these temples have been changing and the original names are almost forgotten. This article attempts to bring to notice of scholars some of the older names known from the inscriptions and also those current in the 19th century.

Recently, while going through the drawings and notes prepared between 1845 and 1852 by F.C.Maisey[1] of Bengal Army, preserved in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library, London, I came across some different names of these temples. These names, along with those noted by Captain T. S. Burt[2], who visited Khajuraho in 1838, and General Alexander Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Report* of 1864-65, make an interesting reading. Some of the shrines such as those dedicated to Varāha, Vāmana and the Sixty-four Yoginīs, continue to be known by the names of the divinities. But many others have changed their names.

Lakṣmaṇa Temple : The earliest temple in Nāgara style at Khajuraho was the one built by the Candella king Yaśovarman in AD 954, which enshrined a precious image of Vaikuṇṭha, a composite form of Viṣṇu. This temple is now called Lakṣmaṇa, but, we should remember, it has nothing to do with Rāma's brother Lakṣmaṇa. Perhaps "Lakṣmaṇa" was the name given after "Lakṣavarman", another name of King Yaśovarman, mentioned in the inscription of the temple.[3]

Captain Burt in 1838 knew the Lakṣmaṇa temple as "Chatterbhoj", that is Caturbhuja, four-armed, as its image has four arms. In 1852, F.C.Maisey calls it "Lacchamana", and also at the time of the first visit of Alexander Cunningham to Khajuraho in 1852, it was called "Lakshmanji". In 1865, it was known as "Rāmacandra." But Cunningham calls it "Chaturbhuja" in his ASI Report. So the temple had been changing names in the middle of the 19th century. James Fergusson in 1899 calls it Rāmacandra and Ananda Coomaraswamy in 1928 knows the temple as Caturbhuja.[4]

But I would like to draw attention to the fact that in the temple's own inscription of AD 954, it is clearly mentioned that King Yaśovarman built

a splendid temple for Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu), the enemy of demons (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 134, verse 42). In his son Dhaṅgadeva's Viśvanātha temple inscription of AD 999 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 144, verse 39), it is stated that King Yaśovarman built "an abode of Vaikuṇṭha-mūrti." So the correct name of the temple would be "Vaikuṇṭha" and, to be more clear for common people, it may be called "Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu."

Devī Temple : This small shrine facing the Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu or Lakṣmaṇa temple now shelters an image of goddess Brahmāṇī, a Mātṛkā, but earlier it must have housed Garuḍa, *vāhana* of Viṣṇu. It was a Garuḍa-maṇḍapa.

Viśvanātha Temple : The next important inscribed temple, the Śiva temple, now called Viśvanātha, the Lord of the Universe, was known in the inscription as Marakateśvara, the Lord of Emerald Liṅga, for its builder King Dhaṅga had dedicated two liṅgas, one of stone and the other of emerald (*marakata*). It was also named Pramathanātha, Lord of the *pramathas* or goblins attending on Śiva. When Captain Burt visited Khajuraho, it was called Lalaji's temple, in which he found a large inscription. Maisey knew it as Viśvanātha in 1852, as also did Cunningham in his Report of 1864-65.

Pārvatī Temple : This much renovated, small temple to the south west of the Viśvanātha temple, was known to Maisey as the one dedicated to the river goddess Gaṅgā. This was so because the mount of the goddess appeared to him as a *makara* (mythic aquatic creature), the mount of Gaṅgā. But actual representation is that of a *godhā* (iguana), which is the *vāhana* of the goddess Pārvatī. The temple is now called Pārvatī. However, as there is Viṣṇu in the centre of the lintel, Cunningham identified the image as Lakṣmī, consort of Viṣṇu.

Mātaṅgeśvara Temple : Burt in 1838 calls it Mahādeo; it was under worship when he visited the place. Maisey knew it as Mātaṅgeśvara Mahādeo in 1852. The word Mātaṅgeśvara would associate the temple with Mātaṅga tribe. Cunningham in 1864-65 calls it Mṛtanga Mahādeo or Mṛtyuñjaya Mahādeva, the victorious over death. Significantly, he records its "brightly gilt pinnacle, the work of the late Raja of Chatarpur" (II, p. 428), and that it was coated with white-wash. Architectural historians M.A. Dhaky and Krishna Deva, pointing to the temple's peculiar architectural features and pyramidal roof over the sanctum, believe it to have been a *svargārohaṇa* or memorial shrine,[5] built in honour perhaps of a king (Dhaṅgadeva) or a Śaiva teacher.

Sūrya or Citragupta Temple : This temple has no inscription but was locally known as *Chhatr-ko-patr* in 1864-65 to Cunningham. In his Report of 1883-84, Cunningham calls the temple *Chitr-gupt*. It was also later called Bharatji temple. The present'name Citragupta means : "one of the beings or attendants in Yama's world who records the vices and virtues of mankind",

(Monier William's *Dictionary*, p. 396; Apte's *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 435), which is a misnomer for a Sūrya temple. The name Citragupta also refers to the scribe of the gods, born from the body of Brahmā. Later he became Yama's scribe who records man's good and bad deeds. His caste is said to be of scribes - *kāyastha*.[6] The temple enshrines a 5 feet high image of Sūrya, riding a 7-horse chariot. Its lintel of the sanctum bears images of Sūrya as Dhātr-Sūrya (Brahmā-Sūrya). The temple may simply be called the Sūrya temple. It is one of the few important surviving temples of Sūrya in central India.

Devī Jagadambā Temple : The temple was called "Darsa Devī" temple by F.C. Maisey in 1852, and Devī Jagadambī by Cunningham in 1864-65. But the latter was aware that the temple originally enshrined Viṣṇu whose representation is seen in the centre of the door lintel of the sanctum. The local people still recount that the image of the goddess was brought by Maharaja Pratap Singh (in about 1843) from a nearby site. We see the goddess installed in place of the missing Viṣṇu image, whose elaborate *parikara* frame is still *in situ* in the sanctum. The iconography of images in the cardinal niches on the exterior wall also suggests the temple's original Viṣṇuite affiliation.

Kandariya Mahādeva Temple : This grandest of the Khajuraho temples does not preserve any dedicatory inscription.[7] It was called "Kundari" by Burt in 1838. But Burt wisely notes that the names "Kundari" and "Lalaji" are not found in the Sanskrit theogonies and that they may be familiar designations locally current.

But it is while going through Maisey's drawings and manuscripts (in his own handwriting) at the India Office Records of the British Library, London, that I discovered to my excitement the older name of the Kandariya Mahādeva temple. Maisey calls it "Khandarī" or "Narmadesvara", writing these names in the bottom margin of his well known drawing of the panorama of the temples at Khajuraho, also titled "Hindu Temples, Kajurahi", plate 40 of the Miscellaneous Album, prepared in 1852.[8] He had also noted 13 names of the Khajuraho temples on a slip of paper, which I found tucked in his handwritten script of Kālañjar. There also the name "Narmadesvara" appears for the Kandariya Mahādeva.

This is an important discovery. 'Narmadesvara' is generally a liṅga brought from the Narmada river which has its source in the Vindhya mountains. The stone of the Narmadesvara liṅga is generally whitish in colour. The liṅga of the Kandariya is whitish in colour. Whether the name Narmadesvara was given to the temple in the Candella times or later in the time of Chhatarpur Maharaja remains to be found out. But it is significant that Cunningham in 1864-65 reports the marble liṅga, 4-1/4 feet in girth, in the sanctum and states : "the lingam is most probably the old one that was at first enshrined

in the temple."[9]

We may note that the river Narmada was much revered in the Candella times at Khajuraho. In King Dhanga's inscription of AD 999, his mother Puppā Devī, the queen of Yaśovarman, is described as pious as the holy Narmada.[10] In the time of King Vidyādhara (*circa* AD 1004-1035), credited to be the builder of the Kandariya Mahādeva temple, the Candella power extended from the Chambal to the Narmada in the south and to the Ganga-Yamuna valley in the east. Vidyādhara is said to have defeated the Kalacuris, whose territory lay across the Narmada region. We need however further evidence to connect the name Narmadeśvara to the Kandariya Mahādeva in the Candella times.

The word "Kandariya" is also variously spelt since the 19th century. Cunningham calls this temple Kandāriya Mahādeo in 1864-65 Report, pp. 419-20, and Khandāriya temple in 1883-84 Report, p. 62. In 1928, Coomaraswamy calls it Kandārya Mahādeva. (*HIIArt,* p. 109). In 1945, Stella Kramrisch calls it Kandarīya, meaning "of the cave, *kandara*", which visually and conceptually agrees well with this cave-like and mountain-like temple.[11] Krishna Deva with slight variations in pronunciations (diacritic marks), calls it Kandariyā Mahādeva in *Ancient India* No. 15, in 1959 and Kandāriyā Mahādeva in later publications.

Brahmā Temple : This small temple on the bank of the Khajur-sāgar or Ninora Tal tank is miscalled Brahmā because it has in its sanctum a four-faced mukha-linga. But the temple was originally dedicated to Viṣṇu, as can be said from the representation of Viṣṇu riding Garuḍa in the centre of the door lintel.[12]

Javari Temple : This is a Viṣṇu temple earlier called Ṭhākurjī and Lakṣmaṇjī at the time of Cunningham's visit in 1852, but was known as "Jabar" in 1865. He writes : "I found that no one knew it by any other name than *Jabar,* which is properly the name of the field, or land in which it stands, and has no connexion whatever with the temple."

Ghantai Temple : Situated in the proximity of the Khajuraho village, this Jaina temple is called Ghantai, about which Cunningham says in 1865, "the meaning of which no one knows", but it is now known that it got its name from the decoration of the bells (*ghaṇṭā*) on its pillars. (*Ancient India,* No. 15, p. 60). The temple has Jaina Yakṣī Cakreśvari on the centre of its door lintel, indicating it was dedicated to Jina Ādinātha.

Pārśvanātha Temple : This largest of the Jaina temples was originally dedicated to Ādinātha, whose Yakṣī Cakreśvarī is in the centre of the door lintel. Cunningham calls it Jinanātha (II, p. 432-33), from one of the donative inscriptions on its door jamb. At the time of Cunningham's first visit in 1852,

it was deserted and not under worship; so he could enter it. But five years before his second visit in 1865, it was repaired by a Jaina banker and he was not permitted to enter it. A statue of Pārśvanātha was then installed in the temple, hence its present name. Cunningham however mentions another small shrine of Pārśvanātha in front of this large temple.

Dulādeva Temple : The Śiva temple, constructed towards the end of the Candella temple series at Khajuraho, is locally called Dulādeva, the Divine Bridegroom. Maisey notes it as "Kumāra", and Cunningham as "Kunwar Math", which according to him could be a temple of Skanda-Kumāra (Kārttikeya) or the Kunwar's or young prince's temple - one built by a young prince of the Candella dynasty (II, p. 436).

We may point out that the Hindi name "Dulādeva" refers to a local tribal myth of "Dulhādeva" who, like a corn spirit, is wedded and slain amidst marriage rites, as part of fertility rituals. The worship of Dulhādeva is met with in the complex of religious beliefs and practices of Central India and the southern parts of Uttar Pradesh.[13] It is very popular among the Śabara tribe of Bundelkhand.

Bījamaṇḍala or Vaidyanātha Temple : The name Bījamaṇḍala or Bījamatha of this newly excavated temple, near the Jatkari village, in the southern zone of Khajuraho, can be linked up with "Vaidyanātha" temple. The temple has the longest plinth - 113 feet (34.5 metres) - among the Khajuraho temples and was the largtest temple of the site, larger than the great Kandariya Mahādeva, which is 100 feet (30.5 metres) long. The word *Bīja* is derived here from *Baija, Vaija, Vaidya,* and the local people of the village know this mound as the Vaidyanātha.

On the stylistic study of its plinth mouldings, I have dated the temple to AD 1000-1020.[14] It was built after the Viśvanātha temple (AD 999), and is nearer in date to the Sūrya temple, called Citragupta (AD 1000-1020). It very possibly was the Vaidyanātha temple, constructed by Grahapati Kokkala in VS 1058, i.e. AD 1001, mentioned in his inscription. (*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I, pp. 147-152). I have in my recent article in *Marg* associated the excavated Bījamaṇḍala (Vaidyanātha) temple with Grahapati Kokkala's Vaidyanātha Śiva temple of his inscription. The slab bearing this inscription is now lying in the Viśvanātha temple in the Western group. But it seems to have been shifted from the southern to the western zone by Pratap Singh, the late Maharaja of Chhatarpur. This Maharaja carried out extensive repairs at Khajuraho, between 1843-47,[15] before Cunningham's first visit there in 1852. That he installed a marble liṅga in the Vaidyanātha (Bījamaṇḍala) temple is known to villagers; and Cunningham also has noted near the Jatkari village, "a temple dedicated to Śiva, whose liṅgam of marble is enshrined inside." (p. 437). The name "Jatkari" of the nearby village also is said to have

been derived from "jatis" or sages. This can be linked up, again, with Grahapati Kokkala's inscription, which mentions that the donor got settled near the Vaidyanātha temple pious brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vedas (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 152, verse 20).

We have thus pointed out the changing names of at least 14 temples of Khajuraho. There are temples such as Khakhara Maṭha in the northern zone of Khajuraho, whose earlier name we do not know. Originally it seems to have been a Viṣṇu temple whose *dvārapālas* can be seen amidst the preserved ruins of this temple.

Notes and References

1. F. C. Maisey (1825-1892) of Bengal Army was in India in 1842, and visited central India from 1845 to 1852. He has given a detailed account of Kālañjara, the Candella fort town in 1845-47 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XVII, March 1848, pp. 171-201, and has made drawings of the temples of Khajuraho in 1852.

2. T. S. Burt's account in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VIII, 1839.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 128, verse 39.
   S. K. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, Second Edition, Delhi, 1977, p. 52.

4. James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, first published in London, 1867; revised edition 1899.

   A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, first published 1927, Dover Publications, 1965, p. 109.

5. M. A. Dhaky and P. O. Sompura, "Svargārohaṇa Prāsāda", *Svādhyāya* (Gujarati), Vol. 5, No. 2, 1967, pp. 191-195.
   Krishna Deva, *Temples of Khajuraho*, ASI, New Delhi, 1990. Vol. I, p. 33.

6. M. and J. Stutley, *A Dictionary of Hinduism*, 1977, p. 63.

7. There is one-line inscription on its *maṇḍapa* pilaster, which is palaeographically later than the date of the construction of the temple. See photo 43, p. 43 in the author's *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, 1996.

8. Illustrated by me in the *Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, p. xxx. But the captions of the temples in the bottom margin are not printed in the illustration.

9. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1864-65, p. 420.

10. S. K. Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 53.

11. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Calcutta, 1946, reprinted 1976, p. 365.

12. Cunningham, *ASI Report* II, 430;
    Krishna Deva in *Ancient India*, No. 15, pp. 51-52;
    Religious Imagery of Khajuraho, p. 30, photo 28.

13. G. S. Ghurye, *The Scheduled Tribes*, p. 264.

R. V. Russell and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, Vol. IV, London, 1916, p. 507.

Devangana Desai, *Erotic Sculpture of India, A Socio-Cultural Study*, New Delhi, Second Edition, 1985, p. 91.

14. Devangana Desai, "Significance of the New Find at Khajuraho : Gahapati Kokkala's Vaidyanatha Temple ?", *Marg*, Vol. 51, No. 3, March 2000.

15. Krishna Deva, *Temples of Khajuraho*, Vol. I, 1990, p. 12.

A PROPOS OF DEVA SŪRI-KUMUDACANDRA ENCOUNTER :

SOME VIEWS EXAMINED IN RETROSPECT

M. A. DHAKY

In an article in Hindi[1], late Pt. Kailashchandra Shastri had critically commented on some of the aspects of the doctrinal disputation between the Śvetāmbara saint and scholiast Vādī Deva Sūri and the Digambara divine and dialectician Kumudacandra. The historic debate had been held at the court of the Caulukya monarch Jayasimhadeva Siddharāja in Aṇahillapāṭaka, and had ended in the defeat of the Digambara side. The event is narrated at varying depths and lengths in the Solaṅkī and post-Solaṅkī Śvetāmbara Jaina literary works of differing descriptions.[2] Indeed, historians of recent times, particularly those who wrote on Western India, have at various lengths commented on this episode[3]. Pt. Kailashchandra's observations were actuated by the late Muni Jinavijaya's article in the "Bahadursinghji Singhi Commemoration Volume III" of the *Bhāratīyavidyā*[4] in which were illustrated some medieval illuminations on the wooden *sūtra-paṭṭikās* from Jaisalmer that graphically depicted a scene from the narrative of the aforementioned encounter. As suggested by late Muniji, the *paṭṭikās* perhaps were meant for protecting the palm-leaf manuscript of the Sanskrit play, the *Mudrita-Kumudacandra-prakaraṇa* of Yaśaścandra (c. latter half of the 12th cent. AD) which has this debate as its central theme.

Pt. Kailashchandra was unhappy about the excesses committed by the medieval Śvetāmbara writers in presenting the episode, and the declaration (as he seems to have comprehended) by Muni Jinavijaya that these paintings represent a valuable document of an historical event of significance. An impartial reader surely would sympathise with Pt. Kailashchandra and endorse some of the exceptions he took, particularly about the manner in which Kumudacandra has been treated in those medieval writings. At the same time, it would be unrealistic to ignore or underestimate the facts of history which underlay this unfortunate episode of the Solaṅkī period. Pt. Kailashchandra's observations may in sum be placed as follows :

1. While not denying that such a contest did take place, the incident has been accorded more importance than it merited. The annals of the Digambara sect show knowledge neither of the selfsame disputation nor of any pontiff with the name Kumudacandra[5]. On the other hand, the [Digambara Jaina] inscription No. 40 from Śravaṇabelgoḷa (in Karnataka) refers to Ācārya

Śrutakīrtti as a victor over the rival dogmatist Devendra who - as Hiralal Jain earlier had suggested - might be identified with the aforenoted Śvetāmbara pontiff Deva Sūri.

2. There had been a deliberate attempt on the part of the medieval Śvetāmbara writers as well as the paintings (claimed by Muni Jinavijaya to be contemporaneous with the episode) to scandalize Kumudacandra. Kumudacandra, moreover, has been portrayed in the paintings as (pompously) proceeding to the venue of debate in a palanquin and with a retinue in which some persons move forward with weapons in hands (and some hold umbrella over his head). Such a style of carriage shown for Kumudacandra is that of a *bhaṭṭāraka* (abbot), not the nude mendicant ascetic - *muni* - of the Digambara sect.

3. Had Kumudacandra been really a person of considerable erudition, he would not have resorted to unbecoming methods and tactics (as imputed in the Śvetāmbara writings); if indeed he did, it must be admitted that he, the Deva Sūri's opponent, was not a person of scholarly distinction.

4. It is regrettable that an historian [Muni Jinavijaya] dubs these sectarian paintings as [documents of] history and carried on propaganda about them.

A clear deduction that emerges after examining Pt. Kailashchandra's observations *vis-á-vis* the original Śvetāmbara sources is that the problem needed sufficient investigation before viewing it solely from the Digambara Jaina standpoint. Only by reference to the original context is the true perspective of happenings grasped and explained. We must then consider the undernoted facts before reaching a definite and dispassionate conclusion. (These observations serially will follow Pt. Kailashchandra's observations.)

1. There of course is no scope for doubting the episode in its main configuration and content : For several Śvetāmbara literary sources — a few contemporaneous, some close in time, not to say several later — unequivocally refer to it, some even in considerable detail.[6] If the Digambara medieval or later writings do not take note of it, the central fact for their silence is the unsavoury outcome of the episode for the Digambara sect. Indeed, for a Digambara panegyrist it was hardly an event to celebrate, rejoice, or record! As for the nomen "Kumudacandra", it surely is a typical medieval Digambara monk's appellation. The inscriptions from Karnataka do refer to a few Kumudacandra-s, and the one mentioned in the Nesargi record seems to fit in the period under reference and there he has been stipulated as a *bhaṭṭāraka*[7]. Apparently, Jyotiprasad Jain earlier had suggested that Kumudacandra, the author of the famous *Kalyāṇamandira-stotra*, could be the disputant who met Deva Sūri in a doctrinal debate[8]. Be that as it may, *some* Digambara Kumudacandra from Karṇāṭadeśa[9] was for certain

involved, even when he cannot with certainty be traced or identified. The laudatory epithets and phrases which probably Kumudacandra assigned for himself (as recorded in one of the *Śvetāmbara prabandhas*) and put in the mouth of his *bandī*, or bardic representative, in the *Mudrita-Kumudacandra-prakarana* distinctly possess a ring and colour of those that were customarily used in praise of medieval Karnātan *vādīs* of the Digambara persuasion[10]. (Incidentally, the Śvetāmbara *āgamic* mandates would consider such proclamations as symptomatic of gruesome vanity instrumental in increasing the cycles of births and deaths.)

The second point, namely Pt. Hiralal's suggestion that the Devendra defeated by Śrutakīrtti was Deva Sūri[11] does not seem plausible in light of the biographical as well as chronological perspective known for Deva Sūri. What is more, Deva Sūri never was known as Devendra as even a cursory examination of the relevant Śvetāmbara sources discloses. His time-bracket, moreover, is not compatible with the lower limit implied of Devendra's defeat in the Digambara sources. The Kannada verses mentioning the Śrutakīrtti-Devendra encounter in the Śravanabelgola inscription No. 40 (AD 1085/1163) belong originally to Nāgacandra's *Rāmacandra-carit-purāna* (also called Pampa-Rāmāyana), an earlier work completed in *c.* SS AD 1022/AD 1100 as pointed out by Hiralal Jain himself[12]. This would imply that the debate in question took place at some unspecified, but not too remote, a date before AD 1100. According to the *Prabhāvaka-carita*, the Deva Sūri-Kumudacandra encounter took place in VS 1181/AD 1125[13]. The same work also gives the date of birth of Deva Sūri as VS 1143/AD 1087 and the date of his initiation to the order of monks as VS 1152/AD 1096. (Deva Sūri thus was age 13 in AD 1100!) He passed away in VS 1226/AD 1170. Clearly, then, any suggestion of Śrutakīrtti having a doctrinal conflict with Deva Sūri some time before AD 1100 involves the factor of improbability and hence is untenable.

2. True, the medieval Śvetāmbara writers have caricatured Kumudacandra in a manner which cannot be hailed as edifying. However, as all Śvetāmbara sources unanimously declare, it was the insolence to a degree on the part of Kumudacandra that provoked an angry rebuff from the Śvetāmbara side. The jubilance in the Śvetāmbara camp after the defeat of Kumudacandra doubtless has a tinge of vengeance; and one may also sense that the norms of decency and *décorum* had not been adequately observed / maintained.[14] Deva Sūri who in the earlier stage maintained dignity loses composure at the end of the debate as portrayed in the play.

The salient question is why so much importance was accorded to this incident by the Śvetāmbara chroniclers. Similar incidents, of an

encounter of Pradyumna Sūri of the future Rāja-Gaccha with (an unspecified) Digambara scholar at the court of Prince Allu of Kuccherapura (*mod.* Kuchera in Rajasthan: *c.* late 10th or early 11th cent. AD)[15], or, for that matter, the one between *vādīndra* Dharma Sūri (Dharmaghoṣa Sūri) of Rāja-Gaccha and the Digambara dialectician Guṇacandra at the court of Cāhamāna Arṇorāja (*c.* AD 1133-1153) in Ajayameru (*mod.* Ajmer), also in Rajasthan[16] — in all these instances the Śvetāmbaras are reported to have won the contest — were only briefly noticed and practically forgotten in later times. But the Deva Sūri-Kumudacandra encounter was not only sung in most glowing terms but also was persistently remembered and frequently told. What was the reason?

The reason is to be sought in the nature of the conditions of contest laid down by the neutral side, possibly the brahmanists acting as arbiters or referees on behalf of the King. It stipulated that, if the Digambaras were defeated, Kumudacandra was unceremoniously to leave Gujarat; but, if the Śvetāmbaras lost the ground, they would have to embrace the Digambara Doctrine[17]. Then, as now, the Digambaras were in minority as compared to the considerable strength of the Śvetāmbaras in Gujarat and in western India in general. If the Digambara side lost the contest, it would not suffer as much as the Śvetāmbara would if the results were to be the opposite. It was very vital, therefore, for the Śvetāmbaras to win the contest. Verily, it was a matter of life and death for them. Defeat would mean a disaster that would wipe out the Śvetāmbara sect from Gujarat (and adjoining territories within the Solaṅkī empire.)

As far as the paintings are concerned, being early in style, probably done soon after the first copies of the *Mudrita-Kumudacandra-prakaraṇa* were made, they truthfully reflect not only the historical but also the cultural context contemporaneous with the event. If the numerous inscriptions from Karnataka are an evidence, most medieval Digambara monks, like their counterpart in western India — the *caityavāsīs* of the Śvetāmbara sect — did not practise the strict code of the Jaina ascetic's conduct.[18] A large majority of them were what the Digambara sect later called *"bhaṭṭārakas"*, or abbots, sedentarily and somewhat protectively living in monasteries and even inside the temple premises as owners, practising as they sometimes did sooth-saying, sorcery, and arts of healing. They also accepted grants of lands and villages from the kings, their vassal-chieftains and provincial governors, also generals, and richer Jaina residents of the State. (They otherwise practised nudity, cultivated high learning, and respected the basic ethical values of life.) Kumudacandra, as Pt. Kailashchandra rightly suspects must have been a *bhaṭṭāraka* as in fact most Digambara friars of various *gaṇas* in Karnataka then were; and in the painting he has been shown nude[19]. To travel by

a palanquin and with an attendance of umbrella-holders assuredly was in keeping with the medieval *bhaṭṭāraka* tradition. The Prabhāsapāṭaṇ Digambara Jaina inscription of VS 12(5+) of the time of the Solaṅkī monarch Bhīmadeva II (AD 1178-1240) mentions an early pontiff Śrīkirtti of Citrakūṭa receiving not only the title *maṇḍalācārya* but also a *sukhāsana* (palanquin) and a *chatra* (umbrella) from the Solaṅkī king Mūlarāja I (the event may be placed some time late in the last quarter of the tenth century)[20]. If, therefore, the paintings depicted Kumudacandra as moving with a retinue of a kind completely in disharmony with the āgamic injunctions pertaining to Jaina asceticism and monastic discipline, they only faithfully portrayed the contemporaneous practice of a Digambara chief of monks and indeed no spite in this case seems to have been intended[21].

As for the tactics employed by Kumudacandra days before the day of disputation,[22] what Śvetāmbara writers impute is for certain one-sided — polemical to be precise — and a part of it probably is unreliable[23]. The Śvetāmbaras were in the opposite camp and they, too, seemingly had used the very expedient, excepting the meanest, to slight the conduct and bearing of Kumudacandra[24]. As the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* reports, the Śvetāmbara side had feared that the Queen Mother Mayaṇalladevī (Kadamba princess Maiḷaladevī), hailing as she did from Kuntaladeśa[25], might throw her weight on the Digambara side since her native country (Kadambadeśa) patronised Digambara Jainism. By way of a stratagem, therefore, the Śvetāmbara camp is said to have passed a word to the Queen Mother that, in the disputation, the Digambara side was going to take a position that would deny the possibility of salvation for the feminine gender, whereas the Śvetāmbaras were going to establish the opposite. (Indeed this was the pivotal point around which the debate seemingly had revolved[26].) In the course of the debate, Vādī Deva Sūri even clearly had dragged in the name of the Queen Mother by positing a question whether the feminine gender in which such pious, chaste, and illustrious souls as "Her Imperial Majesty, the Queen Mother" was born, was not eligible for salvation! (This cunning interpolation, we may well imagine, must have baffled the referees while making the decision!)

The account of the debate given in the *prabandhas* speaks about the "dogmatic positions" but casts no light on the "dialectical principles" on which the battle of wits was fought; nor does it specifically refer to the logic (rather than sentiments) of arguments made and doctrinal and epistemological stands taken by each side. We are told that Vādī Deva Sūri cited in support of the Śvetāmbara position a few relevant illustrations of the royal ladies who attained liberation, from the *āgamas* (which, incidentally, the Digambaras *in toto* reject), and how

Kumudacandra cut a sorry figure by his inferior wits, faltering concentration, and above all, misdemeanour! The defeat of Kumudacandra was declared after his failing on a minor Sanskrit grammatical point rather than on a major doctrinal premise. Be that as it may, the Śvetāmbaras felt immensely relieved after the outcome of the debate, averting as it did the disaster of the millennium that had threatened the very existence of the creed : which is why the Śvetāmbara chroniclers made much out of this sordid event. To be fair to the Śvetāmbaras, they did not ask for the disputation : The gontlet had been thrown by Kumudacandra and he in the end got the worst of it.

3. Contrary to Pt. Kailashchandra's assertion, Kumudacandra must have been a distinguished pontiff in the Digambara church of Karnataka. One of the *prabandhas* calls him the "*guru* of the king of Karnāṭa".[27] This 'king', to all seeming must have been the Kadamba chieftain Jayakeśi of Candrapura, the father of Mailaladevi the Queen Mother. And had Kumudacandra not been a famous scholar and a leader of repute in the Digambara clergical hierarchy, Deva Sūri would hardly have cared or conceded to be dragged personally in entering into a doctrinal debate with him at the court of Aṇahillapāṭaka, nor would the monarch of Gujarat - Jayasimhadeva Siddharāja - have entertained such a contest at his court had Kumudacandra been a small fry. In point of fact, from medieval standards, Kumudacandra also was a poet of considerable merit, the wellknown hymn, the *Kalyāṇamandira- stotra*[28] and the recently published *Cikura-dvātrimśikā*[29] attributed to him amply demonstrate.

4. Personal conduct and behaviour have no relationship with "scholarly distinction". If the contemporary Indian scene in the various departments of academia as well as other institutions of higher learning and related dealings governed by, or dependent on, the aid of temporal power is any guide, we will be well advised to delink "learning" from "behaviour"! If, what was alleged of Kumudacandra represents even half the truth, one can only say that, despite high learning, he had not attained the level of saintliness expected of a Jaina monk.

5. As for the Muni Jinavijaya's highlighting the paintings, his sole objective in so doing seems to have been to focus attention on the then newly known documents of significance for the "history of [Western Indian] paintings" as he clearly writes, and not as "documents of history (proper)" as Pt. Kailashchandra seems mistakenly to have understood.[30] Excitement of discovery notwithstanding, the learned Muniji has nowhere used an uncareful or ungracious phraseology as we impartially may judge at this distance in time.

The precise identification of "Devendra" whom Śrutakīrtti is said to

have defeated is not possible on the strength of the Śvetāmbara sources currently available. Assuming, nonetheless, that the Devendra - the *vipakṣa-saiddhāntika* - was Śvetāmbara, his identification may in the first instance be made with Devendra gaṇi of Bṛhad-gaccha who completed his *Sukhabodhāvṛtti* on the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* in S.1129/AD 1073 and the *Ākhyānaka-maṇikoṣa* in S. 1139-41/AD 1083-85[31]. After his hierarchical status was elevated, Devendra gaṇi was known as Nemicandra Sūri, and by then also possessed the title *Saiddhāntika-śiromaṇi*. A defeated (and hence disgraced) divine is hardly expected to have received the honourable status of "Sūri" and the aforenoted title. It is, then, not unlikely that the *Vipakṣa-saiddhāntika* might have been some Yāpanīya monk in Karnātaka proper. The Yāpanīyas, too, had several doctrinal differences with the Digambaras, and they were one with the Śvetāmbaras on the issue of *strī-mukti*, salvation of the feminine gender. The considerable reduction of their strength after the tenth century and the eventual merger of some of its *gaṇas* with the Mūla Saṅgha and the Drāviḍa Saṅgha, both of the Digambara sect, has never been adequately explained, whether this was the result of a voluntary change in doctrinal beliefs and convictions, or the diminished strength of following, or surrender forced upon the Yāpanīyas after some woeful defeats in dialectical encounters with the Digambaras.

Notes and References

1. "Eka Sāmpradāyika Citraṇa" (Hindi), *Jaina-Siddhānta-Bhāskara*, Vol.15, No. 1 (1948), pp.6-10.

2. Occurring as short incidental notices in larger works, in hagiological eulogies, in one play, and a few *prabandha*-narratives. For details see here note no.6.

3. Among them the account of the late Durgashankara Shastri in *Gujarāt-no-Madhyakālin Rājaputa Itihāsa* (Gujarātī), *see*. sec. ed., Ahmedabad 1953, is the shortest and unsympathetic toward the Jainas; in fact Shastri's entire attitude towards the Jainas had been biased. The best, impartial as well as critical, evaluation is available in A. K. Majumdar, *The Caulukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay 1956, pp. 311-314.

4. Bombay VS 2000-2001 / AD 1944-45; (cf; there the editorial.)

5. Gulabcandra Chaudhari, another celebrated Digambara Jaina scholar, virtually rejects the plausibility of the event on the selfsame grounds : (*vide Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihāsa*, (Hindi) pt.6, Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama Śodha Saṁsthāna, Vārāṇasī 1973, p.588.

6. The earliest is the brief notice by the celebrated author Ācārya Hemacandra of Pūrṇatalla gaccha in his famous work, the *Siddha-Haima-Śabdānuśāsana* (composed between AD 1137-1144), quoted both by Prabhācandrācārya as well as Merutuṅgācārya. Says the Ācārya :

यदि नाम कुमुदचन्द्रं नाजेष्यद्देवसूरिरहिमरुचि: ।
कटिपरिधानमघास्यत्कतम: श्वेताम्बरो जगति ॥ – इति हेमाचार्य: ।

Hemacandra being a contemporary writer, what he wrote is undoubtedly the most authentic.

Next is the notice by Ratnaprabha Sūri, a direct disciple of Vādī Deva Sūri. Thus does he record in his *Upadeśamālāvṛtti* (S.1238/AD 1182) :

शिष्य: श्रीमुनिचन्द्रसूरिगुरुभिर्गीतार्थचूडामणि:
पट्टे स्वे विनिवेशितस्तदनु स श्रीदेवसूरिप्रभु: ।
आस्थाने जयसिंहदेवनृपतेर्येनास्तदिग्वाससा
रत्नीनिर्वाणसमर्थनेन विजयस्तम्भ: समुत्तम्भित: ॥

Sometime around AD 1266, Munideva Suri, the sixth in the lineage after Vādī Deva Sūri, also recalls this incident ·

वादविद्यावतोऽद्यापि लेखशालामनुज्झताम् ।
देवसूरिप्रभो: साम्यं कथं स्याद्देवसूरिणा ॥   – इति श्रीमुनिदेवाचार्य: ।

Merutuṅgācārya also quotes Pradyumnācārya and Udayaprabha Sūri (both probably of the 13th century AD) and also cites two couplets composed by himself on the outcome of the debate :

वस्त्रप्रतिष्ठाचार्याय नम: श्रीदेवसूरये ।
यत्प्रसादमिवाख्याति सुखप्रश्रेषु दर्शनम्॥   – इति श्रीप्रद्युम्नाचार्य: ।

भेजेऽवकीर्णितां नग्न: कीर्तिकन्थामुपार्ज्य य: ।
तां देवसूरिराच्छिद्य तं निर्ग्रन्थं पुनर्व्यधात॥   – इति श्री उदयप्रभदेव: ॥

नग्नो यत्प्रतिभाघर्मात्कीर्तियोगपटं त्यजन् ।
ह्रियेवात्याजि भारत्या देवसूरिमुदेऽस्तु व: ।

सत्रागारमशेषकेवलभृतां भुक्तिं तथा स्थापयन्नारीणामपि मोक्षतीर्थमभवत्नमुक्तियुक्तोत्तरै: ।
य: श्वेताम्बरशासनस्य विजिते नग्ने प्रतिष्ठागुरुस्तद्देवाद्गरुतोऽप्यमेयमहिमा श्रीदेवसूरिप्रभु: ॥
                                                     – इति मेरुतुङ्गसूरीणां द्वयम् ।

The *Mudrita-Kumudacandra-prakaraṇa* (c. later part of the 12th century AD), a Sanskrit play by *Yaśaścandra*, earlier noted, gives the most detailed and graphic account of the episode. The *Prabhāvaka-carita* of Prabhācandrācārya (VS 1334/AD 1278) very heavily depends on the former work, although the author seems also to have before him some other early source, today unknown, from which he drew a few details not found in Yaśaścandra's play. Among the post-Solaṅkī works, the wellknown *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Ācārya Merutuṅga of Nāgendra-gaccha (VS 1361/AD 1305) and the Ms. "Br" (copied in the 17th century AD) of an earlier *Prabandha* in the Purātana-Prabandha-saṅgraha, are the major works. Some of the details given by Merutuṅgācārya are from some unknown source; and quite a few details figuring there are at variance with Yaśaścandra's account, some evidently unreliable : (See A. K. Majumdar, *The Chaulukyas*, pp. 311-314.) As for the "Br" in the *Purātana-prabandha-saṁgraha*, it seemingly had extracted its material from all the aforenoted earlier works.

7. In all five inscriptions refer to "Kumudacandra" and after close comparisons of

the dates and the hagiologies, three Kumudacandra-s emerge therefrom, one being of the 11th-12th century, the other two of the 13th century.

Reference No	Page No.	Ins.	Place	Date & Script	Language	Referred Muni
Jaina-Śilālekha-Saṅgraha (Pt.2), Comp. Pt. Vijayamūrti, Bombay V.S.2009/ AD 1953.	364	246	Nesargī (Neralgī ?) 12th century	Palaeo-graphically c.11th or	Kannaḍa	Kumudacandra-bhaṭārakadeva
Jaina-Śilālekha-Sangraha (Pt.1), Ed. Hīrālāl Jaina, MDJG XXVIII, Bombay 1928.	253	29	Śravaṇa-belagoḷ	AD 1283	Kannaḍa	Kumudacandra
Jaina-Śilālekha-sangraha (Pt.3), Comp. Pt. Vijayamūrti MDJG XXXXVI, Bombay 1957	248	432	Yīḍagūru	c.AD 1200	Kannaḍa	Kumudacandra-deva
Jaina-Śilālekha-Saṅgraha (Pt.4), comp. Ed.Vidyadhara Joharapurakar MDJG IXVIII	258-59	342	Halebīḍa	AD 1265	Kannaḍa	Kumudacandra I Kumudacandra II
-do-	271-2	376	Kelgere	c.3rd quarter of the century	Kannaḍa	Kumudacandra

8. The main text of this paper was written some 25 years ago. The notes then had progressed up to no.7. While resuming work on adding the remaining it was discovered that the sheets bearing the notes on sources have been misplaced

and could not be traced. The source in which Jyotiprasad Jain's statement had figured, I regrettably cannot now recollect, though it could be some article either in one of the issues of the *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara* or of the *Anekānta*, both of which are currently not handy.

9. In the recently published *Cikura-dvātriṁśikā* of Kumudacandra, the author, in collaboration with Jitendra Shah, recently had discussed the Kumudacandra problem : *Vide Nirgrantha* 2, Ahmedabad 1996, Gujarātī section, pp.16-21.

10. In the *MKP* is found the following versified proclamation made by the *bandī* :
वन्दी०- (हस्तमुदुञ्च्य उच्चै:) जयतु जयतु कुन्तलकलाविदतुलाभिमानाचलदलनदम्भोलिदण्ड, चौडचतुरपाण्डित्यखण्डनप्रचण्ड, गौडगुणिगर्वसारङ्गशार्दूल, वङ्गविषयविदुष ? मुखकालुष्यमूल, निषिद्धनैषधबुधदर्पान्धिकार, यश: शेषीकृतकान्यकुब्जविद्वज्जनाहङ्कार, विशदशारदादेशकोविदमद- च्छेदवैदुष्यपात्र, प्रगल्भमालवीयकुशलशेमुषीकुशलतालवनदात्र, प्रकृतिवाचाटलाटमुखघटितमौनकपाट, कृतकौङ्कणकविकुलोच्चाट, विक्षिप्तसपादलक्षदक्षपक्ष, जर्जरीकृतगुर्जरजनगर्जितकक्ष, तार्किकचक्रचूडामणे, नैयायिककमलतरणे, छात्रीकृतच्छन्दश्छेक, साहित्यलतासुधासेक, सरस्वतीहृदयहार, श्वेताम्बरविद्- म्वनप्रहसनसूत्रधार, चतुरशीतिविवादविजयार्जितोर्जितयश: पुञ्जसमर्जितचन्द्र, कुमुदचन्द्रनाम वादीन्द्र !
In the inscription from Incavāḍī datable to the 10th (or later) century is noticeable the following eulogical phrases for one erudite Digambara scholar, perhaps Prabhācandra :
अवरि बलिकं अकलंक सिंहासनम्...
मदमातंगरुं बौद्धवादितिमिरपतंगरुं सांख्यवादिकुलाद्रिवज्रधररुं नैयायिका...
सिद्धान्तवार्धिवर्धनसुधाकररुं। सकलसाहित्यप्रवीणरुं। मनोभवभयरहिततरुं...
श्रीमतु प्रभाचन्द्रसिद्धान्तदेवर शिष्यरु॥
Jaina Śilālekha Saṅgraha, pt.4, Ed. Vidyadhar Joharapurkar, Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Kāśī, V. N. S 2491 (A. D. 1964,) p.58 Ins. No. 96.

11. *Cf. Jaina-Śilālekhasaṁgraha*, Pt. I, MDJG. Ed. Hiralal Jaina, Bombay VS 1984/AD 1928, "Bhūmikā (Introduction,)" p.143 and Inscription No. 40, pp.29-30, infra.

12. *Ibid.*, p.29, *infra.*

13. Cf. Jina Vijaya Muni, Singhi Series No. 1 1940, p. 178.

14. *See*, the sources noticed here under note 6.

15. *Cf. Prabhāvaka-carita*, "praśasti", p.214.

16. "A Propos of Dharma-Sūri-Gunacandra-Encounter", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vols. 67-68 (NS).

17. *Cf.* the *Prabhāvaka-carit,* "Vādidevasūri-carit", p.178; and the *Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi,* "Devasūri-Carit," p.68.

18. For instance, accepting land grants, grants of villages, owning temples and monasteries etc. are unthinkable for a Jaina ascetic.

19. *See*, Jinavijaya, BSCV, *Bhāratīyavidyā* III, editorial E.

20. *Cf. Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 117; and *Jaina Śilālekha Saṁgraha*, MDJG, Vol. 48, Ed. Vidyadhar Joharapurkar, Kāśī-Vārāṇasī V. N. 2491 (AD 1964) Ins. No. 287, pp. 222-223.

21. There is no deliberate and false portrayal and hence no intention to denigrate

the Digambara pontiff.

22. *See* the *MKP,* as well as the *P.C.* and the *PCh.,* relevant portions.

23. The Śvetāmbaras for certain did not ideally behave as saintly beings!

24. *Ibid.*

25. *PC.,* relevant portion.

26. *See,* the *MKP,* as well as the *PC* which follows it.

27. *See, PC* p.174. Also *MKP.*

28. This is published in many many Jaina works of daily recitation.

29. *Cf.* M. A. Dhaky and Jitendra Shah, "Kumudacandrācārya Praṇīta 'Cikura Dvātriṁśika" (Guj.), *Nirgrantha* Vol.2, Ahmedabad 1996, pp.16-26.

30. Cf. Kailashchandra Shastri, "Eka Sāmpradāyika.," *J.S.B.* 15-1, p.10.

31. Cf. M. D. Deshai, *Jaina Sāhitya-no-Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa,* Bombay 1933, p.218, para 297; and p.252, para 354.

VEDIC SACRIFICE AND VIṢṆU

T. N. DHARMADHIKARI

The topic of Viṣṇu has been dealt with by many scholars including Gonda and also Dr. R. N. Dandekar. I would like to throw some light on the features of Viṣṇu, with reference to Vedic Sacrifice.

In the entire range of *Ṛgveda*, (*Ṛg*) only three full sūktas (I.154, 156 & VII.100) have been dedicated to Viṣṇu. Besides these sūktas Viṣṇu is addressed in a few sporadic mantras. Thus totally only thirtyone verses refer to Viṣṇu. He is found associated with Indra in one sūkta (VI.69) and in few other verses. He is also addressed with Rudra and Maruts in only one verse (V.3.3). Thus compared with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Aśvinau etc. Viṣṇu had occupied secondary position, the position of a minor divinity.

Viṣṇu's three wide strides, covering all the three worlds (*Ṛg.* I.154.2)[1]; his strides filled with honey (*Ṛg.* I.154.4)[2]; the undecaying fountain of honey in his highest stride (*Ṛg.*I.154.5)[2a], his dwelling in mountains (Girikṣit - Ṛg I.154.3), along with his cows having multiple horns (or rays) (Ṛg.I.154.6)[3] etc. are some of the special characteristics of Viṣṇu, that have reflected in the Ṛgvedic sūktas or verses referred to above. These characteristics, especially his three strides may be indentified with the movements of the sun, in one day (or in one year - Tilak - *Arctic Home in the Vedas* pp. 326-328), and his parama-pada, with the concept of the highest Spiritual Bliss.

In Purāṇas, Viṣṇu appears to have obtained the highest position, in the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. His ten principal incarnations are also known from the large extent of Puranic literature. Some Purāṇas are exclusively dedicated to Viṣṇu.

The Yajurvedic and Brāhmaṇa literature, dealing with the injunctions of Vedic sacrifices, chronologically occupies the middle period i.e. between the period of *Ṛgveda* and Puraṇas.

Especially with this Ṛgvedic background, I would like to examine Viṣṇu, in the context of Vedic sacrifice, as explained by Yajurvedic and Brahmanic literature and try to investigate into the problem, viz. whether Viṣṇu gained more ground in the sacrificial rituals and whether the seeds of his further Puranic popularity could be traced in the Vedic sacrificial procedure.

At the very beginning of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (I.i), Agni is stated to

be at one end and Visnu to be at the other. Between Agni and Visnu, all other gods are placed. Thus Agni and Visnu cover all other gods from both the sides.[4] Cp. *Kāthaka Samhitā*[5] and *Tāndya Br.*[6] (2 1.4.6) also.

Now turning to the isti-performances, *Kātyāyana Śs*[7] III.3.24 enjoins to offer the melted ghee to *Visnu*, at new-moon isti, optionally. (Cp. *Kātyāyana*[8] - *hautra - pariśista* I.12.5). *Āpastamba śrauta sūtra* (*ĀpŚS*)[9] (II.19.12.14) however prescribes this optional rite at full moon isti. Thus optionally Visnu is one of the principal deities either at New moon or full moon isti. *ĀpŚS*[10] II.9.14 urges that, one who desires to prosper should offer this optional oblation to Visnu.

Taittirīya Samhitā (*TS*)[11] (V.5.1.10) enjoins that a sacrificer, about to consecrate in sacrifice should offer cake baked on eleven potsherds to a dual divinity, viz. Agni and Visnu. (It may be incidentally noted that the word Agnāvisnū or Āgnāvaisnavam is not attested in the *Rgveda*). Further it states that Agni represents all the other deities, while Visnu represents sacrifice itself. Thus, while offering this oblation, the sacrificer takes hold of all the deities and the sacrifice also. Agni is foremost of all gods and Visnu is sacrifice. Thus in offering this oblation to Agni and Visnu, the sacrificer arrests all the gods on both the sides. *TS* here confirms the identity of Visnu with sacrifices (Visnuryajñah).

Aitareya Brāhmana (*Ait.Br.*)[12] I.i also prescribes the dīksanīyā isti wherein a cake baked on eleven potsherds be offered to Agni and Visnu. It states that, out of eleven potsherds, eight are for a cake to Agni and three for a cake to Visnu who steps three strides.

TS[13] III.5.1.8 enjoins to offer a cake, in anvārambhanīyā isti, baked on eleven potsherds, to Agni and Visnu. Further it states Agni is the mouth of sacrifice and Visnu is Sacrifice itself. Here also the association of Visnu with Agni and identity of Visnu with Sacrifice is conspicuous.

TBr. I.8.1 narrates a myth related to samsrp-offerings in the Rājasūya. Varuna lost his vigour and strength. He got it back with the help of Visnu[14] - the sacrifice. These samsrp-offerings are enjoined by *TS* I.8.17, wherein a cake[15] baked on three potsherds is recommended for Visnu. In this context also, Visnu is identified with sacrifice. Cp also *Maitrāyanī Samhitā*[16] IV.4.7 for similar context. There are however so many references to the rituals that directly identify Visnu with sacrifice. Cp *Śatapatha Br.*[17] V.2.3.6, I.9.3.9, I.1.2.13, III.2.1.38, XIII.1.8.8, *TS*[18] II.3.11.2, *Maitrāyanī Samhitā*[19] IV.i.12, IV.i.3 *Gopatha Br.*[20] II6.7, *Tāndya Br.*[21] XIII.3.2; *TBr.*[22] I.2.5.1-etc.

If a sacrificer desires to practise black magic against his enemies, or if the witchcraft is played against the sacrificer, the *TS*[23] II.2.9.1 enjoins

to offer a cake baked on eleven potsherds to a dual divinity - Agni and Viṣṇu. Further the related Arthavāda observes that Agni represents all the deities and Viṣṇu, the sacrifice itself. Thus while offering a cake to Agni and Viṣṇu, the sacrificer practises black magic with the help of all the gods together, and also with the help of sacrifice. In this context also Agni represents all gods and Viṣṇu is identified with sacrifice.

Similarly, TS[24] II. 2.9 prescribes an iṣṭi for a sacrificer whom the sacrifice does not resort (yaṁ yajño nopanamed). A cake baked on eleven potsherds is offered to Agni and Viṣṇu. Here also the text explains that Agni represents all gods and Viṣṇu is identified with the Sacrifice.

In Tri-haviṣkā iṣṭi, the TS[25] 1.8.8 prescribes three offerings as follows -
i) a cake baked on eleven potsherds to Agni and Viṣṇu,
ii) a cake baked on eleven potsherds to Indra and Viṣṇu, and
iii) a cake baked on three potsherds to Viṣṇu.

The sacrificial fee (dakṣiṇā) to be paid should be a dwarf bull. Three potsherds for a cake to Viṣṇu suggests the association of Viṣṇu's three strides. TBr.[26] I.7.2. states that the dwarfness of bull associated him with Viṣṇu - (yad Vāmanaḥ tena Vaiṣṇavaḥ). This expression calls for the Vāmana - incarnation of Viṣṇu in the Puranic mythologies.

TS[27] I.8.1.7 also, in the context of ānumatyādi iṣṭi, in the Rājasūya prescribes a cake baked on eleven potsherds, to Agni and Viṣṇu and a dwarf bull as a sacrificial fee. It may be inferred here, that, out of eleven potsherds, eight are meant for Agni and three for Viṣṇu, and dwarf bull suggests the Vāmana incarnation.

Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā[28] III. 8.3 narrates a myth — In the beginning, this earth belonged to Asuras. The gods made Viṣṇu a dwarf person and brought him before the Asuras and said to them - 'what ever land this dwarf may stride in his three steps may belong to us, (the gods).' Viṣṇu, the dwarf stepped three strides and covered the earth, the mid-region and the heaven. This myth clearly indicates the incarnation of Viṣṇu in the form of Vāmana in later Puranic period.

According to a myth related by Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā[29] II.5.3, the gods offered a dwarf victim to Viṣṇu. As a result Viṣṇu won these three worlds and defeated Asuras. Śatapatha Br.[30] I.9.3.9 first confirms the identity of Viṣṇu with sacrifice and further tells that Viṣṇu covered this earth with his first step, the mid-region with the second, and heaven with the last step.

In Purāṇas, especially in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the legend of Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu and the metaphor of Yajña Varāha has been narrated.

TBr.[31] I.1.3 prescribes to place some soil dug by a Varāha, a boar, in the pit of fires and narrates a legend in support of this procedure. Prajāpati had assumed the form of a boar and had brought the earth up, from the surge of waters. Thus there is a hint at Viṣṇu's incarnation of Varāha. TBr.[32]I.2.1 records a formula for placing this soil in the pit of fires.

Cp also TS[33] VII.1.5.1 - The Garga Trirātra.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar[34] has also pointed out the traces of Varāha incarnation in Ṛg, TS, TBr., TĀ, ŚBr. etc.

Ṣaḍviṁśa Br. 5.10 referring to 'cakrapāṇaye viṣṇave svāhā' gives the indication of Viṣṇu's hand bearing a cakra, a wheel-weapon, later known as Sudarśana.

TS[35] II.2.9 also refers to an offering of caru (boiled) in melted butter, to Agni and Viṣṇu, for one who desires good eye-sight. According to TS, the men see with the eye of Agni and gods with that of Viṣṇu. Thus the brillance of eye-sight is gained from both - viz. Agni and Viṣṇu. The brillance of Viṣṇu may suggest his solar character.

TS[36] II.2.9-10 prescribes three iṣṭis, at the time of three sessions of soma-pressings. The oblations consist of three cakes (one at each iṣṭi), baked on eight, eleven and twelve potsherds respectively. They all are offered to Agni and Viṣṇu. The eight, eleven and twelve-numbers of the potsherds are equal to the numbers of syllables of Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī metres. These numbers are known as deities, presiding over three soma-sessions.[37] The three cakes offered at the the three periods of a day may suggest the three wide steps of Viṣṇu. In all the three iṣṭis referred to above, Viṣṇu is inevitably associated with Agni.

In daily Agnihotra offerings, an oblation is offered to Sūrya - the sun - in the morning, and to Agni, in the evening. It therefore consequently follows that Viṣṇu referred to in the above iṣṭis along with Agni, represents the Sun. It may again be noted that Agni and Sūrya are only two district forms of Tejas.

At the end of each iṣṭi sacrifice, the sacrificer strides three wide steps towards east. These three steps are named as Viṣṇu-krama. Cp Baudhāyana[38] ŚS 3.20. The Mantras employed by the sacrificer, in taking three steps are recorded in TS[39] 1.6.5, as well as in VS[40] 2.25. The Mantras refer to Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī and Anuṣṭubh metres and also to earth, midregion, the heaven and the quarters.[41] TS 1.7.5 here observes – headed by Viṣṇu, the gods won the three worlds by metres, so as to be irrecoverable. Therefore, when the sacrificer takes three steps, he becomes Viṣṇu and wins these worlds by the metres, so as to be irrecoverable.

After the Viṣṇu-steps, the sacrificer makes a prayer to the Āhavanīya-fire, generally identified with *dyu-loka*, the world of light - with a formula - 'aganma suvaḥ suvaḥ aganma' (*TS* 1.7.6) - I have reached the Svar - the heaven. *TS* 1.7.6 further remarks that - the sacrificer strides three Viṣṇu-steps, with a view to obtain the Svarga.

The Ṛgvedic verses - 'yasya trī pūrṇā madhunā padāni' (*Ṛg* I.154.4) and 'viṣṇoh parame pade madhva utsaḥ' (*Ṛg.* I.154.6) be read in the light of '*Viṣṇu-kramas*' in the vedic sacrifice. The last stride of the sacrificer amounts of svarga; which points at the third step of Viṣṇu.

In the Agnī-cayana rite also, the sacrificer lifts up the Ukhā-pot, containing Agni in it, over his navel and strides four Viṣṇu steps. (Cp *TS*[42] 4.2.1, *TS*[43] 5.2.1; *ĀpŚS*[44]XVI.10.12). With the fourth step the sacrificer wins the quarters also. The sacrificer becomes Viṣṇu and wins all the worlds. (*TS* V.2.1, Viṣṇur eva bhūtvā yajamānaḥ imān lokān anapajayyam jayati).

Commenting on the formulas for Viṣṇu-steps (*TS* IV.2.1) Sāyaṇācārya remarks[45] - sacrificer, stepping Viṣṇu strides is Viṣṇu, because the sacrificer like Viṣṇu pervades the entire procedure of the sacrifice. Or he is identified with Viṣṇu, the almighty.

Thus the rite of Viṣṇu-kramas identifies the sacrificer with Viṣṇu. This rite is performed in various forms, in various rituals. E.g. the rite of Viṣṇu-atikramas. (Cp *TS*[46] III.5.3, *ĀpŚS*[47]XIII.18.8).

In Vājapeya, the king - the sacrificer, approaching the chariot for race, takes three Viṣṇu steps (*TS*[48] I.7.7). Sāyaṇācārya comments - 'Vyāpanaśīlasya jagadīśvarasya *trivikramāvatārasya* kramaḥ asi' '- you are the step of the one ruling over the universe in the incarnation of Trivikrama -' (i.e. Vāmana).

Thus though the concept of incarnation belongs to later Puranic-period, its seeds are seen sown in the earlier Brahmanic ritual literature.

At the end of '*devasuvām havīṁsi*', in the Rājasūya (*TS*[49] I.8.10), the sacrificer, the king takes three strides towards the east. *TBr.*[50] I.7.4 here states that the sacrificer thereby becomes Viṣṇu.

In the Rājasūya sacrifice, the sacrificer, the king, with a view to proceed for victory, approaches the chariot, with three Viṣṇu steps. He thereby becomes Viṣṇu. (Cp *TS*[51] I.8.15, *TBr.*[52] I.7.9).

Ātithyā iṣṭi is performed as a mark of honour to Soma - the king - the guest. Viṣṇu is the principal deity of this iṣṭi, the other deities being the *anucaras*, the subordinate ones. The oblation of a cake baked on nine potsherds is offered to Viṣṇu only (*TS*[53] I.2.10, VI.2.1[54]). The ritualists thereby conceive

some intimate relation between Soma and Visnu, or even identity of them.

TBr.[55] II.3.2 narrates a myth[56] - saying that Prajāpati created everything - He first created *Manas* (mind) and then he gradually created Gāyātri, metres, Sāmans, Yajus and finally Visnu. Yaśas, the glory moved to each next creation and rested in Visnu. The plants and *Soma* were created from Visnu. The glory moved to Soma. Further cattle and Indra also were created. The glory moved to them also. This myth also suggests some relation of *Visnu* with *Soma* and *Yaśas* - the glory.

According to a myth in *Śatapatha Br.* XIV.1.1, the gods performed Sattra sacrifice. They consulted and agreed that, whosoever amongst us will first conclude the sacrifice, by means of toiling, austerity, faith, offerings etc. will be regarded as supreme - the glorious one; and that glory will be equally shared by us all. God Visnu first successfully reached the end of the sacrifice. He become the supreme amongst gods. (Visnur devānām śresthah). Thus the *Yaśas,* the glory. The supremacy first came to Visnu.

This is how Visnu had attained the highest position in the ritual texts, and then, in the trinity of Brahmā, Visnu and Śiva, Visnu enjoyed the glorious position.

Further *ŚBr.*[57] XIV.1.1.12-13 identifies Visnu with sacrifice and also with Āditya - the sun and further with Indra and *Yaśas*.

Similar myth is found even in *TĀ*[58] VIII.I, in the Pravargya section. *TĀ* also remarks that Yaśas of Visnu attended the sacrifice (makham Vaisnavam yaśa ārcchad). According to this myth, when Visnu was resting his head on the end of his bow, the white ants ate its string. The bow consequently got stretched and cut off Visnu 's head. Visnu, identified with sacrifice became headless. His head was re-set on his body by Dadhyan Ātharvana with the help of Aśvinau. This myth is further elaborated with Madhu-vidyā in *Br.Ā.Up.*[59] II 5.1-19.

TS II.3.3 helps us associating Yaśas with Soma. According to the *TS*[60], the gods desiring glory performed a sacrificial session bounded by success (Rddhiparimitam Yaśaskāmāh). To Soma, the king - the glory come. Soma went to hills, Agni followed him. Then Agni and Soma were united etc.

In Punarādhāna section of *ŚBr.*[61] II.2.3.1, it is stated that, the king Soma, desirous of obtaining Yaśas, set up fires. As a result Soma became Yaśas. Thus *ŚBr.* identifies Yaśas with Soma.

Now while carrying the cart of Soma, towards the sacrificial pandal, the Hotr priest recites eight verses. One of them is chosen from the famous Jñāna-sūkta of the *Rgveda* (*Rg* X.71.10) - viz. 'sarve nandanti yaśasā'gatena'

etc. meaning 'all take pleasure when the yaśas - the glory comes to them.' The Jñāna-sūkta has apparently no bearing with the carrying of the soma-cart. One therefore wonders and is puzzled how suddenly this verse - viz. 'sarve nandanti yaśasā'gatena' is utilised for carrying the soma-cart. It is because Yaśas is identified with soma-cart Yaśasā ā'gatena here means somena āgatena. Ait Br. I.13 comments - yaśo vai somo rājā 'varily glory is king Soma.' As explained above, Soma is related to Viṣṇu. Thus Soma, Viṣṇu and Yaśas (glory) appear to be mostly identical or closely related. This explains why Viṣṇu is the principal deity of ātithyā iṣṭi performed in honour of Soma. Cp also TBr. II.2.8 - 'somo vai yaśaḥ. ya evam vidvān somam āgacchati, yaśa evainam r̥cchati. somo hi yaśaḥ' also ŚBr.[62] IV.2.4.9, Mait. S[63] IV.6.5, KS X.2....etc.

ŚBr. III.2.4.12 is very clear in this matter. It states - 'juṣṭā viṣṇave iti. juṣṭā somāya ityevam āha ' i.e. when one recites - may this oblation be agreeable to Viṣṇu, he means to say - may this oblation be agreeable to Soma.' Thus ŚBr. has identified Viṣṇu with Soma. Cp also ŚBr. III.3.4.21 'yo vai viṣṇuḥ somaḥ saḥ.' etc.

After the Bahiṣpavamāna stotra is chanted in the soma-sacrifice, The sacrificer and the priests go back to the place where soma is kept. They praise the Soma, with a verse dedicated to Viṣṇu (Viṣṇo tvam no antamaḥ - TS III.1.10). The related Brāhmaṇa enjoins - 'Vaiṣṇavyarcā punar etya upatiṣṭhate.' Thus praising of Soma with a verse dedicated to Viṣṇu indicates the identification of Viṣṇu with Soma.

Yūpa

Having offered a libation of melted butter in the Āhavanīya fire, by means of a spoon, being part of Vaisarjana offering, with a formula addressed to Viṣṇu - (viz. uru Viṣṇoh Vikramasva --- TS I.3.4), the Adhvaryu approaches a tree for cutting a log of a tree, for preparing a yūpa - the sacrificial post, with a formula - 'tam tva juṣe vaiṣṇavam devayajyāyai' (TS I.3.5) i.e. 'I accept you who belong to Viṣṇu - for the sacrifice to gods.' TS[64] VI.3.3 and TS[65] VI.3.4 also confirm that, Viṣṇu is the deity presiding over Yūpa.

Gonda in this respect remarks - 'A central feature of Viṣṇu's character was his relation with cosmic axis, the imaginary but highly sacred central pillar, which putting the cosmic levels into communications, reaching the earth in its navel, constitutes a canal, through which the heavenly blessings may penetrate into the abode of men and which makes travelling to heaven possible. Viṣṇu may be said to represent this pillar itself and to be present in any part of it. At the upper end, is his high domain, at the lower end he is the sacrificial post (yūpa) and is constantly identified with the sacrifice, which is located in the navel of the earth.' (Presidential address - 1974 - p. 3).

Cp in this respect 'yajñam āhuḥ bhuvanasya nābhim (*TS.* VII.4.18.2) = Sacrifice is the navel of the Universe.

The pot of milk curdled for *Saṁnāyya* is covered with the lid filled with water and is addressed with the formula - 'adastam asi viṣṇave tvā' (*TBr.* III.2.3) i.e. curdled milk, you are undecaying. I cover you for being protected by Viṣṇu' - Further the relative Brāhmaṇa remarks 'yajño vai Viṣṇuḥ' - the sacrifice is Viṣṇu. Cp also " *ĀpŚS*[66] I.14.3)

TS I.i.3 records a formula -' Viṣṇo havyam rakṣasva' = O Viṣṇu do you protect this oblation. This formula is utilised to place the oblation in a secured place. (*ĀpŚS*[67] I.14.5, 6).

In Soma sacrifice, the pot filled with Soma-juice, drawn for Āditya - the sun - is covered with a dish. The Adhvaryu invokes Viṣṇu to protect the Soma, with a formula addressed to Viṣṇu (*TS*[68]III.2.10). Cp also *Kapiṣṭala Saṁhitā* 47.2 - Viṣṇur eva havyam rakṣate.

Thus, Viṣṇu, in the vedic rituals is regarded as a protector of oblations.

If a female victim, after its immolation is found pregnant, the portion of an embryo be cut off and offered to Viṣṇu śipiviṣṭa (*TS*[69] III.4.1). The embryo is an additional portion of offering. It is regarded as śipiviṣṭa Viṣṇu. Therefore its portions are offered to śipiviṣṭa Viṣṇu.

According to Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara, the term Śipi means the rays of the sun. Śipiviṣṭa therefore means Sūrya-sun.

Dr. Dandekar identifies *śipi* with *śepa* - male generating organ. *Viṣṭa* is derived by him from the root viṣ (without assigning any meaning to it). The word śipiviṣṭa therefore means the elastic male generating organ, which appears to be an attribute of Viṣṇu. He is also referred to Yākṣa - 'Śipiviṣṭo viṣṇu iti. viṣṇor dve nāmanī bhavataḥ. Kutsitārthīyam pūrvam bhvatīti aupamanyavaḥ' i.e. śipiviṣṭa and Viṣṇu are the two names, the first is a contemptible one. Dr. Dandekar also cites a formula-Viṣṇur yonim kalpayatu' (*Ṛg* X.184.1) and its employment in the *Garbhādhāna* rite. (Marathi book-Vaidika devatānce abhinava darśana - Publ. Śikṣaṇa Prasāraka Maṇḍalī, Pune 1951, p. 139 - Dr. R. N. Dandekar).

Viṣṭa may however be derived either from viś (6th P-to enter) or from viṣ(4) (1st, P - to sprinkle). In the present context śipiviṣṭa clearly means an embryo sprinkled in the womb.

This contemptible character of śipiviṣṭa was according to Dr. R. N. Dandekar, deliberately pressed down by the Ṛgvedic poets. This attribution of Viṣṇu therefore indicates that Viṣṇu was also a deity presiding over fertility.

Thus Viṣṇu appears to be all pervading. The word Viṣṇu is therefore rightly derived by the tradition from the root √ viṣ (I) (3U, to pervade).

Yajña - the sacrifice is elsewhere, frequently related to Prajāpati - who is always referred to as consisting of 'seventeen'. At the end the sacrificer prays Viṣṇu, with a popular verse - viz. - caturbhiś ca caturbhiś ca dvābhyāṃ pañcabhir eva ca / hūyate ca punar dvābhyām, sa me Viṣṇuḥ prasīdatu.' These seventeen syllables are counted in TS I.6.11 as āśrāvaya, astu śrauṣaṭ, yaja, ye yajāmahe and vauṣaṭ. Thus Viṣṇu is in a way identified with Prajāpati also.

The Ritualists try to relate Viṣṇu with many items of sacrifice. The two strainers of darbha blades (ĀpŚS I.11.7.9)[70], the tuft of sacrificial grass (ĀpŚS)[71], the Havirdhāna pandal - with their corners, fore-parts (TS[72] 1.2.13), the Uparava - holes (TS[73] 1.3.2); the place from where Adhvaryu offers oblations (TS[74] I.1.12, ĀpŚS[75] II.13.7), the melted ghee for offering (ĀpŚS[76] II.10.4) etc. are all identified by them, with Viṣṇu. Even the lapses & lacunas in the performances of rituals are made good by chanting a verse to Viṣṇu (Cp-yadi visṛjet vaiṣṇavīm anubrūyat - yajño vai Viṣṇuḥ... TS 6.1.4) etc.

To sum up - Viṣṇu had a secondary position in Ṛgveda. But in the rituals and its literature, Viṣṇu is associated with Agni, identified with Soma - the Yaśas, and also with sacrificer and sacrifice itself. He was regarded as a supreme deity. The rituals show some traces of his incarnations, especially of Trivikrama also. Thus ritualistic texts have laid firm foundation for the supremacy of Viṣṇu in the Puranic period.

Acknowledgement

Pune

1Cth June 2000   **T. N. Dharmadhikari**

Notes and References

1. यस्योरुषु त्रिषु विक्रमणेषु अधिक्षियन्ति भुवनानि विश्वा।

2. यस्य त्री पूर्णा मधुना पदानि।

   2a. विष्णो: परमे पदे मध्व उत्स:।

3. यत्र गावो भूरिशृङ्गा अयास:।

4. ऐब्रा 1.1 - अग्निर्वै देवानामवम: विष्णु: परम: तदन्तरेण सर्वा: देवता:।

5. कासं - अग्निर्मुखं प्रथमो देवतानां संगतानामुत्तमो विष्णुरासीत्।

6. तांब्रा 21.4.6 - अन्तो विष्णुर्देवतानाम्।

7. काश्रौ 3.3.24 - विष्णुर्वा अमावास्यायां, हौत्राम्नानात्।

8. काहौप 1.12.5 - वैष्णवश्चेत् इदं विष्णु: प्रतद्विष्णु: इति।

9. आपश्रौ II.19.12 - आज्यहवि: उपांशुयाज: पौर्णमास्यामेव भवति वैष्णव: अग्नीषोमीय: प्राजापत्यो वा.

10. आपश्रौ II.19.14 - विष्णुं बुभूषन् यजेत।

11. तैसं V.5.1.10 - आग्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं निर्वपति दीक्षिष्यमाण:। अग्नि:सर्वा देवता: विष्णुर्यज्ञ: देवताश्चैव यज्ञं चारभते अग्निरवमो देवतानां विष्णुर्यज्ञ: यदाग्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं निर्वपति देवता एव उभयत: परिगृह्य यजमानोऽवरुद्धे।

12. ऐब्रा 1.i - एकादशकपाल: पुरोळाशो द्वौ अग्नाविष्णू का एनयो: कृसि: का विभक्ति: - अष्टाकपाल: आग्रेय: त्रिकपाल: वैष्णव: त्रिर्हीदं विष्णुर्व्यक्रमत।

13. तैसं 3.5.1.8 - आग्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं पुरस्तान्निवपेत् - यदाग्रेयो भवति अग्निर्वै यज्ञमुखम् यज्ञमुखमेवर्द्धिं पुरस्ताद्धत्ते यद् वैष्णवो भवति यज्ञो वै विष्णु: यज्ञमेवारभ्य प्रतनुते।

14. तैसं 1.8.1 - विष्णुना यज्ञेनाप्नोत्।

15. तैसं 1.8.17 - वैष्णवस्त्रिकपाल:।

16. मैत्रासं IV.4.7. - यद् वैष्णव: विष्णुर्वै यज्ञ:, यज्ञ एवान्वैच्छंस्तं विष्णौ अविन्दन्।

17. शब्रा - यो वै विष्णु: स यज्ञ:; यज्ञो विष्णु:, यज्ञो वै विष्णु: etc.

18. तैसं - विष्णुर्यज्ञ:।

19. मैसं - यज्ञो विष्णु:; यज्ञो वै विष्णु:।

20. गोब्रा - यज्ञो विष्णु:।

21. तांब्रा - यज्ञो विष्णु:।

22. तैब्रा - यज्ञो वै विष्णु:।

23. तैसं II.2.9.1 - आग्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं निवपेत् अभिचरन्, अभिचर्यमाणो वा - यदाग्रावैष्णव: एकादशकपाले भवति अग्नि: सर्वा देवता: विष्णुर्यज्ञ: देवताभिश्चैवैनं यज्ञेन चाभिचरति।

24. तैसं II.2.9 - आग्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं निवपेद्यं यज्ञो नोपनमेत् अग्नि: सर्वा देवता: विष्णुर्यज्ञ:--।

25. तैसं 1.8.8 - आग्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं निर्वपति ऐन्द्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं, वैष्णवं त्रिकपालं, वामनो बही दक्षिणा।

26. तैब्रा 1.7.2 - यद् वामन: तेन वैष्णव:।

27. तैसं I.8.1.7 - आग्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं वामनो वही दक्षिणा।

28. मैसं III.8.3 - असुराणां वा इयमग्र आसीत् -- विष्णुं वै देवा आनयनं वामनं कृत्वा यावदयं त्रिर्विक्रमते तदरमाकमिति स वा इमेवाग्रे व्यक्रमत अथेदम् अथ अदः।

29. मैसं II.5.3 - ते देवा वामनं पशुमपश्यरन्तं त्रैष्णवमालभन्त, ततो वै विष्णुः इमान् लोकानुदजयत्।

30. शब्रा I.9.3.9 - यज्ञो वै विष्णुः। स देवेभ्य इमां विक्रान्तिं विचक्रमे। -- इदमेव प्रथमेन पादेन परस्यार अथेदमन्तरिक्षं द्वितीयेन दिवमुत्तमेन -- ।

31. तैब्रा I.1.3 - आपो वा इदमग्रे सलिलमासीत्। तेन प्रजापतिरश्राम्यत्। कथमिदं स्यादिति। सोऽपश्यत् पुष्करपर्णे तिष्ठत्। सोऽमन्यत। अस्ति वै तत् यस्मिन्निदमधितिष्ठतीति। स वराहो रूपं कृत्वोपन्यमज्जत्....। यद् वराहविहतं संभारो भवति .....।

32. तैब्रा I.2.1 - यस्य रूपं बिभ्रदिमामविन्दत्। गुहाप्रविष्टं सरिररस्य मध्ये। तरयेदं विहतमाभरन्तः। अच्छम्बट्कारमस्यां विधेम ॥

33. तैसं VII.1.5.1 - आपो वा इदमग्रे सलिलमासीत्। तस्मिन् प्रजापतिर्वायुर्भूत्वाऽचरत् स इमामपश्यत् तां वराहो भूत्वाऽहरत्...।

34. 'वैदिक देवतांचे अभिनव दर्शन' - पृष्ठ १३१, प्रकाशक - शिक्षण प्रसारक मंडळी, पुणे.

35. तैसं II.2.9 - आग्रावैष्णवं घृते चरुं निर्वपेत् चक्षुष्कामः। अग्रेर्वै चक्षुषा मनुष्या विपश्यन्ति यज्ञस्य देवाः अग्निं चैव विष्णुं च स्वेन भागधेयेनोप धावति तावेव तस्मिन् चक्षुर्धत्तः चक्षुष्मानेव भवति।

36. तैसं II.2.9.10 - आग्रावैष्णवमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत् प्रातःसवनस्याकाले, आग्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं निर्वपेत् माध्यन्दिनस्याकाले, आग्रावैष्णवं द्वादशकपालं निर्वपेत् तृतीयसवनस्याकाले....।

37. तैसं II.2.9 - अष्टाक्षरा गायत्री गायत्रं प्रातःसवनम्, एकादशाक्षरा त्रैष्टुभं माध्यन्दिनं सवनम्, द्वादशाक्षरा जगती जागतं तृतीयं सवनम्।

38. बौश्रौ III.20 - अथोपोत्थाय दक्षिणेन पदाविष्णुक्रमान् क्रमते।

39. तैसं I.6.5 - विष्णुः क्रमोऽस्यभिमातिहा गायत्रेण च्छन्दसा पृथिवीमनु विक्रमे-- विष्णो क्रमोऽस्यभिमातिहा त्रैष्टुभेन च्छन्दसाऽन्तरिक्षमनु विक्रमे विष्णोः क्रमोऽस्यरातीयतो हन्ता जागतेन च्छन्दसा दिवमनु विक्रमे। विष्णोः क्रमोऽसि शत्रूयतो हन्ता आनुष्टुभेनच्छन्दसा दिशोऽनु विक्रमे...।

40. वासं II.25 - दिवि विष्णुर्व्यक्रंसत जागतेन च्छन्दसा -- अन्तरिक्षे विष्णुर्व्यक्रंसत त्रैष्टुभेन च्छन्दसा पृथिव्यां विष्णुर्व्यक्रंसा ....।

41. तैसं I.7.5. विष्णुमुखा वै देवाऽच्छन्दोभिरिमाँल्लोकान् अनपजय्यम् अभ्यजयन् यद् विष्णुक्रमान् क्रमते विष्णुरेव भूत्वा यजमानश्छन्दोभिरिमाँल्लोकानपजय्यमभिजयति।

42. तैसं IV.2.1 - विष्णोः क्रमोऽस्यभिमातिहा गायत्रं छन्दः पृथिवीमनु विक्रमस्व....।

43. तैसं V.2.1 - विष्णुमुखा वै देवाः ... यद् विष्णुक्रमान् क्रमते विष्णुरेव भूत्वा.......।

44. आपश्रौ XVI.10.12 - उपरिनाभेर्धारयमाणः विष्णोः क्रमोऽसीति चतुरो विष्णुक्रमान् प्राचः क्रामति।

45. तैसं IV.2. I - सायण - यज्ञप्रयोगं कृत्स्नं व्याप्नोतीति विष्णुर्यजमानः। यद्वा विष्णुना परमेश्वरेण अभेदोपचारं कृत्वा स विष्णुरित्युच्यते।

46. तैसं II.5.3 - विष्णोः क्रमेणात्येतान् क्रामामि ॥

47. आपश्रौ XIII.18.8

48. तैसं I.7.7 - विष्णोः क्रमोऽसि विष्णोः क्रान्तमसि विष्णोः विक्रान्तमसि।

49. तैसं I.8.10 - विष्णोः क्रमोऽसि विष्णोः क्रान्तमसि विष्णोः विक्रान्तमसि।

50. तैब्रा I.7.4 - विष्णुक्रमान् क्रमते विष्णुरेव भूत्वा इमाँल्लोकानभिजयति।

51. तैसं I.8.15 - विष्णो: क्रमोऽसि विष्णो: क्रान्तमसि विष्णोर्विक्रान्तमसि।

52. तैब्रा I.7.9 - विष्णुक्रमान् क्रमते विष्णुरेव भूत्वा इमाँल्लोकानभिजयति।

53. तैसं I.2.10 - अग्रेरतिथिमसि विष्णवे त्वा सोमस्यातिथिमसि विष्णवे त्वाऽतिथिरतिथिमसि विष्णवे त्वा...।

54. तैसं VI.2.1 अग्रेरतिथिमसि विष्णवे त्वेत्याह...।

55. तैब्रा II.3.2 ... प्रजापतिरिदां सर्वमसृजत। स मनोऽसृजत... तद् विष्णुं यशा आर्च्छत्...।

56. शब्रा XIV.1.1 - देवा ह वै सत्रं निषेदु:। अग्नि: इन्द्र: सोमो मखो विष्णु: विश्वेदेवा: इति। ... त आसत श्रियं गच्छेम यशा: स्याम इति। ते होचु: यो न: श्रमेण तपसा श्रद्धया यज्ञेन आहुतिभिर्यज्ञस्योदृचं पूर्वोऽवगच्छात् स न: श्रेष्ठोऽससत्। तदुन: सर्वेषांसहेति। तथेति। तद् विष्णु: प्रथमं प्राप। स देवानां श्रेष्ठोऽभवत्। तस्मादाहु: विष्णुर्देवानां श्रेष्ठ इति।

57. शब्रा XIV.i.1.12-13 - स य: विष्णु: यज्ञ: स:। स य: यज्ञ: असौ स आदित्य : --- तं परिगृह्य इदं यशोऽभवत् यदिदमिन्द्र: यशा: स उ मख: स विष्णु तत इन्द्रो मखवान् अभवत्। मखवान् ह वै तं मघवान् इत्याचक्षते।

58. तैआ VIII.1 - स धनु: प्रतिष्ठभ्यातिष्ठत्। .. तस्य ज्यामप्यादन्। तस्य धनुर्विप्रवमाणं शिर उदवर्तयत्...। ते देवा अश्विना बभुवन्। भिषजौ वै स्थ:। इदं यज्ञस्य शिर: प्रतिधत्तमिति...। यत्प्रवर्ग्यं प्रवृणक्ति यज्ञस्यैव तच्छिर: प्रतिदधाति।

59. बृउ - II.5.16-19- दध्यङ् ह यन्मध्वाथर्वणो वामश्वस्य शीष्र्णा प्रयदीमुवाचेति।... अभ्व्यं शिर: प्रत्यैरयतम्।

60. तैसं II.3.3 - देवा वै सत्रमासतर्द्धि परिमितं यशस्कामास्तेषां सोमं राजानं यशा आर्च्छत् स गिरिमुदैत्...।

61. शब्रा II.2.3.1 - सोमो यशस्काम: (अग्निमादधे) स यशोऽभवत्...।

62. शब्रा IV.2.4.9 - स वा अग्निष्टोमसद् भवति। यशो वै सोम:।

63. मैसं IV.6.5 - सोमो वै यशा:।

64. तैसं VI.3.3 - वैष्णवो हि देवतया यूप: स्वयैवैनं देवतया अच्छैति।

65. तैसं VI.3.4 - वैष्णव्यर्चा कल्पयति वैष्णवो हि देवतया यूप:।

66. आपश्रौ I.14.3 - अयस्पात्रे दारुपात्रे वा अप आनीय अदस्तमसि विष्णवे त्वा यज्ञायापिदधाम्यहम्...... इति अपिदधाति।

67. आपश्रौ I.14.5, 6 - विष्णो हव्यं रक्षस्वेत्यनधो निदधाति। ... विष्णो हव्यं हि रक्षसीति प्रज्ञातं शाखापवित्रं निदधाति।

68. तैसं III.2.10 - विष्ण उरुक्रम एष ते सोम: तं रक्षस्व।

69. तैसं III.4.1 - विष्णवे शिपिविष्टाय जुहोति। यद् वै यज्ञस्यातिरिच्यते पशोर्भूमा या पुष्टि: तद् विष्णु: शिपिविष्ट:। अतिरिक्त एव अतिरिक्तो दधाति।

70. आपश्रौ I.11.7, 9 - पवित्रे स्थो वैष्णवी। विष्णोर्मनसा पूते स्थ...।

71. आपश्रौ I.3.7 - विष्णो: स्तूपोऽसि इति अभिप्रेतानामेकं स्तम्बमुत्सृजति।

72. तैसं I.2.13 - इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे; दिवो वा विष्णवुत वा पृथिव्या : ...।
    विष्णो रराटमसि विष्णो: पृष्ठमसि, विष्णो: श्रप्त्ये स्थ:; विष्णो: स्यूरसि...।

73. तैसं I.3.2 ...- प्रोक्षामि वैष्णवान् - अवनयामि वैष्णवान् -- अवस्तृणामि वैष्णवान् -- इत्यादि।
    तैसं V.2.11 --- वैष्णवा हि देवतोपरवा: ...।

तैसं I.2.2 – विष्णो: शर्मासि...।

बौश्रौ VI.5 – यजमानं वाससा प्रोर्णोति विष्णो: शर्मासि।

74. तैसं. I.i.12 – विष्णो: स्थानमसि।

75. आपश्रौ II.13.7 – विष्णो स्थानमसीत्यवतिष्ठते, (द्र. बौश्रौ १.१५ स्थानं कल्पयते विष्णो : स्थानमसि इति।

76. आपश्रौ II.10.4. – विष्णूनि स्थ वैष्णवानि धामानि स्थ प्राजापत्यानि त्याज्यानि।

संक्षेप-विवरणम्

आपश्रौ – आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्रम्।	Ait Br. - Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
ऋ – ऋग्वेद:।	ĀpSS - Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra
ऐ ब्रा – ऐतरेय ग्राह्मणम्।	KS - Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā
का सं –काठक संहिता।	MS - Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā
तां ब्रा – ताण्डच ब्राह्मणम्।	Ṛg - Ṛgveda Saṁhitā -
तै आ – तैत्तिरीय-आरण्यकम्।	TĀ - Taitttirīya Āraṇyaka
तै ब्रा – तैत्तिरीय-ब्राह्मणम्।	TBr. - Taiittrīya Brāhmaṇa
मै सं – मैत्रायणी संहिता।	TS - Taittirīya Saṁhitā
श ब्रा – शतपथ ब्राह्मणम्।	ŚBr. - Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
वा सं – वाजसनेयि संहिता।	VS - Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā

THE TRADITIONS OF RASASŪTRA

Rewaprasada Dwivedi

'Vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicārisaṁyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ[1] is the famous text of the rasasūtra available to Bharata, the author of *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*NŚ*). Like Bharata all the later aestheticians like Ānandavardhana (AV), Abhinavagupta (AG), Mammaṭa and others have been going on welcoming the same reading of the sūtra though it does not have the term 'sthāyī' in it. The term sthāyī has been included in this sūtra at the time when Bharata composed the sixth chapter of this work (*NŚ*). In the seventh chapter Bharata is found including the term sthāyī in the text of the above sūtra : 'Vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicāriparivṛtaḥ sthāyī rasatām labhate.'[2] Even in the definitions and delineations of individual rasas Bharata has given room to sthāyibhāva without fail in his work *NŚ*[3]. We may easily draw, from the position, a conclusion that two different traditions about the rasasūtra have been mixed up in the treatment of rasa in Bharata's *NŚ* which has been composed in 300 B.C. Let us take into account the following two traditions of the reading of rasasūtra in Bharata :

1. Vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicārisaṁyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ, and
2. Vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicāristhāyisaṁyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ.

The third tradition of the text of the above sūtra is also available, that runs, as follows, with the term sāttvikabhāva also :

'Vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicārisāttvikasthāyībhāvasaṁyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ[4].

This way :-

1. Vibhāva
2. Anubhāva
3. Vyabhi / Saṁcāribhāva
4. Sthāyibhāva, and
5. Sāttvikabhāva

are the five bhāvas which are intermingled with each other for the niṣpatti of rasa, as emerged till now.

Out of these, sāttvikas are included into anubhāva. Hence, the question of sthāyibhāva is the only question on which aestheticians have to concentrate and solve the question why it is not included into the rasasūtra, quoted above. Let us take into account that it is not a human error. The sthāyi is dropped

from the sūtra deliberately[5] and not unconsciously by the earlier tradition.

All the later traditions are the development of the first one in this process. The other extreme in the development is the dropping of all the species (vibhāva, anubhāva, saṁcāribhāva, sāttvikabhāva and sthāyibhāva) and adopting only bhāvas. It is said in the latest work on dramaturgy - 'Rasabhoga' as under :

Bhāvasyaiva mahāvyāpti-ranubhāva-vibhāvayoḥ
Sthāyi-sāttvikayoścaiva cittavṛtti-svarūpataḥ

Evañca bhāva ityukte gṛhyeran nikhilā ime
Rasaścidbhāva-saṁyuktetyataḥ sad rasalakṣaṇam

- *Nāṭyānuśāsanam* - (*NAN*) (vv. 38-39).

Now the question of 'sthāyi' and 'bhāva' is to be concentrated to realize their real nature. The aestheticians have to think what is the bhāvatva and its sthāyitva. In this matter what is the final finding is that both the things (bhāvatva and sthāyitva) are of dual nature (1) conscious = cetana and unconscious = acetana (2) matter and concept and (3) inner and outer as well. This fact becomes clearer when we realize that it is only a living being that faces the entire group of rasa and emotion. For example rati = love, śoka = sorrow, bhaya = fear, etc. are exclusively the property of a living person and not of one who has passed away from the world. The spectator, after all, is a living individual who is the main substratum of each bhāva in the shade of Duṣyanta, Śakuntalā and their emotions, etc. It is also claimed that none else but the spectator alone is the real substratum of all the emotions. In the philosophical field it is termed as pramātṛcaitanya identical with Ātmā or soul. After all in drama and other arts the prātibha or prātibhāsika sattā is the only sattā which we deal with, whereas our dealing encompasses all the devices of our mind, our intellect, our dream and our imagination.

After the sattā in art is decided let us decide the real nature of bhāva that is our soul on which the figure of bhāva is painted. It is not possible at any rate that the bhāva could be painted without the plinth of soul, self or pramātṛcaitanya so to say. And after the taste of an art the spectator arrives to his own soul. At this point a wise philosopher picks up the real sthāyitva of bhāva. It is nothing else but the soul in the experience of rasa that is sthāyī or indispensable or permanent. In the stage of any kind of mental state no emotion whatsoever, be called as sthāyī. Emotion is a device which is all the time ready to cease by the third moment after birth - 'Tṛtīyakṣaṇaniṣṭhadhvaṁsapratiyogī'. Where s the soul [has to do nothing with these states of momentariness, which] is sole for all the moments to come. This way all the groups of emotions : sthā vyabhicāri have neither bhāvatva

nor sthāyitva and vyabhicāritva reaches the state of bhāvatva without the device called Citi. No jar, no cloth, no tree, no river or so can be termed as bhāva (of art) until and unless it is couched into art which is readily couched into Citi. It is this that is called 'Viṣayaviṣayībhāva' of a concept and its object. An object is swallowed by an art and the art is swallowed along with its object, dwelling inside the art, by the Citi that is spectator's own soul. There are two ends here in the art experience. (1) the Art, Object and Citi, and (2) the Citi, Art and Object. The first is the Citi of spectator and the second one is that of artist (poet, painter etc.). It is said as follows in the *Kāvyālaṁkārakārikā* (*KĀK*).

Kāvyam kalā kalānātho jīvātmā ye ca bhedakāḥ
te kalāyāmalaṅkārāḥ kalānāthe ca te rasāḥ.

Kalānāthāvubhāvatra kaviḥ sahrdayastathā
madhyenayoḥ padam dhatte vaikharī-dhvanisantatiḥ.

KĀK - 131, 132.

Poetry is an art. The master of Art is but 'Jīvātmā'. All the species or poetic characteristics are called alaṁkāra in the body of Art. But in the soul they are called Rasa.

Two are the masters of art (1) Poet, and (2) Enjoyer. Between these two takes place the sound called Vaikharī or articulation.

Arthācchabdonmukhī yātrā-vāpodvāpāśritā tu yā
vākyat pade-bhidhām dhatte loke saiṣā-nvitābhidhā.

Śabdādarthāya dhīyātrā vāṅmaye-bhihitānvayaḥ.

KĀK - 57 & 59.

When the journey of language is started from the śabda towards the meaning it is called 'Abhihitānvayavāda'. In this meanings are taken and left and the power called denotation takes shelter, leaving sentence aside, in word and vice versa. It (journey from word to meaning) is called 'Abhihitānvaya'.[6]
Thus the element called sthāyī in the present sense is readily given room in the combination of vibhāva, anubhāva and vyabhi/saṁ-cāribhāva.

(1)

Actual position is this that the above text of rasasūtra belonged to the tradition of the Āgama wherein all the emotions were treated as sañcārīs. As a result the rasasūtra means the saṁyoga of mere sañcārī bhāvas with spectator's soul generates the taste termed as Rasa. By the one term vyabhicārī all the emotions would be taken for the niṣpatti of rasa. This is not a farfetched

meaning as the Śaiva philosophers especially Utpaladeva and his followers are of the opinion that reality of life is jñāna and kriyā - "jñānam kriyā ca bhūtānām jīvatām jīvanam matam[7]." In the present context vibhāva may easily represent jñāna. So also anubhāva is well capable to represent kriyā. Bharata himself declares vibhāva as vijñāna - "Vibhāvo vijñānārthaḥ."[8]

At the same time vibhāva and anubhāva are called as alaukika[9] in the sense they are limited upto art whatsoever and cannot be saught outside the art. On the same line vibhāva and anubhāva both are bhāva i.e. emotion or state of mind. Sītā, Śakuntalā and Urvaśī like Rāma, Duṣyanta and Purūravā do not bear the character of dravya. Same is the position of the actions thereof.[10] It is said :

> Vibhāvo rāma-sītādī rāmāyaṇa-kathāśrite nāṭake
> bhāva evāsau, na dravyan cid-viparyayāt.
>
> Evam kriyāpyanubhāva-svarūpa bhāva-rūpatām
> āsādyaiva vibhāvāya tiṣṭhamānā vibhāvyate.

NAN - v.17,28.

So far as the sañcāribhāvas or vyabhicāribhāvas are concerned they too seek the position of soul as they too are bhāvas. At the same time emotions called rati, śoka etc. are also sañcāribhāvas. It is said :

> Bhāvasyaiva mahāvyāptiranubhāva-vibhāvayoḥ
> sthāyi-sāttvikayoścaiva cittavṛtti-svarūpataḥ.
>
> Ye te sañcāriṇo bhāvāścatustrinśadudāhṛtāḥ
> teṣām tu bhāvarūpatvamekam sarvatra dṛśyate.

NAN - v. 38 & 29.

Not only vibhāva and anubhāva, the entire stage is also admitted as mental. Whatever is seen on the outer platform is framed into the mind itself like a dream. About the artistic performance the last word is - 'it is all nothing else but intuitive or prātibha' :

> Sarveṣāmeva bhāvānām kalāsu prātibhātmatā
> prātibhāsikasattātmetyucyatām darśaneṣu sā.

NAN - v. 55.

By saluting Indukalāvataṁsa (Śiva) AG has admitted this wider concept of vibhāva, etc., while commenting upon the *NŚ* -

> Yastanmayān hṛdayasaṁvadanakrameṇa
> drākcitraśakti-gaṇabhūmivibhāgabhāgī.

Harṣollasatparavikāra-juṣaḥ karoti
vandetamām tamahamindukalāvataṅsam.

<div align="right">NŚ 1.1 AB.</div>

(2)

This way the existence of both the Soul and Sthāyibhāva in rasasūtra is well expressed. Bhojarāja in the eleventh chapter of his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa[11] (ŚP) has established this concept well. This was the second tradition of rasaniṣpatti in which all the bhāvas are momentary and pramātr-caitanya or *soul is proved sthāyī*.

(3)

Bharata extended the above tradition. He included Sthāyī in the text of rasasūtra. According to him ' Vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicāriparivr̥taḥ sthāyī rasatām/ nāma labhate' i.e. it is sthāyī which is called rasa after it is surrounded with the bhāvas called vibhāva, anubhāva and vyabhicāris. Sthāyīs were enumerated as :-

Ratirhāsaśca śokaśca krodhotsāhau bhayaṁ tathā
jugupsā vismayaśceti sthāyibhāvāḥ kramādamī.

<div align="right">NŚ. - VI.17.</div>

Here in this account soul is not given room. With the definitions of each rasa this sthāyibhāva is mentioned. AV, AG and Mammaṭa followed this stand with awareness of their mind. Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha followed them and proclaimed sthāyī as rasa.[12]

These aestheticians tried to decide the nature of sthāyī. Following are their statements :

Viruddhairaviruddhairvā bhāvairvicchidyate na yaḥ
ātmabhāvaṁ nayatyanyān sa sthāyī lavaṇākaraḥ

<div align="right">*Daśarūpaka*, - 4.34.</div>

'Ā prabandhaṁ vyāptatva' is the last word in this matter.[13] In his *Rasagaṅgādhara* Paṇḍitarāja decides this case as under -

Ā prabandhaṁ sthiratvādamīṣām bhāvānām sthāyitvam,
vāsanārūpāṇāmamīṣām muhurmuhurabhivyaktereva sthira-padārthatvāt.

<div align="right">-*Rasagaṅgādhara*, NSP edn. page 37, 1947.</div>

In this school soul or spirit is not given much value. It is not forgotten but remembered with indifference.

This school of sthāyībhāva is headed by AG himself. It is AG's literature (Locana[14] and Abhinavabhāratī) from which emerged the following vādas:

1. Utpattivāda
2. Anumitivāda
3. Abhivyaktivāda, and
4. Bhuktivāda.

Of these the abhivyaktivāda was introduced by AV in his *Dhvanyāloka.* AG has only followed him. Earlier to AG Bhaṭṭanāyaka had established his bhuktivāda. It is therefore bhukti and not vyakti which had been the last step in the history of rasaniṣpatti. Unfortunately AG happens to be the last and Mammaṭa has paid the highest regards to him (AG).

In my opinion all the four views on rasaniṣpatti have come out from the pen of AG. The aspect of loka and inference are must for every commentator to explain. Even vyaktivāda admits both of them. When the question arises as to what happens in the spectator or reader then vyakti and bhukti take place. By vyakti what emotion is touched is the emotion of spectator and reader. The emotions as are inferred in the actor always invoke enjoyer's emotions. Out of two (1) the emotion of Rāma, Duṣyanta etc. and (2) the emotions of enjoyer, it is only the latter which transforms itself into rasa. Spectator is the main concern in the field of artistic world. Everything else called hero, actor, imitation, stage, action, embellishment and standard of high or low level is treated here as means and secondary alone. It is termed as vṛtti. In *Dhvanyāloka* AV advises –

> Rasādyanuguṇatvena vyavahāro'rtha-śabdayoḥ
> aucityavān yastā etā vṛttayo dvividhāḥ sthitāḥ.

-Dhvanyāloka 3.33.

As a result one is free to draw conclusion that the theories on rasaniṣpatti available today are the imagination of AG himself. He had moderated the theories of his predecessors as he himself declares :

> Tasmāt satāmatra na dūṣitāni
> matāni tānyeva tu śodhitāni.

'Instead of correction an improvement in the process has been preferred by me (AG)'. [-*NŚ,* Baroda Ed., Vol-I, page 278, 1956.]

After the process has been settled what remains to tackle is the experience. I am sorry to write that AG has paid the least importance to his predecessors' words on the experience. Mammaṭa has also followed AG's line. And the entire Kāśmīra tradition is silent, before AG as regards rasa-experience.

Paṇḍitarāja says in his Rasagaṅgādhara that the bhukti and vyakti are identical:
'bhogastu vyaktiḥ, bhogakṛttvam tu vyañjanādaviśiṣṭam' (NSP Ed., 1947, page
30). Had Bhaṭṭanāyaka been alive he would himself have refuted the stand
of Paṇḍitarāja. The fact is that svāda=taste fails to be an alternative to vyakti
whereas it is must in bhukti and rasa is the other name of svāda. This is
why the 'rasanā'-vyāpāra has been accepted even by AG. In *Locana*[15] on
Kārikā 2.4 AG says:

> Pratītireva viśiṣṭā rasanā... (page 187)
> ...Sā ca rasanārūpā pratītirutpadyate. (page 188)
> ...Bhogīkaraṇavyāpāraśca kāvyasya rasaviṣayo
> dhvananātmaiva (*Ibid*).

Here the findings of AG are almost peculiar. The identification of
dhvananavyāpāra with bhogīkṛti may hardly be called tenable. Or all
lexicographers should declare both these functions identical and one. That
would be a new language. This is not the universal way of logic. Language
of Art is also a language. It must be regulated with some norms. The Tāntrika
way of mystic expression can hardly be allowed in artistic world to move
freely. But AG does so. The business of 'śodhana' is not needed at all if
the untenable stand called pūrvapakṣa is well presented.

The word pratīyamāna is applicable to both inferred and experienced.
It covers both the pramāṇas - anumāna and pratyakṣa. Of these, the aspect
of pratyakṣa should be checked afresh as spectator's pratyakṣa of his own
emotions is also a pratyakṣa. Herein the soul is enjoyed by the soul itself.
If there lies any emotion, that does not come from outside. That is within
the scope of rasa and of liṅgaśarīra of the spectator. The philosophy called
advaita is full of dvaita as it is explained here with the help of pānakarasa.
In the pānakarasa a new taste emerges. It is a unique taste. It is not the
same which emerges from each of the ingredients mixed up in the pānaka.
In this unique rasa it is only oneness or advaita or kaivalya that is being
felt. A flame of a lamp represents it better. The oil is prepared from numerous
things and procedures. From the flame we proceed towards the bottom and
find this oil itself. But the experience is undivided. It subjects only oneness
in lustre. There were so many things before the lustre emerged, namely there
were the flame, the pot of lamp, the oil and the combination thereof. But
at the stage of lustre everything from the above list is dropped. It is said:

> Kalākṣetre puro dvaitaṁ paścādadvaitamīkṣyate
> advaitaparamāstasmāt kalāḥ sarvā iha sthitāḥ.

NAN - v.12.

So far as the taste in character and actor is concerned it is enough

to say that these tastes are irrelevant in the field of aesthetic rapture. Here what rasa is handled is the rasa which emerges from the/out of the experience of art and that too in the heart of enjoyer or sahṛdaya as he is called.

Before the artistic work comes into existence what is available is loka and that is not a creation of art and artist. That is merely a shape of nature. That is not intuitive or prātibha and therefore not poetry or play. The pleasure of this field (nature, loka) does not fall into the field of aesthetic pleasure. The pleasure of poet or playwright is the pleasure of creeper and not of its fruit. And the science of aesthetics is related to fruit and not to the creeper or gardener. So far as the critics are concerned in the field of aesthetic experience they are but merchants who buy and sell it. Or they are rather physicians and experts of medicine. This way the enjoyer is the main and last concern for rasa in art whatever it may be. Exponents of Dhvani school like AG made this point base and attacked the first school called Utpattivāda and the second, the Anumitivāda in the rasaniṣpatti.

From the side of Dharmaśāstra or Sociology question is raised - how can a spectator enjoy the love-affairs of Rāma and Sītā who are venerable like his own parents. Bhaṭṭanāyaka had put forth in its solution the Bhāvakatva, an extra function or power residing in art. AG followed the same but with modification that the bhāvakatva would be accepted in the bhāvaka enjoyer or spectator of refined taste and not in śabda. Paṇḍitarāja pleaded in favour of AG. Bhoja solved the problem otherwise.[16] Aestheticians should now put forth their arguments and decide whose view is acceptable. According to me, the stand of Bhoja is irrefutable by AG or Bhaṭṭanāyaka. AG says, as quoted earlier, bhojakatva is dhvanana-vyāpāra. If the function called dhvanana is invalid then bhojakatva-vyāpāra would also stand invalid. After all if Rāma and Sītā are venerable how can the spectator enjoy their private affairs? The sensibility would also need some cultural restrictions on the spectator. Finally the sociological crisis would remain, disturbing the culmination of artistic joy.

AG accepts his indebtedness to the work done earlier by his predecessors:

Ūrdhvordhvamāruhya yadarthatattvam
dhīḥ paśyati śrāntimavedayantī
phalaṁ tadādyaiḥ parikalpitānām
vivekasopāna-paramparāṇām.

-AB, NŚ Baroda Edn., 1992, Vol I, p.272.

In the field of aesthetics Daṇḍī and Bhāmaha both are the predecessors of AG but he pays response to Bhāmaha alone and not to Bhāmaha's predecessor Daṇḍī. Had Daṇḍī been given attention to by AG like Bhoja the

entire theory of rasa would have been shaped differently. While referring to Utpattivāda AG remembers Daṇḍī and his *Kāvyādarśa* in the words as follows:

Cirantanānāñcāyameva pakṣaḥ. Tathā hi *Daṇḍin*ābhyadhāyi -

(1) 'ratiḥ śṛṅgāratāṁ gatā,
   rūpabāhulya-yogene'-ti,

(2) 'adhiruhya parāṁ kotiṁ krodho raudrātmatāṁ gata'ityādi

Ibid page 272.

This reference to Daṇḍī in AG's *Abhinavabhāratī (AB)* is very rare. I am doubtful that the meaning drawn out of Daṇḍī's kārikās by AG is tenable. Other meanings can also be drawn out of the same verse of Daṇḍī.

I could not understand how the idea of Utpatti flashed to AG when it has merely been said - 'ratiḥ śṛṅgāratāṁ gatā' or 'krodho raudrātmatāṁ gataḥ'. These statements rather go against the utpatti and they fall in favour of elevation alone. The case of elevation is not the case of utpatti. 'Sthāyī bhāvo rasaḥ' says Mammaṭa. Is it not a generalisation of Daṇḍī's words 'ratiḥ śṛṅgāratāṁ gatā' or 'krodho raudrātmatāṁ gataḥ' etc.?

As is evident from the explanations of the terms nāṭya-rasa etc., of *NŚ*, AG is habituated to fanciful etymologies [17]. If Daṇḍī was the follower of utpattivāda why then AG named here Lollaṭa alone and not Daṇḍī too? Daṇḍī does not fall in the galaxy of the commentators of *NŚ* is no justification.

After the thesis 'preyaḥ priyatarākhyānam' etc., Kārikā 2.275 of his *Kāvyādarśa*, Daṇḍī continued to develop the matter in the subsequent kārikās 2.276-279. By these four verses what is pleaded is the sense of 'preman' going to be enhanced in the full-fledged and comprehensive rasa by Bhoja in both his encyclopedic works on aesthetics (1) *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa (SK)* and (2) *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. It is an instance of love in general, which has been degraded by the Dhvani-school by declaring it as bhāva and rejecting its rasatva. After the 'preman' the love between male and female is tackled by the conscious aesthetician Daṇḍī by saying 'prākpṛtir darśitā' etc. I think Daṇḍī has done justice to his theme. At the same time Bhāmaha plays the role of reporter and not of an Ācārya on the complicated matters. His reporting is also of haphazard nature (*Kāvyālaṅkāra* 3.4-7). Here it is pertinent to note that the illustration for rasavat is limited upto a few words 'Devī samāgamad dharmamaskarīnyatirohitā' in Bhāmaha, whereas Daṇḍī has given illustrations in detail not only for Śṛṅgāra but for Vīra and Kāruṇya too.

Not only for these Vākyālaṁkāras, but for Guṇas also Bhāmaha adopted negligence. It is evident from his treatment of Guṇa in the beginning of Chapter

No. 2 Kārikā 1-4. On the other hand we see Daṇḍī recollecting *NŚ* of Bharata and drafting as many as ten Guṇas separately with their illustrations (*Kāvyādarśa* 1.40-42).

In his Kāvyālaṁkārasūtravṛtti Vāmana has also accepted these ten Guṇas extending them to meaning too. Vāmana put forth the controversy about the existence of Guṇa. Bhāmaha would have faced the same controversy but could not accept the non-existence at all. AV, AG and Mammaṭa followed Bhāmaha and not Daṇḍī and his predecessor Bharata. In Rasagaṅgādhara Jagannātha followed the tradition of ten Guṇas of Śabda and ten Guṇas of Artha[18] and defined them with illustrations beautifully. Unlike Mammaṭa and Jagannātha Bhāmaha does not record his argument against the tradition of ten Guṇas continued from Bharata. It is Mammaṭa who records his argument:

Kecidantarbhavantyeṣu doṣatyāgat pare śritāḥ
anye bhajanti doṣatvaṁ kutracinna tato daśa.

- *Kāvyaprakāśa* 8.7.

Even after this clarification of Mammaṭa, Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha followed the tradition of Vāmana on Guṇas. These aestheticians could not disregard the experience of enjoyer. Bhāmaha moderated the stand of Bharata and Daṇḍī and considered the existence of only three Guṇas : 'Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda' to be acceptable as also non-existence of remaining seven Guṇas but without recording his argument. Even then he was followed by the followers of Dhvani school, even by AV, AG and Mammaṭa.[19]

New Front

Daṇḍī has started a new front of *preyas* in aesthetics which had been followed by Bhoja and Rudraṭa, covering the Bhakti and Vātsalya which have been going on covering the Madhura-rasa of Ācāryas and Gosvāmins through the literature, huge and high in Sanskrit, Vrajabhāṣā, Avadhī and Tamil etc. Local dialects like Bengali, Gujarati and Marathi etc. were also well equipped with the devotional literature prepared and preserved in temples and pīthas for centuries all over India. This comprehensive and vast literature could have not been covered by aestheticians unless the sense of 'Madhura rasa' or 'Preyas' would have been honoured. The literary march of Dhvani could not welcome this move. Rather they neglected the same by labelling the Bhakti as Bhāva.

The sense of preyas was spread over sculpture, architecture, music, painting and the temple-industry at that time. Daṇḍī and Bhojarāja accommodated them in the aesthetics unlike Dhvanivādins.

In a nutshell we may say that the rasasūtra had been following so many

traditions, of which the following have their written record :

1. Rasasūtra with the term ' Sañcārī/Vyabhicārī ' in it alongwith the terms ' vibhāva and anubhāva ' :-

   " Vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicārisaṁyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ "

   Here the term 'vyabhicāri' is used in the sense of bhāva in general, under which rati, śoka etc., had also been incorporated. The followers of this tradition are as old as the pre-Bharata dramaturgy. Some of these are recorded by the commentators of Śiśupālavadha 2.87 -

   Sthāyino 'rthe pravartante bhāvāḥ sañcāriṇo yathā
   rasasyaikasya bhūyānsastathā neturmahībhrtaḥ.

   Bhoja, the writer of Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (SP) and Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa (SK) stands as chief in this tradition.

2. Bharata has given importance to the emotions - 'rati, hāsa, śoka, jugupsā, vismaya, krodha, utsāha, bhaya and śama'. This tradition is available in Bharata's NŚ itself. Almost all the Kāśmīrīs : AV, AG, Mammaṭa were the followers of this tradition. Hemacandra too followed the same.

3. Both these traditions were intermingled. The Sūtra is taken from all-sañcārī - tradition but explained through the sthāyibhāva-tradition. It is also available in Bharata's NŚ itself.

4. Another tradition is the 'Śṛṅgāra / Abhimāna / Māna / Ahaṅkāra ' - tradition[20]. Its founder Ācārya is Bhojarāja. Bhojarāja follows Bharata but independently. Bhoja's power of imagination is very much creative.

5. The factor called Jīvātmā, Pramātā or Ahaṁ had been given importance in rasa but not clearly. So also the state of mind had been taken as sthāyī and not the soul. This concept is available in the commentators of the verse 2.87 of Śiśupālavadha also.

6. In this tradition sañcāritva and sthāyitva were two degrees, these have been applicable to all the poetic elements : 'rasa, sañcārī, rati', etc. Bhoja has been a staunch follower of this tradition. For Bhoja even the elements called Guṇa, Alaṁkāra and Rasa are couched into the degrees of elevation. Bhoja's every experience starts from 'aurjitya' and stops into the 'aurjitya' itself. These are the two ends (koṭis). The middle stage is the stage of sentiments accepted as rasa in Bharata's NŚ or other works like Kāvyaprakāśa.

7. The sthāyi-bhāva of śṛṅgāra/abhimāna/ahaṅkāra is 'preman' having rati as its shade or subsection. AG does not say anything about these species.

Nationality or the devotion for Nation happens to be the form of it. This kind of affection is a natural activity hidden in human heart. It is the root cause from which emerges the love towards animals like Rāṇā Pratāpa's towards his Cetaka, Śivājī's towards his Bhavānī-sword, Arjuna's for his Gāṇḍīva, etc.

8. After Bhoja in Sanskrit aesthetics there is hardly anyone who can be ranked as the thinker on the lines of practicality and comprehension. When the beloved daughter of sage Kaṇva departs from him to go to her husband's house even the hermitage was shaken with love in *separation-sorrow*. Here in this sense of preman we may find genuineness. This is why Rāma is saying 'O Sīte! these creepers were trying to indicate the path by which you had been carried by Rāvaṇa' in *Raghuvaṁśa* XIII.24.

9. Kuntaka and his predecessor Rājaśekhara had taken account of these activities of affection and affinity of conscious with unconscious and vice versa. In Śaiva-śāstra nothing is unconscious (Jaḍa/Acetana) as it is a form and development of 'ME', who is conscious (Ajaḍa). The 'I' treats the unconscious (jaḍa) as its body : 'Vimatipada...siddham' (*Virūpākṣapañcāśikā*2). Both the mysticism and poetry are couched here in one centre of Kālidāsa's intuition.

Maharṣi Śukadeva is called 'sarvabhūta-hṛdaya' and both conscious and unconscious were welcoming him loudly with an invocation 'putra' -

> Yam pravrajanta-manupeta-mapetakṛtyam
> dvaipāyano virahakātara ājuhāva.
> Putreti tanmayatayā taravobhinedus-
> tam sarvabhūtahṛdayaṁ munimānatosmi.

-Śrībhāgavata 1.1.2.

In this verse yogic practice and poetry are twined.

Daṇḍī and Bhoja with Kuntaka and Rājaśhekhara easily but Dhvanivādī AV and AG hardly can cover these stanzas in their aesthetic provision.

The fact is that both (1) rasaniṣpatti[21] process and (2) the details of śabdavṛttis are related with philosophy and not with aesthetics. In the field of aesthetics they are simply foreign elements and they can easily be dropped[22] by the thinkers in aesthetics. The modern age of aestheticians can undo the stands and steps which are uncalled for. This kind of activity should be given importance in India[23] and its main language Sanskrit, wherever it is needed.

Notes and References

1. *NŚ* VI, Baroda ed. Vol. 1, page 272.

2. *NŚ* VII, *Ibid*, page 349. 'Rasa-nāma' is the printed text.

3. Pages 308, 312, 317, 319, 324, 326, 328, 329, 332, 349, 349, 349, 350, 379, 379, 379, 380. These are the references only from the *NŚ* chapters 6 and 7 of Vol. 1 of Baroda edn. of 1956.

4. Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsanam*, etc.

5. AG and Hemacandra welcome the absence of स्थायी in the सूत्र. They say 'सूत्रे स्यायिग्रहणं न कृतम्, तत् प्रत्युत शल्यभूतं स्यात्'.
   -*AB, NŚ,* Baroda edn. 1956, page 272.
   -*Kāvyānuśāsanaviveka* page 78, NSP edition, 1934.
   -In my *Nāṭyānuśāsana* see v. 40.

6. On this topic an article of mine is printed by the Sahitya Akademi, Delhi in their book : *'East West Poetics at work'* 1994.

7. *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* 1.1.4.

8. *NŚ,* Baroda Edn. 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 346-347.

9. On this subject see the book *'Outline of Abhinavagupta's Aesthetics'* by Prof. V. M. Kulkarni published by Sarasvati Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad, 1998.

10. 'Taccittavṛtti - tanmayībhavanamameva hyanubhavanam' *Dhvanyāloka- locana,* Chaukhambha edn. 1940, page 156 and 179.

11. The Latest edition of *ŚP.* HOS No. 53, 1998 U.S.A. for chapters 1-14.

12. *Rasagaṅgādhara,* page 26, NSP. edi. 1947.

13. A vast collection of the statements of this kind can be prepared easily.

14. An authentic translation of *Locana* is published from The Harvard University U.S.A in 1990. HOS.49.

15. *Dhvanyāloka with Locana,* Chaukhambha S.S. edin. of 1940, PP. 187-188.

16. In Bhoja spectator enjoys his own 'Aham' by the power of his own Ahaṅkāra. This is why no sādhāraṇīkaraṇa is needed. The rasa of lower stage is merely a bhāva and not rasa. Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa may take place for this if unavoidable at all.
   See my article ' भोजस्य ध्वनिविचार: ' in *Sārasvatī Suṣamā,* Sanskriti University, Varanasi ज्येष्ठ २००९ वि. Sāgarikā 9.1.

17. AG in his huge literature is found everywhere twisting the text.

18. *Rasagaṅgādhara* NSP edin. pp. 69-80, 1949.

19. It may be noted here that there was a long and perpetual controversy about the acceptability of Prasāda and Ojas as Guṇa. Kuntaka does not accept Ojas

as Guṇa. So also Vāmana does not count Prasāda as Guṇa unless it is coupled with Ojas.

20. Let us incorporate *Agnipurāṇa* here as it also gives room to this cult in the Chapters 339 etc. A comparative study of *Agnipurāṇa* and Bhoja is needed. We must recall that Bhoja belonged to the Agnivaṅśa itself.

21. In his article - 'The Development of Aesthetics and Literary Criticism in India' Prof. Warder starts the history of India's aesthetics with the Tamil work 'Tolakappiam'.

22. The Hindi poet Keśavadāsa (1600 A.D.) had not given room to the school of Dhvani in his works *'Kavipriyā'* and *'Rasika-priyā'*. Keśavadāsa was a good scholar and creative writer with a deep knowledge of arts like music. Besides he was a great landlord like a king of a province.

23. It is discussed thoroughly in my *KAK* - 50-53 -

   Śabdaśaktivicāro yaḥ kavitādarśane vidām
   so'yaṁ revātaṭe matsyavedho dhīvartājuṣām.

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BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE : ITS LITERARY TRADITION

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KANHERI AND NASIK

SHOBHANA GOKHALE

There are more than twelve hundred caves in western India. They have preserved early inscriptions and ancient Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical architecture. They have not only restored the rhythm of religion but have embodied the ethos of ancient traditions. In Buddhist architecture of western India there is a remarkable grandeur coupled with implicit monotony. If we investigate the reason behind it we find that the artisans religiously followed the orders of the Blessed-one as mentioned in the *Vinaya texts*. There is a beautiful synchronism between the religious concepts, traditions and the then social psyche. It is necessary therefore to study the Buddhist architecture against the backdrop of Buddhist literature.

The literature deals not only with religious doctrines and practices but it has embodied splendid achievements of the society of the period. The canvas of Buddhist texts have not only preserved the human values and lessons for common people but they have constituted the main force of Buddhist religion. The Buddhist texts have offered an excellent basis for understanding the real spirit and merits of Buddhist architecture.

Monastic institutions were the most remarkable contribution of Buddhism to Indian culture. Their original object was to give suitable accomodation to monks for carrying on their studies and meditation. These monasteries gradually developed into academic centres for producing the right type of men well grounded in religion and philosophy to propagate the teachings of Buddhism. The ruins of monasteries give us some idea of the magnificence of these educational institutions. These institutions grew up not merely as organizations for training missionaries but they have preserved the architectural traditions.

The architectural splendour of Buddhist caves was a paradise for cave-cutters but at the same time they have meticulously retained the treasure trove of the architectural norms uttered by the Blessed-one.

The first century BC to second century AD was the period of remarkable progress in trade and industry. This was the time when the western coast of India witnessed the growth of brisk foreign trade with the Roman empire. Sopara, Kalyan and Chaul were flourishing ports and thus the western coast

was humming with trade activities and simultaneously the religious dignity of Buddhism dominated the entire coast of Aparānta. During the time of Vassāvāsa (four months of rainy season), the spiritual thoughts of Buddhism literally percolated into caves alongwith the trickling of monsoon.

Of all the Buddhist caves in western India, Kanheri had a distinct character. It is not because of nearness of the ports of Sopara or Kalyan but because the King Aśoka promoted religious atmosphere by erecting stūpa and rock-edicts at Sopara. Aśoka's liberal attitude and goodwill towards all, irrespective of caste, creed and different religious sects made a deep impact on the religious as well as political environs of the western coast and Kanheri enjoyed the royal patronage from 250 BC to 9th century AD. This liberal attitude became an ideal for posterity. The Vihāra at Kanheri is mentioned as " Mahārāja mahāvihāra" in the inscription of Śilāhāra king Kapardin at Kanheri, dated Śaka 799 = AD 877-78.

The Buddha converted a large number of people from different social sectors. Initially Bhikṣus dwelt in woods, at the foot-hills of mountains and wandering here and there. The Blessed-one allowed Bhikṣus to dwell in earthen huts (Paṅkalenāni) and caves. It appears that whenever the Bhikṣus faced difficulties they approached the Blessed-one. The Blessed-one gave the solutions which were in practice. In the course of time the solutions were codified and they were turned into religious norms and then practice became precept.

It is well known that the rich merchant Anāthapiṇḍaka made a fabulous donation of Jetavana monastery where there were dwelling rooms, retiring rooms, benches (Āsanapeḍhi), service-halls, bath-rooms (Nhānapodhi), ponds, open-roofed sheds, fire-places, store-rooms, upaṭhānasalā, water places (udapānaśālā), etc. Kanheri was modelled like Jetavana where alongwith all above-mentioned amenities there existed cemetery and toilets. The selection of the site of monastery was entrusted to the Saṅgha (Mahāvagga VI. 33.2.8). The site was named as "Kappiyabhūmi". The Blessed-one allowed six kinds of building of "Vihāra".

1) Vihāra 2) Adhyāyoga 3) Prāsāda
4) Hammiya 5) Guhā (Mah. VI.33.2) 6) Paṇkalenāni (Cullavagga VI.1.2).

Migaramātā Viśākhā was anxious to build a storeyed building for the learned Bhikṣus, with verandah (Cul. I.14.1) (Alinda) supported on pillars with capitals of elephant-heads. The Blessed-one permitted to build "prāsāda" (Hatthinakham). The storeyed buildings Vihāras on the pillars with capitals of elephants are sculptured at Pitalkhora, Ajanta and Karle. The Vihāras were crowded with people. The Bhikṣus were ashamed to lie or sleep on the ground. The permission to use curtains was given by the Blessed-one. The tapestry at Pitalkhora is the classic example (Cul. VI.3.3). The inner chambers were

of four kinds : (1) Sivikā-gabha - palankeen-shape, (2) Nalikā-gabha - barrel shape, (3) Hammiya-gabha - upper-storeyed building, (4) Caturassa-gabha (quadrangular hall) (*Cul.* VI.3.3).

At Kanheri, the cave No.1 is of Adhyāyoga type cave. It was occupied by the Sangha. The cave No. 2 at Kanheri is of Caturassa-gabha - quadrangular shape. The stūpa in that cave belongs to the Mauryan period (Nagaraju, p.191). In the other part of cave No. 2, there was a dining hall. The inscription in the cave has recorded the meritorious gift of refectory by Nākanaka of Nasik. The windows were of three types : (1) Vedikā vātapānam - vedikā-railing, (2) Jāla-vātapānam - lattice window, (3) Śalākā vātapānam-windows with slips of wood (*Cul.* VIII.1.5, *Mah.* 1.25.18). At Kanheri there are remains of all these types of windows.

Initially the Vihāras had no doors, so snakes, scorpions got in. The Blessed-one allowed to make door of outer entrance (Kavāṭa), bolts, keys, etc. Squirrels and bats entered through windows. The Blessed-one allowed to build blind windows. At Junnar there is a blind window.

The monks used to sleep on mats. Mats were eaten by mice and white ants. The Blessed-one allowed solid benches against the wall or in the verandah against the outside wall (*Cul.* VI.2.3). The height of bench was three "Sugata angulas". One Sugata angula is equivalent to three ordinary angulas. The height of the bench, in the cave is not more than 1.75' to 2' (*Pacitiya*, 8.7). The Blessed-one made a rule that a Bhikṣu should sleep in *simhaśayyā*. The breadth of the bench in the cave is not more than 1.75' to 2'. The other bench in the cave was to be excavated with the permission of other Bhikṣus.

After building Vihāras saḍvargīya Bhikṣus plastered the Vihāras. The Blessed-one allowed Bhikṣus to apply clay mixed with red powder, rice-husk, mustard seeds mixed with oil of bee wax. The saḍvargīya Bhikṣus painted romantic pictures on the walls of Vihāra. The Blessed-one allowed Bhikṣus to paint creepers and wreaths of flowers. When the plaster of walls fell down the Blessed-one allowed to put wooden balustrades (*Cul.* V.11.6, V.14.4). The wooden ribbing is found at Bhaja. The wooden ribbing was changed into stone ribbing. It is not mere imitation of the Mauryan wooden tradition. It was named as "Alambana" bāham. The Blessed-one asked to cover the hall with skins (*Cul.* VII.7). It is the meticulous observance of the Buddha's saying, otherwise it was considered to be the offence of the Sangha. At Bedsa to cover the stūpa skin is carved in stone.

The cave No. 3 at Kanheri is a caitya which is of *Nalikāgabbha* type. On both the pillars at the entrance the details of the building activity are engraved. There are following names - Selavaḍhaki - stone mason, Kaḍhicaka -

artisan, Mithika - polisher, Uparakhita - supervisor, Navakarmika - overseer. Navakarmika is not merely an overseer. He had to see whether the work was done according to the *Vinaya text* (*Cul.* V.13.3, VI.17.1). The measurements of the caitya were 12 × 7 Sugata-vitastis. Sugata-vitasti - Buddha's span is generally considered 6' × 7'. The caitya at Kanheri is exactly of that measurement. The technical term 'Navakarmika' occurs at Sanchi (Lüders 157) and Bharhut (Lüders 773). In *Cullavagga* (VI.17.3) the time span of the completion of different buildings has been ascribed. 'Navakarma' should be completed within five to six years, 'Adhyāyoga' - double storeyed should be completed within seven to eight years. 'Prāsāda' should be completed within ten to twelve years (*Cul.* VI.14.1). Walter Spink opines that the Vākāṭaka caves at Ajanta must have been completed within a span of 10 to 12 years. (Spink, 1992, pp.177-192). This proposition could be examined with the help of *Vinaya text*. The artisans have skilfully followed the text and exhibited their superb skill.

In Buddhist religion, the architectural term 'caṅkama' does not merely mean staircase but it is the path where Bhikṣus could attain concentration. The Blessed-one told the monks to perform 'caṅkama' in the evening and observe meditation (*Mah.* 3.5.6, *Cul.* 5.14.2). The paths are mentioned separately as *'pātha'*, meaning steps.

According to the legend of Nidānakathā (J.1.77) the Buddha after his enlightenment built for himself between the Bodhi tree and the *'Animiṣcetiya'* a caṅkama of jewels running from the west to east on which he walked up and down for a period of seven days. When visiting Kapilavastu the Buddha created by magic a caṅkama in the air on which he performed 'Yamakapaṭihārya'. It is interesting to point out that the sculpture of this miracle is on the northern gate of stūpa of Sanchi. Hiuen Tsang (Beal, II. p.48) reports the 'caṅkama' on the site of Rishipatana. Fahien also had seen *'Ratna caṅkama'* at Gaya. At Kanheri cave No. 32, the caṅkama is from west to east and the inscription therein has recorded the donation of a 'caṅkama'.

At Kanheri there is a tank (in front of cave No. 41). The inscription has recorded the construction of a tank (*Cul.* V.17.1), dining room (cave No.2), sāgarapralogana (cave No. 99), bathing tanks (cave No. 75) (*Mah.* VI.14.3, *Cul.* IV.1.3), Maṇḍapa (cave No. 73) (*Mah.*VIII.7.1., *Cul.* VI.3.7), Pavāda (cave No. 73) (*Mah.* VII.7.1, *Cul.* VI.3.7), Kuṭi (cave No.3) (*Mah.*III.5.7), Āsanapedhi (cave No.32) (*Cul.* VI.6.3), Kodhi (cave Nos. 3,41,48), Nhanapodhi (cave No. 75) (Cul. XIV.2.3). There is a cemetery at Kanheri - *Nirvāṇavithi*. There are stūpas of learned Arhats and Sthaviras. In *Dīghanikāya* (Pali) (2.23.7.8), it is explicitly mentioned that stūpas are to be built on Tathāgata, Arhat, Paccheka (Pratyeka) Buddha and Cakravartī King (Thuparhapudgala). The Arhats and Sthaviras at Kanheri were Tevljja, Ṣaḍabhijñānī, Sakadāgamī,

Aṇāgamī in Buddhist philosophy.

The Buddha's *Abhiniṣkramaṇa* is beautifully shown at Pitalkhora. The Buddha is coming out of a prāsāda from the gate of the palace, and there is a toraṇa like that of Sanchi and Bharhut. At Nasik above the entrance of cave No.3, there is a toraṇa. For the prāsāda of the Buddha, a toraṇa has been prescribed.

In the beginning 'Ārāmas' had no fences, the goats and cattle injured the plantations. The Blessed-one allowed a gateway made of stakes of 'Akka' plant with three bars and with ornamented screen work. It is interesting to note that cattle do not touch the 'Akka' plants, therefore the Blessed-one suggested the gate of 'Akka' plant (*Caltropis gigantea*). It seems that the pattern of gate is meticulously observed at Sanchi, Bharhut, Pitalkhora, Nasik, Ajanta, Amaravati.

Nasik is another important Buddhist centre. The Nasik Monastery was a training centre. The halls of cave Nos. 3 and 10 measure 43' × 46', both length and width of the vihāras are four times of one Sugata-vitasti. Initially number of monks was five, afterwards it was ten and later on fifteen. In cave Nos.3 and 10, there are twenty cells. The Bhadrāvaṇiya Saṅgha of twenty monks was the controlling authority of the entire fraternity.

There are twenty cells to the Vihāra of Junnar at Lenyadri but there is no inscriptional evidence. The cave No. 3 at Nasik was elaborately embellished during the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. The inscription has recorded three names of the cave. It was named as 'Dhammasetu' meaning a bridge of merit which enabled its donor to get over the ocean of worldly life. It was also called 'Mahiḍhika' the abode of learned monks,' and 'Devīleṇa' the queen's leṇa.

The practice of naming a monastery was well known in Buddhist literature. Ghoṣitārāma, the well known monastery at Kaushambi where the Buddha stayed, is often described in Buddhist literature. In the Vākāṭaka period the Ajanta cave No. 19 was named as 'Gandhakuṭi'. The nomenclatures *Dhammasetu* and *Mahiḍhika* which were given to the cave No. 3 convey the real meaning and propriety par excellence.

The inscriptions and architecture of cave nos. 3 and 10, have provided a unique evidence in western India. The cells are of one Sugata-vitasti (Buddha's span i.e. 6' × 7') according to the description given in the text. There are twenty cells to the vihāras. The separate cell belonged to Mahāsvāmī and Mahā Āryaka. The evidence of the saṅgha containing twenty monks was the controlling authority of the fraternity and it developed exclusively at Nasik and Junnar.

With the growing popularity of Bhadrāvaṇiya Saṅgha, Nasik was frequently visited by monks. The inscriptions, dated regnal 19 and regnal 22 years of Puḷumāvi, record a permanent donation for ' Paṭisanthāraṇa' in cave No. 3. Paṭisanthāraṇa is a bench, running along three sides of the cave to welcome the incoming Bhikṣus.

The twenty rooms in cave Nos. 3 and 10 do speak about the saṅgha of twenty monks. But the inscriptions therein tell us that the cave No. 3 was for Bhadrāvaṇiya Saṅgha and cave No. 10 was for Cātudisa Saṅgha. The inscription in cave No. 3 describes the closing ceremony of Vassā on Kārtika full-moon day and distribution of clothes (Cīvara). For the provision of clothes deposits were made in two different guilds of weavers. For the clothes of twenty monks the cost of clothes was twelve kārṣapaṇas and the cost of clothes for common monks was ten kārṣapaṇas. The architecture of the caves no. 3 and 10 at Nasik suggests the residence for the twenty monks of the saṅgha. The exclusive mention of clothes for twenty monks in the inscription offers a supporting evidence and indicates the higher position of the saṅgha. The exclusive mention of clothes for twenty monks in the inscription offers a supporting evidence and indicates the higher position of the saṅgha of twenty monks and its hierarchy.

Conclusion

1. The Kanheri cave complex is modelled on Jetavana monastery. The cave complex has preserved the architecture as prescribed in the Buddhist literature.

2. In the Mahāyāna phase there are sculptural additions but there is no violation of basic rules.

3. The Blessed-one allowed the use of 'Maṇḍapas' and Alindas (verandah), and Pavāḍa (sheltered roof) to senior members of the order but Kanheri inscriptions have recorded the seniority of monks according to their academic qualifications such as -
   a) Tevijja - the monk who has threefold knowledge,
   b) Aṇāgamī - the monk who has attained the third stage of Arthathood,
   c) Ṣaḍābhijñānī - the monk who had the power of six kinds of knowledge.

4. The 'Adhyāyoga' cave No. 1 was meant for the saṅgha. The entire complex was the property of the saṅgha.

5. The make-up of Nasik caves is entirely different. It was the centre of training missionary teachers and there lived a saṅgha of twenty monks which is confirmed by architectural as well as inscriptional evidence.

6. The caves Nos. 3 and 10 at Nasik are fine examples of 'Caturassa-gabha vihāra'. In cave No. 3, at Nasik a low bench running along three walls is named as "Paṭisanthāraṇa" in the inscription as described in the text.

7. The central doorway of cave No. 3 at Nasik is finely decorated in the fashion of a torana as described in the text.

8. The architecture of Kanheri and Nasik caves eloquently displays that the artisans have skillfully followed the textual tradition and exhibited their superb skill.

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ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ TEXT : RESTORED

V. M. KULKARNI

Of all the chapters in the voluminous *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, the most important, from the point of view of a playwright are four, namely Chapters VI, VII, XVIII and XIX on *rasa, bhāva, daśarūpaka* and *sandhi-nirūpaṇa* respectively. There is only one commentary on *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*NŚ*) available today and that is *Abhinavabhāratī* (*A.Bh.*) written by Abhinavagupta (Abhinava). The text of *NŚ* as well as of *A.Bh.* needs to be corrected at several places. In restoring the corrupt text of *A.Bh.* the works of the Jain authors Hemacandra, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, and Ambāprasāda, *more especially of Hemacandra*, who have drawn on *A.Bh.,* provide us invaluable help.

Modern scholars writing on Bharata's *rasasūtra* were all aware of Hemacandra's borrowing the long section on it from *A.Bh.* The credit of preserving this extensive section *in toto* undoubtedly goes to Hemacandra. The Jain authors had access to more correct manuscripts, than what we now possess.

Besides the long section on the *rasasūtra* Hemacandra borrows on large scale *A.Bh.* on Ch. XVIII dealing with the ten types of drama (*Daśarūpakavidhāna*). He also adopts passages from *A.Bh.* explaining and illustrating the five *sandhis*, *mukha, pratimukha* etc. from the 19th Chapter dealing with *sandhi-nirūpaṇa*. Further on,.he borrows passages of *A.Bh.* treating of *ṣaḍ vāsakas* (six days - rather nights, earmarked for King's union with ladies from his harem), eight types of heroine *Vāsakasajjā, Virahotkaṇṭhitā* etc., and twenty *sattvaja alaṁkāras* of women. This borrowing from the *A.Bh.* has however escaped the attention of scholars who have worked on the relevant topics.

The two commentaries of Abhinava, *Locana* on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvan-nyāloka* and *Abhinavabhāratī* on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* are indeed unique. In the course of his comments he at several places puts forth new interpretations, new ideas and concepts which are absolutely new and novel, striking and fascinating. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that these commentaries are 'creative'. In fact they provide solid foundation for constructing Abhinavagupta's Theory of Beauty or Aesthetics. The text of *Locana* is far better preserved than that of *Abhinavabhāratī*. The text of *A.Bh.*, as presented in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, is at several places in the various chapters of the *NŚ* very defective - defeating the very purpose of a commentary. Again, Abhinava's word is considered by later authors on *alaṁkāra* as law.

So it is very desirable to present the text of *A.Bh.* in as correct a form as possible. In achieving this objective the commentaries and independent works of Jain authors help us a good deal. Modern reputed scholars like S. K. De, V. Raghavan, R. P. Kangle have made determined efforts to improve the text of *A.Bh.* on chapters of *NŚ* dealing with *rasa*, ten types of drama and exposition of the *sandhis* in the Sanskrit drama. The present writer also has published a series of papers restoring the text of *A.Bh.* with the help of the works of Hemacandra, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra.

In this paper I propose to correct quite a few passages in the *A.Bh.,* Volume III which comprises Chapters 19-27. The text of *A.Bh.* on *NŚ* Ch. XIX has been already restored in my paper "Abhinavabhāratī Text : Restored" that has appeared in the Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vol. 73 for 1998. Four passages from Ch. XXII and one passage from Ch. XXIV have also been corrected by me in an earlier paper. Here, however, they are dealt with somewhat differently. Keeping in mind these facts, I propose to restore some passages from *NŚ* Vol. III in this paper.

Note : Incidentally, we may note here that the two verses, Ch. XX v. no. 75 and v. no. 76 (p.106) are, with insignificant variant readings, only repetitions of the two verses : Ch. VII v. no. 119 and the unnumbered verse that follows, which and some others are given in brackets to indicate that they are later interpolations. It deserves special mention that v. no. 76 is quoted by Abhinava in his *Locana* (III.24, p.386) with the introductory remark:

'भावाध्याय (ना.शा., अध्याय ७) समाप्तावस्ति श्लोक: ।'

This remark shows that according to Abhinava this verse formed part of the original text of the *Bhāvādhyāya* and that it is no interpolation.

1) *A.Bh.* p.143 reads मधूच्छिष्टं सित्थकम् ।

Here 'sitthakam' is clearly a misprint for sikthakam. Read Amara II :

मधु क्षौद्रं माक्षिकादि मधूच्छिष्टं तु सिक्थकम् - पञ्डित १९२१

A.Bh. p.153, para 2, lines 4-5 : Note by the way, Abhinava unambiguously states here :

'शान्तस्तु प्रधानत्वेन न प्रयोगार्ह इत्युक्तप्राय: '।

(That means according to Abhinava *Śānta* can never be the leading sentiment in drama.)

2) *A.Bh.* p.156, para 2, lines 6-8 :

किंत्वन्तर्गतं वासनात्मतया वर्तमानं *रसाख्यं* भावं भावयन् *सूययन्* किं सर्वस्य नेत्याह कवे: सूक्ष्मसूक्ष्मानपि योऽर्थान् पश्यति तस्य सहृदयस्येत्यर्थ: ।

Sūyayan is obviously a misprint for *sūcayan*. The expression *rasākhyaṁ bhāvam* is self contradictory. There is no *bhāva* called *rasa* in works on 'nāṭya'. Hemacandra (p.423) while adopting Abhinava's passage correctly reads *ratyākhyaṁ bhāvam bhāvayan sūcayan bhāvaḥ*.

3) *A.Bh.* p.160, para 3, lines 5-8 :

...बहूनां च (अर्थानां) योऽन्यथा निवेशः पूर्ववत् सौभाग्यगर्वकृतः (स) विभ्रमः, तद्यथा वचनेऽन्यथा वक्तव्येऽन्यथा भाषणम्, हस्तेनादातव्ये पादेनादानम्, रशनायाः कण्ठे न्यासः इत्यादि ।...
चिरिअ बन्धिअ निच्चिप्पट...

Hemacandra (p.426) repeats almost word for word the explanation given by Abhinava. The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (*ND*) (p.183) reproduces the *A.Bh.* but instead of *rasanāyāḥ* uses simply *kaṭīyogyasya* (probably he meant *kaṭīyogyasya rasanāyāḥ* kaṇṭhe niveśanam). Hemacandra drops the *obscure* Prakrit illustration and adds the following lucid verse as an illustration :

चकार काचित् रितचन्दनाङ्के काञ्चीकलापं स्तनभारपृष्ठे ।
प्रियं प्रति प्रेषितचित्तवृत्तिर्नितम्बबिम्बे च बबन्ध हारम् ॥

The *ND*, however, did not feel the need of adding any illustration.

4) *A.Bh.* p.161, lines 1-3:

इष्टजनर्येति । कथने दर्शने वा कान्तस्य यदुत्पद्यते योषितो लीलादि तद्भावभावनवशान्मदनाङ्गमर्दपर्यन्तं तदङ्गमोडनान्मोड्रायितम् ।
यथाह-सिइऊणथणसक्कियहत्थऊरु...इत्यादौ.

Hemacandra (p.426, lines 18-19) while borrowing this gloss says :

प्रियस्य कथायां दर्शने वा तद्भावभावनं तन्मयत्वम् । ततो योद्धूता चेष्टा लीलादिका सा मदनाङ्गपर्यन्ताङ्गमोटनान्मोड्रायितम् ।

The *ND* (p.184) defines : मोड्रायितं प्रियेक्षादौ, रागतो गात्रमोटनम् ।
and explains it as : प्रियस्य दर्शनश्रवणानुकरणादिषु तद्भावभावनात्मकरागवशादङ्गमर्दनपर्यन्तं योषित [:] चेष्टितमिति ।

The words *moṭṭāyita*, *modana*, *moṭana* seem to be the Sanskritised Prakrit words. The nearest Sanskrit word appears to be *marda*, *mardana*.

Hemacandra's paraphrase of *tad-bhāva-bhavanatva* as 'tanmayatva' is a very happy and lucid expression. Abhinava's Prakrit citation to illustrate *moṭṭāyita* is incomplete and obscure. Hemacandra omits it and adds an example, taken over from the *Avaloka* of Dhanika on *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanaṁjaya :

स्मरदवथुनिमित्तं गूढमुन्नेतुमर्याः सुभग तव कथायां प्रस्तुतायां सखीभिः ।

भवति विततपृष्ठोदरतपीनस्तनाग्रा, ततवलयितबाहुर्जृम्भितै: साङ्गभङ्गै:॥

The last quarter of the verse refers to 'the stretching out of the hands and their encircling, yawnings accompanied with twisting of the limbs.' *Moṭṭāyitaṁ* is what we call in Marathi 'आळोखे पिळोखे देत देत जांभया देणे.' Apte's Dictionary translates *aṅga-bhaṅga* as 'twisting or stretching out of the limbs (as is done by a man just after he rises from sleep).'

5) *A.Bh.* p.161 last para l.1 to p.162 l.1 :

हस्तपादाङ्गविन्यास इति [?] कर्तव्यवशादायत (दायात?) एव हस्तादिकर्मणि यद् वैचित्रयं स विलास:। ललिते तु यत्र बाह्यव्यापारयोग न किञ्चिदस्ति नादातव्यबुद्धि:। अथ च सुकुमार-करव्यापारणं न दुष्टस्य [?] किंचित्, अथ च तारादिकर्मेति विशेष: ।

The *pratīka* 'hastapādāṅgavinyāsa' stands for v. no. 22 defining *lalita*. The sentence 'kartavya'...etc., that immediately follows, is however, about *vilāsa* which is already defined above (v.15). Abhinava brings out here the distinction between *vilāsa* and *lalita*. The reading *'na duṣṭasya kiṁcit'* is puzzling. It would however seem from the words that follow - *atha ca tārādikarma* - that *duṣṭasya* is a corrupt reading displacing the original, genuine reading *draṣṭavyaṁ* - which perfectly suits the context:

कर्तव्यवशादायात एव हस्तादिकर्मणि यद् वैचित्रयं स विलास:। यत्र तु बाह्यव्यापारयोग न कश्चिदस्ति नादातव्यबुद्धिरथ च सुकुमार-करादि-व्यापारणं तल्ललितम्। [अन्ये तु 'लड विलासे' इति पाठं प्रमाणयन्तो विलासमेव सातिशयं ललितसंज्ञमाहु: ।]
                                                  - *Kāvyānuśāsana,* p.427

This passage of Hemacandra supports the emendation *āyāta eva.* The rest of the passage from *A.Bh.* needs to be corrected as follows :

ललिते तु यत्र बाह्यव्यापारयोग एव न किञ्चिदस्ति, नादातव्यबुद्धि:, अथ च सुकुमारकरव्यापारणं, न दुष्टस्य (?द्रष्टव्यं) किञ्चित्, अथ च तारादिकर्मेति विशेष: ।

The emendation of *duṣṭasya* to *draṣṭavyaṁ* finds strong support in the following passage from the *ND.* There *Lalita* is defined as

ललितं गात्रसञ्चार: सुकुमारो निरर्थक: ।
The *Vṛtti* on this *sūtra* reads :

गात्रस्य नेत्रहस्तादे: सञ्चारो व्यापार: सुकुमारोऽतिमनोहरो, *द्रष्टव्यं विना दृष्टिक्षेपो,* ग्राह्यमृते हस्तादिव्यापृतिरित्येवं निष्प्रयोजनो ललितम्। सप्रयोजनस्तु व्यापारो विलास इत्यनयोर्भेद इति।
                                                  - *ND,* p.184.

Incidentally, the above discussion reveals that the editors of *Kāvyānuśāsana* have committed a blunder in making

'कर्तव्यवशादायाते एव हस्तादिकर्मणि यद्वैचित्रयं स विलास:।'

a separate *sūtra* defining *'vilāsa'*. For Hemacandra in the course of serially defining the ten *svabhāvika alaṁkāras* of women has already defined *vilāsa* earlier on p.425 as :

स्थानादीनां वैशिष्ट्यं विलास: ।

and added appropriate *vṛtti* on it and given its example.

6) Regarding the *alaṁkāras* (excellences) of the heroine Abhinava makes some significant observations in his *A.Bh.* on *NŚ* Ch. XXII. Hemacandra, who frequently draws on *A.Bh.*, reproduces a few of these in his *Kāś*, with two to three variant readings. These passages are presented here below in two corresponding columns :

A.Bh. Vol.III	Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*
अ) ...एते केवलमलङ्कारा देहमात्रनिष्ठा:, न तु चित्तवृत्तिरूपा: ...ते हि यौवने उद्रिक्ता दृश्यन्ते बाल्ये त्वनुद्रिक्ना वार्धिके तिरोभूता: ।	अलङ्कारा: देहमात्रनिष्ठा न तु चित्तवृत्तिरूपा: । ते यौवने उद्रिक्ता दृश्यन्ते बाल्येऽनुद्विग्ना वार्धिके तिरोभूता: ।
- पृ.१५४	- पृ.४२२
आ) यद्यपि चैते पुरुषस्यापि भवन्ति तथापि योषितां त एवालङ्कारा इति तद्गतत्वेनैव वर्णिता: *पुंसस्तूत्साहवृत्यात एव परमालङ्कारा:,* तथा च सर्वेष्वेव नायकभेदेषु धीरत्वमेव विशेषणतयोक्तम्। तदाच्छादितास्तु शृङ्गारादय: धीरललित इत्यादौ ।	ते यद्यपि चैते पुरुषस्यापि सन्ति तथापि योषितां त एवालङ्कारा इति तद्गतत्वेनैव वर्णिता: । *पुंसस्तूत्साहवृत्तान्त एव परोऽलङ्कार:।* तथा च सर्वेष्वेव नायकभेदेषु धीरत्वमेव विशेषणतयोक्तम्। तदाच्छादितास्तु शृङ्गारादयो धीरललित इत्यादौ ।
- पृ.१५८	- पृ.४२२
इ) शोभाकान्तिदीप्तय: ता बाह्यरूपलावण्यगता एव विशेषा:, *आवेगचापलत्रासामर्ष भावा एव।* माधुर्याद्या न चित्तवृत्तिस्वभावा इति क एषु भावत्वशङ्कावकाश:...	शोभाकान्तिदीप्तयो बाह्यरूपादिगता एव विशेषा *आवेगचापलामर्षत्रासानां त्वभाव एव।* माधुर्याद्या धर्मा न चित्तवृत्तिस्वभावा इति नैतेषु भावशङ्कावकाश: ।
- पृ.१६४	- पृ.४३१

Bharata observes that the young women's excellences or graces (*alaṁkāra*) are physical. They consist of changes in respect of their face and other limbs. In the case of men the quality of firmness or fortitude or energy (*utsāha-vṛttānta*) is the greatest *alaṁkāra* (excellence or grace). The reading *utsāha-vṛttānta* in *Kāś* seems to be the original one. The reading *'puṁsāstūtsāhavṛttyāta eva paramālaṁkārāḥ'* is obviously incorrect as it violates grammar. Abhinava's statement that *āvega, cāpala, trāsa, amarṣa* are nothing but *bhāvas* is in agreement with Bharata's text of *Bhāvādhyāya* (*NŚ.* VII). Hemacandra's reading *'tvabhāva eva'* appears to be corrupt.

7) *A.Bh.* p. 206, lines 1-7 :

वामाभिनिवेशित्वमिति...तद्धेतुत्वादित्यर्थः ।

The editor Ramakrishna Kavi frankly observes in a footnote on this passage :

" व्याख्येयमरस्फुटा भ्रष्टपतिताक्षरत्वात् " ।

We are, however, fortunate to find that Hemacandra (p.108) has adopted the whole passage in his *"Viveka"*, almost word for word, in its original form. With a view to saving space we reproduce here the relevant portion from *Viveka*: ' सुखभावमानी हि मदनः ' इति तद्विदः । तथा ह्यभिलष्यमाणं वस्तु प्राप्तं चेत् कोऽभिलाषः । तेन प्राप्तं प्राप्तमपहारितमिव, गतं गतं प्राप्तमिवेत्येवं परम्पराक्रमेण चर्भिष्णुरयं कामः परमां प्रीतिं तनोति। न ह्यत्र कण्डूयायामिव निवृत्तिः साध्या, अपि तु भोगात्मकं सुखमिति रतिहेतुत्वाद् रतिः काम इत्यर्थः।

- *Kāś,* p.108, lines 16-20

8) *A.Bh.* pp. 207-208 :

परिपाठ्यां फलार्थे वा नवे प्रसव एव वा।
दुःखे चैव प्रमोदे च षडेते वासकाः स्मृताः ॥ - ना.शा.२२.२०९
परिपाटिर्यथाकल्पितानुपूर्वी... पुत्रश्च राज्ञां मुख्यफलम्, यथाह- 'प्रजायै गृहमेधिनाम्'
(रघु. १.७).

Hemacandra (pp.419-420) borrows this whole passage from *A.Bh.* Quite a few of his readings are definitely superior and in almost all these cases they strike one as genuine. With a view to saving space only these striking readings are noted against the corresponding readings in the *A.Bh.* in two columns.

A.Bh. (pp.207-208)	*Kāś* (pp.419-420)
पृ. २०७	पृ. ४१९
पं. ४ अस्या एकेन *भिन्नेन* वारः	पं. १८ अस्या एकेन *दिनेन* वारः
पं. ६ चिरविरह *खिन्ना सुखायितं*	पं. २० चिरविरह *खिन्नां* सुखयितुम् ।
पं. ८ *अत्र उचितः* कामोपचारः	पृ. ४२० पं. १६ वासयन्ति तत्र स्थाने रात्रिमिति वासका *रात्र्युचिताः* कामोपचाराः
पं. ९ धर्मवृत्तिना राज्ञा *परिचार्यो* द्वेष्या दुर्भगापि	पं. १७ धर्मवृत्तिना राज्ञा *परिपाट्या* [द्वेष्या] दुर्भगापि
पं. १३ फलतः *परमिति* भवति ।	पं. ४ फलतः परमिति भवति (? *परिमितीभवति*) ।
पं. १४... तत्राद्याश्चतस्रो दशमात्परा	पं. २० दशमात्पराः
पं. १५... स्युरयुगाः	पं. २१ स्युरयुगमाः
पृ. २०८ पं १-२ प्रजायै गृहमेधिनाम् (रघु.१) इति ।	पं. २५... (रघु.१.७)

9) *A.Bh.* p. 208, lines 2-4:

अत्र तु वृद्ध पशुव्यो (पशवो ?) वदन्ति –
मासपसूआ... (षण्) मासगन्भिणी एकदिअहज्जरमुहे...

The editor Ramkrishna Kavi observes in a footnote

अपूर्णा चास्फुटार्थेयं गाथा कोक्कोकवचनस्य मूलं स्यात्।

Now, although the *gāthā* cited is incomplete and obscure, and omitted by Hemacandra, we are lucky to find and identify it as *Gāthāsaptaśatī* III.59 :

मासपसूअं छम्मासगन्भिणिं एक्कदिअहजरिअं च।
रंगुत्तिण्णं च पिअं पुत्तअ कामतंओ होहि॥
(मासप्रसूतां षण्मासगर्भिणीमेकदिवसज्चरितां च।
रङ्गोत्तीर्णां च प्रियां पुत्रक कामयमनो भव॥)

The expression वृद्ध पशुव्यो (पशवो ?) in the introductory line is unintelligible. In the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* the commentator, however, simply says ... वृद्धा वेश्यामाता आह –

10) *A.Bh.*Vol. III, pp. 251-52 :
The passage giving the etymology of Vidūsaka, a well-known character in the Sanskrit drama is somewhat corrupt. Hemacandra it would seem, did not feel it necessary to give the etymology. The corrupt passage in the *A.Bh.* reads as follows :

सुरतविषये संबन्धि ग्रहणे। विग्रहं वा सन्धिना दूषयतीति विदूषक:। विप्रलम्भनत्वे (कथा) विनोदने (नै:) दूषयन्ति विस्मारयन्ति...

This passage, as it stands, does not yield any satisfactory meaning. The *ND* (p.178, lines 9-11), however, comes to our help in restoring this passage; it reads :

यथासंभवं सन्धिं विग्रहेण, विग्रहं सन्धिना च विशेषेण दूषयन्ति विनाशयन्ति, विप्रलम्भं तु विनोददानेन विस्मारयन्तीति विदूषका:।

We may in the light of this passage restore the text of the *A.Bh.* thus :

सुरतविषये सन्धिं विग्रहेण विग्रहं वा सन्धिना दूषयतीति विदूषक:। विप्रलम्भं तु विनोददानेन दूषयन्ति विस्मारयन्तीति विदूषका:।

The two words, *sandhi* and *vigraha*, when read or heard, at once bring to our mind two of the six *upāyas* (expedients) *sandhi* (peace) and *vigraha* (war). In the present case however these terms are used in the context of - 'matters of love', 'love affairs', 'love's enjoyment'-

rativiṣaya as Abhinava specifically mentions. The Vidūṣaka is described in works on dramatics as : "he is always by the King's side, who makes him 'his confidant in all his affairs of the heart.' The Vidūṣaka repays him by willing, if frequently incompetent or unlucky, attempts at service." So in the context of the King - the hero, heroine, her rival and the Vidūṣaka, *vigraha* means quarrel (often love-quarrel) and *sandhi* 'settling of a quarrel or reconciliation'. Abhinava, in the first half of his passage uses the word Vidūṣaka in singular, but uses it in the plural in the second half to suggest the whole class. They are affectionate friends of the heroes when they suffer from separation from their beloveds. They make them forget the separation, temporarily though, by their humorous remarks.

11) *A.Bh.* Vol III. p. 286, lines 3-11 :

Bharata mentions the triple *pramāṇas* of the theatrical art :

loko vedastathādhyātmaṁ pramāṇaṁ trividhaṁ smṛtam ।

लोकसिद्धानि प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमप्रमाणानि लोकशब्देनोच्यन्ते। वेद इति तु यथास्वं नियतरूपो लोकप्रसिद्धोऽप्यागमो यथा न्यायेषु धनुर्वेदः स्वरतालादौ गान्धर्ववेद इत्यादि। *अध्यात्मं तु संस्थं वेदनं* वेदाध्यात्मांभ्यां प्रमिता ये पदार्था: तेषु नाट्यं प्रतीतम् ...

अथ लोकं प्रमाणायितुमाह... *यल्लोके सिद्धं तत् सिद्धं न। तत् कस्यचिदसिद्धमिति यावत्।*

Adhyātmaṁ is explained here as '*saṁstham vedanaṁ*'. The dictionary meaning of *saṁstham* (a-) is 'staying, abiding'. But there is no preceding noun (as in siṣṭā kriyā *ātmasaṁsthā*). I may therefore venture to emend the text as [*sva-*]*saṁstham* vedanaṁ', i.e. *sva-saṁvedanam*. The last sentence needs only slight change in the placement of 'na' to remove the absurdity :

यल्लोके सिद्धं तत् सिद्धम्। न तत् कस्यचिदसिद्धमिति यावत्।

12) Incidentally we may note: The quotation '*svaṁ svaṁ nimittamāsādya śāntād utpadyate rasaḥ*' (p.305) somewhat differs from the text which we have in the *Rasādhyāya* : "*svaṁ svaṁ nimittamāsādya śāntād bhāvaḥ pravartate ।* " - *NŚ*, Vol I.Ch.VI, p.329, line 2.

13) *A.Bh.* Vol III.p.293, lines 5-6:

तथाप्युद्रिक्ता सकललोकसंवादिनी अस्मादृशबुद्धिर्यथा पुरुषस्य प्रयोक्तुः पुरुषेण प्रयोज्येन योषितो योषिता तत्र सदृशव्यवहारः। स्त्रिया पुरुषस्य तु कैसादृश्यं (? वैसादृश्यम्) ।

14) *A.Bh.* Vol.III. p. 295, line 4:

तस्या: प्रकृते: पर्यायेण स्वरूपं स्पष्टयति भूमिकेति। भूमिकष्टं स्थानं (? भूमिरवष्टम्भस्थानम्) ।

That the expression here must be '*avaṣṭambhasthānam*' is strongly

supported by the two sentences in the same paragraph :

(i) ... नापि तत् सिन्दूरहरितालादिकृतं तद्द्रव्यं केवल *मवष्टम्मस्थानम्* ।
(ii) तदेवं रामादयोऽ *वष्टम्मस्थानमात्रम्* ।

Avaṣṭambha literally means 1. resting upon, 2. support, thus Rāma, etc.,
the characters in a Rāma play etc., become the support for the actors
who play the role of Rāma, etc.

15) *A.Bh.* Vol III, p.295, last line to p.296, line 2:

...बहु *बाहु* इत्यादि । *विकृताधाराः* तेष्वप्रावरणादयः *पशुवक्ता* यथा गोमुखाः अश्वमुखाः *श्वापदवक्रः*
यथा सिंहवक्राः खरोष्ट्रेत्यादिना सर्ववपुषा *तद्द्रूपान् कार्य* इति ।

बहुबाहू (२६.३) इत्यादि । विकृताधाराः (विकृतानना: ?) ... *पशुवक्त्रा* यथा...श्वापदवक्त्रः
(? वक्त्रा :) यथा सिंहवक्त्राः खरोष्ट्रेत्यादिना सर्ववपुषा तत्तद्रूपाः कार्याः ।

The verse (*NŚ* 26.3) '*bahubāhū*' etc. reads '*vikṛtānanāḥ*' and not
'vikṛtādhārāḥ' (It is possible the press had an altogether different type
for the letter '*ktra*' in *śvāpada-vaktra* etc!)

THE RITUAL ESSENCE OF RASA

NATALIA R. LIDOVA

Traditionally regarding *rasa* as the supreme ancient Indian aesthetic category, the vast available scholarly literature never questions its aesthetic essence whether it is likened to European aesthetic categories or recognized as an original achievement of Indian wisdom. Without shrugging off this latter view, we feel bound, however, to stress that the ancient Indian concept of *rasa* contains numerous aspects not to be explained from the point of aesthetic ideas. The present work concerns these aspects, which, as we see, arose in a ritual context and testify to the ritual roots of this category.

As is known, the oldest description of *rasa* is found in the *Nātyaśāstra* (*NŚ*) a treatise on the theatre art dated to the 1st - 2nd cent. AD.[1] The concept proper emerged earlier, as demonstrated by its author repeatedly alluding to his forerunners, with numerous citations which confirm many of his premises. No doubt, by the time when the *Nātyaśāstra* was written, the doctrine of *rasa* had acquired a renown befitting its antiquity, authority and the age-old tradition sanctifying it.

This leads us to assume that the category of *rasa* - central for the classical literary drama had a similar degree of importance even at the earliest formative stages of the theatre.[2]

The *Nātyaśāstra* presents *rasa* as the basic - if not the only goal of the drama. The treatise contains a direct indication to it, pointing out that:

na hi rasād ṛte kaś cid apy arthaḥ pravartate/

"no meaning has any function (in the drama) unrelated to *rasa*" (*NŚ,* p.82).[3]

It provides detailed characteristics of eight *rasa* varieties :

Śṛṅgāra, the pleasant *rasa*; *Hāsya*, the comic *rasa*; *Karuṇa*, pitiable; *Raudra*, violent; *Vīra*, heroic; *Bhayānaka*, terrifying; *Bībhatsa*, disgusting; and *Adbhuta*, wondrous.

Proceeding from the inevitably conventional translations of *rasa* names, we may assume that *rasas* are mere emotions felt by the theatre audience. This interpretation is true only in part, and does not fully exhaust the whole range of meanings connected with *rasas*. To be properly understood, the

content of this category demands an analysis, even if concise, of the whole system of related categories, which together make up a kind of *rasa* concept within the general theory of the drama.

As shown by studies of the treatise, the *Nātyaśāstra* presents the concept of *rasa* as a three-level hierarchy. The first level, initial in a sense, materializes in the *vibhāvas* (causes) and *anubhāvas* (manifestations), which conditions the choice of scenic representational means, termed *abhinayas* by the author. These help to disclose the message and content of the drama. The treatise demands that *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas* be related to natural human conduct in particular practical situations. Man's actions and responses, and a surrounding best suited to his feelings are represented on stage with the help of a range of devices, also technically referred to as *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas*. In this, the former concern the scenic props, make-up, costumes and mise-en-scenes while the latter determine the choice of acting devices. As the theatre merely imitates reality, the combination of *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas* causes the emergence of a purely theatrical image, the *bhāva*, which imitates natural human conduct and, at the same time, essentially differs from it. Unlike the number of *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas*, which is practically unlimited, as is the number of actual situations in real life and spontaneous human reactions to them, the *bhāvas* are limited in number. The treatise indicates it as 49.

The *bhāvas* differ among themselves. Thirty-three of these, known as the *vyabhicāribhāva*, are interpreted as passing or unsteady psychological states. Eight more, the *sāttvikabhāva*, serve to enact spontaneous manifestations of the hero's emotional state, like tears or a blush. The remaining eight, the *sthāyibhāva*, are regarded as permanent or steady psychological states closely connected with *rasas* and evolving into them under certain conditions.

All *bhāvas* (whose name derives from the Sanskrit root 'bhū', "to be") characterize various aspects of the scenic practice. This is what the *Nātyaśāstra* has to say about them :

atrā 'ha bhāvā iti kasmāt/kiṃ bhavantī 'ti bhāvāḥ / kiṃ bhāvayantī'ti vā/ucyate vāg aṅga sattvo'petān kāvyā 'rthān bhāvayantī 'ti bhāvāḥ / bhū iti karaṇe dhātuḥ / yathā bhāvitaṃ kṛtam ity anarthā' ntaram / loke'pi ca siddham aho hy anena gandhena rasena vā sarvam eva bhāvitam iti / tac ca vyāpty artham / ślokāś cā 'tra bhavanti :

> vibhāvenā 'hṛto yo 'rthas tv anubhāvaiś ca gamyate /
> vāg aṅga sattvā' bhinayaiḥ sa bhāva iti saṃjñitaḥ //...
> ...nānā 'bhinaya sambaddhān bhāvayanti rasān imān /
> yasmāt tasmād amī bhāvā vijñeyā nāṭya yoktṛbhiḥ//

Why are these called *bhāvas*, you may ask? What do *bhāvas* bring

into existence? What is pervaded? It is said [in reply] : *bhāvas* call to existence the meanings of the drama, endowed with speech, gestures and *sāttva*. The word *bhāva* connotes the instrumental cause. The words *bhāvita* (call to existence), *vāsita* (put into certain circumstances) and *kṛta* (commence to act) convey the same meaning. Thus shall we see it, and not in any other way. In the world, on the other hand, all [objects] differ in smell or taste. Then [we say that] they exist, or when we acquire [them]. There are the following *ślokas* on this point :

'the content (of the drama) arisen by *vibhāvas* [and] set into motion by *anubhāvas* with the help of *abhinayas* of the speech, the body and the *sāttva* is termed the *bhāva*.

Whereas [*bhāvas*] bring *rasas* into existence through a sum total of *abhinayas*, these *bhāvas* should be known by the sponsors of drama (*NŚ*, p.92; 7.1,3).

An essential issue is related to the status and character of the *bhāva* category in the theoretical constructs of the *Nātyaśāstra*. Contemporary research regards the *bhāva* as spontaneous human emotion, a man's actual psychological state, which arises in everyday life and describes his genuine emotional world. According to existing ideas, the scenic action merely bases itself on these feelings and interplaying with them to bring forth an aesthetic feeling - *rasa*. However, neither the general definition of *bhāva* nor the descriptions of its forty-nine varieties give grounds for a conclusion about its verisimilitude. On the contrary, all *bhāvas* directly result from acting and emerge only in the scenic action thanks to carefully selected *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas*.

The conclusion that the *bhāva* is not a genuine emotion characterizing humans in actuality but its artistic image, pure and unadulterated - one that arises and seizes the audience only in the theatre - makes us review current concepts of the *rasa* theory presented by the *Nātyaśāstra*. These concepts were based on the assumption that *rasa* alone can be regarded as an aesthetic emotion. As things really are, the *bhāva*, as a unique theatrical emotional experience closely linked to all stages of plot development, shall rather be defined as an aesthetic category. Formed on the basis of *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas*, all *bhāvas* possess theatrical illusionary qualities and belong to the specific artistic reality of the stage.

As the eight *sthāyī bhāvas* closely correspond to the eight *rasas*,[4] we see the introduction of these latter as artificial - even redundant. The system is complete due to the interdependence and interaction of the various *bhāvas*. Nevertheless, the author of the *Nātyaśāstra* follows his predecessors in arguing that *rasas*, rather than *bhāvas* shall be the goal of the drama.

Later theoreticians - Abhinavagupta above all - made numerous attempts to give a logical resolution of this contradiction, evident to them. In these attempts, they proceeded from the contemporaneous stage practice and the ideas of *rasa* as a pure aesthetic phenomenon. As none other than *rasa* took the place of the basic aesthetic category, they tried to impose a new meaning on the entire hierarchy and reinterpret the status of *bhāvas* in it.

Probably, this was how the *bhāva* grew to be interpreted as the genuine feeling, man's actual psychological state in everyday life. The performance influenced these very feelings. Thus, *rasas* emerged as aesthetic equivalents of *bhāvas*. With mediaeval theoreticians, the correlation of *rasas* and *bhāvas* roughly imitated that of actual events and those represented on stage. The former are reality, and the latter illusions suggested and received.

Be this as it may, the *Nātyaśāstra* disproves the allegation of the verisimilitude of the *bhāva*. Evidently, the content of *rasa*, as presented in the treatise, also vitally differs from its mediaeval interpretations and the resultant views of present-day researchers. To see what underlies *rasa* as the traditional pivotal category of the ancient Indian theory of drama, we ought to regard the treatise itself at the expense of the later commentaries.

The *Nātyaśāstra* offers two types of *rasa* descriptions. The first sees *rasa* as a dramatic structural link and presents the technicalities of its achievement. In this, *rasa* emerges as natural result of the various production elements interacting, and really does come close to *bhāva*. The second kind of description characterizes the impact of *rasa* on the audience and defines the essential contentual features of this phenomenon. To the definitions of the essence of *rasa* which, as we see it, the author of the treatise borrowed from the older tradition, belong all that concern the interpretation of the term *rasa*, based on its comparison with the pleasure experienced by the eater of an excellently cooked dish. We ought to see in this context the number of protecting gods and colour associations, the emergence of *rasa* from *sthāyī bhāva*, and its impact on the audience, i.e., the description of *rasa* in its receptive aspect - as a kind of savouring.

Of the many meanings of the word *rasa*, the traditional theoretical evaluation of the theatre selected only one, **taste.** The word had grown to be used as a technical term by the time the *Nātyaśāstra* appeared.

Characteristically, the treatise never gives a direct explanation of *rasa* as taste. It has no precise definitions for the essence of *rasa*, offering intuitive analogies instead :

atrā' ha yathā nānā vyañjanau 'sadhi dravya samyogād rasa niṣpattiḥ / tathā nānā bhāvo'pagamād rasa niṣpattiḥ / yathā hi gudā'dibhir dravyair

vyañjanair oṣadhibhiś ca ṣāḍavā'dayo rasā nirvartante / evaṃ nānā bhāvo'-pagatā api sthāyino bhāvā rasatvam āpnuvanti /

"What is an example, you may ask? [We shall answer] : as taste emerges from a combination of the various spices, seasonings and herbs, so does *rasa* emerge from a combination of the various *bhāvas*. As six tastes are produced by treacle and other seasonings, spices and herbs, so do *sthāyī bhāvas* reach the state of *rasa* as they are enriched by the various *bhāvas*" (*NŚ,* p.82).

Through this comparison with taste - a quality of food defying verbal description and emerging out of a combination of components each of which does not possess this quality when taken separately - the author stressed the ability of *rasa* to emerge out of *sthāyī bhāvas* combining with other *bhāvas* in a special way. This idea is continued by the following analogy: as the taste of food can't be felt unless you taste it, so you can't perceive *rasa* through your eyes or ears alone - only in the specific way of savouring it :

rṣaya ūcuḥ rasa iti kaḥ padārthaḥ / ucyate āsvādyatvāt / katham āsvādyo rasaḥ / yathā hi nānā vyañjana saṃskṛtam annaṃ bhuñjānā rasān āsvādayanti su manasaḥ puruṣā harṣā'dīṃś cā'dhi gacchanti / tathā nānā bhāvā'bhinaya vyañjitān vāg aṅga sattvo'petān sthāyibhāvān āsvādayanti su manasaḥ prekṣakāḥ / tasmān nāṭya rasā ity abhivyākhyātāḥ/

"The sages then ask why we are using the word *rasa* (taste) in relation to this? It is said [in reply] : because it is savoured. How do we savour *rasa*? [we shall answer] : just as noble minded persons savour the various tastes when partaking of food cooked with many seasonings and derive pleasure from it, so do sophisticated spectators savour the *sthāyī bhāvas* seasoned with the various *bhāvas* and (respective) *abhinayas*, as embodied in speech, gestures and sāttva, and derive pleasure from it. This is why we say that these are the *rasas* of the drama." (*NŚ*, p. 82).

An analysis of this definition leads us to a number of conclusions. First, the savouring of *rasa* gives pleasure. Second, *rasa* is savoured not directly but through the mediation of *sthayī bhāvas* which, as natural results of the *abhinaya-* based acting, influence the audience's senses and can be actually perceived. This idea is developed further in passages quoted in the treatise from earlier authors :

yathā bahu dravya yutair vyañjanair bahubhir yutam /
āsvādayanti bhuñjānā bhaktaṃ bhakta vido janāḥ //
bhāvā'bhinaya sambaddhān sthāyi bhāvāṃs tathā budhāḥ /
āsvādayanti manasātasmān nāṭya rasāḥ smṛtāḥ//

"Just as a gourmet enjoys a dish cooked with numerous seasoning and spices, so do the wise [spectators] enjoy in their mind (*manas*) the *sthāyī bhāvas* accompanied by other *bhāvas* and *abhinayas*. This is why we refer to them as the rasas of drama"(*NŚ*, p.83; 6.32-33).

As follows from this latter definition, the *sthāyī bhāvas* can directly penetrate the viewer's *manas*, which, according to the Indian idea, embodies the indissoluble unity of heart, soul and mind, and thus is an emotionally coloured, rather than logically austere reason. This point is borne out by another idea of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* :

> yo 'rtho hṛdaya saṃvādī tasya bhāvo raso 'dbhavaḥ /
> śarīraṃ vyāpyate tena śuṣkaṃ kāṣṭham ivā 'gninā//

"When the content [of the drama] accords with the heart, the [*sthāyī*] *bhāva* intrinsic [to this content] gives birth to a *rasa*, which takes possession of the body as fire devours dry wood." (*NŚ*, p.93;7.7).

Thus, to put it in a modern idiom, the *sthāyī bhāvas* appeal both to the rational and emotional elements in person and are capable of deeply touching the entire human self. Hence an important conclusion which can be drawn from this statement : the emergence of *rasa* is preceded by a certain goal-oriented intellectual activity, an unique reflection based on an interested perception of the scenic action.

Last but not least, we see the following definition as pivotal in the understanding of the essence of *rasa* :

> ebhyaś ca sāmānya guṇa yogena rasā niṣpadyante /

"Out of these [the forty-nine *bhāvas*] do *rasas* emerge as the quality of universality is achieved" (*NŚ*, p.93).

As follows from this, the *rasa* appears precisely at the instant when the *bhāva* receives a certain supplementary quality named *sāmānya*.[5] The author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* makes do with this concise thesis, without getting back to it later to give it any explanation. Neither does he explain the concept of *sāmānya*, which characterizes a vital difference between the *rasa* and the *bhāva*. For a clearer understanding of this definition, we have to turn to the theory of cognition and the tradition of psychological studies born in ancient India as it studied the human ability of penetrating the transcendental essence of being.

Observed in the earlier *Upaniṣads*, this tradition proceeded from the idea of *Ātman* as the supreme spiritual essence, the subjective psychic element permeating all forms of being. In itself, the supreme *Ātman* is non-cognisable

and devoid of any descriptive characteristics. Nevertheless, it is revealed onto mortals in all the wealth of empirical manifestations whose cognition objectively reflects its suprapersonal qualities.[6]

Of special interest to us is the mechanism of its cognition. According to the doctrine, the empirical world immediately affects human senses at the lowest cognitive level. Sensual perception, however, lends only fragmentary knowledge of particulars in the world, while the essence of being is cognised by *manas* - the logical generalizer of sensual information, which leads one from fragmentary ideas of an object directly felt to a fuller and more productive knowledge of it.

Nevertheless the supreme knowledge of the world is attainable only when the human reason finally gives up empirical objects - essentially finite and temporary - for the perception of eternal substances, essentially primary and non-derivative. This state reflected the borderline potentials of human reason able, on the basis of its cognition of the phenomenal world, to discover for itself the world of transcendental values. The communion with the transcendental element was achieved through various kinds of meditative practice which helped, stage by stage, to cancel the subjective qualitative determination of the psyche for an identification of the individual *ego* with the supreme *Ātman*.

As we see it, the stages of cognition of *Ātman* as the supreme spiritual element may be compared to the gradual formation of *rasa*[7] in the process of scenic action, and the performance proper regarded as a specific kind of collective meditative practice. In this case, the perception of *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas*, which imitated features of real life and were immediately perceived by the audience may be likened to the cognition of empirical objects. The appearance of *bhāvas* formed in the audience's *manas* from what it had seen and heard at the theatre may be viewed as resulting from intellectual activity generalizing on sensual data. Last but not least, the *rasa* appearing from *sthayī bhāva* the instant it received universality may be compared to the transcendental cognition of universals, and seen as one of these.

Evidently, the concept of *rasa* initially manifested the borderline state of transition from real earthly values to transcendental ones, when the impact of the drama made the audience's subjective consciousness discard its definite personal quality to dissolve in the supreme spiritual reality. Possibly, as they felt *rasa*, the spectators went through superhuman, suprapersonal experiences, and knew pleasure, fear, heroism, anger, revulsion, sorrow, amazement or laughter as such.

How, then, was this suprapersonal feeling achieved in practice? What practical efforts made the audience go through a superhumanly strong emotion all together as the drama reached its peak? Evidently, this question vitally

concerned the authors of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Otherwise, they wouldn't have asked it in the treatise :

atrā' ha yadā' nyā' rtha saṃśritair vibhāvā' nubhāva vyañjitair eko' na pañcāśatā bhāvaiḥ sāmānya guṇa yogenā' bhiniṣpadyante rasās tat katham idānīṃ sthāyina eva bhāvā rasatvam āpnuvantī' ti/

"You may ask : If *rasas* arise on the basis of the 49 *bhāvas* made with the help of *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas*, endowed with diverse meanings, with the universal qualities reached, how then do the *sthāyī bhāvas* attain the quality of *rasa*?" (*NŚ*, p.93).

One had every reason to ask this question - but, in fact, it remained unanswered. The essence of *rasa* as a specific *sthāyī bhāva* communicated to the universal quality defies practical expression and shall be cognized intuitively, by an insight or through revelation. Evidently, a *rasa* arises as a thoroughly new quality - something entirely different from what has given it birth. Strictly speaking, a *rasa* can't be created - only evoked and anticipated through a correct combination of diverse *bhāvas*, as a gourmet anticipates and produces the taste of a dish by seasoning it with particular spices. This is why the attempt to specify the appearance of *rasa* leads the author only to one more analogy. The *sthāyī bhāva* is likened to a king surrounded by other *bhāvas* as retainers (*NŚ*, p.93) - a comparison mainly aimed to bring out the exceptionally elevated status of the *rasa*.

As we see it, the very description of *rasa*, made of hints and things half-spoken, testifies to the esoteric nature of the doctrine exposed, which is wholly opened solely to an adept's understanding. More than that, this description, shows that the scenic impact on man produced a supernatural quality defying direct and outspoken expression. Indicative in this connection is the testimony of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* specifying the patron deity of every *rasa* but never linking the other categories to anything suprapersonal.

Viṣṇu protects the *Śṛṅgāra rasa, Pramatha Hāsya, Rudra Raudra, Yama Karuṇa, Mahākāla Bībhatsa, Kāla Bhayānaka, Mahendra Vīra* and *Brahmā Adbhuta* (*NŚ*, p.84; 6.44-45).

More than that, all *rasas* had a divine origin and, according to tradition, we owe the initial knowledge of them to none other than *Brahmā* (ete hy aṣṭau rasāḥ proktā druhiṇena mahā' tmanā) (*NŚ*, p.81, 6.16).

It will be appropriate to mention here the correlation of every *rasa* to a particular colour - green (*śyāma*) for *Śṛṅgāra*, white (*sita*) *Hāsya*, dovegrey (*kapota*) *Karuṇa*, red (*rakta*) Raudra, golden-brown (*gaura*) *Vīra*, black (*kṛṣṇa*) *Bhayānaka*, dark blue (*nīla*) *Bībhatsa* and yellow (*pīta*) *Adbhuta* (*NŚ*, p.84; 6.42-43).

Importantly, of all the categories the treatise postulates colour correlations for the *rasa* alone - a fact probably to be seen as one more proof of its sacral status, as the tradition of esoteric knowledge regarded colour among the vital properties of the divine world and visual manifestations of cosmic energies emanated by the highest spiritual spheres. This included colours in the arrangement of mystical correlations meant to demonstrate the most secret of the pillars of being. Barely discernible today, the link with gods and colours must have meant much to adepts in its time, with its clear indication of the place of *rasa* in the network of sacral symbolism.

All the above improves our understanding of the interrelation between *bhāvas* and *rasas*. Initially it must have lain in the concept of *rasa* as a sacred, religious category as against *bhāva*, which reflected far more practical, even profane phenomena—rather than in a view of the one as reflecting a real-life emotion, and the other its aesthetic equivalent.

Both belonged to a world conventional and fictitious which but imitated reality. The *bhāvas*, however, were in a way, natural and spontaneous fruit of acting and the scenic representation of real life (in this sense, they were much closer to the present-day idea of the aesthetic effect), while *rasas* arose as the result of transition by *bhāvas* to another quality; as a phenomenon of the suprasensual world - rather mystical, to be "savoured" than illusory, to be suggested.

The roots of this concept of *rasa* are to be discovered in the earliest formative period of the drama, when it was a ritual performance, a unique liturgical frame for an offering and part of the religious ceremony.[8] As supreme goal of such ritualistic drama, the *rasa* was outside the everday emotion. Thus, supranatural qualities and protection by patron gods were bestowed on it. Intrinsic to the *rasa*, its sacral and supernatural qualities were indivisible from its symbolic content. We see an analysis of this latter as very important if we are to substantiate the ritualistic origin of this category. We also have to answer why this specific category - *rasa* as taste - was chosen to express a mystical experience.

In itself, the word *rasa* is highly polysemic. It occurs as early as the *saṃhitā*s where it stands for the elan vital or juice of a plant, for potions and liquids in general, and milk and water in particular. A magic potion, not unlike an elixir or nectar, was also known as *rasa* (here it was equivalent to *amṛta*). Last but not least, the world designated the pivotal and best part of a thing; the quintessence or essence of a phenomenon; taste, mentality, or an emotional state-and later the religious feeling.

It presents no difficulty to single out two basic groups of meanings - the former concrete and related to plant juices, liquids, potions and sacred

elixirs; the latter more abstract, and reflecting such notions as the quintessence, essence and taste.

Let us first regard the earlier semantic layer. As we can easily demonstrate, the ideas of *rasa* as plant juice, liquid and potion were directly connected with *soma*. the basic sacrificial potion and libation of the Vedic ritual system. The *samhitas* and above all, the *Rgveda*, included *rasa* in the semantic circle of *soma* and steadily used them together,[9] so that the word combination "the *rasa* of *soma*" was well known to representatives of the Vedic ritual culture. To put it differently, the word *rasa* initially designated not the elan vital of plants in general but mainly the juice of the *soma* plant. Probably, this was the context in which arose the idea of *rasa* as a liquid and potion, because priests not only used it for libations in festive Vedic rites but drank it.

An even clearer indication of the ritualistic link with *soma* is found in the notional synonymity of *rasa* and *amrta*. Both stood for a sacral potion whose offering lay at the pivot of the Vedic religion and was its esoteric heart of hearts. Among other ceremonies, the dilution of pure *soma* juice with milk and water was part of the preparation of the immortality elixir. As noted above, each of these liquids could be referred to as *rasa*. The potion usually consisting of the components mixed was usually known as *amrta*, but also could be termed *rasa*. To all appearances, this name stressed that the elixir not merely gave eternal life but was the essence and quintessence of *soma*. It wasn't for nothing that the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* referred to *rasa* as "the juice of juices and essence of essences", meaning its semantic relation to *soma*.

The meaning of *rasa* as taste also emerged in the Vedic period. Hymn 113, *Mandala* IX, of the *Rgveda* says:

> The bull reared by *Parjanya*,
> He was brought by the daughter of *Sūrya*.
> He was brought by the *Gandharvas*.
> They discerned in *soma* this **taste.**
> For *Indra*, o drop, do thou spread around!
>   (*RV*,IX.113.3)

As follows from this hymn, the initial semantics of *rasa* as taste were also related to the *soma* cult, as borne out by other Vedic monuments, in particular, the *Atharvaveda*, from which, as the *Nātyaśāstra* has it, the category of *rasa* was borrowed (*NŚ*, p.2; 1.17-18). Says Hymn III.13 of the *Atharvaveda*:

> Fair are the waters.
> For these waters were fat

For these waters carry *Agni* and *Soma*.
Healthy is the pungent taste of these waters
mixed with honey...
I picture myself as having partaken of *amrta*,
As I have relished ye, o golden ones!

<div align="center">(AV, III.13.5-6)</div>

Evidently, here too, *rasa* denotes the taste of *soma*, whose pure juice was considered too pungent and so was to be diluted with milk and water in the rite of *amrta* preparation. An analogous meaning of *rasa* as taste is also met in other early texts to show that in the Vedic period the word *rasa* meant not taste in general but the unique taste of *soma* as an actual potion.

As we see it, this Vedic context, and none other, influenced the choice of the notion of *rasa* as taste as the central category of the drama doctrine and, after reappraisal, it became the foundation of the concept which took shape at the sources of drama performance.

Let us substantiate this hypothesis with arguments to demonstrate that the initial concept of *rasa* re-interpreted the ancient ritual *soma* complex.

As we know, the crucial ritual aspect of *soma* was related to the specific hallucinating intoxication into which it had the power to put gods and mortals (as mentioned above, priests drank the *soma* potion in particular rites). *Soma* drinking belonged to esoteric rites in which the human body, like a vessel, was to be filled with a divine potion. The magic trance caused by *soma* elevated humans above their nature. Ecstasy born of it gave unique, superhuman experiences. It made humans part of the suprapersonal divine world, and gave them a knowledge of it. This was the heart of the *soma* rites.

Perhaps, the early ritual drama had for supreme goal the acquisition of a specific psycho-physical state by all adepts without exception. In its ritualistic settings, they strove the imitate the ecstatic influence of *soma*. The suprasensual emotion close to the mystical experience of communication with gods (also enacted in the mystery play before the pious audience) came as an analogy of the hallucinogenic effect of *soma*, as its essence, quintessence and taste-to put it into one word, as *rasa*.

The *Nātyaśāstra* offers many oblique proofs of the genetic link between the notions of *rasa* and *soma*. As follows from its definitions, *rasa* possesses three basic features - universality (*sāmānya*), being savoured and bringing pleasure.

Let us cursorily regard each of these properties. According to the *Nātyaśāstra*, the drama reached its culmination when the *sthāyī bhāva* reached

universality and the *rasa* appeared as a consequence. This instant finally gave an unreal quality to the aesthetic experience - already cleaned of everyday admixtures and thus not entirely this-worldly to liken it to the religious emotion proper, the mystical moment of divine communion with god. As a real-life, even if refined, aesthetic experience, the *sthāyī bhāva* was always endowed with a more or less clear expression and personal colouring, whereas the *rasa* was uniform and universal. The power of its impact brought it close to the suprapersonal hallucinogenic effect of *soma*.

Evidently, a cathartic response shared by all was among the basic functions of the ritual performance, which brought sensual affections into order - as indicated in Chapter I of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which defined the drama as "restraint for the recalcitrant, humility for the humble, courage for the coward, resolution for him who thinks himself a hero, reason for the unreasonable, knowledge for the instructed, steadfastness for him agitated by sorrow, and firmness for him whose mind is in a tumult" (*NŚ*, p.10; 1.108-109).

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* repeatedly stresses the receptive aspect of *rasa*. It is what it is because it is savoured almost repeating the way one partakes of *soma* as an actual drink. The very definition of *rasa* rested on its comparison with the partaking of food of different tastes. Though many scholars view this comparison as naively drawn from cooking, we see it as sophisticated and justified by succession to another function of *soma* - as food.

The Indian tradition regards food as the basic substance of the world. "Food is the basis of all, and every thing in this world appears from food; it lives on food after birth, and becomes food after death." (*TUp*, 3.2). Of crucial importance was the contrast between the food (*anna*) and the eater (*annāda*). All essences of being were reduced to this fundamental dualism. The Vedic ritual knew two kinds of food offerings - burned (*pravargya*) and eaten by priests (*brahmodana*). In this, the basic *anna-annāda* dualism was retained in the contrast between the fire and the sacrifice. "Verily, this entire world is but food, and fire the devourer thereof. This is the supreme creation of Brahman" (*BṛUp*, 1.4.6).

The Vedic ritual practice viewed *soma* poured onto the sacrifical flame as the embodiment and universal equivalent of food. The idea of *soma* as special sacral food was widespread enough in the late Vedic period. Already the *Atharvaveda* identified *soma* with food (XI.10.16). We see the same in the *Aitareya* (7.1.5), *Kauṣītaki* (12.5) and *Śatapatha* (I.6.4.5; II.2.5.3) *Brāhmaṇas*, which repeatedly refer to King *Soma*, the food of gods. The *Brāhmaṇas* also refer as food to the sacrificial rite as a whole (*ŚatBr*, VIII.1.2.10).

No doubt, the link between *soma* and food was well known in the *Aryan* milieu. The chain of imagery *anna-soma-rasa* and the comparison of *rasa*

with the savouring of food - which had always borne another, sacral message allowed, to our mind, not merely an oblique reference to *soma* but an emphasis on the ritual essence of *rasa*.

Last but not least, the ability of *rasa* to cause pleasure can also be regarded as inherited from the ideas of *soma*. The above-quoted Ṛgvedic hymn dedicated to *soma* says :

> Where the brahman, o Pavamāna,
> Making his metric speech,
> Press [in hand], feels himself
> Great with Soma,
> With Soma 's assistance causing bliss
> For Indra, o drop, do thou spread around!
>   (ṚV, IX. 113.6)

The unique sacral pleasure of *soma* drinking correlates, in the theoretical description of *rasa*, to the suprapersonal bliss of its savouring. Possibly, it reflects the same idea of bliss given by the approach to god-no matter by what way - and the cognition of his essence.

Noted in our analysis of the *Nātyaśāstra rasa* as a concept owed a certain irrationality and an elusive quality to its ritual origin as a category which, in a way, never demanded absolute outspokenness or utmost clarity. The *rasa* concept in the treatise can't be described as an aesthetic theory in the proper sense of this term because, in its contentual description, *rasa* contains a large cluster of meanings from the older stages of its evolution, when it was regarded not as an aesthetic, properly artistic notion from the world of the arts but a phenomenon from another reality, sacral and defying expression.

Indicatively, the ideas of *rasa* retained shades rooted in the hoary past throughout the centuries after it had discarded its original concept as a ritual category. Practically all mediaeval interpreters of this category referred to *rasa* as "savoured" - whatever new meanings they attached to it to suit their own theories. Thus, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (end of 9th - beginning of 10th century) saw this "savouring" among the functions of a work of art.

Commentators were also attracted by another property of *rasa* - its universal quality, differently interpreted by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta. The latter even attempted to postulate the difference between universality (*sāmānya*) as a speculative philosophical category and generalization (*sādhāraṇya*) as an unique aesthetic quality.

Last but not least, as they saw it, the "savouring" of *rasa* could provide a transcendental bliss comparable to the religious ecstasy of the cognition

of the divine Absolute. The Indian philosophers could hardly have intended to recovery the mystical religious aspect of the *rasa* ideas. Anyway, they doubtlessly proceeded from a tradition which cherished in its memory the original ritual context of this category, even though it had become predominantly aesthetic by their time.

As we see it, three stages can be singled out in the evolution of the concept of *rasa* : first, its emergence as a symbolic expression of a ritualistic content, second, close in time to the *Nātyaśāstra*, when *rasa* evolved into a theoretical term and acquired a specific aesthetic content, which gradually ousted its sacral essence; and the third, when the aesthetic aspect became dominant, but the transcendental element of *rasa* was also singled out and emphasized in the mystical philosophical tradition of its understanding. The magical ritual aspect of *rasa* was in full keeping with the sacralized world perception of the Middle Ages. In the final analysis, it accounted for the unique popularity and broad dissemination of this concept.

Notes and References

1. Though, most probably, the extant text of the *Nātyaśāstra* emerged in the first centuries A.D., it rests on a comparatively long tradition of theoretical development, which appeared many centuries before the time the treatise was written. Its many contentual layers account for the exceptionally wide range of its extreme datings, which exceeds a millennium - from the 4th century BC to the 8th AD. See: S.K. De. *Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics.* L., 1923, Vol.I, p.26; G.J. Miller Bharata and the Authorship and Age of the Nātyaśāstra, Sanskrit Ranga Annual, Raghavan Felicitation Volume. Madras, 1972, p. 189-194 and L.Rocher. *The Textual Tradition of the Bharatiyanātyaśāstra : A Philological Assessment* Honolulu, 1974.

2. It is possible to date the sources of the theoretical knowledge of the drama to the 5th - 4th centuries BC, a time by which the *Natasūtras* had already appeared. References to them are to be met in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī, Pāṇini*'s grammar. One hypothesis regarded one of the two *Natasūtras* mentioned by him - the *Silālin*'s *Natasūtra* - as direct historical antecedent of the *Nātyaśāstra*. See V.S. Agrawala. India as known to Pāṇini. Lucknow, 1953, p. 314.

3. All references to the *Nātyaśāstra* base on its Calcutta edition (Manomohan Ghosh (ed.), *The Nāṭyaśāstra ascribed to Bharata - Muni, Vol.1, Calcutta, 1967*), further on referred to as *NS.* With verse quotations, the chapter and *śloka* are also indicated after the page number.

4. The pleasant rasa (*Śṛngāra*) corresponds to the *sthayī bhāva* of love (*Rati*; cosmic rasa (*Hāsya*) to laughter (*Hāsa*); pitiable (*karuṇa*) to grief (*Śoka*); violent (*Raudra*) to irritation (*Krodha*); heroic (*Vīra*) to courage (*Utsāha*); terrifying (*Bhayānaka*) to fear (*Bhaya*); disgusting (*Bībhatsa*) to revulsion (*Jugupsā*) and wondrous (*Adbhuta*) to wonderment (*Vismaya*).

5. The Sanskrit word *sāmānya* has many meanings, 'universality' among them. About *sāmānya* as universality and the "generality of the Universal" according to Buddhism, Jains, Vedantins and *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas* see : N. N. Bhattacharyya. *A glossary of Indian Religious Terms and Concepts*. Manohar, 1990, p. 138-139. *Sāmānyaguṇa* was also translated as 'common quality' what gave the contrary interpretation of *Nātyaśāstra*. See: *The Nātya Śāstra of Bharatamuni* Transl. by a Board of Scholars. Delhi, 1989. p.87.

6. See: J.Sinha The *Ātman* in the *Upaniṣads, Vedanta Kesari*, Vol. 20, No.2, 1933, p. 66-68 and H.G. Narahari. *Ātman in pre-upaniṣadic Vedic Literature* Madras, 1944.

7. Noteworthy, that Abhinavagupta considered rasa like a form of general emotional consciousness, similar to the *Ātman* itself. See: E.Gerow. *Indian Poetics*. Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 266, See also : G.S. Murti. The Impact of *Advaita* Philosophy on Abhinavagupta's Interpretation of the *Rasa-Sūtra* as Reported by *Jagannātha*, VIJ, XVII, 1979, p. 49-52 and V.M. Kulkarni. *The Alaukika Nature of Rasa, ABORI*, Vol.LXXV, pt.1-4. 1994, p. 281-290.

8. See: N. Lidova. *Drama and Ritual of Early Hinduism*. New Delhi, 1994, p.7-52.

9. According to Grassmann's dictionary, over a half of the Ṛgvedic references to rasa are connected with soma. See: H. Grassmann. *Worterbuch zum Riv-Veda*. Wiesbaden, 1955.

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SASARPARĪ, THE DEIFIED SPEECH OF THE ṚGVEDA

JYOTISH NATH

It appears that while on the one hand, because of the occurrence of the term 'sasarparī' - in only two places of the *Ṛgveda* (III.53.15 and 16), its real significance was almost forgotten in the later Vedic tradition, on the other hand, modern scholars have also rarely paid any attention to it. The author of the *Bṛhaddevatā*, however, interpreted the term from the point of view of its occurrence in a particular hymn, which contained among other details the seer Viśvāmitra's imprecation to his rival Vasiṣṭa. So, it is worthwhile to dwell for a moment on the Ṛgvedic text (III. 53.15) in which the term under consideration occurs for the first time.

> sasarparīr ámatiṃ bādhamānā bṛhán
> mimāya jamádagnidattā /
> ā́ sū́ryasya duhitā́ tatāna śrávo
> devéṣv amṛ́taṃ ajuryaṃ //

'The Sasarparī which dispels the non-existence of inspired thoughts and which was given (to us) by the Jamadagnis, verily delights in the sound. She is the Sun's daughter and spreads all around bountiful food, as it were, nectar for the gods'.

The phrase 'amatiṃ bādhamānā' 'dispelling the non-existence of inspired thoughts' of the above verse is, however, of special interest for our subject.[1] For, the author of the *Bṛhaddevatā* must have thought that the so-called non-existence of inspired thoughts or of intellectual power temporarily obtained in the seer Viśvāmitra because he was forcibly deprived of consciousness by Śakti, son of Vasiṣṭa. But the Jamadagnis gave the seer speech called Sasarparī, daughter of Brahmā or of the Sun and through her the seer regained consciousness. Then he became gladdened at heart and praised Speech with the two stanzas beginning with sasarparī etc. (i.e. with *ṚV* III.53.15 and 16).[2]

Following in the steps of the author of the *Bṛhaddevatā*, several scholars interpreted sasarparī - 'Speech', as having counteracted the malicious spell of Śakti, son of Vasiṣṭa. Sāyaṇa glossed over the entire hymn under consideration in the light of this mythico-historical legend. In modern times also, Otto Böhtlingk holds that the sasarparī is, perhaps, a war trumpet (etwa Kriegstrompete). He, however, points out that according to the *Bṛhaddevatā* the term means a particular kind of speech.[3]

Macdonell and Keith also jointly express the same opinion as the *Brhaddevatā* with regard to the meaning of sasarpari - 'a particular kind of skill in speech which Viśvāmitra obtained from Jamadagni'. Nevertheless, these two scholars admit that the real significance of the term is still uncertain.[4]

Geldner continues the theory of the *Brhaddevatā* on the meaning of sasarpari. He, however, adds that Viśvāmitra regained sustenance and honour by means of these inspired songs.[5]

Gonda, however, dwells upon the story of the *Brhaddevatā* to understand the meaning of sasarpari. Nevertheless, he points out that Sasarpari stands for personified 'speech' who is said as well to be the daughter of the Sun. In his words, 'the daughter of the sun, whom we would call the genius of inspired religious poetry was, as Sasarpari, given to the famous ṛṣi Viśvāmitra (3.53.15).' He also supports the view that Speech, daughter of the Sun obviously again conceived as a cow who extended her unfading fame i.e. sound far in the realm of the gods. He further says that the beloved roar of Sūrya's daughter is identifiable with the priestly recitations accompanying the preparation of Soma. That she is called daughter of the Sun is illustrative of the belief that the Sun, who is gods' eye is 'the father of the gift of visionary speech and recitation (*RV* 3.53.15)'[6].

S. A. Dange argues that Sasarpari speech tallied with the famous Gāyatrī verse of the *Ṛgveda* (III.62.10). According to him, however, the seer Viśvāmitra ritually consecrated the horse of King Sudās's horse-sacrifice with the help of the famous chant Sasarpari. For, on the occasion of the release of the sacrificial horse, the evil which might have infested the animal was sought to be driven away by Sasarpari.[7]

Kshetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya, however, identifies Sasarpari speech with the Gāyatrī verse, whose seers, according to him, the Jamadagnis were. Viśvāmitra regained the power of his mental faculty through Sasarpari speech, he says.[8]

Notwithstanding the possibility of explaining sasarpari - either on the traditionally - accepted basis of rivalry between the families of the seers Vasiṣṭa and Viśvāmitra[9] or on the basis of its ritual application, there are, however, other aspects too, which can be judged from the historical point of view.

The seer Viśvāmitra never said that the Sasarpari speech, which he obtained from the Jamadagnis, had acted as remedial therapy against the affliction thrust on him by Vasiṣṭa's son. On the other hand, he laid stress upon the fact that the Sasarpari speech was to dispel the non-existence of inspired thought or poetry in a land which was beyond the Aryan influence. For, in the immediately preceding verse i.e. *RV* III.53.14. he urged upon Indra

by saying that the god should take away for the seer's followers the wealth of the inhabitants of a non-Aryan territory, namely, Kīkaṭa. The verse, however, runs thus.

> kim̐ te kṛṇvanti kī̆kaṭeṣu gā́vo nāśiram̐
> duhré ná tapanti gharmàm /
> ā́ no bhara prámagandasya védo naicaśākhám̐
> maghavan randhayā naḥ //

'(O Indra), what, indeed, is the use of the cows belonging to (the country of) Kīkaṭa? For, they yield milk neither for use in the sacrificial mixture with Soma nor for its being ritually heated in the pot called Gharma. (So) bring them (i.e. cattle) to us. Bring us the wealth of Pramaganda and bring us whatever belongs to the Nīcaśākhas, O Maghavan!'

From the above verse it is quite understandable that the country of Kīkaṭa was beyond the pale of the tradition of Aryan sacrifices. So, because the cattle and other wealth of this non-Aryan land were not used in the sacrifices they were useless in the eye of the seer. Indra is entreated to bring the inhabitants there into the Aryan fold by compelling them to offer sacrificial gifts to the Aryan priestly class. It is also to be remembered here that the seer Viśvāmitra, in the course of Sudās's horse-sacrifice, had already unfastened the sacrificial horse for its journey to different directions and set it under the vigilance of his followers. ṚV III.53.11 runs thus.

> úpa préta kuśikās cetáyadhvam áśvam̐
> rāyé prá muñcatā sudā́saḥ/
> rā́jā vṛtrám̐ jaṁghanat prā́g apā́g údag áthā
> yajāte vára ā́ pṛthivyāḥ //

'O kuśikas, go (near the horse) and be attentive. Set the horse of Sudās free for achievement of wealth. The lord (Indra) had already killed Vṛtras (ie. the enemies who obstructed Aryan advance in the country) in the eastern, western and northern countries. May (the king) now perform sacrifice in the best place of the world.'

It seems that as the primary conflicts between the aboriginal people and the migrating Ṛgvedic Aryans were decisive for the latter settling in the country and as the victors had already set to establish their sacrifices in the new settlement, they felt the need to turn the vanquished people favourably towards the Vedic sacrifices. With this intention, perhaps, the seer Viśvāmitra obtained Sasarparī speech from the Jamadagnis to mould the minds of the non-Aryan population towards the performance of sacrifices. It also appears quite likely that the seer used to set his Sasarparī speech in a tremulous motion, perhaps, through the waves of speech, which would convey the glory of the Vedic

sacrifices to the non-Aryan population. The etymological meaning of the term sasarpari, which is derived from the root √ sarp - 'to glide', 'to slide', 'to creep', 'to skid', 'to crawl' etc.[10] also corroborates the idea that these powerful religious songs or recitations were made to glide into the non-Aryan settlement to dispel the so-called non-existence of inspired thoughts or poetry there. In later times the task of inspiring the rural masses about the glory of the country was performed by the wandering bards called caranas, a word that also etymologically contained the idea of movement (root √ car 'to move'). That the message of the glory of the Vedic sacrifices was made to glide into the non-Aryan territories seems also to be historically sound. If the Aryan thoughts, which already acquired the shape of hymns and formulas, were not made to spread in advance or afterwards among the non-Aryan population, then the politico-religious significance of the journey of the sacrificial horse would surely have reduced to absurdity and joke in the eye of the non-Aryan people, who were completely ignorant of the sacrificial knowledge of the Ṛgvedic Aryans.

It seems that the seer Viśvāmitra himself indicated the significance of the Sasarparī speech in *RV* III. 53.16. in which the term occurs for the second time. The verse is as follows,

> sasarparīr abharat tūˊyam ebhyó'dhi
> śrávaḥ pāñcajanyāsu kṛṣṭiṣu/
> sāˊ pakṣyāˊ návyam āˊyur dādhānā yāṁ me
> palastijamadagnáyo dadúḥ//

'May Sasarparī sufficiently soon bring forward to us the food which exists among the agrarian people of the five tribes. May the Speech, the daughter of the Sun, whom the Jamadagnis, the longlived ones gave to me, grant me new life.'

While discussing the above verse one should remember that the seer's royal patron Sudās conquered the five tribes, namely, Anus, Druhyus, Yadus, Purus and Turvaśus in the famous battle of ten Kings.[11]

So, it may be assumed on the strength of the verse under discussion that Sasarparī speech yielded result because it helped the seer achieve sacrificial gifts from the vanquished people who probably depended for their sustenance on a pre-Aryan method of agriculture. The etymological meaning of their epithet 'kṛṣṭi' (derived from the root √ kṛṣ - 'to plough') also connects them to plough-agriculture.[12] Scholars also suggest both on the basis of linguistic and archaeological evidence that there had been a considerable cultural synthesis between the first group of immigrant Aryans and the non-Aryan peasants long before the Ṛgvedic Aryans appeared in the scene. It is also observed that the Dāsas of the Ṛgvedic literature, who were sedentary

agriculturists of the non-Aryan population and were, sometimes, encroached upon by small groups of Indo-Aryan pastoralists, not necessarily through physical conquest, might have developed a symbiotic relationship with their neighbours who probably belonged to the first group of immigrant Aryans.[13] That the seer prayed to Sasarparī for new life was probably indicative of the acceptance of his faith among the agrarian masses of his time.

From the above discussion, the following conclusion may possibly be drawn. Though the author of the *Brhaddevatā* and several other scholars following him, interpret the word sasarparī- 'a particular kind of skill in speech ', which occurs in the *Ṛgveda* (III.53.15, 16), in the light of a traditionally - accepted anecdote that Viśvāmitra who was once forcibly deprived of consciousness by Vasiṣṭa's son, namely, Śakti, was cured by speech called Sasarparī, which the former obtained from the Jamadagnis, there is, still the other side of the problem which can be judged from the historical point of view. The seer Viśvāmitra himself said that Sasarparī speech eradicated the non-existence of inspired thoughts (ámatiṃ bā́dhamānā) among the non-Aryan people. On the strength of the textual evidence that precedes the two occurrences of sasarparī - in the *Ṛgveda*, it may be assumed that the seer Viśvāmitra wanted to eradicate or dispel the non-existence of inspired thoughts, which probably obtained in a non-Aryan country namely, Kīkaṭa. The inhabitants there neither performed sacrifices nor did they offer sacrificial gifts to the Aryan priestly class. So, the seer entreated Indra to compel the non-Aryan population there to donate generously towards the performance of Vedic sacrifices.

As the primary conflicts between the non-Aryans and the Vedic Aryans were decisive for the latter to settle in the country and as the victors had already extended their sacrificial activities, they felt the need to mould the minds of the defeated people towards the performance of the Vedic sacrifices. From the historical point of view also, it was felt necessary to obtain munificient donations from the masses to continue the Vedic sacrificial activities in the new settlement. With this intention, perhaps, the seer Viśvāmitra obtained Sasarparī speech from the Jamadagnis to preach the glory of the Vedic sacrificial tradition among the non-Aryan population. It is, however, plausible that he used to set Sasarparī speech in a tremulous manner through the waves of speech, which would convey the utility of the Vedic sacrifices to the non-Aryan territory. The etymological meaning of the term sasarparī-, which is derived from the root √ sarp 'to glide', 'to creep', 'to crawl' etc., corroborates the idea that these powerful and inspired songs or recitations were made to glide into the non-Aryan settlement.

The fact that the message of the glory of the Vedic sacrifices was made to glide into the non-Aryan territories with the help of Sasarparī speech has

its historical implication, especially, in the context of Sudās's horse-sacrifice in which the seer Viśvāmitra was the chief officiating priest. The seer had already unfastened the sacrificial horse for its journey in different directions; set the animal under the charge of his followers. If the Aryan thoughts which already acquired the shape of hymns and formulas, were not made to glide into the non-Aryan countries, the politico-religious significance of the journey of the sacrificial horse would surely have gone astray among the non-Aryan population, who were unable to grasp the subtleties of the Vedic sacrificial culture.

It is plausible that the seer Viśvāmitra himself hinted at the significance of Sasarparī speech in *RV* III.53.16 where he said that Sasarparī speech had already gained popularity with the agrarian masses belonging to the five tribes, who started contributing generously to the performance of the Vedic sacrifices.

Notes and References

1. J. Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, The Hague, 1963, pp. 171 ff. dwells upon the substantives ending in - ti, like dhīti, mati, kṣiti etc. and observes that the suffix helps to form words expressing that the idea conveyed by the root manifests itself and is realized as an actuality. So, with the actualization of the idea of the root √ man 'to realize', its derivative mati - can well stand for 'inspired thought' and the negative form amati - for 'non-existence of inspired thought'.

2. Cf. *Bṛhaddevatā* IV. 112b-116a.

Sudāsaśca mahāyajñe śaktinā gāthisūnave / 112b.
nigṛhītaṃ balāccetaḥ so'vasīdadvicetanaḥ /
tasmai brāhmīṃ tu saurī vā nāmnā vācaṃ sasarparīm//113.
sūryakṣayād ihāhṛtya dadus te jamadagnayaḥ/
kuśikānāṃ tataḥ sā vāg amatiṃ tām apāhanat//114.
upeti cāsyāṃ kuśikān viśvāmitro'nubodhayat/
labdhvā vācaṃ ca hṛṣṭātmā tān ṛṣīn pratyapūjayat//115
sasarparīr iti dvābhyām ṛgbhyāṃ vācaṃ stuvan svayam//116a.

'At a great sacrifice of Sudās, by Śakti Gāthi's son (Viśvāmitra) was forcibly deprived of consciousness. He sank down unconscious. But to him the Jamadagnis gave Speech called Sasarparī, daughter of Brahmā or of the Sun, having brought her from the dwelling of the Sun. Then that Speech dispelled the Kuśikas' loss of intelligence (a-matim). And in the (stanza) 'Hither' (upa:iii.53.11) Viśvāmitra restored the Kuśikas to consciousness (anubodhayat). And gladdened at heart by receiving speech he paid homage to those seers (the Jamadagnis), himself praising Speech with the two stanzas 'Sasarparī' (sasarparīḥ, iii. 53.15, 16)' - Translated by A. A. Macdonell, 'The Bṛhaddevatā attributed to Śaunaka, Part II (Translation and notes)' (in) *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. VI, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1904, pp. 156-57.

3. Cf. Otto Böhtlingk, *Sanskrit Wörterbuch* (Siebenter Theil), St. Petersburg, 1887, p. 37.

4. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. II, London, 1912, p. 441.

5. Karl Friedrich Geldner, 'Der Rig-Veda : Aus. dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden kommentar versehen (Erster Teil) (in) *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol-XXXIII, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1951, p. 394.

6. J. Gonda. *op. cit* pp. 93. 274 - 75 ff.

7. S. A. Dange, 'Sasarparī : a war-spell from the Ṛgveda' in *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, 5(1), March 1967, Hoshiarpur, pp. 27-32.

8. Kshetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya, 'Gāyatrī mantra kā ṛṣi : Viśvāmitra yā Jamadagni' (Hindi) (in) *Viśva-Jyoti* 21(3-4), June-July, 1972, Hoshiarpur, pp. 197-99.

9. That Jamadagni and Viśvāmitra formed a consolidation to contend with Vasiṣṭa is comprehensible by the tradition as preserved in *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* III.1.7.3. which reads as follows - viśvāmitrajamadagnī vasiṣṭenāspardhetāṃ sá etáj Jamadagnīr vihavyám apaśyat téna vái sá vásiṣṭasyendriyáṃ vīryám avṛṃkta - Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni conjointly contended with Vasiṣṭa. It was Jamadagni who saw that (hymn) called 'vihavya'. He destroyed Vaisiṣṭa's organ and vital power with that (hymn)'.

   Taittirīya-Saṃhitā V.4.11.3 also narrates the same story in a somewhat varied form.

10. Cf. Otto Böhtlingk, *op. cit* p. 82.

    The root √ srp- 'to glide' 'to creep' etc. which substitutes the sound 'ar' of √ sarp - by the vowel 'ṛ' may also be suggested as having formed the basis of the term sasarparī.

11. Cf. G.S. Ghurye, *Vedic India*, Bombay, 1979, pp. 182, 197. ff.

12. For the meaning of kṛṣṭi -, see J. Nath, Footnotes, *The Dāsas, Dasyus and Rakṣases in the Ṛgvedic Literature*, Calcutta, 1996, p. 23.

13. Cf. Maria Schetelich, 'Zu den landwirtschaftlichen Kenntnissen der vedische Arya' (in) *Ethnologisch - Archälogische Zeitschrift.* 18(2), 1977, pp.207-15.

    Cf. Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History : Some interpretations*, New Delhi, 1978, pp.215 ff. *From Lineage to State : Social formation in the Mid-First Millennium B.C. in the Ganga Valley*, Bombay, 1984, pp. 26-27, 43 ff.

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MM. DR. KANE AND UTILISATION OF

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS

M. D. PARADKAR

It is unanimously accepted that Dr. Kane's writings on Indological subjects reveal an amazingly extensive sweep of his research interest and activity that he carried on for about 60 years. It is also well known that from 1904 to 1953 he refused to take even a nap during daytime and continued to work for nine hours a day from 1911 to 1948 placing really a model for young scholars in case of industry, perseverence and single-minded devotion to studies. No wonder that there are many noteworthy features of his researches worth emulating by all aspiring scholars.

Among such features, his judicious utilisation of the Descriptive Catalogues of Manuscripts happens to be one, the seriousness of which is not generally understood and appreciated in full. Really speaking, notices of Sanskrit as well as Prakrit manuscripts as well as Descriptive Catalogues of Manuscripts prepared by discerning scholars like Peterson, Stein, Burnell as well as Indian scholars like Bhandarkar, Velankar, Lakshmanashastri Joshi and Devasthali certainly prove to be very useful helpmates to budding scholars as well as researchers. Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Kane with his insight into research realised the importance of this treasure and utilised the same in preparing his encyclopaedic Dharma-Śāstra.

At the outset, it will be proper to know that the scholar who prepares a descriptive catalogue is expected not only to indicate the length and breadth of the manuscript, measure the number of letters in a single line as well as the lines in a folio but also to quote the beginning and the concluding portion of the manuscript, as all this gives a correct idea to the reader and helps him in distinguishing one manuscript from the other. It will also be proper to give a brief summary of the contents and mention the important editions of the work concerned. It is only in the fitness of things to note the list of authors quoted by the author of the manuscript. In the field of Indological research this helps to determine the date of the author concerned as it was customary among ancient writers to be reticent about their date and works. This becomes all the more significant in our country where प्रायेणाचार्याणामियं शैली यत्स्वाभिप्रायमपि परोपदेशमिव वर्णयन्ति has been a fact.

No wonder that in giving an alphabetical list of works on Dharma-Śāstra

in Vol. I Part II running into 253 pages, Dr. Kane has ransacked almost all catalogues that were available to him. Thus he came to know of अघवाडव or Dānasāra of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa from the catalogue of Baroda Oriental Institute, No. 7129 of Aghasaṁgrahadīpikā from Hultzsch's Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in southern India Parts I and III, of Ācāraratna of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa from Ulwar Catalogue of Manuscripts in the library of the Maharaja of Ulwar by Dr. Peterson, to name only some. Dr. Kane does not fail to mention his indebtedness to the monumental Catalogus Catalogorum of Dr. Aufrecht. Of course this is a must for every researcher. The greatness of MM. Dr. Kane consists in not being satisfied with it and having doubts due to meagre information in this catalogue as it was published in 1903. This made him consult Catalogue of Sanskṛt and Prākṛt manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar prepared by the known scholar Dr. Rai Bahadur Hiralal (Nagpur, 1926), for referring to Māṁsapīyūṣalatā by Rāmabhadraśiṣya, Madras Govt. Manuscript Catalogues of 1870, 1874 for Dīpikā, a commentary on Muhūrta-Darpaṇa, Stein's Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Raghunath Temple Library of H.H. Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir (1894), for Muhūrtālaṁkāra by Gaṅgādhara, the son of Bhairava, India Office Catalogue for Yatisaṁskāra-Vidhi-Nirṇaya, Burnell's Tanjor Catalogue p. 138a for Rudrakalpataru, Catalogue of Sanskṛt Manuscripts in the library of the H. H. Maharaja of Bikaner by Rajendralal Mitra, another indefatigable scholar for Laghukāla-Nirṇaya by Mādhavācārya. In almost all cases, Dr. Kane has not only quoted the number of the manuscript in the catalogue concerned but has also indicated the page so as to make it easy for reference to the interested researcher. At times, Dr. Kane has also given the date of the writing of the manuscript as is evident in the case of Śaunaka-kārikā or Śaunakokta-kārikā (see page 1124 Vol. I Part II). Evidently this list can be easily multiplied by referring to the formidable list of works in Dharma-Śāstra and Alaṁkāra-Śāstra.

Dr. Kane's study of Descriptive Catalogues of Manuscripts has helped him to remark that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa from the famous family of Bhaṭṭas of Benaras appears to have composed a work called ' Jīvat-Śrāddha-Vidhi (based on the Brahma Purāṇa and other works) enabling a person to perform his own śrāddha while he was alive.' This was based on Prof. G. V. Devasthali's Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskṛt and Prākṛt manuscripts in the Iccharam Desai Collection of the Bombay University. Here also he has referred to Manuscript Nos. 292-294 on pages 60-61. He has quoted the sentences from No. 292 namely 'तत्र ब्रह्मपुराणे । अथ श्रीव(म ?)च्छ्राद्धविधि । देशकालभ्रनश्रद्धाव्यवसायसमुच्छ्रिता and in this detailed note he has also referred to Indian Antiquary Vol.41, pp. 7-13 for the detailed account. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the introductory verses contained in the Kāla-Mādhava is brought to light by referring to Madras Triennial Catalogue Volume III, Sanskrit Catalogue. Here also he has taken care to quote the page No. 4114 as well as the number 2852 of the manuscript.

It has also to be admitted that Dr. Kane's careful study of these catalogues has enabled him to cross swords with reputed scholars like Aufrecht and MM. Haraprasad Shastri. He has pointed out that Aufrecht (p.608) is wrong in regarding Pitṛbhakti as another name of Śrāddhakalpa in view of Ulwar Catalogue Extract No. 351 from Vratasāra (p. 762). Haraprasadshastri had expressed a view that Kāmadhenu cannot be ascribed to Dhāreśvara Bhoja; Dr. Kane declared this to be far from correct as Śrīdatta Upādhyāya in his Pitṛbhakti has attributed the authorship of the work to Dhāreśvara Bhoja, by quoting in support the extract from the folio 38 of the D.C. of the manuscript No. 152 of 1892-95. Prof. Velankar in his catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Iccharam Suryaram Desai collection of the Bombay University (p.45) had identified Nārāyaṇa, the author of Dharmapravṛtti (mss. No. 217 and 218 on p. 45) with the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, the author of the Prayoga-Ratna. Dr. Kane expressed doubt about this identity by pointing out that the benedictory verses in the Dharmapravṛtti are different from those of the Prayogaratna and Tristhalīsetu; he has also spoken of the difference in colophons. He has also quoted the introductory verse namely नारायणं नमस्कृत्य कामदां च सरस्वतीम् । गणनाथं गुरुंश्चैव धर्मसंरक्षणाय चै ॥ धर्मप्रवृत्त्यै क्रियते कलौ नारायणेन तु on the basis of India Office Catalogue p. 480 No. 1560. It is illuminating to see how Dr. Kane on many an occasion, marshalls all evidence on the basis of his reading of descriptive catalogues of the manuscripts. On one occasion he spoke of the verse occurring at the end of the Nirṇayasindhu of the famous Dharma-Śāstra author Kamalākarabhaṭṭa referring to the composition of the work i.e. in 1668 of the Vikram era on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Māgha when the cyclic year was Raudra (i.e. on the 20th February 1612 AD.) Here Dr. Kane appropriately points out that the verse is read differently in a manuscript noticed by MM. Haraprasad Shastri relegating the composition to Vikrama Samvat 1678, takes care to declare to be a copyist's error or misreading because the cyclic year Raudra cannot tally with Vikrama 1678. The carefulness of this doyen of Indologists can be seen from the footnote (Vide p.932. Vol. I Part II) wherein he has referred to the different reading वसुभ्रातुऋतुभूमिते instead of वसुऋतुऋतुभूमिते which occurs in the Notices of manuscript by the author in Vol. X p. 324 No. 4233.

It will also be pertinent to note that Dr. Kane has brought out the critical edition of the Vyavahāra-Mayūkha after consulting 11 manuscripts from the Deccan Collection, Bhau Daji Collection and several places. His Madana-Ratna Pradīpa (published in 1948) is edited only after consulting the manuscript from the Anup Sanskrit library, Bikaner, Registrar of Bombay High Court as well as manuscripts prepared by Aurel Stein from the catalogue of Jammu Manuscripts. In fact, Dr. Kane's example of editing the Dharma-Śāstra texts has been followed by Dr. J. D. M. Derret in editing the manuscript 'Śvaśrū-Snuṣā-Dāna Saṁvāda' for Dr. V. Raghavan Felicitation Volume. It is significant to note that Dr. Derret was impressed by a footnote on p. 706

of the third Volume of the History of Dharma-Śāstra in connection with the manuscript referred to above.

Thus, MM. Dr. Kane can be said to be the pioneer in realising the importance of consulting Notices of Sanskrit manuscripts as well as descriptive catalogues of Sanskṛt and Prākṛt manuscripts especially in Indology where the number of works that are lost as well as unpublished is considerably large. Consultation of the manuscripts becomes all the more necessary. Its advisability is increased in view of the names of the authors as well as works being the same. A careful reading of the Descriptive Catalogues offers very great assistance in deciding the dates of ancient works although it is true that this still remains a vexed problem. Dr. Kane's History of Dharma-Śāstra proves to be a source of inspiration even from the point of view of fully utilising different descriptive catalogues of manuscripts, which proves to be an invaluable source-material for the researcher. It is indeed amazing that all this work was done by him without the paraphernalia associated with research assistants, stenographers, documentation officers, etc. No wonder that although his death could not be called premature, all his admirers as well as discerning students of Indology were inclined to utter the words, 'He had no business to die so soon.'

SOME INTERESTING TERRACOTTAS FROM CHANDRAKETUGARH

IN PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

SIMA ROY CHOWDHURY

Chandraketugarh is perhaps the most outstanding early historical site in eastern India. Situated at a distance of 38 km to the north-east of Kolkata, the site has yielded a remarkable collection of terracottas[1] belonging to the period between 200 BC and 600 AD. The site has further yielded a wide variety of beads and pottery, thereby making it a unique settlement in the entire Gangetic valley. It is significant to observe that the Classical texts such as *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and the second century AD work of Ptolemy refer to the market-town of *Gange*. The situation of the site on the alluvium basin of the river Vidyādharī at a point where the mangrove vegetation zone begins is ideally suitable for growth of a large port and commercial centre. The location of Chandraketugarh not only assured agricultural prosperity, but also, the possibility of obtaining the various forest products. Moreover, if a port had to be located in this region Chandraketugarh afforded the best possible location. After this point the mangrove vegetation zone would have begun, where it would have been difficult to sustain such a settlement with problems like salinity of the soil and due to the non-availability of adequate cultivable land, not to mention various problems associated with dense forest zones.

In the present article a few interesting terracotta pieces from the site which are now in private collections, would be taken up for discussion. The aim would be to stress the variety observed in terracotta art of the site and further draw our attention to these remarkable art-objects.

A group of plaques (8 × 6 cm) from Chandraketugarh (Fig.1) are of special iconographic interest. They represent a female figure with a horse's head and human body kneeling, while a male figure with a bow and arrow is either attacking her from behind or is being carried by her. The horse-faced female inevitably conjures up the image of the *Aśvamukhī yakṣī* of the *Padakusalamānava Jātaka*[2], who captured a young *brāhmaṇa* and had a son by him, but was deserted by both. The plaque concerned however, cannot explain the above narrative, which compels us to search elsewhere. In the *Mahāvaṁsa*[3] one comes across a *Valavarūpa* or *Valavamukha yakkhinī*. In the story the (*valavarūpa*) *yakkhinī* flees out of fear when she sees the prince chasing her, but is pursued by the latter and finally captured by the mane. The prince also threatens to slay her, but she promises to help him

Fig. 1
A plaque depicting a horse-headed female,
Private Collection of K. Biswas, Kartikpur.

to regain his kingdom. The prince then keeps her captive, mounts on her and remains with her for four years, after which he regains his realm over which he possessed hereditary rights and rewards her with a home within the royal precincts. The only divergence from the story relates to the weapon used. While in the story the prince chastised the *yakkhinī* with a sword, in the plaque it is a bow. The mythical nature of the narrative is clearly apparent. As noted by Coomaraswamy[4], the *Valavamukha yakkhinī* signifies the earth, the realm, the victory, the fortune etc. which has to be gained. In this myth the horse faced female evidently implies the earth or the realm, conquered at the point of the sword by a prince who mounts her accordingly. The metaphysical theme implies that after the separation of the Heaven and Earth has taken place, a marriage by capture (or otherwise) ensues, which is evident in some other myths of the *Vedas* and *Brāhmaṇas*. This is perhaps the only depiction of this myth in terracotta and the theme further reiterates the predominance of the original myths, legends and rituals associated with fertility at Chandraketugarh. With minor variations in decorations this theme has been depicted several times at Chandraketugarh.

Another interesting plaque (Pl. I, A) from Chandraketugarh (17 × 8 cm) represents a female figure standing with one hand on her hips and touching her large earrings with the other. The figure is adorned with a bi-cornate headgear, with stalks of grains attached to her head-dress on the right. She is richly bejewelled with a triple-stringed girdle, a *chanavira* running across her bare torso, heavy bangles and necklace. The head-gear too has been decorated with strings of pearls and beads which may be seen framing her forehead. It is interesting to observe the pronounced nudity of the figure depicted, which along with the ears of corn decorating her head-gear, may have underlined the fact that this is a goddess of vegetation, fertility and prosperity. Similar figurines have been recovered frequently from Mathura and Kausambi, but are rare at Chandraketugarh. This association of the vegetation with a female divinity has been elaborated in the *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*[5], where she has been identified as Śākambharī. However, the majority of the female figures with bi-cornate head-gear found at Chandraketugarh are adorned with emblematic hairpins shaped as weapons of war. It is not impossible that the early fertility cult divinity with head-gear adorned with ears of corn later gave way to the female deity adorned with emblematic hairpins found frequently represented at Chandraketugarh.

Moreover, it is interesting to observe the forms in which the female divinity with ears of corn stuck on her head-gear appears in the terracotta art of Chandraketugarh, till she is finally overshadowed by the divinity with the hairpins styled as weapons of war. In the process several variations have been observed. There are representations of a female with ears of corn decorating one side of her head-gear. Then there are female figures with emblematic hairpins

on one side and ears of corn decorating the other side of the head-gear. Finally, there are the female figures with emblematic hairpins decorating both sides of the ornate head-gear. Attendant figures accompanying this female divinity are also of various types. There are attendant figures holding ornate mirrors and adorned with head-gear shaped as a bird. In one instance[6], a female figure with bi-cornate head-gear and corn-stalks decorating the latter, is accompanied by a cat and a bird. A fragment of a similar piece is preserved in a private collection (Pl. I, B) and depicts lower part of a plaque representing a female clad in diaphanous clothes and adorned with heavy jewellery and accompanied by a cat near her right leg and holding a bird in her left hand.

A frequently encountered terracotta artefact from Chandraketugarh are the wheeled figures depicting varied themes. Most of these wheeled figures depict animals such as elephants, rams, horses and peacocks. There are also animals accompanied by human riders. Grotesque male figures sometimes representing chewing snakes or reptilian creatures are frequently encountered at Chandraketugarh. A terracotta (Pl. II. A) in a private collection (15×16 cm) represents a pot-bellied demonic man sitting on a barrel, which also happens to be the transverse hole where the axle was placed. The figure has been depicted with its teeth bared and holding a cup in his right-hand and an indistinct object in the other hand. It is interesting to observe the pronounced pot-belly, the dropping jaws, broad nose and lines on the forehead of the figure that have been delineated in detail.

The exact function of this category of figurines is difficult to determine, but the possibility of their being used as ceremonial objects instead of toys cannot be ruled out. However scholars[7] have frequently quoted texts such as *Mrcchakatika* by Śudraka to cite examples of the use of clay carts. Again, the *Kāśyapasamhitā* is supposed to provide[8] a long list of such toys but also informs us that they were essential part of the *annaprāśana* ceremony performed usually in the sixth month after a child's birth. According to the text, to ascertain a child's future a child is allowed to crawl among such toys and make a selection. Moreover, it has been indicated by scholars[9] that animals and carts figured as toys in medical texts such as *Carakasamhitā*.

Rattles of various types made of double moulds are frequently encountered at Chandraketugarh. Majority of the rattles depict pot-bellied ithyphallic men seated on low stool. The present specimen (Pl. II, B) portrays a man seated on a low seat and feeding a bird (Ht.11.5 cm). The man wears an asymmetrical head-gear, huge floral ear ornaments, bangles, *chanavira* and two heavy necklaces. He is depicted holding the bird in his left hand and feeding it with his right hand. The animated facial expression of the figure is typical of Chandraketugarh terracotta pieces. Similar rattles portraying bejewelled men seated on low seat have been recovered from different sites in northern India

and from their ithyphallic nature and squat stature it may be guessed that they possibly represented some semi-divine creatures such as the *yakṣas* which were worshipped as cult objects[10] by the rich and the wealthy in the early historical society.

There are several plaques with a distinct narrative theme at Chandraketugarh. Although it is difficult to identify the narratives, these plaques are visually interesting. For instance, a plaque in high relief (11.5 × 8 cm) depicts a harvesting festival in progress. Portrayed on the plaque is a procession led by musicians, while an ornamented elephant is being directed to follow the latter. In the background of the plaque are represented two men carrying the harvested crop (Pl. III). In this connection it is interesting to observe that fragments of plaques have been found at both Chandraketugarh and Tamluk depicting the harvesting of crops. In the Chandraketugarh specimen three men have been portrayed kneeling and harvesting grain with huge sickles.

Yet another plaque (Fig. 2) depicts a bejewelled elephant carrying two men, one with the *aṅkuśa* or the goad and the other carrying a banner (7.5 × 6.5 cm). The figure in front has its hair tied in a huge top knot on the head. The figure with the banner is wearing a turban made of coiled cloth. Both the figures are ornamented with heavy necklaces, bangles, earrings and armlets. This is a fragment of a larger plaque possibly depicting a royal procession.

Fig. 2

Plaque depicting a man riding an elephant, accompanied by an attendant with a banner.
Private Collection of D. K. Maite, Berachampa.

Among plaques with a definite narrative content mention may be made of a large plaque representing a couple standing in a pillared hall (34 × 24 cm). Both the figures are profusely adorned with jewellery. Ear of corn appears to be hanging from the side of face of the female figure, who is further adorned with heavy bangles and girdle, while a decorated band is placed on her head. She is wearing slippers, while the male figure beside her is depicted barefooted. The lower part of the plaque is projected to give a three dimensional effect. The female figure is in the process of disrobing herself, while she turns her head to speak to the male figure. Interestingly there is a floral motif decorating the forehead of the female figure. A dwarf-like attendant is depicted holding a tray over its head. The plaque delineated is in high relief.

Yet another plaque (Fig.3) from Chandraketugarh represents an inebriated female figure being supported by a man with a lop-sided turban and a female wearing a skirt-like garment (12.2 × 9.2 cm). The represented plaque resembles the so-called Bacchanalian scenes seen frequently in the stone art of early historic Mathura.
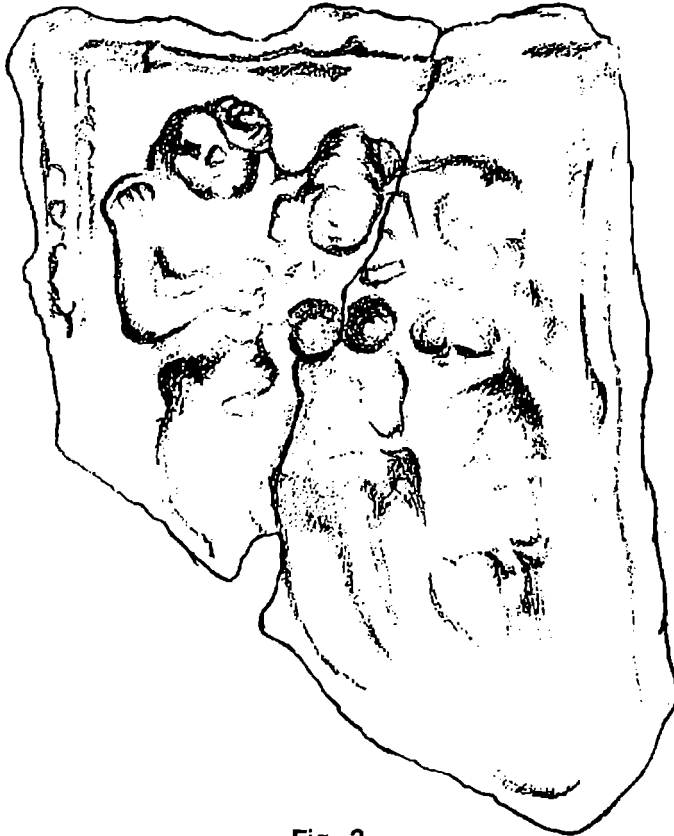
Fig. 3

Plaque representing three figures, Balanda Museum, Haroa.

A. Female divinity with head-gear decorated with ears of corn, Private collection of K. Biswas, Kartikpur.

B. Female figure accompanied by a cat and a bird, Private collection of K. Biswas, Kartikpur.

A. Wheeled figure, a grotesque man, Balanda Museum, Haroa.

B. A rattle depicting a man feeding a bird,
Private collection of D. K. Maite, Berachampa.
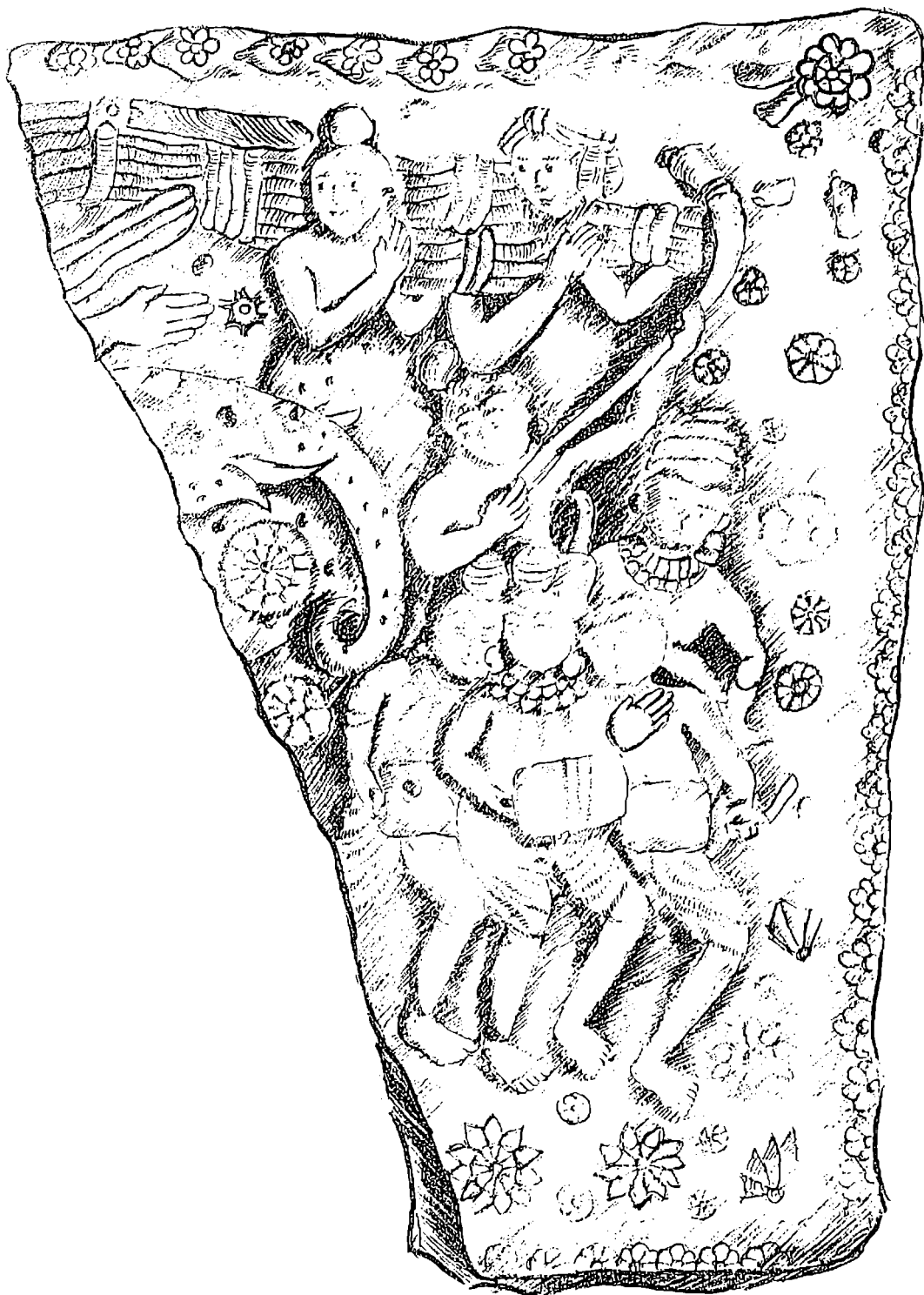
Plaque depicting a procession with elephants,
Private collection of D. K. Maite, Berachampa.
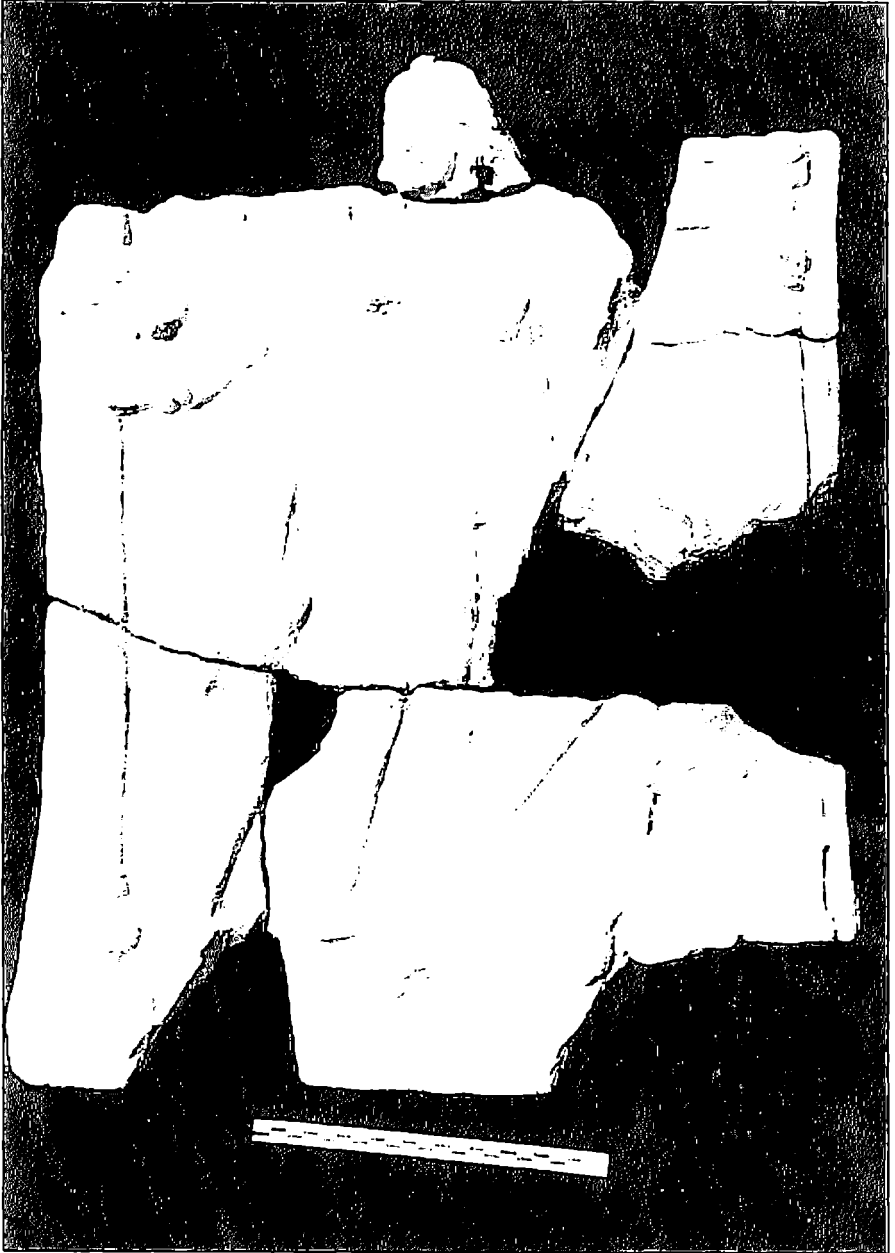
A large plaque depicting a couple with an attendant,
Private collection of K. Biswas, Kartikpur.

Thus, the terracotta pieces discussed above, apart from highlighting the specific pieces, may well illustrate the diversity in the themes depicted in the terracotta art of Chandraketugarh.

Notes and References

1. The terracotta collection from the early historical period has already been analysed by the present author in the article " Early Historical Terracottas from Chandraketugarh : A Study in Themes and Motifs." *Pratna Samiksha* Vols. 4 & 5, 1998, pp. 34-66.

2. E.B. Cowell, *The Jātaka, or stories of the Buddha 's former births*, Vol. III, Cambridge, Luzac & Co., 1957, pp. 298-306.

3. *Mahāvaṁsa, or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon*. Tr. William Geiger, PTS, No.3, London, 1912, Ch.X, 62.

4. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, (New Edition), Paul Schroeder (ed), New Delhi, IGNCA, 1993, pp.47-52.

5. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Devīmāhātmya, 91, 48-9. As quoted by J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1985, pp. 489-490.

6. In private collection as noted by J.K. Bautze, *Early Indian Terracottas*. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1995, Pl. VID.

7. P. Pal, *Icons of Piety, Images of Whimsy*, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1987, p.27.

8. U. P. Shah " A reference to toys in the *Kāshyapa Samhitā.* " *Journal of the M.S. Univ. of Baroda*, Vol. 5, No.1, 1956, pp. 1-5.

9. P. Pal, *Ibid.*, p.27.

10. As suggested by scholars like Prof. B. N. Mukherjee.

THE KABUKI ACTOR'S MANIFESTATIONS AS A PERFORMER

ZVIKA SERPER

...the actor appears on the stage in a double role, as Lauthon and as Galileo... (Brecht 194)

The art exists in the slender margin between reality and fiction (Chikamatsu[1] 101)

A performing element in a traditional theatre can evolve from a certain tradition, aesthetic concept or even unintentional circumstances. The Japanese traditional Kabuki theatre originated as a means to advertise the physical attraction of the performer-prostitute who was trying to create an intimate relationship with the members of the audience. Over time, it crystallized into a type of presentational theatre in which the actor retains his identity as a performer, and even emphasizes it through certain unique manifestations. These two main stages in the development of Kabuki evoked two different but complementary factors which in combination may at times be used by the Kabuki actor to manifest his being as a performer.

In this essay I offer an analysis of various aspects of the manifestations of the Kabuki actor as a performer, through examining certain of the unique aesthetic and acting techniques which were developed in the Kabuki theatre over the years.

From a Sexual Advertisement to a Presentational Theatre

In its early stages of consolidation, at the beginning of the 17th century, Kabuki consisted of very intimate relationships between the performers and the audiences, occasionally even involving sexual intercourse. Women's Kabuki (*onna-kabuki*) was performed by prostitutes from the pleasure quarters who imitated the popular performances of Okuni, a renowned ceremonial dancer. Okuni, in creating the original Kabuki, may have had some intent of providing pure entertainment, but the Women's Kabuki, in contrast, was almost directly connected with prostitution and served more often than not as an advertisement for the women and their establishments. This led the authorities in 1629 to prohibit the appearance of women on stage. With the disappearance of women from the Kabuk', they were succeeded by Young Men's Kabuki (*wakashu-kabuki*), which became no less popular and was connected to male prostitution. The seductive and beautiful young men held great attraction for the warriors, priests and court nobles as well as for townsmen among

whom homosexuality was commonplace in the 17th century. In 1652 this stage of Kabuki too was suppressed by the authorities because of its adverse effect on public morals.[2] About two years after dissolution of the Young Men's Kabuki, Adult Men's Kabuki (*yarô-kabuki*) came into being, heralding a profound change in orientation. All the performers were adult men who played both male and female roles and concentrated on the drama rather than erotic dances. The performances were described as *monomane kyôgen zukushi* - "a presentation of performances imitating things", rather than as *kabuki* which at that time had the connotation of sexual debauchery.[3] Officially and essentially this marked the end of the erotic relationship between performers and audiences in Kabuki and the beginning of its development as an artistic form of theatre. During the next hundred years most of the Kabuki techniques and characteristics evolved to create a fabulous, totally presentational theatre in which the actor tries to create a subtle tension between his identity as a performer and the fictional role he plays.

One of the best examples of the development of such presentational perception in Kabuki acting is the consolidation of the art of the *onnagata* (or *oyama*) - the adult male actor specializing in the portrayal of women. Two crucial phases in the evolution of this art are associated with Yoshizawa Ayame the First, 1673-1729, and his son Nakamura Tomijûrô the First, 1719-1786. Ayame, one of the greatest *onnagata* in Kabuki history, outlined the two main principles of his art : actual living as a woman and realistic female impersonation. In his famous treatise on the art of female impersonation, *Ayame gusa* (*Teachings of Ayame*),[4] in addition to his orders to the *onnagata* to live, dress and behave consistently like a real woman even off stage in the dressing room or outside the theatre (*Yakusha rongo* 318-19,323), Ayame directs the *onnagata* to become as close as possible to being a real woman in order to penetrate the character's internal reality and to present it faithfully (Yamamoto, Kikuchi and Hayashi 158-159). He was not referring to realism in the broad sense of a representational theatre, but sought, rather, to create a certain kind of femininity which originated in a specific, imitated object. For him, playing the role of *keisei* (a high-class prostitute) constituted the most important element in practising *onnagata*. According to Hirosue Tamotsu, the *keisei* in reality "acted out" a feminine role. She covered herself in femininity in the form of a mask that concealed her natural femininity (18-19). Ayame saw the feminine ideal in a real figure, that incorporated a natural femininity with female concealment. In contrast, his son Tomijûrô, who reached the peak of his popularity in the middle of the 18th century, unlike his father created stylized patterns of acting that made no attempt to impersonate a real female. Tomijûrô's inspiration for playing female roles came from two theatrical sources : puppet theatre - Gidayû Kyôgen (the former name for Bunraku), and the dance in Kabuki. During this period the most prominent characteristics of the *onnagata* evolved : the use of falsetto speech; white face make-up; outlining

the eyes in red; the use of a characteristic wig; the draping of kimono and *obi* (the kimono belt); and the peculiar pigeon-toed walk (*uchiwa aruki*) (Takechi 164, 251-252). Tomijûrô created a unique expression of femininity which did not exist beyond the theatre.

The erotic and presentational aspects of Kabuki during these two stages of its development cannot be separated because they were and continue to be interwoven. Several scholars note the combination already at the very outset of Kabuki. According to Watsuji Tetsurô, the first impression that a spectator received from a performance by Okuni herself, was that of her unusual male attire and her masculine dance and movement, mingled together with a very feminine softness of movement and acting. At the same time several male performers in her troupe would appear in female attire. Watsuji finds both eroticism and stylization in this aspect of Okuni's Kabuki (70-73). Komiya Toyotaka offers several sources which prove that this custom of appearing in the attire of the opposite sex prevailed in both Okuni's Kabuki and the Women's Kabuki (108-109). On the other hand, the Adult Men's Kabuki was not as lacking in sexuality as it was supposed to be. The second half of *Nanshoku ôkagami* (*The Great Mirror of Male Love*), a collection of 40 homosexual love stories which were written in 1687 by the greatest novelist of this age - Ihara Saikaku, 1642-1693, deals with love affairs with Kabuki actors. One of these stories, "An Onnagata's Tosa Diary", tells about Matsushima Han'ya, an actual *onnagata* who was born in 1667 and retired in 1686. Saikaku depicts his talent and writes that "it would be no exaggeration to call him an actor of female roles without rival in past or present" (256). But most of the story is dedicated to the seductive sexual appeal of this young actor during the period in which the Adult Men's Kabuki was becoming consolidated:

> He was deeply affectionate and sophisticated at entertaining his patrons; he excelled in the serving of sake. No other actor could even approach his love letters in style...He was, in particular, by birth so skilled in love-making that he could almost kill a man with pleasure. Great numbers of man, driven by relentless desire, visited him over and over again until they fell into a moat of debt. (254)

Informal and Formal Presentation of the Actors to the Audience

The interweaving of the erotic impulse directed towards the audience together with the aesthetic tension which the actor creates between his own being as an actor and the fictional role, leads him to manifest himself as a performer before or out of the actual performance. The oldest style of Kabuki performance is perhaps *danmari* - "wordless", a scene in which the troupe's actors perform a slow-motion pantomime in the dark[5] in which the characters struggle to seize a certain object. James R. Brandon writes:

> ... it seems probable that the simple parading of individual actors in
> *danmari* is a relic of the earliest Kabuki when performances were little
> more than occasions for advertising the physical attractiveness of
> prostitute-performers. (68)

It is neither a dance nor a fight scene although these elements are also
included. It usually contains no plot and the entire piece is intended to introduce
the performers in succession to the audience. Each performer is dressed
and made-up as a certain character, such as a young lord, a bandit chief,
a female thief, a pilgrim or a princess. The *danmari* scenes are divided into
two categories : historical (*jidai danmari*) and domestic (*sewa danmari*) and
each has a specific dramatic title.[6] In the past, theatrical titles were given
to *danmari* according to its performance function. For example, *omemie danmari*
was performed in the provinces in order to make the audience acquainted
with all the actors in the touring troupe, whereas *kaomise danmari* was performed
by each of the three troupes in Edo (Tôkyô) every year in November in
order to introduce the actors who would comprise the troupe for the next
year (Kagayama 44-45). The historical *danmari* stress in particular several
aspects of the stylistic beauty of the actors appearance. For example, the
actors perform a quick-change of their gorgeous costumes on stage before
the audience, using famous techniques : *hikinuki*, in which an upper kimono
is whipped off in one second to reveal a completely different kimono beneath;
and *bukkaeri*, the ripping of the threads of the costume's upper half so
that it drops around the actor's waist to cover his lower half, while the inner
lining of the dropped half matches the new top that has been revealed, thereby
giving the impression that the entire costume has been changed. *Hikimuki*
is usually used by female characters in a short dance as an interlude between
two other dance sections and the costume change is accompanied by a
change in the musical mood and rhythm. This costume change essentially
functions as a purely visual attraction without any specific dramatic message.
Gunji Masakatsu compares it to a costume change in western musicals
(1959:278-279). In contrast, *bukkaeri* functions in a dramatic scene as a
quick exposure of the real identity of a character which has been concealed
before, or in order to show a new aspect of the character's personality.
In present day *danmari* these two techniques have actually lost their original
theatrical and dramatic functions and are now performed as purely spectacular
theatrical devices by the performers; and at such moments the actors' identity
as performers becomes far more emphasized than in the former employment
of these techniques.

Danmari began as a direct presentation of the actors to the audience
but gradually underwent transition to a performing scene by means of which
the actors are informally introduced. In contrast, *kôjô* - "an oral statement",
addressed from the stage to the audience by one or more actors, began

during the late seventeenth century as a kind of acting piece, delivered by a special actor, the *kôjôyaku*. This gradually transformed into a unique theatrical event, with the leading actors lined up on the stage for the formal announcement and the troupe's representative actor reciting it in a ceremonial fashion. The *kôjô* is performed on such occasions as the adoption of a new stage name by an actor or a memorial for a dead actor. In a name-taking ceremony the actors are introduced by their new stage names and the other actors praise and congratulate them. In a memorial *kôjô* the leading actors, including those with a close relationship to the late actors, offer brief eulogies and small items from personal memories. The actors usually line up in formal dress and make-up not relating to any specific roles.

Stepping out of Role and Situation by the Actor

The Kabuki actor does not limit the presentation of his real identity to a separate act. One of the most pleasurable moments for the Kabuki audience is when the actor actually steps out of role during the dramatic piece. During this moment, he ceases to play a fictitious role and emphasizes instead his own reality as a performer in the theatre. The most usual use of this is as statement that is intended to reveal the actor as a performer, as, for example, when one actor presents the real identity of another actor in the performance. In the play *Sukeroku*, this is merely hinted at in one part but particularly emphasized in another. When Sukeroku the hero confronts Ikyu his rival, he attempts to anger him. He turns to the whores and says :

> The great snake is slithering loose in Yoshiwara...but he is not at all frightening. Although he pretends to be cruel, his hair is white and he is bearded. This is a snake that looks exactly like the actor — (and here he inserts the true name of the actor playing his rival, Ikyû). (Toita 127; Gunji 1965:95 n.27).

Sukeroku continues to describe the "snake". Later in the play he forces a country Samurai and his servant to pass between his and his brother's legs. When they exit a city dandy enters and he too is told by Sukeroku to pass between his legs. In the performance with Ichimura Kichigorô in the role of the dandy and Kataoka Takao as Sukeroku, at the Kabuki-za theatre in Tôkyô in March 1983, the dandy reacted to the orders with "Ho! Who do I see? Tell me, aren't you Kataoka Takao who's playing at the Kabuki-za theatre this month?" He approached Shinbei, Sukeroku's brother, played by Nakamura Senjaku, and when the latter ordered him to pass between his legs, the dandy looked at him and said : "Ho! You too look familiar. Of course, you are the actor Nakamura Senjaku" (*Sukeroku*). During the first passing between his legs, Ichimura Kichigorô took out a handkerchief and placed it on his head. The handkerchief's colour was the official colour of the actor under whom he had just passed, and drawn on the handkerchief

was the *mon* (crest) of the actor's family. Before passing between the legs of the second actor, Kichigorô turned the handkerchief round to reveal on its other side the official colour of the second actor and his family *mon*. Such verbal statements and the visual messages temporarily direct the audience back to the theatrical event and the actor as performer, before re-immersing them in the dramatic situation and the role play. In the play *Kan'u*, two *onnagata* perform *ningyôburi* ("puppet movement") - a piece of acting in which the actor imitates the movements of the dolls of the Bunraku theatre while a puppet master appears to manipulate the actor from behind. After the two actors leave the stage as two human beings, a *kurogo* (a stage assistant dressed in black and wearing a black cloth over his face) enters and announces that the actors Nakamura Jakuemon and Sawamura Tanosuke will perform a *ningyôburi* passage. During his announcement the two actors enter the stage covered by two red cloths held by several *kurogo*. Two *kurogo* remove the red cloths and the actors appear to be held and manipulated by two other *kurogo*, while they perform the *ningyôburi* piece (*Kabuki no sekai*). The announcement that the actors will perform a certain acting technique causes the audience to relate to the actors in this part as performers and not as characters performing an especially unique and difficult technique.

These "out of role" means are not restricted merely to calling the actors by his name. Sometimes the actors hold a "discussion" among themselves and their colleagues during the course of the performance. In the play *Benten Kozô*, Benten Kozô (disguised as a woman) and his friend Nango enter a shop and hold a conversation with the manager, Yokurô. They usually bring into their talk the actual location of the performance and the names of the actors in the scene. In a production in April 1982, at the re-opening of the Shinbashi Enbujô theatre in Tôkyô, the following conversation took place:

> **Yokurô :** (to Benten Kozô) You probably know that the Shinbashi Enbujô theatre is re-opening this month (laughter from the audience), and they've got a very good programme. You've seen the programme, haven't you?

> **Benten Kozô :** Yes.

> **Yokurô :** Is there any actor that you particularly like? Let me guess. Oh, I do believe I know. They have a very popular and indispensable actor there called Onoe Kikugorô [name of the actor playing Benten Kozô about whom Yokurô is speaking] (the audience reacts with laughter and applause), don't you?

> **Benten Kozô :** No. I really hate that actor (strong laughter from the audience).

Yokurô : Aha! If that isn't the seventh [the number of the current Kikugorô in the dynasty of actors bearing that name] who could it be? Aha! I know. It's that very masculine actor - Onoe Tatsunosuke [the actor playing Nango] (light applause and laughter from the audience).

Benten Kozô : (reacts like a shy woman, hiding his face behind his fan) Yes. (strong laughter from the audience.)

Nango : (the actor Tatsunosuke) It's possible that the young maiden loves this actor, but I really hate him (laughter from the audience).

(*Benten Kozô*)

The audience not only enjoys the unveiling of the actor, but also the fictional reaction of a character to the real being of the actor who is playing the role. The actor playing Benten Kozô even creates a complex combination of reality and fiction, when he says he likes the actor playing his companion: this is the real identity of the fictional companion. Similar improvisations always take place in this scene, as indicaed in the text (Kawatake 125-6).[7]

In *Benten Kozô* no actors present themselves directly, and their relating to themselves as actors is done jokingly. In contrast, in the play *Shibaraku* the lead actor reveals himself as an actor, and unfolds to the audience the particular traditions of his acting. In reply to the villain (Kiyohara no Takehira) and his guards' questioning his identity, the hero answers :

> The Chinese sages tell us that water, like virtue, is given to all without discrimination. The Genji samurai used to purify themselves in the waters of the Tamagawa (by the headwaters of which river the Ichikawas had their first home). I am Kamakura Gongorô Kagemasa, a samurai, the ninth (interpolated by Danjûrô IX and so a reference to his personal number) of the rice measure crest (the general *mon* of the Ichikawas). In this month of the *kaomise* ("face-showing" performance) we give this play from the "18 Favourites" and my *kumadoari* [make-up] is like the flower of the peony in winter time (the peony is another *mon* of the Ichikawas). The colour of my dress is the hue of the persimmon (the brick-red colour of Ichikawa formal dress) and my acting has a deep, subtle flavour like that of the fruit. It is the specialty of my family. I shall show you the splendour of our *aragoto* [rought style of] acting, the pride of the leading actors of Edo. I speak with all respect. (Halford 458).

In this text, the actor does not step out of role, but he does present himself as an actor, going into great detail in describing to the audience his family's traditions regarding style of acting, costumes, make-up, family symbols, origin and location. A similar aesthetic tension is created in *Kôjô*

which is usually performed as a separate act but sometimes the actor stops the action to announce something which is connected to the reality of the performance itself and not to the play. For example, in *kirikôjô* ("ending *kôjô*") at the end of the play the actor will turn to the audience and say as a performer : 'That's the end for today' (Yamamoto, Kikuchi and Hayashi 190).

In addition to stepping out of the role and situation through relating to himself as an actor, the actor can also create this same separation by relating to the audience as spectators in a theatre. Jacob Raz deals with this subject using sources from past performance of the Kabuki theatre : an actor apologized to the audience for fluffing his lines or for any flaws in his acting; he threw towels and combs as gifts to the spectators; he shook their hands and talked to them; he occasionally appeared to be "frightened" by something in the auditorium, and then showed "relief" when he realized that it was only a part of the auditorium; and he calmed the audience's fears regarding another actor who was sick at the time (188).

A partial stepping-out of dramatic role and situation still occurs today, although this action is generally taken by the actors in the smaller roles. In April 1982, in a performance by the Shinbashi Enbujô theatre in Tôkyô, I watched a similar gesture by the actor Bandô Tamasaburô who was playing the leading role of Shirabyôshi Hanako in the play *Musume dôjôji*. Tamasaburô entered and danced on the *hanamichi* (entrance walk-way).[8] During the dance he pulled out a bundle of papers from his kimono, placed a scrap of paper in his mouth, took it out, rolled it in his hands, turned it into a small ball and, aiming carefully, threw it at a particular member of the audience. The spectators who were sitting close to where the ball landed tried to catch this memento that had arrived straight from the actor's mouth (*Musume dôjôji*). Tamasaburô is a very handsome and popular *onnagata*. The happy spectator who caught the paper ball thus gained a special link with the actor as a performer rather than with his role. This is an implicit link, subtle and very erotic, with the audience as actual spectators at the theatre.

In the play *Hitoritabi gojûsan tsugi*, staged at the Kabuki-za theatre in Tôkyô in July 1981, Ichikawa Ennosuke played eighteen roles, swiftly and successfully changing from one to the next. After prolonged applause from the audience, which refused to leave the theatre without getting something more from the actor, Ennosuke offered them a special combination of actor and role. Having ended the play in a male role, he quickly changed behind the scene to one of the female roles he had played. At the same time a stagehand closed and opened the curtain. After changing role, Ennosuke indicated that the stagehand should leave the stage. He himself approached the curtain and slowly began to close it, using the movements of *onnagata*

and waving good-bye to the audience. The spectators went wild with happiness following this direct contact by the actor. For Ennosuke, this was a demonstration of combining the basic components of performer and role, and the audience reacted enthusiastically to their simultaneous occurrence.

The actor manifests himself by using utterances that are not linked to the dramatic reality or to the world of theatre. Such utterances generally contrast strongly with the classical world depicted in the play. In one of the performances of *Sukeroku* in 1983 at the Kabuki-za theatre, the dandy (played by Ichimura Kichigorô) identifies Sukeroku as "the actor Kataoka Takao, currently playing Nemuri Kyôshirô (a famous fictional Japanese warrior) in a series now being shown on television on Channel 4." Not only is the actor called by his real name, but a popular television series, quite unconnected to the historical world of the play, or even to the theatre in which the performance is taking place, is also mentioned.

Performance by a character of an action unsuited to the role or situation creates a delicate and subtle tension between the actor and his role. This element can also occur in isolated and often subtle instances. In a production of *Omemie taikoki* in July 1983 by the Ennosuke troupe, Ichikawa Ennosuke, the leader of the troupe, and Ichikawa Danshirô, his younger brother - took two contrasting roles. Ennosuke played Higashi no Yoshirô, a refined and introverted character, wearing white make-up and employing delicate gestures. His brother played Roka no Jirosaku, an energetic and less refined character. Throughout the play, Danshirô spread his legs far more widely apart when performing *mie* (picturesque and striking pose) than did Ennosuke, thus creating far stronger spatial statements. When carrying out the *mie* that concludes the play, however, Ennosuke spread his legs wide apart and held his bod·· lower than that of his brother, in contrast to the characteristics of the roles they were playing. In this *mie*. Ennosuke created a stronger statement - one which was purely theatrical rather than dramatic : 'Despite playing a weak and introverted character, I am the star of the troupe and my final gesture is as the leading actor of the troupe and not as role-playing.' In this way the actor's own being is revealed, with no connection to the role he has just played or the dramatic situation.

Changing Roles

The most elaborate and artistic way in which the Kabuki actor manifests himself as a performer is that of changing roles within the same performance. This approach evolved from those Nô plays that are divided into two parts. In quite a few Nô plays the character in the first part turns into a totally different being in the second part. This change is generally from feminine qualities to masculine ones. In *Dôjôji* a young female dancer turns into a snake and in *Kurozuka* an old countrywoman becomes a demon. The playing

of t.vo contrasting roles by one actor creates a special aesthetic tension between the actor and the roles he plays.

.hese Nô plays were adapted for Kabuki. However, this same appealing element, that emphasizes the actor's own presence, also occurs in original plays constructed along the same lines, which Kabuki has added to its repertoire : in *Kagami jishi*, for example, the maiden Yayoi turns into a lion. This element continued to develop in Kabuki in different ways : one actor playing different roles in different acts, and one role played in different acts of the same play by different actors; and quick-change of roles, in which the speed of the change conveys its significance.

The actor who plays a number of different roles in different acts of a play creates a tension between the roles he plays and his own being as a performer. A similar tension prevails when the same role is played by different actors in different scenes of the same play. These two approaches were put into practice in the production of *Kanadehon Chûshingura* in December 1983 at the Kabui-za in Tôkyô. In the first and third acts (the second act was not staged), Nakamura Tomijûrô played the role of the villain - the Governor of Kamakura, Kono Moronao; while Onoe Kikugorô played Enya Hangan, the hero, who confronts Moronao and is forced to commit suicide in the fourth act. Both these actors, who appear as the two rival characters around whom the play takes place, also appear as a pair of lovers in *michiyuki* ("road-going")[9], a dance between the fourth and fifth acts. Tomijûrô plays Kanpei, the personal bodyguard of Enya Hangan, while Kikugorô, who has just killed himself as Enya Hangan, appears as Okaru, Kanpei's lover. The pair of them set off for Okaru's parents' village, after Kanpei has failed in his duty to guard his master. In the fifth act, Kikugorô who played Okaru, now plays Kanpei and continues to do so in the sixth act until Kanpei's suicide. Tomijûrô returns in the sixth act as Ichimonjiya Osai, the old woman who owns the brothel, and who has bought Okaru. In the seventh act he appears as Ôboshi Yuranosuke, the hero. In this particular production Tomijûrô played the villain, a young samurai, the brothel owner and the samurai leader. Kikugorô played a respected samurai, a young maiden and a young samurai. Similarly, Nakamura Kichiemon and Bandô Yasosuke played a number of central roles in the play. This method of casting enables the actor to be seen in one role in one act, and in another role in the next.

In the same production one particular role was played by several actors. The role of Yuranosuke was played at first by Kichiemon in the fourth act and then by Tomijûrô in the seventh act. The role of Okaru was played in the *michiyuki* by Kikugorô and in the sixth act by Nakamura Kotarô. The role of Kanpei was played at first by Tomijûrô in the *michiyuki* and then in the fifth and sixth acts by Kikugorô. The manifestation of the actor as

performer is less apparent in a production in which one role is played throughout by the same actor. Playing a number of roles by one actor and playing one role by a number of actors enhances this manifestation.

The tension between actor and role increases during quick role changing (*hayagawari*). The significance of this element lies in the actor's ability to carry out the change speedily, which emphasizes him as a performer. This technique started to become popular at the beginning of the 19th century, and entire plays were written for this purpose. The quick-change is carried out by a "real" actor and a substitute : a double - *fukigae*. When an actor is playing the roles of 'A' and 'B', for example, there are scenes in which both characters must be on stage simultaneously. If the actor is playing 'A', his substitute will play 'B', and vice versa. The actor Jitsukawa Enjaku played three roles in the play *Chibusa enoki*: Shôsuke, Shigenobu and Miyoshi. Enjaku describes the changes thus:

> I enter as Miyoshi and go into a hut, then change to Shôsuke and enter from the *hanamichi*. A double takes my place on the stage at the rock grouping there and I enter from the falls as the ghost of Shigenobu. When I disappear I change again to Shôsuke. Then a double takes over as Shôsuke as I change to Miyoshi, from Miyoshi to Shôsuke, and back and forth any number of times. At the final curtain I am Shôsuke and leave on the *hanamichi*; the spectators are now totally confused as to which is the real me and which the double. Actually, for a mere instant in the performance everyone is a double... The audience has no idea as to which is the genuine actor. (165-166)

Despite the statement of Enjaku, the difference between the genuine actor and his double can be clearly seen on the stage. Unlike the real actor, the double never turns his face to the audience. They create a contrast between front and back, between lit and shadowed, and between real and false.

A special element of the *hayagawari*, called *tsuke-goe* ("joined voice"), adds a false visual element and a genuine auditory one. After the actor leaves the stage, his double enters but plays with his back to the audience. At the same time, while changing behind the scenery, the real actor continues with the text of his previous role. The visual element is thus false - the double is on stage; but the auditory element is real provided by the true actor. This continues until the actor has completely changed roles and re-entered the stage as another character (Matsunami 53).

Usually the change is done out of sight of the audience. One component of quick-change is called *kiri-ana* ("a cutout hole"). The actor disappears behind one part of the scenery in one particular role, and after a quick-change backstage he reappears from behind another part of the scenery or at the

end of the *hanamichi* in another role. This often requires the construction of secret pathways in the theatre, such as a passage from behind the stage to underneath it and to the *hanamichi* in order to appear at the far end of the *hanamichi* at the back of the auditorium. In this quick-change, the actor disappears into a hidden space and appears in another role and another location.

Sometimes the change is done in front of the audience. An outstanding example of this is the quick-change recently carried out by Ichikawa Ennosuke in the play *Haji momiji aseno kaomise* (also called *Date no jūyaku*). During one of the changes, Ennosuke exits toward the *hanamichi* as Kinugawa Yoemon (a samurai), wrapped in a mat. At the *hanamichi* Ennosuke encounters another actor, who is entering the *hanamichi* from the other side in the role of Dote no Dotetsu (a monk) and carrying an umbrella. The two of them gyrate, wrapped together in the mat, and during the turn they exchange roles, costumes and props. Ennosuke returns to the stage as Dote no Dotetsu, while his substitute, who had entered as Dote no Dotetsu, effectively exits in the role of Kinugawa Yoemon. This changeover is carried out before the very eyes of the audience, in a conspicuous location within the theatrical space.

These two kinds of roles change are often combined in a very unique technique. The audience sees the actor who is changing role, but does not see the actual change. In the fifth act of *Kanadehon Chūshingura*, Yoichibei, the old man, slips into a thatched hut while searching for the man who stole his purse, and is then stabbed to death by the highwayman Sadakurô. Both roles are played by the same actor. As Yoichibei, the actor puts his right arm and leg through a gap in the thatching, looks carefully around, and then follows with the rest of his body. In the meantime the costume on the right side of his body is changed. Immediately after his left arm and leg disappear into the hut, his right arm and leg appear through the gap attired in the costume of Sadakurô. The actor gradually comes out as Sadakurô. Throughout the entire changeover the audience is able to see a part of the actor's body, but the change itself is hidden from sight. This is a highly complicated quick-change, and is very enthusiastically received by the audience.

Conclusions

The aesthetic tension between actor and role is a very important element in the fiction/reality concept of the theatrical medium and each kind of theatre designs its attitude towards this tension. As a highly orientated presentational theatre which had also originated in the physical contact between the performer as erotic object and the audience, Kabuki theatre makes no attempt to blur this tension; on the contrary, the actor intensifies it through a permanent and dynamic transition between these two poles, and it is through their coexistence that he manifests his being as a performer. The tension is achieved in two

main ways :

a) A transition from fiction to reality or vice versa, during different stages of the performance. The actor suspends the existence of the fictional role and exposes his identity as a performer in front of the audience. This exposure can be carried out through speech and action at any stage of the performance : at the beginning as a transition from actor to role; and at the end as a transition from role back to actor; or during the performance, in a transition from role to actor and back again.

b) A production system in which the actor's exposure as a performer is not direct, but the result of the system. This works in two ways: an individual actor might play several roles, or a single role might be played by several actors during the same performance. These transitions from one role to another or from one actor to another emphasize both the reality of the actor as a performer and the fiction of the role.

These aesthetic concepts and techniq៲es, originally developed by the Kabuki theatre from the interweaving of a non-artistic sexual appeal with a presentational approach of the medium, have integrated to create the thoroughly explored and well developed model of the manifestations of the actor as a performer which is so crucial an aspect of Kabuki theatrical language.

Notes and References

Japanese names in the essay and the works cited are given in the Japanese order : family name first.

Unless otherwise stated, all translations are the author's.

1. Chikamatsu Monzaemon, the greatest Kabuki playwright, 1653-1724.

2. For the relationship between performers and audiences in Women's Kabuki and Young Men's Kabuki see Raz 147-152.

3. The word *kabuki* is written today with three Chinese characters which mean *ka* - song, *bu* - dance, and *ki* - skill or skilled person. For a detailed discussion about the development of the meaning of this word see Shively.

4. For English translation of this treatise see Dunn and Torigoe 49-66.

5. Usually the word *danmari* is wʳitten with Japanese phonetic letters but sometimes it is written with the Chinese ideograms which express the meaning of darkness - *kurayami*.

6. Most of the historical *danmari* are performed as independent short one act plays whereas the domestic *danmari* are scenes included in domestic plays.

7. For English translation of a similar improvisation for this scene see Leiter 17.

8. "flower path" - a raised passageway which connects the Kabuki stage on the

audience's left to the rear of the theatre and used by the actors for entrances, exits and as an integral part of the stage.

9. A dance scene presents a pair of lovers on their way to a location where they will usually commit a double suicide and they pathetically describe the way and the scenery.

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KHĀRAVELA AND THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

I

Introductory

King Khāravela of Kaliṅga is the most unique of the great personalities of early India for all our knowledge about whom we depend exclusively on his unique inscription engraved in the Hāthīgumphā cave at Udayagiri near Bhuvaneshwar, the metropolis of the present state of Orissa in the Indian Union.[1] This inscription in early Brāhmī script and the ornate style in Oḍra-Māgadhī Prakrit affords us a graphic narrative of his great political and cultural attainments yearwise up to the thirteenth year of his reign when the inscription was engraved. This is the earliest and the only early inscription giving a yearwise account of events in his career of the type we come across several centuries later in the records of the eastern Cālukyas of Andhra Pradesh. How much one wishes he had an account of his further years till the end of his reign. But, alas, that was not to be.

II

The Date

Since Khāravela is conspicuously absent in any literary work not excluding the dynastic sections of the Purāṇas and his only inscription also is not dated, there is no way to fix his period, not to speak of date, even approximately. Palaeographical considerations are not dependable as they have in this case, as in several other cases, led to widely divergent conclusions ranging over a few centuries from the early second century BC to first century AD. We are therefore left with no other course except to go only by the synchronisms of events and personalities referred to in this inscription. Unfortunately, however, even dates of these are not beyond dispute and scholars hold as diametrically opposed positions on them as on the problem we have to address ourselves which makes things even more difficult.

However, in recent years some clinching evidence has come to light which may help us answer the question in a somewhat better way as a result of which we are now in a happier position than a few years earlier.

The synchronisms are afforded by the following references :

I. Line 4 of the inscription tells us that in the second year of his reign without caring for (or thinking of) Sātakarni he had his forces consisting primarily of horses, elephants, footsoldiers and chariots sent to the western direction, and when these forces reached the Kanhaberhnā Asikanagara[2] was frightened.[3].

II. We are informed in line 6 that in his fifth regnal year he brought to his capital by the route called Tanasuliya[4] an aqueduct opened up by Nandarāja[5] three hundred years[6] ago.[7].   ·

A subsequent line (12) speaks of Khāravela as bringing back (from Magadha) a Jina (Tīrthankara image or symbolic representation) belonging originally to Kalinga that was taken away by Nandarāja.[8] This event took place in his twelfth year.

III. In the same year he made the Magadhan king Bahasatimita touch his feet.[9]

These three events are crucial as we are aware of them from some other sources, and if one could fix the dates and equations of these kings, one could hope to solve the riddle of Khāravela's date to the best possible extent. We may therefore attempt to tackle these issues as best as one can in the present state of inadequate information. Let us take them up one by one serially.   ,

That Sātakarni mentioned in this inscription was a Sātavāhana king admits of no doubt as there were several kings of this name in this family alone during early Deccanese history. And he should be one of the early members of the dynasty in view of chronological considerations. The rise of both these dynasties, viz. Mahāmeghavāhana or Cheti and Sātavāhana, is almost contemporary, and both Khāravela and the first Sātavāhana king bearing the name Sātakarni were third members of their respective families.

However, the question of the date of the emergence of the Sātavāhana power as much as the instant problem has been debated extensively right from the time they came to historical notice with historians placing this event at varying dates ranging from the first half of the third century[10] through the second half of the same century shortly after Aśoka[11] to late first century BC.[12] The *raison d'etre* for this uncertainty lies in the conflicting averments in the *vamsānucarita* sections of some of the Purānas as regards the total number of what they call Andhra or Andhra-jātīya[13] kings and the duration of their total rule. The *Vāyu, Brahmānda, Visnu* and *Bhāgavata Purānas,* for instance, state in a general manner that there were thirty rulers, but the actual names range between seventeen and twenty-five. As against this, the *Matsya* gives the total number of Andhra or Andhra-jātīya kings as nineteen,

while the names met with in a few manuscripts number actually thirty and some other manuscripts supply the names of twenty-one to twenty-eight kings. The same is true with regard to the total period of their rule. Majority of the Purāṇas are in general agreement in giving it as over four hundred years, even though the actual figures found in them differ from each other by a few years.[14] According to another tradition given in the *Vāyu*, on the other hand, the Andhras ruled for a period of three hundred years. These Purāṇas give also the length of individual reigns the total of which comes to 272-1/2 years according to the *Vāyu* and 448-1/2 years according to the *Matsya*. It appears that there were two different traditions on these points: following one tradition there were altogether about thirty kings with the total duration of rule covering over four centuries, while the other tradition would make us believe that there were some nineteen monarchs with about three centuries or a little less for the total length of their rule. In view of the fact that the Sātavāhana rule ended around the end-second or in early decades of the following century AD, the adherents of the first tradition place the rise of the Andhra-Sātavāhana power sometime in the third century BC and those following the second option date this event in the first century BC[15], generally in its latter half.

Notwithstanding these conflicting Puranic averments about the total number of Andhra-Sātavāhana kings and the duration of their total rule, however, there is complete unanimity of the fate of the last Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana king Suśarman who was overthrown by the first member of the Andhra or-Andhra-jātīya dynasty whose name is spelt variously but numismatic and inscriptional evidence indicates its correct contemporary or near-contemporary form to have been Chhimuka[16] or Simuka[17]. As the reign of Suśarman closed, following the unanimous Puranic tradition, around 30 or 28 BC,[18] it strengthens the second view about the date of the epoch of the Sātavāhana power.

In the absence of unanimity of the Puranic traditions, historians have approached the issue from some other angles. Prime importance in this connection attaches to the palaeographic dating of the larger Naneghat sacrificial inscription put up during the reign of Vediśrī by his widowed mother Nāgavaradāyinī or Nāganikā, the widowed queen of Sātakarni, the third king of the dynasty according to the Purāṇas, and the shorter label-inscriptions in the same cave which was something like the statue-gallery of the early Sātavāhanas. This inscription was dated by Bühler and, following his footsteps, by some other scholars in the first half of the second century BC, a date supported by the contemporaneity of the Kaliṅga king Khāravela who was also placed on some other considerations[19] in the same period. Bühler was motivated in suggesting this date by his notion that Gautamīputra Sātakarni flourished a little earlier than mid-first century BC. "The characters of the Nānāghāt inscriptions", he observed, "belong to a period anterior by about

100 years to those of the edicts of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son
Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi," and that "the differences between the characters of
Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's and those of the Nānāghāṭ documents are such
that it is not possible to place them at a distance of more than about 100
years."[20] Nobody, however, now places Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi prior to mid-first
century BC as done by Bühler, and according to our chronology his reign
commenced around 60 AD.[21] What is most astonishing in the present context
is that even those who place Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in the period *c.* 106-130
AD and consequently over 150 years later than believed by Bühler continue
to stick to his notion about the period of the Naneghat records, a strange
example of utter duplicity.

Thus, foolproof palaeographical grounds don't exist for dating the
Sātavāhana emergence, and we have to look for some other more dependable
evidence. One such evidence appertains stratigraphical approach to excavated
finds. Attempt was made to find support for the early date for the commencement
of the Sātavāhana rule in the stratigraphical placement of Periods IV and
V, called Early Historic and Indo-Roman respectively, at Nevasa (Ahmadnagar
district, Maharashtra), but after a searching analysis of the relevant data we
have demonstrated elsewhere that the Nevasa stratigraphy actually lends firm
support to a mid-first century BC date for the Sātavāhana epoch.[22] Evidence
from some other sites also supports the same epoch. As will be seen presently,
the recent extensive excavations at Adam (Nagpur district, Maharashtra) have
provided a *terra firma* for this date.

Till recently there was not much numismatic datum in the Deccan
appertaining post-Maurya and pre-Sātavāhana period, and then there could
perhaps be some archaeological justification for the notion that in this region
the Andhra-Sātavāhanas were the immediate successors of the Mauryas. But
in recent years quite a lot of numismatic material has come to light showing
incontrovertibly that the numismatic development here was in no way different
from that further north. Thus, generally speaking, the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan
punch-marked coins were followed by uninscribed cast coins which were
in some areas junior contemporaries of the punch-marked specie, and
uninscribed and inscribed die-struck coins in that order permitting minor regional
variations. Leaving aside the uninscribed coins beset with difficulties of ascription
in the absence of legends which, of course, must have covered about a
century or thereabout, recent years have thrown up a lot many inscribed
die-struck base metal specie definitely datable to pre-Sātavāhana period in
the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra and the Telangana area of Andhra Pradesh
as well as Malwa and the Jabalpur region in Madhya Pradesh which is quite
revealing. The Telangana region has yielded coins of a number of pre-Sātavāhana
rulers including, *inter alia,* Gobhadra, Samagopa, Kaṁvāya, etc., Malwa of,
among others, Nārāyaṇamitra and Dāmabhadra and the last region of the

Dattas. However, the most significant evidence has come from Vidarbha, both stratigraphic and stray finds, which reveals the existence of several rulers with *mitr.*- and *bhadra*- ending names and consequently groupable as Mitra and Bhadra dynasties holding sway over this region immediately prior to the Sātavāhana epoch. The Mitras included at least three kings, viz. Bhūmimitra, Kaṇhamitra and Sūryamitra and the Bhadras four, namely Dāmabhadra, Dharmabhadra, Sarvabhadra (Śarvabhadra or Sarvabhadra) and Satyabhadra. We have definite evidence to establish that these lines ruled immediately before the Sātavāhanas. A coin of Sūryamitra is found re-struck by Sātakarṇi and the excavations at Adam have thrown up Bhadra coins in pre-Sātavāhana strata. A review of the development of coin-legends also supports a mid-first century BC epoch. The pattern of these legends was apparently modelled on that of the Indo-Greek coins as legends on both these series end in genitive singular as against the earlier coins without legends or with legends · without any case-ending.

The foregoing analysis should leave no room for doubt that the emergence of the Sātavāhanas has to be dated around mid-first century BC at the earliest.[23] And as Sātakarṇi was the third member of the dynasty preceded by two kings with a total reign of forty-one years, Khāravela, who was likewise the third member of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty and a contemporary of Sātakarṇi, must also be placed around end-first century BC-early first century AD.

Next, the reference to Nandarāja. The expression *Namdarāja-ti-vasa-sata* has got perforce to be interpreted as denoting, in general terms, three hundred years, and not 103 years. Taking for argument's sake the latter meaning, it would amount to saying that the fifth year of Khāravela's reign fell in 103rd year from the Nanda king. Without going into the intricacies of the identification of the Nanda king under reference,[24] it would suffice for our purpose even if the last Nanda king in the last year of his reign had got an aqueduct excavated. It could not have been later than 324 (or 322) BC when Candragupta Maurya came to power after annihilating the Nandas. It would mean, even according to this most conservative and most acceptable interpretation, that the fifth year of Khāravela's reign fell in 221 (or 219) BC and the date of his accession would consequently fall five years[25] prior to this date, viz. 226 (or 224) BC. And since Khāravela was the third member of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty, the latter's beginning will have to be placed around 276 (or 274) BC which would fall around the commencement of the Maurya emperor Aśoka's reign, which is just impossible. For it would be tantamount to saying that the Mahāmeghavāhanas came to power only to be destroyed shortly after by Aśoka whereas we know from the Hāthīgumphā inscription that the dynasty continued to flourish for many a decade thereafter. In view of this anachronism we are left with no option but to take the expression

in question as meaning, in general terms, 300 years[26] which would, as shown above, go well with Kharavela's synchronism with Satakarni.

Next as to the identity of the Magadhan king Bahasatimita humbled by Kharavela with Pusyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, which is also an argument in favour of an early date for Kharavela. If the foregoing conclusions about the periods of Satakarni, a contemporary of Kharavela, and Nandaraja are accepted, Bahasatimita's contemporaneity would become totally impossible in case he is equated with Pusyamitra. But even otherwise the identity is simply laboured and not real. It is argued that the composer of the epigraph referred to Pusyamitra as Bahasatimita, standing for Brhaspatimitra, because the latter was his *naksatra*-name, Brhaspati being the presiding deity of Pusya and Tisya constellations. However, if the intention was to refer to Pusyamitra, there was nothing to prevent his mention by his personal name, which must have been much more well-known to his contemporaries as it is now, and there was absolutely no compelling reason to refer to him in a circuitous manner by naming the presiding divinity of his constellation. There is no other parallel for it, and in case it is conceded this would be the only example of its kind in the entire range of Indian epigraphy. Then, Indian tradition as recorded in the Buddhist Sanskrit text *Divyavadana* differentiates between the royal names Brhaspati and Pusyamitra.[27] Moreover, even conceding this identity just for argument's sake, it would not accord with the corresponding interpretation of *Namdaraja-ti-vasa-sata* as 103 years after Nandaraja. For, it was after uprooting the Nandas that Candragupta Maurya came to power, and the Maurya dynasty emanating from him ruled for 137 years before its last member Brhadratha was uprooted by his commander-in-chief Pusyamitra. As against this, if we concede the identity of Pusyamitra with Brhaspatimitra supposed to have been mentioned as the king of Magadha in this epigraph, Kharavela's twelfth regnal year, when the conflict between the two is said to have occurred, would coincide with a date in the later Maurya period and not during Pusyamitra=Brhaspatimitra's reign which lasted 187-151 BC. Moreover it is uncertain if Bahasatimita really stands for Sanskrit. Brhaspatimitra, and it has been suggested that it may as well stand for Sanskrit Brhatsvatimitra.[28] Under these circumstances it is most likely that Bahasatimita (Brhaspati - or Brhatsvati-mitra) was a local king of Magadha about end-first century BC /early first century AD and had nothing to do, at least chronologically, with the Sunga dynasty.

And lastly, the Yavana (Indo-Greek) king (*Yavana-raja*) who fled away to Madhura (Mathura) leaving his army and mounts at the invader's (Kharavela's) mercy at the mere hearing of the latter's heroic deeds appears to have been a local Greek king with Mathura for his capital.[29] And this allusion can in no way be taken to support an early second century BC date for Kharavela.

In the light of the foregoing brief discussion of the relevant internal evidence of the Hāthīgumphā inscription we must reasonably date Khāravela's reign in late first century BC-early first century AD in a general manner, an exact time-bracket being quite unthinkable at present.

III

Khāravela and Sātakarṇi

As we have just seen, one Sātakarṇi was a contemporary of Khāravela both of whom came into contact, most probably hostile, with one another. According to the Purāṇas there were two kings named Sātakarṇi among the early Andhra-Sātavāhanas, viz. (1) the third king who was the son and successor of Kṛṣṇa, the younger brother of Simuka[30], the founder of the dynasty, and (2) another king of this name separated from him by two generations covering a period of thirty-six years. They are designated as Sātakarṇi I[31] and II by most historians. The first of them is given a reign of ten or eighteen years[32] and the second unanimously fifty-six years. However, at least some manuscripts of the *Vāyu* refer to the second Sātakarṇi, viz. that with fifty-six years' reign as the immediate successor of Kṛṣṇa omitting the first Sātakarṇi with a shorter reign and the next two kings altogether, showing that according to certain traditions Kṛṣṇa was followed by his son Sātakarṇi who ruled for a long period of fifty-six years and other intermediaries did not exist in the main line at all. Moreover, the period, viz. ten or eighteen years, given to the first Sātakarṇi is too short for such a momentous reign as of the Sātakarṇi whose achievements are eulogised in the aforesaid Naneghat inscription of his son and successor Vediśrī's reign and who is equated with the older Saraganus under whom Indo-Roman trade prospered as averred by the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* of an anonymous sailor-trader. This point has been made much of by V. V Mirashi who has argued that in this respect (viz. reign) the Purāṇas have erred seriously.[33] The whole problem would be solved if only we do away with the Sātakarṇi who allegedly ruled for ten or eighteen years and hold that there was only one Sātakarṇi, son and successor of Kṛṣṇa, whose reign covered some fifty-six years, a view that would go well with the shorter duration of Andhra-Sātavāhana rule that would be forced on us by the above wholistic analysis of the epigraphic - numismatic - Puranic evidence as well as other compelling slightly later data fixing the dynastic epoch around mid-first century BC.[34] This would also obviate the necessity of distributing the coins bearing the names Sātakarṇi between Sātakarṇi I and II which is based on purely arbitrary and doubtful considerations. According to our chronology, this Sātakarṇi ruled from *c.* 10 BC. to 45 AD. Khāravela, whose contemporary and rival Sātakarṇi was, also has to be placed roughly during the same general period, it being impossible to determine the exact synchronism since the duration of his rule still remains unknown.

As we have seen, the Hāthīgumphā inscription tells us that Khāravela in the second year of his reign despatched a strong force comprising cavalry, elephantry, infantry and chariotry to the western quarter without caring for or bothering about Sātakarṇi[35], and Asikanagara was frightened on its reaching the river Kanhabemnā. The very wording is enough to establish that the reference is of a hostile nature, though some scholars feel otherwise.[36] The Kanhabemnā is commonly equated with the river Kṛṣṇā flowing in coastal Andhra area. However, this Kṛṣṇā lies much to the south of Orissa, and not west as averred in the epigraph. But there is another stream flowing to its west in Vidarbha and known locally at present as Kanhān which is named Kṛṣṇā in ancient Sanskrit literature including the epics as shown by F. E. Pargiter long back.[37] It flows about seventeen kilometers north-west of Nagpur and joins the river Veṇā (Vaingaṅgā), and it is the combined flow of these two streams that is spoken of as Kanhabemnā in our record.[38] And the recent find of a sealing belonging to the Asika-janapada in course of intensive archaeological excavations at Adam (Nagpur district)[39] has solved also the problem of locating Asikanagara whose king or/and people became frightful at the arrival of Khāravela's forces at Kanhabemnā or the combined flow of the rivers Kanhān and Vaingaṅgā. In view of the evidence of a highly prosperous city unearthed at Adam, we are of the opinion that Adam itself represents the Asikanagara of Hāthīgumphā inscription.[40] And the find of a copper coin of Sūryamitra, the last (or latest yet known) Mitra king of Vidarbha, counterstruck by Sātakarṇi should leave no room for doubt about the inclusion of the Vidarbha, region including that part which was anciently known as Asika-janapada[41] into Sātakarṇi's kingdom. It is difficult to ascertain if this invasion had some perceptible result like the annexation of this region by Khāravela for want of requisite corroborative evidence. Even whether his Sātavāhana adversary was actually defeated can't be determined for the same reason. But the manner of description appears to indicate that it was in the nature of a hurried raid without any lasting political result. Sometimes the end of Adam's habitation is ascribed to Khāravela's invasion,[42] but that would be dating Khāravela too late and can in no way be conceded.

Later in his fourth regnal year the Kaliṅga ruler seems to have carried out a similar raid as he is represented to have compelled the Rathikas and the Bhojakas, who inhabited the western Deccan and whose chiefs might have been subordinates or vassals under Sātakarṇi, or insignificant but independent ruling chiefs in certain regions of Goa, Karnataka and adjoining area of Andhra Pradesh,[43] to bow at his feet.

IV

Mahāmeghavāhanas in Coastal Andhra

As we have just seen, Sātakarṇi had to bear the brunt of Khāravela's

invasion in eastern Vidarbha. Some scholars, however, take it as an evidence of the Sātavāhana rule over coastal Andhra as early as Sātakarṇi's reign identifying as they do Kanhabemnā of the Hāthīgumphā inscription with the Krṣnā. Not to speak of others, D.C. Sircar floats the 'not an altogether impossible' alternative theory that Khāravela's army attacked a city on the Krṣnā in the southern part of Sātakarṇi's kingdom.[44] This is, however, quite unlikely as we have as yet no evidence at all to show that the Andhra-Sātavāhanas had anything to do with coastal Andhra prior to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. If one looks at the historiography of the name Andhra, it would bring home the fact that the Krishna-Godavari region of the present state of Andhra Pradesh popularly called Andhra-deśa was not known as such till about end-third century AD, even though several early historians of the Sātavāhanas were misled by this later connotation and located the Sātavāhana original home in this era.[45] In fact, it was due to the inclusion during the British period of this belt in the Madras Presidency which incorporated wide areas of the present states of Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and the whole of the Tamilnadu with each linguistic element maintaining its individuality. So the Telugu-speaking area of the Presidency which included only lower Andhra Pradesh came to be popularly called Andhra-deśa[46] as against the other linguistic areas. The Telangana region which was not so known because of its forming part of the princely state of Hyderabad which actually represented ancient Andhra country as would follow from a critical review of the evidence bearing on the problem. The *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (VII.92.18) speaks of the Andhras along with the Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas as living to the south of the Ārya country, showing that the Andhras inhabited the region to the south, how much south we are not told, of the Vindhyas or the Narmadā which formed the southern border of Āryāvarta or Madhyadeśa and the northern border of the Deccan or Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Buddhist Pali literature hints at the likelihood of the Andhras living to the south of Majjhima-desa (Madhyadeśa) as it refers to the town of Setakaṇṇika most probably named after the early Sātavāhana monarch Sātakarṇi, lying on its southern border. In the Maurya emperor Aśoka's time this area and its inhabitants were known as Andhra. His Rock Edict XIII refers to the Andhras after the Bhojas (of Vidarbha) and Pitinikas (people of Pratisṭhāna, modern Paithan, Aurangabad district) or Bhoja-Pitinikas while Rock Edict V mentions the Pitinikas after the Raṭhikas showing that the Bhojas and Pitinikas of the present state of Maharashtra lived in the neighbourhood of the Andhras. And if one were to look at these references as allusions to people from north to south as one may expect in the records of an emperor ruling from Pāṭaliputra, it would be crystal-clear that the Andhras inhabited the region of Telangana and adjoining areas that can be designated as central Deccan during the Maurya period. That this continued for another few centuries is also evident from certain evidence. The Krishna-Guntur region was actually called Mahiṣa as known

from the recently discovered Guntupalli (Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh) quadruplicate pillar inscription of the Mahāmeghavāhana king Sada. Ptolemy calls it Maisolia[47] which name alludes to Machhlipatnam in coastal Andhra. It had, however, come to be called Andhra by early fourth century AD as can be easily inferred from the Mayidavolu inscription of the early Pallava king Śivaskandavarman where it is referred to as Amdhapatha or Andhrāpatha.[48] So the very fact that the Sātavāhanas are called Andhra or Andhra-jātīya in the Purāṇas should have been enough to deter scholars from taking coastal Andhra, popularly known as Andhradeśa, as the original venue of the Sātavāhana ascendance. And as if it were not enough, in recent years a lot of early Sātavāhana numismatic material including base metal coins of the dynastic upstart Chimuka Sātavāhana and some other early members of the family have been reported in large quantity from the Telangana region, especially Kota-lingala and Sangareddy in the Karimnagar district. In fact, the very statement that Khāravela sent his forces against Sātakarṇi to the west of Kaliṅga should have been sufficient enough proof against locating the early Sātavāhanas in coastal Andhra.

That this region had nothing to do with the early history of the Sātavāhanas is also vouched for archaeologically by the stratigraphic evidence of the excavations at the now well-known site of Vaddamanu near Amaravati (Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh) which shows only late Sātavāhana phase immediately preceded by the Sada and followed by the Ikṣvāku phases.

The chiefs with *sada*-ending names, commonly called Sadas in historical parlance, were descendants of Mahāmeghavāhanas. They were known earlier from a few inscriptions[49] and coins[50], but were confused with the Sātavāhanas, taking Sada to be another form of Sāta. But in recent years quite a lot of inscriptional and numismatic material has surfaced leaving no doubt that the Sadas were the immediate political predecessors of the Sātavāhanas in coastal Andhra. The first such discovery was the short but unique inscription engraved in early Brāhmī on four different pillars found at Guntupalli (West Godavari district) which was published originally by R. Subrahmanyam[51] but whose true significance was brought out by D.C. Sircar.[52] It purports to record the gift of a pavilion (*maḍapa*, Skt. *Maṇḍapa*) by one Cula-Goma who was a scribe (*lekhaka*) of the Mahāmeghavāhana Mahārāja Sada, the lord of the Kaliṅga and Māhiṣaka countries.[53] Another inscription engraved on a pillar found at the village of Velpūru in Sattenapalle taluk of the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh records the erection of a shrine or pavilion of god Bhūtagrāhaka by a female lamp-bearer of an illustrious *Mahārāja* named Mahāsada who is styled Aira as well as *Hārītīputra*.[54] Both these records may palaeographically be dated early in the first century AD.[55]

It is interesting to note that Sada, who is styled *Mahārāja* like Khāravela,

is also described as Mahāmeghavāhana[56]. It is apparent that both hailed from the same line. Like Khāravela again, Mahāsada bears the epithet *Aira*.[57] It is clear that Mahāsada also belonged to the same family. We are of the opinion that Mahāsada and Sada, both of whom are styled Mahārāja and the former also as Aira and the latter as *Mahāmeghavāhana*, were one and the same, and that Sada assumed Mahāsada as his coronation name (*abhiseka-nāma*) and that both these names were used as in the case of some other dynasties in nearby regions.[58] The descriptive title *Kaliṅga-Māhisak-ādhipati* applied to him in the Guntupalli inscription is highly significant and demonstrates that like Khāravela, Sada or Mahāsada also was the ruler of Kaliṅga and that, in addition to it, he was also the ruler of the Māhisaka country. As we have just seen, Mahiṣa country denoted the coastal Andhra (Guntur-Krishna region)[59] which was apparently added to the Mahāmeghavāhana kingdom during at least the reign of Mahāsada, if not earlier.

The excavations at Vaddamanu (Sanskrit Vardhamāna) in 1981 to 1985 have provided clear numismatic evidence in stratigraphically defined layers of the rule of the Sadas in the first century and, maybe, early decades of the following century AD. The excavations have brought to light four periods, all datable to post-Maurya period. No coin was recovered from Period I styled post-Maurya. The following Period is numismatically divided into two sub-periods, called II and IIa. This period has given, for the first time, numismatic evidence, at the site. While Period II has yielded only uninscribed specie, the following period was found marked by the Sada coins in its lower strata while Sātavāhana coins that followed were reported from its upper layers. Periods III and IV have yielded the Ikṣvāku and Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins. Thus the numismatic history of the site commences from Period II, and the oldest coins found belonged to the Sada chiefs, they survived in the later periods though. The coin-yield of Period II further falls into two groups viz. uninscribed preceding the inscribed ones, both of lead. Both these series are linked typologically with the obverse showing a prominent lion standing facing right with the tail raised and curled up before a tree, even though there are noticed stylistic differences in the representation of the lion and the tree. The reverse of the uninscribed coins is generally blank, there being, in some rare cases, traces of certain unidentifiable devices though. These were succeeded by inscribed coins belonging to kings bearing *sada*-ending names including, roughly in a chronological order, Mahāsada, Asaka Sada and Sivamaka Sada.[60] The possibility of there being more than one ruler bearing the same name can't be ruled out altogether, it is not safe though to postulate the existence of several rulers of identical names simply basing on minor stylistic differences noticed on the specie, for they might actually have been deliberately introduced with a view to relieve monotony.[61] It is likely that the uninscribed coins preceded the inscribed coins of the Sadas, and it does not admit of determination if the former

also belonged to the Sada kings. But this need not be stretched beyond proportions and the first Sada king represented by coins is Mahāsada who appears to have followed initially the earlier uninscribed coins of the region[62] and launched his coinage by minting single-die specie of a heavy weight only giving his own name preceded by the regal title *rājan* and the honorific *siri*. His successors continued to mint with the same obverse (lion-tree) type but with a crescented six-peaked hill on a platform and the river at the bottom within a square frame.[63]

As of now we know at least of three Sada kings from the coins encountered in a stratified context at Vaddamanu[64] as well as from some hoards and stray finds in the Guntur region[65] and inscriptions.[66] This region was annexed to the Sātavāhana kingdom for the first time during Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's reign as known from one of the records of his time at Amarāvatī[67] as well as his own and his descendants' coins found throughout the Coromandal coast of Andhra Pradesh. The inscription is unfortunately not dated, but as he flourished roughly from 91 to 118 AD,[68] we may date the Sātavāhana annexation of this region in this period. And the last Sada king replaced by the Sātavāhanas most probably was Śivamaka Sada whose fragmentary inscription has been reported from the same site.[69] He was preceded by at least two Sada kings, to wit, Mahāsada (or Sada) and Asaka Sada, and not impossibly some more monarchs. The Sadas may therefore be given a period of a minimum of seventy-five years, and as their rule terminated around end-first century/early second century AD, the commencement of the Sada rule may be placed around 25-40 AD.[70]

It is therefore very likely that either Khāravela himself[71] or one of his brothers if he had any, or his immediate successor (maybe his son) invaded and extended his kingdom in the coastal Andhra region called Māhiṣaka which was a natural extension from Kaliṅga.

Whether this resulted in spreading or popularising in coastal Andhra, which had already become a stronghold of Buddhism, Jainism which was so very zealously adhered to and patronised by Khāravela and presumably by his two predecessors and the only known successor (Vakradeva) can't be ascertained for want of requisite evidence. However, the excavators of Vaddamanu do hold that it did, and find the archaeological remains there as confirming that the site had become a, or the only predominant centre of Jainism in the midst of sprawling Buddhist strongholds. The name itself appears to refer to Vardhamāna Mahāvīra and it is held that the *stūpas* unearthed at the site belonged to the Jainas like the famous one at Mathura,[72] and our attention is invited to the possible allusions, in some potsherd-inscriptions, to some Jaina septs (*gaṇas*), Jinas' and Samprati's monasteries and the names Vadhamāna and Vadhamāna-pavata (Vardhamāna-parvata).[73] But it is not acceptable to others.[74] We feel, however, that the Mahāmeghavāhanas were

not as particular in spreading their religion as their political authority and that the presence of Jainism can't be denied altogether as the place-name Vaddamanu itself refers to a Jaina patriarch. It might in that case represent a Jaina oasis in the midst of a grand Buddhist desert. However, the rather recently discovered inscriptional evidence to be cited presently raises some doubts, of course not unsurmountable, in the matter.

That the institutions established by the Mahāmeghavāhanas continued to exist and they were so remembered several centuries later also is clearly vouched for by a late inscription. A copper-plate grant of the reign of *Mahārāja* Pṛthivīmūlarāja from Kondavidu (Guntur district) dating from around late fifth century AD mentions a great monastery at Vardhamāna established by Mahāmeghavāhana and records Pṛthivīmūla's grant of a village to meet the needs of the noble congregation of monks residing there (*Śrī - Mahāmeghavāhana - pratiṣṭhāpita - Varddhamāni - mahāvihāra - nivāsa - rater...āryya - bhikṣu-saṁghasya*).[75] The monastery evidently belonged to the Buddhists, and one has to believe that either the monastery was Buddhistic right from the beginning which is not impossible in view of the liberal religious attitude of Khāravela as seen from his only known epigraph or, if Jaina initially, was converted to Buddhism later when no Jaina monks were there to man it. The main problem for a political historian is that the monastery is said to have been founded by Mahāmeghavāhana. But though the text is in Sanskrit and the reading Mahāmeghavāhana quite distinct, it may well be presumed that the monastery was actually instituted by a descendant of Mahāmeghavāhana, for we have no evidence at all to hold that the Mahāmeghavāhanas had anything to do with the coastal Andhra area prior to Khāravela and that because of the highly exalted status the traditions remembered only Mahāmeghavāhana, and not the actual member of the family responsible for this pious act. And as the Mahāvihāra was located at Vardhamāna, we may suppose that both Jainism and Buddhism flourished side by side at this locality which is not unlikely or that knowing Buddhism to be more popular in the region a member of the Mahāmeghavāhana family instituted this grand monastery alongside the Jaina establishment or that the original Jaina monastery was appropriated by the Buddhists who found it deserted. It is equally likely that the Mahāmeghavāhana descendant himself was a Buddhist, for religion in ancient India was a matter of personal choice and not hereditary. Another alternative would be that, himself an adherent of Jainism though, he established the grand monastery for the Buddhists in view of the exemplary tradition of sectarian co-existence and mutual give-and-take as illustrated by the grant in question made by Pṛthivīmūla who himself was a staunch devotee of god Maheśvara (*parama-māheśvara*) and devoted to Smārta practices.

Thus, the members of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty played a vital role in the political and religious history of what was ancient Māhiṣaka country or present coastal Andhra.

V

Khāravela; Some Stray Remarks

We may now refer to an important fact concerning Khāravela which has been a subject of keen controversy among scholars. As we have seen, according to his Hāthīgumphā inscription he belonged to the third generation of the Kaliṅga kings (*tatiye Kaliṅga - rāja - vase (sa) - purisa-yuge*). Whether this line of the Kaliṅgan kings started with Mahāmeghavāhana can't be ascertained though it is not impossible. We know almost nil about the antecedents of Khāravela. An inscription in the upper storey of the Mañcapurī cave on the Udayagiri hills tells us that this storey was caused to be excavated for the Jaina monks of Kaliṅga by the unnamed chief queen (*agra-mahiṣī*) of Khāravela.[76] The upper storey may thus be assigned to Khāravela's reign. Another inscription in the lower storey of the same cave informs us that it had been executed by the *Aira Mahārāja Kaliṅgādhipati*, whose name has been read variously, due to defects of the stone and damage, as Kudepasiri or Kadepasiri and commoly taken to be the Prakrit form of Vakradeva who is, again styled *Mahāmeghavāhana* i. e. "descendant of *Mahāmeghavāhana.*" There has been a debate about the interpretation of this inscriptional - architectural evidence. H. C. Raychaudhuri could not decide for certain whether he (Vakradeva) was a predecessor or successor of Khāravela.[78] D. C. Sircar, on the other hand, felt that if the excavation of the upper storey of the cave may be attributed to the reign of Khāravela and to a date later than that of the construction of the lower storey it is not improbable that Vakradeva represented the second generation of the royal family and was the father of Khār· vela.[79] However, one has only to remember that this is a case of rock-architecture (and not structural one) where the excavation proceeds from top to bottom as against from the bottom upwards as in the case of structural buildings. Consequently the position would be just the reverse of what has been proposed by Sircar, viz. Kudepa or Vakradeva was later than Khāravela's chief queen and evidently her royal consort Khāravela also. Thus, Vakradeva was the fourth king of the dynasty and successor of its third king Khāravela. However, it is difficult to be sure of the relationship between the two kings. They may have been related as brothers or father and son.[80] But the two inscriptions have rendered an excellent historical service by showing indisputably that Khāravela was succeeded on the Kaliṅga throne by Vakradeva, irrespective of their mutual relationship.

Another important point that must be stressed is that Vakradeva is styled *Mahāmeghavāhana*, and in the normal course it might have been taken to mean 'son of Mahāmeghavāhana'. But as we have just seen, Vakradeva could not have been son of Mahāmeghavāhana as he had come to power after Khāravela, who was professedly in the third generation of the Kaliṅga kings,

evidently of the same line. But this reference is otherwise of some value as it shows that the family of the Kaliṅga kings to which Khāravela and Vakradeva belonged was started by Mahāmeghavāhana.[81]

Khāravela as well as his successor Vakradeva is styled *Aira*. This expression is also employed in the aforesaid Velpūru inscription for the founder of the Sada family named Mahāsada who, too, was a descendant of Mahāmeghavāhana as we learn from the Guṇṭupalli quadruple-pillar inscription. Some scholars Sanskritise it by *Ārya* and think that he was an Āryan king in the land of the non-Āryan people.[82] But now most scholars believe that the expression *Ārya* has no racial connotation and the once popular Āryan invasion theory has now been abandoned. We have therefore to take it as the Prakrit form of *Ailā* and hold that Khāravela claimed to have descended from the lunar line emanating traditionally from Manu's daughter Ilā or Iḍā. There was nothing to prevent Jaina kings like Khāravela and Vakradeva and their descendant Mahāsada from claiming a lunar origin just because they were Jainas, for the third king Khāravela also believed that he was an 'augmentor of the family of the Ceti (Cedi) kings' (*Ceti - Rāja - vaṁsa - vadhana*) and as 'descending from the line of *rājarṣi* Vasu' (*rājasi - Vasū - kula - viniśrita*), viz. the celebrated Vedic king Vasu Uparicara. Thus, he was steeped in the Vedic - Purāṇic tradition and was not reluctant to own it as thought by some modern historians.

The *vāhana*-ending dynastic (and personal) names were quite popular during the few centuries preceding and following Christ, and the two best-known examples are Mahāmeghavāhana and Sātavāhana.[83] The name Mahāmeghavāhana itself figures in the Ceylonese chronicles *Dīpavaṁsa* and *Mahāvaṁsa* as the name of a locality in connection of Mahendra's mission to Ceylon and in the Kashmir chronicle *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa who also mentions Sātavāhana. The name Meghavāhana or that beginning with *mahat* did not, however, become as popular as Sātavāhana which was remembered by posterity because of the role played by its members due to their rule lasting a few centuries. The meaning of this name is not clear, but it most probaly means 'the great one riding on clouds' and is comparable to the age-old Indian and Chinese concepts of the king's divinity and reminds one of the Kuṣāṇa kings, especially of Wima Kadphises who is often depicted on his gold specie as seated on or emerging from clouds.

The prefixing of the word *mahat*, which is probably the earliest instance of its kind, may be regarded as marking the beginning of the practice which attained such a great popularity a few centuries later in the adjacent regions of Kosala (Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining Western Orissa) and Trikaliṅga region of Orissa where the Śarabhapurīya, Pāṇḍuvaṁśin and Somavaṁśin kings commonly had coronation names beginning with *mahat*.[84]

Lastly, a word about the name Khāravela. Some scholars are inclined to regard it as a Dravidian name consisting of the words *kār* or *kar*, 'black' or 'terrible', and *vel*, meaning 'lance', and the resultant *bahuvrīhī* compound meaning 'one having a black or terrible lance', its Sanskrit equivalent being *kṛṣṇ-ārṣṭi*.[85] But it would be better to take it as the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *kṣāra-vela*, 'with saltish waves' and alluding to his kingdom being situated on the sea-shore.[86] The latter suggestion is in consonance with the facts that the dynastic name Mahāmeghavāhana and the titles of Khāravela are purely of Sanskritic extraction, and there is nothing else of a Dravidian origin. The word *khārā* is still in vogue in many a north Indian language in the sense of 'saltish', and the second component, *vela*, is also reminiscent of the word *velā* meaning 'wave'.

Notes and References

1. This 17-line long epigraph, engraved in a very difficult and inconvenient position in the cave, has been severely mutilated at many a place due to the seepage of water and overgrowth of vegetation and consequently many portions have become completely illegible. However, in view of the great historical and cultural value of its contents right from the time of its discovery by Sterling in 1825 several scholars have spent their energy on deciphering and interpreting this record, and if all the writings on this record were to be collected together they are sure to cover at least a large cupboard. Of the scholars who have worked on this inscription the more prominent ones include Alexander Cunningham, Rajendra Lal Mitra, Bhagvanlal Indraji, John Faithful Fleet, Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, Rakhal Das Banerji, Sten Konow, F. W. Thomas, B. M. Barua and Dinesh Chandra Sircar. Of these the most indefatiguable was, of course, Jayaswal who visited the site of the inscription several times, made repeated efforts to have dependable impressions to be prepared and contributed the most to its decipherment and interpretation often having to indulge in conjectures that later proved erroneous and had to be abandoned by him later, but it is only natural in such a precarious situation and illustrative of his enormous interest and efforts. He gave the final version of his readings, English rendering and interpretations jointly with Banerji in "The Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela" published in *EI*, XX, 1929-30, pp. 71-89. Their differences about the readings and interpretations are also noticed as well as the then uptodate historiography of the inscription at the beginning of their paper. Subsequent to it also several scholars tried to improve upon their readings and interpretations, and D. C. Sircar's version in his *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization* (SI), Vol. I, second edn., University of Calcutta, 1965, pp. 213-221, may be said generally to represent a fairly dependable final attempt with there being always some scope for a difference of opinion as can be noticed in some of the later writings.

   The text used in this paper is that of Sircar even though we don't agree with him in all respects.

Generally the inscription is supposed to have been composed in the Śaurasenī variety of Prakrit (vide K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji in *EI*, XX, 1929-30, p. 73, where it has been conjectured that it was drafted by a Jaina monk from Gujarat or Maharashtra who might have been brought to Kaliṅga by Khāravela, but at the same time it has been pointed out that its dialect evinces certain characteristics of Jaina Śaurasenī). But it does not appear to be the case, and its language is actually Oḍra-Māgadhī as described in Bharata's *Nātya-Śāstra*, VI. 26; XIII 32-42. According to Bharata, it was one of the four regional *vṛttis* of dramatics, the other three being those of Avanti, Dakshiṇa (South India) and Pañcāla, but its characteristics are left unspecified in the text, and it would be worth a while to ascertain them from its specimens. Some other allied records in the Udayagiri-Khandagiri group of caves in Orissa also appear to illustrate the same Prakrit. It is noteworthy, however, that it shares some of the characteristics of Śaurasenī.

2. Some scholars read *Mū* instead of *A* with the result that the name of the town then would be Mūsikanagara.

3. *Dutiye ca vase acitayitā Sātakaṁnim pachima-disaṁ haya - gaja - nara - radha - , bahulaṁ daṁdam pathāpayati/Kanhabemṇā-gatāya ca senāya vitāsiti Asikanagaraṁ/*

<div align="right">*SI*, p. 215, line 4</div>

4. The meaning of the name Tanasuliya can't be ascertained even if it is taken to be the Prakrit form of Sanskrit Tṛṇasūrya as conjectured by Sircar in his Sanskrit rendering.

5. K. K. Thaplyal ("Is there reference to Nanda King in the Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela?", *Viśvambharā : Probings in Orientology : Prof. V. S. Pathak Festschrift*, eds. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Devendra Handa and Chandrashekhar Gupta, Harman Publishing House, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 102-05) reads the name Naṁdarāja as Nadarāja which he takes to be the name of the tank in question, but his arguments fail to carry conviction.

6. The expression *ti-vasa-sata* met with in this context is sometimes taken to mean '103 years' which is unthinkable due to chronological considerations to be elaborated shortly. Moreover, this would go against the common ancient Indian practice of specifying period in terms of centuries. Had the author intended '103 years', he could easily have employed some expression like *ti-adhika-vasa-sataṁ* which would have conveyed the sense better. Thaplyal, as stated above, sees no reference here to the years elapsed from the time of Nandarāja and Sanskritises the expression as *iti varṣa-sapta* and takes it to mean that the canal was opened seven years ago during his crownprincehood. However, *sata* can stand only for *śata* = 100; for *sapta* one must justifiably expect sāta with long ā in the initial *akṣara* (that is, sā). The expression *ogātita* means not only inaugurated in the modern sense but also, and more probably at that, executed.

7. *Paṁcame ca dāni vase Naṁdarāja-ti-vasa-sata-oghātitaṁ Tanasuliya-vātā panāḍiṁ nagaraṁ pavesayati.*

8. *Namdarāja-nītam ca Kālinga-Jinam samnivesa...*

9. *Māgadham ca rājānam Bahasatimitam pāde vamdāpayati.*

10. Gurty Venkat Rao proposed 270 BC for this event. This is the earliest date yet proposed for this event which would thus fall early during the Maurya emperor Aśoka's reign and is just impossible

11. The champions of this view include E. J. Rapson (232 BC or before 200 BC), L. D. Barnett (last quarter of the third century BC), V. A. Smith (240 or 230 BC), V. S. Bakhle (*c.* 220 BC), K. Gopalachari (234 or *c.* 235 BC), A. S. Altekar (*c.* 245 BC for the accession of Simuka who was preceded by King Sātavāhana), V. V. Mirashi and I. K. Sarma (*c.* 230 BC), etc.

12. H. C. Raychaudhuri and D. C. Sircar date it around 30 BC though the former's views about individual reigns of the first few early Sātavāhana monarchs are incongruous with this dating. R. G. Bhandarkar, believing that the period of 112 years assigned by the Purāṇa-writers to the Śungas included also 45 years of the Kānva or Kānvāyana rule, dates this event in 73 BC, while D. R. Bhandarkar, basing on the same notion, places the rise of the Andhras about 75 BC.

    In addition to the above there are some who believe that there were two phases of Sātavāhana rule, viz. the emergence in the third century BC and restoration of the allegedly lost sovereignty under Simuka in the latter half of the first century BC. This view was proposed by Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya on the basis of the word *punar* employed in connection with Simuka in a stanza of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and is followed by M. K. Dhavalikar, though without referring to Chattopadhyaya.

13. The identity of the Sātavāhanas of their epigraphic records with the Andhras or Andhra-jātīyas of the *vamśānucarita* sections of the Purāṇas is firmly established by the sameness of names.

14. Thus the *Matsya* gives 460 years; *Vāyu* 411; and the *Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata* and *Visṇu* have 456 years. A few Matsya manuscripts, however, give 412 years.

15. For R. G. Bhandarkar's and D. R. Bhandarkar's views placing this event in 73 or around 75BC, see *supra* note 12.

16. Chimuka is the name found on his own monetary issues and apparently represents the original and contemporary spelling.

17 Simuka is the form met with in a label inscription at Naneghat (Pune district) inscribed on top of his statue installed in the family's statue-gallery by his younger brother Krṣṇa.

18. Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, ascended the throne in 324 or 322 BC following various traditions, the Mauryas ruled altogether for 137 years to be followed by the Śunga and Kānva or Kānvāyana rule lasting 112 and 45 years respectively. The rule of the last Kānva king Suśarman was brought to an end by the first Andhra-Sātavāhana king Chimuka-Simuka who accordingly must have come to power in 30 or 28 BC. And Chimuka-Simuka's reign lasted

23 years. Supposing that he put down Suśarman towards the close of his reign, in the very last year, the rise of the Andhra-Sātavāhana power can be securely placed around mid-first century BC.

19. Other supposed bases for this theory were the reference to 103 years after Nandarāja following this interpretation of the expression *ti-vasa-sata*, the identity of the Magadhan king Bahasatimita with the Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra who ruled in the first half of the second century BC and the supposed reference to the 165th years of the Muriya-kāla (Maurya-kāla) or Mauryan reckoning in addition to the mention of Sātakarṇi.

20. Bühler was not sure if the Sātavāhanas actually ruled for over four centuries. "Nor is there", observed he, "any guarantee that the dynasty of Simuka-Śipraka ruled during about 450 years, much less that Simuka-Śipraka reigned 350 or 360 years before Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi."

21. For our chronological chart, see our *The Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas : A Historical Framework* (hereinafter *SWKHF*), Dattsons, Nagpur, 1998, p. 131.

22. For a detailed examination of Nevasa stratigraphy and its bearing on Sātavāhana chronology, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "The Epoch of the Sātavāhana Rule: A Re-Appraisal", *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations,* ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Nagpur University, 1972, pp. 103-09; *Early History of the Deccan : Problems and Perspectives* (hereinafter *EHDPP*), Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1987, pp. 3-10; *SWKHF,* pp. 30-33.

23. For a full discussion of this problem in all its aspects, see *ibid.,* pp. 27-48.

24. K. K. Thaplyal has raised this point and observed that the author of the inscription was very particular in citing personal names of rulers whom he did not mention merely by dynastic designations. He has cited the non-mention of the personal name of the Nanda king as one of the arguments to buttress his view denying any reference to Nandarāja. But we have to remember that about three centuries had· elapsed since the time of the Nanda king which was a sufficiently long period for traditions to get confused, if not forgotten altogether. Moreover tradition remembers a king of the dynasty known by the name Nanda. Besides Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, Nirnay Sagar Press, Mumbai, p.10) which contains a clear allusion to king Nanda, Jain tradition is clearly aware of a member of the Nanda dynasty known by this name. The Jain text *Pariśiṣṭa-parvan* (VI. 244) mentions a king named Nanda who did not command respect of people because of his being the son of a barber:

> Tataś=ca kecit sāmantā maden-āndhaṁ bhaviṣṇavaḥ/
> Nandasya na natiṁ cakrur=asau nāpita-sūr=iti//

The ninth Nanda king is spoken of as Naṁdarāya, the same as Naṁdarāja of our inscription, which would further show that it was the last member of the dynasty who had excavated an aqueduct in Kaliṅga. It must also have been he that had carried away the image or a symbolic representation of Jina belonging to Kaliṅga to his own capital in Magadha which was brought back by Khāravela to his own capital. It is worth remembering in ihis context that Khāravela, being

himself an enlightened Jaina, was more likely to follow the traditions handed over by his co-religionists. Then, even later tradition remembered "the five treasures of King Nanda's seven precious substances" mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang.

25. In ancient India expired (*atīta* or *gata*) years were referred to oftener than current (*vidyamāna* or *vartamāna*) ones, and this must also be the case with the years cited in our inscription.

26. Even K. P. Jayaswal, who was a strong champion of taking *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 103 years, wavered between this meaning and 300 years which he had followed earlier. *Vide JBORS*, 1917, p. 432; 1918, pp. 377, 385.

27. See H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, with B. N. Mukherjee's commentary, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996, p. 332.

28. D. C. Sircar in *HCIP*, II: *AIU*, p.214. But in his *SI*, 2nd edn., University of Calcutta, 1965, he Sanskritises Bahasatimita as Brhaspatimitra.

29. The king's name has been read extremely doubtfully as Dimita whom the champions of an early second century BC date for Khāravela identify with the famous Indo-Greek king Demetrius, son and successor of Euthydemus. But now we have an inscriptional evidence for the existence of a Yavanarāja at Mathura during the first century BC-early first century AD, and it must have been some such king that had fled away even before facing Khāravela.

The inscription under reference is dated in the year 116 of the Yavana kingdom (*Yavana-rājyasya*), and B. N. Mukherjee thinks that even the Śaka-Pahlavas could have been called Yavana kings in an extended sense and the line of Rañjuvula could well have been intended ("An Epigraph of the Year 116 of the "Yavana Kingdom", *Saṁgrahālaya-Purātattva Patrikā : Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology*, XLVII-XLVIII, 1991, pp. 9-14). While we are not sure of this interpretation, the inscription can't be dated earlier than end first century BC/early first century AD. And it thus provides a firm datum for placing Khāravela during this period. Conversely it also furnishes an additional evidence for shorter chronology for the Sātavāhanas and correspondingly the same date for their third king Sātakarni. See also P. Thakurail and P. L. Mishra (*ibid.*, XLI-XLII, 1988, pp. 103ff.) and V. N. Srivastava and M. P. Joshi. (*ibid.*, pp. 109ff.) for some other interpretations.

30. As stated above, the first king's name has been spelt variously in the Purāṇas, but we know from coins and inscriptions that the contemporary form known from his own coins was Chimuka and slightly later in the label inscription at Naneghat *chh* is turned into a dental sibilant, viz. *s*.

31. This follows the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* where the name is so spelt. See *BMC, AWK*, introduction, p. lxvi.

32. The *Matsya* gives his name as Mallakarni whom its various manuscripts give a reign lasting ten or eighteen years. The *Brahmāṇḍa* assigns its Śrī-Sātakarni eighteen years.

33. *History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas,*

Maharashtra Board of Literature and Culture, Mumbai, 1981, p. [24]. He, however, attributes the inscription to his mother and Sātakarni's chief queen Nāganikā.

34. There are a few other compelling factors for the shorter chronology for the Andhra-Sātavāhanas. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* composed, according to common consensus, between *c.* 60 and 80 AD (we would like to restrict this period even further), shows awareness of the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Nahapāna, an avowed adversary of the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarni. Nahapāna and Gautamīputra Sātakarni have therefore got to be placed in the first century AD. And the former was the latter's senior contemporary as he had been in occupation of a substantial portion of the Sātavāhana territory which was reoccupied by the latter sometime about his eighteenth year after annihilating him together with his entire family. The same *Periplus* shows awareness of Sātakarni whom it mentions as 'Elder Saraganus' which is a corrupt form of Prakrit Sātakani. Now at Junnar (Pune district, Maharashtra) have been found base metal coins of (Chimuka) Sātavāhana and Sātakarni on the one hand and of Nahapāna and his possible detractor (of his own Kṣaharāta line) Isamahisa on the other. All these coins have an identical obverse but for only the names and regal titles of the issuers and a distinctive reverse bearing their respective devices. This would establish numismatically that there was not much chronological gap between these Andhra-Sātavāhana kings on the one hand and Nahapāna on the other. In fact, Nahapāna, who had a long reign lasting at least forty-six years, was a junior contemporary of this Sātakarni 'and captured the region from one of the weaklings who followed the latter.

35. Some scholars (B. N. Mukherjee in *PHAI*, p.685, commentary) render the relevant phrase (viz. *Acilayitā Sātakarnnim pachima - disam*) as ' without thinking of Sātakarni of the west', which is not borne out by the wording of the text.

36. D. C. Sircar (in *HCIP*, II: *AIU*, p. 213) seems to think that 'there is no indication that Khāravela's army came into conflict with Sātakarni... the Kalinga king's claim seems to indicate that friendly relations existed between the two kings and that the Kalinga army passed to the Rsīka country on the Krṣṇā through Sātakarni's territories without any difficulty. This is also against the general tenor of the wording which seems to indicate Khāravela's contempt (or at least lack of warmth) for Sātakarni which would not have been the case had their mutual relations been friendly. Moreover, if this is conceded, it would provide one of the rarest cases where an army was permitted to pass through another king's territory and is almost unimaginable, if not altogether impossible. Moreover, Sircar, like Mirashi, regards Asika as the Prakrit form of Sanskrit Rsīka which, as would be seen in the sequel, is squarely opposed to early Indian geographical tradition which differentiates between the two.

37. The *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparvan) describes the holy spots as places of pilgrimage (*tīrthas*) along the Godāvarī and to its north including its junction with the Venā (Vainganga) and that of the Varadā (Wardha) with the Venā and finally to the holy forest of Devahrada situated at the source of the river Krṣṇā-Venā. See *JRAS,* 1894, p. 244. On these and certain other grounds Pargiter identifies the river Krṣṇā-Venā of the epics with the present Kanhan flowing north of Nagpur

and Mirashi applies this identification to the Kanhabemna of the Hāthīgumphā inscription. It is referred to as Kanhanā in the Deolī plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (*EI*, V, 1898-99, p. 196) It is quite possible that the name Kanhabemna got shortened to Kanhanā and later Kanhān. But it is better to explain both these names as referring to the combined stream of the present river called Kanhān after its junction with Venā, and it was in this sense that the name was originally probably employed Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the second component of the name viz. bemnā.

38. For a discussion, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "A Unique Coin of Sātakarṇi from Paunī", *JNSI*, XXXV, 1973, p. 112. Earlier V. V. Mirashi ("A new Hoard of Sātavāhana Coins from Tarhālā (Akolā District)", *ibid*., II, 1940, p. 93; *Studies in Indology*, III, Nagpur University, 1962, p. 93) had suggested its equation with only the stream known as Kanhān, a tributary of the Vaingaṅgā, flowing some ten miles from Nagpur. I. K. Sarma ("Regional Distribution, Sequence, Chronology and Historical Significance of the Sātavāhana Coinage", *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*, ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Nagpur University, 1972, p.91) takes it to be a tributary of the Vainganga past the villages of Khapa and Takalghat where a large number of megalithic stone circles were located and excavated.

39. Amarendra Nath, "Toponymy of Asaka and Asika", *Indica*, Mumbai, XXVII, pp. 94ff. Even though the legend on this sealing has been read as *Asaka-janapadasa*, there is in all probability a medial stroke of *i* on *s*, the intended reading being *Asika-janapadasa*.

40. V. V. Mirashi (*ABORI*, XXV, 1944, pp. 167-68) and D. C. Sircar (*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd edn., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1971, p. 31; *SI*, I, p. 198, fn. 3) think that Asikanagara is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit name Ṛṣīkanagara, the capital of the Asika=Ṛṣīka country, which the former equates with the Khandesh region of Maharashtra while the latter locates in the region between the rivers Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī and to the south of Aśmaka. But neither the view regarding Asika and Ṛṣīka being identical nor the two suggested locations appears to be correct. Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* clearly distinguishes them from one another (Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Varāhamihira's India*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 67-68 (Asika) and 90 (Ṛṣīka) and shows the untenability of both these theories. Moreover, as Khāravela's army reached the Asika city in course of its western expedition, it has to be located somewhere in Vidarbha in the proximity of the Kanhabemnā or the flow of the Kanhān after its junction with the Vaingaṅgā and Adam in the Nagpur district has a much better claim to this honour.

Some scholars prefer to read Mūsikanagara instead of Asikanagara and locate it in the coastal region of Andhra Pradesh. But it is not well-supported.

41. Viz. Eastern part of Vidarbha in Maharashtra.

42. This is the view of Dr. Amarendra Nath.

43. But it is also quite likely that the Rathikas are to be located in southern Maharashtra

(Kolhapur region) or in the Veerapuram region of the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh where a large number of coins of some chiefs styled Mahārathi have been found in stratified excavations in pre-Sātavāhana layers. In these regions the Sātavāhana supremacy was established by dislodging these Mahārathis during the period of the later Sātavāhanas. Likewise, as regards the Bhojakas, it is not impossible that they flourished in the region of Goa and adjoining parts of Karnataka where the Bhoja kings are found a few centuries later.

44. See *HCIP*, II: *AIU*, p. 213.

45. These include V. A. Smith, E. J. Rapson, L. D. Barnett, O. Ramachandrayya, etc.

46. Also misled by this connotation several historians including V. S. Bakhle, H. C. Raychaudhuri, A. S. Altekar and V. V. Mirashi held, erroneously of course, that the Sātavāhanas were referred to as Andhra because just prior to the compilation of the dynastic sections of the Purāṇas their rule had become restricted to coastal Andhra. However, there was no phase in the history of the Sātavāhanas when their rule was confined to coastal regions of Andhra Pradesh. On the other hand, we have definite evidence that three generations of the Sātavāhanas continued to hold their own in Vidarbha after other regions had slipped away from their control. For a discussion of the evidence, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, EHDPP, pp. 38-44.

47. For the reference, see R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Classical Accounts of India*, Firma KLM Pvt. Ltd., Calcutta, 1960, p. 366.

48. T. V. Mahalingam, *Inscriptions of the Pallavas*, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, and Agam Prakashan, Delhi, 1988, p. 32, line 9. The name is spelt here as Aṁdhāpata.

49. Vide C. Sivaramamurti, *Amarāvatī Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series, General Series, IV, Madras, 1956, p. 291. The reference is to King Śivamakasada. The name is sometimes treated, erroneously though, as a Prakrit form of Śivaskaṅda Sātakarṇi.

50. See for these coins, E. J. Rapson, *BMC, AWK*, pp. lxxv, lxxviii, 10-12, 28, pls. III, G. P. 2-3, V, G.P. 5; M. Rama Rao, "Two New Sātavāhana Coins", *JNSI*, XV, 1953, pp. 74-75, pl. I.19: Rama Rao reads *Sata* for what is actually *Sada*.

51. *The Guṇtupally Brāhmī Inscription of Khāravela*, Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series, No. 3, Hyderabad, 1968. As seen from the title itself, Subrahmanyam assigned this inscription to Khāravela himself, though quite erroneously as will be seen in the sequel.

52. "Some Epigraphic and Manuscript Records: I. An Alleged Inscription of Khāravela", *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, III, 1969-70, pp. 30-36.

53. The text of the inscription bereft of technicalities runs as follows ;
Mahārājasa Kaliṅga-Māhisak-ādhipatisa Mahāmekhavāhanasa siri-Sadasa lekhakasa Cula-Gomasa maṁḍapo dānam.

54. For this record, see D. C. Sircar, "Two Inscriptions from Guṇṭūr District: 1. Velpūru Inscription of Aira Mā[na] sada", *EI*, XXXII, 1957-58, pp. 82-87. For the reading Mahāsada and some other matters appertaining the inscription and the Sadas, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "The Velpūru Pillar Inscription of Mahāsada", *JESI*, XIX, 1993, pp. 13-18. Vide also A. K. Jha and M. Veerender, "Velpūru Inscription and Mahāsada", *ND*, XV, 1991, pp. 23-30, more especially the drawing of the relevant portion of the text at p. 30. The latter contribution was published later but due to belated publication of the *ND* it appeared in the volume for 1991. Of course, some of the points in the two papers are different.

55. This view of the date differs by some three decades from that expressed by us earlier because then we had just adopted the popular chronology of the Sātavāhanas and not given much thought to it. Our recent study has forced a change in our views.

56. The word used in the Guṇṭupally inscription is *Mahāmakhavāhana* in place of *Mahāmeghavāhana*, employed for Khāravela in his Hāthīgumphā inscription. But this difference is just due to the linguistic reasons. Both the expressions, are, however, meant for Māhāmeghavāhana meaning descendent of Mahāmeghavāhana.

57. *Aira* refers to the Mahāmeghavāhana claim to the family's origin from Ilā and to belong to a lunar line as against the solar one. There is now nothing to substantiate D. C. Sircar's view (*AGIP*, II : *AIU*, p. 212) that this epithet stands for *ārya* which "possibly points to the Āryan origin of the family established in the land of non-Āryans."

58. *Vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, *EHDPP* pp. 258-67; *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins,* I, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, and Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1995, pp. 95ff. The kings of these dynasties more often than not adopted *mahat*-beginning coronation names which are used in the formal portion of their copper-plate charters but elsewhere these are also mentioned without the prefix *mahat*, sometimes even in the same records.

59. The use of this title for king Sada in this inscription is a sure enough proof that its provenance formed part of the Māhisaka country. It is evidently identical with the Mahisamaṇḍala (Sanskrit Mahiṣamaṇḍala) to which, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the third Buddhist council deputed Mahādeva for propagating Buddhism. This is evident from its mention, suggesting location, in between Maharashtra and Vanavasi to which also missionaries were sent. It is therefore wrong to identify this Mahiṣamaṇḍala with either Mysore or Māndhālā or Maheśvara which is purely cojectural and based only on slight phonetic similarity.

It is pertinent to note in the present context that the references to the Mahiṁsaka-raṭṭha or - maṇḍala in early Buddhist Pali texts (for these allusions, see Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, *Buddha-kālīna Bhāratīya Bhūgola* (Hindi), Hindi Sahitya Sammelana, Prayaga, Vikrama Saṁvat 2018, pp. 153, 160, 162, 163, 480 and 490-91) are not of a definitive nature and only serve to indicate that there were also some other regions known by this name. In view of this fact the suggestion of D. C. Sircar ("Indological Notes   14. Kaliṅga-

Māhisak-ādhipati", *JAIH*, VI, 1973-74) locating it in the Cāndā (present Chandrapur) district of Maharashtra can't be regarded as decisive, at least in the context of the inscription under reference

60. For these coins, see M. Kasturi Bai, "Sada   A New Dynasty Discovered at Vaḍḍamānu, Guntūr District, in Coastal Andhra Pradesh", *JNSI*, XLVIII, 1986, pp. 12-23; "Coins from Vaddamanu Excavations", *Numismatics and Archaeology*, eds. P. L. Gupta and A. K. Jha, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri, Nasik, 1987, pp. 102-13; T. V. G. Sastri, M. Kasturi Bai and M. Veerender, *Vaḍḍamānu Excavations* (1981-85), Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad, 1992, pp. 141-213.

It would be better to redesignate the Periods giving predominantly Sātavāhana, Ikṣvāku and Viṣṇukuṇḍin specie as Periods III, IV and V respectively.

61 These variations need not be overstressed to yield a larger number of Sada kings as done by M. Kasturi Bai. Actually, it would have been much more surprising had the Sada kings restricted themselves to the uniform manner of depicting the motifs throughout their reigns.

62. It is not unlikely if these coins also were minted by the Sada kings themselves and more probably by Mahāsada himself and it was later that he thought of giving his name on the coins.

63. This is the general reverse type with several variations within it. For a comparison, see the photographs of coins figured in *Numismatics and Archaeology*, pp. 105-07.

64. Differences of certain features, some of them unidentifiable on these coins have led Kasturi Bai to infer the existence of so many Sada kings. See *ibid.*, p. 108; *JNSI*, XLVIII, 1986, p. 23, for her list of Sada kings. But, as pointed out above, these differences don't of necessity indicate different issuers.

65. For the discussion on the evidence on the Sadas, see besides Kasturi Bai's writings cited above, Ajay Mitra Shastri, "On the Velpūru Pillar Inscription of Mahāsada", *JESI*, XIX, 1993, pp. 13-18 (some of our views; especially concerning chronology, have undergone change); P. R. K. Prasad, "Sada Coins in Coastal Andhra", *SSIC*, III, 1993, pp. 53-63.

66. Viz. Guṇtupallī and Velpūru inscriptions.

67. *HISWK*, p. 131.

68. For Sātavāhana date-chart, see *SWKHF*, p. 131.

69. Lüders List, No. 1279.

70. This dating antedates that given in *JESI*, XIX, 1993, p. 15, by 50-35 years as a result of further work on the problem.

71. There are some clear references in the Hāthīgumphā inscription to Khāravela's southern expeditions in course of which he humbled the Pithuṇḍa king (line 11) and carried away the gems of the Pāṇḍya king (line 13).

72. For details of the remains of this Jaina Stūpa that was so old as to be described

as created by gods (*deva-nirmita*), see V. A. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa and Other Antiquities at Mathurā*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Allahabad, 1901.

73. *Vaḍḍamānu Excavations (1981-85)*, p. 323.

74. I. K. Sarma, for example.

75. V. V. Krishna Sastry. *Three Grants of Pṛuʌ̄vī Śrī Mūla Rāja from Koṇḍaviḍu*. Government of Andhra Pradesh. Hyderabad, 1992, p.7. lines 10-12.

76 *SI*, I. pp. 221-22.

77. *Ibid*., p. 222.

78 *PHAI*, p. 370.

79. *HCIP*, II: *AIU*, pp. 212-13. But *contra SI, I*, p 222, fn. 2, where he says that Vakradeva (or Kūdepa or Kadaṁpha as sometimes read) may have been a successor of Khāravela.

80 Most other scholars hold a similar opinion. See T. N. Ramachandran, "The Mañcapurī Caves", *IHQ*, XXVIII, 1957. pp. 103ff; A Ghosh (ed.), *Jaina Kalā aura Sthāpatya* (Hindi), I, Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha. New Delhi, 1975, pp. 77-79.

There is another inscription in the same cave recording the excavation of a cave by a prince (*kumāra*) whose name has been read as Vaḍukha. It is quite likely that he was closely related to Khāravela and Vakradeva, though at present it is just not possible to ascertain the nature of relationship.

81. This is not explicit from the Hāthīgumphā inscription as it speaks of Khāravela not only as *Mahāmeghavāhana* (*Māhāmeghavāhana*) but also as *Ceti-rāja-vaṁsa-vadhana* in the same breath.

82. *Vide SI*, I, p. 219, Sanskrit rendering; *HCIP*, II: *AIU*, p. 212. For the abstract of the record, see Lüders List, No. 5.

83. Also cf. Jīmūtavāhana.

84. For inscriptions, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins*, II, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, and Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi; for discussion, see *EHDPP*, pp. 266-276.

85. *Vide* Suniti Kumar Chatterji in *Vyāsasaṁgrahamu* (a volume of essays in Telugu and English presented to Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti Pantulu), 1933, pp. 71-74. Cited by D.C. Sircar in *SI*, I, p. 214, fn.

86. This is also the suggestion of Sircar *(ibid)*. But he renders the second component as 'shore' and the name as such as 'having salt on the shore (i.e. the ocean'. Moreover, he has not cited the circumstantial evidence first adduced in these pages.

The name 'Kālavela' in the Ceylonese Buddhist Pali text *Mahāvaṁsa* (W. Geiger's English translation, pp. 66 and 75) is also worth noting in the present context and has apparently to be explained in the same manner.

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A RARE DEPICTION OF NINE YOGĪS IN

THE SOMEŚVARA TEMPLE, ULSOOR

ANILA VERGHESE

A peculiar feature of Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara period sculpture is the prominence given in them to certain iconic themes not highlighted in the earlier phases of southern Indian art. Many of these motifs, which first originated at Vijayanagara, the capital city of the Vijayanagara state from the mid-fourteenth century to AD 1565, were further developed in its successor states, the Nāyaka kingdoms. Among these are the representations of a variety of saints and ascetics. In this paper a preliminary study is made of some of those present in the Someśvara temple at Ulsoor, a suburb of Bangalore city.

Bangalūru (modern Bangalore) was founded in AD 1537 by Keṁpe Gowḍa, a local chief in the service of Vijayanagara *rāyas*. The Gowdas rose in importance after the decline of the Vijayanagara kingdom and by the turn of the seventeenth century were in control of a large portion of south-eastern Karnataka. In the eastern extremity of Bangalore is the locality known as Ulsoor in the middle of which is the Someśvara temple built by the Gowḍas; to the north of Ulsoor is the great tank established by the same chiefs in the seventeenth century.

The Someśvara temple stands within an enclosed rectangular courtyard, with an imposing *gopura* on the east. Within the enclosure is the main shrine to Śiva as Someśvara and to his consort, here known as Kāmākṣaṁbā. The principal shrine consists of an open *maṇḍapa* with ornate pillars, an enclosed pillared hall and the *vimāna*. Many interesting sculptures decorate this temple complex. For example, the exterior walls of the Kāmākṣaṁbā shrine are adorned with detailed narrative reliefs of the myth of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. Of special interest are the many renderings of Śaiva saints and ascetics on the exterior walls of the enclosed *maṇḍapa* of the main shrine (Pls. V, VI).

Among these are twenty-four depictions of ascetics or *ṛṣis*, in a variety of poses, each usually with an enormous top-knot and holding appurtenances such as *kamaṇḍalu*, staff and so on. Of even greater interest are the nine carvings of strange *yogīs,* each seated on a fantastic creature. These obviously form a group, since they are placed one after the other on the south wall of the *maṇḍapa*, along the middle course of the wall surface. Each is separated

from his neighbour by a pilaster or in one case by a *kumbhapañjara* (pilaster standing in a pot with a shrine-like structure on the top). Below these mysterious beings on strange beasts are carved two standing ascetics, namely below the first and the last in the series, or small shrines. From east to west the nine appear in the following order : the *yogī* on a mouse or boar, the sage on a bear, the ascetic astride an antelope, the saint seated on a snake, one on a scorpion, a figure on a fish, an ascetic seated on a lion, one on a *makara*, and lastly the *yogī* on a tortoise.

In the first of these reliefs, the animal mount, which appears to be a large rat or a small boar, is resting on a lotus pedestal. The *yogī* is seated on it in a relaxed manner. One of his legs is crossed and the other knee is raised with the foot resting on the animal. The ascetic's head is on the hands placed on his raised knee. The *yogī* has long flowing locks and elongated ears with large earrings in them (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1

The second in the series is seated in a very comfortable pose on a bear that stands on a pedestal. This *yogī* is bearded. (Fig. 2).
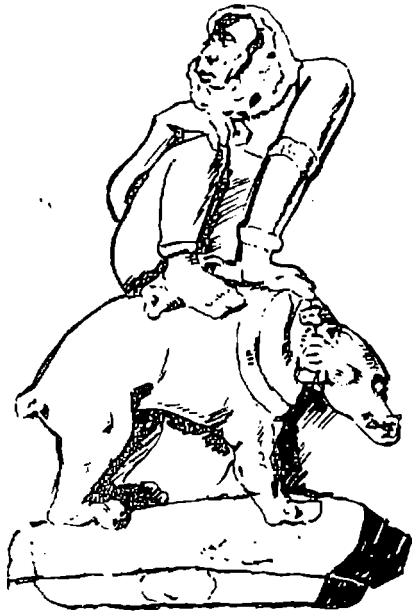
Fig. 2

The third ascetic is seated astride an antelope, which stands on a pedestal. The *yogī* holds a pipe to his mouth with one hand, while with the other he holds the bridle of his mount. His hair is piled in a knot on the top of his head (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3

The next is in a relaxed posture on a coiled cobra with unfurled hood. The ascetic wears a thick necklace from which hangs a fairly large object, probably a *linga* in a casket. A larger *linga* in a case is attached to his left arm. Large earrings, suspended from his elongated ears, rest on his shoulders (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4

The fifth sage appears seated in a relaxed manner on an enormous scorpion. This *yogī* smokes a pipe, which possibly contains some narcotic. The large earrings and the elongated ears are again noticeable. The Śaiva nature of the ascetic is obvious from the *triśūla* resting beside him and the small *linga* worn around the neck (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5

The next sage in the group rests on a large fish. Again, a trident is clearly visible. Perhaps, the *yogi* holds a pipe in one hand (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6

The seventh ascetic is squatting on a striding lion, which has an upraised tail (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7

The eighth in the series sits on a *makara*. He is also seen to be smoking a pipe and he wears large earrings (Fig. 8).
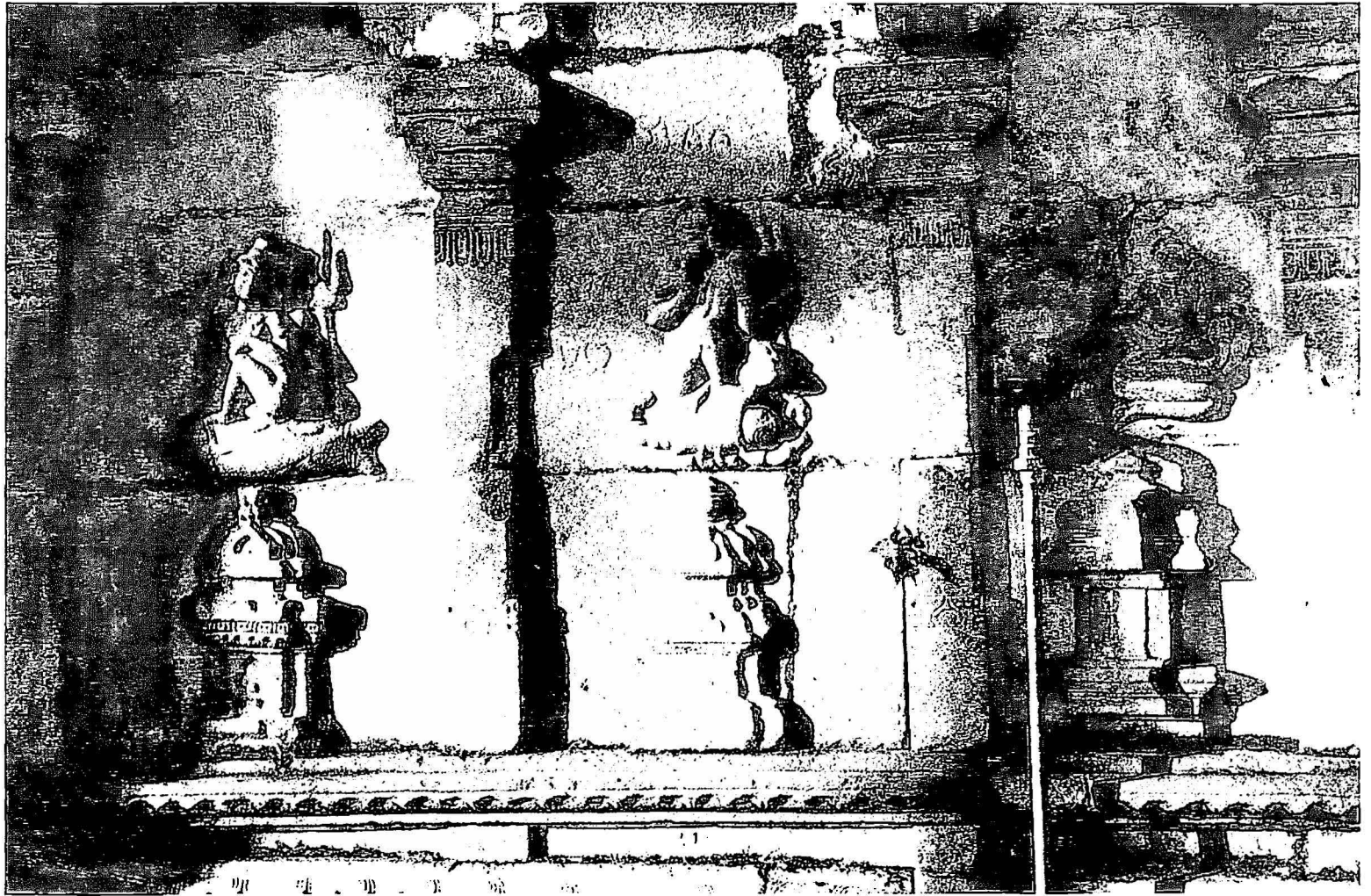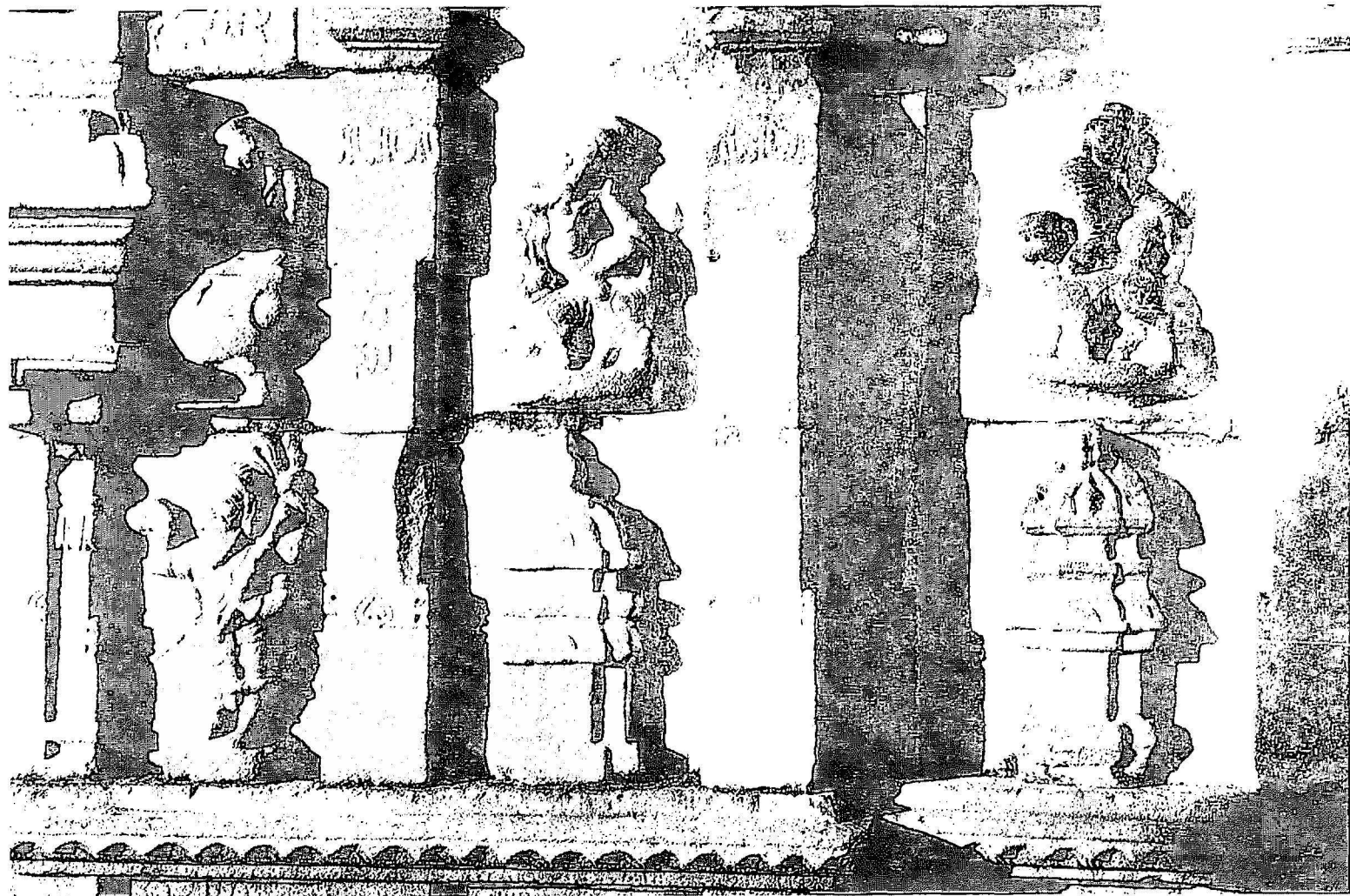
Fig. 8

The last *yogi* is seated in a very comfortable fashion on a tortoise, his head resting against an upraised hand (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9

Depiction of *yogīs*, wall of *maṇḍapa*, Someśvara temple, Ulsoor.

Depiction of *yogīs*, wall of *maṇḍapa*, Someśvara temple, Ulsoor.

The question arises as to who these nine ascetics are. Since they are seated on extraordinary *vāhanas* such as a bear, lion, snake, scorpion, tortoise, the mythical *makara* and so on, one can presume that these reliefs are representations of some semi-deified saints and not of living human beings.

The presence of a few reliefs of a similar nature on the enclosure wall of the Mallikārjuna temple at Srisailam provides strong clues as to their identity. Here there are reliefs of an ascetic seated on a scorpion and of another resting on a fish.[1] Srisailam in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh was an important centre of the Śaivite Navanātha or Siddha tradition.[2] The Telugu work *Navanāthacaritramu* by the poet Gauraṇṇā, completed in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, mentions the names of some members of this cult who preached in Andhra. It is interesting to note that the poet dedicated this work to god Mallikārjuna of Srisailam.[3] The exterior wall of the Mallikārjuna temple with its reliefs is generally believed to be of the early Vijayanagara period.

The followers of the Nātha sect, founded by Matsyendranātha and Gorakhanātha, are known as *nāthas, yogīs* and *kānphaṭas.*[4] The last name is derived from the fact that at the initiation ceremony the ears are split to insert enormous earrings. The followers of the Nātha cult worship nine saints known as the *navanāthas* and the eighty-four *siddhas.*[5] While the *nāthas* are the religious leaders or gurus of the sect, the *siddhas* are famous saints, of exceptional purity of life, who are believed to have attained to a semi-divine existence through the practice of *yoga*[6]. The *Kānphaṭas* are votaries of Śiva and Śakti with a strong bias towards the Śākta tradition. They practised left-hand trantricism. Their religious discipline was that of *Haṭha-yoga* and their objective was to obtain the state of *jīvana-mukti*, or immortality in life, and to acquire various mystic powers or *siddhis* of which there are said to be eight. They also practised alchemy.

The figure seated on a fish among the Srisailam reliefs has been tentatively identified as Matsyendranātha, the *guru* of Gorakhanātha[7] The story of this sage relates that once Śiva was teaching *yoga* to Pārvatī by the sea. The latter fell asleep, but the sage Lokeśvara heard everything while hidden in the water as a fish and from then on he came to be known as Matsyendranātha. The earliest reference to his name is found in *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya*, an eleventh century manuscript.[8]

At Vijayanagara city (present-day Hampi), too, there are numerous sculptural representations of the sage on a fish. In some he is shown with the slit earlobes and large earrings typical of the *kānphaṭas*. At the same site there are also isolated representations of ascetics seated on a scorpion, tortoise and *makara*. These *Yogīs* often have appurtenances as well, such as a bowl, pipe, staff or trident. These have been tentatively identified as *nāthas*[9].

These reliefs at Ulsoor are of interest because they obviously form a group. Unlike at Srisailam and Vijayanagara, where although representations of the man on the fish are common yet those of others on strange creatures are rare, here there is a set of nine sages each on an exotic creature. The completeness of such a group in a Śaiva temple enables one to tentatively presume that these are meant to depict the *navanāthas*.

One wonders why the sages are shown seated on creatures and that, too, generally of the fierce or grotesque type. The relationship of animals and holy men is well known. According to one author, sages are shown seated on various animals and other creatures in order to prove their mastery over wild animals. Such mastery is also part of the mythology of Śiva. There are accounts[10] of *yogīs* who had tigers and leopards as lap-dogs, and it was even believed that *yogīs* in the jungle are surrounded by tigers and even ride on them!

Another explanation that can be proposed is that such types of 'inauspicious' creatures were associated with the sages of the Siddha cult because they came from the lower castes and strata of society. For example, Mīnanātha was a fisherman.

Who were the nine Nāthas? Certain authors[11] list them as follows : Ādinātha, Mīna or Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha, Gaurāṅga or Cauraṅginātha, Megha Nātha, Virūpākṣa Nātha, Siddha Nāgārjuna, Khanika Nātha and Vyāli Siddha. However, Briggs names them differently : Gorakhanātha, Matysendranātha, Carpaṭanātha, Maṅgalanātha, Ghugonātha, Gopinātha, Prāṇanātha, Suratanātha and Cambanātha[12]. The problem is that, except for Matsyendranātha, very little is known about the biographical details of the *navanāthas*.

Do the names of the nine *nāthas* reveal association with the *vāhanas* depicted at Ulsoor? Of course, Matsyendranātha is clearly associated with a fish; Vyālinātha means 'Lord of the snakes', and as observed earlier, one of the sages represented at Ulsoor is seated on a large serpent. The name Gorakṣanātha may mean 'Lord of the cattle', but none of the nine reliefs at Ulsoor depicts a *yogī* on any type of cattle. In the absence of any definitive clues, except in the case of Mīnanātha and possibly of Vyālinātha, one may presume that these sculptures are mostly generic in nature and may not be identified very specifically with individual sages of the group of nine. The presence of such sculptures at Hampi, especially of the *yogī* on the fish, very common in Vijayanagara sculpture, and of a few others on beasts, had already led to the tentative supposition that these beings were *nāthas* of the Siddha sect. The presence of these nine as a group at Ulsoor in a post-Vijayanagara period temple helps to further strengthen this supposition. It is an extremely rare representation of nine such sages all together. No such full group is found either at Srisailam or in Vijayanagara. Hence the

significance of these reliefs, even though from the purely artistic point of view they are not of any special interest. In some of these reliefs at Ulsoor the sage is shown wearing a *liṅga*. This might be due to the superimposition of the Vīraśaiva tradition, very popular in Karnataka, in which the initiated . are meant to wear a personal *liṅga*, on the Nātha tradition which was also prevalent in this state at least from the twelfth century onwards.

The reliefs of these sages, most probably of the nine *nāthas*, is a development in Vijayanagara sculpture that saw a further flowering in Nāyaka art. The Ulsoor group forms an important step in this iconic development.

Notes and References

1. Richard R. Shaw, "Srisailam : Centre of the Siddhas" (*South Asian Studies,* Vol. 13, 1997, pp. 161-178), pp. 165 and 171-172.

2. H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (Eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan* (1294-1724), 2 Vols. (Hyderabad : The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973 and 1974), Vol. I, p. 210.

3. *Ibid*.

4. G. W. Briggs, *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis* (Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass, 1938), p.1.

5. *Ibid.,* p. 136.

6. *Ibid.,* pp. 136-137.

7. R. Shaw, *op.cit.,* p.172.

8. *Ibid*.

9. Anna Dallapiccola and Anila Verghese, *Sculpture at Vijayanagara : Iconography and Style* (New Delhi : Manohar Publications, 1998), p.79.

10. R. Shaw, *op.cit.,* p.171.

11. K. Sarojini Devi, *Religion in Vijayanagara* (New Delhi : Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1990), p.429; and B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, *Religion in Andhra : A Survey of the Religious Developments from early times up to A.D. 1300* (Ph.D. thesis, Dharwar : Karnatak University, 1969), p.390.

12. G.W. Briggs, *op.cit,* p. 136.

REVIEWS

YĀDAVENDRAMAHODAYA OF NĪLAKAṆṬHA WITH THE COMMENTARY OF V.S. RANADE, SIDDHARTH YESHWANT WAKANKAR, Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 2000, pp. 284, Rs.500.

Yādavendramahodaya (*YM*) is an epic (*mahākāvya*) in ten cantos (*sargas*) describing the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa from his birth up to his marriage with Rkminī. It was composed in the middle of the 19th century by Nīlakaṇṭha, a Brāhmaṇa hailing from Karnatak but later domiciled in Maharashtra. A brief commentary (*ṭippaṇaka*) was soon after written on it in Pune by V. S. Ranade, a scholar scribe and collector of MSS. The edition presents the text with the commentary (*ṭippaṇaka*) just below it.

Dr. Siddharth Yeshwant Wakankar (Wakankar) who has been working as Research Officer (now as Dy. Director) at the Oriental Institute, Vadodara, has long experience of reading ancient as well as modern MSS. He discovered that only two MSS of the text, and only one MS of the *Ṭippaṇaka* are available in only two libraries, one, the Mumbai University Library and the other, Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍal in Pune. The edition under review is based on these three MSS.

The work is divided in two parts. Part I : Introduction. It consists of seven chapters and Bibliography. In Ch.I, Wakankar bemoans the sad lot of the very huge mass of unpublished MSS. He finds, however, some comfort - solace - satisfaction that he has been able to bring to light *for the first time* Nīlakaṇṭha's *YM* with V.S. Ranade (Ranade)'s *Ṭippaṇaka* on it. In Ch.II he gives whatever information is available about the author, his near relatives, works and date (pp. 5-11). Ch.III deals with Ranade, the Ṭippaṇakāra, his date and works. Almost all his works are of the nature of *ṭippaṇaka*, or *ṭippaṇī* on poetic works, plays and *Campūs* (pp. 12-15). Ch. IV is devoted to manuscript material in detail and to peculiarities of the scribes and pedigree of the MSS (pp. 16-22). Ch. V deals with the work (*Yādavendramahodaya* "The Great Rise or Appearance of the Lord of the Yādavas") proper giving cantowise summary of the poetic work mainly concentrating on the principal incidents, events and episodes in Kṛṣṇa's life. Ch. VI deals with the origin and development of the life-story of Kṛṣṇa. At the outset Wakankar informs us that volumes after volumes are written on Kṛṣṇa and his different aspects and that it is next to impossible to deal with the different theories advanced by different scholars about his origin and development in his Introduction.

He, however, briefly mentions and rejects the two theories of R.G. Bhandarkar and the late Marathi scholar Iravati Karve in her *Yugānta*. He himself holds the view : It seems probable that Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa were one and the same person and that the deification of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa and his identification as an incarnation of Viṣṇu were complete before the date of Patañjali (150 B.C.) who accepts this fact (i.e., identity). Ch. VII is devoted to a critical appreciation of the *YM*. Wakankar judges it as a *mahākāvya* by applying the salient characteristics of a *mahākāvya* as laid down by Sanskrit *ālaṁkārikas* as also by applying the modern principles or concept of a *mahākāvya*. He then gives a critical appreciation of the author of *YM* as a poet with great emphasis on his style. Finally, towards the end of Part I, he writes about the scholarship of the author, his use of rare and obscure words, a cantowise list of the prominent and popular *alaṁkāras* as well as a list of the metres employed by the poet. He then adds a small but significant paragraph in appreciation of the poet and concludes the chapter with a few words about the scholarship of the Ṭippaṇakāra, and adding Bibliography.

Part II is devoted chiefly to the critically edited text of the poet Nīlakaṇtha along with the *Ṭippaṇi* or *Ṭappaṇī* or *Ṭippaṇaka* composed by V. S. Ranade (pp. 75-236). At the end are added two Indexes, one, giving alphabetical index of verses (pp. 237-269) and the other, alphabetical index of quotations (pp.270-274).

As Thesis Wakankar's work is excellent. His profound knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar and wide experience in dealing with MSS of all sorts is indeed admirable. Most of his research is based on rare, less known and yet important MSS. His work, under review, is a valuable contribution to Sanskrit Kāvya Literature. The readers for whose approval and admiration the poet looked were (and are) essentially men of learning. Wakankar's edition is bound to prove a great asset in understanding and appreciating *YM* to modern advanced Sanskrit students who are especially interested in Kāvya.

Before concluding this review one or two suggestions may be made here. One, Kṛṣṇa's many-sided personality is of perennial interest to all. It would be good if the various theories, advanced by eminent scholars, are discussed and a flood of light is thrown on his personality; two, lists of *alaṁkāras* and metres are relegated towards the end as Appendixes and in appreciation some of the finest verses are translated and their literary or aesthetic beauty unfolded.

V. M. Kulkarni

INFLUENCE OF NYĀYA PHILOSOPHY ON SANSKRIT POETICS, SWETA PRAJAPATI, Paramamitra Prakashan, D-Pocket, 214 Dilshad Garden, Delhi - 110095, 1998, pp. 275, Rs. 400.

Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālamkāra* is, perhaps, the earliest available work on Sanskrit Poetics. Some modern scholars believe that Sanskrit poetry, probably in Bhāmaha's times was disparaged by learned *śāstrīs*. So with a view to enhancing the status of Sanskrit *Kāvya* (Poetry) and bringing Sanskrit *kāvya* or *alamkāra* or *sāhitya-śāstra* on par with the other *śāstras* he added the last two chapters of his work called *Nyāyanirṇaya* and *Śabda-śuddhi* — one on Logic and the other on Grammar.

As there was no Sanskrit commentary on this ancient and difficult text (barring Udbhaṭa s *Vivaraṇa*, now *almost* lost) readers interested in Sanskrit Poetics found it really a hard nut to crack - especially the 5th chapter called *Nyāyanirṇaya* (Logic). The edition of P.V. Naganatha Sastry, with English Translation, Notes and an Introduction, first published in 1927, was of some help. In 1928 Messrs Batuk Nath Sarma and Baladeva Upadhyaya published in the Kashi S. Series the text prefaced with a long, informative Introduction. The modern Sanskrit commentary *Uddyāna* on Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālamkāra*, by D. T. Tatacharya, Professor of Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi, published in 1934, is indeed of great help in understanding the difficult Text of Bhāmaha. The *Kalpalatāviveka*, edited by Shri Murari Lal Nagar and Harishankar Shastri with a very detailed and useful Introduction by Prof. P.R. Vora and published by L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad - 9, 1968 (pp 46-72) elucidates most of the text of Bhāmaha's Chapter V on Logic. Introduction (pp 65-80) of Prof. Vora is also helpful in understanding Bhāmaha Ch.V. The Hindi edition of Shri Devendranath Sharma, published by Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad in 1962 is very useful in understanding Bhāmaha's tough text. A truly critical edition, with lucid Translation and comparative Notes and a critical Introduction, of Bhāmaha's text (with the available MSS and published articles on Bhāmaha and his work) still remains a desideratum.

Before the work begins we have one Foreword by Prof. L. V. Joshi and another by Prof. Radhavallabh Tripathi commending her work, Dr. Sweta Prajapati's own preface, and the Blessings of Prof. R. I. Nanavati, Director, Oriental Institute, Vadodara.

The work proper consists of eight chapters : Ch. I Introduction (pp 1-32), Ch. II Influence of Nyāya on *Śabdavṛttis* (pp.33-58), Ch.III. Influence of Nyāya on Poetic Blemishes (pp.59-92), Ch. IV Influence of Nyāya on Poetic Figures of Speech (pp.93-132), Ch. V Theory Of Anumāna in Sanskrit Poetics (pp.133-166), Ch. VI Nyāya Methodology and Sanskrit Poetics (pp.167-198), Ch. VII Buddhist Logic And Sanskrit Poetics (pp.199-219) and Ch. VIII

Conclusions (pp.220-224).

At the end we have Appendices - i. Quotations from the Nyāya works, ii. References to Nyāya works and authors, Index of Nyāya technical terms, Index of illustrative verses, work-Index, author-Index. We have then a glossary of technical terms and finally Bibliography.

The work of Dr. Sweta Prajapati is almost a complete, comprehensive study of *Influence of Nyāya Philosophy on Sanskrit Poetics*. It reveals her proficiency in the two *śāstras* : *Alamkāraśāstra* and *Nyāyaśāstra*. It attests to her industry as well as insight in the two important *śāstras*. It is indeed a valuable addition to our knowledge of Sanskrit Poetics. The two chapters of her work, Theory of Anumāna in Sanskrit Poetics (Ch. V) and Buddhist Logic and Sanskrit Poetics (Ch. VII) form the kernel - the essential part of her work. She has made good use, of course with due acknowledgement, of the two valuable research articles; one "Bhāmaha and Buddhist Logic" by K. Krishnamoorthy and two, "Influence of Buddhist Logic on Alamkāraśāstra" by Dr. Anantlal Thakur. By making use of the Introduction by Prof. Vora and the Sanskrit commentary, *Kalpalatāviveka* itself she has brought to the notice of scholars, this rather less known but highly important commentary dealing with Sanskrit Poetics. She has added at the end a number of useful Indexes (pp. 225-275).

Bhāmaha's Chapter V is, perhaps the most difficult and yet most important chapter in relation to the subject chosen by Sweta. He declares in the course of the discussion about *Nyāyanirṇaya* :

तत्र लोकाश्रयं काव्यमागमास्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।

.   - V. 33.cd

Poetry is based on our experience of everyday life; Śāstras (like *Nyāya-nirṇaya*) seek truth and nothing but truth. This statement of Bhāmaha is unexceptional. Of all the writers on poetics it is Bhāmaha alone who discusses in detail, in fact, devotes a whole chapter to a discussion of the flaw (*doṣa*) ' *pratijñā-hetu-dṛṣṭānta-hīna*'. He allows poets freedom to describe things like ' *asi-samkāśamākāśam*' (The sky is blue like the blade of) a sword (although in reality ' the sky has no colour. '). In other words he accepts the *Kāvyapratyakṣa*. It may be noted—both *pratyakṣa* (Perception) and *anumāna* (Inference) are equally *pramāṇas* (Instruments of knowledge). Bhāmaha, however, does not accept *kāvyānumāna*. He is dead against it. One can understand his insistence on not allowing freedom to poets in *Śāstragarbha kāvyas* like *Bhaṭṭikāvya* which ' is essentially intended to serve the double plan of describing Rāma's history and of illustrating the rules of grammar. In other types of Kāvya he should have no objection to the poet's using *kāvyānumāna* which delights - charms - *sahṛdayas* - *rasikas*. He allows the use of *kāvya-pratyakṣa* but

not of *kāvyānumāna*. Is this not an illustration of the famous *ardhajaratīya-nyāya*? Readers, keenly interested in Alaṁkāraśāstrā, would have liked to know Sweta's view in this matter.

In the course of reading the present work we come across a few inaccuracies. For instance, p.9 : *ch* (for chief) protagonist, p.9, last line, certain gr. (grammatical?) issues, p.59 : ..."nobody is enjoined by scriptures to write poetry under compassion or coersion..." (The sentence should read something like ['Not being a poet does not bring to oneself sin (*adharma*), disease (*vyādhī*)] or punishment (*daṇḍana*). P. 189..."this argument is opened to (open to?) the fault..."

But such inaccuracies are few and far between. They hardly detract from the merit and excellence of the comprehensive work of Sweta. It is a most valuable and useful addition to our knowledge of the influence of *Nyāyaśāstra* on Sanskrit Poetics. Dr. Sweta Prajapati truly deserves compliments for her very valuable contribution to Sanskrit Sāhitya Śāstra.

V. M. Kulkarni

SAṀDEŚARĀSAKA OF ABDAL RAHAMAN (In Two Parts), Part I : Text And Sanskrit Commentary (pp.116, Price Rs. 65), Part II : Introduction And Translation (pp. 118, Price Rs. 65), Ed. H. C. BHAYANI, Publisher D. D. Malvania, Hon. Secretary, Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad, 1999.

Muni Jinavijaya had edited in 1945 the text of Abdal Rahaman's *Saṁdeśarāsaka* (*SR*) to which Dr. H. C. Bhayani had contributed its Introduction, glossary, etc. In the first part of this revised edition are given a brief Introduction, Apabhraṁśa Text, Sanskrit *Tippaṇaka* (a short commentary), brief notes and a glossary of select words. "The text given here is substantially the same as that in the earlier edition. Bhayani, however, has consulted several more MSS and noteworthy readings from them are recorded. The text is recast and restored omitting orthographic variants and removing grammatical inconsistencies. A version of Laksmīcandra's *Tippaṇaka* that was found in one of the MSS is given."

In the second part in his long introduction he deals thoroughly with the grammar and metres relating to the Apabhraṁśa text (pp. 1 to 56). Then follows translation of the text in English (pp. 57-92) and translation in Gujarati (pp. 93-114). The last two pages (115 and 116) contain a list of reference works.

So far, three Muslim authors are known to have composed their works

in the Indian languages. Abdal Rahaman, the author of *Saṁdeśarāsaka* (*SR*) was a weaver of the Muslim community. He was the son of one Mīrasena 'of the famous Mleccha community in the West.' Chronologically speaking he stands first (he is assigned to the latter half of the 12th century or at the latest, the first half of the 13th century of the Vikrama era.). Of the remaining two Amir Khusro, who died in 1325 AD, stands second and the famous poet Malik Mohammad Jayasi (*c.* 1540 AD) third. Thus the honour of being the first Muslim poet who wrote in the Indian Language (Prakrit-Apabhraṁśa) goes to the poet Abdal Rahaman.

Writers on Apabhraṁśa metres like Virahāṅka, Svayambhū define an Apabhraṁśa literary genre called Rāsaa, Rāsā (Sk. Rāsaka). Their description of this literary genre as employing a variety of choice Apabhraṁśa metres points to a type of *kāvya* corresponding to the Sanskrit Khaṇḍakāvya. The *SR* is perhaps the first published *kāvya* to provide an illustration of the Rāsaka type of works. His easy handling of metres, the use of appropriate figures of speech, the flow of language, the mastery of poetic craftsmanship strongly suggest that though a Muslim, he had received a sound training on traditional lines and that he had an intimate knowledge of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa masterpieces. It is a *khaṇḍakāvya* and at the same time a *dūta-kāvya*. It would be enough to draw the attention of the readers to Abdal Rahman's striking description of the six seasons in the third *prakrama* (stride).

Bhayani deserves a rich tribute for his rare achievement in bringing out this revised edition.

One thing, however, needs to be stated here. The assistant entrusted with the task of reading proofs has certainly done the job well—remarkably well—regarding the text and translation in Gujarati. One, however, cannot help remarking that the reading of proofs in English has been done very carelessly. In support of this statement only one instance is given here below : Part I. p. 13 :

"IV. Authorship and Date - On this topic Reproduce what is said *b* (for by) Muni Jinavijaya in the preface of his edition of *SR* (eleven to sixteen)." Now, instead of reproducing what is said by "Muni Jinavijaya in the preface of his edition of *SR* (eleven to sixteen)" the assistant has simply reproduced the author's instruction itself! and not the matter from Muni Jinavijaya's edition!

Notwithstanding this serious lapse and some other glaring mistakes, the fact remains that this revised edition of *SR* by Dr. Bhayani, is an outstanding contribution to Apabhraṁśa literature.

V. M. Kulkarni

JINĀGAMON KĪ MŪLABHĀṢĀ, (The Original Language of Jain Canonical Texts), Editors : ACHARYA VIJAYASHILCHANDRAMUNI and K. R. CHANDRA, Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad, 1999, pp. 233 (English, Hindi and Gujarati), Rs. 120.

This work deals with the very recent controversy about the original language of the Jain Canonical Texts - whether it was Ardhamāgadhī or Śaurasenī. It opens with excerpts from scholars' messages and their views on the importance and necessity of the seminar. Thirteen scholars actively participated in the seminar. Section I of the work consists of six papers in English, and Section II presents six papers in Hindi and one in Gujarati. The work is prefaced with an introduction in Hindi by Dr. Sagarmal Jain. It very briefly summarises the contents of the papers and adds towards the end his own view on the burning controversy. It is followed by its translation in English by Dr. N. M. Kansara for the benefit of scholars who are not adequately acquainted with Hindi and Gujarati. By way of Appendix, not appropriate though, two papers of Dr. Sagarmal Jain relating to the controversy are added. These papers criticise Dr. Tantia and Prof. Bholashankar Vyas who held the view that Śaurasenī was the original language of the Jain Canonical Texts.

Dr. H. C. Bhayani records "A Few Observations on the History and Development of MIA Languages and Dialects." He rightly observes... "anybody who thinks (or rather 'feels') and claims for whatever reasons that Śaurasenī was the earliest Prakrit displays a brazen ignorance of the history and development of MIA." Of all the papers Prof. M. A. Dhaky's paper is the shortest, no doubt, but its sarcasm is telling. His paper fully supports the above observation of Dr. Bhayani. Dr. S. R. Banerjee presents in his paper some particular problems that confront one in editing the Jain Āgama texts. In his paper Dr. R. P. Poddar discusses at some length what he calls the myth of " *Prakṛtih Saṁskṛtam.*" Dr. K. R. Chandra in his paper extended over 25 pages writes about "Place of Ardhamāgadhī and Śaurasenī languages of the Jain Canonical Works in the Evolution of MIA Languages", and by undertaking a comparative study of *Ācārāṅga* (a Śvetāmbara canonical text) and *Pravacanasāra* (A Digambara work of the "Substitute Canon") comes to the conclusion that the Śaurasenī is posterior to the Ardhamāgadhī and corroborates it with a quotation of A. N. Upadhye.

In the paper "A Glimpse of the Archaic Linguistic Traits Inherited by Āgamic Ardhamāgadhī from Vedic Chandas Speech," Dr. N. M. Kansara shows that many linguistic processes of the Vedic Sanskrit are found as such or partiallly in the Āgamic Ardhamāgadhī too. The present paper and Dr. Poddar's paper "The Myth of 'Prakṛtih Saṁskṛtam'" are, in fact, more related to the bigger problem, whether Sanskrit is the source of Prakrit or vice versa and not so much to The Original Language of the Jain Canonical Texts. Dr. Dinanath

Sharma has contributed a paper : " Old Linguistic Elements in the Ardhamāgadhī Language in Comparison with Śaurasenī."

In the paper "Jain Āgamoṅ Kī Mūlabhāṣā - Ardhamāgadhī yā Śaurasenī " Dr. Sagarmal Jain shows that it is Ardhamāgadhī and not Śaurasenī that is older than Aśoka's Inscriptions.

Prof. Madhusudan Dhaky has contributed a paper entitled : "Purātattva aura Itihāsa ke paripreksya meṅ Śaurasenī kī Prācīnatā." This paper of Prof. Dhaky, marked by bitter sarcasm is already referred to above. Four more papers (Hindi) are :

"Āgamasūtroṅ kī Vartamāna Bhāṣā" by Samaṇi Chinmayaprajṇa; "Śaurasenī Prakrit meṅ prācīna Bhāṣā-tattva" by Dr. Prem Suman Jain; "Khāravela ke Prācīna... kāla ke Śilālekha kī Bhāṣā ke sātha Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit kī Tulanā" by (Ms) Shobhana R. Shah; "Tīrthaṁkaroṅ kī Upadeśa-bhāṣā" by Dr. Jitendra B. Shah.

It deserves notice that there is one, and only one, paper and it is this which argues in favour of the antiquity of Śaurasenī in relation to the Ardha-māgadhī of the Śvetāmbara canonical texts, and that Dr. Sagarmal Jain, in his Hindi Introduction, has made a determined effort to refute, poiht by point, all the major statements of Dr. Prem Suman Jain in favour of the antiquity of Śaurasenī.

There is one more paper (Gujarati) entitled "Maurya Samrāt Aśokanā Abhilekhonī Bhāṣā Sāthe Ardhamāgadhī Prakritnu Sādrśya" by Dr. Bharati Shelat. For want of space it is not possible to comment separately on the remaining papers. But one general remark must be made here that they shed new light on one or the other aspect of the topic chosen by them and certainly add to our knowledge.

It would be only appropriate to conclude this review by quoting the views of a distinguished linguist : "The name of this language is explained as (i) 'having half the nature of Māgadhī which is true to the extent that it preserves, at least in its older phase as far as it can be ascertained, such features of Māgadhī as the change of -r-to-l-and the Nom. Sing in-e, and (ii) 'Current in half the country of Magadha' which may be equally probable from what we know of Mahāvīra's wanderings and the later history of Jainism. Numerous passages of the Canon tell us that Mahāvīra preached, in the Ardha-Māgadhī language which is claimed to be the same as the language of the present canon." - Introduction to Ardha-Māgadhī : A.M. Ghatage.

"Hemacandra calls this Language ārṣa 'belonging to the sages'... and he notes its peculiarities in imitation of the *Chandasi* of Pāṇini."

And, "The classification in time is based on a firmer foundation and is more comprehensive. To the older stage belong the various inscriptions - Pāli, Ardha-Māgadhī and Paiśācī. A later stage is formed by Śauraseni, Māgadhī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, and Jain Śauraseni. A still developed form is seen in Māhārāṣṭrī - *Kahāṇaya Tigam*" : A. M. Ghatage.

V. M. Kulkarni

ARCHAEOLOGY, ART AND RELIGION – NEW PERSPECTIVES ON VIJAYANAGARA, ANILA VERGHESE, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 342, 10 maps, 17 plans of temples, 80 photographs. Rs. 695.

As its title suggests, 'Archaeology, Art and Religion - New perspectives on Vijayanagara' is an eclectic collection of essays describing the architecture, religious beliefs and social traditions in the Vijayanagara empire, based mainly on archaeological sources and the extensive fieldwork done by Dr. Verghese on site. The essays are intended for both the serious scholar and the general reader.

After a brief overview of the historical, religious and archaeological context of Vijayanagara in her introductory essay, the author presents Hampi - Vijayanagara as an archaeological site, reviewing the research done before 1975 and focussing on the excavations, explorations, and conservation work carried on between 1975 and 1995. In Essay 3 she discusses the development and growth of Vijayanagara over a period of 200 years from a small pilgrimage centre to the prosperous capital city of an empire.

Several essays deal with the religious architecture of Vijayanagara. Essay 4 gives an overview of the evolution of temple architecture through a study of dated monuments. The focus is not on the aesthetic aspects of Vijayanagara temples. Rather, the author describes the major temples in some detail and shows how the simplicity of the Deccan style in the 14th century gave way to the more elaborate Tamil style and how, eventually, a distinctive Vijayanagara style, which was more than just a fusion of the Deccan and the Tamil schools, developed in the 16th century. It is the author's thesis that some of the characteristic features of this style, such as the 100-pillared halls for cultural activities and the composite pillar with the prancing *yāli*, were first introduced by Kṛṣṇadevarāya (AD 1509-29), the greatest of the Vijayanagara kings (Essay 12).

The Vijayanagara kings were patrons of both Śaivisim and Vaisṇavism. Essay 5 examines the cult of Virūpākṣa - 'he with misformed eyes' - an

aniconic form of Śiva and the patron-god of Vijayanagara, and traces the growth of the Virūpākṣa temple from a small shrine to an extensive temple complex. By the 16th century, however, Śaivism had lost ground to Vaiṣṇavism, and the veneration of Vaiṣṇava saints had become very widespread. The Ālvār-Ācārya cult and its depiction in the Viṭṭhala temple and in Viṭṭhalpur (which are unique in having separate shrines for the deified saints) is the subject of Essay 9. Further light on the dating of this temple is thrown as the result of close examination of the little known and 'architecturally insignificant' Prāta (old) Viṭṭhala temple (Essay 10).

Devī worship also prevailed in Vijayanagara, albeit on a small scale. Essay 8 describes images of the fertility goddess popularly known as Lajjā Gaurī (Shy or Shameless Woman) in Vijayanagara. The iconography of this goddess makes for fascinating reading: The earliest (1st - 3rd century AD) images from Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh show her as an abstract symbol of fertility - she is a naked, pot-shaped, squatting torso with widespread legs, without a face, arms or breasts. Later on, she is depicted with a lotus in place of a head and later still, some images show her with a face. By the 16th century, in Vijayanagara, she is always shown with a face, her hand sometimes holding a pot or pointing to her pudenda. Interestingly, the vast majority of her images in Vijayanagara date from the 16th century and are found in Vaiṣṇava temples. It would be informative to know what led to the progression of form − from abstract, to symbolic to anthropomorphic − of this figure. Also, the reasons why the Lajjā Gaurī figures in Vijayanagara are found only in the 16th century, when Vaiṣṇavism was in the ascendant, could be a subject for further investigation − since studies show that, already by the 2nd century AD, this once local goddess had been 'brahminized', identified with Gaurī, and incorporated into Śaivism as a consort of Śiva.

Folk deities were also worshipped in Vijayanagara. One of these was Mailāra. The author describes the Mailāra figures she has examined and the epigraphic references to this deity. The connection with Khaṇḍobā of Maharashtra and the process by which this folk god was incorporated into the brahmanical pantheon is also described.

Among the various essays that deal with social practices at Vijayanagara, Essay 6 on *Satī* stones is undoubtedly the most interesting. Dr. Verghese shows how archaeological evidence acts as a very useful corrective to literary sources. She points out that an exhaustive study of the site has revealed a total of only 18 *satī* stones in the core area and a further 25 in the museum. The maximum number of women represented as *satīs*, is four. Even accounting for the many images that may have been destroyed, these figures do not suggest that *satī* was practised on anywhere near the scale described by foreign visitors like Nicolo Conti, who claims that 'the king married as

many as 12,000 wives out of whom 2000 or 3000 were selected...on condition that at his death they would immolate themselves.'

The essays in this volume are not presented in any particular order. Some have a broad canvas; others deal with individual sculptural panels. On the whole, they are likely to be of greater interest to scholars than to the general reader. They are based on meticulous examination of dated monuments, and are supplemented with useful photographs, temple plans and maps which not only detail the location of temples, but also, for instance, of *sati* stones and Mailāra shrines.

For scholars, therefore, the essays provide a great deal of necessary factual data for analysis and often contain fascinating nuggets of information. For example, Essay 15 describes how the author came across a small relief of Kṛṣṇa as Vaṭapatraśāyī - the baby Kṛṣṇa lying on a banyan leaf, afloat on the cosmic ocean - on the plinth of the Viṭṭhala temple. Although this representation of Kṛṣṇa is quite common on small works of ivory, gold etc., it is rarely seen as relief sculpture. In fact, this obscure image could well be 'the earliest representation in temple sculpture in southern India, perhaps in the whole country.'

Tulsi Vatsal

THE COMMENTARY OF VIṢṆUBHAṬṬA ON THE ANARGHA-RĀGHAVA OF MURĀRI (Part I) pp.1-307 with the introduction of 55 pages and the critical edition of the text of the *Anargha-Rāghava of Murāri as read by Viṣṇubhaṭṭa* (Part II) (pp.1-172) with Notes and Appendices (pp.175-322) by HARINARAYANA BHAT - Published by Institut Francais De Pondichery, Ecole, Francaise D'extreme Orient - 1998. Price not stated.

In the first part of this volume under review, the editor Harinarayana Bhat has ably discussed several problems such as the plot of the *Anargha-Rāghava*, the commentaries on it, the commentary *Pañcikā*, its author, date of the composition, writers known to Viṣṇubhaṭṭa and the birth of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa. He has also touched with good efficiency the aspect of dramaturgical theory in the *Pañcikā*, with reference to the Bhūṣaṇas, Sandhyantarās, Sandhyangas, Rasa and Rasābhāsa and the extended use of the term 'Sandhi.' He has further given us the assessment of the commentator, the manuscript material, grouping of the manuscripts, description of the manuscripts and the Manuscript for the present edition.

In the second volume, in addition to the presentation of the critical text of the *Anargha-Rāghava of Murāri,* editor Bhat has also helped the readers by giving several appendices, variations in the order of the verses in the text of the drama *Anargha-Rāghava,* dramaturgical analysis of the drama, the list of works cited in the commentary, extracts from two other commentaries on the *Anargha-Rāghava,* index of the untraced quotations in the *Pañcika,* index of verses in the *Anargha-Rāghava* and the list of sources consulted for this vast project.

One may note here the novel features of this work.

1) The editor has given us on page XLVI of the first volume, a chart of the manuscripts of the commentary *Pañcikā* in different parts of the world such as Trivandrum, Madras, London etc. and their description of the script and also the printed editions of the text.

2) His grouping of the manuscripts of the commentary *Pañcikā* deserves good appreciation.

3) In the extended use of the technical term 'Sandhi', the commentator Viṣṇubhaṭṭa uses the terms Praśna, Dūta, Lekha, Naipathyokti and Ākāśa-Vacana for the five Sandhis. This kind of extended use of the five Sandhis, is indeed, unknown to the writers on Dramaturgy.

4) Viṣṇubhaṭṭa's concept of Rasābhāsa is peculiar. He holds that when one Rasa is overcome by another Rasa, or a Bhāva is dominated by another Bhāva, it becomes a case of Rasābhāsa. But one Bhāva cannot overcome the Rasa. This novel view of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa has escaped the notices of scholars and particularly against the background of the ten types of Rasābhāsa so ably discussed by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy in his *Essays in Sanskrit Criticism* (pages 114-136).

5) As regards the position of the Aṅgas of the Sandhis, the commentator Viṣṇubhaṭṭa holds (Vol.I, p.XXXII) that these aṅgas, should, at least, be placed within the Sandhis for which they are prescribed. This view is the most reasonable one. While other works like *Ratnāpaṇa* and *Rasārṇavasudhākara* take the stand that they may occur in any other sandhi. It should be incidentally noted that the work *Rasārṇavasudhākara* has accepted the Sandhi-niyama for the aṅgas, but not that of Kramaniyama. If, however, the order of the sandhyaṅgas with relation to the particular Sandhi is not accepted, then there may arise the occasion or contingency of imagining the scene from the later acts before the actual happening of the scene in the former acts, as pointed out by the present reviewer in his article 'A Comparative Study of the Sandhyaṅgas in the commentaries on the Śākuntalam' published in the Journal of the University of Bombay,

No.78, Vol. XLII (new series), 1973, pp. 43 to 53 and particularly page 53.

6) The discussion in the first volume of the work shows that the editor has accepted 1380 AD as the earliest date of the composition of the *Pañcikā*. He states that roughly it may be fixed as 1400-1450 AD, particularly on page XXII of the first volume. He has also hinted at the identification between Visnubhatta and Pūrnasarasvatī, the commentator of the drama *Mālatī–Mādhava* and *Meghadūta*. The date of the commentator Pūrnasarasvatī is fixed roughly as latter half of the 14th century and first part of the 15th century AD by K. S. Mahadeva Shastri in his introduction to *Mālatī-Mādhava*, p.xxiv. This may be probable. But it should be significantly pointed out in the present context that in the two commentaries of Pūrnasarasvatī on the above mentioned two works, Grammar does not seem to be the forte or the strong point of his writing as is the case with the writer of the *Pañcikā* on the *Anargha-Rāghava*. This point may go against Dr. N.P. Unni. Hence for this identification, some more consideration is absolutely necessary.

7) The classified list of the works consulted by Bhat under the categories of Vyākaraṇa, Dharma-Śāstra, Nāṭya-Śāstra, Nītiśāstra etc. covering pages 275-281 speaks for the profound scholarship of the editor Bhat and indicates his wider interest in the subject.

Though all these above points are noteworthy, a few observations are also necessary.

1) There should have been a fresh discussion on the date of Murāri, though this topic is discussed elsewhere by others like MM. Dr. V. V. Mirashi in his Bhavabhūti - pp. 375-379, published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-1974.

2) Though this is not the place to identify the untraced quotation, the editor may be helped by touching one or two cases. i) The stanza 'Svalpodakatrno yastu' on page 154 of the IInd Act and endnote No. 154, can be traced in the commentaries on Manu-Smrti. The commentators - Kullūkabhatta and Govindarāja (Vol. IV-Part I) p.57, cite this verse (published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, in the year 1985) ii) Similarly the stanza 'Mantre tirthe' etc. in the Act VII and endnote 292 is found quoted by Dr. M.D. Paradkar in his book 'Sūkti, Subhāsita Āni Suvicāra' p.88 from the Dharma-Viveka by Halāyudha, though this book is not easily available now.

In conclusion, any reader of the work of Bhat is bound to be impressed by his model of scholarship, honesty of purpose, critical approach to the subject, his painstaking nature, systematic arrangement of the discussion

of the topics and the clear-cut presentation of the matter. In fact, nothing remains to be expected from him now so far as this work is concerned. We take this opportunity to congratulate Dr. Harinarayana Bhat for his excellent edition of the *Pañcikā* on the *Anargha-Rāghava* and hope to see with good expectations the similar excellent editions of the works or the Kāvyas, with the old commentaries, (in which he is well trained) in near future.

S. G. Moghe

TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING HINDU MYTHS, SADASHIV A. DANGE, Published by Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1996, pp. ix-lxiv + 497, Rs. 900.

For more than 40 years Dr. Sadashiv Ambadas Dange, has forged a large body of knowledge through his writings in the field of Indology. His contributions ranged from expositions on Indian philosophy, to elaboration on Vedic ritual practices and interpretations of Vedic hymns to investigations into Hindu mythology. *Towards Understanding Hindu Myths* is yet another significant contribution to the field of comparative mythology that suggests some fresh insights on Hindu myths.

The book takes its shape from various lectures that Dange delivered between 1984-1985 at Central Institute of Languages, Mysore, and later to students of Comparative Mythology at the Department of Sanskrit, University of Mumbai, between 1990 to 1996 on "The Methodology for the Understanding of Myths". Though Dange has been writing regularly on the various nuances of Hindu myths, in this work he addresses the problems posed by myths and looks closely at a number of theoretical approaches to the study of mythology.

The book is divided into two parts; of which the first part is essentially didactic, offering an in-depth view of the various theoretical schools that have emerged from the early 19th century onwards, attempting to decipher the meaning of myths. The second part of the book is analytical, wherein the author presents his own analysis of some of the Hindu myths taken from Sanskrit texts.

In the opening chapter, Dange traces the history of the term 'mythology' in Greek as well as in Vedic civilization and tries to differentiate a myth from other traditional tales. In doing so he points out the complexities of mythic narratives that address a whole range of questions embedded within the social, moral, geographical, and the metaphysical aspects of a civilization.

In the second chapter, "Form and Meaning", Dange points out that myths that are similar in form need not always concede to a similarity of meaning. He illustrates it with the example from *Ṛgveda* (I.71.5;X.61.5-7) the myth of Father and Daughter and the Sumerian-Babylonian myth of Enki and Ninhursag.

In the chapter "Nature, Ritual, Charter", the author critically examines theories propounded by Max Müller and other scholars and plots the efficacy of the ritual myth theory of Sir James Frazer in the context of the Vedic sacrifices. He also elucidates the term 'charter' proposed by Malinowski to explain the existence of tales that are tailor-made for a custom or a ritual. And while explaining the shortcomings of the structuralist approach to myth in the chapter "Structural Approach and Meaning", Dange admits that "structural analysis is a good tool but remains only a *tool*" (p.164).

The chapter on "History, Typology and Proto-philosophy" elaborates on Freud's thesis of psycho-analysis and its relation to dream and myth. In this chapter, he further maps Carl Jung's idea of collective consciousness and 'archetype' in relation to myths. He also takes strong objection to the historical approach of Peter Munz and debates on the inherent weakness of this theory.

The second part of the book leads to Dange's own interpretations of Hindu myths. Altogether thirteen myths ranging from Vedic to Puranic texts have been chosen by the author for this purpose. Dange's key argument is that Vedic myths cannot be studied in isolation since these myths functioned within the framework of ritual practices pertinent to that period (p.x). Thus in many cases the meaning of these myths is provided by taking recourse to deciphering the encoded symbolic and metaphoric content, a stance which he clarifies by elucidating the myth of "Wolves that Devoured the Ascetics" (Ch.6) and "Bones of Dadhīci" found in Purāṇas (Ch.7).

Dange also upholds that many of the Hindu myths can be understood directly from the key motifs present in the myth. For instance, in Chapter 15 while discussing "Ancestors and the Canyon (*gartā*)", Dange explains the motif of *gartā* or canyon as a symbolic representation of womb. Thus the canyon (=womb), in Dange's opinion has to be understood as a 're-generation' chamber, a metaphoric site of regeneration and ascension to the next level of existence as conceived by Vedic cosmology. He further supports this line of argument on the basis of Vājapeya sacrifice.

However in "The Myth of Dhundhu" (Ch.10) Dange proposes that the myth reflects a certain "historic incident" (p.306) and probably indicates the region between the Rann of Kacch covered by the sandy deserts of western India metaphorically represented as Dhundhu, a demonic being. Similarly

in the myth of "Triśaṅku's Ascent to Heaven" (Ch.16), Dange sees an ideological conflict between the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya clans and a tenacious attempt to retain hegemony through the control of ritual practices. Myth of "Purūravas - A Probe in Personality" (Ch.12) is discussed separately from "Urvaśī - the weaver of the Life-web" (Ch.11). According to Dange, the myth of Purūravas reflects certain socio-religious patterns.

Dange writes, "The clash of Brāhmaṇas with Purūravas has to be taken as an example of this new socio-religious change" (p.332). The myth, according to him also mediates some of the ritual practices that could have been probably introduced by Purūravas. However Dange ascertains, Purūravas-Urvaśī myth qualifies within the ritual practices where the bringing of ritual fire to the earth is explained in the metaphoric terms.

The concluding two chapters are dedicated to the mythology of Mother-Goddesses. In "Reṇukā and Yellammā" (Ch.17) Dange argues that similar mythic concepts can develop independently from two distinct cultural streams. The myths in question are that of Reṇukā found in *Mahābhārata* (Vana Ch.116) and myth of Yellammā prevalent among the south Indian states.

In the last chapter "The Goddess and the Buffalo-Demon" Dange proposes that this myth may have originated in the non-Vedic traditions and later incorporated into the Hindu traditions. Revealed through its prime concern which is fertility, and the killing of Mahiṣa representing the eradication of the pseudo husband who is the "alter ego of Śiva" (p.431).

Dange's own approach towards understanding myths can be called eclectic in the sense he does not adhere to one single methodolgoy. Essentially this could be seen as an instance of the 'tool-box' approach which is being frequently put to use by modern day analysts. The reader is expected to have a rudimentary understanding of the various 'tools' to fully comprehend the methodology used. Dange's lucid style of writing turns the otherwise complex subject of mythology accessible and eminently readable. Embellished with wide range of tales from Indian traditions and also from other ancient cultures makes the work a very informative source book. A detailed index adds to the book's value. Finally, *Towards Understanding Hindu Myths* is a comprehensive study in the field of Hindu mythology, which every student and scholar of comparative mythology will find immensely helpful.

Vidya Kamat

*NEGOTIATION AND SOCIAL SPACE - A GENDERED ANALYSIS OF
CHANGING KIN AND SECURITY NETWORKS IN SOUTH ASIA AND
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA,* Editors - CARLA RISSEEUW and KAMALA
GANESH, Sage Publications; New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London, 1998,
pp. 354. Price not stated.

The volume with papers containing rich material and an excellent introduction
by the editors brings refreshingly meaningful insights to understand the gendered
analysis of changing kin and security networks in South Asia and Sub-Saharan
Africa. The present volume and an earlier volume (Rajni Palriwala and Carla
Risseeuw, editors, *Shifting Circles of Support - Contextualising Kinship and
Gender in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa,* Sage publications, 1996) came
out of a conference on changing gender and kinship relations under the
influence of macro economic-political change.

The papers in the present volume, through a combination of macro and
micro perspectives present a comparative and gendered analysis of shifts
within marriage, family, kin and social networks of people who live in societies
undergoing changes in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. The contemporary
social shifts, taking place within a process of global restructuring are unique
in terms of speed, scale and their impact on gender differentials. They are
opening new social spaces and economic opportunities, contributing to the
creation of previously undefined life—phased like puberty or old-age—and new
social categories like economically independent single women/mothers,
neglected children and elders. The volume catches some of such important
changes and unravels that for the individuals targeted within development
planning the daily (re) negotiation of their marriage, family and kin relations
is of great importance for their social survival and the manner in which they
give meaning to their lives.

The volume unfolds an understanding of changing kin relations as related
to changing degrees of social (in) security and social exclusion by analysing
both the subtle erosion as well as strengthening of people's positions within
the kin and family networks. It presents a critique of hegemonic qualities
of the concept 'family'; its supposedly unchanging character and its assumed
harmonious nature. It views the family as a primary social arena where
relationships are constantly (re) negotiated and which, while providing support
and security, also contains exploitation and violence. The articles in the volume
also raise questions on the concept of 'agency' as women and men appear
to be coping with changes and also initiating some; and on the impact of
education, legislation, employment, agricultural reforms and policies on the
family and kinship.

Two well-written and comprehensive overviews of changing gender and

kinship relations in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia by Els Baerends ("Changing kinship, family and gender relations in Sub-Saharan Africa") and Leela Dube ("Trends in kinship and gender relations in South Asia") respectively survey the literature, identify the major contemporary trends and pose specific research questions and issues. Baerend's overview shows us that colonial intervention and the growth of the capitalist economy have changed the internal balance of kinship drastically; the economic and social position of women has deteriorated and the kinship network as a pressure group has become weak. Dube's overview highlights that in spite of diversities in kinship systems like the matrilineal base in south-east and north-east India and bilateral ethos in Sri Lanka, patriliny-derived institutions remain the cultural ideal. Some macro level changes have affected women adversely. It is aptly noted by the author that the emergence of right-wing political Hinduism provides the ideological context in which women are treated as symbols of the community's honour and identity.

Kamala Ganesh in her contribution "Gender and kinship studies : Indian material and context" ably examines the way in which gender and kinship relations and changes in them are conceptualised in various academic and public discourses. She further convincingly argues from a women's studies perspective that patrilineal kinship in India urgently needs disaggregation to apprehend the intermeshing of diverse stratificatory principles within the locus of kinship institution.

Saskia M.A.A. Brand in her study on 'Civil law vs. The Mandé conception of gendered personhood : the case of Bamako, Bali' shows the fundamental difference between the Mandé notions of the person and social relations and the notions underlying the civil code. The study shows that the superimposition of the latter on the former tends to have a negative impact on gender.

Two papers in the volume deal with the theme of education. Karuna Chanana in her contribution "Family strategies, gender ideology and education : the impact of partition on Punjabi women of New Delhi" demonstrates the changes in the structure and dynamics of families as a result of education, employment and external changes in society. Kathinka Kerkhoff in her study on "Production and reproduction of girlhood in high schools: the state, family and schooling in colonial Calcutta" contests the view that the Bengali girls were mere 'clay' shaped by elders in school, family and other fields of society.

The section on women traders contains two papers. Philip J. Havik in "Female entrepreneurship in a changing environment : Gender, kinship and trade in the Guinea Bissau region" illustrates that relations based on gender, kinship and age are essential for analysis of entrepreneurship which goes beyond the application of the market based models. The crisis in the cocoa economy of Cameroon since the mid-1980s and its impact on women's

lives is the subject of Joyce B. Endeley's contribution "Structural adjustments and the Cameroonian Women's life-line: 1986 to 1995". As compared with Havik, Endeley gives less room to the possibility of actively pursued negotiatory strategies of women and is less optimistic than Havik, in this respect seeing the change as a one-way 'adjustment' by women for sheer survival.

There are two presentations pertaining to labour and the job market. Santi Rozario in "Disjunctions and continuities : Dowry and the position of single women in Bangladesh" shows that the new employment opportunities for women have not brought any real change in the funadamental gender ideology, which continues to define women in terms of marriage and motherhood and which justifies their subordinated status. Michele Ruth Gamburd in "Absent women and their extended families : Sri Lanka's migrant housemaids" points out that while women using previously devalued skills are able to outspace their husbands in monetary worth and social exposure, this paradoxically also leads to a situation where their control over their own domestic space seems to shrink.

There are two case studies related to negotiations between kith and kin. Karin Willemse with Nawal H. Osmas and Catrien Bijleveld in "One from heart : between family and friends in Al-Halla, West Sudan" focuses on the safety and support networks established by women-teachers and women-traders. José C.M. Van Santen in "Islamisation and changes in social arrangements among the Mafa of North Cameroon" looks at the traditional kinship-based security and support networks among the Mafa and finds that conversion to Islam provides a better deal in terms of increased security for women.

The volume with skilfully interwoven papers of diverse themes from different regions and well-articulated introduction, sensitively written by the editors, will be useful for sociologists, social anthropologists and scholars from kinship and family studies, gender studies and development studies. It has value for policy-makers also, as it draws our attention to the fact that the analysis of kin and family should be incorporated explicitly within policy and not be marginally dealt with on the basis of vague and idealised notions of their unchanging and harmonious character.

Usha Thakkar

THE SAṄGĪTOPANIṢAT-SĀRODDHĀRAḤ, Edited and Translated by ALLYN MILLER, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi. 1998, pp. lxi+263; Rs. 400.

The *Saṅgītopaniṣat-sāroddhāraḥ* (SUS) is authored by Vācanācārya Śrī Sudhākalaśa, a Jaina monk of the Śvetāmbara sect, in the 14th century AD, and is an abridged version of a slightly earlier work, by the same author, called *Saṅgītopaniṣad*.

In South India also the Jainas have been authors and patrons of fine arts. In fact, it is thought that a Jaina work called *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* was the archetype for all later Tamil literature, including Kampan's *Rāmāyaṇam*. It is surmised that enormous collection of literature was destroyed by Śaivite zealots around the 7th century AD. Posterity has lost a treasure-house of rich literary material.

The editor of the book under review covers the political history of Gujarat in the centuries immediately anterior to the SUS. The political ambience and a certain amount of religious tolerance was conducive to attract a large number of Jaina merchants to this area. They prospered under the Solaṅkīs and later under the Vāghelās. The Khiljis under Ala'ud Din conquered Gujarat, but the Jaina merchants, who were also patrons of art made peace with the invaders, and lived in amity with the Muslims. They were given protection to build their temples for which donations came from the Khilji coffers. The Tughlaq rulers left Gujarat in comparative peace, and art forms flowered again.

The SUS is written a hundred years after the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*. Between *Bṛhaddeśī* and the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* many centuries had elapsed. The General Editor in her Note states that with regional styles coming to the fore, this period may have seen the slow evolvement of differences in the styles of the North and South. But the editor of the book feels that the split between the styles of the two regions may have come with the concept of *rāgas* and *rāginīs* (p. liv). Both systems treat *rāga* as the very soul of music. *Prayoga* or *Gamakālapti* is thought to enhance the emotional content of the composition.

Each *rāga* has a distinct personality or form in both traditions, and a good musician should be capable of bringing it out in full. Each note sung properly is thought as a fit offering to God, as an ornament. The Bhakti movement invigorated music and made it one of the ritual offerings to God, and thus becoming a part of *sādhanā*. Of all arts, music is thought to raise us quickly to lofty planes, and help us achieve inner peace. Indeed the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, while advocating worship of *Praṇava*, says worship of music (*Sāman*) is good. Smṛti (*Yājñyavalkya*), Purāṇas (*Liṅga* and others), and Tantra (*Vijñāna*) all praise the part played by music in spiritual progress. SUS, treating the body as *piṇḍa*, states that Śiva and Śakti make up the primary sound (*nāda*)

formed with the five primary elements. *Om* is produced from *nāda*.

Music is given the name *Nāda Yoga* because practising it properly gives rise to a state of bliss arising from regulated breath and total concentration.

Gīta is a song or melody, and music or *saṅgīta* consisted of *gīta*, *vādya* and *nṛtta*. Music was also *deśī* - local or regional. This is a system "encompassing a variety of contemporary medieval performance practices" (p. xxxvii). *Deśī* was further divided into *nibaddha* (bound by rules), and *anibaddha* (non-bound). The latter is the *ālāpa* (*ālapti* in the music treatises) of present day music both of north and south. *Mārga* was a system based on unchangeable principles. *Prabandhas* were lengthy and complex compositions. With the Bhakti movement particularly in the South, the *Caturdaṇḍī* of *Gīta*, *Prabandha*, *Ṭhāya*, and *Ālāpa* gave place to *Pada*, *Kīrtana* and *Kṛti*. In the northern tradition, *Prabandhas* gave way to new song forms called *rūpakas* in the SUS (p. xli). This was according to the editor due to two things : vernacular replacing Sanskrit in songs, and the impact of foreign influence. Drumming patterns also changed. The new *tāla* systems incorporated foreign drums and is an acknowledgement of Muslim art culture, the editor feels. This changed the accompanying drums to the present day *tabla* of the musical concerts. The *paṭṭāuja* drum developed into the *pakhāvaj*, which was the accompaniment to *Dhrupad* music.

Sālasagūḍa, a least prominent of the *Prabandha* form in the earlier tradition, found prominence, particularly as *dhruva* in the SUS, and by the 16th century had emerged, it is surmised, as the *dhrupad* form in the court of Rājā Mān Singh Taṃvar of Gwalior.

The editor explains various musical terms like *gaṇa*, *svara*, *grāma*, *mūrcchanā*, *tāna* and *śruti* (pp.xlix-1), with a view to highlight subtle changes in their meanings in the SUS. A new *rāga* and *bhāṣā* system found to emerge in the SUS, is seen to be prevalent only in Western India, during the 14th-15th centuries. Linguistically the *grāma rāgas* have masculine endings, while *bhāṣā rāgas* have feminine endings, and *deśī rāgas* have mixed endings. The SUS describes *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* with clear visualization of Tantric deities, for the first time in musical treatises.

Mārga (or *Gāndharva*) are songs on Śiva, and are fixed in their form. Tradition has it that Brahmā composed them. Singing these songs called *Aparānta*, *Ullopya*, *Mādraka* etc., is said to confer great spiritual blessings on the singer. SUS does not mention *mārga* at all. The editor surmises that either the tradition of *mārga* was not in vogue by the time of SUS, or that the author lacked a clear understanding of the difference between *mārga* and *deśī*. On the two chapters devoted to dance, the author speaks only of 102 *karaṇas*, whereas in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* they are 108.

SUS is unique in preserving the inter-relationship between music and the visual arts. It is seen that simultaneously it records well-established musical practices, but struggles to coin new terminologies in the changing scenario under Muslim influence.

The editor of SUS has done a painstaking job of authentic translation of the text. Her Introduction is indeed "informative, comprehensive and critical", as the General Editor's Note says. This is an invaluable book for musicians as well as for musicologists.

Indira S. Aiyar

A STUDY OF THE TAITTIRĪYA UPANIṢAD, MEENA P. PATHAK, Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1999, pp. xvii+219, 6 Diagrams; Rs. 400.

The book under review is the publication of the author's doctoral thesis. There have been translations of the great *Ācāryas'* commentaries of the Upaniṣads in all languages. The Upaniṣads have universal appeal because of the sublime truth they expound, and they have been subject to critically appreciative studies by scholars from all over the world.

This Upaniṣad belongs to the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. It is the 7th, 8th, and the 9th chapters of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* which itself is a section of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*. In the *Śukla Yajurveda*, the *Yajus*, i.e., the sacrificial prayers in verse form, and the *brāhmaṇas*, i.e., the exegetic or illustrative prose portions are presented separately and in a logical sequence, whereas in the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* they are mixed. Otherwise in content they are the same. In the *gṛhyakarmas* there is a compartmentalisation of the Vedic *śākhās*. But in so far as the *yajñas* are concerned, all *śākhās* speak as with one voice, without any difference or distinction.

It is thought that the word Upaniṣad may mean "secret", or "secret instructions". This would seem to be an appropriate meaning as seen in the Upaniṣads themselves wherever this word occurs. It was also the prerogative of the teacher to choose pupils who had moral restraint and noble desires. A recent study compares the word Upaniṣad to *niṣad* (*Ṛgveda* X.53.2) meaning "intimate praise", and to *upasad* (*Ibid.* II.6.1), - as seating the mystic thought into an exposition; not as sitting near the teacher. Śaṁkara gives different interpretations to the word by signifying three meanings to the root √ *sad*: loosening the bonds of ignorance of the seeker, leading him towards knowledge, and destroying his ignorance.

The Upaniṣads are thought to be composed in the first millenium BC. The earlier Upaniṣads, of which the *Taittirīya* is one, would belong to the period ⁓ 1000-600 BC. Duessen divides the Vedic literature into three compartments; the Brāhmaṇas as meant for the householder, the Āraṇyakas for the elderly, retiring into solitude, and the Upaniṣads for the renouncer. It is thought that those who perform Vedic rituals are not fit to hear the Upaniṣads taught, and those whose mind is drawn towards the Upaniṣadic teaching have no need to perform the rituals enjoined in the Vedas. The major Upaniṣads are said to be 10, and there are 98 minor Upaniṣads. Though designated as minor, because the great *Ācāryas* have not commented on them, some are quite sublime in their thought content, and are considered important. The oldest Upaniṣads are in prose, The language is pithy, and seems to possess a mysterious power. One can even say that the language is similar in style to the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas. Later, they are in verse form. Still later, that is in the last period they are prose form again, and somewhat closer to classical Sanskrit.

The change from Brāhamaṇas to Āraṇyakas reveals the process of thought activity replacing external worship by sacrifices. It may be said further that the speculatory thoughts of the Āraṇyakas paved the way for the Upaniṣads, which were philosophic in content. and the culmination of brilliant intellectual reflections.

The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (*TU*) consists of three parts   *Sikṣāvallī* of 12 sections, *Brahmānandavallī* of 9 sections, and *Bhṛguvallī* of 10 sections. These three chapters do not lend themselves to a cohesive whole. The first chapter particularly is distinct in thought from the other two. This has been explained away that it contains a preparatory course similar to all Vedic studies. In the last chapter Varuṇa instructs his son Bhṛgu to concentrate and meditate on the Ultimate Reality to acquire true knowledge. The latter penetrates the five sheaths enveloping the *ātman* by meditation, and finally realises that *Brahman* is Bliss.

In the second chapter, the unique concept of sheaths is mentioned for the first time. The self is enveloped in five sheaths, each successively subtler than the previous. As relating to the physical body of man, it is *Annamaya ātman*. Behind this is the *Prāṇamaya ātman*. This envelops the *ātman* in a sheath of will - *Manomaya*. Further inwards is the *Vijñānamaya ātman*, consisting of consciousness. Then finally, inside even this is the self of pure bliss, *Ānandamaya ātman*. It is stated in II. vii, "That which is known as the self-creator is verily the source of bliss; for one becomes happy by coming in contact with this bliss. Who could live or breathe if bliss was not in this space (space denoting *ākāśa*, in the heart). For whenever an aspirant gets established fearlessly in this Invisible, Self-surpassing, Inexpressible, Supportless *Brahman*, he reaches a state of fearlessness. But whoever finds even a slight

difference between himself and this *ātman*, he is smitten by fear." Thus when a man finds his peace, his fearless support in the One (as described above), he finds ineffable joy.

The author states that the purpose of setting out the theory of the *Kośas* is only to make use of our discrimination. Piercing each *Kośa* successively, one should reach *Brahman* posited innermost, and identifying oneself with it, one is enabled to lose all sense of duality. Bliss is the result of the enquiry taught here. The inferiority of *jīva* and the superiority of *Īśvara* is lost in the homogeneous identity of *jīva* and *Brahman*. This can only be explained by negation, *'neti', 'neti'*, since any description of it by positive content is limited by conceptual thought. By resolving the effect into its cause of the preceding *Kośa*, the Ultimate Cause is realized. This leads to the unity of the self with *Brahman*. This theory is considered a very important doctrine and essential for the theoretical as well as the practical study of *Vedānta*. In fact the students of *Vedānta* should make themselves thoroughly familiar with this concept before proceeding further in their studies, it is advised.

In the *Ṛgveda*, *ātman* meant on the one hand the ultimate essence of the world, and on the other hand the vital breath in man. This idea is developed in the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas, and reaches its culmination in the Upaniṣads as the *ātman* doctrine.

The root $\sqrt{brh}$ of *Brahman* has variously been explained by different commentators. *Brahma* denoted prayer first, and *'brahman'*, the entity to whom the prayer was addressed. The author further explains that it later meant 'bursting forth', 'expanding' - suggesting prayer. Ultimately it came to denote the source of the Universe from which it had 'burst forth'. Similarly, *ātman* means the eater—derived from the root $\sqrt{ad}$, to eat. In the *TU* it is said that the conditioned *ātman*, i.e., the *jīva* is none other than *Brahman*. The *TU* names *Brahman* as the transcendental Reality, and the *ātman* as the transactional Reality.

The definition of *Brahman* "Truth, Knowledge, and Infinite" is unique to this Upaniṣad. A second definition is : "that from which all things starting with Brahmā, and ending with a clump of grass, are born; by which they live/grow, and enter, and with which they become fully identified at the time of their dissolution" (III.i). This means, that with which the beings do not lose their identity at the time of creation, existence and dissolution. The third definition is of *Brahman* as Supreme Bliss.

In the Upaniṣads *ṛta* is dissociated from sacrifices and given the meaning of Supreme Power. The search for this Supreme Power, *Brahman*, is set out in identifying it with external objects, till gradually it was realized as the inner self of man. Taking this up, the author explains *ṛta* as the orderly

process that sets the Universe in motion. *Satya*, she explains as conscious existence. Both are under the control of *Brahman*, and both give rise to the gross Universe.

The author has analysed the *TU* in great detail from all aspects, including Psychology, Theories of Creation, etc. She has listed 61 commentaries on the *TU* with as many details about their authors as she could cull from the manuscripts. She also lists 10 more commentaries, whose authors are not known. In the Chapter (VIII) on Literary Appreciation, she illustrates the poetic beauty of the *TU* with various *alaṅkāras* used by the seer, to prove her point that the *TU* contains a harmonious blend of sublime philosophy, and poetic excellence.

Chapter X is truly a unique and commendable effort by the author. It contains a chart which lists out the quotations from this Upaniṣad, used by the five well-known *Ācāryas*, and the following chapter explains the interpretations of these quotations according to each *Ācārya*.

All in all this book will serve as a good reference text for scholars on this Upanisad. It is a comprehensive study of the *TU*.

Indira S. Aiyar

A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE TAMILS, P. RAMANATHAN, The Tirunelveli South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society Ltd., T.T.K. Salai, Chennai - 600 018, 1998, pp.132; Rs. 50.

The word 'History' may mean either the record of events, or, the events themselves. History reflects the ethos of the age which it covers, as the author perceives it. Thus it gets coloured by the author's bias, to whatever extent. Western historians on India presented their view of our past to suit their needs. Indians need not be absolved of this failing. Personal prejudices, or affiliation to a particular political ideology does creep into the historian's record and to a certain extent vitiates the prerequisite of objectivity of the recounter, from the times of the recitation of the lineage lists by the *sūtas* and *māgadhas*.

There is a further complication while recording the early history of India. Opinions are divided as regards the original inhabitants of India, and by whom they were displaced, or forced to retreat. There are well-supported arguments for the opinion that the Dravidians came into India from Sumer and Mesopotamia, and there are equally convincing arguments that they spread North and East

from India which was their original habitat.

The civilization of the Indus Valley region has also been disputed hotly. R. S. Sharma in his book *Looking for the Aryans* (Cameo in History and Culture - 1, Orient Longman, 1995) has conclusively proved the Aryan inroads into India and that they were not indigenous Harappan inhabitants. There are other scholars (Shendge, et al.) who are firm in their view that the Indus Valley was populated by Aryans and there have been attempts to decipher the Indus Valley script on the lines of the Sanskrit alphabets.

In the *National Geographic* magazine (June, 2000) in the article on the Indus Valley ("Indus Clues to an Ancient Civilization", p. 126) Mike Edward says there is no "Rosetta Stone" for the Indus Culture, and therefore the script cannot be deciphered. In the book under review the author says (p.9) that one Indrapala discovered a bi-script metal seal with the Tamil word "Tivu Ko" in Indus Valley script as also in southern Brahmi script. He further cites cave inscriptions on the Villupuram - Tiruvannamalai road, as well as a 10 foot long name board from excavations in Dholavira in Gujarat.

But, Gregory Possehl is pessimistic about the three dozen attempts to crack the Indus script (*National Geographic, op.cit*). As long as the script is not deciphered, satisfactorily acceptable to all scholars in the field, historians will continue to contend such issues, and each successive scholar will add some novel arguments either for or against.

There is literary evidence of the ancient Tamil period that the sea submerged land south of Kanyakumari. This is supported by geological facts that at the end of the last Ice Age the sea submerged vast tracts of land in the South. The history of India should start from the South, the author feels, basing his theory on the view that the Dravidians were the original inhabitants of India.

The author dates the Sangam era from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD. He rightly devotes a chapter (V), on Sangam literature, and provides a few translations of poems of this period. The sentiments contained in them are usually on valour (*viram*) or *dharma* (*aram*). The literature is truly astonishing in the sensitive way it treats situations and emotions. A.K. Ramanujan quoted by the Author (p.61) rightly says, "The Tamils in all their 2000 years of literary effort wrote nothing better". The world famous *Tirukkural* Kampan's *Rāmāyaṇam*, and the *Bhakti* poems of the Ālvārs and Nāyanmārs were the other great literature of the period upto the 8th century AD. In the Sangam literature land was divided into four areas, each having a god, and each serving as a background, highlighting a particular Nāyaka-Nāyikā bhāva. These poems reflect according to the author, humanism, altruism, and optimism which are the fundamental traits of ancient Tamil culture. (pp 65/66). The virtues

were not followed for the sake of good merit, but for the benefit of society. Women were not seen much in public life, but there were poetesses. Music was so well-developed, and was part of everyday life, that in literary comparisons tones and notes were used as metaphors.

The Tamil country encompassed all the areas south of the Tiruvenkata hills. The Pandians were the oldest dynasty of rulers, and according to the author even in the history of the world, conveniently ignoring histories of China and Egypt. With equal enthusiasm he tries to prove that Tamil indeed is the mother of all world languages, including the Indo-European. Dravida, he avers is a misnomer, and a corruption of the word Tamil. The Buddha and Mahāvīra are seen to belong to ancient Tamil royal families of Magadha. He also puts up a question whether the ancestors of the kings of the Saṅgam period may not have ruled the Indus Valley.

The period from the 3rd to 6th centuries AD is termed the Dark Period by historians. Kalabhras (Sanskrit) or Kalappirār (Tamil) were the rulers in this period. There are a few mentions of these rulers in the Saṅgam literature. They are said to have confiscated *Brahmadeya* lands, and favoured Buddhism and Jainism. With the resurgence of Hinduism, a systematic erasure of all inscriptional and literary mentions of these rulers must have taken place, which resulted in the paucity of information, the author feels.

He covers the history of the area from the Pandya-Pallava rule, right upto the British rule, and the recent past of Tamil Nadu. He delineates the vicissitudes Tamil literature suffered, and its recent resurgence from the late 19th century. He bemoans the fact that the Archaeological Department ignores rich historical sites like Adichanallur, where they have touched only the fringe.

There is no doubt about the contribution of Tamil Nadu towards the growth of India's culture and religion. The South has given great Hindu philosophers, and is considered the motherland of the *Bhakti* movement. But it should also be kept in mind that Tamil has also enriched itself from the influences in these fields from the rest of the country. In this book the author raises some interesting points which should interest further study by scholars.

Indira S. Aiyar

VEDIC SACRIFICES - EARLY NATURE (Two Vols.), SADASHIV A. DANGE, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 528. Rs. 1250 (for two volumes).

As the title indicates, the author has tried to trace the history of the Vedic Sacrifice to its earliest form and has also discussed its gradual development. He has discussed the topics of the Vedīs (altars), Agni-ādhāna (establishment of three fires), Agnihotra (the daily morning and evening offerings to fires), Darśapūrṇamāsa iṣṭi (the fortnightly sacrifices), the cāturmāsya (four monthly sacrifices). He has also elaborately examined the Agniṣṭoma (the norm of further Soma-sacrifices), dividing it into the sections of Dīkṣā (initiation in the Soma-sacrifice), the Paśus (victims to be offered in the Agniṣṭoma), the Prāyaṇīyā and the Udayanīyā iṣṭis (i.e. the initial and the concluding iṣṭis), the sheds constructed over the altars (like the Havirdhāna and Sadas etc.), the pressing of the Soma-stalks, the drawing of Soma-grahas and their offerings, the Yūpa (the sacrificial post) etc. The author has further dealt also with the Vājapeya, Rājasuya, Aśvamedha, and Agnicayana (piling of the five-altar).

The work is appended with the topics discussing the classification and evolution of Vedic deities, their infuences on the Puranic gods; the audumbarī in Puranic myths, and the drawings of some altars. The index to the important technical terms along with their meaning and short explanations is also added at the end, which proves very useful and enhances the utility of the volumes.

For examining the details of the Vedic sacrifices the author has meticulously scrutinised the vast Vedic literature, viz, the *Rgveda* and the *Yajurveda* along with their Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta sūtras of all the schools. It is rightly observed by the author that the rituals recorded in the Śrauta-sūtras show mixture of various schools, and that there were variations in the rituals in the Brahmanic periods also.

Since the *Rgveda* is historically older than the rest of the Vedic literature, it is quite logical to investigate into the prior state of the later developed sacrifice, in the earlier text of the *Rgveda*.

Traditionally all the Vedas are intimately related to sacrifice, as *Lagadha*, the writer of the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* states - "Vedāḥ hi yajñārtham abhipravṛttāḥ." Even then the tradition has assigned a limited scope for the *Rgveda* in sacrificial procedure, which is restricted to the discharging the office of Hotṛ priest only. Sāyaṇa has already recorded this fact when he states, " bhittisthānīyo yajurvedaḥ citrasthānīyau itarau ", in the preface of his commentary to the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. Thus even according to the tradition, since the *Rgveda* is the text for being utilised only by the Hotṛ priest and the priests of his group, one cannot expect the elaborate detailed nature of the sacrifice as prescribed in the Brahmanic and Yajurvedic texts. At the same time, since the *Rgveda* is connected

with the sacrificial institution, and the duties of the Hotṛ priests are connected with those of the Adhvaryu of the *Yajurveda,* it is quite natural that the stray references indicating the Yajurvedic sacrifice are found also in the *Ṛgveda.* The author is quite in tune with the tradition when he observes that - "the steady growth of the ritual was known to the *Ṛgveda,* but its types as mentioned in the *Yajurveda* are not mentioned," and that "ritual indications are strewn at many places, but some of them are not exactly clear about their context."

The author also observes that the *Ṛgveda* has almost the same paraphernalia as of the later Yajurvedic rituals, but many of its actual rituals are not carried further, nor is there any clarity about the nature of those rituals. Still even there are faint notes of later rituals. Probably these observations find support even from Sāyaṇa, remarking in his commentary on the *Ṛgveda* - "atra laiṅgiko viniyogaḥ." Some references to ritual references do not totally tally with the later ritual details. Tradition has also thus faced this difficulty.

Besides tracing the later ritual practices to the Ṛgvedic context, the author has very ably and successfully explained the variations in rituals found in different traditions and has thereby tried to fix their earlier and posterior status. Thus *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*ŚBr*) does not willingly approve the offering of the thirteenth cup, in the Ṛtugraha offering, but only follows the earlier tradition, for according to *śbr,* the Soma-stalks were said to have been purchased in the thirteenth month (p.235). Secondly, the author has very rightly understood the 'Saṁsarpa' as another name of 'aṁhaspati', the thirteenth intercalary lunar month, despite the opinion of some traditional commentators that 'saṁsarpa' is the name of 'kṣaya māsa.'

While dealing the chapter of Agnicayana, (p. 429) the author sticks to the history and remarks, on the basis of *ŚBr.,* that the rite of the Agnicayana was unfolded by Śāṇḍilya and not by Yājñavalkya. Consequently he points out that this rite did not form the integral part of Yājñavalkya school and was added to its sacrificial teachings at a later period. Further the author remarks that Śāṇḍilya elaborated the rite though not invented it. Such findings are really very important from the point of history of Vedic rituals. This observation of the author may also suggest that rituals of the Śukla-Yajurveda, leaving some additions and variations, owe their origin to the earlier structure of the rituals as presented by the Kṛṣṇa schools of the Yajurveda.

In the Aśvamedha section, the author has clearly shown the development of this rite from the only two hymns of the *Ṛgveda* (I.162,163) to the elaborate rite as reflected in the *ŚBr.*

The problem of Seven Paridhis (enclosing sticks) of the *Ṛgveda* (X. 90.15), as against three in the later rites of *Yajurveda,* remains unsolved. However the problem of twenty one kindling sticks (triḥ sapta samidhaḥ kṛtāḥ) can be solved with the help of Śrauta Sūtras. They are fifteen sāmidhenī sticks,

three paridhis, two āghāva samidhs and one anūyāja samidh, and cannot be said to be conceptual (cf. Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra I.5.6 - 'ekaviṁsatidārum idhmam karoti').

The author has thus extensively and very minutely studied the Vedic texts from the point of Vedic rituals, has traced their origin and explained variations. The volumes are very important, nay indispensable, for the students and scholars of the history of the Vedic literature. Some earlier writers had restricted their efforts to the limited literature or had confined themselves to only one of the Vedic rituals. But Dr. Dange has extensively surveyed the entire Vedic literature and has examined all the important basic Vedic rituals. The society of the scholars of Vedic rituals is therefore under deep obligations to him. Unfortunately Dr. S. A. Dange is not amongst us. We pay our sincere homage to him.

T. N. Dharmadhikari

HOME, FAMILY AND KINSHIP IN MAHARASHTRA, Edited by IRINA GLUSHKOVA and RAJENDRA VORA, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 231 + 7. Price not stated.

Home is a universal institution whose manifestations differ from culture to culture. A home is more than shelter from the elements, it is a status symbol, a sign of belonging to a community. In fact it is a miniature of the large societal framework which it reflects. The Sixth International Conference on Maharashtra : Culture and Society was held in 1995 to examine the concept of the home in Maharashtra. The contributions belonging to the disciplines of literature, linguistics, religion and architecture were put together in a volume entitled House and Home in Maharashtra. *Home, Family and Kinship in Maharashtra,* a companion volume, includes articles in the fields of history, sociology and politics makes interesting reading.

The book is divided into three thematic sections. The first section "Demarcating the Boundaries of Home" looks into the different definitions of *ghar,* as home and house are both referred to in Marathi. Jim Masselos's "The Outside Inside : Incursions into the Marathi Household at the end of the nineteenth century" examines the worst ever plague epidemic to strike Maharashtra and its effect on the home. The British binary concept of private and public space went against the Indian social notion of space which was constructed in concentric circles : the domestic, the familial, limited civil society and the public realm being seamless transitions which were strictly observed. The plague entered the home and with it the invasive alien government in

its efforts to control the epidemic.

"Delimiting the Ghar in Socio-Cultural Space" by Irina A. Efremova attempts to understand perceptions about home with the help of a survey of students and faculty members conducted in different parts of Maharashtra. The study aims at comprehending how people define their home in a socio-cultural space. Different definitions of home come up. However everybody concurs that it is more than just a cement and brick structure but a space where joys and sorrows are shared. The third article in this section is based on case-studies of three women conducted in a typical Maharastrian village, Sugao. In "A House of your own : The value of Ghar for village women in Maharashtra", Hemalata Dandekar deduces that the house is more than access to shelter for a lifetime for rural women. The neighbourhood provides a wide network of support systems. "Ghar daar" is closely linked to women's development and well-being.

The second section in this volume "Problematics of Family in Historical Perspective" consists of five articles. Family dynamics make a house into a home and at the very heart of the family is the woman. Eleanor Zelliot in her article "Women in the home of saints" looks into the lives of the wives of the fourteenth century saints of Maharashtra. The little known mothers, sisters and wives of these realized souls like Namdev and Cokhamela are studied through their unknown poetic compositions. While the men renounced the material to attain the spiritual these women seem to have found the ultimate truth while still shackled in their daily chores. "Bajirao and Mastani : a family tragedy in eighteenth century Maharashtra" by Eugenia Vanina juxtaposes the two homes, the legal and the illegal one of the Peshwa Bajirao. The Maharashtrian home of those times being a social and ritual unit maintained a strict code of purity, the transgressions of one member of the family costs the entire family dearly. Mahesh Elkunchwar's celebrated play "Wada Chirebandi" is the subject of the next article. Vidyut Bhagwat deconstructs the play to demonstrate how little space is offered to women members in a patriarchal Brahmin Malgujar family set-up. Véronique Bénéï's "Changing House and Social Representations : the case of dowry in Pune District" is a survey of rural and urban families in Pune who are hapless victims of horrifying dowry practices. Songs today are being used as an effective tool of social change. Traditional songs sung at ceremonies and festivals are being used to voice anger against injustice and desire to improve the lot of women in a radical way and Georg Amshoff in his article "From Songs in the House to Songs of Social Change" studies these songs of social change.

"Kinship and Political Representation in Maharashtra" is the third and final section of this volume which deals with the political aspect of home and family. Studies on the politics of the state of Maharashtra, especially

rural Maharashtra reveal the dominance of the Maratha caste but the unit of dominance is kinship. A. R. Kulkarni examines the Jedhe family history which traces its roots back to the seventeenth century, during the reign of Shivaji, in the article "The Jedhe Gharane" (House of the Jedhes). Its achievements are remembered from generation to generation and the family comes to be known as a gharane. This clan continues to play a pivotal role in politics even today. "Marathas : the role of kinship relations in the social and political life of Maharashtra" by Marina Yu. Lomova-Oppokova takes a closer look at the kinship ties which underlie the political life of Maharashtra. It is suggested that the importance of kinship relations and the fictitious kinship ties with other castes that the Marathas claim that gives them the commanding role in the state. The relationship between landownership, lineages and political offices in four villages of the Latur district is the subject of Rajendra Vora's article "Dominant Lineages and Political Power in Maharashtra." He argues that in any given village, one or two lineages of the numerically largest caste own most of the land and also control most of the political offices in the village. The Untouchable Movement was seen by the larger Nationalists as a separatist movement attempting to curry favour with the colonial power. Eugenia Yurlova reopens the Gandhi-Ambedkar debate in her article "Untouchables and the Nationalist Movement in Maharashtra: A search for the united house."

All the articles are thoroughly researched and the findings presented both lucidly and simply. The inter-disciplinary approach followed further enriches this collection.

Vidya Vencatesan

V. N. TARKUNDE, 90–A RESTLESS CRUSADER FOR HUMAN FREEDOMS, Ed. M. A. RANE, Published by Indian Radical Humanist Association, Mumbai Branch, 2000, pp. 226 + 21 b&w photographs. Rs. 200.

This collection of tributes paid to V. M. Tarkunde by his friends, colleagues and eminent persons with whom he interacted, and the collection of his articles brings out a unique and outstanding personality. V. M. Tarkunde is one of the very few persons who has devoted his whole working life to the pursuit and support of equality, justice, integrity in personal and public life. The tributes paid bring out various ways in which Tarkunde worked for the values mentioned above.

Coming from an agricultural background he always bent towards the welfare and development of the peasants and villages in India. At every stage of his life his committment to humanism comes through. Returning from England after being admitted to the Bar, he began his legal practice in Pune and also joined the Congress Socialist Party. He devoted half the month to work amongst the peasants and was very soon elected a member of the AICC. At the same time in the mid-thirties Tarkunde was introduced to the philosophy of M. N. Roy. The rational and humanistic principles of Roy came closer to Tarkunde's beliefs, and in 1939 he joined Roy's group. From then onwards he devoted his life to humanistic principles and causes, actively taking part in various movements against human liberty. From Pune Tarkunde shifted to Bombay and started practising in the Bombay High Court and in 1957 he was elevated to the bench of the Bombay High Court. Even during his judgeship he was always committed to human freedom and kept a vigilant eye against violence of fundamental rights, particularly concerning women, minors and the weaker section of society. In 1969 he retired and moved to Delhi to practise there. At the same time, he began his real activist career in support of human rights and freedom. He organised the Indian Radical Humanist Association and began the Radical Humanist journal, which is still regularly brought out through the hard work and devotion of M. A. Rane, a devoted follower of Radical Humanism and Tarkunde. During this time the greatest challenge to Tarkunde and all lovers of freedom was the declaration of Emergency by Indira Gandhi. Tarkunde and his followers along with others devoted to human liberty, launched various movements against emergency. At this stage Tarkunde joined hands with Jai Prakash Narayan and formed the People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) and Democratic Rights (DR). This organisation started by them and their friends is still very active and through its intervention many cases of injustice and tyranny against individuals have been stalled through the use of PIL (Public Interest Litigation). All these facts have come out very clearly in the tributes paid to Tarkunde by his admirers, such as V. B. Karnik, Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, Rajani Kothari, Asghar Ali Engineer, K. F. Rustomji amongst many others, and through the very well written short biography by M. A. Rane. Tarkunde's own articles bring out clearly the principles and practice of Radical Humanism, and the need to uphold rights and freedom of ordinary citizens. He has also brought out the dangers of the 'New Economic Policy', warning the government not to forget the effects of this on the poor section of our society and to take care that enough safeguards are provided against this.

A small post script "Tarkunde on Tarkunde" gives his personal philosophy very clearly and inspite of so many ups and downs that he and the country have suffered, he is optimistic enough to say "there is darkness at the top but light at the bottom, I look to that light. I am optimistic. We have a bright future, if we see that power is decentralised."

M. A. Rane has edited this 'festschrift' with a great deal of care and love. He has brought out, through the collection, the basic principles of Radical Humanism and Tarkunde's involvement in it, and also brought out the genuine devotion and committment of Tarkunde to the cause of the people.

Mani Kamerkar

GOOD TIMES BAD TIMES SAD TIMES, The Collected Writings of M. A. Rane, Pub. by M. A. Rane 75th Birthday Felicitation Committee, pp. 505. Rs. 300.

Advocate M. A. Rane's name has become synonymous with civil liberty, civil rights and public interest litigation. Those who have watched him battle in court to protect human rights, with crusading zeal and indefatigability, have always held him in awe for his strong courage of conviction and capacity to give into the cause without any returns.

Born in a peasant family in Karwar, he was among the ten toppers in the Bombay Matriculation examination and braving many hardships completed graduation and followed it up with a law degree. He began his legal practice as assistant to eminent jurists, V. M. Tarkunde and K. S. Daundkar, who not only shaped his career but his thinking as well. He came under the influence of M. N. Roy and was drawn to his radical humanist philosophy. Mr. Rane's transformation was complete and he became an ardent disciple of Mr. Roy. he became a founding member of the Indian Radical Humanist Association and is presently the President of its Bombay Branch. His heart even today goes out to the poor and the downtrodden and he has contributed his share to mitigating their pressing needs - by taking up cudgels on their behalf and purely as labour of love. Crusader Rane's 75th birthday was celebrated by his friends and admirers recently and they have brought out a commemorative volume containing a selection of his writings, which is what 'Good Times Bad Times Sad Times' is all about.

Considering that M. A. Rane has written 400 and odd articles in various newspapers, periodicals and his favourite Radical Humanist, the editorial board must have indeed found the job of selection of articles for this volume very difficult. The book deals with articles on varied subjects concerned with law and the legal system.

There is a short autobiographical essay giving an insight into Rane's family background and the strong family influences. He writes endearingly about his near and dear ones and alongside takes the reader on a tour

of his pastoral Karwar and ends this piece on a note of contentment and satisfaction taking in philosophically the vicissitudes as they presented themselves.

The 'Good Times' were those when Judiciary was truly independent, judges were honest and their moral standards very high. Here he presents a wide canvas of legal luminaries who gave landmark judgements without fear or favour and admires them for they were simply incorruptible. He is pained to see in the later years falling moral standards in the judiciary and purity of the administration. Several malpractices that few judges indulged in disturbed him immensely and he has mentioned in detail a case wherein a judge of the Bombay High Court was censured by the Bombay Bar Association. This indeed he has termed as Crisis of Judiciary and devoted an entire chapter to. Proliferation of Judicial Tribunals, according to Mr. Rane has led to erosion of the judicial powers.

Mr. Rane has captured vividly the developments that led to supersession of three judges .and appointment of Justice A. N. Ray as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1973. He is sorry that "many citizens did not realise the future danger indicated by this act of suppression, and appointment of committeed judges."

This human rights crusader proved not only equal to the challenges but proved his mettle during the dark days of Emergency. He takes us down the memory lane by narrating the role played by individuals like Jayaprakash Narayan, Justice V. M. Tarkunde, Nani Palkhivala, Justice M. C. Chagla, Dr. V. V. John, S. M. Joshi and organisations like Citizens for Democracy, Radical Humanist, PUCL, etc. One relives those dark days through that memorable article.

An important chapter is on a subject which has become an issue for national debate and discussion. Mr. Rane takes a fresh look at our Constitution, discusses various aspects in the context of opinions put forward by a number of articles covering fundamental human right to work, TADA, human rights in India and the role of the citizens in creating a humane and just society to play its rightful role in the global society.

There is an entire section on corrupion that has eaten into the body politic and the need for transparency in all public action and in those persons who are active in public life. This section makes some interesting references to the appointment of Lokayukta, nexus between politicians and industrial houses, offer of kickbacks for services rendered to the political parties and involvement of smugglers, drug traffickers and criminals in politics among others. The evil root lies in the election process and the funds that are required to fight one. He does not stop here. He has a message for the citizens -

the role they need to play in elections. Continuing in the same tone, he identifies a manifesto - A People's Manifesto.

Hindu revivalism is disturbing and the Ayodhya event, a painful episode for him. He pleads for tolerance and is sad that the "vision of a casteless society has turned out to be a mirage," and he doubts as to "whether Indians will continue to live as a cohesive society" or continue to be "a functional anarchy." The issues discussed here set you thinking and therefore one cannot but agree that winding up of the Shrikrishna Commission in January 1996 was not bonafide.

M. A. Rane's book takes the readers on a journey of 50 years of the Indian judiciary. The articles provide a rare insight into the upright character of some of the legal luminaries and unstinted efforts made by them in upholding what is legally correct. It is heart-warming and makes for interesting reading.

The book has received a Foreword from Justice V. M. Tarkunde, Mr. Rane's mentor, guide, friend and philosopher. This is a wonderful piece penned by the 91 year old jurist. It is in fact a treatise in a nutshell on "humanism", reflecting his deep and abiding faith in the humanistic philosophy. He hopes that "humanism is likely to prove the philosophy of the 21st century" if only to change this country and its people for the better. The philosophy augurs well for the future. Alas! how many takers?

Vimal Shah

ĀYURVEDA (The Gentle Health system), HANS H. RHYNER, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1998, pp. 144. Rs. 175.

Āyurveda is a total health system that evolved in Ancient India. The suffix 'veda' in the name itself signifies the status accorded to it by the then health scientists. The knowledge of this life science was vital to the societal well being. In course of time, this science evolved into an academic and practical discipline. Many a scholar who visited India in the hoary past, carried this wisdom to their lands and grafted it on their indigenous systems of medicine. In modern times, the attention of certain top allopathic medical practitioners has been drawn towards this ancient science of health, and they have found a lot that would help them in understanding human body and the causes of ailments.

The book does not mention anything about the author, Hans H. Rhyner, but it seems that he is well grounded in this ancient health science. The

sub-title is also quite eloquent.

The subject matter of the book is presented here in ten chapters and it covers a brief history of Ayurveda, its philosophical and medical base, bio-typology, anatomical aspects, pathology and diagnosis, treatment strategies, nutrition, life-style, external cleaning and internal cleaning. Short though these chapters are, they leave nothing that is important in understanding the human body and its ailments. The first chapter covers the entire legend and history of Ayurveda and also the contents of the various Ayurvedic texts. This gives a good grounding to the lay reader and now he is in a position to appreciate the philosophical and medical bases described in the second chapter. Subsequent chapters are also quite thorough in their treatment of the respective subjects. There are coloured photographs in support of the textual matter. The various stages of treatment are stream-lined in these photographic illustrations.

The reading of this book makes one believe that more and more people are drawn towards Ayurveda and that Ayurveda is providing itself a holistic health science.

This is the first Indian edition of the book. It was first published in USA in 1992 and the edition had to be repeated. The importance of this Indian edition is in that, it would draw attention of both, patients and practitioners towards much needed sensible holistic path for healthy living.

The book has an index that would be useful to serious as well as casual readers.

N. B. Patil

THE PATH OF LIGHT, ROY EUGENE DAVIS, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1999, pp. 155. Rs. 95.

The path of light is a working manual of Kriyāyoga tradition. Kriyāyoga is the special name given to the practice of spiritual *sādhanā* in accordance to this tradition. The author, Roy Eugene Davis, who was introduced into this tradition in 1949, by Swami Yogananda (author of *An Autobiography of a Yogi*), has founded a Centre for Spiritual Awareness in Lakemont, Georgia, USA. He has been preaching what he is practising, for the last four decades, in the East and the West.

Though the spiritual *sādhāna* goes back to the days of the Upaniṣads, the Kriyāyoga tradition has its origin in the teachings of Bābājī (an unknown

Sādhu who came down from the Himālayas and blessed one Lāhiri Mahāśaya (b. 3.8. 1828 d. 26.9.1895).

Kriyā means intentional action and Yoga means to join. Thus, Kriyāyoga means deliberate action which would resist, pacify and remove mental and physical conditions which blur, distort and resist awareness. The practices under Kriyāyoga include wholesome life-style regimens and the use of specific meditation techniques that enable the practitioner to regulate flows of vital force, calm mental restlessness, purify the intellect, refine the nervous system and body and lead him to meditative contemplation (p.140).

The book is conveniently divided in four parts. Part One deals with (1) the basic teachings, (2) Life style guidelines (3) Spiritual practices and (4) Initiation and Meditation. Part Two is about the Yogasūtras. These ancient sūtras of Patañjali have been briefly described and commented upon. Part Three deals with the inner meaning of the Bhagvad Gītā. The author's originality lies in expressing the symbolism in the Gītā as also in elucidating the broad range of Indian philosophy.

Part Four deals with the lineage of teachers of Kriyāyoga tradition. Here are brief biographic notes about the three savants of the Kriyāyoga tradition. The time frame of Bābājī, the first known teacher of the tradition is not known. But his mission was twofold. (1) To support the process of planetary evolution in the current era and (2) to assist people in all walks of life in awakening their divine nature,. Bābājī blessed Sri Lāhiri Mahārāj in 1861 and Swami Sri Yukteswar in 1894. Bābājī told the latter that he will send him a disciple, who would take the message of Yoga to the West. This disciple was Paramhaṁsa Yogānanda who went to America in 1920. He preached Kriyāyoga there till he passed away (7.3.1952).

The purpose of this short book is to provide a concise guide to Kriyāyoga for the spiritual enlightenment of aspirants and this purpose is served. The book deserves repetitive reading. Such a study will surely lead to clarity of thought and with grace of the Guru, to enlightenment.

The book contains an elaborate glossary of all Sanskrit terms used in the book and that is a great help to the general readers. It has been nicely brought out. Paper and printing are quite good.

N. B. Patil

PROF. K. V. SARMA FELICITATION VOLUME, Studies on Indian Culture, Science and Literature, Ed. N. GANGADHARAN, S.A.S. SARMA, S.S.R. SARMA, Sree Sarada Education Society Research Centre, Adyar, Chennai, 2000, pp. 470. Rs. 500.

Dr. K. V. Sarma is a well known authority in the field of Manuscriptology, Lexicography, Mathematics, Astronomy, and other technical sciences, besides Sanskrit literature. He has critically edited numerous Sanskrit manuscripts and was associated with several research institutions of Trivandrum, Chennai and Hoshiarpur. The editors have provided a bibliography of his vast writings which gives us an idea of his interests in many fields. He has to his credit 102 books, 411 research papers, and over 550 reviews of books.

The volume under review comprising of 64 research articles has been brought out to felicitate Dr. Sarma on his 81st birthday. The articles cover many areas of specialization by eminent scholars and are a rich tribute to this renowned Indologist. These can be divided in seven sections, devoted respectively to 1] Veda and Vedānga; 2] religion and philosophy; 3] language and literature; 4] literary criticism; 5] history and archaeology; 6] Fine arts; 7] science and technology.

As there are a large number of articles, covering a wide range of subjects, it is obviously not possible to comment on each of the articles. But we can mention the themes of some of the articles. Bidyut Lata Ray writes on the concept of the earth in the Vedas and presents cosmological accounts. Dipak Bhattacharya gives the logical basis of concern for others in the Atharvaveda Paippalāda. Madhavi Kolhatkar gives an interpretation of Yājñavalkya-Maitreyī dialogue in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.* G. Mishra writes on Advaita views of Vidyāraṇya (1296-1386) on knowledge, and liberation. V. N. Jha has a paper on the theory of *karman* in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system. R. N. Aralikatti, presenting the main elements of Yoga in the Vaikhānasāgama text, the *Vimānārcana-kalpa* of Marīci, compares and contrasts these with those in Patañjali's *Yogasūtras.* S. Jena writes on the contribution of 16th century theologian Raya Ramananda who had philosophical discourse with Caitanya on different types of *bhakti.* Uma Deshpande has an interesting article on the *Bhagavadgītā* and the 17th century work *Dāsabodha* in Marathi by saint Rāmadāsa. N. Gangadharan analyses the basic tenets of Kashmir Śaivism. V. Balambal describes the religious philosophy of the early Tamils. Vanamala Parthasarthi discusses the ritual of Varalakṣmīvrata, its textual sources, and the present day relevance. L. Sulochana Devi writes on the social philosophy of the 19th century Kerala reformer Chaṭṭampi Svāmikal. Kalpakam Sankaranarayan interprets the significant symbolism of Mount Meru in Buddhist cosmology based on Japanese Shingon as well as Indian Buddhist texts.

There are several articles on Sanskrit language and literature. S. D. Laddu examines Mallinātha's *maṅgalas* from the Mahākāvyas. Siddhartha Wakankar has an article on a family of the 19th century Sanskrit scholar Nīlakaṇṭha. Jayaprakash N. Dvivedi has an informative article in Hindi on contribution of the Jamnagar region of Gujarat, where we come to know about works, published and unpublished, on epigraphy, philosophy, Śilpaśāstra and other areas of Sanskrit literature. Hukam Chand Patyal writes on case-transposition of the locative in Sanskrit syntax. Tapasvi Nandi has an article on *hṛdayasaṁvāda* or sympathetic identification and aesthetic experience. M. D. Paradkar discusses the relevance of Alaṅkāraśāstra in the light of challenges posed by modern thinkers. Sushma Kulshreshtha has an interesting presentation on *ayatnaja* or involuntary *alaṅkāras* (graces) of women such as *śobhā* (beauty), *kānti* (charm), *dīpti* (radiance), *mādhurya* (delicacy), etc. in the *Saundarānanda* of Aśvaghoṣa.

There is an important article discussing the term *"dharmasthāna"* in Vākāṭaka copper-plates by Ajay Mitra Shastri. Ratna Basu writes on the historicity of Indo-Tibetan relations and Indo-Tibetan literature. Rajani Patki gives good information on the painting technology in Bhoja's famous work *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, while E. R. Rama Bai deals with idol-making techniques in the Āgamas. S. R. Sarma has an interesting article on Jyotiṣarāja at the Mughal court based on literary and pictorial evidence from the *Akbarnāma* manuscripts. This article provides good material on the works on astrology / astronomy in 16th and 17th centuries. V. S. Narasimhan writes on "Samamaṇḍalaśaṅku" in Indian astronomy, and Krishna Chakraborty Ganguly on chemistry in ancient India. Articles on Āyurveda include one on Caraka as dietician by Nirmala Trikha, and highlights from *Suśruta Saṁhitā* by Sukla Das. Radha Krishnamurthy writes on ancient toxicology or science dealing with effects and antidotes of poisons.

Ancient ecology features in the articles of Manabendu Banerjee, who writes from the point of view of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, and G. K. Pai, who gives insights from the *Skanda Purāṇa* and provides a useful glossary of plants referred to in this Purāṇa. Deskumar Das presents scientific ideas in the *Naiṣadhacarita* of Śrīharṣa.

This scholarly volume is a fitting tribute to the multifaceted personality and wide interests of Prof. K. V. Sarma. We sincerely hope that he continues to inspire scholars in various fields of Indology and ancient technical sciences.

Devangana Desai

HUTHEESING HERITAGE, *The Jain Temple at Ahmedabad*, Ed. M. A. DHAKY, Hutheesing Kesarising Trust, Ahmedabad, 1998, pp. 72, with colour and black & white illustrations, price not stated.

This is an interesting book on the magnificent Jaina temple in Ahmedabad, a landmark in the city, built by the Hutheesing family in 1847. In Gujarat we come across a rich heritage of temples at Gop, Karvan, Samalaji, Roda, Modhera, and many other sites. The tradition of Vāstu texts is still alive in the work of the Sompura family of architects. In this 19th century Hutheesing Jaina temple, we can see a continuity of the early Vāstu tradition as well as an assimilation of new influences, including that from Islamic culture. Art historians while working on the early temples have to hunt for sources on patronage, inscriptional material, etc. There are controversies on the number of years taken to complete buildings, while in case of this well-planned temple, we get much of this information in a systematic way. The architect in charge was Premchand Salat, and the construction of the temple was completed in record time of two years.

The monograph, with a Foreword by Arvind N. Lalbhai, Trustee, consists of three well-written chapters : first, on the patron family by Purnima Hutheesing; second, on the architectural perspective of the temple by Dr. Thomas Parmar; and the third on the detailed accounts furnished in the temple inscriptions by Dr. Hariprasad G. Shastri. Prof. M. A. Dhaky has edited the technical aspects of the manuscript.

Presenting a background of the patron family, Purnima Hutheesing provides a life-sketch of Sheth Hutheesing and Harkuvar Shethani. We come to know of the amazing business abilities and organization capability of Harkuvar, a Gujarati woman, originally from a middle class family of a small Saurashtra town, married to the wealthy trader Sheth Hutheesing. After her husband's death, she efficiently looked after the family trade in the male-dominated society of the 19th century. At the same time she undertook many religious and social welfare activities. Sheth Hutheesing had initiated the building of the temple in 1845, which Harkuvarba successfully completed in two years' time by her active interest in its planning, meeting the architects, draughtsmen and others concerned with the building activity, and working late till night. The cost of the temple was eight lac rupees in those days. The grand installation ceremony of the Jina icon was celebrated by participation of a very large gathering of Jaina pontiffs and devotees from the city and outside.

The architectural description of the temple by Thomas Parmar provides the details of this grand edifice of *bāvan-jinālaya* class, its *garbhagrha*, various *mandapas*, each of their floors, the underground cell, the subsidiary shrines or *devakulikās*, along with various icons, images and profuse sculptural

decoration. The temple combines architectural features seen in the Solaṅkī period temples with Sultanate and Mughal structures. This is clearly seen in the designs of the stone screens depicting floral and geometrical patterns, and in the fluted cupolas covering the forehall and porches. The cella enshrines a framed *pancatīrthī*, five Jina images with Jina Dharmanātha as a *mūlanāyaka*. The door jambs, threshold, pillars, bracket figures, ceilings, and the figures on the *jaṅghā* are described in detail as well as the iconography of figures presented. It is interesting to read that there is a four-armed image of Osiā, (Saccikā Mātā), tutelary deity of the Oswals, the community of Hutheesing family, on the doorway of the passage hall. Also the presence of an image of Kṛṣṇa in the context of the Jaina shrine is explained by the writer. Kṛṣṇa is also carved as a bracket figure on the pillar (fig. 51), in place of an *apsarā* motif. The *apsarās* are depicted in a variety of postures on the bracket-pillars of the temple, which the illustrations accompanying the text vividly bring out. Their 19th century ornamentation and apparel is noteworthy.

In the third chapter, Hariprasad G. Shastri discusses the contents of the foundation inscription composed in Sanskrit in 34 stanzas, a smaller inscription in 19 lines composed in Gujarati, and some of the image inscriptions. Dr. Shastri points out that the Sanskrit inscription was composed by the Jaina Pt. Sarupa, was written by a Brāhmaṇa of Modha caste, and was incised by Isapha of Muslim community. The inscription is in the form of a *praśasti* and eulogizes Śreṣṭhī Śrī Haṭhisimha (Hutheesing) and his family, the capability of completing the temple by his wife Harkumārikā (Harkuvar). The festival of *pratiṣṭhā* is described in great detail, mentioning each of the rituals performed on fifteen days. The full text of the Sanskrit inscription is given in the chapter. The Gujarati inscription mentions the building of the temple of Dharmanātha along with 52 shrines, and the date of the consecration ceremony by Śrī Śāntisāgara of Sāgara-gaccha. The image inscriptions record the dedication of images, along with dates. Other members of the family too dedicated images which are enshrined in the *devakulikās*.

Excellent photographs and the neatly produced plan of the temple add to the value of the written descriptions of this wonderful edifice. The Hutheesing Kesarising Trust and Mapin deserve our compliments for publishing this splendid monograph.

Devangana Desai

OBITUARY NOTICES

Dr. Usha Mehta

(1920 - 2000)

Dr. Usha Mehta, who passed away on 11th August, 2000, was one of the last freedom fighters and genuine Gandhian thinkers. She was a scholar, researcher and an educationist of repute - all rolled into one.

Born on 25th March, 1920, in Gujarat, the land consecrated by Gandhiji, Ushaben was initiated into the national movement at a very young age. She first saw Gandhiji in the Sabarmati Ashram. His simplicity touched her and his thoughts of freedom enveloped her mind completely. She was instantly converted to his philosophy of freedom. She became his disciple - perhaps his youngest - and remained one till the end.

As was the practice then, she was initiated into the movement through the Prabhat-pheris - the morning processions, which were more than a mere march at the early hours of the dawn to the tunes of patriotic songs. Later, Gandhiji allowed her to join the band of freedom fighters. This also meant donning Khadi. Ushaben happily gave up mill cloth and started wearing coarse, dull-looking khadi. None could tempt her to wear colourful fine clothes or sparkling jewellery. She told her parents to "reserve them for their daughters-in-law."

From finding excitement in slogan shouting as a child against the Simon Commission, which was set up in 1928, she graduated in the struggle to the distribution of bulletins and making salt from the sea water at Bombay's Chowpatty. Her parents had by then moved to Bombay to settle down and they also started taking active interest in the nationalist movement and Ushaben started visiting her relatives in jail with them.

She passed her matriculation examination and joined the Wilson college which prided itself in having nationalists on its roll. The Scottish teachers here were not averse to the nationalist movement and did not discourage students either. She graduated with distinction and followed it up with a law degree.

What should she do next? Take to post-graduate studies or take a complete and total plunge into the freedom movement? She thought only for a moment. Her mind had been made up. She chose the latter course—the freedom struggle,

for this happens only once in a lifetime and opportunity of fighting for the country would not recur. As against this, there was a whole lifetime to complete her post-graduate studies.

She was now treading a dangerous path. Ushaben joined Nanik Motwani of the Chicago Radio, Babubhai Thakkar and Vithaldas Zaveri and started an underground illegal radio station and Ushaben's voice went on the air announcing "This is Chicago Radio calling on 32.42 metres from somewhere in India." This sentence was followed by reading out banned news bulletins. The British officials woke up to this shock after a few months. This was just unpalatable and had to be destroyed.

Determined to destroy the underground radio set up, the then Governor sent an army of 250 policemen to surround the building and arrest the law-breakers. When the police entered the radio station, it was playing "Vande Mataram." Ushaben told the policemen to stand in attention to the national anthem and it was the turn of the policemen to obey her order.

Ushaben was arrested and kept in solitary confinement. She was interrogated for a period of six months. A special court tried her and even made tempting offers to disclose the radio outfit. Ushaben stood her ground, would say nothing. Her grit brought admiration from the judge and later he was to compliment her for not making any effort to save herself.

Her prison term was truly her period of trial and the harsh, long term took toll of her health. She never recovered from it. Her digestive system collapsed and agony and pain followed her till the end. She was restricted to frugal, bland meals and the strict diet control enabled her to keep active. She took it all with a smile.

After her release from jail, she completed her Ph.D. thesis on a subject that had not only transformed her life but had also become very dear to her heart. Gandhiji and his thinking had overwhelmed her and it was only natural that she chose 'Gandhian Thought' for her thesis. Thereafter faced with the question of deciding between a lucrative career and the noble teaching career, she chose to teach and joined the Department of Politics of the University of Bombay until she retired in 1980. She left an indelible impression as a teacher. She gave bountifully to her students and they, in turn, respected and loved her. She encouraged them with personal attention and they in turn trusted her as their confidante. For nearly two decades, she served as the University Adviser to foreign students enrolled in the University of Mumbai. She was patient and warm and they found in her an elder sister to seek guidance, though when situation warranted she proved her mettle too.

After she retired from the University of Bombay, she returned to her life-long passion of working on Gandhian Thought. She joined Mani Bhavan and Gandhi

Sangrahalaya with which she was associated since its inception in 1955 and she set this centre pulsating with social, political and academic activities. She made Mani Bhavan an important landmark in the country by placing it on the tourist map and raised it to new heights of glory as an institution that reflected concern for building a strong India by setting focus on contemporary progress.

Besides Mani Bhavan, she was connected with almost every Gandhian Institute in the country and despite her fragile health, she visited these institutions and they were benefited by her advise. The PUCL (People's Union of Civil Liberties) was very dear to her heart and she contributed considerably towards its working. She lent her voice to protest against abuse of public office, injustice and to the upholding of moral values in public life. She was sensitive to women's issues and she articulated them at meetings and wrote with a sense of committment on these issues.

Clad in simple khadi, the frail and feather-weight Ushaben, always exuded charm. Her child-like laughter was totally charming. She wore no jewellery herself but would appreciate a rare piece. She would compliment a lady for her beautiful saree.

She was untouched by ego. Her brilliance was sparkling but she carried it lightly. Her speech did not turn others speechless, she made no show of her position, nor allowed powers that be to pressurise her. She unravelled knotty problems with tact and understanding. All this was possible only because, she had lived on Gandhian thoughts and ideology. All impure thinking vanished in her presence and only purity of thought and action prevailed. She had faith in the goodness of human beings. Her inner strength was limitless and courage of her conviction strong and therefore, she never had to raise her voice to prove her point.

It is the irony of fate that the August Kranti Maidan from where she took her vow of "karenge ya marenge" on 9th August, 1942, became the venue for her last speech on 9th August, 2000. Two days later, she quietly passed away.

Ushaben would be greatly missed by the Asiatic Society of Bombay. She was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Society and we feel the loss all the more as we will miss her contribution at the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Asiatic Society. As a Trustee, she contributed in her usual scholastic and humane way towards the smooth functioning of the Society and provided a certain vision. It would be difficult to replace her with someone of that intellectual and moral caliber. We will miss her sadly.

Vimal Shah

Purushottam Laxman Deshpande

(1919 - 2000)

Purushottam Laxman Deshpande, who passed away on June 12, 2000, was perhaps the most admired and adored Marathi writer Maharashtra has ever known. Every Marathi speaking person felt orphaned by his passing away for he had become so much a part of every household through his many books. Popularly known as Pu La, it is well nigh impossible to capture his versatility and epic contribution in mere words. He was a master of words and adorned them with sheer grace and beauty. Readers welcomed it all and the master craftsman reached great heights of glory.

Born on November 8, 1919 in Bombay, Purushottam Laxman Deshpande had deep and strong middle class roots and represented the middle class culture at its best. He spotted the uncommon virtues in the common man and captured them endearingly with his masterly stroke of pen.

He finished schooling in Bombay's suburban Vile Parle and completed his graduation and later his post graduation from Pune. He worked as a teacher and later taught in colleges in Belgaum, Pune and Bombay. However, all along his heart lay in the performing arts, and he joined the All India Radio, which provided him with much needed challenges. He proved more than equal by bringing about transformation in presentation, variety and level of programmes. Then came the television and Pu La came into sharper focus. Trained in the art and technique abroad, he gave T.V. programmes the thrust and fillip that were needed during the early T.V. days and brought to bear on the programmes tremendous grace and refinement. People to this day remember those days for the memorable programmes he presented on television which carried his masterly stamp.

He was a humorist par excellence. His 'Batatyachi Chawl' created a pleasant stir. The one-man-show was the first of its kind on the Marathi stage. He won over the hearts of the people. This was followed by 'Varyavarachi Varat' and 'Asa Mee, Asamee' which won him further acclaim.

Pu.La. made films from a very young age. Beginning his career with the role of a spoilt brat in a film entitled 'Kuber', he followed it up with 'Bhagyarekha' and 'Vande Mataram'. But it was 'Gulacha Ganpati', that brought his versatility as a brilliant craftsman to the fore. He associated himself as writer, actor, singer, musician, director and producer and established himself as a cinematic genius. From his age of 28 in 1947 till 1993, he remained active in films and was associated with 28 films in various capacities.

The sensitive artist that Pu.La. was, he had developed a rare sense for melody and rhythm. Right from his young age he captured the subtle nuances of music with his deft fingers on his harmonium. He attended concerts, befriended musicians and wrote about music and musicians with sensitivity and verve. Many musicians became his close friends and remained almost as an extension of his family till the very end. His memorable pen pictures of musicians form some of his best writings.

That he was a prolific writer would be an understatement. He brought that Midas touch to all his writings. He took flights into every form of literature and brought out sparkling facets of his versatility with each article that he produced or a book that he published. He wrote 50 books which include plays, travelogues, humorous books, essays, lectures that he delivered and even compilation of introductions he wrote for many books. He is best remembered for the three books mentioned above and 'Purva Rang', 'Apurvai', 'Vang Chitre', 'Tuze ahe Tujapashi', 'Tee Phularani', 'Vyakti ani Valli', 'Ek Jhunj Varyashi', 'Teen Paishacha Tamasha' and 'Pu.La. - Ek Sathavan.' Charlie Chaplin and Gurudev Ravindranath Tagore remained his inspiration.

Name, fame, money, honour and glamour came his way, but Pu.La. remained his modest self - untouched by pride and arrogance. His illustrious contribution to literature, theatre and music has been amply acknowledged, and, in recognition thereof, he has been awarded Padma Shri, Padma Bhushan, Sahitya Academy Award, Sangeet Natak Academy Award as well as its Fellowship, Kalidas Award, and Maharashtra Gourav Award. He has been honoured by his innumerable admirers who have in the past, elected him on different occasions as President of Marathi Sahitya Sammelan, Marathi Natya Sammelan, Marathi Tamasha Parishad and Jagtik Marathi Parishad.

He set up Pu La Deshpande Foundation which supports institutions and individuals engaged in socially relevant projects and activities. The essence of Purushottam Laxman Deshpande's life is performance. In his own words, "I am essentially a performer. My writing is a performance, my stage is a performance. In performing arts, I have abiding and undiminished interest."

Nearer home, he was a frequent visitor to the Asiatic Society in his younger days to quench his thirst for more and more books. Years later, when he was honoured with Maharashtra Gaurav Puraskar, he donated the entire prize amount of Rs. 1 lakh to the Asiatic Society towards conservation and preservation of old books.

The Asiatic Society conferred on him the Honorary Fellowship of the Society on 26th November, 1996. By then Parkinson's disease had caught up with him and movement and speech had become difficult. For a person who had faced audiences for half a century and had captivated mammoth

gatherings with his ready wit and humour, he found it difficult to face audience. Therefore, a special function was organised at which only a few friends were invited and sitting amidst his own dear ones, he opened up and recapitulated those days of the yore, his visits to the Society for books and library friends. Albeit he looked weak but that mischievous glint in his eyes was not to be missed. Last year, the Asiatic Society of Bombay had the proud privilege of receiving many of his manuscripts which will attract scholars for research.

He passed away in Pune on 12th June, 2000. He had followed the culture that he believed in and gave culture his own definition in the simple language. He believed that a person eating when hungry is Natural (प्रकृति). A person craving for food after meal is Disease (विकृति). But a person when himself hungry and starving shares his piece of roti with another hungry man is Culture (संस्कृति). His abiding faith in this theory won him a faithful following which is unique. Months after his sad demise, his millions of fans remember him amidst tears.

Vimal Shah

Dr. H. C. Bhayani

(1917 - 2000)

Dr. Harivallabh Chunilal Bhayani, an eminent scholar of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa and Gujarati passed away in Mumbai on 11th November, 2000.

Harivallabh Bhayani was born on 26th May, 1917 at Mahuwa in the state of Gujarat. He passed his M.A. in Sanskrit and Prakrit from the University of Bombay in 1941, winning the prestigious Bhagwandas Purushottamdas prize in Sanskrit. He obtained the Ph.D. degree in Prakrit from the same university in 1952. He worked as Lecturer and Reader at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay from 1945 to 1965, as Professor of Linguistics, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad from 1965 to 1975 and as Honorary Professor of Prakrit at the well-known L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad from 1975 to 1985.

Bhayani was invited to deliver lectures by various Universities and Research Institutes of repute. To mention only a few : he was invited in 1967 to deliver Wilson Philological Lectures in Philology and in 1968 to deliver Thakkar Vasanji Lectures by the University of Bombay. At the invitation of the Asiatic Society of Bombay he delivered MM Dr. P.V. Kane Memorial Lecture in 1986.

He was elected as President of the Prakrit and Jainism Section of the All India Oriental Conference in 1955 and as President of the Research and Criticism Section of the Gujarat Sahitya Parishad Conference in 1972.

He was recipient of several awards, all important in their own way. Attention, however may specially be drawn to three outstanding and prestigious awards. In 1985 he was awarded Certificate of Honour as an eminent Sanskrit Scholar by the President of India. In 1993 the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University conferred on him the school's Honorary Fellowship for his lifetime devotion to the cause of exploring Gujarat's contribution to the culture of medieval and modern India. He was awarded MM. Dr. P.V. Kane Gold Medal in 1992 by the Asiatic Society of Bombay. In 1998 he was decorated with the Honorary Degree of D. Litt. by Saurashtra University (Gujarat).

Bhayani had a versatile mind. He was capable of dealing with the subjects of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa, Medieval Gujarati and Modern Gujarati, not to mention Linguistics. He was a prolific writer. He has edited from original manuscripts various texts in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa and old Gujarati along with their studies. He has brought out collections of his papers pertaining to Linguistic, Literary and Cultural Studies of Classical Literatures. He has also published his renderings of translations of a dozen of works in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa, and about 15 Grammatical and Linguistic Works. He has to his credit eight collections of his Critical Essays and half a dozen of Folk-literary studies and editing of Folk-song Collections. This brief list will give one an idea of what a voluminous writer Bhayani was!

As a person Bhayani was an ideal example of 'simple living and high thinking.' He was modest by nature. But he never compromised where his self-respect and loyalty to principles were concerned. Although he was an erudite, eminent scholar, he never wore learning on his person. He always used to welcome his friends as well as new visitors with a smiling face. He had a delightful sense of humour. He was fond of joking. When he himself joked, or someone from his circle of friends, he used to laugh heartily. He leaves behind his wife, son, daughter-in-law and a grand daughter.

In Bhayani's death not only Gujarat of today but the old integrated Bombay State has lost a devoted and veteran Indologist of international repute.

V. M. Kulkarni

TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	......	a	ओ	......	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	......	r	च	......	ca	द	......	da	श	......	śa
ॠ	......	r̄	छ	......	cha	ध	......	dha	ष	......	ṣa
ऌ	......	ḷ	ज	......	ja	न	......	na	स	......	sa
ए	......	e	झ	......	jha		......	pa	ह	......	ha
ऐ	......	ai	ञ	......	ña	फ	......	pha	ळ	......	ḷa
ओ	......	o	ट	......	ṭa	ब	......	ba			

् (Anusvāra) ...... ṁ	× (Jihvāmūlīya) ...... ẖ
ँ (Anunāsika) ...... m̐	� (Upadhmānīya) ...... h̄
(Visarga) ...... ḥ	ऽ (Avagraha) ...... '

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC

ا	......	a	ز	......	z	ق	......	q	--	....	i or e
ب	......	b	س	......	s	ك	......	k	'	....	u or o
ت	......	t	ش	......	sh	ل	......	l	'	......	ā
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FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1.	Place of Publication	Mumbai
2.	Periodicity of Publication	Annual
3.	Printer's Name Nationality Address	Smt. Shailaja G. Barve Indian 41, Budhwar Peth, Jogeshwari Lane, Pune, 411 002
4.	Publisher's Name Nationality Address	Smt. Vimal N. Shah Indian Hon. Secretary, The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Fort, Mumbai, 400 023
5.	Editors' Names Nationality Address	Dr. V. M. Kulkarni, Dr. Devangana Desai Indian The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Fort, Mumbai, 400 023
6.	Name and Address of individuals who own the newspaper and partners, shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital	The Asiatic Society of Bombay Town Hall, Fort, Mumbai, 400 023 Maharashtra State (India)

I, Smt. Vimal N. Shah, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Vimal N. Shah,
Signature of Publisher

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