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Volume 79/2004

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**TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS**

अ	a	औ	au	ऋ	ṛha	भ	bha
आ	ā	क	ka	ड	ḍa	म	ma
इ	.....	i	ख	.....	kha	ढ	.....	ḍha	य	.....	ya
ई	.....	ī	ग	.....	ga	ण	.....	ṇa	र	.....	ra
उ	.....	u	घ	.....	gha	त	.....	ta	ल	.....	la
ऊ	.....	ū	ङ	.....	ṅa	थ	.....	tha	व	.....	va
ऋ	.....	ṛ	च	.....	ca	द	.....	da	श	.....	śa
ॠ	.....	ṝ	छ	.....	cha	घ	.....	dha	ष	.....	ṣa
ऌ	.....	ḷ	ज	.....	ja	न	.....	na	स	.....	sa
ए	.....	e	झ	.....	jha	प	.....	pa	ह	.....	ha
ऐ	.....	ai	ञ	.....	ña	फ	.....	pha	ळ	.....	ḷa
ओ	.....	o	ट	.....	ṭa	ब	.....	ba			
		(Anusvāra)		.....	ṁ	×	(Jihvāmūliya)	.....			ḥ
		(Anunāsika)		.....	m	⌋	(Upadhmanīya)	.....			ḥ
		(Visarga)		.....	ḥ	5	(Avagraha)	.....		

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS**

ARABIC

ا	.....	a	ز	.....	z	ق	.....	q	ء	.....	i or e
ب	.....	b	س	.....	s	ك	.....	k	و	.....	u or o
ت	.....	t	ش	.....	sh	ل	.....	l	ا	.....	ā
ث	.....	th	ص	.....	ṣ	م	.....	m	ي	.....	i, e
ج	.....	j	ض	.....	ḍ	ن	.....	n	و	.....	ū, ō
ح	h	ط	ṭ	و	w	ي	ai, ay
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	ح	h	و	au, aw
د	d	ع	‘	ي	y	ت	silent t h
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ع	‘			
ر	r	ف	f	ا	a			

PERSIAN

پ	p	چ	ch	ژ	zh	گ	g
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Commentary on the Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra

Ascribed to Śaṅkara: A Critical Survey

K. S. Arjunwadkar

Biodata of the work

(a) Text with Śaṅkara's commentary; Vāṇī Vilāsa Press edition, Shrirangam, Vol. 13. Original location: *Mahābhārata*, Ānuśāsana-parvan, Ch. 149 of Chitrashala Edition (= Ch. 135 in the Constituted Text of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, (BORI) Pune)

(b) First verse: (vaiśampāyana uvāca) śrutvā dharmān aśeṣeṇa.

Last verse: viśveśvaram ajaṁ devaṁ... na te yānti parābhavam //142

Uncommented verses: 124-131; verses cursorily treated; 134-140

(c) Enumeration of names in the commentary (century figure followed by the actual word completing the figure in the Vāṇī Vilāsa Press edition):

100 acyutaḥ (/ vṛṣākapiṛ ameyātmā... v. 24);	200 simhaḥ (saṁdhātā saṁdhimān.. v. 35)
300 yugādikṛd (yagāvarto v. 46);	400 (a) nayaḥ (/ vīraḥ śaktimatām.. v. 56)
500 bhoktā (kapīndro bhūri.. v. 66);	600 kṣemakṛc śivaḥ (/ śrīvatsa.. v. 77)
700 sadgatiḥ satkṛtiḥ (sattā.. v. 88)	800 suvarṇabindur (akṣobhyaḥ.. v. 99)
900 kapir apyayaḥ (/ svastidaḥ.. v. 109);	1000 sarva-praharaṇāyudhaḥ (v. 120)

(d) Repeated names: 2 times (83), 3 times (12), 4 times (2). Total 97.

4 times repeated names: श्रीमान् (vv. 16, 32, 37, 78), प्राणदः (vv. 21, 48, 57, 115).

Total recurrence: $83 \times 2 = 166$; $12 \times 3 = 36$; $4 \times 2 = 8$. Total : $166 + 36 + 8 = 210$.

$210 - 97$ (single occurrence) = 113.

1000 - 113 = 887 (actual number of names in the stotra counted only once).

(e) Some readings, identities and name units, followed by verse numbers:

निधिरव्ययः १७ (one) मङ्गलं परम् २० (one) माधवः (मायाः धवः) २१, ३१;
 माधवः (मधुकुले जातत्वात्) ९१ समात्मा(ऽ)संमितः समः २५ शाश्वतस्थाणुः २६ (one)
 सर्वविद्भानुः २७ (one) वाचस्पतिरुदारधीः ३६ (one) मुक्तानां परमा गतिः ४५ (one)
 अदृश्यो व्यक्तरूपश्च ४६ इष्टोऽविशिष्टः ४७ हविर्हरिः ५२ (one) (रामो विरामो) विरतो
 ५६ स्थावरस्थाणुः ५९ (one) विनयितासाक्षी (विनयि-ता) ६८ (one) महर्षिः कपिलाचार्यः
 ७० (one) भगहा(ऽऽ) नन्दी ७३ ज्योतिरादित्यः ७३ (one) दिवःस्पृक् ७४ वाचस्पतिरयोनिजः
 ७४ (one) विजितात्मा(ऽ)विधेयात्मा ७९ शाश्वतस्थिरः ८० (one) पदमनुत्तमम् ९१ (one)
 घृताशीः (घृताः विगलिताः आशिषः प्रार्थनाः अस्य) ९२ (नि)गदाग्रजः ९४ सर्वविज्जयी
 ९८ (one) पर्जन्यः पावनोऽनिलः १०० उदुम्बरः (=उदम्बरः, अम्बरादुदातः) १०१ नियमोऽयमः
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 धनंजयः (अर्जुनः) ११८ युज्येतात्मसुख... १३२ नक्रोधो.. नलोभो नाशुभा मति... १३३
 (neg. compounds)

OBSERVATIONS

Sources

The beginning and the end of the original text as was before Śaṅkara (or whosoever be the author of the commentary) differs from its popular versions, resulting in the difference of total verses in the *Mahābhārata* chapter under reference. This applies to many parts of the epic as illustrated by the Critical Edition thereof published by BORI, Pune. Probably, the text of the present chapter in the Crit. Edn. is confirmed, mostly, on the testimony of Śaṅkara's commentary. The *Bhagavad-gītā* offers a parallel case.

Choice and number of names

The nouns and adjectives enlisted in the present work do not reveal a system of choice or order. The most general governing principle seems to be to insert whatever word or word group suits the metre, anuṣṭubh, the most common in old epic works and, in fact, very easy to handle in the old epic style, if we ignore subtleties. Check any line in the list of names, and you will find any word following any other word mostly unrelated to it. Yes, at times we find names or words beginning with identical syllable as if in a series (प्राणः प्राणदः प्रणवः ५७, श्रीदः श्रीशः श्रीनिवासः.. ७८). This is a poor solace. This style would have easily accommodated over a hundred more words to complete the stipulated figure of one thousand (even two thousand or more !) names without repetition. Granted that logic is the last thing to find a place in devotional literature ('All is fair in love and war',

---and, one may add, devotional compositions !), and therefore to be ignored in name lists of deities, the question that perplexes a critical reader is: What compelled or persuaded the 'king logician' (as Śaṅkara no doubt is, in keeping with his reputation, in his commentary on the *Prasthāna-trayī*) to select such a work for writing a commentary on, – a work that has absolutely no challenge in it and defies all logic ? This situation strengthens the doubt all the more about the real authorship of the commentary traditionally ascribed to Śaṅkara.

Repetitions and the resulting number of names

In the original work, some names are repeated, – twice, thrice, even four times. The total number of repetitions comes to 113, as shown in the data given above. Despite the commentator's effort not to repeat the explanation, the repeated names on the whole come to the same meaning. This means that, though called '-sahasra-nāma' (a list of 1000 names), the original composition actually contains 113 names less. To avoid repetition, Śaṅkara sometimes inserts negative 'a' before a word. Thus, as against dhātā in v. 18, the word (a) dhātā is conceived in v. 115, and is taken as an adjectival compound (Bahuvrīhi). Another such pair is: nivṛtātmā (v. 38, 77) and (a) nivṛtātmā (v. 96). But the number of repetitions is too large to be affected by such limited devices. The term '-sahasra-', therefore, has to be taken in a broad sense, ignoring repetitions. Even then, the commentator has to treat sometimes two successive words as one compound word. (See śāsvatasthāṇu v. 26, sthāvarasthāṇu v. 59.) Some names such as maṅgalaṁ param (v. 20) are obvious phrases; but phrases like bhūrbhuvo lakṣmīḥ (v. 114) treated as one name may offer a case of a difference of opinion. With the help of such ingenuity, Śaṅkara has at last succeeded in arriving at the grand number mentioned in the name of the work.

Uncritical citations

The commentary has some common points as well as differences with Śaṅkara's major works. Except when the author cites long passages from Vedic, Purāṇic and epic (*Mahābhārata*) works, the style of prose commentary reminds one of his commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Long citations running into several pages (under v. 10, 14) are not in tune with his major works; but they are restricted to a couple of introductory verses. They include verses from Gauḍapāda's kārikās on the *Māṅḍūkya Upaniṣad*. At one place, they are clearly ascribed to Gauḍapāda; at another (v. 12), they make the reader feel that they form part of the *Upaniṣad*. ('om ity etad akṣaram' ity upakramya praṇavo hy aparaṁ brahma... 4 verses of G.. *iti*.) About 80% commentary on v. 14 is full of citations (all in a mess !) and is stated to be on the first name viśva. This is out of all proportion and serves no purpose other than parading the commentator's knowledge of old sources including the *Bhaviṣyat-purāna*. In the context of the topic of faith in God is cited a verse

from *Manusmṛiti* about the extent of faith a student should have in his teacher. In support, the commentator cites verses equating a teacher with God, even Brahman ! Under v. 10 are cited verses on mental bath as related to the muttering of the present stotra, including a popular verse (apavitraḥ pavitro vā..) which is traditionally recited before taking bath. Following this logic, the whole ritual of worship with relevant *mantras* should have found a place in the commentary. Some of these appear, and appear sometimes, with the honorific epithet Śrī (e.g. Parameśvara, Viṣṇu-purāṇa,..). Some authors cited appear with the high title Bhagavān (e.g. Manuḥ). Pānini as well as Unādi group of *sūtras* are profusely quoted or indirectly referred to in support of name formations, sometimes even of common words. In 'janana' (114), for instance, there is 'kartari lyuṭ pratyayah'; the change of 'mahat' to 'mahā' in 'mahā-svanah' (v. 18) is authorised by 'ān mahataḥ samānādhikaraṇa-jāfiyayoh'. One wonders, why not for every word ? There are occasional references to *Brahmasūtras* also (e.g. under v. 10).

Yāska's *Nirukta*: the model

This commentary seems to be planned after the model of Yāska's *Nirukta* giving alternative explanations of words at several places. Like Yāska, he believes in the basic principle of such works, न त्वेव न निर्भूयात्, - one should never not dissect a word thoroughly. The commentatorial resourcefulness is seen when he observes under v. 13 that the words viṣṇu, devatā and brahma(n) are to be understood as substantives (or nouns in apposition) corresponding to the masculine, feminine and neuter words respectively in the original text. Most of the words in this panegyric, however, are masculine in gender. (Neuter names 27, feminine names 11.) It is to be noted that even while giving alternative explanations, the commentator does not miss the element 'keśa' in names keśava and hr̥ṣikeśa. Imaginative explanations are also not rare. The name keśava is alternatively explained as keśa (ka + a + ī, representing the triad of gods) + va (vaśe varante; v. 16), on the support, obviously, of ekākṣara-kośas, dictionaries on the meanings of single syllables. I wonder if any language in the world except Sanskrit commands such a range of meanings. The word 'sumukha' (v. 62) is explained as an equivalent of Rāma, because he accepted the verdict of going to the forest with a smiling face. In support, three verses from the epic are cited. What are traditionally Viṣṇu's weapons are interpreted as abstract principles (v. 120).

Extent of liberty in explanations

What is perplexing in this overall reasonable commentary is that its author explains, optionally though, the name '(ni) gadāgraja' (v. 94) by prefixing it, optionally though, with his own addition of the preposition ni. No parallel to this odd style is found elsewhere in standard Sanskrit literature. (What if a modern commentator prefixes śī to vaśatkāra (v. 14) to yield the meaning

'a *sixer* shot by Śiva (a player)' in a cricket match ?) Such tricks may make any word yield any undreamt-of meaning. A similar case is seen when he prefixes *kasmai* (in the R̥gvedic line '*kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema*', X. 129, cited under v. 10) with 'e' of his own to make it *ekasmai*, thereby turning the original interrogative sentence into an affirmative one. It is another matter that the word under reference is also taken in traditional commentaries as the Dative singular of 'ka', meaning the creator (and not *asmas*, Dative sg. form of the interrogative pronoun *kim*). It is equally perplexing to see the commentator explain the word 'udumbara' by changing it, may be alternatively, into 'udambara' (*ambarād udgataḥ*, v. 101). It is difficult to understand what he gains by taking the words '*na krodhaḥ, na lobhaḥ, nāsubhā*' (v. 133) as words in which the element of 'na' is compounded with the following words, as the point of accent, which may have been pertinent in the context of Vedic literature, is irrelevant in classical Sanskrit.

Conclusion

All these points, when considered together, lead one to the conclusion that the commentary of the present stotra ascribed to Śaṅkara may have most probably come from the pen of a later, inferior writer, maybe an official successor of the great master. The style of citing supporting passages and their sources including some of questionable reputation and / or authority, the irrational way of explaining some names in the original text, the lack of proportion in adducing supports, digression from the point under reference, — such characteristics do not reflect the mastermind which produced the commentary on the *Vedānta-Prasthāna-trayī* (viz. *Upaniṣads, Bhagavad-gītā, Brahma-sūtras*), a superb intellectual structure. It is possible to imagine the present commentary as an adolescent work of the master, but it will not carry weight more than that of a conjecture, founded on the traditional belief that they are all the master's work. When viewed on the background of other minor works ascribed to Śaṅkara, the present commentary strengthens the possibility of its authorship by a later scholar attempting to imitate the master's style.

Some Reflections on the Lotus In the Religio-Artistic

Development of Hinduism and Buddhism

Santona Basu

The predominance of the lotus flower as seats of divine beings (*padmapīṭha*), as a plaything (*līlākamala*) in their hands, as decorative motifs in the form of wish-fulfilling creepers (*kalpalatā*) or in the nimbus (*prabhāmaṇḍala*) of the deities makes one think the reasons behind this preferential treatment of this water-born flower.

The partiality for this flower can be traced back to literature of ancient India. The close association of the lotus with the divinities right from the earliest extant book, the *R̥gveda* and its natural beauty and characteristics made it the most favourite flower of the Indians from the earliest times. This can be culled from the Vedic, post-Vedic and Buddhist texts. These texts are storehouses of ancient Indian thoughts and conceptions and are replete with references to this aquatic flower, which are visually expressed in art, because in ancient India literature and art went hand in hand. Sculptors made a mental picture of the conceptions, which are in these texts and gave them concrete shapes in art. In this process the lotus became an integral part of Indian art. The ancient Indian art, it can be said, is the visible projection of thoughts and conceptions contained in the ancient Indian literature. The seeds of these ideas, existent in the Vedic times, germinated in the post-Vedic, Hindu and Buddhist literature and were perceptibly expressed in art. The figures carved on stones are the artistic interpretations of the descriptions of these divine beings given in literature.

Padmāsana or *padmapīṭha*:¹ In the Vedic literature the lotus mainly plays the role of a support of the Vedic gods and goddesses and the earliest denomination of this flower is *puṣkara*. In the Vedic cosmogonical myth the vital role of the lotus as the support of creation starts from its association with Agni. There it is said: "O Agni, in the beginning *atharvan* churned thee out of the *puṣkara*, the bearer of all" (*tvām agne puṣkarād adhy atharvā nīramanthat / mūrdhno viśvasya vāghataḥ // RV 6.16.13*). In this hymn "the bearer of all" is an adjective of *puṣkara*, i.e. lotus. According to the Vedic cosmogonical conception, there were only chaotic waters before the creation started. But at the same time primeval chaotic waters possessed the latent energy for creation. For that reason the primeval waters have been qualified with the adjective "bearer of all". *Puṣkara*, a water-born flower, stands for

the primeval chaotic waters with its latent possibility to support the creation at the time of genesis. On these primeval waters, expressed by the word lotus, Agni was churned out by *atharvan*, says the verse.² In sculpture Agni is placed on a lotus pedestal or seat (*padmapītha / padmāsana*), which incorporates in itself the Vedic theory of creation. The lotus represents the primeval waters whereas Agni as the first creation.

The conception of the lotus support of the creation has been translated in art as lotus-seat or pedestal of deities and metaphorically lotus comes to symbolize the universe. The lotus-pedestal under Natarāja Śiva's feet in the Chola Bronze images is an artistic way of depicting Natarāja Śiva as the supreme lord of the universe; he holds the universe under his feet. In other words, the universe "dances" to his tunes. The sculptor has expressed this idea by placing Natarāja Śiva on a lotus pedestal. Another sculpture of Śiva-Śakti from Bengal (10th C. CE) shows Śiva and Pārvatī seated on an open lotus with their feet also resting on small lotuses. Heinrich Zimmer thinks lotus under Śiva's feet symbolizes the "divine power of creation"³ and in extended sense it can be said that the lotus symbolizes the universe.

The idea of lotus as a seat continues in the Buddhist iconography. But there the negative relation of the lotus to water, a symbol of aloofness towards the worldly things, is the prevalent thought as far as the lotus is concerned. 'Lotuses are born in the water, grow in the water and stand up rising out of the water, undefiled by water' epitomizes the mental condition of the Lord on whom the sensual world had no influence. The Buddha used this simile to illustrate his position in the world (Cf. *Anguttaranikāya* 4.36.3). Besides this, lotus as a seat goes back to the Vedic idea, where the lotus functions as a support of divinities. These two ideas - one Vedic and the other Buddhist - fired the imagination of the artists to carve lotus-seats or pedestals for the Buddha.⁴

The idea of lotus support continues in the Buddhist literature particularly in connection with the Bodhisattvas.⁵ Most of these divinities have lotus seats. The Ādi Buddha of the Mahāyānic pantheon appeared on a lotus. According to a legend there was a huge lake with all kinds of water plants except lotus. Once Buddha Vivasvin visited the lake and threw a grain into it from which a huge lotus sprang. From its calyx rose a pure and radiant flame. This was the Ādi Buddha. After many years Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī came and desired to see the magic lotus in its entirety. He caused the lake to dry up and turned it into fertile soil. From the soil the lotus rose on which Ādi Buddha was enthroned.⁶ (That land is Nepal, says a legend).

Art historians Havell and Bosch both opine that the role of the lotus in the Buddhist art as a support of divinities or atop the Aśokan pillars or carved on the gates of Sanchi and Bharhut represents cosmic lotus,⁷ i.e.

the universe mentioned above. This conception has its roots in the Vedic cosmogonical theory of the birth of Agni on the lotus. *Mahāsukhāvātī-Vyūha* (40-41) also mentions the lotus-birth of meritorious persons. Sukhāvātī is the paradise of Amitābha, one of the five Dhyānī Buddhas of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. According to this text, "(those) who entertain doubt about being born in the world Sukhāvātī... for them there is the dwelling within the calyx. Those who are free from doubt... they being born miraculously, appear sitting cross-legged in the flowers of the lotus."⁸ The idea of lotus-birth mentioned in literature translated into art as the lotus seat of a divine being. These literary evidences show that a lotus seat of Buddhist and Hindu deities is not an outcome of or influenced by "Hellenistic-Egyptian symbolism" as Hermann Goetz thinks.⁹

According to F.D.K. Bosch lotus signifies "support" (*pratiṣṭhā*) in Buddhist iconography, "Just as the primeval waters are the foundation of all things created and identified with the *dharma* (*Śatapatha Br.* XI.1.6.24: *dharmo vai āpaḥ*: the Waters are Law), so the primeval lotus, the symbol of waters, is their foundation, their *pratiṣṭhā*, and at the same time the supporter of the universe, the *dharma* of the universe, for *dharma* means supporter."¹⁰ This idea is an echo of the Vedic idea of *pratiṣṭhā*. In a myth about cosmology *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (5.6.4.2-3) says: 'In the beginning this was surging waters. Prajāpati becoming wind rocked on the lotus leaf. He could not find any support (*pratiṣṭhā*). He saw the nest of waters. On that he piled Agni. That became this earth.' Agni is the primeval manifestation of the creation and as I have said earlier, in the Vedic literature the lotus is seen primarily as a support of the creation and of the deities. Lotus in connection with the Bodhisattvas symbolizes the concept of *pratiṣṭhā* (support), the Bodhisattvas being the main "support" of the Mahāyāna school.

Both the conceptions regarding the lotus *viz.*, that of a support and as a symbol of non-attachment is expressed in *Khadirāṅgāra Jātaka*, a tale about one of the previous births of the Buddha as Bodhisattva. The story tells that once Māra (the Satan of Buddhist mythology) created a pit of red-hot embers in front of Bodhisattva's house with the aim of deterring him from giving alms to a *paccekabuddha*, which was considered a pious deed. But undaunted Bodhisattva strode right into the pit of fire to fulfil his wish. Immediately a big lotus sprang up to support his feet. In this story the lotus, which came out of the pit, gave "support" to the Buddha. At the same time it signifies that as human being Bodhisattva belongs to this world but is above it and remains undefiled by it.

Lilākamala: A lotus in the hand of a deity is known as *lilākamala*, "lotus of play". Lotus is an insignia of Lord Viṣṇu, the Preserver of creation, and he holds this flower in one of his four hands. In connection with Viṣṇu the

līlākamala stands for the universe, says Coomaraswamy.¹¹ The lotus in the hand of Lord Viṣṇu emphasizes his role as the Preserver of the creation—the universe being a toy in his hand, a plaything.

Besides Viṣṇu other deities also hold *līlākamalas*. Goddess Durgā, who killed the demon Mahiṣāsura, was given various weapons by the gods for combating the demon. She was also given ornaments by the gods for her embellishment. In that connection Ocean gave her a lotus garland for decorating her head, another lotus garland around her neck and a lotus (for holding).¹² Lotus, a symbol of water as well as of stability in the chaotic primal waters (cf. creation myth) symbolizes in the hand of goddess Durgā that chaotic period when the demon Mahiṣāsura was destabilizing the earth. Goddess Durgā, born from the special powers of the gods, brought stability on the earth symbolized by her *līlākamala*. The garlands around Devī's neck and on her head are here surely thought as ornaments but with an allusion towards her power of controlling the universe.

Other deities are sometimes given *līlākamalas* as an attribute. For example, a few forms of the images of Gaṇeśa, according to the manuals of Hindu art, hold lotus in hand.¹³ This seems to be an example of how a devotee wants to see his favourite deity in the role of the lord of the universe.

A lotus flower in the hand of goddess Śrī (predecessor of goddess Lakṣmī) is mentioned in the *Śrī-Sūkta*, an appendage of the *Ṛgveda*. Goddess Śrī not only bestows prosperity and wealth symbolized by her association with the lotus, she is also the epitome of beauty.¹⁴ For her beauty she is celebrated in the *Śrī-Sūkta* and her limbs, eyes, skin and so on are compared to a lotus.¹⁵ There she is also said to be *padmahastā*, holding a lotus in her hand, which is the same as holding a *līlākamala*. Lotus in connection with Śrī, whether as a seat or as a *līlākamala* signifies fertility¹⁶ but at the same time serves as an embellishment of a beautiful goddess. In the Classical Sanskrit literature often a lady with *līlākamala* in hand is mentioned.¹⁷ It seems that the conception of holding a lotus in hand as an adornment of a lady is a vestige of the Vedic conception of beauty with which goddess Śrī and later Lakṣmī are associated.

In sculpture Sūrya or the Sun god is always shown holding two full-blown lotuses in his two upper hands as well as having a lotus-seat. But in the case of Sūrya the two lotuses held by him are not his *līlākamalas*. According to Coomaraswamy, "Earth as a reflection of Heaven is stretched out in like measure (*Taittirīya Samhitā* IV, 1.3 and IV, 2, 8), this world is the counterpart (*anurūpaṁ*) of yonder world (*Aitareya Br.* VIII,2); hence no doubt the two lotuses held by the Sun in iconography, correspond to the Upper and Nether Waters, *parā* and *aparā Prakṛti*."¹⁸

To this observation it may be added that the two lotuses in Sūrya's hands also signify his two births – as Sun in the heaven and as Agni or fire on this earth, because according to the Vedas the Sun is also a form of Agni. That is also the reason that Sūrya has also been allotted a lotus seat by the sculptors.

Padmapāṇi, the Bodhisattva with "lotus in hand" is an epithet of Avalokiteśvara. He has taken over the creative energy from his spiritual father Amitābha Buddha and is guarding the world between the historical Buddha Śākyamuni and the future Buddha Maitreya. We know from the earliest times lotus represents the primeval waters with its latent possibility of creation. Lotus in the hand of Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi symbolizes that creative energy.

Pūrnaghata: This word literally means a vase filled with water up to its brim. It is an ancient symbol of plenty and prosperity still in use in India during marriage or other auspicious occasions. Relief of a *pūrnaghata* on posts and pillars is quite a common feature of ancient Indian sculpture. On a pillar medallion from Bharhut, Gaja-Lakṣmī (2nd C. BCE) is shown as standing on a full-blown lotus coming out of a *pūrnaghata*. The two elephants pouring water on her are also standing on lotuses coming out of the same type of vases. All around the medallion lotus flowers and leaves are carved. Elephants represent the cloud or rain, which is essential for a good crop that leads to prosperity, here symbolized by lotus plants with flowers, buds and leaves. The goddess with her right hand holds her left breast. This posture means she nourishes or provides food for the living beings.

In the ancient Indian art the conception of the *pūrnaghata* with lotus flowers coming out and creeping all around it expressed prosperity that gained prominence from the time of Bharhut. The water in the vase was supposed to be the elixir of life *soma*.¹⁹ According to M. Hallade²⁰ the ornamental motifs, to which tree of life and vase brimming with water belong, have their origin in Persian art and were in use in India before the beginning of the Christian era. Sculpture of a water-filled vase is also found in Gandhara art. On a stone sculpture from Shotorak (Afghanistan, Kushana 2nd C. CE) one can see a male figure standing on a water-filled vase holding lotus buds in his right hand. Although flowers are not shown coming out of the vase but a lotus is carved at the base of it.²¹

Sometimes a *pūrnaghata* is replaced by a *makara* as on the gate pillar of Sanchi stupa (1st C. BCE). *Makara* is the mythical aquatic monster with a long curved snout that looks like half crocodile and half elephant.²² The figure of a *makara* on a gate pillar of Sanchi stupa is at the base from whose mouth lotus creepers are issuing. Both *makara* and *pūrnaghata* have connection with water. *Makara* is a fabulous monster that lives in water whereas the *pūrnaghata* is filled with water. Lotuses coming out of a brimming vessel

or issuing from the mouth of a *makara* leads to the supposition that the *pūrṇaghāṭa* and *makara* in art represent the submerged rhizome of a lotus plant, which is bulbous and in shape resembles the round *ghāṭa* or *makara*'s head.²³

Kalpalatā: *Kalpa* means 'fit', 'able', 'competent'²⁴ and in ancient India the popular imagination created such a creeper that was able to fulfil all the wishes of a devotee and called it *kalpalatā*. In art lotus plants carved as creepers coming out of a *pūrṇaghāṭa* or *makara*'s mouth represent the idea of *kalpalatā*. It symbolizes the projection of wishes of a devotee. *Padma* (lotus), *makara* and conch are three of the nine treasures of Kubera, the king of Yakṣas (Yakṣarāja) and the god of riches. These three treasures are connected with water. Hence often lotus plants, rather creepers, a symbol of prosperity and plenitude are shown springing from the mouth or navel of a Yakṣa instead of a *makara*.²⁵ As the mythical *kalpalatā* was non-existent in the nature, the sculptors must have thought lotus, a symbol of prosperity, the fittest object to embody the idea of fulfilling the wishes of prosperity of a devotee in the shape of a lotus-scroll.

Lotus-scroll or *kalpalatā* motifs found on the pillars, gates and railings of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati and other places show jewels, ornaments and strings of pearls issuing from inverted lotus leaves. Birds and animals are also framed within the lotus-scrolls. According to Coomaraswamy, this type of decorative art is an artistic interpretation of the idea "of the origin of life in the waters" and calls it "water-cosmology."²⁶

Kalpavṛkṣa or the wish-granting tree is a larger variation of *kalpalatā*. Such a tree is carved on one of the gate pillars of Sanchi. This *kalpavṛkṣa* is actually the Bodhi-tree of Bodhisattva Amitāyus, described in the *Mahāsukhāvāṭī-Vyūha* (32): "This Bodhi-tree is ten hundred *yojanas* in height... always in leaf, always in flower, always in fruit, of different colours... adorned with best jewels, hung with golden strings..."²⁷ The pillar-like tree carved on the gate stands on wheel-marked feet (one of the signs of a *mahāpuruṣa*) and on top of it is a lotus medallion that supports a *triratna*, the symbol of the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha*. Its trunk is made up of lotus rosettes and the whole tree is hung with all kinds of precious jewels, garlands, strings of pearls and other objects. In this piece of sculpture the Bodhi-tree itself is transformed into Bodhisattva Amitāyus and he is seen as a wishfulfilling tree or *kalpavṛkṣa*.²⁸

Prabhāmaṇḍala: This word means, "circle" (*maṇḍala*) of "light" (*bhā*) that radiates forth" (*pra*). It is the visual form of "inner light" that radiates from the body of a divine person and carved as a halo or nimbus around the head of a Hindu or Buddhist deity or the Buddha. A description of *prabhāmaṇḍala* is found in the *Mahāsukhāvāṭī-Vyūha* where it is said, when

Bodhisattva Amitāyus smiles “rays having issued from the circle of his mouth light up the thousand *koṭis* of Buddha countries. And all these rays having returned there again settle on the head of the lord; gods and men produce (perceive) the delight, because they have seen there this light of him.”²⁹ The description of the radiation of the “inner light” is also given in the *Saddharmapundarīka*: “Those former Tathāgatas etc. they, too, emitted a lustrous ray”,³⁰ which gods and human beings perceived was expressed in art by *prabhāmaṇḍala* around the head of a divine being. Some scholars are of the opinion that the nimbus owes its origin to Persian solar discs “as a halo of deification” adopted by the Gandhara art³¹ and first appeared with the Buddha figures. It may be said here that the evidence from literature clearly shows that the conception of *prabhāmaṇḍala* was there. The Persian prototype might have only served as a model to the Indian sculptors to express it through the medium of art.

At a later period lotus petals replaced the solar radiation on the nimbus of the Buddha, lotus being the epitome of non-attachment and purity according to the Buddhist thoughts. The nimbus with lotus petals around the Buddha emphasizes the purity, which his image radiates forth.³² Interestingly, in Sarnath Museum there is a parasol with a huge stylized lotus carved inside at the centre. The parasol was over the image of Bodhisattva Śākyamuni (CE 131 or 147) to signify the royal origin of Śākyamuni Gautama Buddha. Could it be that the lotus on the inner side of the parasol was the precursor of the halo or nimbus?

Sanskrit treatises on iconography say that every divine being should have a *śiṛṣacakra*, a halo surrounding the head. “It should have the form of a circle or a full-blown lotus.”³³ The concept of a halo with lotus petals that first appeared on the halo of the Buddha was adopted by Hindu iconography and was made statutory later by the writers of the manuals of Hindu iconography.

Prabhāvali that surrounds the whole body is an extended version of *prabhāmaṇḍala*. A Gandhara bronze image of the standing Buddha from Mardan, Afganistan (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) is surrounded by a *prabhāvali* with stylized lotus petals on it. Another specimen of *prabhāvali* is the famous statue of Naṭarāja Śiva (Chola 11th-12th C.) with tongues of flame on the *prabhāvali* symbolizing the destruction of the cosmos. According to T. A. G. Rao, “the *prabhāvali* is an ornamental circular or oval ring with number of *javālās* or protruding tongues of flame. Very often the special emblems of the god to whom the *prabhāvali* belongs are sculptured on each side of it.”³⁴

The prototype of *prabhāvali* with tongues of flame in art also first appeared in the Buddhist iconography. This can be seen on a bas-relief on the stupa of Amaravati (c. 150-200 CE) where the Buddha is represented as a fiery

pillar with tongues of flame carved around it. It is actually a concrete presentation of the conception regarding the Buddha(s) in the Buddhist text *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (1.67), where it is said: "the Buddhas also, those self-born beings, appear of their own accord, resembling golden columns."³⁵ Besides another Mahāyāna text, the *Dhammapada* (387), says, the Buddha "glows with fiery energy" (*tapati tejasā*). The golden colour of the column and the "tejas" of the Buddha, mentioned in the texts, are expressed on stone by the flames carved around it because flames of fire are of golden colour. Later on this conception of art was technically modified and adopted by Hindu iconography as in the case of Natarāja Śiva.

Buddhist pillars : Highly polished stone pillars with lions atop lotus capitals are important landmarks of ancient Indian stone sculpture. These unique pillars were erected by Emperor Aśoka for the proclamation of his faith in Buddhism in the 3rd century BCE. At that time the portrayal of the Buddha was not in vogue and he was represented by symbols. For art historians like Coomaraswamy the pillar is a metaphysical symbol of the "Axis of the Universe"³⁶ and figuratively it represents the Buddha and his preaching of the Law.³⁷

The notion of the "Axis of the Universe" or the "Cosmic Pillar" is a Vedic conception which applies to Agni (*RV* 1.59.1,2; 10.5.6; 10.89.4). Agni is also said to be the "nave of the movable and immovable worlds" as well as "the nave of immortality" (*RV* 10.5.3; 3.17.4). In another hymn it is said: "All beings are placed in this never-aging (*ajara*) wheel" (*RV* 1.64.2). As the lotus is the birthplace and support of Agni (discussed above), *Atharvaveda* mentions lotus (and not Agni) as the nave of the world-wheel (10.8.34). This Vedic notion was adapted for the Buddhist sculptural imagery and iconography and we have pillars with lotus capitals.

The best specimen of the Aśokan pillars is the pillar at Sarnath near Varanasi, where the Buddha first preached his doctrine known as the *dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra* or the "doctrine of turning the Wheel of Law." The lotus capital on the top of the pillar serves as the abacus with four images of the Wheel alternating with an elephant, bull, a horse and a lion - the guardian animals of the four quarters - carved on it. Atop it are four lions standing back to back. The animals on the abacus emphasize the proclamation of his doctrine in all the four quarters. The whole structure - the pillar, lotus capital, abacus and the lions - supports the giant Wheel of the Law or *dharmacakra*. The *dharmacakra* "implies a conception of the Buddha as the *Dharmakāya* "Embodiment of the Word".³⁸ We also know that from the Vedic time lotus is traditionally thought as a support of divine beings. The same thinking has been expressed in the Buddhist imagery of lotus capitals as the support of the *Dharmakāya* Buddha.

The wheel of the Buddhist art is an ancient "Aryan sun-emblem", says

Havell.³⁹ In the *Rgveda* it is said, "Viṣṇu sets in motion like a revolving wheel his ninety steeds (= days) with their four names (= seasons), an allusion to the three hundred and sixty days of the solar year."⁴⁰ This passage leaves no doubt that to the Vedic people wheel was a symbol of the solar disc or sun-emblem and it was not borrowed from the Middle East as supposed by Craven.⁴¹ Regarding the expression "turning the Wheel of Law" Havell makes an important observation. According to him "in certain Vedic rites a chariot-wheel was fastened to a post, and turned towards the right by a Brahman, while he chanted a hymn from the *Sāma-Veda*. Hence the expression, "Turning the Wheel of Law."⁴²

Lotus medallions : On the railings of Bharhut there are bas-reliefs of lotus medallions carved, some of which have a male or female bust at the centre. The lotus medallions with human busts seem to be inspired by the stories of lotus births of human beings in the popular Buddhist tales of the *Apadānas*, belonging to the Pāli canons. In the *Apadānas* there are stories about lotus-birth of a person because of his or her meritorious deeds in his or her previous births. Therī Uppalavaṇṇā, a Buddhist nun, so it is told, was born inside a lotus flower as she had offered fried corns covered with lotuses to a *paccekabuddha* (one who is enlightened but keeps the knowledge to himself), which was a meritorious deed.

In some medallions four *triratnas* are carved with lotus buds between them. *Triratna* (i. e. the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha*) stands for the ideal of Buddhism whose principal tenet is indifference towards worldly things emphasized by the lotus buds judiciously carved between the *triratna* symbols.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that the attitude towards the lotus was influenced by the migration of the Vedic people from the west to the east. As the Vedic people advanced towards the Indian sub-continent they first came in contact with the western part of the land. There were ponds full of lotuses, which were called *puṣkariṇī*, i. e., abounding in *puṣkara* (lotus). They were apparently enchanted by the majestic beauty of this aquatic flower, a native of the region, and also by its characteristic of standing upright in the midst of ever-moving waters. The seers of the Vedic hymns thought it the fittest object to symbolize their theory of genesis. According to the Vedic conception, before the creation started this world was tossing on the surging primeval waters and the creation needed a foothold (*Taittirīya Br.* 1.3.5-6; *Śatapatha Br.* 14.1.2.11; *Taittirīya Ār.* 1.23.1). The lotus fitted perfectly in symbolizing that conception. For them lotus seemed to be a supernatural object and to wrap it with a mystic aura myths were woven about its origin.⁴³

The initial amazement of the Vedic people regarding this flower started waning as they advanced in the direction of northern and central India and started settling down. There were plenty of lotus ponds around them. Though

the mystic aura around this flower had not vanished yet people started to observe it as an object of beauty to which beautiful things could be set at par with. Lotus has been used as a simile (*upamā*) to describe the beauty of goddess Śrī in *Śrī-sūkta*. From that period onward lotus became a standard of judgement for human, particularly feminine beauty.

By the time of the Buddha (as presented in the Pāli canons) lotus had shed its mystic aura of the Vedic times and was appreciated purely for its beauty, for aesthetic pleasure and enjoyment.⁴⁴ The abundance of lotus ponds in the Buddha's time can be inferred from the frequently mentioned group of words - *uppalinīyam paduminiyam puṇḍarikinīyam* (ponds full of blue, red and white lotuses). At the same time another botanical characteristic of this plant came into limelight, viz., drops of water can not cling to it. This became a standard example in the Pāli literature to describe the Buddha's indifference towards worldly things.

Around the beginning of Common Era Mahāyānism emerged and with it the mystification of the lotus reappeared. Lotus became intrinsically associated with the Bodhisattvas and the flower was projected as a supernatural object as in the Vedic literature. But there is a basic difference between the Vedic view and the Mahāyānic view of looking at this flower. Vedic seers draped the botanical facts of this plant in mysterious language. Different varieties of the family Nymphaeaceae (i.e. lotus in common parlance), for example, open at different hours of the day and night. This fact is expressed in a mysterious language in the Vedic literature. There it is said: 'through the down-shining of the heavenly bodies (i. e., the sun and moon) the lotus springs up' (*Pañcaviṃśa Br.* 18.9.6; also *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* 4.4.7; *Śatapatha Br.* 5.4.5.14). Whereas in the eyes of the composers of Mahāyāna texts lotus was no more a natural flower but is made of gems with a circumference up to ten *yojanas* on which meritorious persons appeared cross-legged on huge lotuses (*Mahāsukhāvati-Vyūha* 16, 41).

In the Puranic period lotus was seen both as a beautiful flower and as a symbol of cosmology (Brahmā's appearance on the lotus, *līlākamala*), prosperity, etc., which has its roots in the Vedic literature and furthered in the texts of the post-Vedic period.

Notes and References

1. Lotus seat of Agni has been dealt in my book *The Lotus Symbol in Indian Literature and Art*, Originals, Delhi 2002. But to get at the root of the other symbolisms of lotus it is necessary to discuss in short the beginning of the conception of lotus seat.
2. Santona Basu, *ibid*, p. 18ff.

3. *Mythen und Symbole in indischer Kunst und Kultur*, p. 153, Rascher Verlag Zurich 1951.
4. S. Basu, op.cit., p. 65ff.
5. In Mahāyāna the monks are Bodhisattvas, Cf. John C. Huntington, *The Origin of Buddha Image*, FN 29, p. 24 in *Studies in Buddhist Art*, Ed. A. K. Narain, Kanak Publications, New Delhi 1985.
6. F. D. K. Bosch, *The Golden Germ*, p. 56, Mouton & Co. - S. Gravenhage 1960; S. Morenz & J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume*, p. 134, Verlag *Artibus Asiae*, Ascona, Switzerland 1954.
7. Bosch, Op.cit., p. 122 ff; E. B. Havell, *A Handbook of Indian Art*, p. 42-43, Indic Academy, Varanasi 1972.
8. Translation by F. Max Mueller, *The Larger Sukhāvati-Vyūha*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1997 (Reprint)
9. *Indien*, p. 70, Holle Verlag, Baden-Baden 1979 (Paperback).
10. *The Golden Germ*, p. 122.
11. *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p. 21, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1979 (Reprint)
12. It is described in *Devīmāhātmya* or *Caṇḍī*, a part of *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*.
13. Cf. T.A.G. Rao, *Description of Terms in Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 51ff. Indological Book House, Varanasi - Delhi 1971.
14. In Bengali language grace and beauty of a girl is expressed by the word *lakṣmīśrī*.
15. *Padmānane padma-ūru padmākṣi padmasambhava* - *Śrī-Sūkta*, verse 17; *Padmavarṇā*, verse 4.
16. S. Basu, Op. cit., p. 52ff.
17. Cf. Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtam* (2.2) where the Yakṣa while describing the young ladies says: *haste līlākamalam*.
18. *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 20-21.
19. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Yakṣas*, Pt. II. p. 40: "When *soma* is represented in art, it is a full vessel (*pūrṇaghata* etc.) the commonest of all Indian symbols of plenty", Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1980 (Reprint). cf. F. D. K. Bosch, *The Golden Germ*, p. 112.
20. *Indien, Gandhara - Begegnung zwischen Orient und Okzident*, p. 21, Pawlak Verlag Herrsching 1975.
21. M. Hallade, *ibid*, p. 45, Fig. 32.
22. In mythology *makara* is the *vāhana* of Gangā, the river goddess. This aquatic monster, it seems, was conceptualized in art on the model of Ganges River Dolphins (*Platanista gangetica*), which have long snouts and are still found in some Indian rivers. Its local name is *śuśuk* and the fishermen believe, *śuśuk* is the vehicle

of Gangā.

23. Bosch, op.cit., p. 23ff.
24. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1960 (Reprint).
25. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Pt. II, p. 13: "(there) is the intimate connection of the Yakṣas with the waters. For example, Kubera's inexhaustible treasures are a lotus and a conch..."
26. *Ibid*, p. 12.
27. Trans, by F. Max Mueller, *The Larger Sukhāvati-Vyūha*.
28. People in India still believe that *pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*) has the power of fulfilling a wish. As a symbol of one's secret wish people tie a piece of cloth to a branch of that tree.
29. *The Larger Sukhāvati-Vyūha* 31.11, 12, Trans. F. Max Mueller.
30. Tr. H. Kern, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 17, Mōtilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1994 (reprint).
31. Roy C. Craven, *A Concise History of Indian Art*, p. 86, Thames Hudson, London 1976.
32. A. K. Coomaraswamy says, there are 'two flowers (i.e. lotuses): one behind the 'head', the other beneath the 'feet', and each a reflection of the other, representing the 'grounds' (*pṛthivī*) of existence in extenso (*rājasīka, antarīkṣa*) between them" *The Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p. 71, Fn. 38.
33. T. A. G. Rao, Definition and Description of Terms in *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 31-32.
34. *Ibid*, p. 32.
35. Translation, H. Kern, p. 17.
36. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 33-34.
37. Roy C. Craven says about the Sarnath capital (*Indian Art*, p. 41): "(It is) an exceedingly effective symbol of the Buddha's cosmic preaching of the Law."
38. *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p. 32; Johannes Brōnkhurst, *Die buddhistische Lehre* in *Der Buddhismus I*, p. 163, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 2000.
39. E. B. Havell, *A Handbook of Indian Art*, p. 15.
40. A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic Reader*, p. 31, Oxford University Press, Madras 1957.
41. *Indian Art*, p. 41.
42. Op. cit. p. 15, Fn. 2.
43. Santona Basu, Op. cit., p. 20ff.
44. *Pokkharani nāma yattha katthaci manussānāṃ kīlittum ramittum katā hoti - Vinaya Piṭaka, Bhikkhuni Vibhaṅga, Pacittiya* 41.

Vāstuvīdyā In the Br̥hat Saṁhitā

Jaya Chemburkar

Sanskrit literature has presented to the world a variety on various subjects such as prose, poetry, drama, grammar, poetics, philosophy, medicine, astronomy, architecture, mathematics, law, politics, and administration, etc.

Various outstanding personalities have contributed to the growth of this vast mass of Sanskrit literature. Varāhamihira (500-575 CE) was one of them. He was a scientist, an astronomer and an astrologer as well. His eminent work is *Br̥hatsaṁhitā* (*BS*).

The term *saṁhitā* means a collection or a compilation. R. Bhat has rightly remarked that it cannot be an original work.¹ In this work Varāhamihira has dealt with different sciences and other subjects of human interest. He has devoted one chapter (chapter 53) to Vāstuvīdyā (Vāsv) "architecture" i.e. science of house building.

In my earlier articles² I have discussed the principles of Vāsv. known from the *Gr̥hya Sūtras* (*Gr. S.* 600-200 BCE) and the *Matsya Purāna* (CE 200 - 400). In this article I propose to take a review of the rules and norms for house building laid down in the *BS*.

Preceptors of the Vāstuvīdyā

The *Matsya Purāna* (*Mat. P.*) has mentioned the names of eighteen preceptors of the Vāstuvīdyā. (*Mat. P.* 252 2-4). But the *BS*. does not mention those preceptors. At the outset, the *BS* remarks that the science of house building has come down from Brahmā (Creator) through an unbroken succession of sages (*BS* 53.1). Though the *BS* does not explicitly mention the names of the sages, probably in the words *muniparamparāyātam* "unbroken succession of sages" it indirectly refers to the sages whose names have been mentioned in the *Mat. P.* In short, both the *Mat. P.* and the *BS* appear to imply antiquity of the existence of the science of architecture, through the mention of the sages and many mythological personalities like Brahmā, Nārada, Vāsudeva, Viśvakarmā, Maya, etc. associated with architecture. Possibly the *Mat. P.* and the *BS* have drawn upon the treatises of these preceptors.

Vāstuparīkṣā

Building construction begins with the selection of a site. Nature of the soil was taken into consideration while selecting land for building a house

ever since the days of the *Gr. S.* The *Mat. P.* has prescribed certain tests for examining the nature of the soil. For building-construction the *BS* also has recommended ground which is soft, which is of even surface, of sweet smell and taste, and which is abounding in excellent herbs, trees and creepers, and which is not hollow underneath. Such a land is said to confer all round prosperity (*BS* 53.88). According to the *BS* in the neighbourhood of the house, there should not be a minister's house, a gambler's house, and a temple (*BS* 53.89, 90). Ground sloping down towards the north is said to be beneficial for Br̥hmaṇas; if it slopes towards the east it is beneficial for Kṣatriyas; if the slope is towards the south or west, it is beneficial to Vaiśyas and Sūdras respectively. However, a Br̥hmaṇa may have dwelling on any of these grounds, but the rest only according to their rank, i.e. a Kṣatriya on a ground sloping towards the east, south or west, a Vaiśya towards the south or west, and a Sūdra towards the west only (*BS* 53.91). Thus, in the selection of land by the three castes viz. Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras, their scope goes on diminishing in descending order of the castes.

Methods of Testing the Suitability of the Ground for the Houses of Different Classes

Like the *Gr. S.* and the *Mat. P.* the *BS* also has laid down three methods of testing the suitability of the ground. (1) A pit measuring one cubit in diameter and depth should be dug in the centre of the site for house building. If on filling it with the same earth, the pit is insufficiently filled, it is moderate, and if the earth dug out is more than sufficient, that ground is best for construction (*BS* 53.92). (2) The pit is to be filled with water, and then walking a hundred steps one should come back. If the water in the pit does not diminish, the ground is good for construction. These tests are meant to see whether the ground is rocky or not. Rocky soil gives strong support to the house from underneath. (3) An earthen lamp with four wicks facing the four directions should be placed in the same pit. If the wicks in the northern direction burn for longest time, the land is said to be beneficial for Br̥hmaṇas. If the wicks in the east, south and west burn for longer time, the land is beneficial for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras respectively (*BS* 53.94). (4) Another test lays down that flowers of four colours, viz. white, red, yellow and dark should be placed in the pit at night, next day morning one should see which flower has not faded in the pit. That class whose flower has not faded in the pit will flourish on that site (*BS* 53.95). This test can be explained thus - For selecting the site the abovementioned test should be conducted. Different colours of the flowers correspond to the nature of occupations of the four castes and their temperaments. The four colours of the flowers appear to represent the four castes. If the flower representing that particular caste has not faded, that land will be beneficial to that particular caste. It may be stated here that the *Mat. P.* has not laid down this particular test. The last two tests

fail to convince rational thinking. Popular beliefs might be underlying these tests.

Soil of Different Colours for the Four Castes

Soil of white, red, yellow and black shade has been recommended for the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively. Similarly, if it smells like ghee, blood, food and liquor, it is said to be good for the four classes—Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. It is also favourable to these castes, if it is covered with the four kinds of grass, viz. the holy Darbha Grass, Śara, Dūrvā (kind of tender grass) and Kāśa (kind of grass for making mats and roofs). Likewise sweet, astringent, sour and pungent soil is said to bestow prosperity on these classes in that order (*BS* 55. 96, 97). Combination of different chemicals and minerals present in the soil results in different shades of the land. Here the shades of the land correspond to the nature and temperaments of the four castes. Instructions regarding the different smells and the four types of grass have been laid down, keeping in mind the requirements of the four castes in their respective occupations. Darbha-grass will be useful to a Brāhmaṇa for his priestly activities; Śara — a strong and sturdy grass will be useful to a Kṣatriya for making quivers for arrows and also the central staff of arrows; Dūrvā grass will be useful as fodder for the cattle of the Vaiśya and Kāśa grass can be used by a Śūdra for making mats and such other articles in cottage industry. It will be observed here that in the selection of the site for house building, interests and welfare of the four castes have been taken into account. Though the soil is expected to be fertile on the surface, it must be rocky underneath to give stability and strong support to the house.

Vāstupuruṣa

According to Hindu thought, every entity has a presiding deity. Like the *Mat. P.* the *BS* also has described Vāstupuruṣa, the presiding deity of the ground on which the house is to be built. The concept of Vāstoṣpati 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 Vāstoṣpati (*RV* VII 54.1-3, VII 55.1). It must be stated here that the *Gr. S.* prescribe the ritual of Vāstuśānti for appeasing the presiding deity of the land/house. But the *Gr. S.* have not described Vāstupuruṣa. For them Vāstupuruṣa was only a deity whose favours were necessary for the happiness of the inmates of the house. Later on in the process of evolution of mythology, it appears that personal, concrete form of Vāstupuruṣa was conceived and the myth regarding his emergence was fabricated. The myth is as follows. There was some Being which obstructed the earth and the sky with its body. The gods suddenly caught hold of it and laid it upside down. Whichever limbs were held by different gods, had those very gods as their presiding deities. The

creator ordained that Being to be the House-God of the nature of gods (*amaramayam Vāstunaram* / 53.2-3). In the ground plan described by the *Mat. P.* and later on by the *BS Vāstupuruṣa* was accomodated.

Ground-Plan-Division into Eightyone Squares

After the selection of the land for house building the plot of land is to be divided into 81 squares by drawing ten lines from east to west, and others from north to south. Inside the diagram, 13 deities are situated and 32 in the outer compartments. Thus there are 45 deities in this diagram (*BS* 53-42).

The following diagram shows how eightyone squares are to be formed and the allotment of these squares to different deities. The squares are called *padas* (*BS* 53.50)

Diagram 1 (with 81 squares)

		N.E.	EAST					S.E.	
NORTH	शिखी	पञ्चम्यः	जयन्तः	इन्द्रः	सूर्यः	सरयः	भृशः	अन्त- रिक्षः	अनिलः
	दितिः	प्रापः	जयन्तः	इन्द्रः	सूर्यः	सरयः	भृशः	सावित्रः	पूगा
	प्रदितिः	प्रदितिः	प्राप- वत्सः	अयंमा	अयंमा	अयंमा	सविता	वितथः	वितथः
	भुजगः	भुजगः	पृथिवी- धरः	ब्रह्मा	ब्रह्मा	ब्रह्मा	विव- स्वान्	वृह- त्क्षतः	वृह- त्क्षतः
	सोमः	सोमः	पृथिवी- धरः	ब्रह्मा	ब्रह्मा	ब्रह्मा	विव- स्वान्	यमः	यमः
	भल्लाटः	भल्लाटः	पृथिवी- धरः	ब्रह्मा	ब्रह्मा	ब्रह्मा	विव- स्वान्	गन्धर्वः	गन्धर्वः
	मुख्यः	मुख्यः	राज- यक्ष्मा	मित्रः	मित्रः	मित्रः	इन्द्रः	भृङ्ग- राजः	भृङ्ग- राजः
	अहिः	रुद्रः	शोषः	असुरः	वरुणः	कुमुप- दन्तः	सुग्रीवः	जघः	सृगः
	रोगः	पाप- यक्ष्मा	शोषः	असुरः	वरुणः	कुमुप- दन्तः	सुग्रीवः	दीवा- रिवः	पिता
		N.W.	WEST					S.W.	

Fig. 1

The nine deities situated in the outer squares beginning with the one

at the north-eastern corner and ending with the south-eastern are: Śikhin, Parjanya, Jayanta, Indra, Sūrya, Satya, Bhṛṣa, Antarikṣa and Anila. Then follow in order Pūṣan, Vitatha, Bṛhatkṣata, Yama, Gandharva, Bhr̥ngarāja, Mṛga, and Pitṛ on the south to the south-western corner. Then come regularly in the west Dauvārika, Sugrīva, Kusumadanta, Varuṇa, Asura, Śoṣa, Pāpayakṣman and Roga ending in the north-western corner. Thereafter there are Ahi, Mukhya, Bhallāta, Soma, Bhujaga, Aditi and Diti in the north in regular order, the total being 32 deities (*BS* 53.43-45). In the centre of the diagram, Brahman occupies nine squares, to his east, there is Aryaman (in three squares); next to the right of Aryaman there is Savitṛ in a single square at the interval of one division; next to him to the right is Vivasvat, next to him is Indra; then going upto the west of Brahman, there are Mitra (in 3 divisions) and Rājayakṣman; then turning to the east, there are Pṛthivīdhara (in 3) and Āpavatsa. In this way these eight deities are situated on the circumference around Brahman. In the internal north-eastern corner there is Āpaḥ; in the south-eastern corner (between Savitṛ and Anila) Sāvitra, in the south-western corner, Jaya and in the north-western corner, Rudra (*BS* 53. 46-48)

In the diagram there are altogether 81 Squares, occupied by 45 deities. In the four outer corners 20 deities viz. 1) Śikhin, 2) Parjanya, 3) Diti, 4) Āpaḥ, 5) Āpavatsa, 6) Antarikṣa, 7) Anila, 8) Pūṣan, 9) Sāvitra, 10) Savitā, 11) Mṛga, 12) Pitṛ, 13) Dauvārika, 14) Jaya, 15) Indra, 16) Pāpayakṣman, 17) Roga, 18) Ahi, 19) Rudra and 20) Rājayakṣman occupy one square each. They are called padikāḥ. Then there are other twenty deities viz. Jayanta, Indra, Sūrya, Satya, Bhṛṣa, Vitatha, Bṛhatkṣata, Yama, Gandharva, Bhr̥ngarāja, Sugrīva, Kusumadanta, Varuṇa, Asura and Śoṣa and Mukhya, Bhallāta, Soma, Bhujaga and Aditi. These deities rule over two squares each. They are called dvipadāḥ. Aryaman, Vivasvat, Mitra and Pṛthivīdhara occupy three squares each. They are called tripadāḥ. Only one deity viz. Brahman holds sway over nine squares (*BS* 53. 49-50).

The *BS* has described in detail the possession of the different parts of the body of Vāstupuruṣa by the different gods in the plan (*BS* 53. 51-54). It may be pointed out here that no deity has been assigned to the neck of the Vāstupuruṣa.

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 some significance for the ancient Indians. This is an influence of the Tantras. 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 Cosmic Principle is all pervading.³ 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.

Concern for Vāstupuruṣa and Brahman

The meeting points of the longer diagonals and the exact middle points of the squares should be considered as vulnerable points, which a wise man ought not to hurt (*BS* 53.57 also *Mat. P.* 253.36). The *BS* as usual warns that if the vulnerable points be hurt by dirty materials, nails, pillars, pegs etc., they would cause trouble to the owner of the building in the corresponding limbs of his body (*BS* 53. 58). The *BS* describes at length various inauspicious, unworthy, objectionable acts which make Vāstupuruṣa uncomfortable; and hence scratching his limbs, sneezing, spitting, weeping, howling or uttering inauspicious words should be avoided by the owner of the house (*BS* 53.59, also *Mat. P.* 253. 37-39). The *BS* has mentioned various elements that can cause affliction to Vāstupuruṣa and their evil effects accruing to the owner of the house. Happiness of the owner was believed to depend on the comfort of Vāstupuruṣa. Therefore, the *BS* lays down that Vāstupuruṣa should be comfortable in the ground. His presence should not be ignored, because He is underground. *BS* 53.66 states the need to guard carefully Brahman occupying nine squares in the centre of the diagram. This instruction is followed by a statement of affliction of Brahman doing harm to the owner. The statement of evil consequences of affliction to Vāstupuruṣa and Brahman might sound farfetched, fanciful and rooted in superstitions, yet there is a point in it. This statement is meant to inspire fear from calamity befalling the owner and urge him to take recourse to righteous, dignifying, decent, disciplined good conduct conducive to peace and happiness. Precepts on moral conduct when presented in the garb of religious injunctions are accepted easily.

Planning of Villages or Towns

After having explained the ground plan, the *BS* briefly refers to the planning of villages or towns. It states that when villages and towns are planned the same planning should be resorted to. In the same manner, the deities are situated in the different parts of towns and villages, as in the case of houses. In these places also suitable parts should be allotted to Br̥hmaṇas and other classes (*BS* 53.69).

Allotment of Houses for the Four Castes

The *BS* lays down that the houses of Br̥hmaṇas and other castes should be located in the northern, eastern, southern and western parts respectively of villages and towns. The houses are to be constructed in such a manner that for the people who enter the courtyard, the houses should be to their right (*BS* 53.70). This type of allotment of houses for one particular community /

caste in one particular quarter would be conducive to close contact and co-operation among the members of that particular community practising common occupation and promote the growth of occupations.

Trees

The trees banyan, the Indian fig, and the holy *Aśvattha* growing in the south, west, north and east respectively are of untoward effects while in the north, east, south and west respectively they are beneficial. (*BS* 53. 85).

Thorny trees (like the *Khadira*) in the vicinity of houses cause danger from enemies, milky ones (like the *Arka*) lead to destruction of wealth, and fruit bearing ones (like the *Mango*) to loss of children. Even their timber should be avoided in the construction of houses. If these trees (thorny etc.) cannot be cut down, auspicious trees such as *Punnāga*, *Aśoka*, *Nimba*, *Bakula*, the *Jack tree*, *Śami* and *Śāla* should be planted amidst them. If this is done the untoward effect of the bad tree could be warded off (*BS* 53. 86, 87; also *Mat. P.* 20-24). From environmental point of view attention was paid to plantation of certain trees in certain specific direction. Well-being of the inmates of the house was always taken care of and evil influence of the surroundings was to be averted.

Commencement of the Construction

Like the *Mat. P.* (253.2-9) the *BS* does not lay down auspicious time such as auspicious and inauspicious months, auspicious asterisms, evil and beneficial yogas, "conjunction" of the planets. The *BS* lays down that the owner of the land who wishes to construct a house should go at a time prescribed by the astrologer, to the worthy site which has been ploughed, where sown seeds have sprouted and where *Brāhmaṇas* and cows have stayed for a night (*BS* 53. 98), worship the deities with varieties of eatables, curds, coloured rice, fragrant flowers and incense and honour *Brāhmaṇas* and architects (*BS* 53.99). Here the recommendation of a ploughed site where sown seeds have sprouted is indicative of the fact that the soil is fertile, and is blessed by cows and *Brāhmaṇas*. Such a land is a worthy site for construction.

Touching his head, chest, thighs or feet, accordingly, as he is a *Brāhmaṇa*, a *Kṣatriya*, a *Vaiśya*, or a *Sūdra*, the owner of the house should draw a line (with any object held in the hand) on the ground at the commencement of the construction of a house (*BS* 53.100). The purpose of drawing a line on the ground is to purify the land. The *BS* has mentioned the good and bad effects of the line being drawn with various objects, e.g. if the owner draws the line with his thumb, forefinger, middle finger, or with gold, silver, gem, pearl, curds, fruit, flower or coloured rice, the result would be quite good (*BS* 53-101). Fingers are soft; gold, silver, pearl, gem are looked upon

as being auspicious; curds, fruits, flowers, coloured rice are symbolic of prosperity. On the other hand if the line is drawn with a weapon, the owner would be killed with a weapon, if with a metallic (or iron) piece, he would suffer imprisonment, with ashes, there would be danger from fire, if with a straw, fear of theft and if with a wooden piece, trouble from the king, etc. Many more such evil effects of drawing a line with undesirable objects have been mentioned (*BS* 53.102-104a). Here the statement of good and bad effects of drawing the line on the ground appears to be a deterrent. Undesirable acts like uttering harsh words, spitting, sneezing at the commencement of the construction are said to be inauspicious (*BS* 53.104b). The implication of these injunctions appears to be that construction activity is a religious activity, with which so many deities are associated. Therefore, at the time of construction, sanctity, modesty, serenity, sobriety must be maintained.

Ritual at the Commencement of Construction

As per the Indian tendency to ritualize all activity, the *BS* has prescribed a simple ritual at the beginning of construction. In the north eastern corner of site, a worship should be offered (with such materials as garlands, scents, incense, cloth, food, gold, liquor etc.) (*BS* 53. 112a). After this a stone is to be laid there, i.e. in the north-eastern corner of the site, and stones in the remaining quarters in a clock-wise manner (*BS* 53. 112b). Pillars and doors are to be raised carefully being decorated with umbrellas, garlands, cloths, incense and ointments. (*BS* 53.113)

The *BS* 53.114 cautions that if birds, reptiles, etc. mount on the doors or if the doors shake, fall or if they are wrongly placed, evil effects follow. This is only an indication how superstitions had a firm hold on the minds of the ancient people. Secondly, all construction activity had to be flawless. Therefore, all care was to be taken at all stages of construction in order to avoid disastrous consequences.

The point to be stressed here through the description of these evil omens and their evil consequences appears to convey that all the activities in the construction should be performed carefully and they should be flawless, remembering that there is Vāstupuruṣa and many other deities in the ground plans. There should be no disregard or unholy act resulting in any kind of loss or disaster to the owner. Flawlessness in the performance of sacrificial rites was always emphasised, if the sacrificer wanted desired fruit from the ritual. If on the part of the sacrificer there was any mistake, any flaw in performing the rite, he would not obtain the desired fruit. The oft repeated phrase viz. “*Yah evam Veda*” in the Brāhmaṇa literature expects the sacrificer to have correct knowledge of the performance of the rite. This emphasis on correctness has been incorporated in the construction activity also which is ultimately meant to bring happiness to the owner.

Units of Measurements

Units of measurements used in construction of a house were *aṅgula* 'breadth of a finger' and *hasta* or *kara* 'cubit' i.e. measure of a forearm. The finger may be that of a master i.e. owner of the house or the mason. These units were common to all the texts, both Northern and Southern.⁵

Timber to be used in Construction

Instructions regarding particular trees whose timber is not to be used in construction, have been given. The *BS* states that for constructing a house one ought to select for timber, trees other than those that are inhabited by birds (obviously for not depriving the birds of their shelter), those broken, withered and burnt (indicating thereby that their wood is not strong to withstand the onslaught of any dangerous element), those that are in temples (being useful for worship of the temple-deity) and burial-grounds (because of their association with an inauspicious place). Similarly milky-trees, *Dhava*, *Bibhitaka*, *Nimba* (*Neem*), *Araṇi* (whose twigs are used for churning out fire for sacrifices) are also to be avoided (*BS*1.53.120)

The *BS* has described the mode of cutting a tree for timber. A tree that had been worshipped with food etc. the previous night should be cut at daytime, beginning with the north-eastern part, in a clock-wise direction. If it falls towards the north or east, it will be best, and beneficial, and one falling elsewhere should be rejected (*BS* 53.121)

It may be pointed out here that the cutting of a tree has been prescribed at daytime. Here *BS* appears to show respect to the popular and till this day prevalent belief that the presiding deity of the tree sleeps at night and therefore it is not to be disturbed by cutting the tree. The quarters viz. north, east, and the northeast appear to have some astronomical significance according to the *BS*.

If the cutting appears natural, the timber is good for being used in construction (*BS* 53. 122).

Regarding the use of timber and the process of obtaining it, avoiding timber of trees regarded as inauspicious the *Mat. P.* also has given the same instruction (*Mat. P.* 257. 1-19). This indicates that such a practice had become wellknown in the society and, therefore this established tradition was incorporated by the *Mat. P.* and the *BS*.

Timber and burnt bricks (*BS* 53.23) have been mentioned as the material for construction. There is no mention of use of stone in the construction of residential houses.

Raising of the House

The *BS* has given instructions regarding the raising of the level of the house. According to the *BS* one wishing for prosperity ought to raise the level of the floor uniformly on all sides. If there is a fault anywhere it should be either in the east or in the north. If the house is raised in the east or north there will be loss of wealth and children. If it is not straight, it results in the death of kinsmen, and if it does not face any particular direction, no children will be born (*BS* 53.115-116). If the floor of the house is raised in the east, the result will be enmity with one's friends; fear of death will be the result of extension in the south; if it is made in the west, loss of wealth, and if in the north, mental affliction (*BS* 53.117). This rule lays down that the different parts of the house should not be at different levels. If at all raising the level is inevitable, raising should be either in the east or north, because the fault in these two directions does not appear to be serious.⁶ Instructions regarding raising the house uniformly and symmetrically in all directions, aim at making the house look impressive and proportionate on all the sides.

Situation of Rooms

The *BS* has given specific instructions for the construction of different rooms. It states – in a four-walled house the worship room should be situated in the north-east, kitchen in the south-east, the store room in the south-west, and the treasure room and granary in the north-west (*BS* 53.118)

The situations of different rooms mentioned here are the same as those described in the *Mat. P.* The *Mat. P.* has allotted a place for storing water in the north, but there is no mention of a place for storing water in the *BS*.

With the exception of the north laid down as a place for storing water by the *Mat. P.*, in both *Mat. P.* and the *BS* no construction has been laid down in the cardinal directions. All the rooms are to be constructed in the intermediate quarters. Probably it was an established practice to use the cardinal directions for the construction of bed-room, living room or a hall etc.

Instructions Regarding Doors

The *BS* has described the different effects of pulling up the doors in different directions (*BS* 53.71-79). A door which opens automatically is said to cause lunacy, one that closes likewise, causes destruction of the family; one that is too big leads to trouble from the king, one that is too low, results in fear of robbers and misery etc. etc. (*BS* 53.79). These instructions suggest that there should be no flaws and mistakes in construction. The principal door ought not to be surpassed by other doors through superior structure

and decorative motifs. The door should be embellished profusely with designs of auspicious objects, such as images of Śiva's attendants etc. The *Mat. P.* also has given similar instructions (*Mat. P.* 256. 28-29), but it has not stated evil effects of deviating from this rule. It will be observed that whenever the *BS* lays down any instruction for construction activity it states various evil consequences of not following the instruction laid down. The statement of such evil effects is probably a deterrent. Through these deterrents the Hindu architecture appears to draw the attention of the architect to give proper place to quarters in building construction.

Construction of Vīthikā and Several Storeys

Building of verandahs formed one of the features of construction. Names have been given to houses on the basis of the positions of the verandahs. Outside the house there should be built a verandah, the breadth of which should be one third of that of the hall. If the verandah is in front of the house, that house is termed *Soṣṇiṣa*; if it is behind the house, it is termed *Sāyāśraya*; the house with a verandah on two sides is designated as *Sāvaṣṭambha*, and the one with a verandah on all the four sides is termed *Susthita* (*BS* 53.20, 21 also *Mat. P.* 254. 37, 38). *Mat. P.* does not describe *Sāyāśraya* house. The *BS* remarks that all these types are approved by the authorities on architecture (*śāstrajñaihi pūjitāhā sarvāhā*) (*BS* 53. 21b). The *BS* has described another classification of houses based on how the verandahs touch the house. A house with an unbroken verandah all round is called *Sarvatobhadra* i.e. all auspicious. In such a house there will be four doors in four directions, to have access to the four verandahs (*BS* 53.31). A house which has verandahs starting from the walls of the halls and going to their respective extremities from left to right is termed *Nandyāvarta*, which should have only three doors leaving off the western one. The front verandah of the main building should extend from the left hall to the right hall. Another verandah is made from there from left to right and still another beautiful one from there in the same manner. A building with such verandahs is known as *Vardhamāna* which should not have an entrance in the south (*BS* 53.32,33). In the *Svastika* type of mansion the western verandah should extend from the left hall to the right one; the other two verandahs (southern and northern) originating from the western verandah, should touch the ends in the east, and the fourth one (i.e. the eastern one) is held between their bounds. Such a mansion with only an eastern entrance is beneficial (*BS* 53.34). In the building known as *Rucaka*, the eastern and western verandahs touch the ends in the south and north, and touching these two internally there are two more. In this building an entrance in the north is not auspicious, while in the other quarters they are good (*BS* 53.35). *Nandyāvarta* and *Vardhamāna* types of houses are said to be best for the people of all the classes (i.e. *Brahmaṇas*, etc.). *Svastika* and *Rucaka* are moderate, and the last one viz.

Sarvatobhadra is beneficial for kings and ministers etc. (*BS* 53.36). Utpala, the commentator has given plans of these five houses which are shown below.

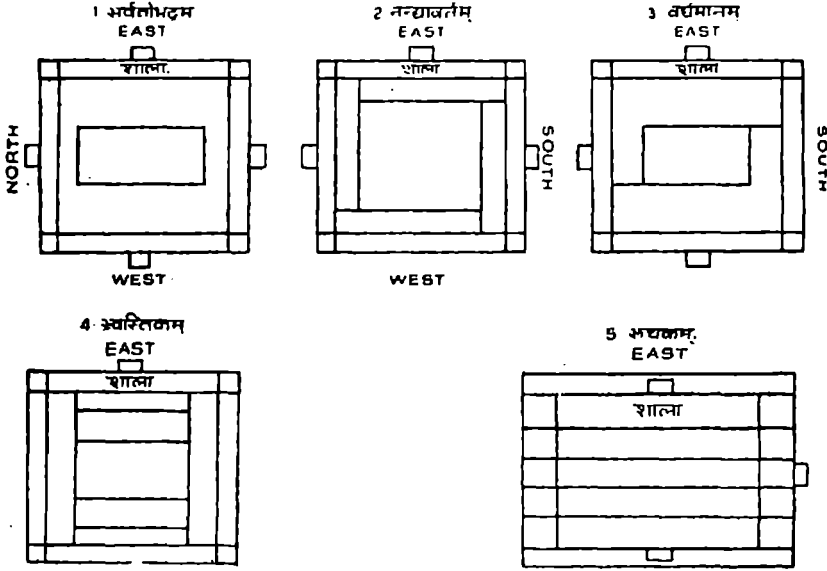


Fig. 2

According to the *Mat. P.* 254. 1-5 on the basis of absence of an entrance door in a particular direction, houses were named differently as Sarvatobhadra, Nandyāvartā, Vardhamāna, Svastika and Rucaka.

The *BS* 53. 37-38 refer to merits and demerits of three halled houses having different names. A three halled house, where the northern hall is absent is named Hiranyanābha and is fortunate. Similarly Sukṣetra is one where the eastern hall is absent, and leads to prosperity. One without the southern hall is designated as Cullī which leads to loss of wealth. Lastly, a house devoid of the western hall is named Pakṣaghna and is destructive to children and is a cause of hatred. In the following verses the *BS* describes six types of two halled houses and their merits and demerits (*BS* 53.39-41). In the description of three-halled and two-halled houses, the reference to different quarters appears to have some astronomical significance.

The reference to the height of storeys serves to indicate that houses with storeys were built. The height of the first storey (floor) was to be a sixteenth of the width increased by four cubits. The height of each of the following upper storeys was to be reduced by one twelfth of the preceding one (*BS* 53.22). The same measurements have been laid down by the *Mat. P.* 254. 39,40.

Measurements for Different Types of Houses, Halls and Verandahs, Beams and Pillars

The *BS* has laid down measurements for the houses of the four castes. It holds that it is auspicious for houses to have the same height as their breadth. The length of houses with single halls should be double their breadths (*BS* 53.11). These measurements appear to be measurements for small houses of ordinary people.

The width of the houses of Brāhmaṇas and other three classes ranges from 32 cubits to 16 cubits each being reduced by 4 cubits, i.e. the Brāhmaṇas can have either 32, or 28, or 24, 20 or 16 cubits. The width of the house of a Kṣatriya can range from 28 cubits or 24 or 20 or 16 cubits and for a Vaiśya, it can be either 24 or 20 or 16 cubits. The lowest class of men like the Cāṇḍālas will have houses with much smaller dimensions than these (*BS* 53.12). The length of the houses for the four classes should exceed the breadth by tenth, eighth, sixth and fourth respectively (*BS* 53.13). These diminishing measurements probably refer to diminishing sizes of the houses, depending on the social and economic status of the owners of the houses.

Measurements for the Houses of Mixed Castes

The houses of persons of mixed classes such as Pāraśavas i.e. sons of Brāhmaṇas from Śūdra women, Bhūrjakaṇṭakas i.e. sons of Brāhmaṇas from Vaiśya women, Mūrdhāvasiktas from Kṣatriya women should have a measure equal to a half of the sum of the measures fixed for the two classes of parents (*BS* 53.15a). *BS* warns that it is inauspicious for all people to have houses which either exceed or fall short of the fixed measurements (*BS* 53.15b). It may be stated here that the *BS* has mentioned only the mixed classes born of a Brāhmaṇa from women of other castes; it (*BS*) has not described measurements for other mixed classes born of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra from women of different castes, described by the Smṛtikāras like Manu and Yājñavalkya etc. Calculations show the following dimensions for a Pāraśava, Bhūrjakaṇṭaka and Mūrdhāvasikta - Pāraśava, house is equal to $32 + 20 \div 2 = 26$ cubits; for a Bhūrjakaṇṭaka it is $32 + 24 \div 2 = 28$ cubits; for a Mūrdhāvasikta it is $32 + 28 \div 2 = 30$ cubits.⁷ These measurements indicate the positions of these three mixed castes.

Measurements for the Halls

In the houses of Brāhmaṇas and others measuring from 32 cubits downwards upto 16 cubits, the halls should have a breadth of 4 cubits 17 digits, 4 cubits 3 digits, 3 cubits 15 digits, 3 cubits 13 digits and 3 cubits 4 digits respectively (*BS* 53.18). This can be explained thus - In

a house measuring 32 cubits, the hall should have breadth of 4 cubits 17 digits. If the houses measure 28, 24, 20, 16 cubits the halls therein should measure 4 cubits 17 digits, 3 cubits 15 digits, 3 cubits 13 digits and 3 cubits 4 digits respectively

Measurements for the Verandahs

Measurements for the verandahs of these houses are 3 cubits 19 digits, 3 cubits 8 digits, 2 cubits 20 digits, 2 cubits 18 digits and 2 cubits 3 digits in order of castes (*BS* 53.19)

According to the *Bṛs. S.* there is no fixed measurement for the houses of cattle and ascetics as well as for granaries, arsenals, houses of sacred fire and picture houses (pleasure-houses). However, the height should not be more than 100 cubits (*BS* 53.16).

Measurements of Walls and Doors

The *BS* has laid down measurements for the walls of houses made of burnt bricks, which should be sixteenth part of their breadth. There is no restriction of length and height regarding the houses made of wood (*BS* 53.23).

In case of the houses of Brāhmaṇas and other classes the number denoting the breadth in cubits should be divided by 5 and the quotient taken as so many digits. This should be increased by 18. To this should be added an eighth part of itself. That will give the width of the door, and thrice that number will be its height in digits (aṅgula) (*BS* 53.25). This can be explained thus: take 32 cubits (hasta or kara) the width of a Brāhmaṇa's house, divide it by 5 and we get 6 as the quotient. This number is to be taken as 6 digits. Add 18 to it. We get 24. By increasing this by its own eighth part, we get $24 + 3 = 27$ digits. This is the width of the door. Thrice this will be its height i.e. $27 \times 3 = 81$ digits. The thickness of the two sideframes of the door is as many digits as the number of cubits in its height. One and a half times this gives the thickness of the threshold and the upper block. The breadth of all the four places is an eightieth part of seven times the door height. (*BS* 53.26)

Measurements of Beams

The thickness of the main architrave is equal to that of the pillar, above this there are beams and minor beams, whose thickness is three fourths of that of its immediately preceding one (*BS* 53.30).

Measurements of Pillars

Construction of beautifully decorated pillars is the contribution of the

Mauryan Architecture to Indian Art. The *Mat. P.* so also the *BS* have described polygonal pillars, with different names (*Mat. P.* 255.1-3, *BS* 53.27-29). An eightieth part of nine times the height gives the width of a pillar at the bottom and the same reduced by a tenth, is its width at the top (*BS* 53.27).

Types of Pillars

A pillar that is perfectly square in the middle (barring the two ends) is termed Rucaka, one that is octagonal is Vajra or Diamond, one with sixteen sides, a double diamond, one with thirty two sides Pralīnaka, and a round pillar is named Vṛtta or cylindrical (*BS* 53-28). The *BS* has described here five types of pillars. All these pillars are said to be auspicious.⁹

Names of Different Parts of a Pillar

A pillar is divided into nine equal parts, the first two will belong to the bottom and the last two to the top. They are called Vahana 'Support', Ghaṭa 'Pot', Padma 'Lotus' and Uttaroṣṭha or 'Upperlip'. Designs and artistic motifs were to be carved on these parts (*BS* 53.29). The pillars have been given these names from their shapes.

Grhapraveśa

The last stage in house-building is entry into the newly constructed house for the first time, i.e. grhapraveśa. The *BS* enjoins upon the owner of the house to enter the house which is strewn with heaps of flowers, decorated with arches, embellished with auspicious pots filled with water, where the deities of the site have been worshipped with incense, perfumes and offerings of food, and which is resounding with the sound of Brāhmaṇas chanting the Vedic mantras (*BS* 53.125). This ritual is simple, and is meant to appease Vāstupuruṣa through the worship of various deities on his body. The *BS* does not name this ritual as Vāstuśānti or Vāstuśamana. This ritual is performed with a belief that rituals have mystical power and without a ritual house-building activity would not be complete. The ritual is a saṁskāra 'sacrament' for the new house to sanctify it and make it fit for living, by obtaining the grace of Vāstupuruṣa and blessings of the Brāhmaṇas (Saṁskāro nāma sa bhavati yasmin jāte padārtho bhavati योग्याḥ kasyacidarthasya).¹⁰

Concluding Remarks

Primitive crude form of Vāsv. has been presented in the *Gr. S.* Rules and norms laid down there were meant for a wooden thatched house. In the period of the composition of the *Mat. P.* Vāsv made progress over the rudiments of the Vāsv presented in the *Gr. S.* and from a thatched house of the Sūtra period emerged a brick built house, with several storeys and verandahs. There is a gap of nearly hundred and fifty or two hundred years

between the composition of the *Mat. P.* and the *BS*, yet the Vāsv presented by the *BS* does not show any further development in the art of construction. The scheme for house building presented by the *BS* sounds like an echo of what is stated regarding house building in the *Mat. P.* Both the *Mat. P.* and the *BS* refer to a tradition of number of preceptors of Vāsv. The precepts laid down by these preceptors must have been followed by the society for quite a long period of time. Many of these preceptors were sages and mythological personalities as observed above. In accordance with the well-known words "mahājanaḥ yena gataḥ sa panthāḥ" the *Mat. P.* and the *BS* appear to have chosen to tread the path by which these preceptors have gone, and that is why the architectural precepts in the *BS* are closely akin to those in the *Mat. P.*

The word saṁhitā (*Bṛhat Saṁhitā*) means a collection, compilation. The chapter on Vāsv presented by Varāhamihira is not his original work as observed above. It will not be illogical to presume that this work of some other expert on architecture was incorporated in his collection (saṁhitā) on various other subjects, with a view to preserving ancient learning, because Varāhamihira's life mission was to revive the ancient learning which was fast disappearing as observed by Bhat.¹¹

The architectural plan given in the *Mat. P.* is very systematic, maintaining proper sequence of various details regarding house-building. It begins with the selection of the land and then one after the other describes the other details that follow selection of land. The *BS* on the other had first deals with the construction of different parts of the house and then turns to selection of the land etc.

Like the *Mat. P.* there is no mention of foundation, windows and sanitary arrangement. The *BS* has not laid down any rules regarding the training of masons, their duties, instruments used in construction.

Insistence is on correctness and flawlessness. Emphasis is on strictly following the rules regarding quarters. Laying down of rules is everytime followed by a statement of evil effects on deviating from these rules. These statements of evil effects are deterrents. These evil effects speak of the hold of superstitions and fear from harmful unseen evil elements, on the mind of the people. Like the *Gr. S.* and the *Mat. P.* geography, geology, astronomy, religion, mysticism, superstitions, caste-considerations etc. have been woven and interwoven in the construction activity.

Acknowledgement

The two diagrams illustrated in this article are from M. R. Bhat's book *Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1997.

Notes and References

1. cf Bhat, Ramkrishna, *Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā*, Introduction P. XV.
2. a) House-building and Rituals in Ancient India, pp.1-18, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* vol. 74 for 1999.
b) House-building according to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* pp. 16-28, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* Vol. 75 for 2000.
3. cf. "This is the cosmological and metaphysical background on which the most fundamental doctrine of Vāstupuruṣa maṇḍala rests" Shukla D. N., *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* Pt. II. p. 261.
4. Sammārjanenāñjanena sekenollekhanena vā gavām ca sannivāsena bhumiḥ śudhyati pañcabhil - commentator Utpala on *Br. S.* 53. 100.
- 5) cf. Bhattacharya, Tarapada, *A Study of Vāstuvidyā* pp. 221-222.
6. cf. Bhat N. Ramakrishna, *Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā*, Part I, p. 495.
7. cf. *Ibid*, p. 455.
8. cf. Bhat, *Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā* Part I, p. 248.
9. cf. *Ibid*, p. 459.
10. cf. Śabara on Jaiminīya Sūtra III 1.3
11. Bhat, *Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā* Part I, p. xi.

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Sarpas and Vedic Ritual Tradition

Sindhu Sadashiv Dange

Worship of serpent forms one of the oldest and widespread practices of religion, not only in India but all the world over.¹ The beliefs about serpent were so deep-rooted as to give rise to accepting that creature as a totem of a tribe and the tribe eventually coming to be known by the name of that totem. Thus is seen the Sarpa tribe in ancient India. The Sarpas, in spite of being outside the Aryan fold in the beginning, gradually came into contact with the Aryans and could have some hymns in the *R̥gveda* (*RV*) to their credit. There is reason to believe that this cultural assimilation of the Sarpas with the Aryans came into process at a later date, for these hymns occur in the comparatively later portions of the *RV* (X. 76; 94; 175 & 189).

The Vedic ritual-texts do shed some light in this direction. To take a note of some striking points indicating this cultural assimilation in the Vedic ritual tradition will certainly be rewarding. T. V. Mahalingam's long article² is no doubt enlightening, but he does not refer to the ritual-tradition as such, which is intended by us in the present article.

In the *RV* occur three hymns, in which the Soma-pressing stones are praised and these go on the names of three Sarpa-seers viz. Sarpa Jaratkarṇa, the son of Irāvāt (*RV* X. 76); Sarpa Arbuda, the son of Kadrū (*Ibid.* 94) and Sarpa Ūrdhvagrāvan Arbudi (*Ibid.* 175). There is one more hymn in maṇḍala X of the *RV* (X. 189) of which the female-seer is Sarparājñī and the deity is Sarparājñī herself or the Sun (Sāyaṇa - *saiva devatā sūryo vetī*). About Sarparājñī we shall discuss later.

About extracting the juice from the Soma shoots, two methods are marked in the *RV* viz. one, by pounding the Soma shoots with a pestle and a mortar (*RV* I. 28. 1-4, where the Soma-shoots are mentioned as 'ulūkhalasuta') and the other is pounding or grinding them with stones.³ Out of these two, the first one appears to be the older. The comparison of the Soma-ritual with the Hoama ritual of the Parsis clearly indicates that the method of pressing or pounding the Soma shoots by means of mortar and pestle may go back to the Indo-Iranian age⁴ and thus proves to be the older of the two. It is interesting to note that the Avestan ritual of preparing the Hoama (= Soma) followed even in modern times, requires mortar (*hāvanim*) and pestle (*lālā*). These two (mortar and pestle) figure in the list of metallic requisites known as *Astāmā* or *Ālāt* i.e. metallic utensils or instruments of brass or at times

silver like.⁵ Keith refers to two opinions, that of Hillebrandt and of Oliphant, the latter pointing out that the mortar and pestle were normally used, but Keith does not agree to this opinion,⁶ though it seems nearing the truth. The hymns of the Sarpa-seers praising the *grāvans* (pressing stones) have to be considered on this background, taking into account the somewhat late emergence of the method of pressing the Soma shoots with the *grāvans* compared to the older method with the mortar and pestle. The method of pressing the Soma shoots with the pressing stones no doubt appears to be slightly crude as compared to the older method which involved the implements (though they might be crude) made from stone. Whence came then the method with the pressing stones ? Did this practice follow some such method prevalent among some people, other than the settled Aryans ? Was this the reason why the Sarpa-seers could feel like praising the *grāvans* - the crude stones, they were familiar with ?

The accounts in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (*Ait. Br.*) and the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (*Kauṣ. Br.*) may help us to solve this problem. The *Ait. Br.* mentions a sacrificial session of the gods. It is said that the gods could not destroy the 'evil' or the 'sinful', with the result their sacrifice remained unsuccessful. There came a seer named Arbuda Kādraveya (i.e. the son of Kadrū) from the Sarpa tribe, who pointed out to the gods that their ritual was lacking in a detail, which otherwise could have destroyed the 'evil'. The detail was the invocation of the pressing-stones at the mid-day pressing. He invoked the pressing-stones on the insistence of the gods and the juice of Soma obtained thereby invigorated the gods. But the gods were apprehensive of the Sarpa-seer with a thought that his gaze at the Soma, their lord, might putrify the latter. So they wrapped his eyes with his head-wear. But they imitated this in later tradition and thereafter started wrapping their own eyes with the head-wear, while invoking the pressing-stones at the mid-day pressing. The gods were aware that the Sarpa-seer was invoking Soma with his own chants and this urged them mix his chants with their *ṛcs* (*Ait. Br.* V. 1 = 26. 1). Sāyaṇa says that this mixing of the chants of the Sarpa-seer with the *ṛcs* was undertaken by the gods to remove poison in the chants of the Sarpa-seer.⁷

Thus, in addition to the invocation of the pressing-stones, which was the speciality of the Sarpa-seer and which subsequently gave rise to the office of the priest Grāvastut, the special chant at the mid-day pressing in the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, where the account is ushered in the *Ait.Br.*, was a loan from the Sarpa clan. The loan is in two ways – that of the methodical ritual of invoking the pressing-stones and that of the chants to be sung at the mid-day pressing. We have already noted the Ṛgvedic hymns (X. 76; 94 & 175) by the seers of the Sarpa tribe, which appear to have influenced the Vedic ritualists in the later phase of the Ṛgvedic period itself in the method

of pressing Soma with the pressing-stones (*grāvans*). The account from the *Āit.Br.* noted above only corroborates this.

The *Kauṣ. Br.* (XXIX.1) also relates this account with a significant addition that the Sarpa-seer Arbuda Kādraveya came to the gods at the mid-day pressing and specifically told them that they were not performing the office of the Grāvastut (priest) and 'saw' the appropriate *ṛcs* of the Grāvastut priest (*RV. X. 94*) for them. Arbuda Kādraveya praised the pressing-stones while he was standing and so the pressing-stones stand as it were. He praised wearing a turban and with his eyes tied up. So in the ritual the Grāvastut priest praises the pressing-stones wearing a turban. It is interesting to mark that in the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, there is a rite called 'Grāvastutpraīṣaḥ', which means at the mid-day pressing the Adhvaryu priest asks the Abhiṣotṛs to call the sacrificer and request him to go to the Grāvastut priest (*grāvastute uṣṇīsadānam*)⁸. It is said here that with the 'eye' i.e. the 'evil eye' (metaphorically the 'serpent'⁹ of the Sarpa-seer Arbuda Kādraveya, came poison to the priests, for nullifying which he employed in praise the verses connected with Soma, purifying and repelling poison.

It seems that the persons or seers of the Sarpa-tribe had their own lore viz. Sarpavidyā. A mention of this lore as also such other lores (Devajanavidyā-lore of demons; Asuravidyā - lore of asuras) occurs in the context of the Horse-sacrifice in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*Śat. Br.*). When the sacrificial horse with its royal entourage had departed from the sacrificial enclosure for the one-year round, the Pāriplava cycle of legends started at the sacrificial place and it was made up of mini-cycles, each of ten days (*Śat.Br. XIII. 4.3. 6-14*). A reference to Sarpavidyā (lore of serpents) occurs on the fifth day, when the Sarpas and the knowers of the serpent-lore (*sarpavidah*)¹⁰ come to the sacrificial session and the Hotṛ priest recites for them, one section of the Sarpavidyā¹¹, in every cycle of ten days (*Ibid. 9*). The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (*Gop. Br.*) uses the word Sarpaveda for the word Sarpavidyā and states that Brahmā generated the *vyāhṛti* Vṛdhat from the Sarpaveda (*Gop. Br. I. 1.10*)¹². There are other such *vyāhṛtis* from other Vedas stated by the *Gop. Br.* The *vyāhṛtis* occurring here are mystic and they might have come from the non-Vedic folds or they might have been coined on the pattern provided by such strata of the people. This shows that the people of the Sarpa-tribe had their own Veda i.e. Sarpaveda, or Sarpavidyā. This was the lore stating remedies which nullified the effects of serpent-venom and exclusively in the *Atharvaveda* tradition, they had a *vyāhṛti* also of this Veda. This same lore gets the name 'Viṣahaṛī vidyā' in the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi-parvan 20.16). This lore of nullifying the effects of serpent-poison is said to be given to Kaśyapa by Brahmā.

The *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (*Pañc. Br.*) speaks of a sacrificial session of the Sarpas (*Tāṇḍya Mahā Brāhmaṇa - Tāṇḍ. M. Br. XXV. 15.1-4*). It speaks

of the two Atirātra (over-night) sacrifices—one at the beginning and the other at the end—and Agniṣṭoma-rites in the middle. The year consists throughout of tens and tens; only (the middle day) the Viṣuvat day is twelve-versed and on this Viṣuvat day the *sāmans* of the serpents are applied. It is said that through this rite the serpents gained a firm support in these worlds. The *Pañc. Br.* here enumerates in details the names of different Sarpas (may be kings and princes of the Sarpa-tribes)¹³ and the office of the respective priest held by them. It is interesting to note that Arbuda, on whose name goes the R̥gvedic hymn (X. 94) as praising the pressing-stones, is the Grāvastut priest here (*Ibid.* 3). It is said that through this rite, the serpents vanquished death. Hence it is that having left aside their old skin (slough), the serpents creep further, for they have vanquished death. The Ādityas (metaphorically) are said to be serpents and those who undertake this rite, get the shining lustre of the Ādityas and thus vanquish death.

Now a question — Which exactly is this rite ? The commentators themselves have a problem.¹⁴ With the mention of the Viṣuvat day, if we take it as a Gavām - ayana *sattra*, the mention of Abhigara (one who praises) and Apagara (one who reviles) poses a difficulty, for these two figure only in the Mahāvratā ceremony (*Pañc. Br.* V.3.13), and there is no Mahāvratā in this *sattra*. Most probably as Caland has suggested, the complete list is given here of the Sarpa-priests and their various offices on the lines of the Vedic priests. The process of assimilation in the sphere of rituals is no doubt amusing but also thought-provoking. There is a mention of the Sarpa-*sāmans* employed at the middle day in the rite, which we have discussed. Caland points out that ten Sarpa-*sāmans* are registered in the Aranyageyagāna of the *Sāmaveda* and out of these ten the first three are intended here.¹⁵ The mention of the Aranyageyagāna (or Aranyagāna), in which many folk-melodies, in most cases opposed to the regular melodies (*sāmans*), were included, sheds light on the nature and status of the Sarpa-*sāmans*. In later times, the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* lays down that the study of the Veda (obviously in the form of reciting the Vedic *mantras*) should be suspended (temporarily) in the event of the following sounds *viz.* barking of a dog, yelling of a jackal or a wolf or an owl, roar of a tiger, crying, and singing of a *sāman* (I. 3.10.19). The *sāman* mentioned here cannot be thought to be one from the sacred melodies in the Arcika and the Uttarārcika portions and even the Grāmageyagāna portions of the *Sāmaveda*. It could be from the Aranyageyagāna or Aranyagāna portion of the *Sāmaveda*, in which were incorporated many such melodies coming from the various strata of the society, which were probably yet to gain recognition or were newly recognised. This also shows how the Sarpa-*sāmans* might have got an entry into the Vedic fold, to be mentioned in the *Pañc. Br.* as noted above.

Equally interesting is the laying down of the Sarpanāma-*mantras*, which

are to be recited standing by the golden image of the man, laid on his back on a gold plate in the first layer of the Agnicayana - the rite of building the Great Fire-altar (*Śat.Br.* VII 4.1.15-25). These *mantras* are from the *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā* (XIII.6-8) and they are for paying homage to the serpents, which are on the earth, in the air or mid-region, in the luminous sphere of the sky or in the rays of the sun, those of which the abode is in the waters, those which are the darts of demons, those which are on the trees and those which lie in the holes. Serpents, practically from every place are addressed here and are paid homage to. The *Śat.Br.* explains the propriety of the Sarpanāma-*mantras* in the *arthavāda* by saying that the gods were afraid that their self (i.e. Agni in the form of the golden man) would glide or move away (fr.√*srp*>*sarp*) along with the worlds, for the latter are the *sarpas* (fr.√*srp*>*sarp* 'to move, glide away') i.e. moving away. So are the Sarpanāma-*mantras*, to make them steady. The explanation though given in a metaphorical way to convince, is rather clumsy. However, being based on etymology, it will help us in the context of the deity Sarparājñī.

We have noted above that the serpent was revered for its victory over death, due to its casting off the old skin (slough). The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (*Tait. Śam.*) speaks of the brilliance of serpent obtained by the sacrificer, when the head of a serpent is placed in the first layer of the Great fire-altar. A *yajus mantra* is uttered at this time to appease the serpent, in the absence of which the serpent would injure the animals of the village or of the wild area (*Tait. Sam.* V. 2.9.5.6). Paying reverence to serpent (*sarpa*) shows clearly that the Vedic ritual tradition had fully accepted this totem as well as its tribe, in its rituals.

In this context, it will be appropriate to take into account the deity Sarparājñī – the Serpent-queen – which is generally identified with the earth. To this deity i.e. Sarparājñī verses are addressed on the tenth day (Daśarātra) of the twelve day sacrifice¹⁶ or the last day but two, of the Gavām-ayana *sattra*¹⁷, which is the Avivākya day. It is said that Sarparājñī is this earth and through her, they obtain everything (*Śat.Br.* IV.6.9.17). According to the *Taittirīya Br.* (*Tait. Br.*), by praising with the *ṛcs* of Sarparājñī on the tenth day of the Dvādaśāha sacrifice, they reach the end of the sacrifice and attain the best food (*annādyam*). The *ṛcs* are said to be *pr̥ṣṇivalīs* because of the word *pr̥ṣṇi* in it.¹⁸ It is said that the gods are *sarpas* (fr.√*srp*>*sarp*; Sāyaṇa-*sarpanti gacchanti itī*). Sarparājñī is their queen. With the praise of Sarparājñī the sacrificer etc. are established on the earth (*Tait. Br.* II. 2.6.1,2). The *ṛcs* eulogising the deity Sarparājñī are to be recited, if one of the consecrated sacrificers dies in the middle of the sacrificial session. In this situation, the other sacrificers should not abandon the dead, but calling his son etc., should tell him to have the dead's cremation. The body was to be placed on the southern side of the altar and then were uttered the *ṛcs* in a *stotra*, to be followed by a *śastra*,

lest the earlier (i.e. *stotra*) be without any effect. The verses are in praise of Yama as also Sarparājñī, thus establishing the dead in both the worlds - of Yama and also on the earth (*Ibid.* 1.4.6.6).

The Saṁhitās of the *Yajurveda* have already spoken of the deity Sarparājñī. The *Tait. Sam.* enjoins that on the Avivākya day (i.e. the tenth day of the Dvādasāha sacrifice) the verses to the Sarparājñī are to be sung. Earth is the queen of what creeps on this earth (*Tait. Sam.* VII.3.1.3). The *Kāthaka Sam.* says that this one (i.e. Earth) is Sarparājñī and food is *sārpārājñam* - produced from Sarparājñī (*Kāth. Sam.* VIII.6). The *Maitrāyaṇī Sam.* also speaks of Sarparājñī to be the earth (*Mait. Sam.* I. 9.7). The *Tait. Sam.* in the context of rekindling of fires, mentions the deity Sarparājñī. A mythical account stated here by way of *arthavāda* is as follows. Once the serpents thought that they were growing worn out. Kasarñīra Kādraveya beheld the *mantra—bhūmir bhūmnā dyaur varīṇā* etc. ('Earth in depth, Sky in breadth' etc.)¹⁹. They then struck off their worn out skins. With the verses of the Sarparājñī, he establishes the Gārhapatya fire (by rekindling it) and by so renewing it, he makes it immortal. The earth, in order to get proper food, beheld this *mantra* (*RV* X. 189.1), with the result, food came to her (*Tait. Sam.* I.5.4.1,2). Here the Gārhapatya fire-altar is said to be the earth, which idea is marked in the ritual-texts (*Śat.Br.* VII.3.1.10,12). Again the idea of serpents casting off their sloughs (worn out skins) is joined with that of renewal of fires (indicating a new birth of fires).

The *Ait.Br.* also enjoins the chanting of *mantras* to the deity Sarparājñī on the tenth day (Pr̥ṣṭhya Śaḍaha). It is said that the Udgātṛ priests, with the other priests creep together and chant the verses to this deity. The *Ait. Br.* says that the Sarparājñī is this earth, for this earth is the queen of what creeps. It is said that the earth was bare (*alomikā*) in the beginning and saw a *mantra* (*RV* X. 189.1). With the result, the dappled colour of various forms (i.e. plants, birds, all forms etc.) entered her (*Ait.Br.* V. 23=24.4). On this passage Sāyaṇa comments that Sarparājñī is a certain deity which is the form of earth.²⁰ Sāyaṇa indicates that Sarparājñī and earth are originally two different deities.

In this connection, a passage from the *Kauṣ. Br.* is worthy of consideration. On the tenth day of the Daśarātra, after the offerings are given to the wives of the gods, the priests creep together and praise Sarparājñī with the *mantras* (*RV* X. 189. 1-3). It is said that Sarparājñī is this earth, for she is the queen of what creeps. Sarparājñī is Speech, for Speech is the queen of what creeps. Moreover Sarparājñī is cow, for cow is the queen of what creeps (*Kauṣ. Br.* XXVII.4; cf. *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* X. 13.26, also *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* VIII.13.3-6). The passage is important for knowing the real nature of the deity Sarparājñī, who is said to be the earth, Speech as also cow. This shows

that originally Sarparājñī was a separate deity, later on identified with the earth as Aditi is said to be the earth, indicating that both are separate but are identified in the context of some rituals. (*Śat. Br.* I.3.1.15; III.3.1.4; V.3.1.4 etc.)

Whence came the deity Sarparājñī ? It was a loan from the Sarpa tribe, a tribe revering the Mother-Earth, for she is regarded as the abode of serpents, especially which stay in holes and ant-hills. The earth is regarded as the very origin of serpents, they being thereby recognised as cthonic. Sarparājñī originally must be the Earth deified as the queen of serpents, even among the Sarpa-tribe and the same deity got an entry into the brahmanical ritual fold. It was straightway accepted and was identified (again !) with the earth. The etymological explanation stated often from $\sqrt{srp} > sarp$ - 'to creep, glide', which we have noted and the action of creeping on the part of the Udgātr priests together with the other priests, thus resorting to the way of sympathetic or homeopathic magic, propitiating the deity Sarparājñī, connected with serpents – the creeping creatures – clearly indicate the origin of the deity Sarparājñī to be from the Sarpa-tribe. It is significant to note that the text *Rgvidhāna* points out that if the Rgvedic hymn (X. 189), the verses in which are addressed to Sarparājñī and which begins with *ayam gauḥ*, is recited, there will not be any fear from serpents (*Rgvidhāna* IV. 119). This shows that in actual practice the hymn *RV* X. 189 was connected initially with the deity of serpents. The explanation of the ritualists as 'sarparājñī is this earth, for this earth is the queen of what creeps' (*sarparājñī iyam vai iyam hi sarpato rājñī* and surprisingly not *sarpānām rājñī*, which must have been the original idea) occurring at several places, only proves the recognition got by the newly admitted deity Sarparājñī, which could come on par with and could be identified with the earth. Another such instance is of Kadrū, the mother of serpents and a principal character in the myth of bringing Soma from the heaven, who is identified with the earth.²¹ In the times of the epics, Kadrū is also identified with Surasā, who is also the earth.²² Kadrū the mother of serpents desiring to have nectar for her children and insisting on Garuḍa's bringing it from the heaven, figures in the *Mahābhārata*.²³ That the name Kadrū has its origin in the Sarpa-tribe can be seen from the name Arbuda Kādraveya (the son of Kadrū) the Sarpa-seer, as has been noted by us.

The cultural assimilation of the Sarpa-tribe with the Vedic people was practically complete at the period, when the sacrificial ritual came to be more or less settled in a specific form, as can be seen from the Saṁhitās of the *Yajurveda*, especially the *Tait. Sam.* and the Brāhmaṇas. By the time of the Grhyasūtras, the worship of the serpents became a regular ritual by the name Sarpabali also called Śravaṇā or Śravaṇākarma (*Baudhāyana Grhyasūtra* III.10.1).²⁴

The loan of the Sarpa tribe to the Vedic-brahmanical ritual is manifold—

1. Possibly the very method of pressing Soma-shoots with the pressing-stones (*grāvans*).

2. The *mantras* to be recited at the mid-day Soma-pressing in praise of the pressing-stones. This gave rise to the practice of tying a turban round the head and also covering the eyes.

3. Probably the very office of the priest Grāvastut.

4. The lore Sarpavidyā or Sarpaveda nullifying the venom of serpents. This must have been a detailed and extensive study, as the recitation of it lasted for one full year, once in every ten-days' cycle.

5. The *Vyāhṛti* Vrdhat from the Sarpaveda.

6. The Sarpa-*sāmans*, which got an entry into the Aranyageyagāna of the *Sāmaveda*.

7. The deity Sarparājñī.

8. The Grhya ritual of Sarpabali.

The Sarpanāma-*mantras* occurring in the *Vājasaneyi-Sam.* (XIII.6-8), enjoined for paying homage to the serpents from all spheres and all regions are an indication enough to show that the Sarpa-tribe with its totem, which was introduced to the Vedic people in the later R̥gvedic period, slowly got so much settled in the Vedic fold as to deserve separate *mantras* for their deity (totem) in the times of the *Yajurveda* Samhitā, though there is no such specific mention.

By the time of the *Mahābhārata*, the process of assimilation of the Sarpas (= Nāgas) with the Aryans was complete, and there could be a mixed marriage accepting a girl from the Nāga-clan. Bhīmasena's great-grandfather was a Nāga²⁵ and the sage warding off King Janamejaya from sacrificing the Sarpas in the Sarpasattra was Āsṭīka, from the sage Jaratkāru of the Yāyāvāra *gotra* and a woman of the same name (Jaratkāru) of the Sarpa-clan.²⁶

Notes and References

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2. *Ibid.*

3. The stones are called by the term '*adri*' or '*grāvan*'. The term '*grāvan*' is generally used with the verbs \sqrt{vad} and alike, meaning 'to speak', thus having a metaphorical

sense and an anthropological touch, in comparison with the term 'adri'.

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7. *RV* I. 91. 16 = IX. 31.4. The *ṛc* is—*ā pyāyasva sametu te viśvataḥ soma vṛṣṇyam / bhavā vājasya samgathe //*
8. See *Śrautapadārthanirvacanam*, by an unknown author, pub. by Yudhishtira Mimamsaka, Bahalgarh (Sonipat - Haryana), 1984, pp. 268-269.
9. The concept of eye becoming a serpent occurs in Egyptian mythology also, when Atum sends his eye to search for his children Shu and Thefnut in the watery abyss and the eye becomes a serpent.
10. The word 'sarpavidah' is explained by the comm. on the *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* as 'those knowing the Kāśyapīya and other treatises (*tantra*) on venoms.' see Eggeling, J., *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Part V, SBE Vol. 44, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1978 (1900), p. 367, foot-note 3.
11. According to the comm. on the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, Sarpavidyā is either the Gāruḍā or Kaṅkanīyā Sarpavidyā. The *Āśv. Ś. S.* understands 'Viśavidyā' (science of venoms) by the word 'Sarpavidyā'. see Eggeling, J., *op.cit.* p. 367, foot-note 3.
12. For other *vyāhrtis* such as-Karaṭ, Guhaṭ, Mahat and Tad from the Piśācaveda, Asuraveda, Itihāsaveda and Purāṇaveda resp. see *Gop. Br.* I.1.10. From the Āṅgirasaveda, we have Janat. *Ibid.* I.1.8. Om is the *vyāhrti* of the Ātharvaṇaveda. *Ibid.* I.1.20; II.24; 3.3; II.2.14.
13. Caland, W., *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi, 1982 (Calcutta 1931), p. 641, note 1 on *Pañc.Br.* XXV.15.3.
14. *Ibid.* note 3 on *Pañc. Br.* XXV.15.1.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Eggeling, J., *op.cit.*, Part II, SBE Vol.26, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1988 (1885), p. 402, foot-note 2.
17. *Ibid.* pp. 426-427, foot-note 3.
18. *RV* X. 189. 1-3. As the first *ṛc* has the word 'pṛṣṇi' (*a ayam gauḥ pṛṣṇirakramīti*), all the three *ṛcs* are called *pṛṣṇivālī*.
19. For this *mantra*, *Tait. Sam.* I. 5.3.1.
20. Sāyana on *Ait. Br.* V. 23 = 24.4. *sarparājñīti bhūmeḥ avatārasvarūpā kācid devatā / tayā dṛṣṭā mantrā api sarparājñīśabdenocyate /*

21. *Tait. Sam.* VI. 1. 6. 1. – *iyam vai kadrūrasau suparnī I; Kāthaka Sam.* XXXIII. 10 – *iyam vai kadrūrdyauḥ suparnī I; Maitrāyaṇī Sam.* III.7.8 – *iyam vai kadrūrvāk suparnī I; Suparnādhyāya I.* 2.1. cd – *dyaursittatra vinatā suparnī bhūmistu nāgī abhavat kadrūnāmā I*
22. See Hopkins, E. W., *Epic Mythology*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1986 (Strassburg 1915), p. 23.
23. Dange, Sadashiv A., "The Garuda Legend", *Myths from the Mahābhārata*, Vol. 1, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1997, (1969), pp. 108-112.
24. Dange, Sindhu S., "Sarpa-bali", *Hindu Domestic Rituals – A Critical Glance*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1985, pp. 88-94.
25. The great-grandfather of Bhīmasena was Āryaka, from a Nāga clan. See *Mahābhārata* Ādi-parvan 127.65.
26. *Ibid.*, 13.11; chaps. 14 & 15; also 56.21-26.

Devotional Aesthetics and Temple Icons

Richard H. Davis

When museum-goers in the United States or the United Kingdom visit an exhibition of Indian art, we often find ourselves viewing a heterogeneous assortment of objects.¹ We may see sculptural panels from a Buddhist stūpa, free-standing stone statues of Buddhas, Jinas and Hindu deities all removed from once-thriving places of worship, bronze icons meant for festival processions, small courtly paintings intended for individual viewing in the palaces of Muslim and Hindu rulers, painted manuscript covers from monasteries, bits and pieces of decorative ornamentation from ruined temples, coins, jewelled daggers, toys, seals, and much else. While all these objects may well be artful in design and execution, and all may repay the close visual attention we grant them in the museum we must also recognize that, in their original settings, these objects would have served a variety of very different ends.

Looking at Indian objects within a Western museum setting encourages us to view them as works of "art", as we have come to define it, within a distinctive Western mode of aesthetic attentiveness. Each object is presented as self-sufficient and autonomous, and viewers are encouraged to engage in "the absorbed and disinterested contemplation of the product for itself, simply as a work of art (Abrams 1989: 135)." M. H. Abrams calls this the "contemplation model" of aesthetics, and he traces it to an eighteenth century "revolution" in the theory of art that culminated in Immanuel Kant's authoritative 1790 formulation in the *Critique of Aesthetic Judgment*. In the two centuries since, the dominant philosophical aesthetics of "disinterested perceptual contemplation" (in Nicholas Wolterstorff's phrase) has become imbedded throughout the world of the visual arts in the institutions and techniques of display, the practices of visual consumption, and the terms of critical discourse.²

In the past century, the world of art as defined by its Western institutions has expanded to include the sundry artistic products of other cultures. Now Indian religious icons, Chinese burial bronzes, and West African ceremonial masks join the paintings of Giotto and Vermeer and the sculptures of Greek and Renaissance masters in the halls of the museum, all equally subject to the disinterested contemplative gaze of their visitors. Svetlana Alpers appropriately terms this the "museum effect." Museums, she observes, "turn cultural materials into art objects... Museums provide a place where our eyes are exercised and we are invited to find both unexpected as well as expected

crafted objects to be of visual interest to us (1991:31-32).” All this guides us as we view art objects fabricated in India and now placed in Western museums.

Indigenous Aesthetic Models

When we ask how Indians of the past might have viewed these same objects, however, we may find ourselves on less certain ground. There is little in the way of explicit aesthetic discussion of reception of visual art in the pre-modern Indian literature available to us. Handbooks for artisans, the genre of *śilpaśāstra* or *vāstuśāstra*, for example, provide quite detailed and specific advice about fabricating proper objects according to iconographic and iconometric guidelines. However, these texts do little to theorize how others might respond to such objects.³ One finds some indirect evidence in literary sources. Dramas often feature scenes revolving around painting, such as in Kālidāsa’s *Śākuntala* and *Mālavikāgnimitra*.⁴ One may infer some indigenous aesthetic values from these portrayals of amateur or courtly practices of art-making, but these hardly constitute a detailed or systematic treatment of visual aesthetics.

Many scholars have turned to indigenous Indian literary theory to supply this seeming lack of visual aesthetics. Starting with Bharata’s *Nāṭyaśāstra* of roughly the fourth century CE, Indian writers developed a sophisticated body of aesthetic theory for the analysis and understanding of refined Sanskrit drama and poetry. Bharata’s fundamental treatise is broad in its concerns (Ghosh 1967). He deals with the origins of drama, construction of the stage, worship of the gods of the stage, dance postures and the language of gestures, poetic meters and tropes, costume and make-up of actors, musical instruments, musical scales and rhythms, dramatic plots, genres of plays, moods and aesthetic response and much else. From among this array of topics, subsequent theorists expanded several of Bharata’s topics with great analytic precision, such as the analysis of poetic figures of speech (*alaṅkāra*) and most importantly his theory of aesthetic emotion or *rasa*. The theory of *rasa* deals centrally with the effects that dramatic and poetic art may have on an audience member of refined sensibilities. In other words, *rasa* can be seen as a very early detailed investigation of what in modern critical parlance would be termed “reception theory” or “reader-response theory.”

From the time of A. K. Coomaraswamy, art historians have suggested that *rasa* theory may supply an appropriate indigenous theory of aesthetic response to the visual, as well as verbal and performative, arts. Subsequent authors have sometimes taken this as doctrine. “The critics of old applied the *Rasa* theory of *Nāṭya* and *Kāvya* [drama and literature] to *Citra* [painting] as well,” writes D. N. Shukla. “As a matter of fact, the *Rasa* theory applies to all arts.”⁵ But this extension of the theory of *rasa* has not gone uncontested,

and some writers have argued strongly against applying the notion of aesthetic emotion beyond its original and proper object of literary and dramatic art.

Other authors have sought to qualify the application of *rasa* to the visual arts by suggesting that different types of Indian art objects sought different ends, and that only certain types of objects would have fulfilled the aims of evoking *rasa* in an audience. Here too in this middle path between adoption and rejection of *rasa*, Coomaraswamy may be taken as a forefather, for in his brief 1932 article on "Reaction to Art in India", a compilation of anecdotes concerning paintings and other art objects from classical Indian drama and narrative literature, he concludes that Indians of classical literature seem to appreciate art in a great variety of ways. "To sum up, it will be seen that everyone is thought of as making use of the work of art in his own way: the work of visual art, no less than a word, being a *kāma-dhenu* [wish-granting cow], yielding to the spectator just what he seeks from it or is capable of understanding (1932:219)." So should we also appreciate Indian art from every point of view, he adds.

More recently, Doris Clark Chatham argues in her careful inquiry on the subject of "Rasa and Sculpture" that, while the production of *rasa* may certainly have been a goal in some categories of Indian visual arts, "not all works of art were thought potentially capable of arousing *rasa* (1981:22)." She goes on to cite several types of Indian objects that we commonly see displayed in museums as examples of Indian art, such as decorative art, as not "*rasa*-producing." Significantly, she suggests that religious icons also be excluded from the production of *rasa*. "The response of the devotee to the icon, for instance, is not an aesthetic one, and the aim of the artist in creating the icon... is not to elicit *rasa* but to aid the devotee in a religious experience, a personal union with God. (1981:22)."

As a historian of Indian religions interested in religious arts, I follow the middle path of multiple purposes here suggested by Coomaraswamy and Chatham. When we seek to locate indigenous Indian aesthetic values, I would argue, we need to attend to the underlying purposes of particular objects, as well as to the artfulness of their forms. I have recently been studying one category of highly-esteemed Indian works of sculpture, Cola bronzes fabricated in South India during the ninth through thirteenth centuries. These bronze artworks were originally made to serve as processional icons during temple festivals. When gods ventured out from their temples into the surrounding streets, to see and be seen by the multitudes of their devotees, they did so in the form of these "mobile bodies" (*calamūrti*). Modern connoisseurs of Indian art admire these bronzes for their grace and sculptural sophistication when displayed unadorned on pedestals in museums or galleries. During temple processions, by contrast, their medieval audiences viewed them dressed in

silk garments, adorned with gold and jewelled ornaments, covered in flower garlands, carried on palanquins or great rope-drawn chariots. As the mobile body of god passed by in procession, the underlying bronze form that we museum viewers admire so much was barely visible to its medieval Indian viewers (Davis 2002).

In seeking to understand how early medieval South Indian audiences responded to such icons in processions, I have turned to the literature that I believe gives us the richest depiction of the devotional ethos of this period, namely the hymns of the Tamil devotional saints, the Śaiva *nāyanmārs* and Vaiṣṇava *āvars*, composed in roughly the seventh through ninth centuries CE. During the Cola period these hymns were gathered and organized into canonical collections, the Śaiva *Tirumurai* and the Vaiṣṇava *Nālāyiraprabandha*. Poets retold the lives of the poet-saints and other devotional virtuosi in authoritative biographies, notably Cekkilar's *Periyāpurāṇam* narrating the lives of sixty-three Śaiva saints and Garuḍavāhana's *Divyasūritcarita* about the Vaiṣṇava devotees. Cola period temples institutionalized the recitation of Tamil hymns as part of the regular liturgy. Icons of the saints were introduced into major temples, and they too joined in the annual festival processions.⁶

I have come to see the poetry of the Tamil poet-saints as offering a model of and a model for a distinctive mode of response to one class of objects we classify as art, early medieval religious images.⁷ I call this a "devotional aesthetics", and I believe it offers some striking contrasts as well as some interesting parallels with the "dramatic aesthetics" of Bharata and his successors. In this paper I would like to outline some of the main features of devotional aesthetics, and use the theory of dramatic *rasa* as a contrast. I begin with a brief overview of classical Indian aesthetics, then go on to outline the features of devotional aesthetics embedded in the poetry of the Tamil devotional saints. I use both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva examples, as I believe they articulate a largely shared religious outlook, despite directing themselves towards two different divine personalities. I do not wish here to suggest that the aesthetics of Tamil devotional poetry offers an indigenous aesthetic model applicable to all that we call Indian art, anymore than *rasa* theory does. I do claim, however, that devotional aesthetics provides an indigenous model of religious reception that both reflected how gifted religious devotees viewed the stone and bronze images they saw in and around their temples, and that guided other Hindus of southern India in viewing the temple icons we now call art.

Aesthetic Principles from Sanskrit Drama

Central to Bharata's understanding of the aim of drama is the distinction between everyday emotion (*bhāva*) and aesthetic emotion (*rasa*). Sanskrit drama depicts worldly human emotions, in an unusually refined form, in order to evoke in an audience of refined sensibility a related but distinct aesthetic

emotion. The overriding aim of dramatic representation, for Bharata and subsequent Indian theorists, is the creation of *rasa* in an audience. Or, as the later aesthetician Viśvanātha puts it, poetry is a statement whose soul is *rasa*.

The evocation of aesthetic emotion requires a number of distinctions or refinements that distinguish the world of dramatic poetry from the everyday world. In drama, the poet does not speak for himself, but through his characters. The characters and events portrayed in drama are understood as fictive or historical, and the audience is not encouraged to regard them as real living persons. The characters are generally presented as ideal types, not as flawed and inconsistent human beings. Actors portray these characters and their emotional states utilizing techniques of gesture, speech, and facial expression, but they do not identify themselves closely with the characters whose roles they play. There is no Stanislavkian method acting here, nor are any ritual or meditative methods of identification between actor and character employed here as is often the case in Indian folk drama. Nor is the audience expected to enter physically into the events depicted on stage. The stage itself acts to differentiate the virtual world of the drama from the viewing audience.

Of all the distinctions from everydayness, though, the most important is that of *bhāva* and *rasa*. Bharata begins his presentation by describing eight permanent or fundamental human emotional states: erotic desire or love, humour, sorrow, anger, energetic engagement, fear, disgust, and astonishment (*Nāṭyaśāstra* 7.10-27). He goes on to list a larger number of more transient emotions and corollary responses. Through this categorization of the emotional life, Bharata presumes a universal human psychology. All of us experience, in various situations, these fundamental emotional states. In everyday life, however, we experience our emotions in transient, shifting, mixed, often confusing forms, and in everyday life we are attached to those persons and situations that provoke our emotions. We may be erotically attracted to the one who evokes desire or feel persisting anger towards the one who infuriates us. It is difficult for us to view our emotional life clearly when we are engaged so directly in it.

One great virtue of dramatic representation, in the view of Indian aesthetic theorists, is that it allows for a clarified, and therefore more potent and more comprehensible, portrayal of emotional states. The world of drama allows a Sanskrit poet to explore, with refined expressive nuance, a single dominant human emotion in depth. The theorists value emotional harmony in presentation, and so they provide guidelines for which emotions and physical expressions fit harmoniously with a dominant emotion. A second great virtue of dramatic presentation is that it allows an audience to view this depiction of refined purified emotion without feeling any direct attachment to the objects of that

emotion. The audience of sensitive observers (*sahṛdaya*, literally "one who shares a heart") may empathize with the character and the emotional states represented, but they are free to do so in a more detached and contemplative manner. It is precisely this unattached but empathetic emotion, arising in a viewer in relation to the dramatic portrayal of emotion, that Indian aesthetics characterizes as *rasa*, aesthetic emotion.

For this aesthetic emotion to arise, the audience must remain in an important sense distinct from the drama itself and the human emotions portrayed in it. As Norman Cutler puts it, "It is this essential *distance* from the circumstances that individuate and concretize emotion that enables the audience of literature to experience emotion in the pure, universalized form known as *rasa* (1987:59)." This distance accounts for why an audience may find itself pleurably savouring the dramatic representation of painful human emotions. The distancing also allows universalization. Since what is portrayed in a drama is an emotional state understood to be universal among humans, though here in a more refined and purified condition, the audience is free to contemplate what is universal in human life. The value Bharata and his successors place on detachment from direct everyday emotions links this aesthetic model with the renunciatory values of many schools of classical Indian religious thought, which similarly advocate detachment from worldly engagements in pursuit of a more transcendent state of being. For the tenth century Indian philosopher Abhinavagupta, the experience of *rasa* could even be seen as a religious experience in itself, since it involves the transcendence of individual identity in the contemplation of the universal.

As a powerful means of discussing aesthetic experience, the theory of *rasa* extended beyond the confines of drama into other classical verbal and performing arts, including courtly poetry, music, and dance. Chatham observes that "the aesthetic attitudes of the culture" embedded within the theoretical formulations of Bharata and his successors "allowed for a more general application of *rasa* theory (1981:22)." So it is no surprise that the terminology of *bhāva* and *rasa* enters into some of the handbooks pertaining to the visual arts of painting and sculpture as well. For example, the "Citrasūtra" section of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* outlines the nine *rasas* as moods to be represented in paintings, and suggests features peculiar to each mood.⁶ Likewise, certain types of visual representations lent themselves especially well to the theory of *rasa*, such as the *rasa-citras* described in the *Śilparatna* (Ganapati Sastri 1922). These appear to have been pictures of emotions, intended to convey the appropriate *rasa* to a viewer through purely visual means. Chatham discusses early medieval sculptures of the Pallava period highlighting dramatic action as another type of artistic representation that might usefully be understood as *rasa*-producing works of art.

Translucent Icons

The songs of the Tamil devotional poets, addressed to the two deities Viṣṇu and Śiva, were composed within an early medieval religious culture where these gods were widely worshipped in iconic form. Viṣṇu and Śiva, along with a host of other subordinate deities, were sculpted in stone and bronze, set up in shrines and temples throughout the Tamil region, and worshipped by their devotees with offerings, services, and songs of praise. These same religious icons, detached from their original locations over the course of centuries, we may now encounter as works of art in the Indian displays of museums in New York, London, and other urban centres.

The devotional aesthetics of medieval South India begins with a fundamental identification: the stone or bronze representation of the deity *is* the deity.⁹ Or, to state this more precisely, within the proper ritual environment, an icon becomes infused with the presence of the deity and offers a direct instantiation of that deity within a particular location. As a result, the image is viewed not only as a representation or visual depiction of a divine person, but also as a substantiation or a support for that deity's living presence. This signals an initial and important distinction with the underlying premises of Sanskrit drama, where viewers clearly recognize that the actor playing Duṣṣyanta is not in reality Duṣṣyanta. Medieval South Indians formulated this basic identification within several prevailing theological models. For example, the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas spoke of Viṣṇu incarnating himself in icons (*arcāvatāra*), just as he had also incarnated himself in other animate forms such as a tortoise and a giant boar and human forms like Kṛṣṇa and Rāma.¹⁰

The devotional poetry of the Tamil saints is deeply concerned with seeing. As Indira Peterson puts it, the Śaiva poet of the *Tevāram* aims at "imaging", or "directly presenting an intimate and specific experience of his Lord (1989:31)," and this experience often takes on a very visual form. Poets direct their audiences first of all to *see* the deity. The poems are full of injunctions to "see" "behold" "approach" God.

If you could see
 the arch of his brow,
 the budding smile
 on lips red as the *kovvai* fruit,
 cool matted hair,
 the milk-white ash on coral skin,
 and the sweet golden foot
 raised up in dance,
 then even human birth on this wide earth
 would become a thing worth having.¹¹

When the poets do refer to seeing gods, we should interpret this in a “realistic” rather than in a “metaphorical” sense, as Friedhelm Hardy recommends (1983:210). The poets refer, Hardy observes, not to imagined or symbolic deities, but to the physical and visible images of gods in and around the temple. So when Appar speaks of Śiva in his dancing form, in the poem above or here in a festival procession –

For seven holy days before
 the festival of Aṭṭami, the Eighth Day,
 the Lord of Kurukkai Virattam
 goes in procession in his dancing form,
 as Ayan and Māl [Brahman and Viṣṇu] and all the gods
 bow to him and praise him,
 calling him their Lord.¹²

we should understand that Appar is observing an actual image of Śiva as it is carried through the streets of Kurukkai.

Since an image is identified with a deity, there is no reason for the poets to distinguish between the two, and so we seldom hear devotional poets referring to images *as* images. However, later hagiographical literature of the Cola period regularly places the poets' experiences of seeing the deity and composing hymns about their visions of the divine within a liturgical setting. Peterson cites one example among many others, from the life of the Śaiva saint Appar, as told by Cekkilār:

He approached and entered the temple
 where the Lord who has the golden mountain for his bow
 dwells in delight.
 He circumambulated it,
 prostrated himself at the sacred courtyard,
 entered the presence of the three-eyed god,
 bull-rider crowned with matted red hair.
 Then he fell at his feet,
 rose, sobbed out...
 He folded his hands in adoration,
 and praised the Lord's feet;
 his deep love melted in a stream,
 the flood from his eyes gushed out
 and spread over his body.
 Standing thus he sang a garland
 of words of praise:
 “Those who do not belong to the red-haired god
 are trapped in the path of Evil”–
 the Tantakam poem

which shows us the way to our release.
 When he had sung,
 his ceaseless love welled up stronger,...
 And he still praised
 that jewel-mountain with the golden form
 in Vilimilalai of beautiful streams.¹³

Cekkilār here presents the composition of one of Appar's hymns as the direct result of the poet's emotional encounter with a Śiva image in the Vilimilalai temple.

The Hindu deities Viṣṇu and Śiva, towards whom the poets direct their devotion and their hymns, are defined theologically as limitless, without beginning or end, imperishable, unchanging, all pervading, beyond the confining limits of physical form. To each of these deities is also ascribed a great body of mythical deeds. They each, in their own myths, create and destroy the worlds, raise the earth, destroy various threatening demons whom other gods cannot defeat, grant boons to those who are devoted to them, and generally prove their superiority over all other beings. These myths are narrated in the literature of the Sanskrit Purāṇas and epics, as well as in local traditions of the Tamil region. Such theological understandings and mythical narratives portray Viṣṇu and Śiva as figures of overwhelming, awesome, nearly incomprehensible magnitude. Yet here they are, present also to the poets and other devotees in the limited, localized, finite, material form of an icon. This presents a conceptual challenge. How can one bridge the enormous gap between the humble stone icon and the magisterial conception of God embodied in Hindu religious literature? If God is said to be fully present in the icon, how could the icon instantiate the totality of that awesome deity?

Several of the Tamil devotional poets explore the complexities and paradoxes of this identification of localized icon and transcendent deity, and one of the great effects of South Indian devotional poetry arises from the poets' shifting apprehensions of the deities Viṣṇu and Śiva as they seek to understand these gods in their full complexity.¹⁴ A poet might shift within a single stanza from looking at the deity present in a particular localized iconic form—

The Lord of Appati
 who wears the blooming *konrai* in his hair,
 to a puzzled reflection on the cosmic dimensions of that same deity—
 is manifest
 as the seven seas, wind, all-embracing ether,
 life's breath in the body,
 Earth and bright fire,
 the light of the day,

and the cool moon
of evenings fragrant with flowers.¹⁵

The poet might wonder how it is that a deity of such awesome activities and infinite dimensions—

See the god !
See him who is higher than the gods !
See him who is Sanskrit of the North
and southern Tamil and the four Vedas !
See him who bathes in milk and ghee,
See the Lord, see him who dances, holding fire,
in the wilderness of the burning-ground,
See him who blessed the hunter-saint !

could be here before him, in such a palpable and charming form.

See him who wells up as honey
in the heart-lotus of his lovers !
See him who has the unattainable treasure !
See Śiva ! See him who is our treasure
here in Śivapuram !¹⁶

In other verses, the poet might recognize the deity he sees outside performing his cosmic feats also as subsisting inside himself, in his heart or his mind, for God is truly ubiquitous.

He wrestled seven bulls,
swallowed the seven worlds,
filled me with the coolness of his heaven
and became my very mind.¹⁷

The deities they worship, then, appear to the Tamil devotional poets in several different registers. As the Cola period Śrī Vaiṣṇava theologian Pillai Lokācārya later systematized it, Viṣṇu appears to humans in five different types of incarnations. He appears as a transcendent being reclining on the Milk Ocean, in glorious human personalities like Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, in a series of "emanations", deep within the heart of every living being, and in icons.¹⁸ The challenge, for the devotional poets and for all who listen to them, is somehow to encompass the full complexity of this divine presence, or to accept its final incomprehensibility.

The devotional poets do offer physical descriptions of the deities they see, present in material icons, and they exclaim repeatedly with aesthetic appreciation of the splendour and beauty of their god. They do not give direct transcriptions of the visual, however. As Indira Peterson notes, we find

in the devotional poetry "a poetic iconography in which selection of detail is governed not by canons of temple sculpture but by the aesthetics of devotion (1989:96)." More important, the poets' aesthetic responses do not remain confined with the visual. Their descriptions are infused with their knowledge and understanding of the deity, which go well beyond the physically perceptible. Thus the poets reflect and model for others a particular way of viewing Indian religious images as *translucent*. A divine icon offers a palpable, accessible, perceptible instantiation of the deity, and at the same time it opens out into a broader vista in which one may also see other aspects of the wholeness of God's being, in all its multiplicity, its complexity, and finally its incomprehensibility. With the devotional eye, one sees God in the image, and also sees through the icon to other dimensions of God's being.¹⁹

Hymns Bursting from Emotion

Tamil devotional poets relate not just their sightings of Viṣṇu and Śiva, but also their own direct emotional responses to God. Here the icon may act as the focal point for this relationship, around which the poets enact their intense, often difficult, but ultimately fulfilling devotional relations with their deities. The poets seek and value closeness and proximity to God, and see distance and separation as obstacles and sources of suffering. The icon acts like a magnet drawing the devotee closer, enabling the saint to overcome for a moment the pain of separation. Clearly this is not the more distanced, universalizing gaze of the refined audience portrayed in *rasa* theory, but a direct and particularized visual encounter that aims at increasing intimacy, even at fusion of human follower and God.

Later Tamil commentators speak of these devotional hymns "bursting out" from the experience and emotion of the poets at moments of direct encounter (Cutler 1987:43). We have seen already how the biographer Cekkilar portrays one of Appar's hymns as the direct outburst of his emotional reaction when he saw Śiva in a particular temple in Vilimilalai. The poems are therefore understood as direct statements of the poets. Even when a poet adopts a rhetorical strategy of indirect address within a poem, such as when the male poet Nammālvār employs the female voice of a *gopī* to address Kṛṣṇa, commentators understand this to be an expression of the poet's "inner female self" (Cutler 1987:69).

Like the ideal audience member (*sahṛdaya*) for Sanskrit drama postulated within *rasa* theory, the Tamil devotional poets can be seen as ideals or models for others to emulate. They are persons with special capacities of receptivity and appreciation, which makes them also *sahṛdaya*, but in this case their receptivity is due not so much to educated taste as to an especially intimate relation with their God. The biographies of the saints narrate the special events in their lives that placed the saints in direct and continuing relation with God,

and their poems attest to the vivid, often tempestuous ongoing relationship enjoyed by the devotional poets.²⁰ These relationships in turn enable the poets to experience and articulate a wide range of emotional responses.

As we have seen, confusion and awe before the paradoxical, incomprehensible nature of God is one common response. The poets sing, at times, of a sense of personal unworthiness and submission, as servant or slave to a supreme master.

Dog that I am,
I turned all my thoughts to you,
I filled my eyes with the image
of your feet, bright as flowers
and bowed before them,
I surrendered my voice to your bell-like words,

Yet through the portal of this surrender, one can enter Śiva's grace. So, Māṅikavācakar continues—

then you came to me
and all my five senses rejoiced,
O wonder-worker who comes inside me
and rules me.²¹

Often the devotional saints seek and attain a more equitable relationship of intimacy, as lovers. Adopting the erotic themes of the secular classical traditions of Sanskrit and Tamil to religious ends, the poets take on the voice of female lover in relation to male deity. Within this frame, they sing of joyous union, but also of the agonies of separation.

Dear friend,
Dear as the Dark One's paradise,
night grows long, many lives long,
when we part;
or goes fast, a split second many times split,
when we are together
So I suffer even when my lover joins me
many nights in a row,
and suffer again
when he goes away.²²

They explore other emotional dimensions of this difficult love affair with God: emaciated lovesickness due to prolonged absence, anger at a lover who fails to keep his appointed rendezvous, jealousy towards others who also enjoy his favours, and passionate longing leading sometimes into a kind of deluded frenzy that envisions the lover everywhere. So Nammālvār here adopts

the voice not of the female lover, but of the girl's mother speaking of her to a friend.

When she sees kings,
 she says, I see my lord.
 When she sees shapes and colors,
 she leaps up, saying,
 I see him who measured the world.
 All temples with gods in their wombs
 are, she says, places of the lord dark as the sea.
 In terror, in love, in every mood,
 she wants
 the Dark One's anklets.²³

Or is it delusion ? Vaiṣṇava theologians would point out that wherever the seemingly incoherent daughter babbles of Viṣṇu, the Lord is indeed present.

So close does the relationship of devotional intimacy become that the poets sing of being possessed by God, taken over by the Lord's presence, swallowed up into Him. The contours of separate identity melt away. This leads the poets, in some instances, to the realization that the actual agent of their own song of devotion is really God himself, singing.

Instead of getting his praises
 sung by the great poets
 he comes here today gently
 makes me over into himself
 and gets me to sing of him,
 my lord of paradise.²⁴

To outsiders the behaviours engendered by these extremities of devotional emotion may seem like madness.

Mumbling and prattling
 the many names
 of our lord of the hills
 with cool waterfalls,
 long strands of water,
 while onlookers say,
 "They're crazy,"
 entering and not entering
 cities,
 standing still or swaying
 before a laughing world,
 they dance, they leap,

undone by feeling –

However, Nammālvār reminds us in the final line, to the more comprehending eyes of the gods, the acting out of devotional passion ennobles these true followers of Viṣṇu.

and the gods bow down
before them.²⁵

Later biographies of the Tamil poet-saints locate their hymns within their direct life-experience, as we have seen, but they also ascribe to these experiences a broader, more exemplary significance. The *Divyasūricarita* of Garuḍavāhana narrates how Viṣṇu became frustrated by the failure of humans to profit from his previous acts of grace, such as creating the Vedas and incarnating himself in human forms such as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. He explains to his wife Lakṣmī that this is due to their demon-like nature and their attachment to sensory pleasures: “with the senses I have given them they enjoy the objects of the senses, which is similar to the cutting off of the tail of a cow with a knife given to cut fire-wood.”²⁶ Now, he announces, he has come up with a superior strategy. He will manifest himself this time in the form of icons, suitable object for the senses. What is more, he has arranged to send other heavenly beings and his own insignia and weapons to earth in the form of devotional poets. “They will lead, through *stotras* in Tamil set to music and displaying my qualities, the people who are attached to the objects of the senses like sound, etc... who are comparable to elephants lost in the jungle of *samsāra*, step by step, into my vicinity, like elephants are led to the big column to which they are tied...”

In Garuḍavāhana’s vision, the devotional songs which seem to burst out of the individual emotional experiences of the poets take on a paradigmatic role for other worshippers, who are enmeshed in the world of senses and emotions. As Norman Cutler puts it, later devotees understand hymns both as a record of the poet’s responses to his or her encounters with God and also as “the occasion for a ritualized reenactment of the events and emotions portrayed in the poem” by those who recite or hear it (1987:70). The audience is instructed to identify with the poet (who is also a divine exemplar), reenact that poet’s emotional response, and so through God’s grace became tied to the “big column” of divine presence.

Wish-granting Cows

According to a well-known Hindu narrative of creation, the gods and demons once worked together to churn the Ocean of Milk, and from this agitation emerged many wondrous things: the four-tusked elephant Airāvata, the shimmering jewel Kaustubha, the moon, the devastating Halāhala poison,

the undying nectar of immortality, and a cow that grants all wishes, the Kāmadhenu.

I do not wish to argue that the aesthetics of the early medieval South Indian devotional hymns, like some wish-granting cow, offers a unique key to understanding how Indian audiences would have seen and responded to all the objects we designate as Indian art. I do contend, however, that devotional poetry provides insight into how one particular audience, South Indian worshippers of Viṣṇu and Śiva, viewed one particular class of objects, the medieval icons of those two deities, that we often find featured in accounts and displays of Indian art. Nor would I agree with Coomaraswamy that an Indian work of art was itself seen as a Kāmadhenu, with every viewer seeking to gain from it just what they wished. Rather, I would contend that the hymns of the South Indian devotional saints, through their canonization and widespread institutionalization in medieval religious culture, provided an authoritative guide for how members of that community should respond to the iconic presences of the gods.

In its emphasis on identification and emotional participation, devotional aesthetics distinguishes itself from the classical Indian aesthetics of Bharata and his successors. In its identification of the icon with a divine presence that extends beyond the object and in its advocacy of a deeply interested interaction with the object, devotional aesthetics also distinguishes itself from the Kantian aesthetics of "art-as-such" that has dominated modern Western understandings and institutions of art. As the incarnation or physical manifestation of God appearing before his devotees, an icon became a locus around which poets, and those who emulated them, could enact complex relationships with the divine, involving intense intellectual and emotional engagement, struggle, and attraction. If not exactly a wish-granting cow in granting whatever the seeker wanted, a temple icon was instead efficacious, in the view of devotional aesthetics, in granting that which a seeker most truly needed.

Notes and References

1. This essay was originally presented in a 2001 workshop on the subject of "Value Systems in the Arts of India and China", at the University of Sussex, organized by Craig Clunas and Partha Mitter. I am grateful to the organizers and participants, for creating such a stimulating colloquium, and I am especially indebted to Devangana Desai, John Guy, and Rashmi Poddar for their comments on my presentation. I was honoured to be able to present some of these materials in the MM Dr. P. V. Kane Memorial Lecture at the Asiatic Society of Bombay in December 2001.
2. Nicholas Wolterstorff, course on "Theological Aesthetics" at Yale Divinity School, 1997.
3. Abrams observes that treatises on art in the West also largely adopted the "maker's stance" prior to the eighteenth century aesthetic revolution. From the time of Kant,

aesthetic theory has taken the "perceiver's stance" as paradigmatic, he argues (1989:37-38).

4. See Virginia Saunders 1919 for a brief overview of several such dramas. For an in-depth discussion of one particularly interesting dramatic treatment of portraiture in Rājasekhara's *Vidhaśālabhañjikā*, see Granoff 2001.
5. D. N. Shukla, *Vāstu-Śāstra*, Vol. II (Gorakhpur, 1958), cited in Chatham 1981:22.
6. On the institutionalization of *bhakti* during the Cola period, see especially Prentiss 1999.
7. Cutler 1987 offers the best literary comparison of *rasa* theory and devotional poetry, and I am indebted to this discussion for the point of departure of this essay.
8. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* 3.43.1ff, translated in Kramrisch 1928:59-60.
9. This discussion of devotional aesthetics draws on several excellent English translations and analysis of the poetry of *ālvārs* and *nāyanmārs*. I have found Cutler 1987, Peterson 1989, Ramanujan 1981, and Shulman 1990 especially helpful in my understanding of the devotional literature of this period.
10. Carman 1974 summarizes the dominant South Indian theology of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava philosopher Rāmānuja. For a Śaiva formulation, see Davis 1991:112-136.
11. Appar, *Tevaram* 4.8.4, trans. in Peterson 1989:118.
12. Appar, *Tevaram* 4.50.2, trans. in Peterson 1989:183.
13. Cekkilar, *Periyapurāṇam* 5.21, verses 252-54, trans. in Peterson 1989:48-49.
14. Friedhelm Hardy traces the conjunction of transcendent and localized conceptions of the deity in South India to the Tamil text *Paripāṭal*, composed a century or two prior to the early devotional *ālvārs* and *nāyanmārs* (1983:210). Kenneth Bryant (1978) analyzes similar shifts in the later North Indian poetry of Surdas, as a rhetoric of "epiphany."
15. Appar, *Tevaram* 4.48.1, trans. in Peterson 1989:113-14.
16. Appar, *Tevaram* 6.301.1, trans. in Peterson 1989:112. I discuss this poem in detail in Davis, forthcoming.
17. Nammālvār, *Tiruvāymoli* 1.8.7, trans. in Cutler 1987:139.
18. Pillai Lokācārya, *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇa* 24, trans. in Lester 1979.
19. See Davis 1997:26-44 for a discussion of the medieval Indian theology of divine embodiment and the devotional eye.
20. Shulman 1990: xv-xxxiv describes the particularly intense and troubled relationship of the Śaiva poet Sundaramurti with Śiva.
21. Māṇikkavācakar, *Tiruvacakam* 26, trans. in Cutler 1987:162.
22. Nammālvār, *Tiruviruttam* 16, trans. in Ramanujan 1981:64.
23. Nammālvār, *Tiruvayamoli* 4.4.7, trans. in Ramanujan 1981:36.

24. Nammālvār, *Tiruvayamoli* 4.9.6, trans. in Ramanujan 1981:81.
 25. Nammālvār, *Tiruvayamoli* 3.5.8, trans. in Ramanujan 1981:54.
 26. Garuḍavāhana, *Divyasūricarita* 85-92, trans. in Hardy 1987:42.

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An Inscribed Buddha Image at Khajuraho

Devangana Desai

Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh is well known for its magnificent temples built under the patronage of the Candella rulers and their merchants in the period between CE 900-1200. The temples were affiliated to Hindu and Jaina religions. While more than 25 of these temples and hundreds of Hindu and Jaina images are preserved in this medieval temple town, there is just one solitary image of Śākyamuni Buddha found here (Pl. I). Even so, this one image, a colossal figure of the seated Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (earth-touching gesture), is a definite evidence of prevalence of Buddhism at Khajuraho, though on a limited scale. It is rather strange that this is the only image of Śākyamuni Buddha¹ preserved at this site and that there are no other images of the Buddhist pantheon, such as those of Bodhisattvas, Tārā and others, found here. The Buddha image is now sheltered in the Archaeological Museum at the site (Acc. No. 450).

It is in 1864 that Sir Alexander Cunningham found this Buddha image near the Ghantai temple, in the vicinity of the Jaina temples in the eastern zone of Khajuraho. He says: "I found lying amongst the ruins outside, the pedestal of a colossal draped figure inscribed with the well known formula of Buddhist faith, '*Ye dharmā hetu prabhava,*' & c., in characters similar to those of the Sarnath inscription, which are generally assigned to the sixth or seventh century."² He attributed the Ghantai temple to Buddhist faith, but later agreed with James Fergusson that the temple was Jaina in affiliation. The temple represents the Jaina goddess Cakreśvarī on the door lintel and 16 auspicious symbols seen in the dream of the mother of Jina.

Notably, Cunningham believed that the mound No. 28 on his Site Plan, now called Dhaurar, situated near the Ghantai and other Jaina temples, to be the remains of a Buddhist monastery, because he was "able to trace the walls of many of the surrounding cells." Krishna Deva in his 1990 publication of the ASI calls Dhaurar (meaning citadel) the highest mound of Khajuraho. It is "full of old structural remains which have been recently cleared in a trial excavation by the Archaeological Survey. The exposed structures comprise medieval remains of a palatial brick building with mouldings, besides a wall of large ashlar, constituting the ruins perhaps of a palace complex. Near-by are two old wells, besides extensive traces of low mounds representing what appears to be an old habitation site."³ Whether it was a palace or a large Buddhist monastic complex remains to be decided. But today a local school

building is constructed on the mound, which precludes any excavation on it in near future!

In this context I would like to report a circular stone coffer (diameter 48.2 cm of the container, 53.3 cm of the lid), which I noticed lying in the compound of the Pārśvanātha temple (in 2001), along with fragmentary Jaina and Hindu images found in the vicinity of the Jaina complex. This coffer, though small in size, reminds me of the coffer containing Buddhist relics and bronzes excavated at Sopara, and now preserved in the Asiatic Society of Mumbai. Perhaps the coffer of Khajuraho contained Buddhist relics. Also I would like to mention that during the 19th century reconstruction of the *jagatī*-platform of the Kandariyā Mahādeva temple, many old pieces of dilapidated shrines were reused. Among these there is a fragment of a ceiling depicting floral design, which in style of carving is similar to the carving on the halo of the Buddha sculpture. Also nearby on the *jagatī* is embedded a 9th century door lintel bearing on its *lalātabimba* an image of Kubera (Jambhāla?), which could be part of a Buddhist complex. One also wonders whether the sculpture representing a dignified couple, seated peacefully beneath a *Ficus* tree having spread-out branches (now in the open-air site Museum, Acc. No. 1605), dateable to 8th-9th century, could be Buddhist in affiliation, portraying Jambhāla and Hārītī, rather than the Parents of Jina. But, curiously, no other Buddhist finds are reported so far at Khajuraho.

Coming to the Buddha image (1.340 x 1.130 m), we can notice that it is of greyish sandstone, somewhat different from the usual Khajuraho lot carved in buff sandstone. Śākyamuni is seated in *padmāsana* on a lotus-petalled pedestal in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* of the Enlightenment. However, his fingers do not actually touch the pedestal, but reach up to his folded leg. The left hand, holding the pleated end of his upper garment (*sarighātī*), is placed on his lap. The upper garment, depicted with parallel schematic folds, covers the left shoulder.

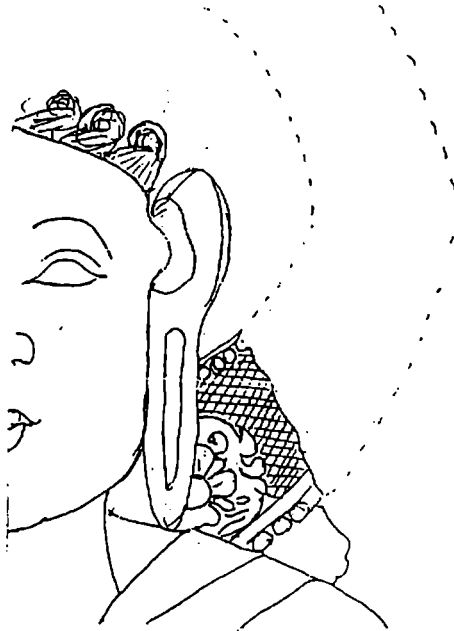
The face, though mutilated from the upper left side, has serene expression. The head has conventional curly hair with a central protuberance. The preserved right eye is open. The lips are thick. The three conventional striations on the neck are similar to the Buddha figures of Bodhgaya, Sanchi and also other Khajuraho figures. The halo is broken in such a way that it is difficult to know whether it was round or elliptical, but it is certain that it was decorated with scroll and lotus designs, as the preserved part displays these designs.

Dating the Image

Krishna Deva observes: "The image has a stylised elliptical face, with a tender and peaceful expression which is different from the sophisticated and conscious elegance of the well-known Buddhist sculptures from Mahoba."

The Mahoba Buddhist images, it may be noted, are stylistically assigned to the 11th century. Krishna Deva has significantly noticed in the context of the Khajuraho Buddha that the depiction of "the eyebrows, unlike the Khajuraho style, are shown curved deeply following earlier art tradition."⁴ However, he dated the image to the 10th century on "stylistic considerations" and also on palaeography of the inscribed characters of the Buddhist formula on the lotus pedestal.

But a closer look both at the style of the image and the palaeography of the Buddhist creed inscribed on its lotus pedestal suggests a date earlier than the 10th century, as we shall soon see.



Design of the left side halo of the Khajuraho Buddha image

The surviving portion of the halo of the image (Pl. II and Fig.) shows an ornamental band consisting of a stylised lotus flower and scroll design, dotted with a border. It bears some faint resemblance to floral and foliate designs on haloes of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Sarnath of 5th century,⁵ but it is not as deeply cut, and is certainly later than these in date. Also the open eye of the Khajuraho Buddha is different from the lotiform eyes of the Sarnath Gupta Buddhas. Though geographically distant, similar physiognomy of the Buddha seated on the lotus pedestal can be observed in the Tin Thal, Cave 12, of Ellora in Maharashtra, assigned to about CE 700.⁶ Prof. R. C. Sharma, expert on Mathura sculptures, on seeing the photograph

of the Khajuraho Buddha image, observed that it could be certainly much earlier than 10th century in date, and could possibly be assigned to the 8th century. While going through numerous photographs of Buddhist images at the American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon, I could see that the design on the halo resembles the design and style of the ornamental waistband (Pl. III) of the famous Sanchi torso of Bodhisattva (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London), datable to 8th-9th century.⁷

Notable in this context is the Buddha image seated in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* on a double-petalled lotus, now in the sanctum of Temple 45 at Sanchi.⁸ It is inscribed with the Buddhist creed, which, according to Debala Mitra, is in characters of the 10th century.⁹ However, the American Institute of Indian Studies has dated the image stylistically to CE 875. The facial features of the Sanchi Buddha are broader than those of the Khajuraho Buddha. The schematic folds of the upper garment are closely spaced, and the end part of the garment is arranged on the left shoulder, unlike in the Khajuraho image. The halo is decorated with floral motifs.

Coming to the palaeographic study of the characters of the inscribed Buddhist creed, "*ye dharmā hetu prabhava...*" (Pl. IV) on the Khajuraho Buddha image, I have consulted three scholars. Dr. H.S. Gopala Rao, epigraphist from Bangalore, said that the characters couldn't be later than CE 800. Dr. H. R. Thosar, epigraphist from Mumbai, said that they could be assigned to 8th-9th century, in "Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Pratihāra period." Jinnah Kim, a scholar from Berkeley, who specializes on Buddhist manuscripts and inscriptions, dated the letters between 800-900. Cunningham, as mentioned earlier, found the letters similar to those of the Sarnath inscribed creed of about 6th-7th century. I looked up Gaurishankar Ojha's book¹⁰ on palaeography, and the characters of the Khajuraho Buddha pedestal inscription seem to be of about CE 850 or earlier.

Taking both stylistic and palaeographic grounds, we may date the sculpture to about the mid 9th century, some years earlier than CE 875, the date assigned to the Sanchi Buddha.¹¹

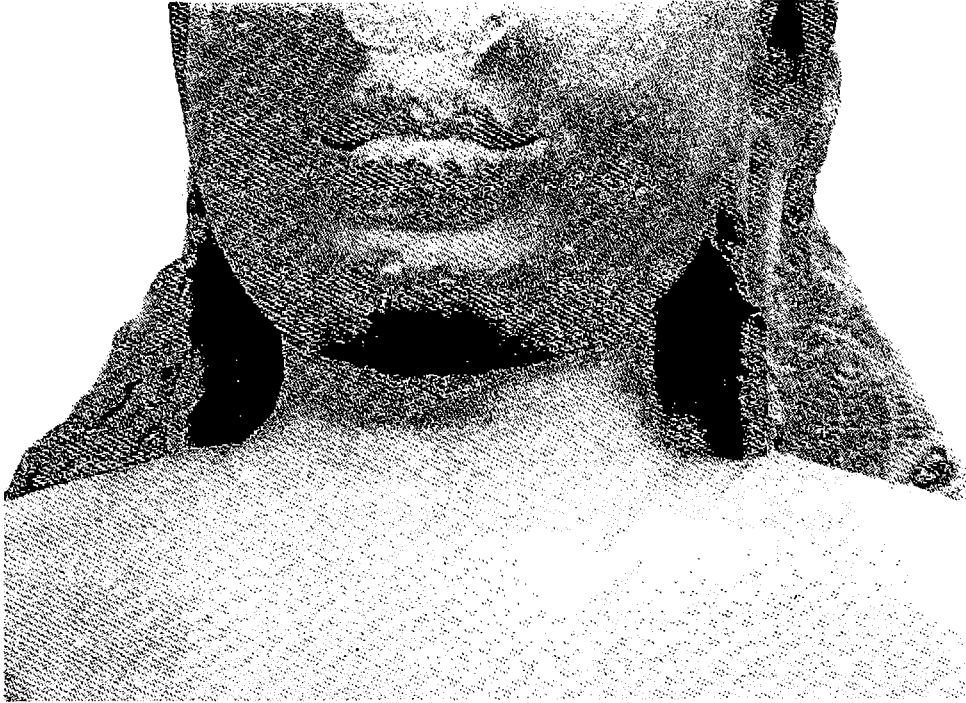
Significantly, historian S. K. Mitra, writing in 1958, found the characters of the inscribed creed on the pedestal of the Buddha image assignable to 9th century.¹² He says, "The only archaeological evidence of Buddhism earlier than the rise of the Candellas is furnished by a large image of Buddha, seated in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* on double-petalled lotus..."

Implications:

The Buddha image would then precede the main temple building activity at Khajuraho, namely, the Lakṣmaṇa (Vaikuṇṭha) temple in Nāgara style, CE 950, and even before it, the Causaṭha Yoginī (c. 900), the Lāguan Mahādeva



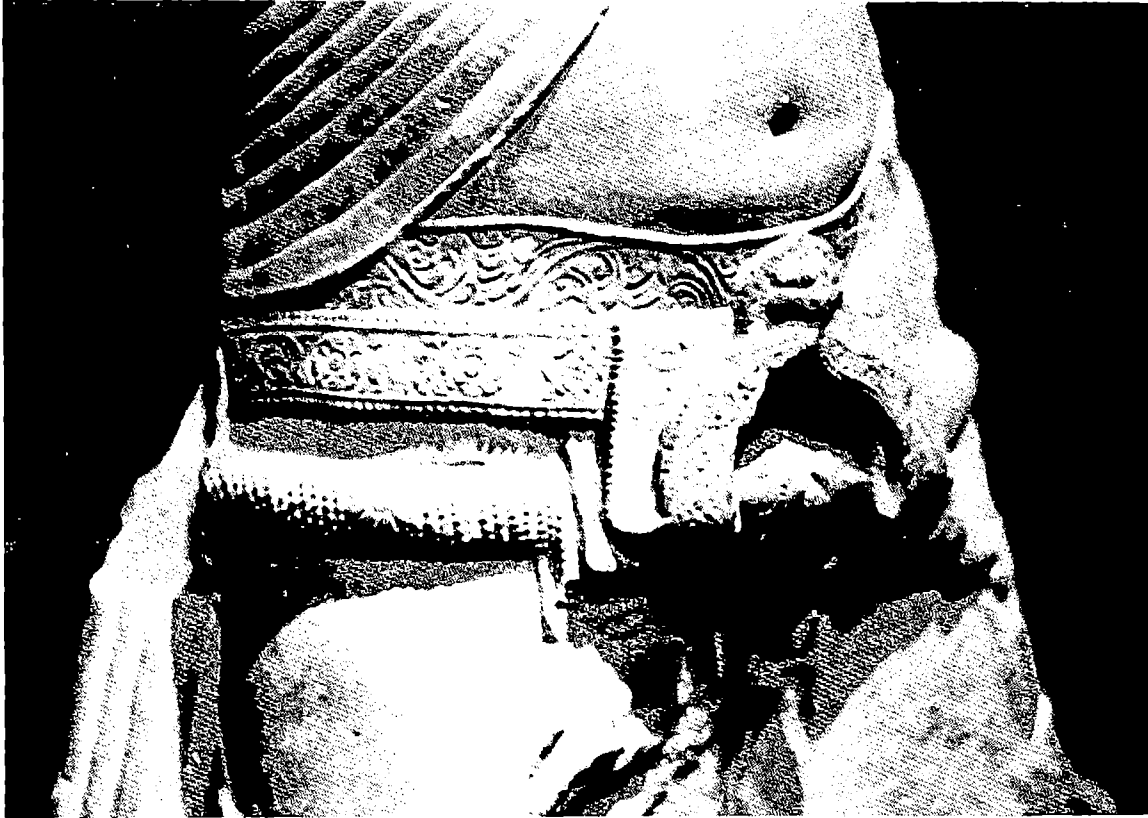
Buddha image; now in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho.



A. The surviving halo of the Buddha Image, Khajuraho.



B. Details of halo on the left side.



Details of the waistband of the Sanchi torso.



Inscribed letters of the Buddhist creed on the lotus pedestal of the image.

(c. 925), and the Brahmā (c. 925). This would perhaps suggest that the Buddhist establishment was one of the early religious and artistic activities at Khajuraho.¹³ Like other Buddhist centres, it must have had links with Buddhist establishments of the period such as those at Sanchi, Gyarpur, Bodhgaya, Nalanda, Sarnath, Sirpur and others. It is difficult to say when Buddhism ceased to hold its sway in Khajuraho. The play *Prabodhacandrodaya* by Kṛṣṇa Mīśra, staged in the time of the Candella King Kirtivarman in about CE 1060, looks upon the Saugatas (Buddhists) unfavourably. But in the Candella town Mahoba, Buddhism was prevalent in the 11th century, as Buddhist images, including Tārā, Simhanāda Avalokiteśvara, and Buddha have been found (now in Lucknow and Jhansi museums).¹⁴

Based on the evidence of the inscribed Buddha image, it can possibly be said that before Khajuraho became a major temple site, there was a Buddhist establishment there. The Candella chiefs, who were earlier feudatories of the Pratihāra monarchs of Kannauj, must have found this a place worth for their settlement and activities. The Jaina merchants also followed up in the wake, and the site turned into a great temple town from mid 10th century.

Notes and References

1. There are numerous small figures of Buddha as avatāra or incarnation of Viṣṇu in *parikara* frames of Viṣṇu images and on the avatāra lintel at Khajuraho (now in the site Museum, Acc. No. 1207), which are part of Vaiṣṇava pantheon. But this paper discusses Śākyamuni Buddha of the Buddhist faith, and not Buddha as avatāra.
2. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1864-65, Vol. II, ASI, Reprint, 2000, p. 414.
3. Krishna Deva, *Temples of Khajuraho*, Vol. 1, ASI, New Delhi, 1990, p. 11.
4. *Ibid.* p. 390.
5. Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum, A Descriptive Catalogue*, American Institute of Indian Studies, Pune, 1970, Figs. 210, 218.
6. Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, Calcutta, 1971, Fig. 116.
7. Michael Willis in personal communication said that he dates the Sanchi torso to late 9th century. Also his *Buddhist Reliquaries*, London, 2000. Photograph published in Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, The Pelican History of Art, 3rd Revised edition, 1967, Fig. 197, pp. 260-261. Detail of design in Don Stadtner's photograph in AIIS collection. I thank Mr. Anurag Shukla for drawing my attention to the similarity of the designs on Khajuraho Buddha halo and the waistband of the Sanchi torso.
8. Photograph published in *Unseen Presence, The Buddha and Sanchi*, ed. Vidya Dehejia, Marg publications, Mumbai, 1996, Fig. 7.
9. Debala Mitra, *Sanchi*, ASI publication, 1967, p. 56. Debala Mitra notes that the

image does not seem to have originally belonged to this temple.

10. Pandit Gaurishankar Hiranand Ojha, *The Palaeography of India*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, Enlarged second Edition, 1918, Third Edition 1971, Pl. XXIII.
11. In personal discussion, Prof. M. A. Dhaky observed that the Khajuraho Buddha is some decades earlier than the Sanchi Buddha on stylistic grounds.
12. S. K. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, 1958, second revised edition in 1977, p. 203.
13. It is not possible to link up Khajuraho with the capital of the region visited and called Chi-chi-to by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in 641-42. Cunningham and some historians equated Chi-chi-to with 'Jajhoti' or Jejābhukti, the region ruled by the Candellas. According to the pilgrim, the capital of Chi-chi-to lay about 167 miles to the north-west of Ujjain. But it is doubtful whether Chi-chi-to refers to Jajhoti, the Candella region. The name Jajhoti, if it is derived from the name of the Candella prince Jayaśakti (c. 865-885), could not be prevalent in the 7th century, the time of the Chinese pilgrim's visit. However, Chi-chi-to could be in central India and the Chinese pilgrim's mention of about a dozen monasteries in its capital and its king as a staunch Buddhist suggests that Buddhism was prevalent in Madhya Pradesh region in the 7th century.
14. K. N. Dikshit, *Six Sculptures from Mahoba*, Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. 8, 1921.

Acknowledgements

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Illustrations

I. Buddha image, now in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho.

Photo courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon.

II-A. The surviving halo of the Buddha image, Khajuraho.

Photo by Devangana Desai

II-B. Details of the halo on the left side. Photo by Devangana Desai

III. Details of the waistband of the Sanchi torso. Photo by Don Stadtnr

IV. Inscribed letters of the Buddhist creed on the lotus pedestal of the image.

Photo courtesy: Franco-Indian Research, Mumbai.

Drawing

Design of the halo of the Khajuraho Buddha image (By Anurag Shukla)

Some Early Sculptures from Ujjain

M. A. Dhaky

Four decades and a half ago, while working in the Department of Archaeology, Government of Gujarat, I had come across a few small, greenish, and bluish grey schistose plaques depicting standing figures of Viṣṇu. They were picked up from the old mounds in Kutch, Junāgaḍh, and a few other sites. Going by their archaic style, physiognomical features, and the typology of crown and of other ornaments, they all seemed to belong to the late Kṣatrapa or early Gupta period.¹ While glancing through the sculptures collected from within the environs of Ujjain – a few also could be from some other near about sites – in Mālvā (M.P),² I noticed interesting stylistic correspondence between some of them and the above-mentioned Gujarat examples: but, iconographically, the Mālavān pieces are more varied, more clearly defined in terms of delineation, and possess more interesting details. At the outset, I shall dwell on these particular sculptures in this article. Since Ujjain was one of the most sacred as also among the most ancient sites, temporally covering all of the established historical periods in north India - its beginnings, on the evidence of literature as well as of archaeology, going back to c. the fifth century BCE - one may expect to find fairly early antiquities including figural/divinity sculptures from the matrix of its space-time-cultural continuum. The earliest such finds noticeable in the museum collections seem to belong to the late Kṣatrapa-early Gupta period, the three out of the four examples there, as I today seem to feel, are reminiscent of the style of the schistose sculptures from Gujarat and illustrated here and discussed in detail.

The first three sculptures that here will be considered, apparently are in the same general period-style though carved, as recorded in the index cards,³ in different varieties of stone. As I recall, while the Gujarat instances I had noticed ranged in height between four and five inches, the first two selected from Ujjain collection being noticed, seemingly are about seven inches tall. Among them the first one (Pl. V-A) is an instance of the Trailokyabhramaṇa Viṣṇu,⁴ carved in greyish sandstone. The deity has somewhat stunted legs, mounted as he is on Garuḍa in the so-called European fashion. Clockwise, his arms from the lower right hand show the *abhaya-mudrā*, the mace, next what looks like a full-blown lotus but could have signified the *cakra* or disk since a ring is shown as circumscribing the petals, and the conch, the last three being his usual attributes: the unambiguously represented lotus, his fourth attribute, however, is missing, unless one assumes that the *cakra* and the

padma together have produced a syncretic attribute, though such an instance would be considered exceptional. Where it should have been lotus flower, one sees here the upper right hand raised in *abhaya* or assurance giving gesture. The seated figure between the deity's legs seems to be partly an anthropomorphic Garuḍa wearing a leathery textured loin cloth which covers his thighs. The snakes are seen as though being pressed down under Garuḍa's partly avian looking feet. To Viṣṇu's left side is a tiny figure of Gaṇapati, seated, and to his right flank stands a female figure. Behind the deity's head is shown *padmaprabhā*, lotus-aura. Viṣṇu wears a flat-topped octagonal *kirīṭa*-crown showing leathery design. The treatment of the deity's sparse ornaments and the details of visage including the open and thickly laid eyes reveal a date not later than c. 375-400 CE.

The second figure (Pl. V-B) also said to be in grey sandstone, is of Skanda-Kārtikeya mounted on a peacock and holding in the right hand a lance that almost looks like a trident with the central spear-head and the two lateral spikes squeezed to form a single mass: and a partly amorphous looking birdlike object, which he carries in the left hand that rests on the left leg's thigh, doubtless was intended to represent a cock as indicated by striated lines on its upper-front, indicative of feathers on its neck and the chest. Skanda wears flattened *jatābhāra* and has, like his father Śiva-Trilocana, a third eye incised in the centre of the forehead, the normal two eyes are slightly elongated, almond-shaped, and open. Behind his head is provided a horizontally laid, somewhat ovalish and a little crudely worked plain *candraprabhā* or moon-light halo circumscribed by a beaded border. The eyes of the deity's faintly smiling face are treated like those met in sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa-Kṣatrapa period, wide open with a suspicion of stare. The gem-set armlets of the simplest design — just a circular band studded with pearls/gem-stones and without a central gorgeous bejewelled buckle — and the neck ornament as well as the waist-band rendered in the same simplistic workmanship are also of the early type. Skanda wears a lower garment extended up to the knees and is, like that of the Garuḍa of the previous example, of a leathery texture. This figure, too, may date from c. 375-400.

The third sculpture (Pl. VI-A) appears to be slightly smaller in size than the preceding two and is said to be of steatite. A polycephalous cobra is noticeable behind his head. The figure's body is human but it is not quite clear whether the legs are intended to be serpentine or the humanic legs remain hidden behind the cobra's twisting and tapering lower half which superficially is an ostensibly visible feature here: The head, with archaic looking normal eyes and a third incised eye together with other facial features just as the compressed crown (intended to be octagonal) with leathery texture indicates very early Gupta or late Kṣatrapa times for its modelling. The image may either represent Nāgarāja / Nāgendra or, if the legs are really serpentine,

it plausibly may represent a *mahoraga*/triton (though why, in that case, should he have a *nāgachatra*) who is included among the eight classes of the *vyantara* demi-gods in the Jaina *āgamas* dwelling on cosmology.⁵ In the panoply of decorative and significant motifs carved on the Buddhist stūpa rails, toraṇas *et cetera*, the *mahoraga* sometimes may be spotted. In point of fact, the *mahoraga* was depicted fairly frequently within the time-bracket of a couple of centuries before the Common Era and plausibly also during the first century of the first millennium. After that, it is rarely met in carving. (It is, in fact, an alien figural motif which speedily was forgotten and hence later missing in sculptor's figurative art.)⁶

A fourth, and likewise a smaller piece in the same general vein and of the same date (not illustrated since to a fair degree worn out), shows a two armed Caṇḍī killing the buffalo demon.

The early pieces, next in time in the museum collection, stylistically are of the High Gupta, late Gupta, and pre-medieval periods. But none of the available in this lot is wholly entire or undamaged or unweathered.

The earliest in this second group is the stone figure (Pl. VI-B) of medium size, of Caṇḍikā killing the buffalo-demon and having only two-arms, a type in representation that rarely is paralleled, and that too, in the Gupta period.⁷ Stylistically, it seems to ally with the now famous Śāmaḷājī group of sculptures from northeast Gujarat and likewise could be of the first half (probably the second quarter) of the fifth century. The compassionate, contemplative, but weather-worn face otherwise is serene with a sort of an early *kirātajatā*-like hair-do, a rather short neck but round and full bosom, and a flashy but supple seeming body that exhibits an elegant *dvibhaṅga* posture with raised right leg crushing the demon's horned head, the trident shown as piercing his body. The figure of Mahiṣāsura, however, is much too worn out. The image of the goddess doubtless possesses pretensions of gracefulness and has a well-balanced just as finely delineated configuration.

The second piece (Pl. VII) is a bust of a haloed male deity, plausibly Āditya. The head here shows half open eyes presaging the type that will be common in Mālava and Gujarat in the earlier decades of the medieval period. The face reflects an illusion of quiescence, which seems somewhat distantly akin to (though the visage and facial features not so handsome as) those of the sculptures of the rock-cut Brahmanical and Buddhist caves of the Koṅkaṇa-Maurya period in Maharashtra⁸ as also of the sixth and early seventh century Jina images in Panna and Deogadh areas. The head, nonetheless, does look serene and dignified. A tiny lotus-petal halo is shown behind the crown's *grāsa*-head. One other lotus-halo, shown behind the deity's head, is superimposed on the plain, well-proportioned, and effective *candraprabhā*, which is the main halo, that rises from behind the deity's shoulders.

It wears a simple, octagonal, flat-topped *kirīṭa* of pleasing proportions. Though plain, it shows an unusual type of central adornment in good relief. The ornament in question consists of two half segments of a three-stringed *mālā* of pearls parting into two festoons ending in an apical *grāsamukha*, the area left vacant between is filled with a floral motif. Two gem-studded neck ornaments - one collar-like and having a smooth appearance, of evenly done workmanship and fine finish, the second being a wide, large, semi-circular gem-studded torque, separated from the first by a few inches and coming closer to the chest: It creates a special aesthetic in the style of wearing the neck ornaments. Heavy *kuṇḍalas* hang from the thick rings piercing through the ear-lobes. It is a pity that the image is not entire. But the bust indeed is impressive.

Next in time in this group is Viṣṇu (Pl. VIII), his figure, larger and stands centrally as well as prominently in the total composition in his usual *samabhaṅga* posture and with a few attendant figures which one usually comes across with him from pre-medieval times onwards. The god here has two arms, the hand portion of the right arm broken, the partly mutilated left hand holds a conch. The tall, smooth, relatively slender, and metallic seeming mace, which derives from an early form but is more refined and graceful, appears on the deity's right side, the *cakra* is shown in the corresponding position up on the left side. Viṣṇu wears a necklace, an *upavīta*, a *kaṭisūtra*, and the translucent *dhotī* with a lower-cloth band, and what seems a long golden *vanamālā*. An octagonal but summarily treated decorative ornament for the *kirīṭa* graces the deity's head. A round *candraprabhā* is circumscribed by a plain double rimmed border whose inner rim juts out in higher relief. Near the feet of Viṣṇu stand the somewhat dwarfish *Śaṅkhaपुरuṣa* (right) and the *Cakraपुरuṣa* (left) and beside them flank two larger figures, the *Kaumodikī gadā* (?) (right) and what seems the *Padmapuruṣa* (?) on the left. Above them, on each side, is a figure of *vyāla* topped by that of the *makara*. The general style of the figures and the typology of ornaments including headwear of the attendant lady figures suggest late eighth or early ninth century and thus the early Pratihāra period for its fashioning. It could be a cult image.

And finally may be noticed two images of Gaṇapati, both sadly mutilated. The older of the two images (Pl. IX) has its head intact but the legs and the left arm completely gone just as the greater portion of the right arm destroyed, the ears, too, are considerably damaged and the terminal part of the trunk is also broken. Its triple halo, like the linear top view visualized in space, of the planet Saturn with its surrounding belts, is boldly embossed on the surface of the stele visible in the background. Two subordinate figures flanked the halo, of which the right one alone, but in highly mutilated and hence in an unrecognizable condition, now remains. The head is bedecked with a graceful *paṭṭabandha* / diadem, the neck shows a fine *ekāvālī* of pearls.

A broad, flat, and plain golden torque was intended to be an inch or two below the *ekāvalī*. The *sarpopavīta* is also there. The rendering of the head and torso is partly schematic partly reflecting an elephantine presence and the overall effect is of its having the spark of divine. When entire, this image of Gaṇeśa must have been one of the chastest and the most convincing figures of that god. It may date from the seventh or latest by early eighth century.

The second figure (Pl. X) is available in somewhat better condition. The ears and the right arm, for the larger part though, are broken and the tip of the trunk is likewise damaged. Above the head is a compressed *karāṇḍa* type of tiara and below it is a *pattabandha* with hanging pearl festoons. A *hāra* of gems, the heavily bejewelled *keyūra*-armlet and *nāgopavīta* are the other ornaments that the deity wears. The *modaka-pātra*, with damaged *ladḍus*, is discernible in the image's left hand. Below the deity's right foot, the rat mount is visible, seated as it is on the plain pedestal of the deity. The image of Gajānana, with its placid head, is a good example of the sculptures of its class of the date c. 900-925.

These small groups of images lend some insight into the variety of sculptural styles spread over five centuries in the pre-Paramāra Ujjain and hence in the ancient and pre-medieval Mālavadeśa.

Notes and References

1. To my knowledge, these pieces so far have not been published. And currently, I do not have their photo-prints for comparing.
2. All of the pieces illustrated here belong to Vikram Kirtī Mandir, Ujjain. The photo-enlargements are reproduced by the courtesy and kindness of the American Institute of Indian Studies.
3. The information as recorded on the photo-archival documentation cards in the AIS, Gurgaon.
4. In 1967, when Pratapaditya Pal was working in the American Academy of Benares as a colleague, he had shown me a clear photograph of a Nepalese Viṣṇu, its icononomical type till then was known as Garuḍārūḍha Viṣṇu. Its engraved inscription of c. the fifth century CE., in its text, as I call at this distance in time, invoked him with such words like '*vande Viṣṇu Trailokyabhramaṇa (h?m?)*.' Since that time I have been calling this form of Viṣṇu as "Trailokyabhramaṇa Viṣṇu."
5. Such as the *Vyākhyāprajñapti* (present version, c. 1st-2nd to 3rd cent. CE), the *Prajñāpanā sūtra* of Ārya Śyāma II (c. 3rd-4th cent. CE), *et cetera*. I forgo citing the details.
6. The presence of third eye for a *nāga* deity is intriguing. A third possibility of identification of this image is as Śeṣavatāra Balarāma. But the wine bowl is absent and how to explain the third eye will be a poser here too. The experienced

iconographers, like N. P. Joshi, can explain the peculiarities of this image and properly identify it.

7. I remember a Gupta period site where a small shrine showed on its back wall, a two armed Durgā with *ā/aka* hair style. At that site, there also exists a larger shrine of the same period. But I cannot now recall the name of the site.
8. Compare, for example, the sculptures in the Jogeśvarī and the Elephanta caves near Mumbai and Cave 4 and Cave 26 at Ellora, the latter cave there being Śaiva, the first Buddhist. However, the slightly flaring nostrils and half open eyes of our Āditya's face inhibit the manifestation of the contemplative mood that characteristically would shine with transcendence that we notice in the cave temple sculptures.

Illustrations

V-A. Trailokyabhramaṇa Viṣṇu. Late Kṣatrapa, early Gupta period. c. 375-400 CE.

V-B. Skanda-Kārtikeya, c. 375-400.

VI-A. Nāgarāja (or *mahoraga?*), c. 375-400.

VI-B. Caṇḍikā. Early Gupta period, c. 2nd quarter of the 5th cent.

VII. Probably the bust of Āditya, c. 7th-8th cent.

VIII. Viṣṇu, standing, Pratīhāra period, c. 8th cent.

IX. Gaṇapati. Pre-Pratīhāra or early Pratīhāra period, c. 8th cent.

X. Gaṇapati. Late Pratīhāra / Pre-Paramāra period, c. 900-925.



A. Trailokyabrahmana Viṣṇu. Late Kṣatrapa, early Gupta period, c. 375-400.



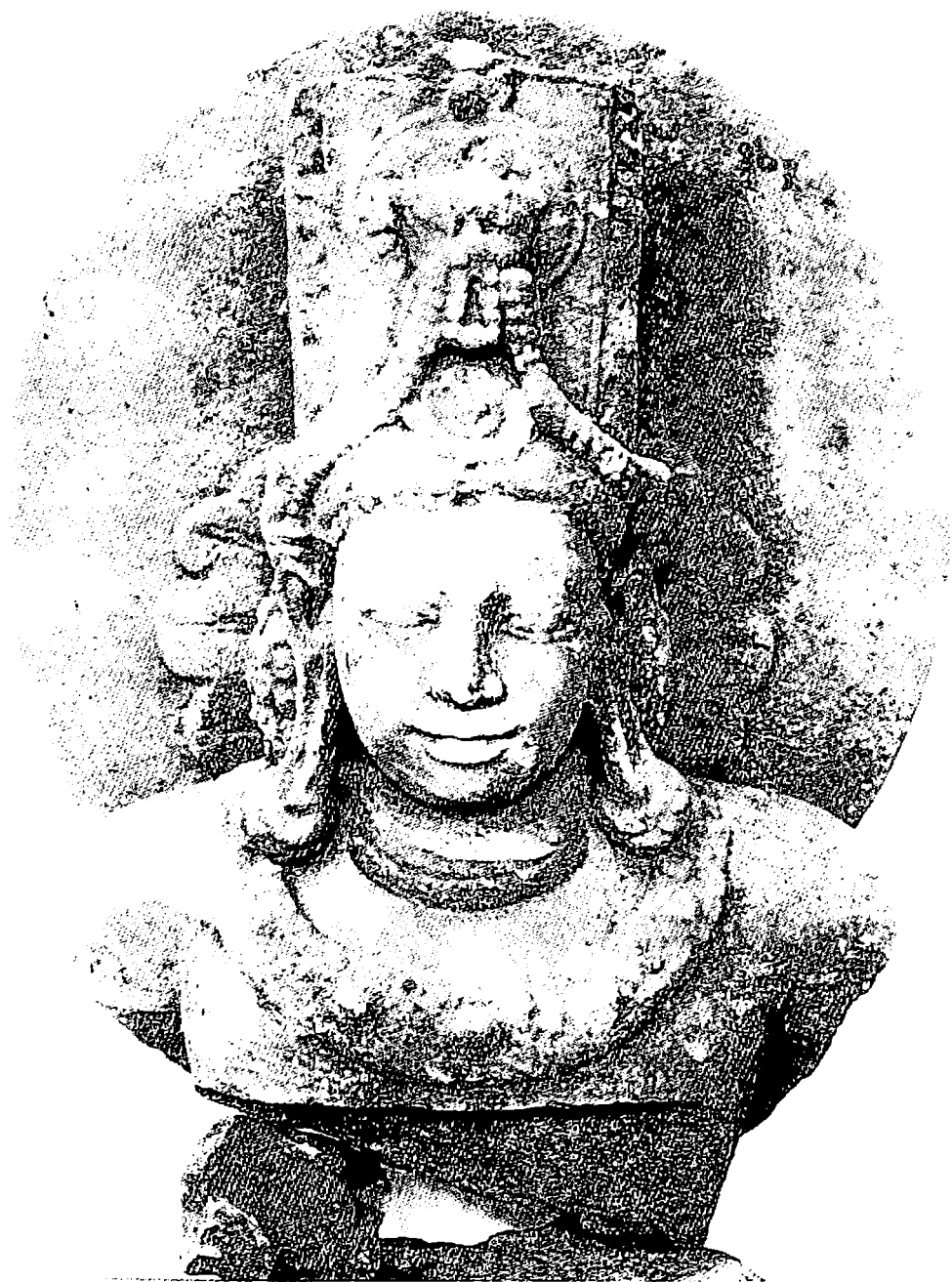
B. Skanda-Kārtikeya, c. 375-400.



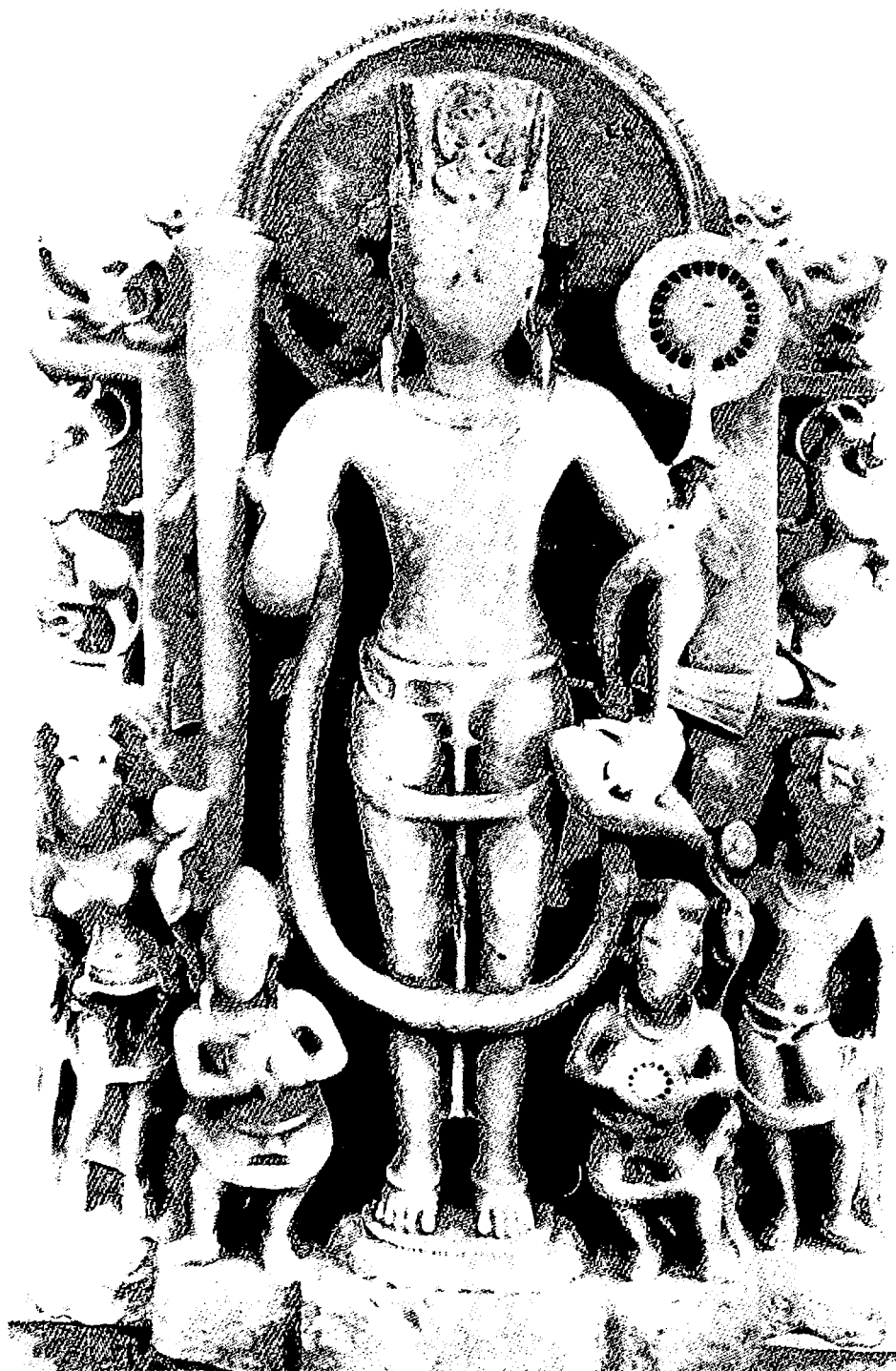
A. Nāgarāja (or *maharaja*?), c. 375-400.



B. Caṇḍikā, Early Gupta period, c. second quarter of the 5th century CE.



Probably the bust of Āditya, c. 7th-8th century CE.



Viṣṇu, standing, Pratihāra period, c. 8th century CE.



Ganapati, Late Pratihāra/Pre-Paramāra period, c. 900-925.



Ganapati, Pre-Pratihāra period, c. 8th century CE.

The Text of Kālidāsa's Works in the Manuscripts of Harvard

University, USA, and Wellcome Trust, UK*

Rewaprasad Dwivedi

The Harvard University has about 2300 Sanskrit Manuscripts preserved in its Houghton Library (HL), a special collections library, adjacent to the much larger Widener Library, instituted in 1914. The university obtained these manuscripts at the end of the 19th century from Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Rajasthan provinces of India. A catalogue of these manuscripts (MSS) was prepared and published in 1935 by Poleman, under the title 'Catalogue of Indic Manuscripts in the United States of America.' It is very useful in the research on Sanskrit literature.

The HL has about 25 MSS of Kālidāsa's literature (KL). Generally, these manuscripts provide readings of Kālidāsa's literature corresponding with previously published works. There are a few noteworthy readings, all of which have been selected and printed in the latest work on KL, especially in the second edition of my Complete Works of Kālidāsa (CWK-2). Observations on some of the readings from the HL collection of KL are presented here. Included also are observations on four manuscripts of *Raghuvamśa* at Wellcome Trust, London, England.

Raghuvamśa [RV]

The following five MSS of *RV* at HL were consulted in detail: MS Indic 241, 415, 772, 915 and 916. Out of these, the first four are complete. MS Indic 916 starts with the fourth stanza '*yathākālaprabodhinām*' of verse number 6 of canto 1, and ends with the words '*rūpe gīte ca*' of 15.65. Though it is incomplete, it is valuable. MS Indic 918 contains the text of Mallinātha's commentary *Saṅjīvanī* up to eighth canto with the text of verses up to canto 5 and 6.2 upto the word '*miveśvare*.' MS Indic 919 is a manuscript of the commentary of Dharmameru on the first canto of *RV* without verses.

In the second half of the verse 5.4 '*apyagrani*' etc., of this epic, the following two sets of variations are available as illustrated in the photocopies I, II and III of the MSS.

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1. यतस्त्वया ज्ञानमशेषमाप्तञ्चैतन्यमुग्रादिव दीक्षितेन

and

2. यतस्त्वया ज्ञानमशेषमाप्तं लोकेन चैतन्यमिवोष्णरश्मेः

Of these, for the first there have been as many as nine variations available in the MSS, as well as in the printed editions. They are as follows:

1. आत्तम् instead of आप्तम्

2. [त्व]या: [verb] instead of [त्व]या [instrumental case] ज्ञानमशेषमाप्तं चैतन्यमुग्रादिव जीवलोकः

3. in variant-2, चैतन्य has been replaced by आलोक

4. ज्ञानं यतस्त्वां प्रविवेश पुण्यम्

5. ज्ञानं यतस्त्वां विशदं विवेश

6. चैतन्यमुग्रादिव यायजूकम् ।

7. आलोकमर्कादिव जीवलोकः

8. चैतन्यमर्कादिव जीवलोकम्

9. चैतन्यमुग्रादिव दीक्षितेन

The second one runs like this - '*lokena caitanyamivoṣṇaraśmeh.*' In this reading '*tvayā*' has no need to change like '*tu ayāḥ*' as the counterpart of the simile '*loka*' does not allow it.

Out of these, only two images emerge, that of-

1. चैतन्य, उग्र and दीक्षित, and

2. आलोक/चैतन्य, अर्क and जीवलोक

The term '*dīkṣita*' has been a particular type of term having the sense of '*yajamāna*' behind it. More so, the term '*ugra*' had been unfamiliar to the name of Śiva in the post-Vedic classical age of Sanskrit language. This was the background why the image of '*ugra*' had been changed into other images. It is also to be kept in mind that the commentators on the *RV* were mostly Jains. Mallinātha is also believed to be a Jain, as he also bore the title *Sūri*, popular in Jains.

Unlike Mallinātha, Hemādri preferred and explained the reading comprehensively, even quoted Mahimnaḥ Stotra 'भवः शर्वो रुद्रः पशुपतिरथोग्रः' etc. No doubt, the image of Vedic faith, i.e., that of '*dīkṣita*, *caitanya* and *ugra* (*Śiva*)' was also not unknown to the scholars.

On the other hand, the image of 'light, sun and world or universe' is very much common to all the faiths, irrespective of any creed, Vedic or Jain.

Of these two images, the image of *ugra*, *caitanya*, and *dīkṣita*, stands nearer to the speaker Raghu, who has recently performed the sacrifices named Viśvajit and that was the fresh incident and experience for him that he had first obliterated his own spirit into the sacrificial fire and then obtained it back in the form of Lord Śiva called by the specific term '*ugra*'. Kālidāsa has described the peculiar form of Śiva in the shape of *yajamāna* in the ninth canto of *RV*-

अजिनदण्डभृतं कुशमेखलां यतगिरं मृगशृङ्गपरिग्रहाम् ।
अधिवसंस्तनुमध्वरदीक्षितामसमभासमभासयदीश्वरः ॥

RV 9.21

In another context, *yajamāna* is called an *amśa* of Trilocana. After defeating Lord Indra, Raghu requested that Indra should let the incident be intimated to his father himself, as being a human being, Raghu could not be allowed to reach his father Dilīpa, sitting in the *yajñāsālā* in the form of Trilocana (Śiva), one of his eight forms -

यथा च वृत्तान्तमिमं सदोगतस् त्रिलोचनैकांशतया दुरासदः ।
तवैव संदेशहराद् विशांपतिः शृणोति लोकेश ! तथा विधीयताम् ॥

RV 3.66

Even in all of the Nāndi-verses of his plays, Kālidāsa mentions *aṣṭamūrti Śiva*, one of whose forms is regarded as *yajamāna*. In other passages as well (such as *RV* 2.35, 2.54, etc.), Kālidāsa has used this idea recurrently. In fact, the intuition of Kālidāsa is possessed with the idea of the identity of *yajamāna* and Śiva. Therefore, it was natural for him to put the idea in usual way of simile. It is surprising that Mallinātha did not recognize this Vedic image in his commentaries, even though he was well-versed in all the *śāstras*. Perhaps he did not have *RV* manuscripts with this reading available to him. I am pleased that all of the seven *RV* manuscripts preserved in HL possess the reading '*caityanyamugrādiva dīkṣitena*', which I have also adopted in both of my editions of Kālidāsa Literature (Kālidāsa Granthāvali, first edition published in 1976, second edition, CWK-2, published in 1986). These MSS are old, with notes in the margins by multiple persons. The scribes of these MSS appear to be experts in the art of writing, with access to appropriate paper and writing instruments.

It is to be noted that MS Indic 918 at HL has been written with the help of two different copies of *RV*. From one, the commentary of Mallinātha is copied down, wherein verse 5.4 contains the text '*lokena caityanyamivosṇa-raśmeh*.' At the same time, the verse is written as '*caityanyamugrādiva dīkṣitena*.' The scribe of this MS did not pay attention to the text of the commentary.

It appears that this manuscript was written by two different scribes, one who wrote the commentary and the other the verses. This is quite evident from several pages in this manuscript where only commentary is written, but there are no verses. The verses have been incorporated up to the end of fifth canto and the portion 'miveśvare' of 6.2 only. On this page there is blank space for two lines of verses, and in the subsequent pages, the space for verses has been left blank.

It is also a fact that even the commentary of Mallinātha needs some critical edition. It is not improbable if the MS of Mallinātha's commentary too would be available written with the reading having the image of *ugra*, *caitanya* and *yajamāna*. Similarly, in the *Saṁjīvanī* commentary, there are many variations in *RV* printed from different places. There are three texts of *Saṁjīvanī* published from one city, Bombay – the text printed by Venkatesvara Press, Prof. Nandargikar's edition published in Bombay Saṁskṛta Series, and the edition published by Nirnayasagara Press. Even these differ from each other. There are other copies wherein two different commentaries have been mixed up, with Mallinātha's commentary for one verse, and Hemādri's *Darpaṇa* for the other, sometimes even on the same folio. Previously, I have presented photocopies of this type of manuscripts in the introduction to the critical edition of Hemādri's commentary *Raghuvamśadarpaṇa*, published by the K. P. Jayasawal Research Institute, Patna, in 1973.

The reading available in Mallinātha's commentary on the above verse is somehow repeated in idea in the verse 35 of the same canto of *RV*:

इत्थं प्रयुज्याशिषमग्रजन्मा राज्ञे प्रतीयाय गुरोः सकाशम् ।
राजापि लेभे सुतमाशु तस्मादालोकमर्कादिव जीवलोकः ॥

In this verse, the images of Sun, Āloka, and Jīvaloka are very much essential to avoid the sense of *niyoga*. Luckily there is no variation at all in this verse.

The copies of the MSS are correct also on other points. In the verse 2.42, the Nirnayasagara version contains the text '*atpūrva-bhaṅge*.' In the edition of Professor Nandargikar, Mallinātha's commentary has '*sarṅge*' instead of '*bhaṅge*'. I am pleased that the HL MS Indic 918 has the text '*sarṅge*'. The MS 520 of the Wellcome Trust of London has this reading as well.

Similarly, the text of second half of verse 2.5 is correct in the majority of HL MSS, and in the MS 520 of Wellcome Trust of London (photocopy IV). However, MS Indic 918 of HL is unclear, with a compound between '*avyāhata*' and '*svairagati*'. Even in the compound the scribe could try to put the token of '*ai*' on the first epithet '*avyāhata*'. In that case too, one may imagine the drop of *visarga* after '*avyāhata*'. It is clear from the writing

that someone else has applied the symbol of 'ai' afterwards. But the writing 'gateh' is very much clear, which clarifies the confusion created by overwriting. However, the writing of the same word in MS Indic 772 is 'tah' only converting into 's' as - 'hata-svai' [*hata-svaira*]. The same reading is very much clear in the MS 520 of London also.¹ The sense of 'avyāhata' is made available through 'svaira' itself. It falls, therefore, in the category of useless repetition called 'punarukti.' On the other hand, being an epithet to 'samrāt' it has reached the stage of essentiality that was very much needed for an attendant and was difficult for an attendant of the position of Samrāt, who is not allowed to enter an unsafe region like the forest. In the verse, the poetry has now reached a very polished stage with these two adjectives, termed as 'kāvyalinga-alaṅkāra'. Now the *samārdhana* has become possible as the attendant had also reached where the cow reached willingly. This reading is accepted as text in the CWK-2. We may remind the tendency of dropping *visarga* in the position of this type of conjunctions of words in other MSS. In the first verse of *Rtusānhāra* '*pracaṇḍa-sūryaḥ*', etc., the *visarga* had been obviously dropped after the word '*vagāha*' like in the next verse the *visarga* is dropped after the word '*śāsāṅka*', making it unusually connected with the next word '*kṣata*' in the shape '*śāsāṅka-kṣata*' instead of '*śāsāṅkaḥ kṣata*' as is printed in the CWK-2.

In the canto-4, the verse 68 '*tatra hūna*', etc., '*kapalapātalādeśi*' is the accepted reading in the edition printed by Nirnayasagara press. In the text of CWK-2, it is replaced with the text '*kapalapātanādeśi*.' Professor Rai Anandakrishnaji of Banaras Hindu University, has given preference to '*pātala*' on the ground of evidence found in paintings. But, all of the five *RV* manuscripts in HL have the reading '*pātana*.' The text '*pātala*' is not even described in marginal notes.

Also, in verse 4.70, a new reading has been imagined: '*tuṅga-draviṇa-rāsayāḥ upadā vivīsuḥ samyak samudramiva nimnagāḥ*.' Here, the famous reading in the fourth stanza was '*notsekāḥ kosaleśvaram*.' However the compound in '*tuṅga-dra*' is most welcome. This reading is accepted as the genuine one and printed in both editions of *RV*. In the HL manuscripts, this compound is present in all copies. So far as the new simile is concerned, it is found in MS Indic 916 only.

In the verse 4.55, '*marula*' (? *marulā*) is the unanimous reading in MS Indic 241, 415, 772 and 916, instead of '*Muralā*' as accepted in CWK-2.

MS Indic 918 is incomplete, yet the cataloguers have imagined its age as 1790 AD. I think it is admissible on the ground of the condition of paper

1 The Wellcome Trust, London (III).

that it is relatively new and the style of writing is also more modern. In MS Indic 415, the date of its writing is mentioned to be 1714 AD, i.e., 76 years older than MS Indic 918, which is also acceptable given the relative conditions of these manuscripts. The other *RV* manuscripts at HL are very old, and the above reading is included in all of them.

It is a pleasure to note that MS Indic 241, 416 and 772 accept the same reading for verse 1.76 as selected in CWK-2 after detailed discussion. Similarly, in CWK-2, verse 16.47, the word '*vane*' was replaced with '*nave*', a reading also found in HL MS Indic 241 and 415, but not in MS 1221 of Wellcome Trust, London.

The reading '*sa setum bandhayāmāsa*' etc. of verse 12.70 is very important. The printed text of this verse is as follows:

न सेतुं बन्धयामास प्लवगैर्लवणाम्भसि ।
रसातलादिवोत्तीर्णं शेषं स्वप्नाय शार्ङ्गिणः ॥

In this reading, an acquisition of *bandhana* is not applicable to *śeṣa*. But the scribes of all these MSS tried their best and finalized the reading as accepted in the CWK-2, that is, '*yo babhau ooo magnaḥ oo śeṣaḥ*.' It was very difficult to change the '*plavagai*' as '*yo babhau*' and '*magnam*' as '*magnaḥ*' with '*śeṣam*' as '*śeṣaḥ*.' The printed text of other editions like the Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, is available in the Wellcome Trust MS 1221.

We are thankful to the scribes of the MSS, though they missed the corrections at many points. For example, in 2.13 [*prktastu*], 17.47 [*kātaryam*]. In the first '*gandih*' is very clearly written instead of '*gandhi*' [*gandha* with suffix '*in*] that is a tendency of Kālidāsa as described in the footnote of the verse in CWK-2. This '*Gandha*' reading is selected and adopted for text in MS 520 of London (IV). So also in 17.47, the '*ñcāpada*' very much approved with the script, Brāhmī of Kālidāsa's age, about 2070 years ago is written as usual '*mśvāpada*'. However, we should not overlook the gap of long time and change in scripts in between the original and these masterpieces.

Let's remember here that the last interpolated verse,

अथ दुहितरमस्याश्चित्रकान्ताय राज्ञे
द्रविणहरिगजेन्द्रक्षमासमेतां निधाय ।
अनुययुरचिरेण स्वामिनं शुद्धधर्माः
सुरसरिति विहाय स्वं वपुर्मन्त्रिणोऽपि ॥

as noted in the footnotes on verse 19.57 in CWK-2, is not available in all the manuscripts under reference.

All manuscripts of *RV* have different sequence of verses in cantos 4,

9 and 18, the details of which would require a separate paper. Three facts in this respect are to be noted -

1. Nothing like the variant reading like '*colaka*' instead of '*kerala*' in the verse 4.54 '*bhayotsrṣṭa*' etc., that is the verse number 60 in MS Indic 241, number 59 in MS Indic 772 and 915, and number 51 in MS Indic 415 and 916. It is placed at number 54 in CWK-2.

Out of the four copies of this canto in the manuscripts at Wellcome Trust, the reading '*colaka*' is available in none. In MS 1222 of Wellcome Trust, this verse is put in margin only, yet the text is written with the reading '*kerala*.'

2. In canto number 9, the verse '*surabhi*' which was left out by Mallinātha, has been accepted by each of the HL manuscripts in their original text. In the same canto, the verse '*upahitam śīsirā*' adopted by Mallinātha as text instead of '*surabhi*' etc., has been mentioned in these manuscripts, but only as a variant reading. Manuscript 1221 of Wellcome Trust follows Mallinātha, and leaves the verse '*surabhi*' etc. out.

3. The readings in canto 18 are the same across all the manuscripts. Therefore the genealogy of King Raghu remains uncorrected, which is an error first probably made by the poet himself.

Rtusamhāra (RS)

Though I do not accept that *RS* is a poem of Kālidāsa in whose intuition flashed the masterpieces like *Meghadūta*, *Kumārasambhavam*, etc., I do not see any harm to Kālidāsa if we examine the MS of *RS* as a work written in Sanskrit, whose MSS have been found throughout the world over the past five centuries.

There are three MSS of *RS* in HL. Of these, MS Indic 313 bears the title '*Kālidāsa-kṛta śaḍṛtuvarṇana*.' It starts with the word, '*viśeṣa-sūryaḥ*' (Photo V) without any marginal mark of any other variant reading. This is unlike other copies I consulted in 1986 while preparing CWK-2, and in the additional references I consulted to prepare the more recent critical edition of *RS* published by Sahitya Akademi of Delhi. The extra verses at the end of the last chapter are written in the manuscript as usual, but the popular verse '*āmrimañjula-mañjari-vara-śaraḥ*' is not found in any of the HL manuscripts, similar to the manuscripts I used to prepare the critical editions of *RS*.

Though the MS Indic 2128 starts with the word '*pracaṇḍa*' itself, yet the word '*viśeṣa*' is available in all the colophons, totalling six in number. The colophons run like this-

इति श्रीविशेषकाव्ये कालिदासकृतौ ग्रीष्म / प्रावृड् / शरद् / हेमन्त / शिशिर /
वसन्त-वर्णनो नाम प्रथमः / द्वितीयः / तृतीयः / चतुर्थः / पञ्चमः / षष्ठः सर्गः ।

After the sixth colophon, the date of the MS is given like this -

षष्ठः सर्गः ॥६॥ संवत्, १८६६, प्रथम आषाढ शुक्ल ४ लिखित रामकृष्णः लेखक
शुभम् भूयात् कल्याणमस्तु ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ [here ends the line]

It is evident that in the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the reading '*viśeṣasūryah*' was existent. Other references of the same reading have been made available in the footnotes of the Sahitya Akademi edition in 1990. As suggested in the editor's note in the above edition, it is true that the adjective '*viśeṣa*' represents a special characteristic of the poem. Think over the point: who bears here the character of hero? It is not a human being, but the ever circling wheel of nature. Or none else, but the very self of reader called *sahr̥daya*. Otherwise, why have the Jain sadhus continued to copy this for centuries? Abhinavagupta's words are true: 'one, who is *muni* or *vīta-rāga*, tests the amorous literature with interest.' '*Munerapi sã vāsanaṁ astyeva, na hi vīta-rāgopi viparyastān bhāvān paśyati, na hyasya vīnākvaṇitam kāka-ratitakalpam pratibhāti*' [*Locana*]. As in '*muktaka*' here in this poem *RS* also none else bears the nature of hero except *the soul, called reader or enjoyer* of the poem. This characteristic is really very *viśeṣa*, or special, not available in other poems.

Somehow the tradition of calling '*viśeṣa*' in regard to *RS* is significant, and is available also in the HL manuscripts.

The headings of the chapters are '*sarga*' even in the MS Indic 313 at HL. Let us remember the fact that the titles of chapters of *RS* have been called '*varṇanā*' as the references are available right from Sir W. Jones, the first editor of this work. It is to be noted that it was Sir W. Jones who had prepared the edition of *RS* through the scholars of Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, which had been printed and published in 1792 as a first printed Sanskrit work in the Bengali script. There too, the chapters are called '*varṇanā*' and not '*sarga*'. The edition was based on four copies available in Calcutta and in its territory. It means that the tradition of calling chapters of *RS* as '*varṇanā*' and not as '*sarga*' was spread all over India from east to west.
As

1. the HL manuscripts were collected from Gujarat, which is in western India;

2. I have also found 13 copies of *RS* from Ahmedabad, also located in western India;

3. it is not impossible that the copy preserved in Bhārata Kalā-Bhavana,

Banaras Hindu University, which bears the titles '*varṇanā*' in colophons, would have been collected by Bharatendu Harishchandra from some source in Gujarat as well. His collection was donated to Shri Raya Krishnadasa who, after establishing the Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, donated his own collection to it.

Meghadūta [MD]

In the HL, there are as many as five manuscripts of *MD*:

1. MS Indic 2153, written in Vikrama Samvat 1663
2. MS Indic 236, written in Vikrama Samvat 1770
3. MS Indic 834, date not mentioned
4. MS Indic 835, prepared in Vikrama Samvat 1707
5. MS Indic 984, written in Vikrama Samvat 1649.

Besides these, there are two other MSS, with commentaries only and no text.

It is also notable in the context of these manuscripts that the division of *pūrva-megha* and *uttara-megha* is not recognised and the total number of all the verses is given at the last verse, as follows:

1. 1-124 in MS Indic 984
2. 1-125 in MS Indic 833, 834, 835
3. 1-126 in MS Indic 2156
4. 1-127 in MS Indic 236.

The number of verses in these MSS is different because the interpolated verses have been included in the genuine text. The order of verses is also different in these MSS, and a detailed description would require a separate paper.

I have also included the following verses in the text in CWK-2, but without numbering them, thus keeping the total number of verses at 111.

1. प्रद्योतस्य after verse 30
2. हेमाम्भोज after verse 61
3. अध्वक्लान्तं ँकरि बृहत्सु अक्षय्यान्तर after verse 69
4. कच्चित् after 110 + 1/2

The following verses have been placed in the footnotes after various

verses:

1. अध्वक्लान्तं करि महत्सु (after verse 17)
2. अम्भोबिन्दु गीतानि (after verse 20)
3. हारांस्तारांस्त ंवशेषः (after verse 31)
4. पत्रश्यामा ० ० व्रणाङ्कैः (after verse 31)
5. अन्वेष्टव्या ंकरेण (after verse 87)
6. स्निग्धाः मुपेयाः । (after verse 88)
7. धारासि यतपाणिः (after verse 102)

Besides, one verse is imagined and put in the text without number after the first half of verse 111.

- a. साभिज्ञान-प्रहित-कुशलैस्तद्वचोभिर्ममापि
- b. प्रातःकुन्दप्रसवशिथिल जीवितं धारयेथाः ॥
- c-f. कच्चित् सौम्य०००० र्थ-क्रियैव
- g. एतत् कृत्वा प्रियमनुचित-प्रार्थना-वर्तिनो मे
- h. सौहार्दाद् वा विधुर इति वा मय्यनुक्रोशबुद्ध्या

It is to be noted that a new verse is also available in the MS Indic 2153 after the verse '*daśapura-vadhū-netrakautūhalānām !!5!!*' It is as follows:

दृष्ट्वा लोकान् दशपुरगतान् विद्युदुल्काप्रकाशै-
स्तत्प्रसादानुपवनवतो वारिणा प्लावयित्वा
यायाः शीघ्रं शिखिकुल-रवोद्गीत-सानूपकण्ठान्
दिव्यस्त्रीणां विलसनभुवं पर्वतं पारियात्रम् ।

Here, it is to be noted that the verse '*patraśyāmā*' is not available in the HL MSS. At the same time, the following verses have been incorporated at the end in MS Indic 236:

आश्वास्यैना ०० जीवितं धारयेथाः ॥१२३॥
तं संदेशं जलधरवरो दिव्यवाचाऽऽचक्षे
प्राणांस्तस्या जनहितरतो रक्षितुं यक्षवध्वाः ।
प्राप्योदन्तं प्रमुदितमनाः सापि तस्थौ स्वभर्तुः ॥२४॥

श्रुत्वा वार्तां जलदकथितां तां धनेशोपि सद्यः
शापस्यान्तं सदयहृदयः संविधायास्तकोपः ।
संयोज्यैतौ विगलितशुचौ दम्पती हृष्टचित्तौ
भोगानिष्ठानविरतसुखौ भोजयामास शश्वत् ॥२५॥

इत्थम्भूतं सुचरितफलं मेघदूताभिधानं
कामक्रीडा-विरचि/हितजने विप्रयोगे विनोदः ।
मेघश्चास्मिन्नतिनिपुणता बुद्धिभावः कवीनां
नत्वा भाषाचरणयुगलं कालिदासश्चकार ॥२६॥

श्रुत्वा शक्तिं कविगुणमयीं कालिदासं कवीशं
शृङ्गारैकस्थितरतिमतिः स(श)ारदायाः प्रसादात् ।
मन्दाक्रान्ता-विरचित-पदैश्वरवृश्चि (?) लग्नै
काव्यञ्चक्रे सुललितपदं मेघदूताभिधानम् ॥२७॥

इति श्री कालिदासकवीन्द्र-विरचितकाव्यं मेघदूताभिधानम् ।
संवत् १७७० - वर्ष माह(घ) सुद ११-दिने लषि(लिखित)तम् ।
मङ्गलं लेखनाञ्च वाचकानाञ्च मङ्गलम्, मङ्गलं सर्वलोकानां
भूमि-भूपति-मङ्गलम् [here ends the copy]

At the end of MS Indic 835, the following verses are also available:

[मा भूदेवं क्षणमपि च ते विद्युता विप्रयोगः ॥२३॥]
तस्माद्रेर्निगदितप ००० शीघ्रमेत्यालकाया
यक्षागारं विलित्विभुं (?) दृष्टचिह्नैर्विदित्वा
तत्संदिष्टं प्रणयमधुरं गुह्यकेन प्रयत्नात्
तद्गोहिन्याः सकलमवदत् कामरूपी पयोदः ॥२४॥

तं संदेशं सपदि जलदो दिव्यवाचाचक्षे
प्राणांस्तस्या जनहितरतो रक्षितुं यक्षवध्वाः ।
प्राप्योदन्त (तं) प्रमु[दि]तमा[मनाः] सोऽपि तस्थौ स्वभर्तुः
केषां न स्यादभिमतफला प्रार्थना ह्युत्तमेषु ॥२५॥

श्रुत्वा वार्त्तां जलदकथितां तां दिनेशोऽपि सद्यः
शापस्यान्तं सदयहृदयः संविधायास्तकोपः ।
संयोज्यैतौ विगलितशुचा दम्पती तुष्टचित्तौ
भोगानिष्टानविरतसुखान् भोजयामास शश्वत् ॥२६॥

(painting)

श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥ शुभम् भवतु ॥ (ends the page)

MS Indic 835 runs on the next and the last page of the manuscript as follows -

इति श्रीमहाकविकालिदासकृतं मेघदूतं महाकाव्यं समाप्तम् ॥ ॥श्रीराम ॥
अदृष्ट-दोखा(षा)त् स्मृतिविभ्रमाच्च
यदर्थहीनं लिखितं मयाऽत्र ।

तत् सर्वमार्यैः परिशोधनीयं

प्रायेण मुह्यन्ति हि ये लिष(ख)न्ति ॥ श्रीरस्तु ।

ग्राम षेदीमध्ये लिषि(खितं) जोशि[रा]मात्मज-

पुत्र-लक्ष्मीदासेनेदं पुस्तकम् आत्मपठनार्थम् ।

लेष(ख)कपाठकयोः कल्याणं शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्रीरामो जयति ।

श्रीः । श्रीः । श्रीः । श्रीः । श्रीः । श्रीः ॥ श्रीः । श्रीः । श्रीः । श्रीः । श्रीः ।

श्रीः ।

सं व त १७०७ वर्ष श्रावणमासे कृष्णपक्षे ११ रवौ

[Here ends the line and manuscript with leaf number 8.]

In MS Indic 834, the following verse is written continuously like this:

[ज्ञातास्वादो विपुल-जघनां को विहातुं समर्थः ॥४५॥] म्रोतोरन्ध्रध्वनितसुभगं दन्तिभिः पीयमानः
नीचैर्वास्त्यत्युपजिगमिषोर्देवपूर्वं गिरिं ते शीतो वायुः परिणमयिता काननोदुम्बराणां
त्वन्निष्यन्दोच्छ्वसितवसुधागन्धसंपर्करम्यः ॥४६॥ ज्योतिः

It is to be noted here that the fourth stanza is written here as first and the first as fourth. It is but a scribal mistake.

Very much significant, however, is the reading of its preceding verse '*tasyāḥ kiñcit*.' Here the sense of vulgarity is dropped through the reading '*vipula*' instead of '*vivṛta*', though the sense of the reading '*vivṛta*' is put forth by the first half of the verse itself. The reading '*vipulajaghanām*' has been accepted by Jinasena, the Jaina writer of the famous work '*Pārsvābhyudaya*.' One may draw the conclusion that the HL MS Indic 834 represents the Jaina tradition of *Meghadūta*'s text.

All of the MSS of *MD* in HL do not skip the compound in the word '*svādhikāra-pramattaḥ*' of the first line, unlike the MSS prepared in south India, which do skip this compound invariably, as followed by commentators like Mallinātha. One can freely draw the idea of locative case in the same word if the compound is followed. In the remaining parts of these MSS, the scribes have not attempted to select appropriate text. The reading '*sadyaḥ-pātapraṇayi*' (verse-10) or '*kāmārtā hi praṇaya-kṛpānāḥ*' (verse-5) are the touchstones of the criticality in the writer of *MD* manuscripts.

Kumārasambhavam [KS]

The manuscripts of *KS* are judged through the contents and the number of cantos. In one tradition, the MSS of *KS* have been written up to the canto 7. In others, they are complete with canto 8 included. In the third tradition, as many as nine new cantos are added to the text, and in this tradition, there are total 17 cantos. In the HL collection, no manuscript subscribing to the third tradition is available.

As far as the evaluation of the available MSS is concerned, it is enough to say that their value is significant. The text of MS Indic 833 and MS Indic 2114 is found correct in many places. The crucial point in *KS* is the text of verse 2.51, whose text in these MSS is incorrect. The real and correct text is included in CWK-2, as follows:

तदिच्छामो विभो सृष्टं सेनान्यं तस्य शान्तये ।
कर्मबन्धच्छिदं धर्मं भवस्येव मुमुक्षवः ॥

In the printed editions, '*sr̥ṣtam*' is printed as '*sraṣtam*'. This is totally irrelevant as discussed in the introduction of CWK-2. I am pleased to find the same text in MS Indic 2114 at Harvard (Photocopy VI). This manuscript appears to be very old, but the script is clear. Through this photocopy, it is evident that the scribe of this manuscript had before him only one text, the one considered to be the most authentic text of Kālidāsa in CWK-2, with one correction in the word '*vibhoḥ*', from which the *visarga* was dropped in CWK-2. In MS Indic 833, the same idea is clear from the writing '*vibho-rm̐ṣtam*'. Here, '*sr̥*' is understood as '*m̐*' as the preceding *visarga* is changed (Photocopy VII) into '*r̥*'. It is a mistake in the scribe's understanding. In fact, the original reading would have been '*vibhoḥ sr̥ṣtam*'. In *KS* text, I have selected '*vibhoḥ*' as '*vibho*' for the long left invocation to Lord Brahmadeva.

It is clear that the moderation in the *KS* text was felt and done centuries ago, and the critical faculty being applied today was applied then also.

As far as the book consisting canto 9-17 is concerned, it is very much clear that these cantos have been added afterwards², as-

1. the language used in these cantos is grammatically wrong;
2. the vocabulary used is borrowed from local dialects of some modern age, and
3. the idea of devotion to Lord Śiva is different from that of cantos 1-8 of this epic.

This is discussed in detail in my other articles.

On the above grounds, Mallinātha cannot be accepted as the author of these cantos, as he was an expert writer. On the ground of canto 12, the authorship of these cantos may be allocated to someone who bears the name 'Śaṅkara'.

Mālavikāgnimitra [MA]

The manuscripts of *MA* are very rare. A lot of *MA* manuscripts are available in south India. In north India, the Raghunath Temple library of Jammu has a few *MA* MSS, and Jaipur and Bikaner in Rajasthan each has one *MA* MS. The famous Sarasvati Bhavan library of Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya has only two or two and a half MSS of *MA*. The three collections of Banaras Hindu University have no *MA* MS at all. I think, on this background, the position of HL is unique, wherein a complete MS of *MA* is available as MS Indic 1323.

This MS starts with the reading '*ekaiśvarya-sthito-pi pranaya-bahuphalo yah.*' Here, the compound in the first two words is very much welcome, as is supported in my footnote on the first verse of the play in CWK-2. The reading '*pranaya*' is significant, though I think it should be '*pranayi*'. MS Indic 1323 is the first manuscript with this reading. More than 50 usages of '*pranaya*' are found with '*pranayi*' in KL. I have discussed in CWK-2 wherein the meaning of '*yācanā*', supplication or rather a request, is also included as in the fourth stanza of the verse 5 '*dhūmajyoti*', etc. of *Meghadūta*, or in the same stanza of the verse 10 '*sadyah-pāta-pranayi*' [and not at any rate '*sadyah pāti pranayi*' etc.] of *Meghadūta* itself. Still, I think the reading '*pranata*' is better as it includes the *pranati* of *niskāma bhakta*, or the devotee without any desire, also.

In other places like 2.8 and 3.13, the manuscript has the usual readings. In the case of 2.8, it is to be noted that there are as many as eight variants in one verse. Unfortunately, this manuscript was left unused in both editions of my *Kālidāsa Granthāvali*. Nor the edition of Professor Iyar, published by the Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, took note of it. It was available in the Nirnayasaragar edition of the commentary called *Avaloka* by Dhanika on the work called *Daśarūpaka* prepared by Dhanañjaya. Both of these writers flourished in the tenth century and were contemporary writers of Abhinavagupta. Dhanika's skill in the composition of Sanskrit verse was so refined that it amazes the readers. He stood second to none in this field. This great writer put the verse in a different shape. I did not realize this myself prior to the publication of my CWK-2 in 1986. Later on, I presented this observation at the All India Kālidāsa Samāroha of Ujjain, some three years ago. It was as if the first word of the verse has been changed. Let me produce both the readings here:

2. The details are available in the Ph. D. thesis of Dr. Sadashiva Dwivedi, Banaras Hindu University MSS of *KS*.

Text in <i>Avaloka</i> NS ed.	Text in <i>MA</i> as printed
१. हस्तैर०	अङ्गैर०
२. ०न्यासैर्ल	० न्यासोल
३. ०मुपगतस्त०	०मनुगतस्त०
४-५ षड्विकल्पानुवृत्तैः	स्तद्विकल्पानुवृत्तौ
६-७ भावे भावे	भावो भावं
८ विषयान्	विषयाद्

The text of *Avaloka* is based on the authority of the *Abhinayādhyāya* 22.43 of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, wherein the following six *vikalpas* in any dance are prescribed: 1. vākyam 2. sūcā 3. aṅkura 4. śākhā 5. nāṭyāyitam 6. ni-vr̥/rvr̥-ṭyaṅkura.

Here, in the observation on and the criticism of the dance performance of Mālavikā, the technical terms may very well be used. They will not go against the poetic art as admitted by the aestheticians under the head *avācakatva*. The terms '*antarnihita-vacana*, *śākhāyonī*, *ṣaḍvikalpa*, *anuvṛtti*, *bhāva*, *rāgabandha*, and *rasa*' are the terms which might have gone against. When so many technical terms are allowed, what kind of harm would then be done in the use of '*ṣaḍvikalpa*'? I think this reading had been forgotten long ago, but up to the time of Dhanika, it was known to art critics.

The verse 3.13 has a very significant reading, as adopted in CWK-2. It was available as early as the time of Vāmana of CE 800. The CWK-2 text of this verse was quoted by him as an example of the *alaṅkāra* called *sama-parivṛtti*. This text was not noted in the editions by Professor Iyar, and even by S. P. Pandit, in their editions with notes of *MA*. The scribe of MS Indic 1323 at HL was also not aware of this reading.

Prakrit passages are written in Prakrit itself, however in the margins on some pages, their Sanskrit equivalents are also noted.

The Bharatavākya runs with the name of Agnimitra, the hero of the play.

Vikramorvaśīyam [VK]

The HL does not have any MS of *VK*, however, Poleman has reported a *VK* manuscript (number 523, dated CE 1861 to have been preserved in the University of Pennsylvania. I have utilized this manuscript in my CWK-2. In this manuscript, the work is called '*toṭaka*' instead of *nāṭaka*. Also, it bears the text of *apabhramśa-gāthās* in the body of the text.

Prakrit portions of this manuscript are written in Prakrit language. A photocopy of this manuscript was reproduced in the introduction of CWK-2.

Abhijñānaśākuntalam [AŚ]

Four MSS of AŚ are preserved in HL. These are MS Indic 1084, MS Indic 1085, MS Indic 1086, and MS Indic 1103.

The last one is incomplete, with its remaining portion consisting of leaves bearing numbers 66-72. On page number 1 of the first leaf, this manuscript starts with the text '*kathañ citram !! sanu !! aha vi dānim vagattha*' [perhaps from the act 7] and ends with the words [7.7.2] *daścaryadarśanaḥ sañlakṣyate manuṣya* [ends the MS.]

The remaining three HL AŚ manuscripts are complete, however,

1. None except MS Indic 1086 mentions the name of Vikramāditya in the *prastāvanā* (Photocopy VIII).

2. Unlike CWK-2, none of them contains the correct and very much relevant text in 4.3.4. It is the same as in many other printed editions.

3. All these are of the tradition of text available in the editions printed with Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's *Arthadyotanikā*. The same version was followed in 1842 by Dr. Otto Boehlingk of Bonn and in 1876 by Sir Monier Williams of Oxford University. The text of the edition published in 1922 by the Harvard Oriental Series, USA, is not found in any of these MSS.

4. These copies do not bear *viśkambhaka* of *nākalāsikās* for the seventh act. This *viśkambhaka* represents the version prevalent in Kashmir, as is evident from the Sahitya Akademi edition prepared by Prof. Velankar. It means these MSS do not follow Kashmir tradition as well.

5. They do not put forth the twin preludes before the fourth act, available in the Ahmedabad MS displayed in CWK-2.

6. Prakrit text is presented in its original form, and its Sanskrit equivalents are not included.

7. There is nothing unusual in the text of these MSS. For example, the Nāndī verse has the reading '*prapannastanu.*' The other reading '*prasanna*' is not available in these MSS. Also, the Bharatavākya has the usual readings, published in printed editions. In this verse, all of these MSS have the last stanza as follows - '*śruti-mahatām mahīyasām.*' The last line of MS Indic 1084 is:

रात्मभूः ॥ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ इति निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे शकुन्तलायां सप्तमोऽङ्कः समाप्तोऽयं श्री कालिदासविरचितो ग्रन्थः ॥ संवत् १७२६ ॥ रस-द्वि-क्षमाभृदवनि-मिते विक्रमभूभृतः । मार्गशीर्ष सिते काश्यां द्वितीया चन्द्रवासरे ॥ शाण्डिल्यगोत्रसंभूत-भट्ट-नारायणात्मजः लिलेख शंकरो नाट्यं श्रीमच्छाकुन्तलाभिधम् ॥ श्रीरस्तु सर्वजगतः ॥ श्रीभवानीशङ्कराभ्यां नमः ॥ शिवमस्तु सर्वजगतः ।

[Here ends the copy]

The condition of this MS is poor. The first page is pasted on the leaf wherein word 'candrāloka' in the copy is visible. The last page of this copy is marked with visible lines-

बबरकर-रत्नाकरभट्टात्मज-शङ्कर-भट्टीय शाकुन्तलं पुस्तकम् । भारद्वाज वैजनाथस्यैत ।

General

1. For all of the works the headings of chapters like *prathamah*, *dvitīyah*, *sargah*, *aṅkah*, etc., have not been given at the beginning of these chapters in any of the manuscripts. This practice is maintained even in the HL manuscripts.

2. At the beginning of play *pūrvaraṅga* of 23 parts had been performed, *nāndī* was one of these parts. But the heading about the *pūrvaraṅga* is generally avoided. The same practice was followed in all the MSS of Kālidāsa's plays in HL.

3. All of the MSS I consulted are written on paper, and in their margins there are many clearly written explanatory notes. This is also useful material. It must also be preserved.

4. The condition of the paper for some of the manuscripts is very poor. Some chemical preservation of this old record is needed.

यज्ञानकामलाभिज्ञेण

पुनरीवमानववर्तुः॥ ववति/विद्वज्जानी/कषी/मधु/मुरवाः/शुभरी/यज्ञानगताः॥ ममस्वी/ज्ञानी/आसी/कनेवदी/तात्तने/नयथायनमाप्र/उत्रा

पु॥ तमध्वरविश्वजितिद्वितीशानिष्ठविश्राणितकाशजातंउपात्रविद्याशुभद
 द्विणथीकोसःप्राणदवरतउशिथु॥ समृन्मयवीतद्विरण्मयवाणाउतिक्षया
 द्विमनशाशेला॥ इतप्रकाशयशसाप्रकाश/प्रकृज्जगामातिथिमातिथय॥ प्रकृ
 तमत्रयिवाविधिवद्विधिज्ञसापाधनमानधनाययायीचिशपतिविष्प्रताज्जमा
 कृतसुति/लद्यविद्विक्वाच/उत्रयथयणीमंत्रकतामृषीणांउशाशुद्धक
 लीशुभस्त्रियतस्त्रयज्ञानमाशषमाज्ञतितन्यसुयादिवदीहितन/धकायनेवा
 चाभनसावशश्रुतयवजिणाधियविपतपित्तंआपाद्यतनययमितरायिकेशि

परिवरणवत्रुय/र
 जाना/तिनेठयवि
 त/उत्रयती/कप्रवा/ज्ञान
 वाप्याना
 मनातकेउक/र/उष्ट
 विज्ञं/उत्रावशक/मादि
 ज्ञापनी/अधिका/उत्र/तकी
 शि/य/ति/उत्र/वा/उत्र/य
 प्र/उत्र/गना/उत्र/य

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1

सिकोका'वरतंताः
 स्प'अतएवधंस्व'शी

कोध विविध्रिः॥ कयनेनीयानेनपःदे/देने/अपरं/धाणा/अपरं/अनवरतं/फा/दि/के/न/प/उ/प/वा/या/दि/। वा/वि/की/पा/गा/हि/मान/से/ज/पा/दि/। इति/त्रि/वि/धं/ने/पः/५

लोपि

I

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तैर्मध्वे विश्वजिति द्वितीयां निःशेषविष्णोः तको राजातां। उपान्तविद्योः सुदक्षिणार्थीकोत्स
प्रपेदेव तं तु शिष्यः ॥ १ ॥ समुत्तयेवी तद्विरणमयत्वात्पत्रिनिक्षयात् नर्घ्याशीलः ॥ अतः प्र
कात्रायत्रोसायकात्रः यत्पुजगामांतिथिर्मांतिथेयः ॥ २ ॥ तमर्घ्यित्वा विध्वं चिध्वं तयो
धनं मानधनाययायी ॥ वित्रायति विष्टरजामारात् ॥ कृतांजलिः कृत्युविदित्युवाच ॥ ३ ॥
अथ यणी मन्त्रकृतां मृषीणां कुसाग्रतुष्टे कुशलीषु रुस्ते। यतस्त्वया ज्ञानमन्त्रोत्तमो मन्त्रे तन
मन्त्रादिवदीक्षितेन ॥ ४ ॥ कायेन वाचामनसे जिये वायव्ये जिणः धैर्यं विलोपितं। आयाद्यते
न वायमंतराये क्वचित्मदये सि विधुं तपस्तत् ॥ ५ ॥ आशु वं ध्रुपु मुरैः प्रयत्नैः वैसं हिता
नां सुतनिर्विषोषां क्वचिन्नवाद्वा दिरुपन्नवोवः ॥ अमठिदां मां मया दयानां ॥ ६ ॥ क्रियानि

मन्त्रसा
चित्रा
उत्कर्षित्वेजी
बलोक

३०

II

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वरतंतोः शिष्यः कौशः गुरुदक्षिणाधीप्रत्ययारव्येय इतिज्ञावः प्रपेदेशापरसइति अनर्घशीलः अमूल्यस्वत्वा
 दइत्यर्घः मूल्येष्टडाविध्वर्घः शीलंस्वत्वावेसमृष्टइतिचामरशाश्रुतौयश्माकीर्त्याप्रकाशतइतिप्रकाशः पश्चाच्च
 अतिशिशुसाक्षरातिशेयः पश्चातिशिवसतिस्वपवतेर्दितिदत्रप्रत्ययः सरक्षः हिरण्यस्यविकारोहिरण्यमयंदाहिना
 यनादिसूत्रेणनिपातः वीतहिरण्यमयत्वात् अणगतस्त्वर्णियात्त्वात् यजस्सर्वस्वदक्षिणाकत्वादितिज्ञावः पृन्मये
 मृदिकारेणवेअर्घ्यमर्घ्यार्घ्येष्टडार्घ्येष्टव्य अर्घ्यनिधायश्रुतेनशास्त्रेणप्रकाशंप्रसिद्धं श्रुतेशास्त्राधुर्योरित्यमरः अति
 शिष्यमहोत्पागतकौशं अतिशिनागृहागतइत्यमरः प्रत्युद्गाममर तमिति विधिजः शास्त्रजः अकरणेप्रत्यवायलीस
 १ समृन्मयेवीतहिरण्ययत्वात्पारेनिधायार्घ्यमनर्घ्यशीलं श्रुतप्रकाशंयत्राप्रकाशः प्रत्युद्गामार्तिशिमौतिशेयः २ तमंर्घ्येति
 त्वाविधिवद्विधिजं स्तपोधनंमानधनाययायी विशोपतिविष्टरत्ताजमौरा कृतांजलिः कृत्यविदित्युवाच ३ अय्येणामं
 चकृतामृषीणां कशाग्रबुधेकशलीगुरुस्तं यतस्तयाज्ञानमंत्रोषमीमं चैतन्यमुग्रादिददीहितेन ४ कायेनवाचामनसापि

रित्यर्घः मानधनानामययायी अयेस्मरः द्वौ विक्रौवैश्वमनुजावित्यमरः विष्टरत्ताजमामनगतंउपविष्टमित्यर्घः विष्ट
 रोविटपीदर्लमुष्टिः पीढाद्यमामनमित्यमरः तनपोधनेविधिवद्विध्वा दंयश्चाशास्त्रमित्यर्घः वदहीमितिवतिप्रत्ययः अ
 र्थेयित्वा आरात्ममीये आराइरसमीयोरित्यमरः कृतांजलिः सतइतिवक्ष्यमाणप्रकारेणोवाच ३ अयीति अयि
 कोमलामंत्रणेदेकशाग्रबुधेसूक्ष्मबुधे मंत्रकृतांमंत्रइष्टांस्फूर्कपाणेत्यादिनाद्विष्पृ रुषीणोअग्रणीः श्रेष्ठः तेतदगु
 रुः कृशत्पापिकेमवानकिंअपिप्रश्नेगदसिमुच्चयप्रश्नशंकासां तावनास्वपीत्यमरः यतोयस्मादुरोस्त्वया अशेषंज्ञा
 नेनोकेनोस्मरश्चेमः सूर्याचैत्यन्यप्रबोधइच्च आसंस्वीकृतं ४ कायेनेति कायेनवाचामनसापिकरणेनवासवस्येइ

II

IV a

१० प्रीतिमात्सपरिग्रहः आद्ये षोडशकाले शिष्यः प्राप्ति तु एततः ६२ अथ प्रदोषे रोषं हस्तं वे शापविषां
 ५ पतिं सन्तु सन्तु न वा कल्पसर्विससजोर्जितश्रियम् ६३ मन्मामपितसिद्धौ निपमापेत्पासुनिः कल्प
 विकल्पपामासवसासेवास्पसंविद्म् ६४ निर्दिष्टं कल्पपतिनासपत्नीणात्पामास्यप्रपतपरिग्रह
 द्वितीय तच्छिष्यापननिवेदितावसानं संविष्यः कृष्णशपनेनिष्ठां निनाप ६५ इति श्रीरघुवंशमहाका
 व्येकाविंशतिसंस्कृते प्रथमः सर्गः १ शो अथ मज्जानामधिपः प्रभाते जाषापति प्रादितगंधमाल्यां वनापुपी
 तप्रतिवद्भवत्सां पुरोधे नोर्धे नुम्वे सुमोचा २ तस्याः खुरसासपवित्रपांसुजपांसुलानां धुंकीर्तनीया रि ५
 मार्गं मनुष्यश्रद्धेर्मपत्नी श्रुतेरिदार्थं स्मृतिस्नुगच्छत् ३ त्रिवर्षेण जादपितां सुलानां सौमिणी सुभि
 र्यशोभिः पयोद्विभनवतुसमुद्रां नुगोपगोनुपधत्तमिबोर्वीम् ३ ज्ञतापतेनानुचरेण धेनोर्मये धिरो
 षोपनुपापिवर्गः नवात्तलस्यशरिरेत्यास्वधीर्पुत्रादिमप्रसृति ४ आस्तादवदिः कवत्यैस्तीणानां क
 एडपनेर्दंशनिवारणौ श्रुत्वाह तः स्वेरगतेः सतसाः समादसमाएधनतसरोभत् ५ स्थितः स्थितामुच्च ५

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वितः प्रपातां निषोडुषीमासनवं हधीरः जलाभिलाषी जलमादधानोऽप्येवतां भपतिरन्वगच्छत् ५
 समस्तविद्रामपि एजलस्त्री तेजोविशेषानुमितोदद्युगः आसीदेताविष्कृतदानएजितमंदावस्यव
 द्विपेद्रः ६ लताप्रतानोद्भूयितेः सके शौर्ध्वधन्वाविचचारदावं स्तापदेणदुहोमधेः शैर्वमान्विनेष
 निवडुहसस्तान् ७ विस्त्रप्राश्चानुचरस्य तस्य पार्श्वद्रमाः पाशाभतासमस्य उदीरपाप्रासुरेवोभरा
 नामालोक शब्दं वपसां विरावैः ८ महत्प्रफत्ताश्च महत्सखाभं तमर्चमाएदभिवर्तमानम् अवाकिल्ला
 ललप्रसन्नैराचारलाजैरिवपौरकयाः ९ धनुर्मतोपसदपाई भावंमाव्यातमंतं क्रूरणैः विषां कैः वि
 लोकपंतोवपुएपुएशम्भिकाभविस्तारफलं हरिणः १० सकीचकैमीहतपरणैः कज्जदिएपादित
 वंशकृतं श्चुआवकुजेषुपशः स्वमुश्चै हदीयमानं वै देवताभिः ११ एकस्तुषाणैरिनिर्णयणामनोक
 हाकंपितपुष्पगंधी तमातपत्कांतमनातपत्रमाचारपवेवनः सिखेवे १२ शशासवध्याभिविनादा
 म्रिएली द्विशेषाफलपुष्पवद्भिः इनेन सत्त्वेषधिकोववैधेन सिन्धुनगोप्रागाहमारो १३ संचार (V)
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विदोषं च री सुदृगा यत्तदस्य सदावगाहदितवारिसंचय ॥ दिनांतरम्यो ह्यु
 पमानमस्यो निदाघकालसमुयागतप्रिये ॥ १ ॥ निजाशंशंकहतनील
 सुतय कान्तिदिवि त्रैजलजंत्रुमंदिर ॥ मणिप्रकाराः सरसै च चंदनशुचौ प्रियेयाति
 जं स्पमेवता ॥ २ ॥ सुवासितहृत्पतलमनोहरप्रियाशुखोस्त्रा सविक्रपितमधु ॥ सुतेन
 जातमदनसदापनंशुचौ निशायेन च वतिकाभिन ॥ ३ ॥ नितं ववि वै सुहृकलमेय
 ले स्तनैः सहस्रजरतौः संचदने ॥ सिरोरुहैस्तानकषायवासितैः स्त्रियो निदाघ
 रमयनिकाभिः ॥ ४ ॥ नितंतलाहारसशगलोहितैर्नितं विनीता चरतौः सन
 परैः ॥ प्रदेशं सरुताबुकारिनिर्जनस्पत्तितं क्रियते मम मया ॥ ५ ॥ पयोधराश्रुद
 नपकचर्चितास्तुषारहारार्पितहारमेषराः नितं वदेशाश्च सहेममेधला प्रकुर्वते
 कस्यमनोसमो मुकं ॥ ६ ॥ समुद्रतस्त्रेदधितागसधयोतिमुक्तवासासिमुद्रगिसा
 प्रतस्तनेषुतन्ने मुकमुन्नतस्तना निवेशयति प्रमदासयौवना ॥ ७ ॥ संचदना
 बुधजनोइवानिलैः सहस्रयष्टिस्त

कुमार
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दयालूनपत्नेवाः॥अभिज्ञाश्चेदुपातानां क्रियन्ते नन्दनदुमाः॥४९॥वीज्यते स हि संततः श्वाससाधारण
 मिलैः॥चामरैः सुरवंदीनां वाष्पणीकरवर्षिभिः॥४२॥उत्पाद्यमेकशृंगं गच्छिन्नुस्मिन्निहृदितोरुदरेः॥
 आक्रीडयर्वतास्तेन कल्पिताः स्वेषु वेषमसु॥४३॥मंदाकिन्याः पयःशेषादिपुत्रारणमदाविले॥हे
 भोरुहसस्यानोतद्याप्यो धामसाप्रते॥४४॥भुवनालो कनप्रीतिः स्वर्गिनिनो नुमीयते॥स्विकीभूते
 मानानोतदापातप्रयात्यथि॥४५॥यज्वभिः संभृतं हयवितनेष्वध्वरेषु सः॥जातवेदो मुरवाः श्राय
 मिषतामौष्ठिनतिनः॥४६॥उच्चैरुच्चैः श्रवास्तेन हयरत्नमहादिवा॥देहवद्भूमिवेद्रस्य चिरकाला
 ज्जितं यशः॥४७॥तस्मिन्नुपायाः सर्वे नः क्रूरं प्रतिहतक्रियाः॥वीर्यवैद्यो वधानी व विकारे सानि
 पातिके॥४८॥जयाशायत्रवास्माकं प्रतिघातोत्पितोर्क्षिषा॥हरिचक्रेण तेनास्य कंठे निष्करवा
 र्पितः॥४९॥तदीयास्तोयदेवेष्वधुकरवर्तकादिषु॥अभ्यस्यति तदाघाते निज्जिते रावतागजोः॥
 तदिच्छामो विमोर्म्यंसे नान्यंतस्य शान्तये॥कर्मबंधघिदधमं भवस्येवमुत्तवः॥५०॥गोसा रं सु
 रसैन्यानां यं पुरस्कृत्य गेत्रभिदं॥प्रत्यानेष्यति शत्रुभ्यो वंदीमिव जयाश्रियं॥५१॥वचस्य वसि
 ते तस्य ससज्जगिरमी त्मभः॥गज्जितानेतरां दृष्टिं सो भाग्ये न जिगायया॥५२॥सहिदेवः पर

श्रादानेष्पति-२

बलात्कोरुधतानारीवंदीसाउचतेवधेः=२

(VII)

२७७ वा हत प्रयाग तथा आत्मस्य गणना यथा ॥ १० ॥ स्मृतं च
 २ श्रीश्री - एवं जे - १ अन्नतर करणी जे ताव दो ज्ञापयतु -
 अग्निमूर्तिः १ यजमानमूर्तिः २ चंद्रमूर्तिः ३ सूर्यमूर्तिः ४
 २ रायुमूर्तिः ५

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गो-गो-
 १ मृगाज्जने
 २ वर्तनीयवधा
 ३ अं प्रथमेन
 ४ स्वयंतो रंगभ
 ५ भिसमासाद्यस
 ६ नैपारः सुअते।
 ७ सुस्वर्धनाद
 ८ गीतो वा समभ्य
 ९ अं च बापुनः ॥ ५
 १० वासादिवादेना
 ११ दीसाधनमीरित
 १२ मितिः
 १३ त्रान्यस्वर्गीत
 १४ वायादिवाविश
 १५ अतर्गतापवरं
 १६ स्मृप्रभातोगभृता
 १७ सुतिरेकतादीति

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ यासृष्टिः स्वष्टराद्यावहति विधिद्रुतं याहवियं च होत्री ये देकालं विधेयतः श्रुति विषयगुणया स्मिता व्या
 प्वविश्वामाहुः सवेवीजप्रकृतिरिति यमाप्राणिनः प्राणवतः प्रपक्षाभिः प्रपन्नः सत्तुभिरवतु वस्तुभिरषामिरीशः
 ११ नाशुनेस्त्रधारः ॥ गोपेय्याभिमुखमवलोका ॥ आर्येयदिने पथ्य विधानमवसितं तदितस्तावदागम्यता ॥ प्रविश्य नरिणः ॥
 १२ अं ॥ उन्न ॥ इअस्ति ॥ अणवेदु ॥ अजो को णि अत्रो अणुचि हि अउत्ति ॥ स्त्रधारः ॥ आर्येयसभावविशेषदीर्घगुरोः श्रीविक्रमादिस
 १३ स्याहसांकस्य श्रीभिरूपभयिष्ठासंसत् ॥ अद्यखलुकाजिदासकधितवस्तुना अभितानशाकुंतलनाम्ना नवेन नाटकेनोप
 १४ स्थातव्यमस्ताभिः ॥ तत्प्रतिपात्रमाधीयतां यत्नः ॥ नटी ॥ सुविदिदप्यत्रो अत्रा ए अजस्संणं किं पि परिहारस्तदि ॥ स्व
 १५ धारः ॥ आर्येकभयामितेभूताथं ॥ यतः ॥ आपरितोषादिदुष्मानसाधुमन्येप्रयोगविज्ञाते ॥ बलवदपित्रिासितानो आ
 १६ तन्यप्रत्ययवेतः ॥ २५ ॥ नटी ॥ एतेणेदे ॥ अणतर करणी जो दाव अजो आणवेदु ॥ स्त्रधारः ॥ किमन्यदस्याः परिषदः प्रमोदहेतोर्
 १७ तकादनंतर करणीयमस्ती ॥ नटी ॥ अजकरं उं सुचिं अरि अं गार्स्ता ॥ स्वधारः ॥ तदिममेवतावदचिर प्रवृत्तमुपभोगक्षमं श्री
 १८ फसमयमधि कृत्स्नीयतां ॥ संप्रतिहि ॥ सुभगसलिलानगाहाः पादतसंसर्गसुरभिवनवाताः ॥ प्रक्ष्मसुलभनिप्राः दिनसाः
 १९ परिणामरणातणीवाः ॥ ३१ ॥ नटी ॥ नहइति ॥ गायत्रि ॥ ईसीसिचुं बआं ईं भमरेहिं सुउमार केसर सिहार् ॥ ओदंस
 २० अतिदअमाणाः पतदा ओसिरी सुकुसुमार ॥ ॥ स्त्रधारः ॥ आर्येसाधुगीतमू ॥ अहोरागभ
 २१ च्चिंतव ॥ जिरालिरेवत इवसर्वे तारगः ॥ तदिदात्री कतमतप्रक
 २२ नेपथ्यं रंगभूतोस्वादिति विश्वः ११ ॥ इतथा ३ ॥ ईषदीषचुं वितात्रिमरैः सुकुमार केसर शिरवादि ॥ अवत्सयं निदपमाणाः
 २३ प्रमदाः शिरीषकुसुमानि ३

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA Canto-4						
Verse & No in	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
SA RĀJYANĪ	1	1	1	1	1	1
nyasta-śastram	1fn	2	2	2	2	2
DILĪPĀNA	2	3 in margin	3	7	7	3
PURŪHŪTADHV	3	4	4	3	3	4
SAMAMEVA SA	4	8	5 in margin	8	8	5
CHĀYĀMANDA	5	5	5	3	4	6
PARIKALPITA	6	6	6	4	5	7
MANUPRABH	7	7	7	5	6	8
SA HI SARVA	8	11	10	11	11	9
MANDOTKA	9	10	9	10	10	13
NAYAVIDB	10	9	8	9	9	12
PAÑCĀNAM	11	9/12	11	12	13	14
YATHĀ PRA	12	10/13	12	13	13	11
KĀMAN KARNĀ	13	10/14	13	14	14	10v
kāman kamalapatrā	12fn	15	14 left			
LABDHAPR	14	12/15	15	15	15	15
NIRVRṢṬA	15	13/16	16	16	16	16
Adhijyamāyu	15fn	17	17	17	17	17

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA Canto-4

Verse & No In	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
VĀRŚIKAM	16	18	18	18	18	19
PUNḌARIKĀ	17	19	19	19	19	18
PRASĀDASU	18	20	20	30	20	20
HĀMSASRENIṢU	19	21	21	21	21	21
IKSUCCHĀYANI IKSUCCHAYAANI	20 20fn	22	22	22	22	22
lasya goptu	20fn	23	23	+	+	23v
PRASASĀDOD	21	24	24	23	23	24
MADODAGRĀ	22	25	25	24	24	25
PRASAVAIH	23	26	26	25	25	26
SARITAḤ KUR	24	27	27	26	26	27
TASMAI SAMYAK SAMYAK TASMAI	25	28	28	27	27	28
SA GUPTAMŪLA	26	29	29	28	28	29
AVĀKIRAN VAYO	27	30	30	29	29	30
SA YAYAU PRATH	28	31	31	30	30	31
RAJOBHIḤ SYANDA	29	32	32	31	31	32
PRATĀPOGRE TATA	30	34	34	33	33	33
MARUPRṢṬHA	31	33	33	32	32	35
SA SENĀMMAHA	32	35	36	35	35	36

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA Canto-4						
Verse & No in	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
Purogaih kaluṣā	29fn	36	35	34	34	34
TYĀJITAIH PHA	33	37	37	36	36	37
PAURASTYĀNE	34	38	38	37	37	38
ANAMRĀNĀM SA	35	39	39	38	38	39
VĀNGĀNUTKHĀ	36	40	40	39	39	40
ĀPĀDAPADMAPRANA AVA	37 37fn	41	41	40	40	41
SA TĪRTVĀ KAPI	38	42	42	41	41	42
SA PRATĀPAM MA	39	43	43	42	42	43
PRATIJAGRĀHA KĀ	40	44	44	43	43	44
DVIṢĀM VIṢAHYA	41	45	45	44	44	45
Vāyavyāstra	41fn	46	46	45	45	46
TĀMBŪLĪNĀN DA	42	47	47	46	46	47
GRHĪTAPRATIMU	43	48	48	47	47	48
TATO VELĀTATE	44	49	49	48	48	49
SA SAINYA PARI	45	50	50	49	49	50
BALAIRADHYUṢI	46	51	52	50	51	52
SASAÑJURASŒAK	47	52	53	52	52	53
ājāneyakhura	47fn	53	54	51	50	54

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA Canto-4

Verse & No In	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
BHOGIVESTANA	48	54	55	53	53	55
DIŚI MANDĀYATE	49	55	56	54	54	56
TĀMRAPA	50	56	57	55	55	57
SA NIRVIŚYA YA	51	57	58	56	56	58
ASAHYA-VIKRAMA	52	58	59	57	57	59
TASYĀNĪKAIR	53	59	60	58	58	60
BHAYOT o kerala/ o colaka	54 54fn	60	51	59	59	51
MURALĀ MARULĀ	55 55fn	60/61	61	60	60	61
ABHYABHŪYA	56	61/62	62	61	61	62
KHARJŪRISKA	57	62/63	63	62	62	63
AVAKĀŚAN KI	58	63/64	64	63	63	64
MATTEBHARA	59	64/65	65	64	64	65
PĀRASĪKĀNSTA	60	67/66	66	65?	65	66
YAVANĪMUKHA	61	68/67	67	66	66	67
SAṄGRĀMASTU	62	69/68	68	67	67	68
BHALLĀPAVARJĪ	63	70/69	69	68	68	69
APANĪTĀSIRASTRĀ	64	70	70	69	69	70
VINAYANTE SMA	65	71	71	70	70	71

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA Canto-4						
Verse & No in	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
TATAH PRATASTHE	66	72	72	71	71	72
Jitānajayyas	66fn	73	73	72	72	73
VINĪTĀDHVAŚRAMĀ	67	74	74	73	73	74
TATRA HŪNĀVARO	68	75	75	74	74	75
KĀMBOJĀH	69	76	76	75	75	76
TEṢĀM SADAŚVA	70	77	77	76	76	77
TATO GAURĪGURO	71	78	78	77	77	78
ŚAŚAMSA TULYA	72	79	79	78	78	79
BHŪRJEṢUMARMA	73	80	80	79	79	80
VIŚAŚRAMURNAME	74	81	81	80	80	81
SARALĀ-SAKTA	75	82	82 first half	81	81	82
TASYOTSRSTĀVI	76	83	83	82	82	83
TATRA - janya/ yuddha	77	84	84	83	83	84
ŚARAI RUTSAVASA	78	85	85	84	84	85
PARASPREṆA ...ARASYA	79	86	86	85	85	86
TATRĀKṢOBYAM	80	87	87	86	86	87
CAKAMPE TĪRŅALA	81	88	88	?	87	88

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMSA Canto-4						
Verse & No in	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
NA PRASEHE SA	82	89	89	87	88	89
TAMIŠAḤ KĀMA	83	89/90	90	88	89	90
KĀMARŪPEŚVA	84	91	91	89	90	91
ITI JITVĀ DIŚO	85	92	92	90	91	92
SA VIŠVAJITA	86	93	93	91	91/92	93
SATTRĀNTE SA	87	94	94	92	92/93	94
TE REKHĀ	88	95	95	93	93/94	96/95
yajñānte saciva	88fn	96	++	++	95	96

Here ends the canto No. 4

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA: CANTO-9						
Verse & No in	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
PITŪR-ŪJASAḤ	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1-2
UBHAYAMEVA	3	3	3	3	4	3
JANAPADE	4	4	4	4	3	4
DAŚADI-JATAM	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9	5-9
AJAYADEKARA	10	11	10	11	10	11
AVANIMEKARA	11	10	11	10	11	10
jaghananirvisayikrtame	10fn	12	14	13	13	15
ŚAMITAPAKṢABA	12	13	12	12	14	12
sphurita	12fn	++	13v	++	12	++
CARAṆAYORNA	13	14	15	14	15	13
NIVAVṚTE SA	14	15	16	15	16	14
UPAGATOPI CA	15	16	17	16	17	16
TAMAPAHĀYA	16	20	20	20	21	20
TAMALABHANTA	17	23	23	23	24	24
PRIYATAMĀBHI	18	24	24	24	25	23
SA KILA SĀMYU	19	21	22	21	22	21
KRATUṢU TENA	20	17	18	17	18	17
AJINADANDABHṚ	21	18	19	19	19	18
AVABHṚTHA-PRA	22	19	21	18	20	19

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA: CANTO-9

Verse & No In	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
ASAKRDEVA CA	23	22	25	22	23	22
ATHA SAMĀVA atha mahendra		25 ++	26 ++	25 ++	26 ++	25
JIGAMIṢUR DHAN	25 ++	26 after 25	27	26	27	26
himavivamṛita	25fn	27 after 26	28 29.left	30	28	27
KUSUMAJANM	26	28 after 27	30	27	29	28
Parabhṛtā	32fn	30 after 29	32	31	31	30
NAYAGUṆOPACI	27	34 after 33	34	32	33	32
KUSUMAMEVA NA	28	35 after 34	35	33	34	33
VIRACITĀ MADHU	29		37	34	35	34
daśanacandri analsānya	29fn 29fn	36 after 35	38 57	35	49 44	35 55
SUVADANĀ-VADA	30	40	40	36	37	37
SURABHISAṄGA	31	36	41	37	++	36
upa-hitam/ upa-gatam	31fn ++	41 ++	42 ++	38 ++	36 ++	39
VRANAGURU PRA	32	29	31	28	30	29

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA: CANTO-9						
Verse & No In	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
ABHINAYĀN PARI	33	30 after 29	33	29	32	31
PRATHAMAMANYA	34	42	43	39	39	40
laghayati sma	35fn	33	39	49	45	57
tilakamastaka	34fn	38	36	41	40	52
gamayitum pra/ śamayitum pra	38fn 38fn	39	++	43	41	51
ŚRUTISUKHABHRA	35	43	44	40	46	41
LALITAVIBHRAMA	36	44	45	42	51	42
ŚUSUBHIRE SMITA	37	45	46	44	52	43
rasayati sma	37fn				++	++
viharati sma viśada candrika	37fn 37fn	37			54	56
UPAYAYAU TANU	38	46	47	45	56	44
APATUŚARATAYĀ	39	47	48	46	47	45
HUTAHUTĀSANA	40	48	49	?	48	46
ALIBHIRAÑJANA	41	49	50	47	50	47
AMADAYAT SAHa	42	50	51	48	57	48
ARUNARĀGANIṢEDh /SEVI	43	51	52	48	53	49
UPACITĀVAYAVĀ	44	52	53	51	55	50

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA: CANTO-9						
Verse & No in	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
DHVAJAPATAM MA	45	53	54	52	38	38
ANUBHAVANNAVA	46	54	55	53	42	53
TYAJATA MĀNAMA	47	55	57/58	54	43	54
ATHA YATHĀSUKH	48	56	59	55	58	58
PARICAYANĀCALA	49	57	60	56	59	59
MṚGAVANOPAGA	50	58	61	57	60	60
GRATHITAMAULI	51	59	62	58	61	61
TA-NU-LATĀ TA-RU-LATĀ	52	60 60 C ¹	63	59	62	62
ŚVAGANIVĀGURI	53	61	64	60	64	63
ATHA NABHA	54	62	65	61	63	64
TASYA STANA	55	63	66	62	65	65
TAT PRĀRTHITA	56	64	67	63	66	66
LAKṢYĪKṚTASYA	57	65	68	64	67	67
TASYĀPAREŚVAPI	58	66	69	65	68	68
UTTASTHUSAḤ SA	59	67	70	66	69	69
TAM VĀHANĀDA Va	60	68	71	67	70	70
TENĀBHIGHĀTA-RĀ	61	69	72	68	71	71
PRĀYOVIŚĀNAPARI	62	70	73	69	72	72

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA: CANTO-9						
Verse & No in	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
VYĀGHRĀNABHĪRA	63	71	74	70	73	73
NIRGHĀTO-GRAIḤ	64	72	75	71	74	74
TĀN HATVĀ GAJA	65	73	76	72	75	75
CAMARĀN Drutamanyva	66 66fn	74	78/77	73	76	76
API TURAGA SA	67	75	79/78	74	77	77
TASYA KARKAŚA	68	76	80/79	75	78	78
ITI VISMṚTĀNYAKA	69	77	81/80	76	79	79
SA-LALITA/ SU-LALITA	70	78	82/81	77	80	80
UṢASI SA GAJAYŪ	71	79	83/82	78	81	81
ATHA JĀTU RUROR	72	$\frac{81}{80}$	84/83	79	82	82
KUMBHA-PŪRAṆA	73	$\frac{82/81}{81}$	85/84	80	83	83
NR̥PATEḤ PRATIṢI	74	$\frac{83/82}{82}$	86/85	81	84	84
HĀ TĀTETI KRANDI	75	84	87/86	82	85	85
TENĀVATĪRYA TU	76	85	88/87	83	86	86
TACCO TANNO	77	86	89/88	84	87	87

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA: CANTO-9						
Verse & No In	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
TAU DAMPATĪ	78	87	90/89	85	88	88
DIṢṬANTĀMAP DIṢṬYĀNTAMĀP	79	88	91/90	86	89	89
ŚĀPOPYADRṢṬA	80	89	92/91	87	90	90
ITTHAṄGATE GA	81	90	93/92	88	91	91
PRĀPTĀNUGAḤ SA	82 end	91 end	94/93	89 end	92 end	92 end
TADARTHAMARTH	82fn.	++	95/94	++	++	++
SAMEYIVĀN RAGHU	82fn	++	96/95end	++	++	++

Here ends the canto No. 9

SEQUENCE OF VERSES OF RAGHUVAMŚA Canto-18						
Verse & No In	KG-2	241	415	772	915	916
NO VARIATION UP TO 20 th VERSE						++
TASMIN- nala/ - dala	16 16fn	16 17	16 17	17 16	16 17	++
TASYĀBH śeela/ śīla	17	18	18	18	18	++
TAMĀTMASAMPA	18	19	19	19	19	++
TAM RĀGABANDHI	19	20	20	21	20	++
hitvātha bhogān	19fn	21	21	20	21	++
UNNĀBHA ITYUDGA	20fn	22	22	22	22	++
TATAH PARAM	21	23	23	23	23	++
TASMIN GATE	22	24	24	24	24	++
TASYĀVAS dhyuṣi/ vyuṣi	23	25	25	25	25	++
24-55 end. No change except the numbers increase by 2 with respect to KG-2, e.g.: ĀRĀDHYA VIŚVE	24	26	26	26	26	++
Canto ends here with Verse 55						++

GENEALOGY OF SŪRYA-VAMŚA AS IN KĀLIDĀSA'S RAGHUVAMŚA

SŪRYA MANU DILĪPA	1.11 1.12	Sudakṣiṇā	1 2	
RAGHU	3. 13-21	Prabhavatī ?	3	
AJA	5.36	Indumatī	4	
DAŚARATHA	8.29	Kausalyā	5	
RĀMA	10.67	Sītā	6	
KUŚA	15.32	Kumudavatī	7	Lava
ATITHI	17.1	++	8	
NIṢADHA	18.1	++	9	
KUŚEŚAYĀKṢA	18.4	++	10	
N/D-ALA	18.5	++	11	
NABHAS	18.6	++	12	
PUNḌARĪKA	18.8	++	13	
KṢEMADHANVAN	18.9	++	14	
DEVĀNĪKA	18.10	++	15	
AHĪNAGU	18.14	++	16	
PĀRIYĀTRA	18.16	++	17	
ŚEELA/ŚILA	18.17	++	18	
UNNĀBHA	18.20	++	19	
VAJRAṆĀBHA	18.21	++	20	

GENEALOGY OF SŪRYA-VAMŚA AS IN KĀLIDĀSA'S RAGHUVAMŚA				
ŚĀNKHANA	18.22	++	21	
V/Dh-yuṣiṭasva	18.23	++	22	
VIŚVASAHA	18.24	++	23	
HIRANYANĀBHA	18.25	++	24	
KAUŚALYA	18.27	++	25	
BRAHMĪṢṬHA	18.8	++	26	
PUṢYA	18.30	++	27	
PUTRA ?	18.31	++	28	
DHRUVASANDHI	18.34	++	29	
SUDARŚANA	18.35	++	30	
AGNIVARNA	19.1	++	31	
END OF THE LINE OF KUŚA ALONE	19.53	++	++	

Acknowledgement

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Textiles In the Jahangirnama

Donald Clay Johnson

Arts and culture flourished to such a degree under the Moghul emperors of India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that Sir Thomas Roe's account of his experiences between 1616 and 1619 at the court of Jahangir as the first royal ambassador of England to India, helped to introduce the word "Moghul" into English as a term meaning magnificence or splendour, a definition which remains to the present day. Jahangir, the second of the great Moghul emperors, who reigned from 1605 to 1627, closely observed the peoples and cultures of India and recorded his observations in his personal diary, the *Jahangirnama*.¹ His observations give us the opportunity to observe Moghul concerns and sensibilities of numerous aspects of life in early seventeenth century India.

Textiles In Court Society

With over 400 notations of textiles, each year of Jahangir's reign records some aspect of textiles, clothing, or fabrics, a clear reflection of the role and importance they played in Moghul life. Khilats, or robes of honour, which are mentioned 279 times, are by far the most frequently mentioned textile in the *Jahangirnama*. As the name states, khilats were garments given by the emperor to favour or bestow honour upon someone. The Moghuls maintained imperial workshops, karkhanas, which produced various luxury items that were used either by the royal family or given by the emperor as part of court rituals and ceremonies. Of the 279 discussions of khilats in the *Jahangirnama* 243 relate to a robe being given to a specific individual and 36 carry a generic reference of robes bestowed on, or sent to, groups of people. In contrast to awards to individuals which took place throughout Jahangir's reign, giving khilats to groups of people primarily took place during the first 16 years of the reign and only twice is there mention of such activity in the last six years. However, in both the sixteenth and twentieth years of his reign the *Jahangirnama* records sending robes to 32 amirs in the Deccan, which gives the only precise numbers of a group gift. Amirs were an important group of administrators and Jahangir records gifts of khilats to those serving in Bangash, Bengal, and Kabul as well as those in the Deccan. Jahangir also recorded collective gifts of robes of honour to maliks and chieftains of Ghazni and Shaykhs of Gujarat. At court itself Jahangir from time to time would award a khilat to an individual and then append a note indicating

robes had also been given to the person's sons or other members of his family.

Although the *Jahangirnama* cites 243 occasions in which a person received a khilat, they actually went to only 158 specific individuals, since certain court officials received additional robes as their careers progressed during Jahangir's reign. Mahabat Khan, for instance, was so honoured nine times while Jahangir's son Sultan Khurram, who subsequently ascended the throne as Shah Jahan, had eight such awards. Altogether 42 individuals received more than one robe of honour.

Three classes of people received khilats from the emperor: Muslim members of court, Hindu members of court, and, foreign visitors. Jahangir awarded robes of honour to seventeen foreign visitors, primarily emissaries from central Asia or Iran. As might be expected Jahangir gave the largest number of khilats to 106 members of the Muslim elite at court since this was the predominant group. For Hindus the corresponding number of honorees was 35. One may infer from this that approximately twenty-five percent of Jahangir's court, at least its higher officials, were Hindu.

While the khilat formed part of a court ritual one can not think of it as static or a single, identifiable, uniform-like object. Those honoured came from numerous levels in the court hierarchy and elaborate protocols regulated the value or status of the imperial gift. The emperor seldom gave only a robe. Rather it formed part of a set of gifts conferred by the emperor which usually acknowledged a promotion, permission to leave court, or an imperial assignment.² Other components of a gift set could be a horse, an elephant, a sword, a dagger, or money. Of the 243 awards which had a khilat, the gift of a horse was the second most frequently mentioned portion of the gift set which happened 116 times, followed by an elephant 88 times, a sword 49 times, a dagger 32 times, and money 30 times. The money usually was given to assist in some assignment Jahangir made to the individual. Only 51 times was the robe the entire gift. The award of the robe served most visibly to portray the emperor's approval of the person.

Within each of the gift categories there were numerous subdivisions or levels reflecting the importance or status of the individual or the honour Jahangir wished to confer. A horse might come, for instance, with a saddle or a jewelled saddle, could have come from the emperor's personal stable, or even been a horse the emperor rode. Khilats well suited the need to define a status order since they had the widest range of attributes, a reflection on the quality of materials or the complexity of their weaves. Thus there was not just a robe of honour but comments such as a fine robe of honour, a royal robe of honour, a sumptuous robe of honour, or, a royal gold-brocaded robe of honour. Accompanying articles of dress given with a robe of honour further

expanded the categories or status definitions of the imperial gift. Phrases in the *Jahangirnama* such as pearl-edged hem, pearl beading, or pearl buttons point out jewels also enriched Moghul textiles. Clearly the awarding of a robe of honour played a significant role in the pomp and pageantry of the Moghul court and served as a status marker in the highly structured society of seventeenth century India. Jahangir in fact mentioned numerous times that robes of honour were given to those entitled to them, or, "according to ranks."

As might be expected, the most elaborate gifts went to members of the royal family, particularly to Prince Khurram who would one day ascend the imperial throne as Shah Jahan. In 1617 at the time of Prince Khurram's receiving the title Shah Jahan, Jahangir gave him "a robe of honour, a gold-embroidered charqab edged with pearls on the collar, cuffs and hem worth fifty thousand rupees, a jewelled sword with a jewelled strap, and a jewelled dagger."³ To add additional splendour to the ceremony for Shah Jahan, Jahangir noted "in order to honour him I went down from the jharoka and scattered a tray of gems and another of gold brocade over his head."⁴ Recording giving a tray of brocade gifts formed a portion in this auspicious ceremony shows the high value and ritual significance textiles had in Jahangir's court.

Soon after this event the empress Nurjahan also gave Shah Jahan "an expensive robe of honour, a nadiri adorned with jewelled flowers and precious pearls, a jewelled turban ornament with rare gems, a turban with an aigrette of pearls, a cummerbund with pearl beading, a sword with a jewelled strap and a phul-katara, a band of pearls, two horses one of which had a jewelled saddle, and a royal elephant with two females."⁵ On several other occasions Jahangir records that his wife Nurjahan also gave robes of honour.

Just at the west has the expression "clothes make the man" the Moghul court wore attire that defined power, influence, and status. Miniature paintings of Jahangir consistently portray him elaborately dressed and wearing large amounts of jewellery. Clearly he perceived those who saw the paintings should see him in the finest of clothing and possessing a wealth of jewellery. The vast scale of opulence of life at the Moghul court in fact greatly impressed foreign visitors such as Roe. In describing a visit of Prince Khurram to Jahangir he recorded "[t]he King at noone sate out at the durbar, where the Prince brought his eliphants, about 600 richly trapped and furnished, and his followers, by estimateion 10,000 horse, many in cloth of Gould with oearne top feathers in their turbants, all in galanterie; him self in a coate of cloth of silver, embrodered with great pearle and shining in diamonds like a firmamentt."⁶

In addition to khilats, other types of textiles also served to portray status or honour in Moghul society. Of these other textiles, the largest number of Jahangir's discussions refers to customs and rituals associated with the Persian

solar new year which begins in March, a date Jahangir conveniently used for his regnal dates. Three rituals, in particular, at the start of regnal years incorporated textiles. As with the robes of honour, these textiles formed but one portion of Moghul status markers.

The solar new year, or Nowroz, required Jahangir to appear in stately attire at court. The hall for his state appearance was sumptuously decorated with carpets and rare textiles hung on the walls. Jahangir's description of the start of the eleventh year of his reign describes the setting. "The sun transited from the constellation of Pisces into its house of good fortune, Aries. At this auspicious hour I offered prayers and petitions at the Creator's court and ascended the throne in the Hall of Public and Private Audience. The hall's courtyard had been spread with cloth and shamianas and its sides were decorated with European canvases, gold-spun brocades with images, and rare textiles."⁷ Specific mention of "European canvases" points out, in the Indian perspective things from Europe were exotic and certainly very rare. "Gold-spun brocades with images" indicates the flexibility of Moghul attitudes towards the Koranic proscription on portraying images. Sir Thomas Roe witnessed this particular Nowroz celebration and gives us a better perspective of its scale. He recorded "ther is erected a throne fower foote from the ground, in the durbar court, from the back wherof to the place wher the King comes out, a square of 56 paces long and 43 broad was rayled in, and covered over with faire semianes or canopies of cloth of gould, silke, or velvett, joyned together and susteyned with canes so covered."⁸

Several days later Jahangir had another ceremony, that of being weighed against precious substances and the value of his weight in these various materials then distributed as charity. The weighing ceremony happened twice each year, first at the solar new year and then at his birthday. Usually gold coins were used for the weighing ceremony but in certain years he records being weighed several times, on each occasion against another valuable item of which silk garments was one. Only twice does he specifically mention this weighing ceremony at the start of a regnal year but his account for the start of the eleventh year of his reign mentioned the "weighing ceremony was held as usual."⁹ His account of the weighing ceremony for the eleventh year of his reign mentions he was weighed 12 times, each time against a different valuable item. Sir Thomas Roe records the birthday weighing ceremony of the eleventh regnal year which took place on 2 September 1616. Roe notes it was a great feast day and Jahangir was successively weighed against "jewells, gould, silver, stuffs of gould silver, silke, butter, rice, frute, and many other things, of very sort a little."¹⁰ Then Roe indicated the various commodities were given to Brahmins. The most fascinating weighing ceremony appears in the third regnal year when Jahangir was weighed during a lunar eclipse. He records "In order to drive away the ill omen I had myself weighed against

gold, silver, cloth, and grain and had various animals like elephants, horses, etc. given away as alms."¹¹

After these two ceremonies marking the start of a new regnal year the important members of court and members of the royal family offered gifts to Jahangir. This tradition of offering gifts to the emperor was less formal and often formed part of a party or reception at a home or garden of the official or royal family member. The informality is further reflected in the fact the ritual did not require Jahangir to accept all the proffered gifts. His account of his first year as emperor records "because my mind was inclined to the welfare and ease of military and civilian alike, this year I gave back all the gifts except for a little bit from a few intimates, which I accepted to make them feel good."¹² Jewels and textiles were the most commonly offered gifts although a large number of objects of curiosity receive attention in the diary. Whereas Jahangir never spoke in any detail of the fabric of the khilats he conferred, other than to indicate brocades, with the ritual gifts he demonstrates a greater awareness of particular types of textiles. Thus the comment of being offered one "hundred bolts of brocade" points out brocade was not woven for a specific garment but simply made in lengths.¹³ In another year he mentioned "three bolts of gold spun velvet" thus recognizing another textile type.¹⁴ His notation of textiles in these gifts coming from Bengal, the Carnatic, Gujarat, Kandahar, Lahore, and Iran, points out production centres of luxury textiles. Jahangir's conversations with Sir Thomas Roe further demonstrate his considerable knowledge of cloth produced elsewhere. In 1616 Jahangir requested Roe to get him some French velvet.¹⁵ Roe also quotes Jahangir's earlier request of Samuel Purchas for some pieces of British embroidery work as it was considered to be the best in the world.¹⁶

In addition to the fabrics produced within India, thanks to the visits of foreign emissaries other noted textiles receive mention in the *Jahangirnama*. These gifts to Jahangir, like most things at the Moghul court, were extravagant. The ambassador of Shah Abbas of Iran who had come in 1611 to offer condolences upon the death of Jahangir's father, Akbar, brought gifts from Iran for the new emperor, including textiles as Jahangir noted. Iskandar Beg gives a more complete description of these textiles, namely "one thousand five hundred pieces of precious fabrics, velvets, gold-and silver-shot textiles, beautiful gold and silver brocades, European and Chinese silk brocades and velvets, as well as gold and textiles from Yazd and Kashan, and all sorts of gifts and presents worthy of the rank of both giver and recipient that would take too long to enumerate."¹⁷ The inclusion of Chinese and European textiles in this ritual gift acknowledges both the importance of textiles for such occasions as well as documents their diverse places of origin. Five years later another emissary from the court in Iran brought Jahangir some Aleppo textiles. Aleppo was one of the noted centres for the production

of mashru, a cloth which allowed Muslim men to wear silk since the weaving process placed cotton next to the body and the silk only on the exterior surface.¹⁸ The important textile centre of Aleppo was part of the Ottoman Empire. Thus the Persian gift of Aleppo cloth reflects the Safavid role as a transshipment centre for textiles.

While robes of honour, draping the assembly hall in costly textiles at the start of each regnal year, being weighed against textiles, and the offering of textiles and other gifts from high court officials represent the structured roles textiles played in Jahangir's time, the *Jahangirnama* also records less formal uses of textiles as well as descriptions of clothing. Since the khilat was part of strict court ritual Jahangir needed something which could be used to show personal rather than royal favour. In the fifth year of his rule he settled upon Kashmir shawls for this purpose and for the rest of his reign gave them as a token of his personal favour. Thus when Shaykh Pir, a Muslim holy man who had renounced worldly ways, began to build a mosque Jahangir "gave him four thousand rupees to take himself and spend... (and) also gave him a personal shawl to defray expenses."¹⁹ Similarly "Raja Bikramajit was given leave to go to his jagir. He was given a warm shawl belonging to me."²⁰ The garment we know today as "shawl" however had several meanings in Moghul India. No painting of Jahangir shows him wearing the shoulder garment we know today as a shawl. Rather he wears a patka, a waist band with elaborate brocade work. We have to assume Jahangir's references to taking a shawl he was wearing and giving it as a gift refers to the patka. His comment, however, of giving Raja Bikramajit "a warm shawl" indicates he also knew the shoulder type garment. Miniature paintings do show both types of shawls. These paintings show two different traditions; court officials wear patkas while religious scenes often show men wearing shawls over their shoulders.

The shoulder-draped Kashmir shawl in fact soon sparked an active export commodity from India to Europe and an eventual European industry in Lyons and Paisley of reproductions using jacquard looms. Although woven and subsequently embroidered Kashmir shawls were highly desired in Europe, the even finer woollen weaving, shatoosh was virtually unknown in the west and never became an active export commodity. Indians value the shatoosh for its fine wool and never add surface decoration to it. European fashion, in contrast, favoured the colourful Kashmir shawl and points out western taste favoured design and colour over superior fabric and weave.

The award of shawls extended in fact to marking some of Jahangir's official actions in which the award of a khilat would convey the wrong impression. For instance, "Khan A'zam, whom I had summoned from detention in Agra, was brought. Although he had committed major mistakes and I was perfectly

justified in everything I had done to him, when he was brought into my presence and my eye fell upon him, I felt more embarrassed than he did. I pardoned all his shortcomings and gave him a shawl I had around my waist."²¹ By giving a shawl Jahangir conveyed his care and sensitivity to a situation but did not violate court protocols. Jahangir's mention of his waist in this example clearly indicates he gave a patka. Jahangir, in fact, extended the giving of shawls throughout the realm. Mirza Natha records in the *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* the distribution of gifts from Jahangir to individuals in Bengal. These gifts included khilats for some and shawls for others.²²

In contrast to shawls which assumed the status of personal recognition of the emperor, turbans in the *Jahangirnama* marked very special attention and favour. Of the nine discussions of them seven relate to members of or individuals with extremely close ties to the royal family. The first account was at the time of Jahangir's wife's death and movingly indicates the powerful symbolism turbans held. Jahangir wrote "when this state was reported to my exalted father, he wrote me a letter of condolence so compassionate and loving and sent me a robe and turban he had taken from his own head and wrapped up. The display of father cast water on the fire of my grief and calmed my turmoil."²³ Another account at the time of death illustrates the bestowal of a turban as a blessing. Shaykh Salim Chishti, the noted Sufi who had predicted Jahangir's birth, exerted such an influence upon Akbar that Jahangir's birth name was Salim. At the time of the Shaykh's death both Akbar and Jahangir, then known as Salim, were in the room. Jahangir poignantly records "Taking his turban from his head, he placed it on my head and said, 'We have made Sultan Salim our successor and entrust him to God the protector and preserver.'²⁴

In addition to the two accounts of death and turbans noted above, the other discussions of turbans point out the extremely high status they held in Moghul society. For instance, Jahangir felt it sufficiently important to record in his diary the request of his son Sultan Parvez for a turban from him before appearing at court.²⁵ In showing regard for his father-in-law Jahangir wrote "I removed a turban I had on my head and placed it, wrapped as it was, on I'timaduddawla's head as a sign of particular favour."²⁶ I'timaduddawla was the chief minister of the empire. It would have been immediately observable at court that Jahangir had given his father-in-law great favour by giving his turban to his father-in-law.

In many societies the royal family has the exclusive right to wear certain types of clothing. Jahangir and his father both adopted this privilege and the description of these articles of attire reflects Moghul taste. "I had several articles of clothing made for myself and I ordered no one else to wear them unless I granted the privilege. One was the nadiri jacket, which is worn over

the qaba. In length it comes down below the waist and has no sleeves. It is fastened up the front with buttons. The people of Persia call it a kurdi. I named it nadiri. Another garment is the Tusi shawl, which my exalted father adopted exclusively for himself. Another is the qaba with a woolen collar and embroidered sleeves. He also adopted this to his own exclusivity. Another is the qaba with a border from which the fringes are cut off and sewn on to the hem, collar, and sleeves. Another is the vest of Gujarati satin. Another is the turban and cummerbund of woven silk shot with gold and silver threads."²⁷

Textiles away from Court

Since most of Jahangir's life revolved around court, its activities and traditions occupy the major portion of the *Jahangirnama*. Jahangir's descriptions of his travels in India provide a few insights into uses of textiles away from court. Given the emperor's interest in religion it is not surprising that the clothing worn or used by religious figures attracted his attention. In particular he records several times the modest cloth worn by Hindu ascetics. Numerous miniature paintings record visits to holy places or ashrams and thus document his interaction with religious individuals. The simplicity of attire worn by these religious men of India contrasted greatly with the elaborate garments worn at court.

Kashmir, which Jahangir loved and visited several times, provides us with the most detailed information on textiles away from court. In the fifteenth year of his reign Jahangir inserted a special section which he called "clothing of the Kashmiris." The two paragraphs cover a wide range of perspectives and thus deserve to be quoted in full:

Clothing of wool is normal. Both men and women wear a woollen shirt they call *potu*. If they don't wear a shirt they believe not only that the air will affect them but also the digestion of food is impossible. The cashmere shawl, which His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani dubbed the *parmarm*, is so famous that it needs no introduction. Another kind is the *therma*. It has more body than the shawl and is rippled and soft. Another is the *durma*, something like a quilted saddle cloth, which they spread on carpets. Aside from the cashmere shawl, other woollens are better in Tibet. Even though the wool comes from Tibet, they can't work it there. The wool for the shawls comes from a goat peculiar to Tibet. In Kashmir they also weave potus from shawl wool. Stitching two shawls together, they rub it into something like felt, which is not bad for rainwear.

The people of Kashmir shave their heads and tie them up in turbans. The wearing of clean, washed clothes is not customary among the common women. They use one *potu* shirt for three

or four years. After bringing the cloth unwashed from the weaver's house, they sew it into a shirt, and it doesn't touch water until it is worn to shreds. The wearing of pants is considered shameful: they wear a long voluminous shirt that falls to the feet, and they tie a belt around the waist.²⁸

This account of Jahangir's observation of life in India shows he inquired into numerous aspects of how people lived. Noting that the wool for Kashmir shawls came from Tibet but was woven in Kashmir points out Jahangir knew in great detail many aspects of textiles.

Two years later, in his seventeenth regnal year, and the last year Jahangir personally kept his diary, he recorded the following touching account related to textiles. "Since it was reported that the poor people of Kashmir suffered greatly from the cold in winter and had a hard time surviving, I ordered a village belonging to Kashmir with an income of four thousand rupees turned over to Mulla Talib Isfahani to spend the proceeds on purchasing clothing for the poor and heating water for making ablutions in the mosques."²⁹ Jahangir's concern that the poor of Kashmir have warm clothing points out his sensitivity to the plight of the people. It shows that, for him, clothing was a basic need of life as well as a visual marker of ritual significance in his court.

Conclusion

Luxury textiles formed an integral part of court life in Moghul India. There was a spectrum of roles and functions they served in the *Jahangirnama*, defining protocol and informal uses on one hand to a basic necessity of his Kashmir subjects for warm clothing on the other. *Khilats*, or robes of honour, formed a dominant role in court rituals for publicly acknowledging imperial favour, promotion in rank, assignment to special duties within the empire, or the special attention of the emperor. Several times during each regnal year textiles formed part of weighing ceremonies and the decoration of court for special events. In the ceremonies which featured the giving of presents to the emperor, Jahangir recorded a notable variety of production centres of luxury textiles. More informal uses of textiles are apparent in the uses Jahangir made of garments and other special cloths to mark his personal favour. Some of these items which marked personal attention, such as turbans, went primarily to members of the royal family.

Since Jahangir's life centred upon court life he primarily discusses court uses of textiles. However, in his accounts of his travels, especially those to Kashmir, the emperor reveals a more humane aspect of his personality, namely great interest in the people of India, and awareness of aspects of the production of fabrics. His concern that the poor in Kashmir have warm winter clothing sensitively reveals the care he had for the people.

A reference from the first year of Jahangir's reign states his perception of the important significance of textiles in Moghul life. In speaking of the qualities necessary for an emperor, Jahangir observed "Whom does the All-Giving creator consider worthy of this magnificent office? And upon whose capable shoulders has He draped this robe of office?"³⁰ Jahangir's linking religion, temporal power, and textiles amply illustrates the importance cloth held in Moghul India.

Notes and References

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Emergence of Modern Parsi Theatre

Mani Kamerkar

Parsis, originally inhabitants of Iran, had made their home in Gujarat after fleeing Iran in the 7th century CE when the Arabs invaded Iran. Here they prospered and became prominent citizens. With the opening of Bombay by the British the Parsis moved here in search of new pastures and succeeded remarkably in all walks of life, including the cultural. Theatre became an important part of their life during the middle and later 19th century and brought out the intermingling of the plural society that Bombay was at the time—the Gujaratis, Maharashtrians and Europeans.

As the European society in Bombay gained in numbers and status, they began to introduce English plays to the public. The Europeans amongst themselves presented dramas, mostly Shakespearean, or invited theatrical groups from Europe and England to perform. In 1842 Jagannath Shankershet built a theatre to accommodate the English and Italian theatre groups which used to visit Bombay. The now English knowing Indians, especially Parsis, began to patronise these performances and seemed to have enjoyed them very much. These shows aroused the desire amongst Indians to have their own shows in their own languages. Here again it was the Parsis in Bombay who initiated the move to 'native' theatre in their own language, Gujarati. Their contribution as pioneers in this field is widely acknowledged and appreciated especially by Gujarati writers¹.

The Indians in Bombay already had their own theatre, the Gujarati *Bhavai*, the Maharashtrian *Lavnis* and *Tamashas* and other folk theatres, all of which were considered vulgar and loud by the changing cultural milieu of Bombay. Upto now the profession of theatre was considered low and was generally patronized by the poorer classes. The Kirloskar and Sanglikar drama companies may be classed in this category. They were performed more in the style of village musical folk drama without any stage accoutrements. The emerging Parsi theatre movement had to face the disapproving attitude of the socially elite in the beginning. However they and their sponsors played a great role in making it accepted as a respectable profession.

Parsis were eager at first to start something in Indian theatre on the basis of the European dramas they had been watching. In about 1850 Parsi students of the Elphinstone College had formed the Parsi Elphinstone Dramatic Society which staged English plays. These performances were very well received

and the Company remained active till the end of the century, taking their plays even to London². In 1853 the first Parsi Gujarati theatre company came into being. This was brought about by stalwarts in the Parsi community such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Nusserwanji Mazgaonwala, Khurshetji Cama, Ardeshir Moos, Jehangir Vacha and also by Dr. Bhau Daji, a firm supporter. Thus from the very beginning the foundation was laid for its acceptance in society. The company was called Parsi Natak Mandali and was owned and directed by Gustadji Dalal. At first they presented plays based on Iranian history and mythology. The first play to be staged was the very popular 'Rustom and Sohrab' from the *Shahnameh*. For various commercial reasons the company did not last for long, but the enthusiasm and support it had generated encouraged many other Parsi groups to start their theatrical units. Between 1853 and 1869 nearly nineteen theatre companies came into being, some very short lived.³ The most active ones were the Zoroastrian Theatrical Club, the Parsi Theatrical Company, the Student Amateur Club, the Victoria Natak Mandali and the Alfred Natak Mandali, the latter two being the most successful. The emergence of so many groups testified to the rapid growth and acceptance of Parsi theatre in vernacular languages.

Kaikushru Kabraji who was the guiding spirit of the Victoria Natak Mandali started introducing themes not only from the *Shahnameh* but also from Hindu mythology and the Puranas. He wrote plays based on the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* such as 'Luvkush', 'Nand Batisi' and 'Harishchandra.' At the same time he used his English scholarship to introduce themes from famous English plays of Shakespeare and many others. To make sure that the script, acting, choreography was upto the mark, he used to present rehearsals before a committee of eminent scholars headed by Jagannath Shankarseth. The plays were put on the stage only after their approval.⁴ In this way he made sure of getting the approval of society. Also, the members, many of them social reformers, introduced themes dealing with social problems. The companies performed both full scale dramas as well as one act plays.

When the vernacular theatre movement started in Bombay there were only two theatres in existence, the Grant Road Theatre and another in Khetwadi. The one in Khetwadi was an open air theatre with a pit for staging the play with the audience sitting around. It had no other accoutrements. It was used to stage *Bhavaais*, *Tamashas* and folk plays in Gujarati and Marathi and was not suitable for the new dramatic presentations.

The new movement began to attract people from all the communities speaking Gujarati, Marathi, Urdu and Hindustani. As the audiences grew, the need for more theatres arose and very soon Bombay saw the emergence of many theatres, the Edward Theatre near Dhobi Talao and the Elphinstone Theatre near Crawford Market to start with. In spite of these more theatres

were needed and we see the appearance of the Golpitha Theatre in the Golpitha area and the Rivoli in the place where the Times of India building is to be found today. In about 1870, the Victoria Theatre was built in Grant Road where the performances of the Victoria Theatrical Company were held under the management and direction of Dadi Patel. The theatre was very badly constructed and was said to be like a 'cattle stable'. In spite of this people flocked there to see the plays. The Novelty Theatre opposite the Victoria Terminus (now CST station) housed the famous and most popular Victoria Theatrical Company which was owned by Khurshedji Baliwala. In the beginning of the 20th century two other well known theatres came into being, the Empire Theatre near the Victoria Terminus in 1908 and the Royal Opera House in 1928.

All these theatres and more catered to the growing popularity of 'Parsi' theatre, which had now become an Indian/national theatre movement from the point of production, language, themes and its influence all over India.

The introduction of Urdu and Hindustani plays in the 1870s under Dadi Patel introduced a new element in Parsi theatre. In 1871 the first Urdu play 'Sonana Mulni Khorshed' was staged. It was written by Edulji Khorji, a well-known writer and translated into Urdu by Behramji Marzban. The script was in Gujarati, so that the players could follow it.

Dadi Patel also initiated the Urdu Opera by staging 'Banazir Munir'. This was written by the popular Parsi poet-cum-playwright, Nusserwanji Khansaheb. The Victoria Natak Mandali had by now established proper theatrical infrastructure including musicians and produced the 'Opera.'

Having ventured into Urdu and Opera production, Dadi Patel decided to take his Victoria Company outside Bombay and introduce 'Parsi' theatre to other Indian audiences and thus give it a 'national' flavour. It began when Sir Salar Jung attended one of Dadi's plays in Bombay and subsequently invited Dadi to visit Hyderabad with his troupe. Thus in 1872 the Victoria Mandali gave its first performance before the Nizam and the Darbar and this led to the Mandali making outside performances part of its schedule.

The visit to Hyderabad opened out other innovations. Coming into contact with court dancers and singers, Dadi invited them to join his theatre and perform in Bombay, thus introducing a novel element in the theatre of the day.

Up to now, women's roles were played by young good looking boys and men as society was not prepared to accept women choosing the stage as a respectable career. Dadi took the risk and succeeded. He wrote a play called 'Indra Sabha' in which he cast muslim women actresses to act and

dance in the main parts. One of the them was Lalata Begum, an expert dancer, who performed so well that she won the approval of the audiences and attracted full houses. Having once got the acceptance of the public, other Parsi groups introduced women on the stage also. Amongst many women players we see the rise and fame of Mary Fenton, Munnibai and Gauben.

As Kathryn Hansen writes, "Dadi Patel was now persuaded of the virtues of employing real women. Dadi Patel's making use of these women in his 1875 production of the 'Indar Sabha' turned fairies into females."⁵

The transition had now begun and other companies continued the trend to bring in actresses, although not without controversy.

Mary Fenton (aka Meharbai) was the daughter of a retired Irish soldier, who already spoke Hindi and Urdu was to have been trained in singing and acting by Kavas Khatau. Her appearance on the Parsi stage launched a new era. Her ability to mimic Parsi and Hindu modes of femininity, her touching singing, accurate pronunciations, acting talent and fair skin created a sensation in the theatre. In 1890 Fenton appeared in 'Gamdeni Gori' at the Gaiety Theatre. The play was performed many times by Khatau's Alfred and Baliwala's Victoria Theatres and later became a popular silent film starring Sulochana (1927). Mary Fenton also featured in Alfred productins of 'Alauddin' (1891), 'Bholi Gul' (1892), 'Tara Khurshed' (1892) and 'Kalyug' (1895). She is said to have died at the age of 42.

With the arrival of Mary Fenton actresses gained a certain degree of access to the Parsi companies. Around 1880 Baliwala brought women into the Victoria Company beginning with Gohar, who was followed by Malka Fatima, Khatun and others. A given actress could racially be Irish, British, Anglo-Indian or Indian.

It is important to remember that as a rule, Parsi women did not appear on the Parsi stage. Hindu actresses in the Parsi theatre were also next to non-existent. What the audience wanted from the Anglo-Indian actress nonetheless, was a convincing portrayal of the Hindu or Parsi middle-class housewife. Mary Fenton's ability to imitate the signs of respectable married women, the use of the sari 'anchal' over the head, the jewellery, the particular cut of the bodice earned her the highest esteem from the public. Once more the spectator's pleasure lay in the seemingly effortless impersonation of domestic femininity.

"These practices made women, finally and on a mass level, publicly visible. They were no longer objects of imagined desire but represented in the flesh (even if not female or Indian flesh) with a cluster of visual signs, habits and gestures to denote femininity"⁶

Female impersonators likewise stood their ground and remained as popular as ever as a stage convention and continued well into the 20th century, retaining its popularity with audiences and with company managers. The long list of men who played women's roles in the history of Parsi theatre is remarkable. They seem to form the majority rather than the minority of the class of actors. Jayshankar Sundari from the Gujarati stage and Bal Gandharva from the Marathi musical theatre ('sangit natak') are well-known. Jayshankar Sundari was discovered by recruiters from the Urdu language Parsi company of Dadabhai Thuthi. Sundari perfected his knowledge of Urdu and developed his characteristic feminine gait during his apprenticeship with the Parsi company. Bal Gandharva (aka Narayan Shripad Rajhans, 1888-1967) was a contemporary of Sundari. In 1905 he joined the Kirloskar Drama Company replacing Bhaurau Kolhatkar, the first successful female impersonator of the Marathi musical stage who had just died. His debut was in the title role of 'Shakuntala' on a newly built stage before the Prince of Miraj.

"Through the institution of female impersonation a publicly visible respectable image of 'woman' was constructed, one that was of use to both men and women. This was a representation that even attached to the material male body, bespoke modernity. As one response to the British colonial discourse on Indian womanhood, the accusations against Indian men on account of their backward degraded females, the representation helped support men dovetailing with the emerging counter discourse of Indian masculinity. Moreover, women derived from these enactments an image of how they should represent themselves in public. Female impersonators by bringing into the public sphere mannerisms, speech and distinctive appearance of middle class women defined the external equivalents of the new gendered code of conduct for women. That such tastes were crafted by men (albeit men allegedly imitating women) gave them the imprimatur of acceptability."⁷

Both the Gujarati and Marathi theatre movements were heavily influenced by the Bombay Parsi theatre. Indeed, they were in competition with Parsi productions for the heterogeneous cosmopolitan audience throughout the later half of the 19th century. Linguistic and communal differentiation became more marked after 1900 but the mutual contact and exchange among these theatres continued particularly in the areas of musical style, popular stories, scenery and costume design. The functioning of Parsi theatre was widely copied. The infrastructure and organization of the theatre and its themes were adopted by Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi theatre towards the end of the century. Thus the Parsi theatre became the Indian National Theatre.

The main attributes of 'Parsi' theatre, appreciated and accepted, were its excellence of performance as well as its discipline and infrastructure. As the theatre developed, its commercial viability had to be looked after. For

this it had to maintain a very high standard of performance and management. From acting, diction, singing, stage management, the proprietors and directors of the *mandals* tried to perfect every aspect. The choice of the play depended many times on the abilities of the actors and the suitability of the part. The writers were many times asked to rewrite the parts and situations accordingly. Next came very meticulous rehearsals usually taken up during the daytime as the shows were usually in the evenings. These rehearsals were usually done before the proprietor and the final one sometimes before a committee, as Kabraji used to do. Some *mandals* even rehearsed a play for a full year. The director led the players through their diction, expression, postures, and movements on the stage. He also decided on the sets, costumes, and saw that the music was well organized. Great care was taken by him in the choice of dress and 'period' dresses were carefully researched. Scripts were carefully scanned by the proprietor and director and many times, sentences were changed till they expressed the exact meaning. Sometimes different writers were asked to express particular sentiments.

With the introduction of singing and dance in Parsi drama the director and manager of a company usually invited a music director and senior and junior harmonium masters who trained the singers and dancers. The music was a synthesis of Hindustani classical and folk music, usually from Gujarat. The Parsi theatre also introduced intricate sets. A great deal of thought went into designing them and guiding the craftsmen concerned. Here, we see the influence of European stage management.⁸

All these elements of Parsi theatre were adopted by other Indian language groups, making Parsi theatre a leading part of the Indian cultural scene in the second half of the nineteenth century. 'Parsi' theatre became the 'Indian stage' in that sense. Annasaheb Kirloskar of the Marathi stage for instance was inspired to stage the operatic form of 'Shakuntala' after seeing the performances of 'Indra Sabha' staged by the Victoria Natak Mandali in 1880. The beginning of Hindi theatre is indebted to 'Parsi' theatre. Bhartendu Harishchandra adopted the stage and technique of Parsi theatre in the production of Hindi drama. Through their historical, mythological and social plays, the Parsi theatre movement spread Indian culture, strengthened national integration and aroused awareness of social evils.⁹ Parsi Rangmandali or theatre is a wide term. Historically speaking, in a way it was Indian Theatre. Its writings covered all India. In the plays, stories from many Indian languages were included, specially from Hindi, Gujarati, Urdu, Marathi and Bengali.

Most of the dramas were written in Hindi, Gujarati and Urdu. Parsi theatre still continues in Gujarati, Marathi and Marwadi languages in Bombay and other places.

The spectators included Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsis. Whether they

lived in villages or cities all were interested in watching dramas based on Indian culture, great leaders and their lives, their sacrifices, their heroes and their love stories. When such dramas were performed, the theatres were filled with spectators. Parsi theatre did not imitate English theatre, but was at first under its influence. It had its own independent existence. If the Parsi dramas of this period are analysed we would find that they were not only influenced by English dramas but also by Sanskrit, Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu plays and were also by what is called Lok Natak. Plays of this period were written in both prose and poetry. They included different themes from different dramas in various languages. Plays from Sanskrit dramas, operas from Marathi stage and musical folk dramas were adopted. In relation to Indian culture and language a lot was done by 'Parsi Theatre' so it can be properly called 'Parsi Indian Theatre.'

In dramas performed by this theatre movement many plays depicting national pride were performed. All this happened when India was under British rule and was fighting to break out of slavery. Indians wanted to prove that India was a symbol of great culture and civilization. From the middle of the 19th century, the British had started influencing Indian thoughts on one hand and on the other hand, for the first time, Indians started expressing their feelings of unity. British arrogance and show of superiority forced Indians to fight for their own culture and come out of the inferiority complex they had developed. As a result, dramatists also tried to write plays inspired by the Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, Tilak, Gokhale and Gandhi. Indian writers also started depicting their glorious past and praising these events. Some of the plays of this time were 'Satya Harishchandra', 'Padmavati', 'Maharana Pratap', 'Sanyukta-Swayamwar', 'Shri Harsh', 'Amarsingh Rathod', 'Chandragupta' and 'Samudragupta.' All this helped to arouse national feelings and pride.

In the beginning in Parsi theatre most of the directors and actors were Parsis. However, in the first decade of 20th century, Marathi, Gujarati, Marwadi and Hindi speaking persons started joining the Parsi theatre as directors, actors and singers. This changed the form and activity of the Parsi theatre. It created a New 'Rangmanch' which attracted Marathi, Gujarati and Urdu speaking actors. Even the music now changed and was based on classical music. At this time Baliwala's Victoria Company started performing dramas based on religion.

These 'Parsi' dramatic companies were Parsi just in name. Their involvement was completely Indian. In thought, language and acting, even though it was known as 'Parsi', it was an integral part of the whole nation. By presenting mythological heroes and other stories they contributed to the development of national feeling amongst Indians, thus making a valuable contribution. They raised the level of plays and made it possible for women to attend the dramas.

People from different provinces, languages and religions came together to watch the plays. This further led to a feeling of unity.

It was also through their dramatic writings that Parsis of this period had proved their mastery over Gujarati and some were acknowledged as such by Gujarati scholars. Foremost amongst them, apart from Kaikushru Kabraji, the doyen of dramatists, were Edulji Khan, Shapurji Bhedwar and Boman Cawas, Nanabhai Ranina, Khurshed Baliwala, Bamanji Kabraji and Gulfam Jehangir Patel. The last four were pioneers of one act plays which attracted large audiences. They were usually humorous and farcical.

Edulji Khan was renowned for the plays he wrote. Of the 18 plays he wrote, the most popular were 'Khudabux' and 'Sonana Mulni Khorshed' which were translated into Urdu. Many of his other plays were also translated into Urdu and Hindustani. Nanabhai Ranina owned a press where he published his own and writings of other dramatists. He had begun by translating Shakespeare's plays into Gujarati for the Parsi Shakespeare Natak Mandali. He also wrote original plays based on social problems such as 'Naja-Shirin' and 'Karm Tevi Par Utarni.'

Bomanji Cawas also wrote about a dozen plays on social issues and also wrote stories and contributed to newspapers and journals.¹⁰ Another important innovator on the Parsi stage was Dorabji Aapkattiyar, writer, poet, actor, gymnast and musician. He started his own opera company to popularize opera plays. In 1853 he composed an opera from the first part of the *Shahnameh* called 'Rustom Zabooli and Sohrab' in which he played the role of Rustom. It was very successful and he thus had laid the foundation for a series of operas in Parsi theatre.¹¹

Parsi theatre continued to be popular till about the middle of the 20th century, when its popularity seems to have petered out. However, Adi Marzban, Feroze Antia, Rustom Marshall and Homi Tavadia had kept the theatre alive till the middle of the twentieth century. After Marzban, the last 'great' of Parsi dramatists, passed away the spirit seems to have gone out of the 'Parsi theatre'. It still exists, but in a very limited form. The audience of Gujarati, Hindi, and Marathi speaking people began to be divided with the growth of these language theatres, which developed new techniques and new styles and theories of modern drama. Parsi dramas did not keep pace with these changes. Fewer and fewer dramatists were found writing for the theatre and gradually Parsi theatre began to represent 'farce' rather than drama. The growth of the cinema also ate into the Parsi theatre audience.

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10. Somnath Gupta, *op.cit.* p. 50ff.
11. Sharatchandra Vishnu Gokhale, 'Indian Music amongst the Parsis' in Nawas Modi ed. *The Parsis in Western India from 1818 to 1920*, Bombay 1998. p. 242.

Distinctive Features of the Śīvālaya at Ambarnath

Kumud Kanitkar

The town of Ambarnath is located about 4 miles S. E. of Kalyan, in Thane district of Maharashtra. There is a medieval temple of Śīva at Ambarnath which is considered the oldest dated *Bhūmija* temple in Maharashtra. An inscription found above the door lintel of the north porch of the temple at Ambarnath indicates that the temple, started by the Śīlāhāra ruler of North Konkan, Chittarāja, was completed in CE 1060 by his younger brother Mummūṇi, a feudatory of the Cālukyās of Kalyāṇī. The date of the temple therefore has been referred to as CE 1060.¹ However, the reign of Chittarāja, based on epigraphic evidence², is estimated to be approximately CE 1022-1035, therefore the era of the temple should rightly be mentioned as CE 1035-1060 which would mean that it is the oldest dated *Bhūmija* temple in India. The Udayeśvara temple at Udaypur, M. P. has so far been considered the oldest dated *Bhūmija* temple, construction having started in CE 1059 and consecration in CE 1080.³ There are other *Bhūmija* temples, which are stylistically seen to be older, but they are undated.⁴

The temple has many features which make it special or different. It can be said to be located at the crossroads, geographically and culturally, presenting an aesthetic blend of many styles. It has a *Bhūmija śikhara* found in temples built by the Paramāras of Malwa. The portal jambs and the ceiling of the *antarāla* (vestibule) reveal Cālukyān influence whereas the lintel, the faceted pillars in the central hall and the *grāsapatī* on the *pīṭha* (platform) show similarity to the temples built by the Solāṅkīs of Gujarat.⁵

In this context it may be mentioned that King Bhoja Paramāra had conquered Konkan around CE 1019. Jayasīṃha Cālukyā of Kalyāṇī defeated the Paramāra army in CE 1024 and regained control over Konkan. However, the CE 1024 plate of Chittarāja does not mention the suzerainty of the Cālukyās. Chittarāja was succeeded by his younger brother Nāgārjuna who was killed in action when Someśvara I of Kalyāṇī invaded the Śīlāhāra kingdom. The Cālukyās established Mummūṇi, the younger brother of Chittarāja and Nāgārjuna, on the Śīlāhāra throne as their feudatory. The northern border of Śīlāhāra kingdom touched Gujarat. Thus the political contact with Paramāras, Cālukyās and Solāṅkīs may have led to cultural exchange and the blend of styles that is the aesthetically pleasing temple at Ambarnath.

Chittarāja who is credited with having started the building of this temple,

was a patron of arts and letters (based on the account given by Soḍḍhala, a court poet of Chittarāja, in the beginning of his *Udayasundarikathā*⁶ about his stay in Sthānaka where he spent a number of years after coming from the Cālukyan court of Lāṭa).

The capital of the Śilāhāras was Sthānaka, modern Thane. It is not known why Ambarnath was the choice of place for such a magnificent temple (Pl. XI) but ambitious temple building is often known to commemorate a notable dynastic success and perhaps this was the motivation for Chittarāja.

The *Bhūmija* style is supposed to have developed in the Malwa region before spreading to surrounding states. Temples are known as '*Bhūmija*' when these have 'a *śikhara* (tower) of the *bhūmija* class which has four spines decorated with the usual mesh of *gavākṣa*-arches on the central *rathas* but the quadrants between these spines are filled with miniature shrine models of diminishing heights arranged in three to five horizontal rows and five to seven vertical rows or *bhūmis* (storeys)".⁷

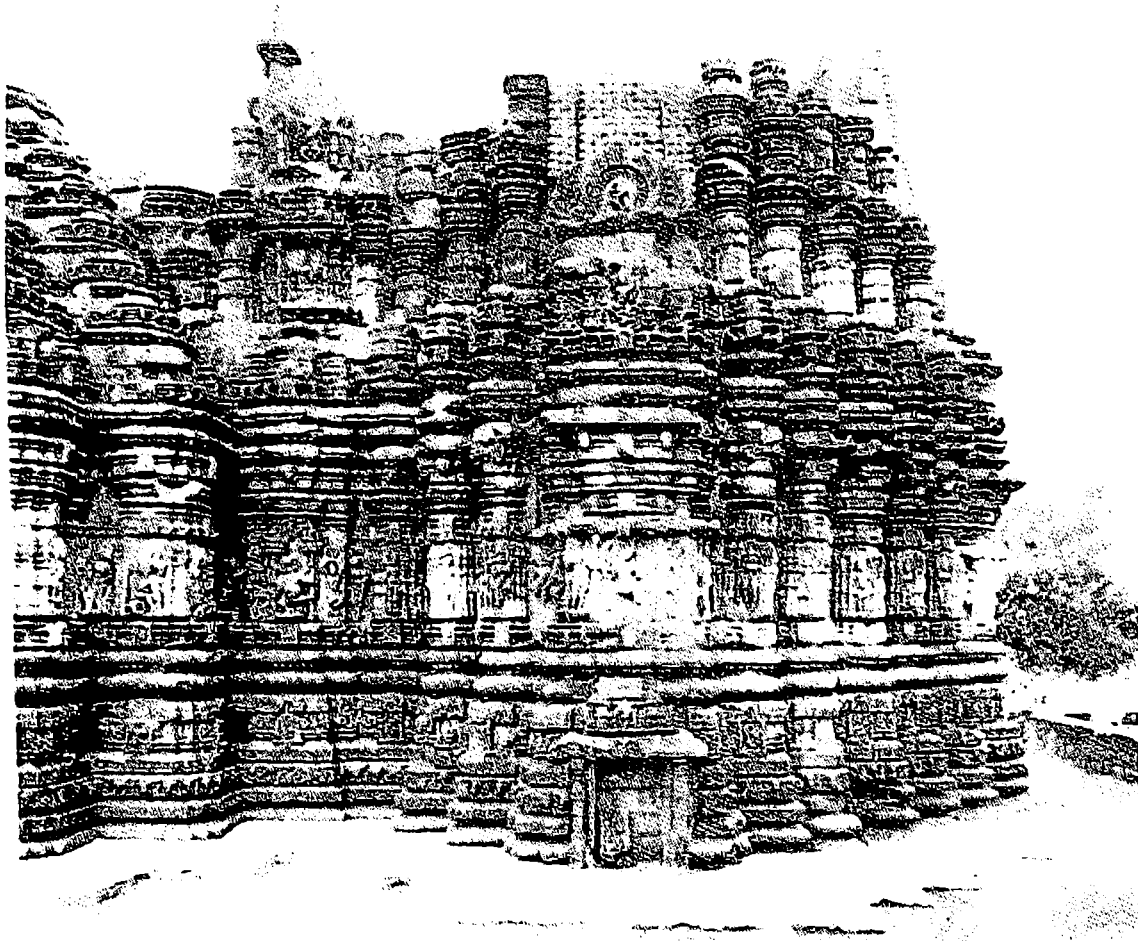
Although Ambarnath temple has a *Bhūmija śikhara*, it is different in that the miniature shrine models supposed to be on the *śikhara*, are not noticeable but the piers that support them (*stambhakūṭa*) are more prominent. Interestingly, miniature *śikhara* models can be seen carved on the pillars in the central hall. (Pl. XII A)

The *liṅga* in the *garbhagrha* is set in a circular *pindikā* or *pīṭha*. We may mention that the *Mānasāra* prescribes that the shape of the *pīṭha* should match the *vimāna*; circular shape is for *vesara* form of *vimāna*.⁸

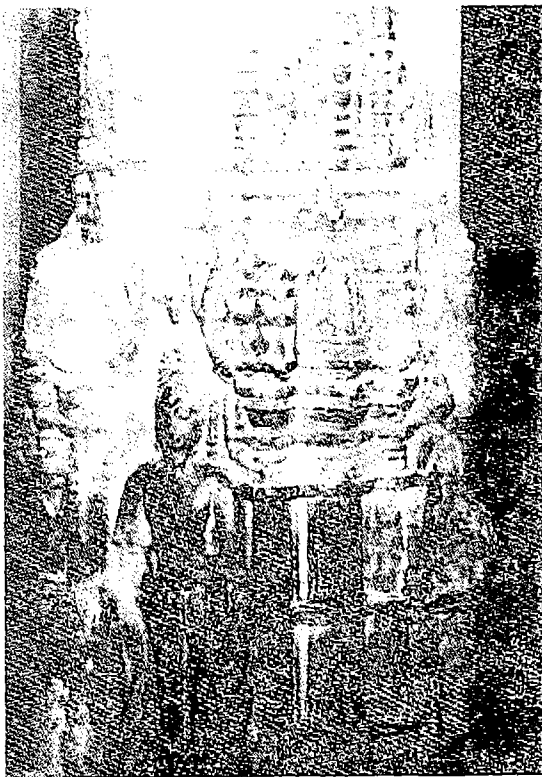
Other notable features of the temple include the absence of *vyāla* figures, presence of images placed between the *caitya* window ornament on the *śikhara* and the principal panels, the portrayal of possibly a royal figure and the *sūtradhāra* holding a measuring rod and book near the entrance (Pl. XIII B), the absence of any seated figure on the main row of the *jaṅghā*, the preponderance of female deities on the *mūlaprāsāda jaṅghā*, the placement of images of *mūnis* in the recesses as well as *surasundarīs* (Pl. XIII A) and the absence of an *aśvathara* in the *pīṭha*.

The placement of *mūnis* in the recesses on the *jaṅghā* wall of the sanctum is very specific; only three *mūnis* are portrayed here, one on the true right of each triptych.

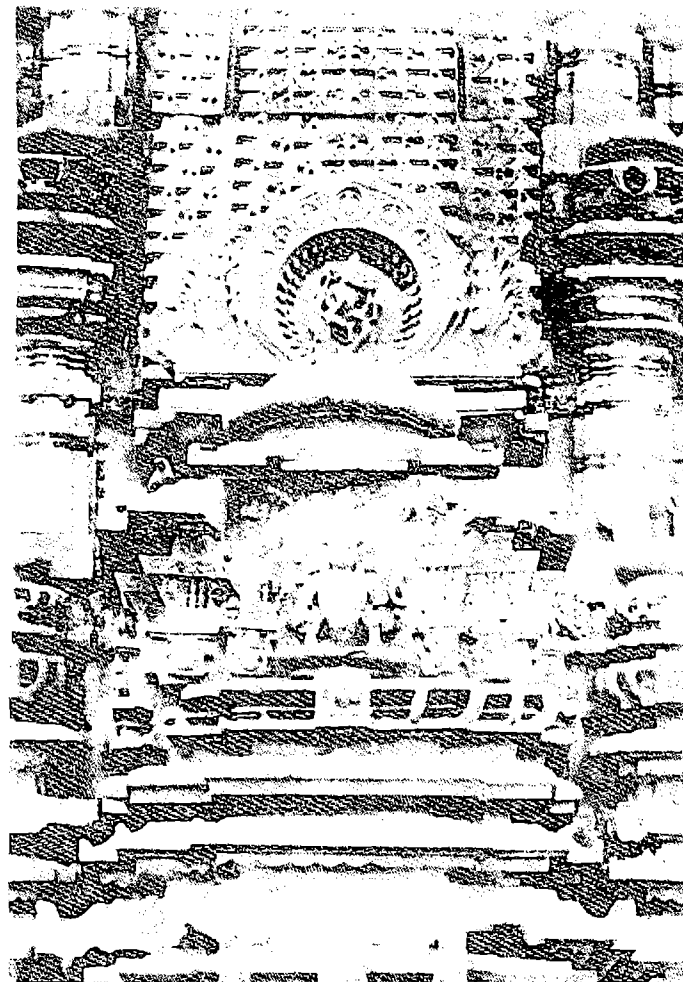
The images placed between the *caitya* window ornament on the *śikhara* and the principal panel, have been listed as Śiva Yogīśvara on the north and Viṣṇu on the south.⁹ A photograph of the northern image (Pl. XII B) looks more like a syncretic image of Sūrya, judging from its posture, rather than Śiva Yogīśvara.



South view of the Śivālaya at Ambarnatha.



A. Miniature *Śikhara* model carved on the pillar in the central hall.



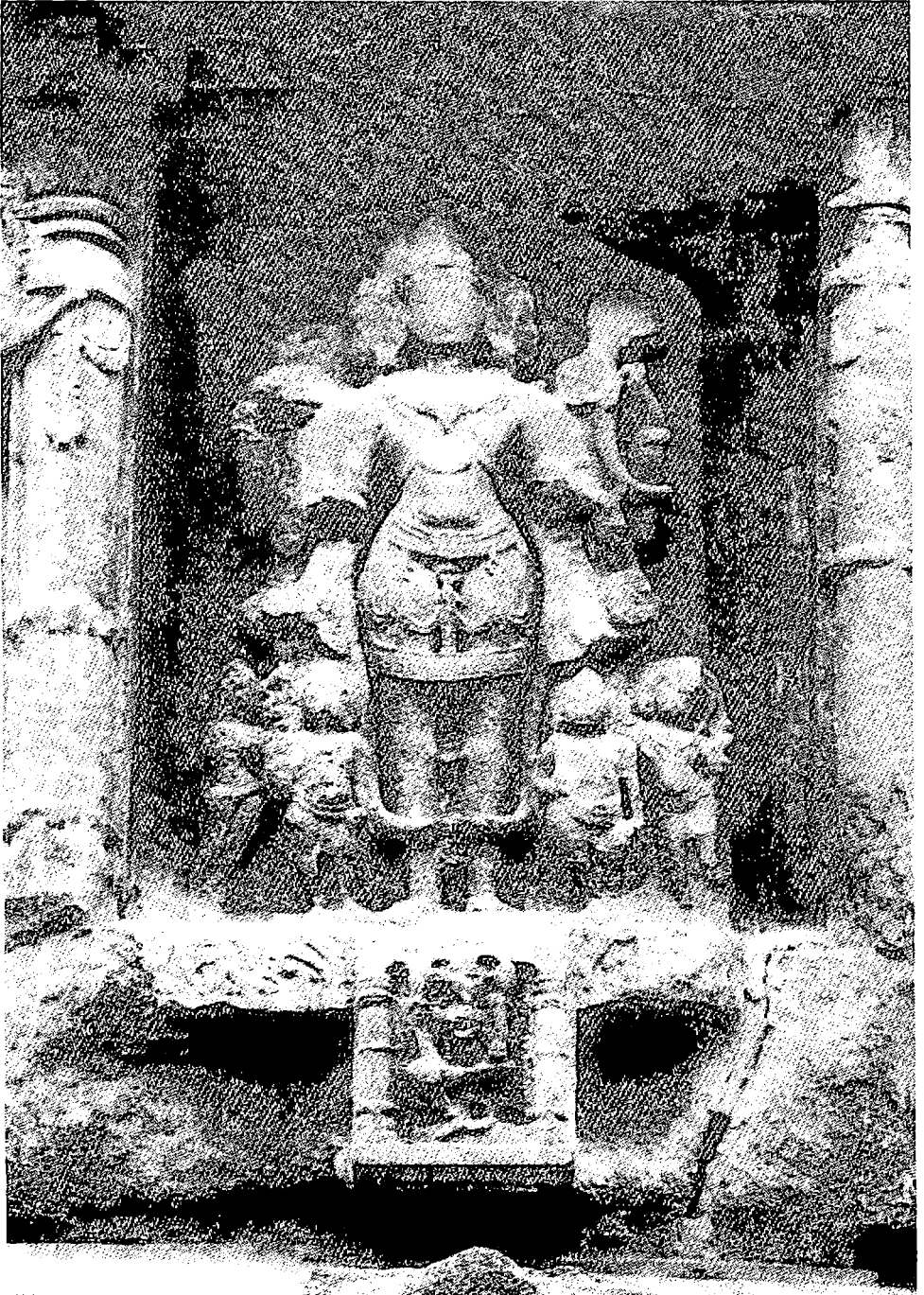
B. Śiva-Yogīśvara or syncretic image of Sūrya on the superstructure, on the north.



A. *Surasundarīs* in the recesses of the wall.



B. Possibly a royal figure and the *sūtradhāra* holding a measuring rod and book, near the entrance.



Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya on the east *bhadra*.

The *bhadra rathas* (central offsets) carry a series of images vertically. On the north *bhadra*, starting from the *pīṭha* and proceeding up, Brahmā with his consort can be seen in the *pīṭha*, Mahākālī on the *jaṅghā*, seated image of syncretic Sūrya between the *chādyā* and the *caitya* window ornament and Cāmuṇḍā in the *caitya* window ornament. On the east *bhadra*, the only extant image is that of Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya on the *jaṅghā*.¹⁰ On the south *bhadra*, the *pīṭha* niche is empty, Gajāntaka is on the *jaṅghā*, Viṣṇu on Garuḍa is between the *chādyā* and the *caitya* window ornament and Naṭeśa in the *caitya* window ornament.

The outer walls of the vestibule, now partially broken, also carry a series of images vertically; on the north face, in ascending order, an image of Kārtikeya on the *jaṅghā*, a seated figure of Brahmā, Andhakāntaka and a broken *caitya* window ornament; on the south, a dancing Gaṇeśa on the *jaṅghā*, a seated Devī and Tripurāntaka.

The *mūlaprāsāda jaṅghā* has thirty nine panels. Nine of these form the triptychs on the three *bhadra* niches, five each appear on the northwest and southwest wall and ten each on the northeast and the southeast wall. The five on the northwest wall include Kevalaśiva, Sarasvatī, a dancing Śiva, Kaumarī and a female deity. The five on the southwest wall include Bhairava, a female deity, an *ācārya*, a female deity and Brahmānī. The ten panels each on the northeast and southeast walls include two *dikpālas*, each pair in the centre on the *karṇa*, and Bhikṣātana Śiva on the northeast wall and a naked youthful male figure adorned with snake ornaments on the southeast wall. It can thus be seen that each side has more female deities than male deities on the *mūlaprāsāda jaṅghā*.

It is also noteworthy that Brahmā is represented at many different levels¹¹; in the *pīṭha* niche below the north *bhadra*, on panel number fourteen on the north *jaṅghā* wall of the *maṇḍapa*, above panel number seventeen on the north wall of the vestibule, and inside the *maṇḍapa* on the west face of the southwest pillar.

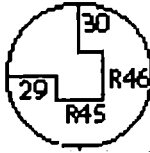
The temple has been studied as an the example of *Bhūmija* style of architecture and as an example of Śilāhāra art¹², but so far a detailed study specifically of this temple does not seem to have been published.

The temple has a stellate plan. The outer wall has seventy three sculptured panels on the *jaṅghā*, bearing images of deities and one hundred and six narrower panels in the recesses between these, bearing images of *munis* and *surasundarīs*, royal patrons, etc.

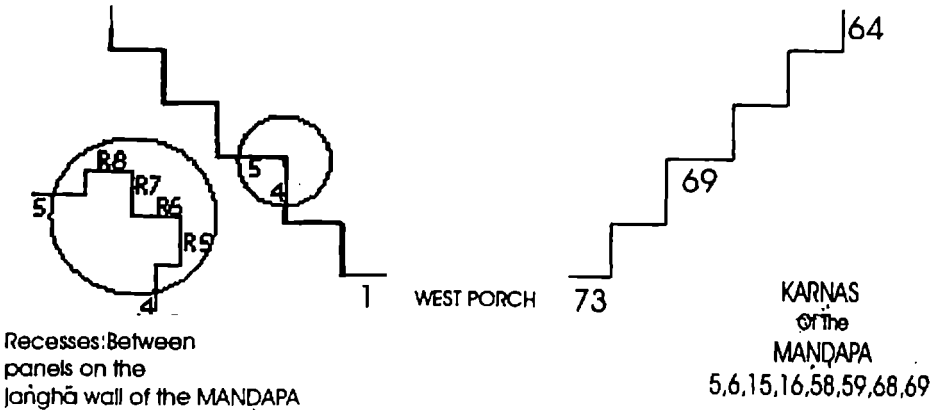
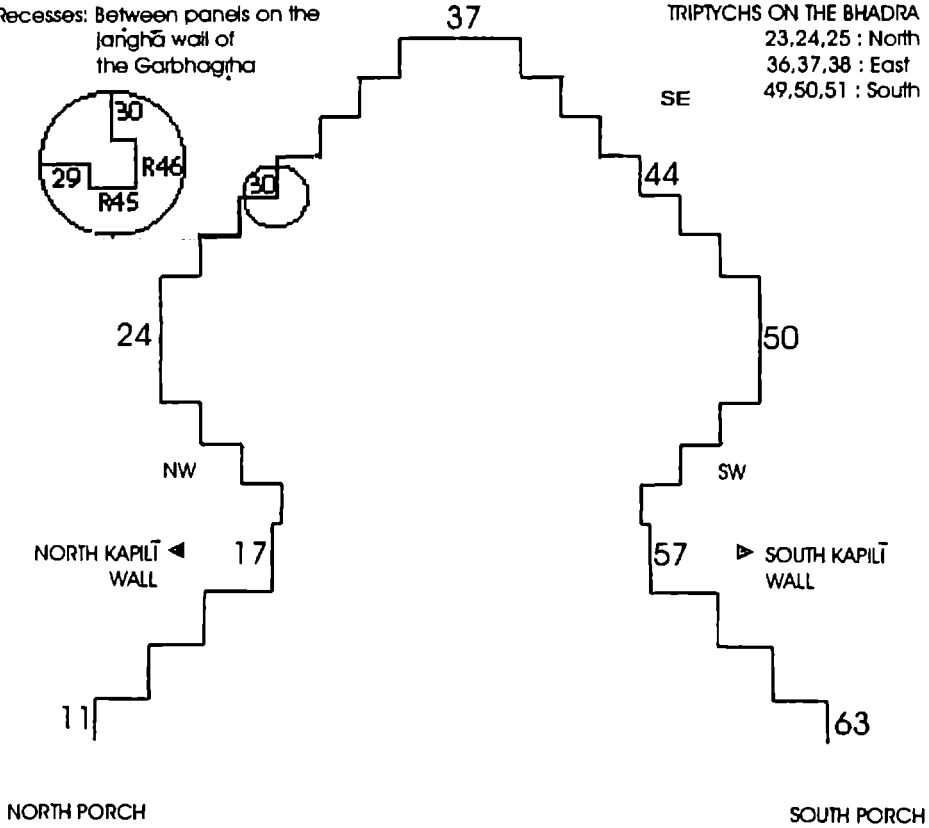
A plan outline of the temple is illustrated in Fig. 1. The images on the outer wall are numbered clockwise, *pradakṣiṇā*-wise, starting with the left

Floor Plan of Sivalaya at Ambarnath

Recesses: Between panels on the jaighā wall of the Garbhagṛha



TRIPTYCHS ON THE BHADRA
23,24,25 : North
36,37,38 : East
49,50,51 : South



Recesses: Between panels on the jaighā wall of the MANDAPA

KARNAS of the MANDAPA
5,6,15,16,58,59,68,69

Fig. : Floor plan of the temple with numbering scheme.

side of the front West porch and ending with the right side of the same porch; insets in Fig. 1 show a sample of numbering and the location of the recesses.

The panels on the *jarighā* are of two sizes. The *bhadra* panels of the *mūlaprāsāda*, the panels on north and south face of the outer wall of the vestibule and panels on the *karna* of the *maṇḍapa* are wider than the remaining panels. The *maṇḍapa* wall has fierce aspects of various deities carved on the *karnas* (on the northwest *karna* : Caṇḍikā and Varāha, on the northeast *karna* : Mahiṣāsūramardīnī and Nṛsimha¹³, on the southeast *karna* a many armed dancing aspect of Śiva and a *sambhāramūrti* of Śiva¹⁴, and on the southwest *karna* : Yamāntaka and a dancing Śiva).

Four of the *dikpālas*, Kubera, Īśāna, Indra and Agni appear on the *karnas* of the *mūlaprāsāda* wall and Yama in a recess next to the southwest *karna* of the *mūlaprāsāda*. The *maṇḍapa karnas* being used as described above, Varuṇa and Vāyu appear on other panels on the *maṇḍapa* facing west and north respectively and Nirṛti in a recess on the northwest wall.

The grouping of images in the cardinal niches is very interesting. As already mentioned, the plan of the temple is stellate and the temple faces west. The three *bhadra* niches on the *mūlaprāsāda* are therefore facing north, east and south. The images in these niches are described in detail below.

The image in the north *bhadra* niche is of Mahākālī. Ten arms bearing different *āyudhas* can be clearly seen¹⁵. Nine of these, in the clockwise direction, hold a dagger, *śakti*, *sūla* (spear), *khadga* (sword), *ḍamaru* (drum), *musala* (pestle), *khaṭvāṅga* (skull club), *kapāla* (bowl) and a severed head. One arm is folded across the chest and held palm down, index finger outstretched, under the chin. The hair is in a *jaṭāmukuta* and adorned by a band of skulls. The body is emaciated, ears are large and eyes are bulging; two fangs can also be seen. The goddess is in a dancing pose, both legs bent, left foot resting flat on the floor and only the toes of the raised right foot touching the floor. She is adorned with ornaments and a garland of skulls. Two worshippers sit at her feet on either side.

The *surasundarīs* are carved on either side of the image. One bears a fly-whisk. The other one has only one arm intact, which holds a *kapāla*.¹⁶

The main niche, on the east has a majestic image of Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya (Pl. XIV). The God has three heads, all crowned with *kirītamukuta*. Of the original eight arms, only the left upper one can be seen holding a snake, the remaining hands or the *āyudhas* held in them, are broken. He is well ornamented including a *channavīra* on the chest and is wearing an elaborate girdle. A faint outline of boots can be seen below

the knees. The God is standing in a *samabhaṅga* position, has two attendants on either side; one of the two on his right, is a woman.¹⁷ Two figures are carved on either side of the panel but only one of them is a *surasundarī*. The other one on the image's right, interestingly, is Bhṛṅgī.

The south niche has the image of Gajāntaka in an *atibhaṅga*, vigorous dancing pose. The face is serene, the *jaṭāmukuta* adorned with a band of skulls, the body twisted so that the torso is facing the viewer yet the left leg is placed below the right hand; the body is well ornamented. Most of the hands and the *āyudhas* are broken except the hands holding up the elephant hide above the god's head like a *prabhāmaṇḍala*. The dead elephant's head with a curled trunk and a tusk can be seen hanging from the hide on the left of the god. Two *surasundarīs* are carved on either side, one holds a fly whisk; both arms of the other *surasundarī* are broken.

The architecture of the Ambarnath temple allows the sculptors to treat the *bhadra* niches as 'trptychs'.¹⁸ The opportunity seems to be used ingeniously to enhance the central image by providing contrasts, which, rather than contradicting, seem to complement the central image. Thus, the north *bhadra* niche has Mahākālī, flanked on its left by Ardhanārīśvara and, on its right, by Kalyāṇasundara. The Devī image prescribed by the *āgamas* for the north niche of a Śiva temple is a common component to all three, yet the adjacent placement of Mahākālī with Ardhanārīśvara and Kalyāṇasundara perhaps hints at the completeness when the Devī is considered together with Śiva. It is also noteworthy that the central *raudra* (fearsome) aspect of Mahākālī is combined with *saumya* (placid) aspects of Śiva on either side.

The panels on either side of the east *bhadra* panel are broken. Whereas the panel on its left is completely obliterated, part of the right panel shows the hind quarters of a large animal with a curled tail and two small figures, one of which has *añjali mudrā*, hinting that a fearsome aspect of Śiva had been portrayed here (based on the animal hind quarters and the tail, one possibility is that it may have portrayed Śarabheṣa). This would mean that the central *saumya* aspect, Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya, is flanked by a *raudra* aspect.

The south *bhadra* portrays Gajāntaka; the panel on its left side is a beautifully carved image of Liṅgodbhava.¹⁹ Śiva is portrayed as the infinitely large *liṅga* as well as the small and serene Śiva Yogīśvara carved on the *liṅga*. This *saumya* or placid form is in stark contrast to the *raudra* aspect, Gajāntaka in the *bhadra* niche. The image to the right of Gajāntaka is broken. What can be seen is a male in the dance mode, carrying a *kapāla* in the lower left hand, a part of a *vīṇā* or a quiver seen above left shoulder, a bow draped over left side, head tilted to right side. It looks like a *saumya* aspect.

In summary, the sculptures in the *bhadra* niches can be viewed as a composite of three images, triptychs; the side images contrasting yet complementing to give a broader representation of the deity in the central panel. This is further supported by the size of the side panels, which are larger than other panels on the *janghā* and comparable to the central panel on the *bhadra*.

Stella Kramrisch²⁰ in her article on the cave temple at Elephanta has referred to the central recess containing the colossal image of Sadāśiva flanked by Ardhanārīśvara and Gaṅgādhara as a triptych. Regarding images in the west of the cave temple, she comments on the contrast between Andhakāntaka and Kalyāṇasundara as 'confrontation of sculptures'; Śiva the gracious and auspicious and Śiva, the formidable and cruel. She feels that it was intentional; in her words, "these antitheses of meaning appear planned." The antitheses of meaning seem to be planned at Ambarnath also. The north and south *bhadras* have a 'placid, fierce, placid' combination of images while the east *bhadra* has 'fierce, placid' combination.

The kings of the Śilāhāra dynasty were Śaivites yet their cognizance was Garuḍa (indicated by the seal on their copper plates)²¹. They were tolerant of other faiths. It would be interesting to know if they followed any particular form of Śaivism.

Mādhava, in his *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* referred to three Śaiva systems, the Nakulīśa-Pāśupata, the Śuddha Śaiva and Pratyabhijñā. Śuddha Śaiva or Śaiva siddhānta is a religio-philosophical system in which Śiva is worshipped as the supreme deity. The system is realistic and dualistic. In a Śiva temple, the presence of Śiva is to be experienced at many levels yet all at the same time, otherwise the total multiple perspective of each is lost. According to the Śaiva siddhāntins, the highest transcendental (unmanifest) level is realized in the *garbhagrha* where Śiva is invisibly present in the *līṅga* (*niskala*). Between transcendence and this world lies the *niskala sakala* (unmanifest-manifest) form of Śiva as Sadāśiva. The third level, the *sakala* (manifest) level, comprises of the *līlāmūrtis* of Śiva such as Śiva Nāṭeśa, Lord of Dance.

Bhūmija temples, as a rule, do not possess an ambulatory and are *nirandhāra prāsādas*. The outer walls therefore have to serve as part of the whole experience. The east *bhadra* niche in a west-facing temple is the most important. In the Ambarnath temple, this position is occupied by Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya.

It is interesting that on the right side of the Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya image, Bhṛṅgī is portrayed instead of a *surasundarī*. This is the only exception; the two other *bhadra* niches have *surasundarīs* on either side. It may be that the architect wanted to emphasize the Śaiva aspect of the image, that the image of Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya in the main *bhadra* niche can be

considered equivalent to Sadāśiva which would explain the presence of Bhṛṅgī here. In this context, it is relevant to note that Stella Kramrisch²² has commented that Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya image is a support of a meditation on Sadāśiva.²³

The Śaiva siddhāntin doctrine lays great emphasis on adoration of the *guru*²⁴ who alone is capable of showing the path to salvation. There is an image of a *siddha*, on panel number fifty four on the *janghā*, two-armed, wearing a *kaupina*, a cap, with pierced, elongated earlobes, moustache, a beard and a *yajñopavīta*. The inclusion of a mortal in the row of gods and goddesses is noteworthy.

It is interesting to note that Lakulīśa is not seen in the images at Ambarnath.

Devangana Desai has cited the suffix *śiva* in the name of the *ācārya* as evidence for the prevalence of Śaiva siddhānta at Khajuraho.²⁵

In this connection it is significant that the Berlin museum plate of Chittarāja of CE 1034 records the grant of a field to a Śaiva ascetic, Jñānaśiva, a disciple of the holy Vādācārya who belonged to the western *Āmnāya*. The inscription on the Ambarnath temple cites the name of the *Mahārājaguru* as Nābhātā and *Laghurājaguru* as Śrī Vilaṇḍaśiva. The suffix *śiva* may indicate Śaiva siddhānta affiliation specially in view of the proximity of the Sopāriya Āmarḍḍaka-maṭha.²⁶

In conclusion, the Ambarnath Śiva temple, in addition to being decorated with very pleasing sculptures, has many unusual, interesting and thought provoking features.

Notes and References

1. Krishna Deva, *Temples of India*, p. 180.
2. V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol VI, p. ix.
3. Krishna Deva, *Ibid*, p. 181.
4. Krishna Deva, (ed. Pramod Chandra), *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, Delhi, 1975, p. 93. The original nucleus of Amareśvara temple at Omkāra-Māndhātā, dist. Khandwa, MP has been assigned to the latter half of tenth century.
5. A. P. Jamkhedkar, *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, Vol I, part 2 : महाराष्ट्र : इतिहास - प्राचीन काळ, p. 251.
6. V. V. Mirashi, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, Delhi 1975, 'The Udayasundarikathā of *Sodḍhala*', pp. 71-91.
7. Krishna Deva, *ibid* p. 180. A *tribhūmi* class *bhūmija* temple of Rāmaliṅgeśvara at Nandikaṇḍī in Medak district of Andhra Pradesh is reported by B. Rajendra Prasad in *J. A. H. R. S* xxxiv, pp. 4-18, plates 1 and 2.
8. T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol II, part II p. 99.

9. A. V. Naik, *New Indian Antiquary* July-Dec. 1947. pp. 222.
10. A. V. Naik, *ibid*, mentions an image of Pārvatī and Henry Cousens, *Medieval Temples of the Deccan*, p. 15, 'a small image of Brahmā is seen up above the Trimūrti on the east face'; however, at the present time, neither can be seen.
11. A. P. Jamkhedkar, *ibid*, pp. 160.
12. A. V. Naik *ibid*, A. P. Jamkhedkar, *ibid*.
13. T. A. G. Rao, *E. H. I.* Vol I, part I, p. 39, 'The Tantras and the Āgamas require the figure of Nṛsīmha to be set up even in Śiva temples.'
14. The south east pillar in the *maṇḍapa* has a very similar sculpture though the style is clearly different.
15. Two more (uppermost) hands / *āyudhas* may be there but can not be seen clearly.
16. A. P. Jamkhedkar, *ibid*, p. 248 'Lāṭī *jaṅghā* has a pair of females on either side of the *nirgama*.
17. The figure of the woman is not discernible now at the site but is clearly seen in the photograph reproduced here of the sculpture on the east *bhadra* from the archives of AIIIS taken in December 1968. It has many other details which can no longer be seen. It is unfortunate that there is rapid deterioration / erosion of the sculptures. A similar fate seems to have met the arches near the western gate and a stepped tank on the south entered by a carved doorway mentioned in a 1947 publication.
18. Triptych according to the dictionary is 'a triple picture or carving, on three hinged panels, often depicting a religious subject.'
19. Northern style; in the southern style, anthropomorphic Śiva is portrayed in a hollow on the *linga*.
20. Stella Kramrisch, 'The Great Cave Temple of Śiva in Elephanta : Levels of meaning and form', in *Discourses on Śiva*, edited by Michael Meister p. 3, p 9.
21. V. V. Mirashi, *ibid*, p. lxxxii.
22. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, p. 373.
23. Inside the temple hall, as one enters, the west face of the northwest pillar in the *maṇḍapa* depicts Maheśamūrti.
24. R. Nagaswamy, in *Discourses on Śiva*, p. 174.
25. Devangana Desai, *Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, p. 60.
26. Devangana Desai, *ibid*, p. 58; the connection with Śūrpāraka turns up unexpectedly in Soḍḍhala's *Udayasundarikathā* also. During his long stay in Sthānaka, Soḍḍhala enjoyed the successive patronage of Chittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuni. He mentions that Vatsarāja, the king of Lāṭa and Mummuni the Śilāhāra king were friends. There is also a mention of Vatsarāja's visit to Śūrpāraka.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to the Asiatic Society of Mumbai for The Justice Telang Fellowship (April 2003-March 2004) which facilitated the present work. She also thanks American Institute for Indian Studies, Gurgaon, for permission to use photographs from their archives.

Illustrations

XI South view of the Śivālaya at Ambarnath (Photo, courtesy AIIS)

XII-A. Miniature *śikhara* model carved on the pillar in the central hall.

XII-B. Śiva Yogīśvara or syncretic image of Sūrya on the superstructure, on the north.
Photo, courtesy AIIS.

XIII-A. *Surasundarīs* in the recesses of the wall.

XIII-B. Possibly a royal figure and the *sūtradhāra* holding a measuring rod and book, near the entrance.

XIV. Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha-Sūrya on the east *bhadra* (Photo, courtesy AIIS).

Figure : Floor plan of the temple with numbering scheme.

Dhruvās in Nāṭyaśāstra Chapter 32 : Restored

V. M. Kulkarni

In my article "Bharata's Dhruvās : Restored", published in the Bicentenary Issue of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, I wrote about the meaning of *Dhruvā*, the occasions for *Dhruvās*, the language of the *Dhruvās*, the form of *Dhruvās*, *Prayogānāgatva*, (their being outside the dramatic representation) and Bharata on the importance of *Dhruvās* and restoration of twelve *Dhruvās* by way of illustration. The present article deals with all the *Dhruvās* of Bharata in their serial order (pages 309-392). The first *Dhruvā* occurs on p. 309. In this article as the corrected or restored text is given in Devanāgarī script the page numbers and verse numbers are also given in the same script.

पृ. ३०९ प्रतिष्ठा यथा ।

सोसअन्तो अंगआइं वादि वादो पुष्पवाही ॥५७॥
[शोषयन्नङ्गकानि वाति वातः पुष्पवाही ।]

सुप्रतिष्ठा यथा ।

एदिसुए ऊसुइआ अज्जइं (इ) मं हंसवहू ॥५८॥
[ईदृशक उत्सुकिन्तार्चति मां हंसवधूः ।]

ध्रमरी (मत्तालिः) यथा ।

वणसंडे अदिमत्तो वणहत्थी परिखिण्णो ॥६०॥
[वनषण्डे (खण्डे) अतिमत्तो वनहस्ती परिखिन्नः ।]

जया यथा ।

हिमाहए वणंतरे अयं गओ पविण्णओ (पविट्ठओ ?) ॥६२॥
[हिमाहते वनान्तरे अयं गजः प्रविष्टः ।]

विजया यथा ।

मारु (? मोरु) ल्लवो णज्ज(च्च ?)न्तओ मेहागमे संबद्धओ (? संमत्तओ) ॥६४॥
[मयूरो नृत्यन् मेघागमे संमत्तः ।]

विद्युद्भ्रान्ता यथा ।

मेहा (? एदे) गज्जंता लोअं(यं) छादंता तोयं मुंचंता संपत्ता मेहा ॥६६॥
[एते गर्जन्तो लोकं छादयन्तस्तोयं मुञ्चन्तः संप्राप्ता मेघाः ।]

* Please see the note at the end of this article.

पृ. ३१० भूतलतन्वी यथा ।

मेहणिरुद्धं पेक्खिअ (य) चंदं सोआइ(दि) तारा अंसुकिलिण्णा ॥६८॥
[मेघनिरुद्धं प्रेक्ष्य चन्द्रं शोचति तारा अश्रुक्लिन्ना ।]

कमलमुखी यथा ।

पवन(ण)हदो सलिलघणो भमइ गहे उवकमसो (? अहियसमो) ॥७०॥
[पवनहतः सलिलघनः भ्रमति नभसि अहितसमः ।]

पृ. ३१० वागुरा यथा ।

मेह-णिरु(रु)द्धओ णट्ठजोण्हओ णिच्चणिप्पहो एस चंदओ ॥७२॥
[मेघ-रुद्धो नष्टज्योत्स्नो नित्यनिष्प्रभ एष चन्द्रः ।]

शिखा यथा ।

बलाहएहिं पगज्जिदेहिं गहं समंता परुण्ण अंव(व्व) (? परुण्णअंव) ॥७४॥
[बलाहकैः प्रगर्जितैर्नभः समन्तात् प्ररुदितमिव ।]

घनपङ्क्तिर्यथा ।

तडिसंखुद्धं रव-संबद्धं जलधाराहिं रुददीवब्भं ॥७६॥
[तडित्संक्षुब्धं रवसंबद्धं जलधाराभी रुदतीवाभ्रम् ।]

पृ. ३११ तनुमध्या यथा ।

वज्जाहअ(द)कूडो धाउज्जरसोत्तो एसो गिरिराओ भूमिं विस(पत)दीव(दिव्व) (? भूमिं
विसदिण्व) ॥७९॥
[वज्राहतकूटो धातुनिर्झरस्रोता एष गिरिराजो भूमिं विशतीव ।]

मालिनी यथा ।

दीसदि पुण्णओ पुण्वदिसामुहे ।
जोण्हा (जोण्ह) समागओ पुण्णिमचंदओ ॥८१॥
[दृश्यते पूर्णः पूर्वादिशामुरवे ज्योत्स्ना समागतः पूर्णिमाचन्द्रः ।]

मकरशीर्षा यथा ।

* इह सिसिरम्मि(१ म्मी) मदजणणम्मि(१ म्मी) पमदवणम्मि(१ म्मी) विलसदि(? विचरदि)
वादो ॥८३॥
[इह शिशिरे मदजनने प्रमदवने विचरति वातः ।]

विमला यथा ।

* कमलाअरेसुं भमरालएसुं मदमुव्वहन्तो पविसेइ हत्थी ॥८४॥
[कमलाकरेषु भ्रमरालयेषु मदमुद्रहन् प्रविशति हस्ती ।]

* V. 83. 1 म्मी - For the sake of metre. * V. 84. The editor reads 'भमरोणदेसुं सम सुद्धवती विहआणव(म)त्ती' ['भमरोन्नदत्सुसमं शुद्धवृत्तिविहगानमन्ति' ।] The readings adopted here are given by Ghosh (G) and Unni(U).

पृ. ३११ वीथिका यथा ।

गज्जन्तो(न्ते) जलदा णच्चन्ते सिहिणो गायन्ते भमरा रम्मे पाउसए ॥८७॥

पृ. ३१२ [गर्जन्ति जलदा नृत्यन्ति शिखिनः गायन्ति भ्रमरा रम्ये प्रावृषि (? रम्यायां प्रावृषि) ॥]

प्रकथिता यथा ।

जलद-नादअं(णादयं) सुणिअ (य) कुंजरो णददि काणणे पडिगआउरो (गयाउलो) ॥८९॥

[जलदनादं श्रुत्वा कुञ्जरो नदति कानने प्रतिगजातुरः (-गजाकुलः) ।]

जला यथा ।

एसा हि वाउणा विक्खित सु(प)त्तअं (यं) ।

ददूण पादवं हंसी परुणिआ ॥९१॥

[एषा हि वायुना विक्षिप्तपत्रम् । दृष्ट्वा पादपं हंसी प्ररुदिता ।]

सुनन्दा यथा ।

एदे गज्जमाणा अब्भं छादयन्ता ।

भीमा कालमेहा उव्वेदं (उव्वेगं) जणन्ति (जणेंति) ॥९३॥

[एते गर्जन्तोऽभ्रं छादयन्तो भीमाः कालमेघा उद्वेगं जनयन्ति ।]

आद्यं चतुर्थे(र्थं)च त्वन्त्यमुपान्त्यं च ।

यत्र गुरुणि स्युः सु(सा) ललिता (विद्योतिका) ज्ञेया ॥९४॥

पृ. ३१३ ललिता यथा ।

साहसु सब्भावं किं सि पिह (ए) कुद्धा ।

मा चिरसंबद्धं पेच्छसि सब्भाणं ॥९५॥

[कथय सद्भावं किमसि प्रिये क्रुद्धा ।

मा चिरसंबद्धं प्रेक्षसे सद्भावम् ॥]

नलिनी यथा ।

पवणा-हतका (हदया) तरुणा तरओ (तरवो) कुसुमागमए विअसन्ति (विहसन्ति) विअ ॥९७॥

[पवनाहतास्तरुणास्तरवः कुसुमागमे विकसन्तीव (विहसन्तीव) ।]

पङ्क्तिर्यथा ।

एषा (एसा) हंसवहू विद्धा काणणदो (काणणए) कान्तं (कन्तं) संगहुवा (संगहिआ) गन्तुं ? उत्सहिआ (उत्सुइया) ।

[एषा हंसवधूर्विद्धा कानने कान्तं संग्रहिता गन्तुमुत्सुकिता ।]

पृ. ३१३ नीलतोया (नीला) यथा ।

मेहवुन्दं वादो विक्खिरन्तो वादि ।

दूसहो आवा(भा?)दि पादवाणं लासो (वासो ?) ॥९९॥

[मेघवृन्दं वातो विकिरन् वाति दुःसह आभाति पादपानां लासः (वासः ?) ॥]

चपला(द्रुतगतिः) यथा ।

सुरुचि(इ)रनयणं तव वअ(य) मिदं ।

रमणि रतिकरं मम मदजणणं॥१०२॥

[सुरुचिरनयनं तव वदनमिदम् ।

रमणि रतिकरं मम मदजननम्॥]

पृ. ३१४ तन्वी यथा ।

पिअ(य) वादि वादओ सुवसन्तकालए(ओ) ।

पिअ(य) कामुकओ विअ(य) मदणं जणेतओ॥१०४॥

[प्रिय, वाति वातः सुवसन्तकाले (? कालः) ।

प्रियकामुक इव मदनं जनयन्॥]

कामिनी यथा ।

पेक्खिऊण आगअं(यं) माहवं च इट्ठओ ।

पादवं वणोल्लओ(?पणुल्लओ) वादि वाम-(? दक्खिण-)वादओ॥१०७॥

[प्रेक्ष्यागतं माधवं चेष्टः(च इष्टः) ।

पादपं प्रणुदन् वाति वाम -(? दक्षिण-)अनिलः॥]

पृ. ३१५ भ्रमरमाला यथा ।

हंसागमन(ण)धीरं कासंसुअ-विचित्रं (विचित्तं ?) ।

एवं (? एदं) सरदि काले रम्मं सरसि तोयम्॥१०९॥

[हंसागमनधीरं काशांशुकविचित्रम् ।

एतत् शरदि काले रम्यं सरसि तोयम्॥]

भोगवती यथा ।

चक्क-सना(णा)म-वहू का(क)न्त-सहाइणिआ ।

णिम्मलअ(य)म्मि जले हिंडदि संगदिआ॥१११॥

[चक्र-सनाम-वधूः कान्तसहायिनी ।

निर्मले जले हिण्डति सङ्गतिका(सङ्गता)॥]

पृ. ३१५ मधुकरिका यथा ।

एसा पिअअ (पिअक)लदा रम्माभमर जया (? रम्माभरणजुदा) ।

काले मदजणणे जादा कुसुमवदी॥११३॥

[एषा प्रियकलता रम्याभरणयुता ।

काले मदजनने जाता कुसुमवती॥]

सुभद्रा मनोज्ञा यथा ।

वणम्मि सुक्खरूक्खे पणड्ड-पक्खि-तोये ।

करेणुया-विहीणो उवेदि मत्त-हत्थी॥११५॥

पृ. ३१६ [वने शुष्क-वृक्षे प्रणष्ट-पक्षि-तोये ।
करेणुका-विहीन उपैति मत्तहस्ती ॥]

पृ. ३१६ मत्ता यथा ।

जल-भर (-हर) संभंतो खिदिधर-मूलम्मि ।
पिअ(य) जुवदी-सत्तो पविचरिदो हत्थी ॥११७॥
[जलधरसंभ्रान्तः क्षितिधरमूले ।
प्रिययुवतिसक्तः प्रविचरितो हस्ती ॥]

मुदिता यथा ।

महामेहविदाणं बलाका-कुल-बद्धं (बलायावलि-बद्धं) ।
महाभीम-णिणादं पदिण्णं (वल्लगं) गगणम्मि ॥११९॥
[महामेघवितानं बलाकाकुलबद्धम् (बलाकावलिबद्धम्) ।
महाभीमनिनादं प्रदत्तं (अवल्लगं/विलगं) गगने ॥]

मनोज्ञा यथा ।

कुसुमगन्धवाही सलिल-रेणु-पुण्णो ।
रमणि वादि वादो मणसिजं जणन्तो ॥१२१॥
[कुसुमगन्धवाही सलिल-रेणु-पूर्णः ।
रमणि वाति वातो मनसिजं जनयन् ॥]

विलम्बिता यथा ।

गइंद-तोअ(य) खोआ(हा) पटी (डी) (? तडी)*-परित्थ-हंसा ।
भमंतचक्रवाआ नदी गआ समुदं ॥१२३॥
[गजेन्द्रतोयक्षोभा पटी-परीत (= व्याप्त) हंसा ।
भ्रमच्चक्रवाका नदी गता समुद्रम् ॥]

पृ. ३१७ दीप्ता यथा ।

पवनो(णो) पुष्पहारी(वाही) अइसीदो समन्ता ।
सिसिरे वादि काले मम सोअं (सोगं ?) जणंतो ॥१२५॥
[पवनः पुष्पवाही अतिशीतः समन्तात् ।
शिशिरे वाति काले मम शोकं जनयन् ॥]

चञ्चलगतिर्यथा ।

मेह-मलमुत्थओ(-मुक्कओ) नि(णि)म्मलगहाउलो ।
सोहदि णहंगणे णिम्मलकरो ससी ॥१२७॥
[मेघ-मल-मुक्तको(=मुक्तो) निर्मलग्रहाकुलः ।
शोभते नभोऽङ्गणे निर्मलकरः शशी ॥]

पृ. ३१८ विमलजला यथा ।

विकचांबुजहसिरे भमरावलिमुहले ।
 बहु-णिम्मल-सलिले विहगो सरदि (भमदि) सरे ॥१३०॥
 [विकचाम्बुजहसिरे (हसनशीले) भ्रमरावलिमुखरे ।
 बहु-निर्मल-सलिले विहगो भ्रमति/भ्राम्यति सरसि ॥]

ललिता यथा ।

कुसुम-सुअं(गं)धियए मणसिज-दीवणए ।
 प्र(प)मदवणंगणए विलसदि (विचरदि) हंसवहू ॥१३२॥
 [कुसुमसुगन्धिते मनसिजदीपने ।
 प्रमदवनाङ्गणे विलसति (विचरति) हंसवधूः ॥]

पृ. ३१९ मही यथा ।

बहु-कुसुम-सोहिए कमलवण-संडए ।
 सहअ(य)र-सहाइणी परिसरदि हंसिआ ॥१३४॥
 [बहुकुसुमशोभिते कमलवन-षण्डे (= खण्डे)
 सहचरसहायिनी परिसरति हंसिका ॥]

मधुकरसदृशा यथा ।

विविधवणविचारी पमदवणसुअंधी ।
 कुसुम-(कुमुद)वण-विबोधी लसदि (भमदि) सरदि वादो ॥१३६॥
 [विविधवनविचारी प्रमदवनसुगन्धिः ।
 कुमुदवनविबोधी भ्रमति शरदि वातः ॥]

पृ. ३१९ नलिनी यथा ।

पुलिन(ण)तलंगणए कमलि(ल)णिवास(सि)णिआ ।
 पजष हि (? पिययम-) वासगिहं प(वि)अरदि सारसिआ ॥१३८॥
 [पुलिनतलाङ्गणे कमलनिवासिनी ।
 प्रियतमवासगृहं प्र(वि)चरति सारसिका ॥]

पृ. ३२० नदी यथा ।

हंसकुल-सं(?स)मुदिदे सारस-रुद-मुहले ।
 मत्त-महुअर-गणे हिण्डति(दि) महुअरिआ ॥१४०॥
 [हंसकुलसमुदिते सारस-रुत-मुखरे ।
 मत्तमधुकरगणे हिण्डति मधुकरिका ॥]

रुचिरा यथा ।

राहु(हू) पराअ(ग) हदसोहं चंदं णहिण्ण समिऊण (? णहे णिसमिऊण) ।
 तारागणे (णो) विहद-सोहो तेजस्सुएहि रुददिव्व ॥१४३॥

[राहूपरागहतशोभं चन्द्रं नभसि निशम्य (= समीक्ष्य) ।
तारागणो विहतशोभस्तेजोऽश्रुभी रुदतीव ॥]

पृ. ३२० प्रमिता यथा ।

घणगम्भ-गेह-परिक्खित्तो अरुणप्पहापिहिद-सोहा(-सोहो) ।
गअ(य)णंगणेऽपिहिदरस्सि (विहरमाणो)ण विभादि जोणहरहि इन्दू
(? जोणहरहिदेन्दू) ॥१४५॥
[घनगभीगेह-परिक्षित्तोऽरुणप्रभापिहितशोभः ।
गगनाङ्गणेऽपिहितरश्मिः (विहरमाणो)न विभाति ज्योत्स्नारहितेन्दुः ॥]

पृ. ३२०, ३२१ विगतशोका (विशोका) यथा ।

जलह(ध)र विहा(आ?दा)णपिहिअं(दं)गो रविकिरणजालहदसोहो ।
गहमुहविणिग्गअ-विवण्णो असु विसदि अत्थगिरिमिन्दू ॥१४७॥
[जलधरवितानपिहिताञ्जो रविकिरण-जाल-हत-शोभः ।
ग्रहमुखविनिर्गत-विवर्ण असौ विशत्यस्तगिरिमिन्दुः ॥]

पृ. ३२१ विश्लोकः, यथा ।

मेहत्थिओ रविकराभिहदो तारागणेहि विधुरे(विधुरं ?) गमिदो ।
अत्थं उवेदि अरुणाभिहदो चन्दो णहम्मि रअणीसहिओ ॥१४९॥
[मेघस्थितो रविकराभिहतस्तारागणैर्वैधुर्यं गमितः ।
अस्तमुपैत्यरुणाभिहतश्चन्द्रो नभसि रजनीसहितः ॥]

पृ. ३२१ वृत्तं ललितं (ललिता) यथा ।

एसो पमत्त-गअ-दूमिदाणणो दीणो पफुल्ल-वण-वाद-चालिदो ।
वा(पा)साभिबद्ध-चलणो गआणुगो रम्मं(रम्मे)वणं (वणे) गअ(य)वरो
पलाय(अ)दि ॥१५१॥
[एष प्रमत्तगजदूनाननो दीनः प्रफुल्ल-वन-वात-चालितः ।
पाशाभिबद्ध-चरणो गजानुगो रम्ये वने गजवरो पलायते ॥]

पृ. ३२२ मनोवती* यथा ।

घण-संतदायदविदाणमंवरं अवलि(ल)म्बिऊ(ण) रम(अ)णी-मुहे ससी ।
गह-गाह-संकुइद-मंद-जोणहओ ण विराजदे¹ सवदि किं पधाविओ ॥
[घन-संततायत-वितानमम्बरमवलम्ब्य रजनीमुखे शशी ।
ग्रह-गाह-संकुचित-मन्द-ज्योत्स्नको न विराजते सपदि किं प्रधावितः ॥]

* The editor does not assign numbers to the two verses: one, defining the *Dhruvā* (Manovalī) and two, its illustration.

1. U. reads : 'समधिकं पबाधितो' (समधिकं प्रबाधितः ।)

पृ. ३२५ विक्रान्ता यथा ।

एसो मेहो णाणदंतो धूमणिहो
 विज्जुज्जुत्तो धाराएहिं भूमिदलं ।
¹आसिंचन्तो भीमाआरो हत्थिणिहो
 संच्छादन्तो लोआलोअं आवदिदो ॥१६२॥
 [एष मेघो नानदन् धूमनिभो
 विद्युद्युत्तो धाराभिर्भूमितलम् ।
 आसिञ्चन् भीमाकारो हस्तिनिभः
 संच्छादयन् लोकालोकमापतितः ॥]

पृ. ३२५ मदनवती यथा ।

एसो मेहो ना(णा)णदंतो सवइ (अलक) ? अचलणिहो ।
 सदांतो विज्जुज्जोआ (? विज्जुज्जोदो) भमदि दुदं ॥१६४॥
 [एष मेघो नानदन् अचलनिभः ।
 संदारयन् विद्युदचोतो भ्रमति द्रुतम् ॥]

विमलगतिः, यथा ।

एसो अंसं (? अस्सिं) अंसुसहस्सो पवण-सखो ।
 जालालोलो धूमसमिद्धो भमदि वणे ॥
 [एषोऽस्मिन् अंशुसहस्रः पवनसखः ।
 ज्वालालोलो धूमसमिद्धो भ्रमति वने ॥]

पृ. ३२६ भूतलतन्वी यथा ।

पादवसंडं कंपअ(य) माणो पटु(पट्टु)णिणदो
 सेलतडेसुं पक्खलमाणो विसमगदि(दी) ।
 रेणुसमूहं उद्धुयमाणोऽरुणकविलो
 वायदि वादो चंडपवाही गगणदले ॥१६६॥

1. The editor reads the second half differently as follows

जावा(? ला) बद्धो भीमुव्विणो (? भीमविग्गहो) हत्थिणिहो
 विण्णाकआविज्जो (विद्वुद्धणो पीणाअन्तो णादिगओ ॥१६२॥
 [जालाबद्धो भीमविग्रहो हस्तिनिभो विद्युद्वर्णः पीनान्तो नातिगतः (?)]

v. 166 G reads उद्धयमाणो

U reads उद्धुयमाणो (छायाः उन्धुन्वन्)

The editor reads उद्धुअमाणो (छाया : उद्धरमाणो)

[पादप-खंडं (-षण्डं) कम्पयमानो पटुनिनदः
 शैलतटेषु प्रस्खलमानो विषमगतिः ।
 रेणुसमूहमुद्बुन्वन्नरुणकपिलो
 वाति वातो चण्डप्रवाही गगनतले ॥]

पृ. ३२६ सुकुमारा यथा ।

मेहसमूह-णिबद्ध-विदाणं जल-मतिदं(-भरिदं) ।
 सोइ (? ह) इ इंदधणुज्जलमज्झं गगणदलम् ॥१६८॥
 [मेघसमूहनिबद्धवितानं जलभरितम् ।
 शोभत इन्द्रधनुर्ज्ज्वलमध्यं गगनतलम् ॥]

पृ. ३२७ माला यथा ।

असणि-रवाहद-पादव-कूडो धरणिधरो
 पगलिअ-कंदर-निज्झरसानु(नू ? णू) रवो(व) मुहु(ह) लो ।
 विव(वि)ह-विहंगम-सेविअकुंजो जह(? जव-) जलदो
 परहुअ(द)चंपअ (?संचय) गीअ(द) सणाहो हसदिविअ ॥१७०॥
 [अशनिरवाहतपादपकूटो धरणिधरः
 प्रगलित-कंदर-निर्झर-सानू रव-मुखरः ।
 विविध-विहङ्गमसेवितकुञ्जो यत(? जव) जलदः
 परभृत चम्पक-गीत-सनाथो हसतीव ॥]

स्खलितविक्रमा यथा ।

दिवसं सुरसणाहं खे विअ चन्दो कुमुदवणे
 उदिदो दीसदि एसो दप्पणबिंबाकिदिसदिसी(सो) ।
 गहणे (गगणे) मेहविमुक्के सोम्मसहाओ रति-सुहगो
 बहलं विक्खिरमाणो सारदो(द) जोणहं पजदि(वजदि) दुदं ॥१७३॥
 [दिवसं सूर्यसनाथं खे इव चन्द्रःकुमुदवने
 उदितो दृश्यत एष दर्पणबिम्बाकृतिसदृशः ।
 गगने मेघविमुक्ते सौम्यस्वभाव रतिसुभगो
 बहुलं विकिरन् शारद-ज्योत्स्नां व्रजति द्रुतम् ॥]

पृ. ३२८ द्रुतचपला यथा ।

पवणविघ(घु)ण्णिद-पंकज(अ)-कुसुमं सरसि जलं
 कमलिणि-वत्त-पसाहिद-सुभहं (? सुहगं फलिहणिहं) ।
 वलद (? चलिद) तरंग - विदाहि(रि)द कुसुमं (कुमुदं) चलित गद-
 क्खुभिद-विहंग-विकंपिद-मुहलं (मउलं ?) हसदि विअ ॥१७५॥

V. 170 U reads जुद-जलदो (छाया : युतजलदः); and संचय in place of चंपअ(य)

V. 173 U reads बहुलं for बहलं

पृ. ३२८ [पवन-विघूर्णित-पङ्कज-कुसुमं सरसि जलं
कमलिनी-पत्र-प्रसाधित-सुभगं स्फटिकनिभम् ।
चलित-तरङ्ग-विदारित-कुसुमं (कुमुदं) चलित-गत-
क्षुभितविहङ्ग-विकम्पित-मुकुलं हसतीव ॥]

मुखचपला यथा ।

पिअसहिआ इअ (? उअ) गअणदले चपलतर(दर)मुही ।
पविचरदे मद-सुरभिमुही सुरवर-यु(जु) वदी ॥१७७॥
[प्रिय सखि पश्य गगनतले चपलतरमुखी ।
प्रविचरति मद-सुरभि-मुखी सुरवर युवतिः ॥]

आक्षिप्तिका नाम ।

[सप्तदशाक्षरेयम् । मध्यमाधमसाधारण्येन मुनिनोदाहरणं
नास्या दत्तम् । उदाहरणाद्धि विषयसंकोचशङ्का स्यादिति । - अभिनवभारती पृ. ३२९]

पृ. ३३० कनकलता यथा ।

* एसो मेहो सिहरि-नि(णि) हो नी(? णी) लो
धारापातैरतिभयगो(दो)भूमिं ।
(? धारापादेहि अति(इ) भयदो भूमिं ।)
आपूरन्तो पटुतर (? पडुय(द)र-) सन्ना(ण्णा) दो
तोयापुण्णे (ण्णो) गगन(ण)तले(दले) आभादि ॥
[एष मेघः शिखरि-निभो नीलो
धारापातैरतिभयदो भूमिम् ।
आपूरयन् पटुतर सन्नादो
तोयापूर्णे गगनतल आभाति ॥]

पृ. ३३१ कनकलताऽऽक्षिप्तिका यथा ।

एसो गगणदले मेहो
भीमो भयजणणो दिट्ठो ।
भूमिं नवजलधाराहिं
सिंचन्तो भुवणदलं जादि ॥१८३॥
[एष गगनतले मेघो भीमो भयजननो दृष्टः ।
भूमिं नवजलधाराभिः सिञ्चन् भुवनतलं याति ॥]

* This example is found neither in *G* nor in *U*. The example given in *G*. (with an asterisk - p. 33), however, somewhat resembles it.

V. 183 The editor, it would seem, prefers to read the fourth line as

[सिंचेदि य सहि गज्जन्तो]

[सिञ्चयित्वा सखि गर्जन]

Ghosh reads 'सिञ्चयदि सहि गज्जन्तो'. Unni reads 'सिञ्चेदि असहि गज्जन्तो ॥ V. 194 ॥

['सिञ्चति च सखि गर्जन'] 'गज्जन्तो' is obviously wrong, in Prakrit the form would be 'गज्जन्तो'.

शशिलेखा यथा ।

गिरिव(च)रधा(वा)रणरूपं(वं)खुभिदमहणव(स¹हस्सपत्र)णादं ।
 पटु(डु)पवणेण विधूदं भमदि बलाहअ(य)-जूहं॥१८५॥
 [गिरिचरवारणरूपं क्षुभित-महार्णव-नादम् ।
 पटु-पवनेन विधूतं भ्रमति बलाहकयूथम्॥]

अविचालिता यथा ।

शशि (ससि) किरणलम्बहारा उडुगण-क(कि)दावदंसा ।
 गहगणक(कि)दङ्गसोहा जुवदि विअ(य)भादि राई॥१८७॥
 [शशिकिरणलम्बहारा उडुगण-कृतावतंसा ।
 ग्रहगणकृताङ्गशोभा युवतिरिव भाति रात्रिः॥]

पृ. ३३२ मणिगणनिकरकृता बृहती यथा ।

ऋदु(उडु)गण कुसुमवदी गहगण-किदतिलका(आ/या) ।
 रजनि(णि)करमभिमुखी (-मुही)च यदि (वजदि) विअ(य) असु णिसा॥१८९॥
 [उडुगणकुसुमवती ग्रहगणकृततिलका ।
 रजनिकरमभिमुखी व्रजतीवाशु निशा ।]

सिंहाक्रान्ता यथा ।

आकम्पन्तो गगन(ण)दलं विक्खेवन्तो धरणिदलं ।
 विज्जुज्जोदा अवविहवो (? विज्जुज्जोदयविहवो) एसो मेही (हो) पविचरिदो॥१९१॥
 [आकम्पयन् गगनतलं विक्षिपन् धरणितलम् ।
 विद्युद्द्योतोदयविभव एष मेघः प्रविचरितः॥]

सुरदयिता यथा ।

पङ्कअ(ज)सण्डे विमलजले सारस-संघे (केहिं) समएगदो ।
 कुन्द-णिकासो ससिधवलो हंसजुवाणो परिभमिदो॥१९४॥
 [पङ्कजखण्डे (षण्डे) विमलजले सारसकैः समनुगतः ।
 कुन्दनिकाशः शशिधवलो हंसयुवा परिभ्रमितः॥]

पृ. ३३२-३३३ कुमुदिनी यथा ।

वाजन्तो (वासन्तो) कुसुम-समुदितो वाद(स)न्तो कुसुमसुरहिणो ।
 सोसन्तो पिअ(य)रहित(द)जणं संपत्तो असु णवझ(स)रदो॥१९६॥
 [वीजयन्ती (वासयन्ती ?) कुसुमसमुदिता वासयन्ती कुसुमसुरभिः ।
 शोषयन्ती प्रियरहितजनं संप्राप्ताऽऽशु (? ऽसौ) नवशरदः॥]

दोधकं यथा ।

एस समुण्णअमच्च (समुण्णयमम्बरके) मेह-रवं सुणिऊण गओ (गजो) ।
 रोसवसेण समुज्जलियो हिंडदि काणणए कुविदो ॥१९८॥
 [एष समुन्नतमम्बरे मेघरवं श्रुत्वा गजः ।
 रोषवशेन समुज्ज्वलितो हिण्डति कानने कुपितः ॥]

उद्धता (पङ्क्तिः) यथा ।

अब्भं अम्बुधरेहि (-हरेहि)पिणद्धं विज्जुज्जोअ(य) खणंतरदीवं ।
 वादाधुण्णिद-कंपिद-दन्तं उप्पा(म्मा)देदिव हत्थिसमूहं ॥२००॥
 [अब्भमम्बुधरैः पिणद्धं विद्युद्योगक्षणान्तरदीपम् ।
 वाताधूर्णितकम्पितदन्तमुन्माद्यतीव हस्तिसमूहम् ॥]

पृ. ३३३ पङ्क्तिरथा यथा ।

मेहसमूहं पीणबलाकं विज्जू(ज्जू) प^१लि(ली)कं(वं) पेक्खिअ एसो ।
 उद्धित(द)रोसो भीमणिणादो धावदि हत्थी रु^२क्ख-वणम्मि ॥२०२॥
 [मेघसमूहं पीनबलाकं विद्युत्प्रदीपं प्रेक्ष्य एषः ।
 उथितरोषो भीमनिनादो धावति हस्ती रूक्ष (? वृक्ष) वने ॥]

पृ. ३३४ विपुलभुजा यथा ।

जलहर-णाद-समुव्विग्गो पगलित(द) गण्डु (? गण्ड) महाणादो ।
 वणगहणं कुविदो हत्थी सरभस-गव्विदकं (गं) याति (? जादि) ॥२०४॥
 [जलधरनाद-समुद्विग्गः प्रगलित-गण्ड-महानादः ।
 वनगहनं कुपितो हस्ती सरभस-गर्वितकं याति ॥]

(चपलगतिर) यथा ।

एदे खिदिधरवरसदिसा भीमा पडुपडहसमरवा ।
 नीलासिद-खग-किद-रसणा मेहा णहदलमभिपडिदा ॥२०७॥
 [एते क्षितिधरवरसदृशा भीमाः पटुपटहसमरवाः ।
 नीलासितखगकृतरशना मेघा नभस्तलमभि पतिताः ॥]

(कमलदलाक्षी) यथा ।

परिधुणमाणो किरणपडं अभिरुहमाणो उदअ(य)गिरि ।
 उडुगणबन्धु कुमुदसहो उदयति(दि) चन्दो गगन(ण)दले ॥२०९॥
 [परिधुन्वानः किरणपटमभिरोहमाण उदयगिरिम् ।
 उडुगणबन्धुः कुमुदसख उदयति चन्द्रो गगनतले ॥]

पृ. ३३५ (द्वुतपादगतिर) यथा ।

गणगतलं (-दलं)गणहिंडणओ किरणसहस्सविहूसिदओ ।
 वि^१हुणिअ(य) मेहपडं तमसू विसइ ससी गअ(य)णे विदुअं^२ ॥२११॥

[गगनतलाङ्गणहिण्डनकः किरणसहस्रविभूषितः ।

विधूनित-मेघपटं (विधूयमेघपटं) तमस्सु विशति शशी गगने विद्रुतम्]

पृ. ३३५ (मुखचपला) यथा ।

कुसुमसुअन्धी सुअ(? सुह) पवणो विचरदि रम्मे णलिणिवने(णे) ।

तरुवरलासे पमदवणे बहुकुसुमेऽस्मिं णवसरदे ॥२११-आ॥

[कुसुमसुगन्धी सुखपवनो विचरति रम्ये नलिनीवने ।

तरुवरलास्ये प्रमदवने बहुकुसुमेऽस्मिन् नवशरदि ॥]

विमला यथा ।

कुसुमाकिण्णे णिम्मलसलिले णलिणीसंडे छप्पदमुहले ।

स बहूमज्जे सारसमुदिते समदोहत्थी सोम(एष(?एस) विचरिदो ॥२१३॥

[कुसुमाकीर्णे निर्मलसलिले नलिनी-खण्डे(षण्डे) षट्पदमुखरे ।

स वधूमध्ये सारसमुदिते समदो हस्ती एष विचरितः ॥]

रुचिरा यथा ।

मेहविदाणं अवधुणमाणो कम्पअ(य)माणो सगअ(ल)वणाइं ।

तोअ(य)समूहं अवकिरमाणो वाअ(य)दि वादो कुविद इवासू (?सु) ॥२१५॥

[मेघवितानमवधूनयमानः (- मवधूयमानः) कम्पयमानः सकलवनानि ।

तोयसमूहमवकिरमाणो वाति वातः कुपितइवाशु (? इवासौ) ॥]

पृ. ३३६ (अपरवक्त्रम् यथा) ।

गिरितडविवरे विघुण्णिदो असणिघन(ण) रवेण कम्पअं (कम्पिदो) ।

अभिपददि दुदं महीदलं पटुतर(? पडुयर) णिणा(ण)दो महारवो (? महाघणो) ॥२१७॥

[गिरितटविवरे विघूर्णितोऽशनिघनरवेण कम्पयन् (कम्पितः) ।

अभिपतति द्रुतं महीतलं पटुतरनिनदो महारवः (महाघनः) ॥]

(कमललोचना) यथा ।

दिअ¹(ज)गण-मुनि(णि)गण-विव(णव) [? वंङ्कि²अतेओ (? व²न्दिदतेजो)

पविततकिरणसहस्सपिणद्धो ।

विधुणिअ(य)तिमिरपडं जगदीवो

उदयदि गगणदले असु (ए³स) सूरो ॥२१९॥

[द्विजगण मुनिगण वर्धिततेजाः (वन्दिदतेजाः)

प्रविततकिरणसहस्रपिनद्धः ।

विधूनित (विधूय) तिमिरपटं जगदीप

उदयति गगनतले आशु (एष) सूर्यः ॥]

पृ. ३३७ (अतिचपला) यथा ।

विधुणिअ(य) जलधरमसिदपडं
 दिअ(ज)वर-मुनि(णि)वर परिपडि(ढि)दो ।
 उदयगिरिसिहर-तटमुकुटे (? तड-मउले)
 विचरदि गगण-तळमसु (? दलमसु) रवी ॥२२१॥
 [विधूय जलधरमसितपटं
 द्विजगण-मुनिवरपरिपठितः ।
 उदयगिरिशिखरतटमुकुटे
 विचरति गगनतलमसौ रविः ॥]

(मदकलिता) यथा ।

गगन(ण)त(द)लंगणमभिरूहमाणो रजत(द)महागिरिसिहरसरूवो ।
 रजत(द)मओ विअ(य) पिअकलसोसू पिअ¹(य)कुमुदोऽसू पविचारदो विअ(य)
 [दिहि]णिखि(सि) चन्दो ॥२२३॥
 [गगनतलाङ्गणमभिरोहन् रजतमहागिरिशिखरसरूपः ।
 रजतमय इव प्रिय-कलशोऽसौ (? कुमुदोऽसौ) प्रविचरितो वियति हि निशि चन्द्रः ॥]

पृ. ३३८ प्रतिष्ठा यथा ।

मेहरवं णवसरदे ।
 णिसमिअ(य)कुद्धो भवइ गअ(य)वरो ॥२२६॥
 [मेघरवं नवशरदि निशम्य कुद्धो भवति गजवरः ।]

पृ. ३३९ सुप्रतिष्ठा यथा ।

विज्जुकसाहि अभिहतं(यं)व ।
 रुददि व गगअं(णं)पसमिअ(य)गहतारं ॥२२७॥
 [विद्युत्कशाभिरभिहतमिव ।
 रुदतीव गगनं प्रशमितग्रहतारम् ॥]

गायत्री

मेघ-रवधातुकर (-रवाउं ? रवा²उलं) नट्ठ-गु(ग)हचन्दअं सकरं ।
 रुददि किअ (किल) (विअ) गहदलं ॥२२८॥
 [मेघरवातुरं (? रवाकुलं) नष्टग्रहचन्द्रकं (= - चन्द्रं) सकलम् ।
 रुदति किल(इव) नभस्तलम् (= नभः) ॥]

पृ. ३३९ उष्णिक् ।

पु(फु)ल्लिअ(य)तरुसण्डे सुरभि(हि)पवणहदे ।
 विअ(य)रदि पमदवणे हंसो सहअ(य)रिपरिवुदो ॥२२९॥

[फुल्लतरुषण्डे(-खण्डे) सुरभिपवनहते ।
विचरति प्रमदवने हंसः सहचरीपरिवृतः ॥]

अनुष्टुप् ।

तारा-बन्धव-सणाहो विक्खिरमाणो मेहपडं ।
किरणसहस्सविहूसिदी(दो)उदयदि एसो रअणिअ(य)रो ॥२३१॥

[ताराबन्धव(बान्धव) सनाधो(थो)विकिरन् मेघपटम् ।
किरणसहस्रविभूषित उदयत्येष रजनिकरः ॥]

बृहती ।

* एसो सुमेरुवण-त(क)(य)म्मि (दिअ(ज)-देव-सिद्ध-परिगीदो ।
सुरहि-सुअं(गं)ध-वणचारी पविचरदि¹वि(?)णहंगणदूतवातो(?) ॥२३२॥
[एष सुमेरु-वनकम्पी (? वने) दिवि (? द्विज) - देव-सिद्ध परिगीतः ।
सुरभिसुगन्धवनचारी प्रविचरतीव नभोऽङ्गणदूतवातः(?) ॥]

पृ. ३४० पङ्क्तिः ।

पादप(व)सण्डं कम्पअमाणो सुरहि सुअ(ग)न्ध सुवासिदओ ।
उपवणतरुगणलासगओ विअरति (? विचरदि) वरतणु वणपवणो ॥२३३॥
[पादप-षण्डं (- खण्डं) कम्पयमानः सुरभि-सुगन्ध-सुवासितकः ।
उपवन-तरुगण-लासको विचरति वरतनु वनपवनः ॥]

त्रिष्टुप् ।

कुमुदवन(ण)स्स विहूसणओ विधुणिअ(य) तिमिरपडं गगणे ।
उदअ(य)गिरिसिहरमहिरुहन्तो रअणिकरो उदयदि विमलकरो ॥२३४॥
[कुमुदवनस्य विभूषणो विधूनित(विधूय) तिमिरपटं गगने ।
उदयगिरिशिखरमधिरोहन् रजनिकर उदयति विमलकरः ॥]

पृ. ३४० जगती ।

दिअ(य)वर-मुनि(णि)गण-संवुदओ(सं¹थुदओ ?) तविअ(द) सु²वण्णपिण्ड समदेहओ ।
ग³गणदलंगणमभिरुहमाणो विअरदि (विचरदि) एस दिवसकरो ॥२३५॥
[द्विजवर-मुनिगण-संवृतक (संस्तुतक ?)स्तप्तसुवर्णपिण्ड-समदेहः ।
गगन-तलाङ्गणमधिरोहन् विचरति एष दिवसकरः ॥]

* V. 232 The text and its Sanskrit *chāyā* are both unsatisfactory especially because the text is quite corrupt.

G. reads: अदिसुरभिगन्धवणचारी पविचरदि विहंगमजुवाओ । - p. 118, v. no. 267

U. reads: एसो सुमेरुवणयम्मि---अभिसुरभिगन्धवणचारि पविचरदि विहगमजुवाको ॥ p. 948, v. no. 243

V. 235 1. G. V. 279 सथुदओ 2 G. कणयवर संणिभदेहो 3 G. दुदमिह णहदल० पविचरदि सपदि एसो

पृ. ३४६ (श्येनी) यथा ।

सागरं समुधु(द्धु)णंतो रप(व) इव लघुगदिरभिभवदि
पव्वदा समाहणंतो तरुसुच जणअ(य)दि भयमतुलं ।
रेणुजालमुक्खिवन्तो दिवसकरकिरणो [ण उप(व)कलितो (दो)]
बोधअं (यं) पजासु कामं विचरदि वरतनु(णु) सुहपवणो ॥२५६॥

पृ. ३४७ [सागरं समुद्धुन्वन् रवइव लघुगतिरभिभवति
पर्वतान् समाघ्नन् तरुषु च जनयति भयमतुलम् ।
रेणुजालमुत्क्षिपन् दिवसकरकिरणोपकलितो
बोधयन् प्रजासु कामं विचरति वरतनु सुखपवनः ॥]

(चपला) यथा ।

मुनि(णि)गण मण्डवि(लि)बन्धि(वन्दि)दओ(ते)जो विधुणिअ(य)तिमिरपडं
कमलवणाइं विबोधि(ध)अ(य)माणो गहगणपरिगण(णि)दो ।
भु^१जग सहस्सविबन्धिदपासो (? पादो) वितवित(द)कणकवपू
उदअ(य)दि संपदि ताविदलोओ वरतनु(णु) दिवसकरो ॥२५८॥
[मुनिगणमण्डलि(ली)वन्दित-तेजा विधूय तिमिरपटं
कमलवनानि विबोधयमानो ग्रहगण-परिगणितः ।
भुजगसहस्र^१विबन्धितपाश्वो विद्योतित (? वि(सु)तप्तकनकवपुः
उदयति सम्प्रति तापितलोको वरतनु दिवसकरः ॥]

पृ. ३४७ (क्रौञ्चा) यथा ।

एसो चन्दो णिम्मलजोणहा(ण्हो)विधुणिअ (य) घणमसिदपट(ड)णिहं
लोकानन्दो लोकपदीवो उडुगणगहप्प(ग)ण-समणुगदो ।
वा(पा)सादाणं कारअ(य)माणो सित(द)पड-णिवसन(ण)मिव विपु(? उ)लं
लोकालोकं रञ्जअ(य)माणो विचरदि वरतणु गगणमसू ॥२६०॥
[एष चन्द्रो निर्मलज्योत्सो विधूय घनमसितपटनिभं
लोकानन्दो लोकप्रदीप उडुगणग्रहगणसमनुगतः ।
प्रासादानां कारयमाणः सितपटनिवसनमिव विपुलं
लोकालोकं रञ्जयमाणो विचरति वरतनु गगनमाशु (? - मसौ) ॥

पृ. ३४८ (पुष्पसमृद्धा) यथा ।

पुष्पविदाणं उद्गुणमाणो रव^१ इव पटुतर(? दुदगदि)गतिरभिपत(ड)ति(दि)
 पक्खलमाणो^२ मेह(?सेल)तडेसुं तरुसु च जणयदि भयमतुलं ।
 उम्मिसहस्सं उद्गुणमाणो स^३रसखुभिदसलिलकलकलो
 भीमणिणादो चण्डपवाही विअ(च)रदि वरतणु सु^४ह-पवणो ॥२६२॥
 [पुष्पवितानमुद्गुणयमानः (-मु दधुन्वन्) रव इव पटुगति (द्रुतगति) रभिपतति
 प्रस्खलमानो मेघ(शैल)तटेषु तरुषु च जनयति भयमतुलम् ।
 ऊर्मिसहस्रमुद्गुणयमानः (-मुद्गुन्वन्) सरसक्षुभितसलिलकलकलो
 भीमनिनादश्चण्डप्रवाही विचरति वरतनु सुखपवनः ॥]

(संभ्रान्ता) यथा ।

किरणसहस्सं विक्खिरमाणो फलि(दि)ह(क)(? फलिह-)मणि-रुचिर-धवलणिहो
 कुमुदवणाइं बोहअ(य) माणो कुमुदनिअ(य)र-सदिस-वपू
 ग्रहणणबन्धू लोक(य)पदीवो उडुगणगहणण-समणुगदो
 उदयदि चन्दो रोहिणिकन्तो णवस^१रद(दि)मुदितसुख(ह) जणणो ॥२६४॥

[किरणसहस्रं विकिरन् स्फटिकमणिरुचिरधवलनिभः
 कुमुदवनानि बोधयमानः कुमुददलनिकरसदृशवपुः ।
 ग्रहणणबन्धुलोकप्रदीप उडुगणग्रहणणसमनुगत
 उदयति चन्द्रो रोहिणीकान्तो नवशरदि मुदितसुखजननः ॥]

पृ. ३४८-पृ. ३४९ स्खलितं... यथा

* वात(द)समुद्गत(द) वीचितरङ्गो फडिअ(फलह ?)मणि-णिकर-[रुचिर?सदिस] जलो
 वीचि परम्पर-घोर-णिणादो (पटु (?) पडु) पवण-लुलिद-विहग-कुलो ।
 मीणकुलाकुलभीमतरङ्गो खुभिद-घण-णिवह-सदिस-रवो
 तुङ्ग-महीधर-माण-णिरुद्धो रुसिदो इव सपदि सलिल-णिधि(णिही) ॥२६७॥
 [वात-समुद्गतवीचितरङ्गः स्फटिकमणिनिकर [रुचिर? सदृश-]जलो
 वीचिपरम्पर घोरनिनादः पटुपवनलुलितविहगकुलः ।
 मीनकुलाकुलभीमतरङ्गः क्षुभितघननिवहसदृशरव-
 स्तुङ्गमहीधरमाननिरुद्धो रुषितइव सपदि सलिलनिधिः ॥]

V. 262 G. V. no. 309 1. रथ इव दुदगदि अभिपदिदो 2. सेलतडेसुं 3. सरसि खुभिद० 4. वणपवणो

V. 264 G. V. 311 सरदि कुमुदिगणसुहदो

*The example of *Skhalitam* (*Skhalita*) Dhruvā which, according to Bharata, should have been in Śaurasenī Prakrit, is given here in Sanskrit ! The text and its Sanskrit *chāyā* are identical !!! Very Strange indeed ! See, however, G. p. 123 V. no. 316 and U. p. 959 V. no. 279.

मत्तक्रीडा (विद्युन्माला) यथा ।

एसो मेहो सेलाभोगो(ओ) असणि-मुरज-पटु(डु)-पट(ड)ह-[रव]समरवो
 गाणाविज्जुज्जोआलोओ घण-पडल-निचय-जलधर-समणुगदो ।
 गाणाष(व)ण्णो तोउगारी चरित(द)द(ध)वल-खग-विचरित(द)-कुमु(?सु)म-पभो
 संजा(च्छा)अ(य)न्तो लोअं(यं)याते(तो)गिरिरिव [चल] गिरिणिवह इव सुभसलिलो
 (? तणुलदे) ॥२६९॥

पृ. ३५० [एष मेघः शैलाभोगोऽशानि-मुरज-पटु-पटह-रव-समरवो
 नानाविद्युद्योगालोको घनपटलनिचयजलधर-समनुगतः ।
 नानावर्ण स्तोयोद्गारीचरितधवलखगविचरितकुसुमप्रभः
 संच्छादयन् लोकं यातो गिरिरिव चलगिरिनिवह इव तनुलते ॥]

वेगवती यथा ।

गगनतलंगणमभिरुहमाणो उडुगणगहगण समणुगदो
 यु(जु)वति(इ) जणाणं [? जणाणत] सुरुचित (? र) रूवो सुखितदयितजणमदणकरो ।
 किरणसहस्र वि(दि) (?) सु विरचितबन्धो(न्धो) रजत(द)गिरिसिहर-सदिस-वपू
 उदअ(य)दि संपदि असु जगदीवो कुमुदवणरुचिरविमलकरो ॥२७१॥
 [गगनतलाङ्गणमभिरोहनुडुगणग्रहगणसमनुगतो
 युवतिजनानतसुरुचिररूपः सुखितदयितजनमदनकरः ।
 किरणसहस्र सुविरचितबन्धो रजतगिरिशिखरसदृशवपु-
 रुदयति संप्रत्यसौ जगदीपःकुमुदवनरुचिरविमलकरः ॥]

पृ. ३५१ (नर्कुटं... रथोत्तरं) यथा ।

एसिका कमलगब्भगेहेके रेणुपिञ्जरित(द) चारु-गति (? ति) या(आ) ।
 सारदे मदकलोपकूजिदा हिण्डदे सरवरम्मि छप्पदी ॥२७६॥
 [एषका(=एषा)कमलगर्भ-गेहेके(-गेहे) रेणुपिञ्जरित-चारु-गात्री ।
 शारदे मदकलोपकूजिता हिण्डति सरोवरे षट्पदी ॥]

(बुदबुदकं) यथा ।

तडिगुणबन्ध-णिद्धओ(अद्धो) (? णिबद्धो) सिदखगपंति-सोहिदो ।
 णहसि गजो समुगओ विचरदि एस मे हओ ॥२७८॥
 [तडिद् गुणबन्धनिबद्धो सितखगपङ्क्ति शोभितः ।
 नभसि गजः समुद्गतो विचरति एष मेघकः (= मेघः) ॥]

पृ. ३५२ * चिरकालमभिसम्भ्रन्त (न्तं) पिअं गाणत्त मुहिदं ण रोद्धं
 मुदिमाणत्तडिदिदो काणणे घणे परिखेदिदे बहुविधे हि अणुगो वासराहरो ।
 तरुसन्धुवज्जुहिअए संचसि(लि) ओ भीदभीदओ
 असु कोध(ड ?)रं विसरइ (सइ) पासवा(पा)दवेच्छ दीणदीणओ ॥
 [चिरकालमभिसम्भ्रन्तं प्रियगानान् मुदितं न रोद्धुं
 मोदमानायां तडितीतः कानने घने परिखेदिदे बहुविधे ह्यनुगो वासराहः ।
 तरुसन्धुवनं दृष्ट्वैतच्चषको भीतभीतक
 आशु कोटरं विशति पार्श्वपादपस्थो दीनदीनकः ॥]

उद्धतं यथा ।

वणखण्डं [-ण्डकं] जहदि कोसिको वायसाहदो
 भयभीदओ अवदि (भजदि) पादपं(वं)दीणदीणओ ।
 तरुकोट(ड)रंवसदि संपदं लोलणेत्तओ
 समभिद्व(द्दु)दो णिसिअ(य) रो अअं एदि सोहिदो ॥२८१॥
 [वनखण्डकं जहाति कौशिको वायसाहतो
 भयभीतको भजति पादपं दीनदीनकः ।
 तरुकोटरं वसति साम्प्रतं लोलनेत्रकः
 समभिद्वतो निशिचरोऽयमेति शोधितः ॥]

पृ. ३५३ (वंशपत्रकम्) यथा ।

चूदवणं पफुल्ल-तिलकं कुरवअ(य)सहिअं(यं)
 चारु-असोअ(य)सालकलितं कुसुम-समुदिदं ।
 माधवकाणणं जुवदिआ [जण]मद-जणणं
 हिण्डति(दि) कोकिला फलरसासवमधुरवा ॥२८३॥
 [चूतवनं प्रफुल्ल-तिलकं कुरवकसहितं
 चार्वशोक-साल-कलितं कुसुम-समुदितम् ।
 माधव-काननं युवति-जन-मद-जननं
 हिण्डति कोकिला फल-रसासवमधुरवा ॥]

(प्रमिताक्षरा) यथा ।

कमलाअरेसु भमिरु(ऊ)ण बुडं (? चिरं)
 भमरीमुहासव-सुकक्खणओ (? पिवासुअओ) ।
 मधुभूसिंद सुरहि चूदवणं
 परिहिण्डिदो सुतणु छप्पदओ ॥२८५॥

* This verse, as given here, is very corrupt and therefore obscure. G. (p. 125 V. no. 327) gives the text which hardly agrees with the text as presented above in Vadodara edn. U completely leaves out the preceding prose अन्ये तु । and the alternative definition of बुदबुदकम् along with the example given above.

[कमलाकरेषु भ्रान्त्वा चिरं
भ्रमरीमुखासवपिपासुः ।
मधुभूषितं सुरभि चूतवनं
परिहिण्डितः सुतनु षट्पदः ॥]

पृ. ३५४ (ध्वजिनी) यथा ।

विलसन्तिअ(या) [विलसन्ती या ?] कमलष(स)ण्डे पुष्फसुअ(ग)न्धके(ए) कुसुमलुब्धा ।
तुरिअं(यं) पपीतमधुमत्ता छप्पदिका(या)कुलं समुपयाति(दि) ॥२८७॥
[विलसन्ती या कमल-षण्डे(खण्डे) पुष्पसुगन्धके कुसुमलुब्धा ।
त्वरितं प्रपीतमधुमत्ता षट्पदिका कुलं समुपयाति ॥]

(हंसास्यम्) यथा ।

* दिअ-हंसा वसन्ते सलिलासए
कुसुमासादलुब्धा कमलाअरे ।
णलिणीपत्तमज्जे परिहिण्डिता
गमणाआसखिण्णा भमरावली ॥

* [दिव्य-हंसा (द्विज-हंसा ?) वसन्ते सलिलाशये कुसुमास्वादलुब्धा कमलाकरे ।
नलिनीपत्रमध्ये परिहिण्डिता गमनायासखिन्ना भ्रमरावली ॥]

पृ. ३५५ (तोटकम्) यथा ।

रमणी-सहिदो रअ(ज)णीविरमे
गगणंगणए खगकोसिअ(ग)ओ ।
अनु(णु)वायसएहि विघट्टिदओ
परिमण्टदिकोट(ड)रअं सुरि(हि)दम् [तु^१रिदं] ॥२८९॥
[रमणीसहितो रजनीविरमे गगनाङ्गणे खग-कौशिकः ।
अनुवायसैर्हि(? अनुवायसै) विघट्टितः परिमण्टति कोटरंसुहितम् (सुखितम्) [त्वरितम्]
॥२८९॥

* Note : The definition of Hamsāsyaṃ, the text of the verse 'Dia-hamsa... etc.' [along with its *chāyā*] are *through oversight* reprinted on the next page (355). The *chāyā* is here transferred from p. 355.

* Note : First six lines of the text (p. 355) are inadvertently repeated and reprinted here on p. 355. They must be dropped altogether from this page.

The next two lines, which are nothing but Sanskrit *chāyā* of the Prakrit verse *dia-hamsā vasante*, etc., are transferred to the previous page (354)- just below this Prakrit verse - their proper place. Now, the *kārikā* "*etāstujātayah*" etc., which bears the consecutive no. 292 will have to be numbered as 290 - since the preceding two verses bearing nos. 290 and 291 are dropped. Consequently, the text of the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* will follow just below verse no 290.

G. (p. 128, V. no. 346) ^१तुरिदं

पृ. ३५६ (आमोदम् = प्रमोदकम्) यथा ।

माहवमाससोहित(द)समगके उववणम्मि फुल्लकुसुमे
 णिच्च(प)मत्त-जुत्त(जुट्ट)-बहुपक्खि-संघ-परिबुद्ध(घुट्ट)णाद-मुहले ।
 फल्लिदचूदसण्ड-सहआर-मञ्जरि-विलोल-णाद-पवणे
 हिण्डदि छप्पदानु(णु)गद-मग्गओ परहुदो (नि-णि)विट्ठ-वअणो ॥२९४॥
 [माधवमासशोभित समग्रक उपवने फुल्लकुसुमे
 नित्यप्रमत्तजुष्टबहुपक्षिसङ्घपरिघुष्टनादमुखरे ।
 फलितचूतषण्ड(खण्ड)सहकारमञ्जरीविलोलनादपवने
 हिण्डति षट्पदानुगतमार्गकः परिभृन्निविष्टवदनः ॥]

(भाविनी=भाविकम्) यथा ।

जातिफुल्लपाणमत्तओ चूदरेणुगुण्ठि-दग्गओ(दंगओ) ।
 फुल्लपङ्कउ(जो)व्व(व)सोहिदो छप्पओ मुदं (? दुदं) पधाविदो ॥२९६॥
 [जातिपुष्पपानमत्तश्चूतरेणुगुण्ठिताङ्गः ।
 फुल्लपङ्कजोपशोभितः षट्पदो मुदं (दुदं) प्रधावितः ॥]

पृ. ३५७ (मत्तचेष्टितम्) यथा ।

पफुल्लपुष्प(प्फ)पादवं विहङ्गमोप(व)सोहिदं ।
 वणं पगीदछप्पदं उवेइ एस कोकिला (? कोकिलो) [? कोइलो] ॥२९८॥
 [प्रफुल्लपुष्पपादपं विहङ्गमोपशोभितम् ।
 वनं प्रगीतषट्पदमुपैत्येष कोकिलः ॥]

* Note : I record here my thanks to Dr. M. L. Wadekar, Officiating Director and Dr. Siddharth Y. Wakankar, Dy. Director, Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Vadodara for providing me a copy of Śrī Manomohan Ghosh's article : "Prakrit Verses in the Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra", pub. in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, 1932 and a copy of Dr. V. Raghavan's paper : "Music In Ancient Indian Drama" pub. in the *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, XXV, pp.

These are the corrections to the article in the Bicentenary volume referred to at the beginning of this article (P. 147).

Please read -

P. 81 v. no. 66 - read गर्जन्तो.. मुखन्तः

P. 81 v. no. 70 - read पवणहदो

P. 82 v. no. 123 - read पडी (? तडी)

read पटी (? तटी)

P. 82 v. no. 143 - read चंदं गहे णिसमिऊण

चन्द्रं नभसि निशाम्य (= समीक्ष्य)

P. 82 v. no. 164 - read णाणदंतो

read संदारंतो विञ्जुज्जोआ (? ओ) भमदि दुदं

read संदारयन् विद्युद्द्योतो

79-92. I am thankful to Dr. Tapasvi S. Nandi, formerly Professor of Sanskrit and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad for sending me a copy each of Chapter XXXII on *Dhruvās* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* translated for the first time by Śrī Manomohan Ghosh, pub. by the Asiatic Society Calcutta, 1961 (pp. 106-160) and *Nāṭyaśāstra* Vol. III ed. by Dr. N. P. Unni, pub. by Nag Publishers, Delhi - 110 007. I must also thank both these editors whose editions, (here indicated by *G* and *U*) I have consulted profitably.

Source Material on the Earlier Delhi Sultanate Period

(CE 1206 to 1290)

N. N. Patel

In spite of the researches that are on, on a large scale, it transpires after reading Prof. A. B. M. Habibullah of Dacca University on the early Sultanate period that there is a dearth of English versions of the original works.

The original materials suggested by Prof. A. B. M. Habibullah for the history of a) Central Asia, b) the subsequent invasions on India and the ultimate foundation of the Muslim Empire in India by the Shansabani dynasty of Ghor (preceded by the predatory Ghaznavid rule) till CE 1290 are as given below. The details as regards the name of the work, the author thereof, its period and its intrinsic worth are given in the tables below in a concise form.

Table I

Sr. No.	Title of the Source	Name of the Author	When written or compiled	Explanatory Remarks
1)	Kamilut-Tawarikh	Sheikh Abul Hasan b. Abul Karam as Shebani, alias Ibnul Asir from Mesopotamia	628 H. CE 1230	His accounts of Indian affairs are based on hearsay. His accounts on non-Indian affairs are good history
2)	Rahatus-Sudur	Najmuddin Abu Baker Muhammad b. Ali ar-Rawandi from Iraq		A valuable work on the later Selluks of Iraq
3)	Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha-i-Juwaini	Ata Malik Juwaini. He held a high administrative post in Baghdad under Hulaku, the Mongol	650 H CE 1260	It is a valuable history of Central Asia in the first half of the 13th century CE. This work is

ruler. He had thus access to Mongol official documents. He was pro-Mongol and, therefore, wrote to commemorate the reign of Mongu Khan.

the first detailed and authentic account of the Mongol conquests in western Asia. His accounts on India relate to either the Shansabanis or the Khwarizmi Prince, Jalaluddin.

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|----|------------------------------|--|---|---|
| 4) | Sirat-i-Jalaluddin Mangbarni | Nuruddin Mohammed Zaidari al-Nessa | 638 H
CE 1240 | He was a friend and companion of the fugitive Khwarizmi Prince Jalaluddin. The work is extremely biased in favour of his friend. This work has valuable details on Jalaluddin's activity in India. |
| 5) | Nizamut-Tawarikh | Abu Said Abdullah b. Abul Hasan al-Baizawi, the celebrated commentator of the Quran. | 674 H.
CE 1294 | Its extremely brief accounts of the Ghorides and the Sultans of Delhi based on rumours and tales are largely inaccurate. |
| 6) | Tarikh-i-Wassaf | Abdullah b. Fazlullah Shirazi | between 698 H to 728 H
between CE 1300 to 1328 | It continues the narration of Juwaini (Sr. No. 3 above) on the Mongols and begins with the later years of Mongu Khan's reign. This work throws light on Mongol activities on the Indian frontiers. It furnishes valuable information in |

respect of Mahmud govt. with Mongu Khan, supporting the Official Chronicle of Delhi. It is an unreliable account on the Sultans of Delhi. His account from the Khaljis onwards is tolerably free from errors.

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|----------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|--|
| 7) Jamiut-Tawarikh | Rashiduddin | CE 1310 | This work is valuable for contemporary history of Central Asia. Its account of the rulers of Delhi is not very dependable. |
| 8) Tarikh-i-Binagiti | Abdul Fazal b. Muhammad al-Binagiti | CE 1317 | This work is the general history of the world. It is not of any material help. |
| 9) Tarikh-i-Guzidah | Hamdullah Mustaufi Qazwini | CE 1329 | It is one of the best general histories of the East. It gives an accurate account of the Ghaznavis Shansabanis and Sultans of Delhi. On Ghorides it supplies interesting details. In respect of facts and dates on Ghaznavis and Shansabanis the work is merely corroborative. |

10) Mujmal-i-Fasihi	Fasihuddin Ahmad b. Muhammad Fasihi-al-Khafi	Middle of 15th century	This work is a chronological compendium of prominent events.
11) Rauzatus Safa	Mir Khvend	CE 1458	
12) Habibus Siyar	Khwand Amir	CE 1528	
13) Khulasatul-Akbbar	Khwand Amir	CE 1528	
14) Tarikh-i-Alfi	Compiled by a Board of Editors under the direction of Akbar brought down to 1632 CE, the thousandth year from death of the Prophet		This work is mainly concerned with Central Asia and it deals with the Sultan of Delhi only casually.
15) A historical account of the city of Herat	b. Muhammad b. Yaqub al-Harawi	Between CE 1388 and 1322	This work supplies valuable details respecting Mongol operations on the Indian borders in the 13th century
16) Rayzatul Jannat	Muinuddin al-Zamchi al-Isfizari	Late 15th century	Taking the work Herat of al-Harawi as its base, this work gives an extended account of Herat up to late 15th century

The historical works detailed above at Sr. No. 1 to 16 are only of supplementary value on Indian affairs, their main locales being anywhere from Mesopotamia to Central Asia. Our chief original literary sources are very few in number and those are as follows.

Table II

1) Tajul-Maasir	Hasan-Nizami	CE 1192 CE 1228	This work is unique because it gives its minimum in a correct way and also because its author came to India soon after the conquest of Delhi and commenced his work early in the reign of Aibak. The copy is the best one. Moreover the copy in the possession of Nawab Ziauddin of Lahora alone contains the history of the last portion by the author for the period CE 1217 to 1228.
2) Fakhre Mudabbir Discovered and edited by Denison Ross	Fakhruddin Mubarkshah		Particularly the introduction of this work is valuable for the early history of the conquests of the Muslims in India. The author of this work who first was associated with the court of Ghazni and later of Delhi, wrote another history of the Ghorides in verse. Though mentioned by Minhaj-Siraj, it is not extant.

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|----------------------------|--|---|
| 3) Adabul Harb was-Shujaat | Fakhruddin Mubarakshah | This work dedicated to Iltutmish and preserved in several collections gives useful details about the government and military organization of the newly established kingdom of Delhi. |
| 4) Tawamiul-Nuruddia | c. CE 1227 | This famous collection of stories dedicated to Nizamul Mulk Junaidi, the Wazir of Iltutmish contains in its preface details of the military operations which Iltutmish conducted against Qubacshah in CE 1227. The author was an eye witness to these operations. |
| 5) Tabaqat-i-Nasiri | Minhajuddin Abu Umar bin Sirajuddin al Juziani | Completed in CE 1260 This work is a first hand account of the Shansabanis' conquest of India. The author is a contemporary as well as a participant in some of the events narrated in this work. On account of this, this work suffers from personal prejudice. He is biased towards the Ghorides and the |

dynasty of Iltutmish and has concealed facts that are damaging to his patrons Ulugh Khan and the Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud to whom this work is dedicated. Despite this, this work is our main original source. It is a general history of the world of Islam. This work is a main source for the period up to 1260 CE. As this great author did not write beyond 1260 CE although he lived till 1265 CE, there is a perfect blank for the span of CE 1260 to 1265 as this gap is not filled up by any subsequent writer.

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|---------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| 6) Mulhiqati-i-Tabaqat-i-Nasiri | Ainuddin Bijapuri | Details about this work and its author Ferishta are not known at present. |
| 7) | Sadar Jahan Gujarati | Late 15th century writer
This work also is mentioned by Ferishta. |
| 8) Tarikh-i-Firozshahi | Ziauddin Barani | Completed in CE 1359
This work opens with the first years of the reign of Balban and is dedicated to Firoz Tughluq. |

Surprisingly this work also skips over the span of 1260 to 1265 CE. This work is anecdotal in character, aiming to teach by examples. In expounding his viewpoint the author has resorted to a purposive slant of narration at times and sometimes to giving selected examples of rulers' conduct. More often, however, long discourses on statecraft are put in the mouth of the historical personages. The author has dramatised history, not unlike the style known since Thucydides and this together with his undoubted power of description and expression accounts for the fame that his *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* enjoys. Even when the facts given in this work are actual it can not be regarded as a chronicle. The discourses put in the mouths of the rulers of his choice

cannot be regarded as reports of works actually said but as tendentious interpretation, in the first person of conduct and decisions mostly actuated, perhaps by wholly different consideration. Each of the facts incorporated in the said discourses needs to be examined either from Barani's own account or from other sources.

Barani's account of Sultan Balban is a case in point. Here very meagre details from Balban's long reign of twenty years are given but the discourses of this Sultan's in the fashion of Persian works like Qabus Nama, portray him as more of an idealist. The Sultan, in fact, was a ruthless practical statesman.

9) Fatawai-i-Jalaludari

Ziauddin Barani

Written about the middle of the 14th century

In this work, the author has attempted to preach his own advice to rulers on statecraft.

The views expressed herein are identical with those practised by Sultan Iltutmish and Sultan Balban. Barani shows a greater interest in recording administrative details and greater familiarity with agrarian affairs, having held office in the Revenue Department. His remarks in this regard are often ambiguous and rather cryptic. The original sources on the history of the Sultanate of Delhi : 1206-1290 CE covering the reigns of the Sultans from Qutb-ud-din Aibak to Bahauddin Balban, the Ulugh Khan end with the works of Ziauddin Barani.

Besides these historical sources given above, sometimes casual but extremely illuminating references to political and social life are found in a series of contemporary writings which are professedly not-historical. Such non-historical works that are significant in their own right are detailed below.

Table III

1) Qasidas	Amir Khusrau, a contemporary of Ziauddin Barani	These laudatory compositions were addressed to the leading men of the imperial court.
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| 2) | Qiranus-Sadain | Amir Khusrau | This work describes Kaiqu meeting with his father Balban. |
| 3) | Ashiqa, a poem | Amir Khusrau | In this work, a brief resume of the history of the Sultans of Delhi up to Alauddin Khalji is given. |
| 4) | Ijaz-i-Khusravi | Amir Khusrau | This work covers the contents of some actual letters and Farmans. Originally this work was written to exhibit the literary skill and ingenuity of the author. |
| 5) | Matlaul Anwar | Amir Khusrau | This work throws light on contemporary manners of the society. |

A very unique feature of Islam in India is the spread of mysticism. The Sufis started their Khaniqas (hospices) at various places in North India and interacted with local religious feeling by softening the rigid theological formality of Islam. Mysticism began spreading in the early 13th century in India and was attended by controversy. Despite the persistent controversies, the Muslims continued to absorb the liberating ideas of the mystics.

The rich hagiographical literature that came up furnishes a critique depicting the actions and attitudes of the mystics in the form of their biographies, table talks, doctrinal expositions and mystic practices. This mine of contemporary data has only recently attracted scholarly attention. The detailed works that deserve mention, inter alia, in this bibliography are mentioned below.

Table IV

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|----|----------------|------------------|---|
| 1) | Fawadul Fawaid | Amir Hasan Qijzi | This work sets a model of a series of compilations (malfuzat) that record the serious discourses of the Sufi with his murids (disciples). The daily record of the |
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conversations of the said Nizamuddin of Badaun is compiled in this work and contains interesting comments on men and events around the saint's circle.

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|----|------------------|--|--------------------|---|
| 2) | Khairnal Majalis | Hamid Qalandar | 13th century | The author of this work is considered a genuine disciple of Nasiruddin Chirag-Delhi, the Khalifa of H. Nizamuddin. This work belongs to the category of Malfuzat. |
| 3) | Soroor-us-Sydur | Son of Hamiduddin Nagauri namely Fariduddin Mahmud | 13th century | This work records the conversation of Fariduddin Mahmud's father with his peer-Sufi Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti of Ajmer. This work embodies a fair measure of Khwaja Moinuddin's views. |
| 4) | Siyarul Auliya | Mir Khurd | Early 13th century | This work is a Tazkirah (biographical accounts) of the Indian Sufis. The author is the young disciple of H. Nizamuddin. |

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|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 5) Siyarul Arefin | Shaikh Jamali | CE 1535 | This work also is a Tazkirah of the Indian sufis. |
| 6) Akhbarul Akhbar | Abdul Hagg Dehlavi | Completed in the reign of Jahangir | This work is a more general history of the Indian mystics. It is based on careful study of the existing literature. |
| 7) Gulzar-i-Abrar | Muhammad Ghousi | | This work gives details on otherwise unknown Sufis whose lives and activities supply interesting details of the socio-political trends of the Sultanate period. Among the proper histories written in the 14th and 15th centuries there are certain titles given below which furnish us with interesting though unconfirmed details. |

Table V

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|---|--------|----------------------|---|
| 1) Futuhus Salatin, a versified history | Isauni | Completed in CE 1348 | This work is contemporary with Barani. It is worthy of attention despite its poetic flourishes. The portions relating to the 13th century are still to be explored. |
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|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| 2) Kitabur-Rahlah | Ibn Battutah | Completed towards the middle of the 14th century | This work is more valuable for Tughluq history. Its references to the history of the earlier Sultanate are evidently bazaar stories which are not only unconfirmed but in some places demonstrably wrong. |
| 3) Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi | Yahya b. Ahmad b. Abdullah Sarhindi | Completed in CE 1434 | This work gives some additional information without citing any authority. In other respects it relies on earlier works. |

In addition to the sources at 1 to 3 above which are contemporaneous to the earlier Sultanate period there are historical works that refer to the earlier Sultanate period but are compiled during the Mughal period. The most important of these works are as given below.

Table VI

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|--|------------------------------|---|
| 1) Tabaqat-i-Akbari | Nizamuddin Bakhshi | The work is a mere reproduction of the primary authorities detailed earlier herein |
| 2) Muntakhabat Tawarikh | Abdul Qadir Budauni | -Do- |
| 3) Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi or Tarikh-i-Ferishta | Muhammad Qasim b. Hindu Khan | This book dedicated to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur gives new facts taking them from such primary |

sources other than the ones relied upon by the historical works given above. These other sources relied upon by Ferishta do not seem to be extant now. It was uncharitable and unfair of Raverty to have derogated Ferishta's work in totality only because in a few instances his narration was found to be incorrect. On the whole, Ferishta is certainly accurate and more scientific in his treatment of facts than his counterparts though inclined a bit towards imagination.

4) Zafar-le-Walihi Haji Dabir
written in Arabic

Written towards the end of Jehangir's reign

Basically this work is a history of Gujrat. At the same time it traces Muslim history in India from the earliest times. Interestingly, this work is a careful abridgement in translation of earlier accounts including a few other works of unnamed authors, so far as 13th century is concerned.

The original sources enumerated and commented upon above are written mostly in Persian and Arabic on behalf of the rulers, that is, the Muslim conquerors of North India; or, it was a Muslim point of view. These sources are apt to produce an unbalanced view unless the other angle is perceived through the writings of the conquered people.

Unfortunately, there are few writings of a historical nature on the earlier Sultanate period by non-Muslim chroniclers. But they contain fulsome adulations of their heroes. The details of these non-Muslim sources are given below.

Table VII

1) Prthvirāja Raso	Chand Bardai	This work enjoyed respect as a piece of sober history. Recent researches have proved it to be a good specimen of early Hindu poetry but useless as a historical account.
2) Prthvirāja Vijaya-kāvya	An anonymous and incomplete work Kashmiri Jayhaka	Written during the lifetime of the Cauhāna prince
3) Hammira Mahākāvya		This work recounts the achievements of Hammira the Cauhāna ruler of Ranthambhor and a scion of Prthvirāja and is a much more useful account which explains the vicissitudes of Muslim hold on Rajputana.

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|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| 4) Surjana-carita-kāvya | Candra Śekhara | A 16th century Bengali poet's work | This is a continuation of Chand Bardai's account of the Turkish contact with Rajputana. This is a useful work of value. |
| 5) Rasamālā | Folk stories from Gujarat | | This work contains useful corroborative evidence |
| 6) Rājamālā | | | This is a continuous official chronicle of the ruling family, the earlier phase of whose history ends up with the 13th century Muslim rule in Bengal. This work is in Bengali in verse form and from medieval times is claimed to have been updated by successive generations of compilers. |
| 7) Purātana Pravandha Saṁgraha | A collection of Jain writings | 13th and 14th centuries | This work gives incidental account of political affairs and throws light on the culture and religion of the period of the Muslim conquerors. |
| 8) Aitihāsik Jain Kāvya Saṁgraha | | | -Do- |

- 9) Śekasubhodaya
written in a
corrupt form of
Sanskrit. It has
come to light in
Bengal
- 16th
century
- This work contains a kernel of genuine history relating to early Muslim contact with Bengal in the time of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. It recounts the miraculous activities of the Muslim saint, Jalaluddin Tabrezi. The details given in this work have a circumstantial authenticity. The contemporary manners referred to in it are confirmed by other evidence. This work embodies in a substantial measure, historical facts which had passed into popular tradition.
- 10) Chaglo-tsa-ba
Chosrje-dpal
- Dharmasvāmin, a
Tibetan monk
- Early 13th
century
- This work is a first-hand account of the experiences of this Tibetan monk who visited the Buddhist shrines and monasteries in Magadha a few years after the Turks overran Bihar and when their troops were moving about in the countryside. This monk stayed for two years around the sacred Buddhist places and in the

monastery of Nalanda, sharing the privations and dangers with the local population. This eye-witness account gives an authentic report of the conditions that prevailed then.

In addition to these historical sources of Muslim and non-Muslim chroniclers there are provincial histories which need to be taken cognisance of.

There are very few works belonging to the earlier Sultanate period which throw light on the administrative practices. The few ones that do so are given below which include some works which are relevant for the statecraft but written outside India.

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|------------------------|--|--------------------------|--|
| 1) Ahkamus-Sultaniyyah | Al-Mawardi | A tenth century treatise | It gives details of Abbasid statecraft. |
| 2) Siyasat Namah | Xlizamul Mulk of Tas and the Prime Minister of Sheljuh-Malikshah | | This is a treatise on the then-prevailing statecraft. |
| 3) Wiqayah | | | This is a book on Muslim Jurisprudence. Such a work has a bearing on the subject of Muslim Jurisprudence as all Muslim legal institutions and practices have basic uniformity. |

The two works 1) Adabul Harb, and 2) Fatawai Jahandari written in India in the earlier Sultanate period are already referred to above.

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|-------------------------|---|--------------------|---|
| 4) Fiqh-i- Firozshahi | Compiled by Yasub and revised and enlarged by an unnamed author | | This work dedicated to Firoz Tughluq is of considerable interest as it embodies current legal practices, which are at times at variance with the standard works of jurisprudence. It is a key to the understanding of the extent to which state practices were being secularised. |
| 5) Fawaid-i- Firozshahi | Sharaf Muhammad | | This work dedicated to Firoz Tughluq contains an encyclopaedic account of the popular beliefs, rituals and manners of the 14th century Indian Muslim society. |
| 6) Subhul-A'sha | al Qalqashandi | Early 14th century | Written outside India, this work gives an encyclopoedic description of the Muslim world. |
| 7) Masalikul-Absar | Shihabuddin Abbas | Early 14th Century | This work gives a valuable account of Delhi administration. |

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|--------------------|---|---|---|
| 1) Tarikh-i-Masumi | Muhammad Masum | Written in the reign of Akbar | This work gives some additional information with respect to the early history of Sind, specially of the local Sumra and Summa tribes of Lower Sind. |
| 2) Tarikh-i-Tahiri | Tahir Muhammad Nisyani b. Syed Hasan of Thattah | Completed in 1620 | This work dedicated to the emperor Jahangir is useful only for the account of the Sumra. It is disappointing that it does not quote its authority. |
| 3) Tuhfatul-Kirau | Mir Ali Sher Qaani of Thattah | | This work is a general history of the East from the earliest times to the 18th century. This work partly confirms the accounts of Mir Masum and Tahir Nisyani. It also does not state its source. |
| 4) Gwalior Namah | Hiramani Munshi | Completed around CE 1670, the 12th regnal year of Aurangzeb | This work is evidently legendary and has only a corroborative value. |
| 5) Raja Darashani | Ganesh Das Badrah | Written in CE 1847 | This work gives unreliable legendary accounts and is not worth the confidence placed |

in it by Raverty.

6) Riyazus- Salatin	Ghulam Husain Salim	Completed in CE 1768	This work purports to be a history of Bengal from the Muslim conquest of Bengal onwards. It has used earlier histories without discrimination. This work is far from satisfactory as this account of 13th century is at variance on several points with the epigraphic and numismatic evidence.
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Even if a single scholar is inspired by reading this article and sets out to find out how many of these titles (Tables I to VII) are translated into English thereby opening up this mine of information, this modest effort made herein would be amply rewarded.

Wooden Temple Doors In Ladakh,

12th- 14th Centuries CE

Heinrich Poell

The paper discusses the Indian traditions and regional innovations in early medieval art of the Western Himalayas.¹ The five temples in the Alchi Chos-khor (holy precinct) and several other nearby sites in Ladakh constitute a repository of early medieval art that is unique in its richness, quality and state of preservation; these monuments have long been recognised as being of prime significance for the artistic and religious history of the Western Tibetan cultural sphere.²

In several of the extant temples from this period, a small but important corpus of carved wooden doorframes has been preserved. These are accomplished and unique pieces of art, straddling the categories of architecture and sculpture. However, their significance has been largely overlooked so far, and most of the scholars who have written on Alchi have limited themselves to some general observations on the influence which Kashmir has exercised on the architecture and sculpture of the Alchi temples.³

Indeed, a "Kashmiri connection" of the art of this region has been proposed, and the study of the art of Ladakh has been famously declared as "significant for the study of Tibetan civilization as it is for the culture of Kashmir"⁴. However, with the increasing availability of material and the progress in scholarship on Western Tibetan art history, this concept has been criticized as becoming more and more meaningless because of its ubiquity⁵. It is the purpose of this paper to review in detail the "Kashmiri connection" of these works of art by discussing the two major examples from the Alchi complex and their reverberations in subsequent local creations.

Types and Prototypes and their "Kashmir Connection"

The carved doorframes considered in this paper are essentially of two types, which I have termed (i) the multi-frame door, and (ii) the lintel-doorjamb type (Pl. XV, Figs. 1a, 1b). In the former, several frames with alternating geometrical and sculptural decoration run in parallel around the door, with additional elements interspersed between these frames on top of the door opening. In the lintel-doorjamb type the decoration focuses on the lintel across the door opening, while the decoration of the doorjambs on the left and right is more limited.

In both these types Kashmiri influences are quite obvious in the sculptural decor, in details such as flying *gandharvas* and *dvārapālas*, and most importantly in the “architectural niche” device which is used for the framing of sculptural decoration.⁶ This was of course to be expected from the art historical context and from the ample evidence (artistic, textual, historical) for Kashmiri-Ladakhi contacts prior and during the period under consideration.⁷

Both door types are ultimately derived from the classical Gupta temple door, shown in Fig. 1c⁸. While this is quite obvious for the multi-frame door, closer inspection of the lintel-doorjamb type also shows parallels, notably in the positioning of the central figure on the inner lintel, and in the carving of the doorjambs suggesting decorated columns. However, Kashmir could not provide models for the layout and overall conception of these doors to the Ladakhi artists, as Kashmiri temple doors never followed the Gupta layout and decoration concept. Certain elements of the classical Gupta models (such as the banded and spiked columns) can indeed be seen in Kashmiri temples, but Kashmiri architecture used only gabled or trilobed arches for door entrances (resembling by and large the architectural niches which we can see on the Ladakhi doors) with comparatively little sculptural decoration.⁹

Models or antecedents for these doors have been identified in nearby Himachal in the Lakṣmaṇā Devī temple in Brahmaur, Chamba (6th/7th c., Pl. XVI, Fig. 2a), and in the Mirkula Devī temple in Udaipur, Lahaul (8th/9th c., Fig. 2b)¹⁰. In both these sites, the influences from the Gupta model are obvious, while Kashmiri styles have also been integrated.¹¹ These outstanding examples of wood art from the Western Himalayas have strongly influenced subsequent developments in the whole region.¹² The following discussion will demonstrate to what extent these models were combined with Kashmiri styles and influences and with indigenous innovations in the creation of the Ladakhi temple doors.

Du-khang Portal (mid/late 12th c.)

Amongst the wood art in Alchi, the portal of the Du-khang (congregation hall), dated to the second half of the 12th c., occupies a unique position due to the profusion of its carvings and its complex iconographical programme. Plate XVI, Fig. 3 shows the major elements of the overall composition.

The door opening is framed on the inside by two stylized columns decorated with a complicated design of a plaited/interlaced scroll¹³ and with a medallion showing the Buddha in *dhyāna mudrā*. These two doorjambs are connected by a lintel which carries a four-armed, crowned and bejewelled Prajñāpāramitā. Next to the two doorjambs we see four panels with Bodhisattvas and goddesses on the left and right, and a horizontal panel with the five Jinas across the door opening. This is followed by the life story of the Buddha which is shown

in twenty vertical panels on the left and right, and in one horizontal panel (comprising seven scenes) across the top. On the outside, the composition is framed by 20 Buddha figures in an endless knot device.

The five Jinas can be identified by their colours and vehicles as the four-headed Vairocana in the centre, flanked by Akṣobhya, Amitābha Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava presiding over the cardinal directions. However, on the Bodhisattva panels only one of the male figures (Pl. XVII Fig. 4b) can be identified as Mañjuśrī by the sword in its raised hand; the attributes of the other figures are too indistinct for identification. The four female figures are sacrificial goddesses offering a flower garland (Pl. XVII, Fig. 4a), incense, light and perfume. In Western Tibetan art these goddesses are frequently paired with individual Bodhisattvas, most often with Mañjuśrī¹⁴.

All figures on the door are set in elaborate architectural niches which consist of columns carrying either a stepped and/or trilobed roof of complex design or a scrollwork arch. These niches and the minor decoration of the door — deer, ferocious guardians (*lokapālas*), geese, preaching monks, a crowned *dharmacakra*, flying *gandharvas* — are clearly derived from classical Kashmiri models.

The Buddha life panels present the complete life story of the Buddha, from the Tuṣita heaven to the Parinirvāṇa. The story opens with an aniconic panel (Fig. 5a) showing three stūpas of the "Descent from Heaven" type¹⁵. These stūpas symbolize the three Buddhas of the Past, the Present and the Future, which are thought to reside in the Tuṣita heaven. The first panel sets thus the scene for the Buddha's life story which will follow, linking it to the (Mahāyānist) concept of a multitude of Buddhas in different spheres and periods, and setting the human life story of the Buddha into the context of a Buddha universe. The next panel (Fig. 5b) continues this theme with the Consecration scene in the Tuṣita heaven, where the Bodhisattva transfers his crown to Maitreya, thereby designating him as the next Buddha to be born after himself.

The story then proceeds with the Descent of the Bodhisattva to the Earth, the Dream of Queen Māyā and the Birth of the Bodhisattva. Subsequent panels show various episodes from the childhood, youth and marriage of prince Śākyamuni, leading to the Four Encounters (Fig. 5c). Here we see the prince on the left facing two small figures carrying a bier with a corpse. The three figures above the bier represent (from right to left) old age, disease and asceticism, with the corpse below of course representing death. The Four Encounters are thus conflated into one panel, and are not shown in individual scenes as related in all the biographical texts.¹⁶

The following Renunciation is shown in a beautiful panel (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 5d) where the seated Bodhisattva cuts off his hair facing a stūpa of the

same design as in the first panel (cf. Fig. 5a). This is a reference to the legend relating that the Buddha's severed hair was enshrined in a stūpa. The stūpa follows a purely Kashmiri design that has been used nowhere else in Indian art.¹⁷

The Renunciation is followed by two panels showing Śākyamuni's Austerities and the Sujātā episode as a prelude to the Enlightenment and the first Sermon. Post-Enlightenment events include Preaching to Śākyamuni's Mother in the Trayastriṃśa heaven, the Gift of Honey, and the Subduing of the Mad Elephant (Fig. 5e). This story is told in a "continuous" narrative, with the elephant shown three times: on the top of the panel raging (note the human figure carried on the elephant's back and held by its trunk), on the right assaulting the Buddha, and finally subdued at the Buddha's feet.

The final scene (Fig. 5f) illustrates the Parinirvāṇa; it shows the cremation of the Buddha which had to be delayed until Kassapa arrived and touched the feet of the Master. Note the raised arms of the figure in the foreground; this seems to be derived from Gandharan art, where this gesture was customarily associated with mourning and death¹⁸.

The complex assembly of iconographic elements on the Du-khang portal – comprising besides the Buddha life figures of Jinas, Bodhisattvas, Prajñāpāramitā and numerous minor gods – clearly indicates a Mahāyānist environment, where the Buddha Śākyamuni is part of a complex universe of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other celestial beings. The portal reflects thus a transition from the preponderance of the life story of the (human) Buddha to an emphasis on a multiplicity of (god-like) Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, a process which seems to parallel developments in northern and eastern India of several centuries earlier. Ladakhi art of the 12th and 13th c. was significant in tracing developments which set in elsewhere in the late Kushan era and were completed by the 10th century.¹⁹

In the sculptural style of the portal Kashmiri influences are prominent. The architectural niches framing all figures on the portal are directly derived from classical Kashmiri architecture and portable art, and numerous details indicate a familiarity of the artists with Kashmiri Buddhist traditions, material culture and artistic models. However, the masterful composition of the narrative panels of the life story – in particular the skilful rendering of motion – have no antecedents in the extant corpus of material from Kashmir. Rather, they seem more related to the fusion of post-Gupta styles with Gandharan models such as seen in Mirpur Khas in Sindh and Akhnur in Jammu.²⁰

The carvings on the Du-khang present thus a mix of various stylistic elements, and do not rely on Kashmiri models and conventions alone. The artists were obviously working in a Kashmiri idiom and artistic traditions, but

not exclusively, and Gandharan as well as post-Gupta sculptural models and influences can also be seen on the Du-khang portal. Gandharan styles arrived presumably through Kashmiri artistic traditions, but other post-Gupta styles must have been transmitted to Ladakh through adjacent regions in Himachal.

Regarding the iconography of the life story, there is a striking absence of influences from Kashmir and from eastern India. Kashmiri artists were evidently not very much preoccupied with the Buddha life, and the very few relevant works from Kashmir²¹ betray no connection with the Du-khang iconography. The Du-khang life story also shows a complete disregard for the contemporaneous Pāla convention of the *Aṣṭa-mahā-prātihārya* where episodes from the life story are relegated to a decorative function by grouping diminutive, stereotyped vignettes of the "Eight Great Events" around a god-like, crowned and bejewelled Buddha. By contrast, the Du-khang carvings emphasize the "human" aspects of the Buddha life, with correspondingly less attention being paid to the Miracles and the Supernatural.²²

This absence of Pāla influences is all the more astonishing as the *Aṣṭa-mahā-prātihārya* iconography has been followed in this period at the holiest places of Buddhism and was certainly known to the patrons of Alchi²³. Looking further afield, we can discern Gandharan iconographic conventions in several panels (particularly in the depiction of the Four Encounters and the Nirvāṇa) but this influence is not pervasive, and many of the panels do not follow Gandharan models at all. Several scenes — such as the Descent from Tuṣita heaven, Siddhārtha's Marriage, the Renunciation — have no models in Indian iconography at all, but seem to be original creations of the Ladakhi artists.

This reflects the fact that there are no Indian models for the depiction of the Buddha life as a complete, self-contained story. In the Gandhara and Amaravati regions, stūpas were decorated with selected scenes from one or several periods of the Master's life, but these scenes were not always related to each other and did never present the complete biography of the Buddha. Gupta and Pāla art also never showed a complete Buddha life, but focussed only on selected episodes from the Buddha life (emphasizing by and large only the four "Great Events" — Birth, Enlightenment, First Sermon, Nirvāṇa — and post-Enlightenment miracles)²⁴. Also, the Kashmiri and (later) Gandharan convention of showing the Buddha as an icon-like figure surrounded by minor actors has clearly exercised only little influence on the Du-khang carvings.

The only known antecedent for the Du-khang life story is the portal of the Tho-ling Ser-khang (mid-10th c.) in western Tibet, which has extensive life cycle carvings and was doubtlessly a direct inspiration for the Buddha life on the Du-khang. The structure of this life cycle and many of its details are identical with the Du-khang carvings and the other life stories (in wood

or on murals) in Ladakh and western Tibet which we know from this period.²⁵ This suggests that these works were based on the same iconographic conventions and relied on the same (or very similar) biographical compilation(s).²⁶

We can conclude from this that the depiction of the Buddha biography as a self-contained, complete narrative was a Western Tibetan innovation of the 10th c., and that this innovation must have been a considerable advance over the underlying influences from Kashmir and elsewhere. Western Tibetan life cycles such as the one on the Tho-ling door then provided the inspiration for the Du-khang portal, which in turn has a much more complex iconography and presents thus a further evolution of this model.

The persistence of this iconography vis-à-vis contemporaneous developments in Eastern India (and in central Tibet) testifies to the strength and vigour of separate artistic and religious traditions in North-Western India at this time. In Ladakh and Western Tibet it evidently took much longer for Eastern Indian influences to supersede other, earlier traditions (both in religious doctrines and in the arts) than in central Tibet. One explanation for this could be a Mahāsāṅghika affiliation of the patrons of Alchi; this is also indicated by the prominence that is given to the Tuṣita heaven episodes.²⁷

Mañjuśrī Door (ca. mid-13th Century)

Chronologically the next carved door in Ladakh is in the Mañjuśrī temple in the Alchi complex. In comparison with the Du-khang, this door (Pl. XV, Fig. 1b) is considerably smaller, has a much simpler iconographic programme and shows distinctly less intricate carvings. The building and the interior of this temple are dated to the mid-13th century but the wood art and architecture of the front porch are identical in style and workmanship with the Sum-tsek wood art dated to 1200/1220²⁸. They are thus possibly earlier than the (present) interior of the building, and the door can tentatively be dated to the first half of the 13th century.

The Mañjuśrī door is the prototype of the lintel-doorjamb type in Ladakh, and is clearly modelled to a large extent after the Udaipur door (Fig. 2b). Fig. 6 shows the upper part of the door with the two lintels and the interspersed decorative panel. The three figures there are set into a common frame of a meander-like pattern (similar to the frame of the horizontal panel on the Du-khang door). This design has been used only very rarely in Indian art elsewhere, and can be traced to the Western Classical world.²⁹

All figures on the door betray strong influences from Kashmiri sculptural styles in their modelling and body postures. Fig. 7 shows the central figure of Mañjuśrī and the flying *gandharvas* carrying a crown (and not the wheel

of law which would be expected here). These *gandharvas* follow Kashmiri models known from bronzes or stone sculpture, but note that no crown is ever carried in Kashmiri examples. Rather, this motif seems to be taken from post-Gupta art in Himachal (where it can be seen, a.o., on the Masrur temples and on the Brahmaur portal).

Later Doors derived from Du-khang

In conclusion we will briefly look at two later doors in the Alchi area that were clearly derived from the two prototypes discussed so far. The first of these (Pl. XIX, Fig. 8a) is a freestanding doorframe preserved in the rubble of a destroyed house in Sumda Choon, about 25 km from Alchi in the next valley parallel to the Indus. This door can be dated to the mid-13th c. and was a relatively simple creation, clearly following the lintel-doorjamb model. However, in the decoration of the lintel the artists obviously took their inspiration from the Du-khang door; the *kīrti-mukha* band, the roundels with the meditating Buddhas and the stūpas (Fig. 8b) follow the Du-khang portal so closely that one suspects that the artist must have been from the same workshop.

The other door (Fig. 9a) is in the Wanla Kra-shi Sum-tsek, about 50 km from Alchi in a side valley of the Indus. This monastery was built at the “turning point” of Ladakhi art history³⁰ at the beginning of the 14th century, signalling the transition to central Tibetan styles. Its interior decoration resembles the painting style of the Lha-khang Soma in Alchi and is already outside the “early” mediaeval period, while the architecture, the wood art and the sculptural programme refer in concept and in many details to models from Alchi of the early 13th century.

The Wanla door follows the Du-khang model of the multi-frame temple door, and shows the only other Buddha life in wood in Ladakh. The story is reduced to 16 scenes, but covers the full biography as in the Du-khang—from the events in the Tuṣita heaven to the Master's Nirvāṇa; Pl. XX Fig. 10 shows the Consecration of Maitreya, and the First Bath from this sequence. Compared with the Du-khang portal (cf. Pl. XVIII, Fig. 5b) this is clearly a somewhat clumsy, provincial work. The narrative has been reduced to a minimum, and the decorative details and frames of the panels are also very much simplified. The other parts of the door—particularly the several Bodhisattvas on the main lintel over the door opening (Pl. XX, Fig. 9b) — resemble in their iconography and decoration the later doors in Alchi.

Subsequent Developments in Ladakh

The remaining carved doors in Ladakhi monasteries — there are about six others in total — can all be dated to the 13th and 14th c. and show a more or less straightforward development to ever more simplified iconographic

programmes and a progressive loss of Kashmiri details and decor. They all follow the lintel-doorjamb type, and their iconography is confined to Jinas and Bodhisattvas. The latest examples are simple doorframes where the lintel and the doorjambs are of the same width, and where only carved flowers and scrollwork patterns are used as decoration.

Carved doorframes were eventually abandoned in Ladakhi monasteries during the 15th century when the Gelug-pa sect gained prominence and central Tibetan art styles were introduced into the region. After this time, temple decor in Ladakh concentrated on mural painting and sculpture in clay and metal in the interiors of the buildings.

Conclusions

In the preceding sections it was shown how diverse Indian influences were combined with Western Tibetan innovations in the creation of these artworks. This amalgamation was of course the result of the extensive contacts which Ladakh had developed in this period with all neighbouring areas and their cultural traditions. The primary artistic sources for the Ladakhi temple doors were identified as Kashmir (certainly the most important source due to its proximity and well-established contacts with the region), Himachal (with Brahmaur and Udaipur as the major sites), and Western Tibet (where somewhat earlier creations provided the innovations upon which Ladakhi creations were then based). However, all these sources had in turn been influenced by various Indian traditions.

In Kashmir, the art of the classical period (6th to 10th c.) had evolved from post-Gupta styles, but incorporated also strong influences from the earlier art of Gandhara and the North-West, and from the Western Classical World. At the same time, the art of Himachal of this period played an equally important role for developments in Ladakh. It originated in post-Gupta styles from the Indian plains, but was also (to varying degrees at the different sites) influenced by Kashmiri styles and conventions. Finally, Western Tibetan styles evolved from post-Gupta styles transmitted from and through Himachal, but were again at the same time profoundly influenced by the art of Kashmir.

Thus, a closer look at the doors discussed here has shown the limitations of the simplistic model of a "Kashmiri connection" of Western Tibetan and Ladakhi art. Instead, a much more nuanced and complex picture has emerged, showing the numerous influences that have shaped this art and that have arrived at their final destination by convoluted routes and through many transformations. The Ladakhi artists have fused these disparate elements into a convincing whole, thereby creating original and accomplished works of art on a par with contemporaneous Indian developments.

Finally, the temple doors of Ladakh also illustrate the doctrinal developments and religious practices of the period. In particular, the absence of all influences from Pāla art – despite contacts with the holy sites of Buddhism in Eastern India – indicates a doctrinal position of the patrons of these works that differed profoundly from Eastern Indian developments; this could be due to influences from Kashmiri Mahāsāṅghika communities. Other than in Central Tibet (where Pāla influences dominated from the 10th c. onwards) Eastern Indian art styles only arrived in Ladakh in the 15th century with the ascendancy of the Gelug-pa sect. These works testify therefore to the strength and vigour of Buddhist traditions and religious movements in North-Western India, which were able to influence artistic and religious developments in Ladakh and Western Tibet well into the 14th century.

Notes and References

- 1) This is a revised and shortened version of the 10th Justice K. T. Telang Endowment Lecture, given at the Asiatic Society of Mumbai on March 18, 2004. I am thankful to the Asiatic Society for giving me the opportunity to present these ideas to its learned members, and want to thank in particular the Vice-President, Dr. Devangana Desai, and the Honorary Secretary, Ms. Vimal Shah, for organizing this event. An extended version of the paper will be published on www.asianart.com.
2. See Francke 1914, Khosla 1979, Snellgrove 1977/1980 for an overview of the Alchi complex and related monuments. Recently more specialized studies have been published (see, a.o., Goepper 1996), but the wood art of the area has still largely been neglected.
3. Francke 1914 : "...door in the Indian style..."; Snellgrove 1977 : "...door with the standard Five Buddhas..." Some useful remarks on wood art can be found in Tucci 1973 and Khosla 1979.
4. Pal 1989.
5. Klimburg-Salter 1994. This paper takes its inspiration from the suggestion there that it should now be attempted to trace exactly and in detail the relationships between and the influences upon individual works of art, with the ultimate goal of arriving at a more precise understanding of the forces which shaped the art and culture of this unique region.
6. For Kashmir examples see Pal 1989; Khosla 1979 has a detailed comparison of the Kashmiri and Ladakhi versions of the niche device.
7. The biography of Rinchen Zangpo mentions that the Great Lotsawa brought Kashmiri artists to Ladakh when he returned from his studies in Kashmir (Tucci 1932b, Snellgrove 1980). The paintings in the Alchi Sum-tsek are generally considered the work of Kashmiri artists (Goepper 1996, Luczaniits 1999).
8. Fig. 1c shows one of the earliest examples from the 6th c. in Deogarh, M. P. This door type has been used—with regional modifications—in many locations across Western, Northern and Eastern India. Cf. Huntington 1985, Donaldson 1976.

9. Pal 1989.
10. For the Brahmaur portal see Goetz 1955 and Pieruccini 1997; the Udaipur door is discussed in Goetz 1955, Noci 1994, and Klimburg-Salter 1994.
11. The Brahmaur portal shows a purely Hindu iconography and follows essentially the classic Gupta model in its layout, its decoration and symbolism. References to the art of Kashmir are more subtle, but can be found in the sculptural styles and in minor details (Goetz 1955). The Udaipur door integrates Kashmiri architectural niches into an essentially Gupta layout, and is thus a more balanced mix of post-Gupta elements with influences from Kashmir. It also follows a mixed Hindu-Buddhist iconography.
12. The influence of the Brahmaur door in Ladakh is most prominent in the overall layout of the Du-khang and Wanla doors; by contrast, there are only few influences from Brahmaur in the decoration of the Ladakhi temple doors. However, the Brahmaur door was clearly the inspiration for the Western Tibetan temple doors in Kojamath, Tsaparang and Tho-ling, which in turn—particularly the Tho-ling portal—have strongly influenced Ladakhi and Spiti art production. The Udaipur door is the direct prototype for the lintel-doorjamb type of Ladakhi temple doors, both in its layout and concept and in its decoration. In fact, it has been called the “pivotal work” for the development of Western Tibetan and Ladakhi wood art (Klimburg-Salter 1994).
13. This design is found nowhere else in Ladakh; it is strongly reminiscent of similar decoration on the temples in Brahmaur, Chamba, and also on several later temples in the Chamba and Kulu regions. (Goetz 1955, Bernier 1983).
14. For depictions of these sacrificial goddesses see Pal 2003 (on ca. 10th c. aureole of a Western Tibetan bronze) and Goepper 1996 (in early 13th c. paintings in the Alchi Sum-tsek temple).
15. See Tucci 1932a and Klimburg-Salter 1988 for an analysis of the stūpa types found in mediaeval Ladakh and Western Tibet.
16. Dye 1976; Parimoo 1982.
17. Kashmiri stūpa designs are discussed in Pal 1989.
18. Cf. Dye 1976.
19. Cf. Parimoo 1982, Dehejia 1997.
20. Dating from the 5th/6th c. See Chandra 1962 for the Mirpur Khas terracottas, Pal 1989 for Akhnur material.
21. These are a small number of carved ivories and two aureoles for bronze icons with vignettes of selected events from the Buddha life. See Huntington 1985 and Pal 1989 for the ivories, and Pal 2003 for the aureoles.
22. It is significant that the Miracle of Twins and the Descent from the Trayastrimśa Heaven are both not shown on the Du-khang door, whereas these were the most popular episodes in Gandharan and Gupta art and throughout the Pāla period.
23. The biography of Rinchen Zangpo mentions visits to the Buddhist sites in Bihar,

and numerous Pāla bronzes have been preserved in Ladakhi monasteries (Tucci 1932b, Snellgrove 1977).

24. See Huntington 1987 for the Pāla iconography, and Parimoo 1982 and Dehejia 1997 for depiction of the Buddha life in various phases of Indian art and the religious/doctrinal implications of these conventions.
25. The following depictions of life cycles from the period prior to the 15th c. have been identified in Ladakh and Western Tibet:
 - a. the (now lost) doors of the Tho-ling Ser-khang (ca. late 10th c., see Tucci 1973, Klimburg-Salter 1988)
 - b. the Du-khang doors in Alchi (ca. late 12th c.)
 - c. the paintings in the Alchi Du-khang (ca. late 12th c.)
 - d. the paintings on the dhoti of Maitreya in the Alchi Sum-tsek (around 1200/1220)
 - e. the portal of the Wanla Kra-shi Sum-tsek (ca. early 14th c.).

All these narratives begin with the consecration of Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven, and show the Birth episodes within the first fifth of the full cycle. Enlightenment, First Sermon and Nirvāṇa are comprised in the last fourth of the narrative, with the space between devoted to the various pre-Enlightenment episodes.

26. See Obermiller 1932 for a later Tibetan redaction of the Buddha life that seems to correspond essentially with the structure of the Du-khang life cycle.
27. It is well known that there were Mahāsāṅghika monasteries in Kashmir in the 9th and 10th c., and that these monastic centres were instrumental for the evolution of Mahāyānist doctrines and for their transmission to the Western Tibetan area. See Klimburg-Salter 1988 on Mahāsāṅghika iconography in India and Western Tibet, Eichenbaum-Karetzky 2000 on Central Asian examples.
28. See Goepper 1996 and Khosla 1977 for illustrations.
29. One of the few instances of a similar decorative design is the ca. 5th/6th c. casing of the Dhamekh stūpa in Sarnath. See Goetz 1955, Pieruccini 1997, Postel and Mankodi 1985, and Noci 1994 for remarks on how these non-Indian artistic conventions could have arrived in North-Western India and subsequently in the Western Tibetan region.
30. Luczanits 2002.

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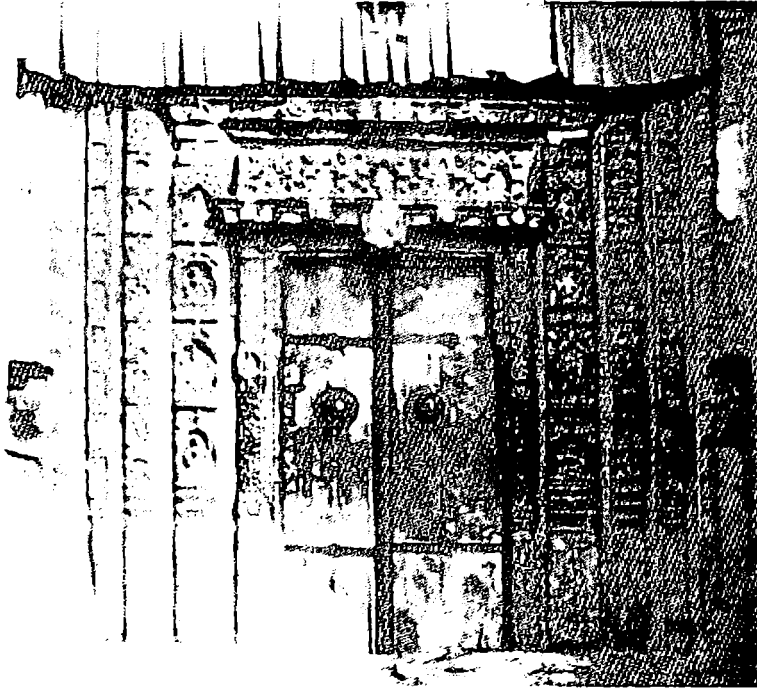


Fig. 1a



Fig. 1b



Fig. 1c

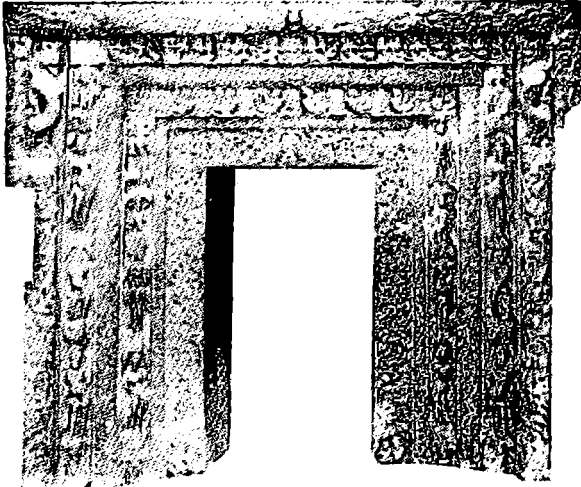


Fig. 2a

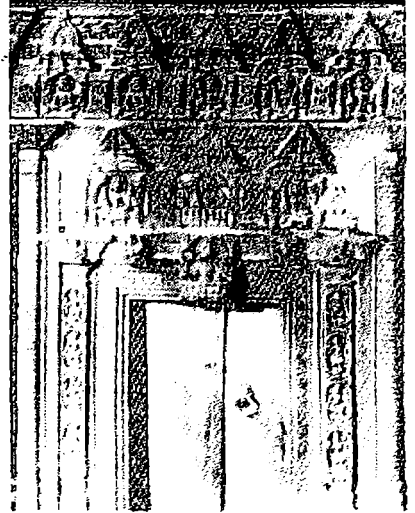


Fig. 2b

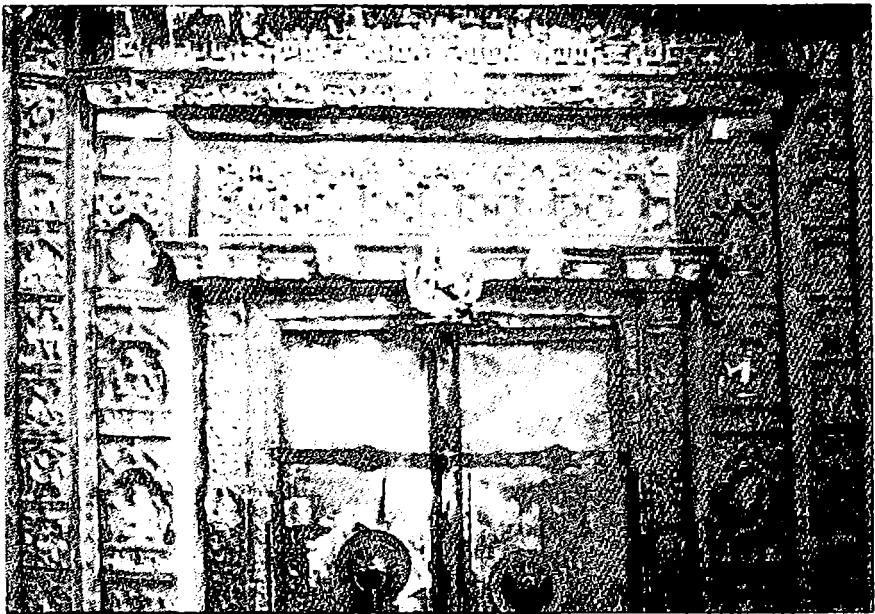


Fig. 3



Fig. 4a



Fig. 4b



Fig. 6



Fig. 5a



Fig. 5d



Fig. 5b



Fig. 5e



Fig. 5c



Fig. 5f



Fig. 7a



Fig. 7b



Fig. 8a



Fig. 8b

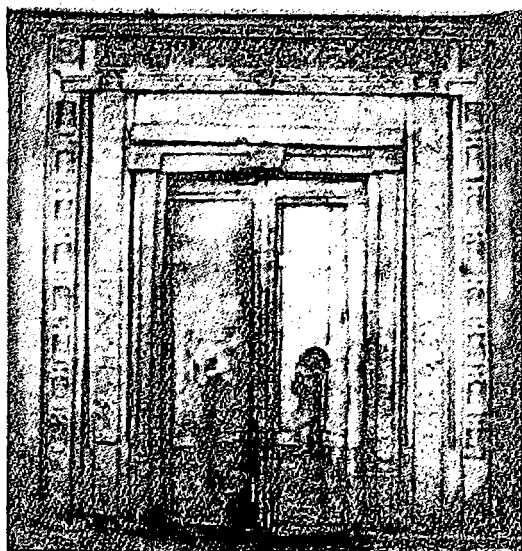


Fig. 9a



Fig. 9b



Fig. 10a



Fig. 10b

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Illustrations

Plate XV

Fig. 1a Portal of the Du-khang, painted wood, Alchi, Ladakh, ca. second half 12th c.

Fig. 1b Door of the Mañjuśrī temple, wood, Alchi, Ladakh, ca. mid-13th c.

Fig. 1c Portal of the Viṣṇu temple, stone, Deogarh, Madhya Pradesh, early 6th c. (after Huntington 1985)

Plate XVI

Fig. 2a Portal of the Lakṣmaṇā Devī temple, wood, Bharmaur, Chamba / H. P., ca. 6th/7th c.

Fig. 2b Portal of the cella, Mirkulā Devī shrine, wood, Udaipur, Lahaul/H.P., ca. 8th/9th c. (after Goetz 1955)

Fig. 3 Upper part of the Du-khang portal (Fig.1a), painted wood, Alchi, Ladakh, ca. second half 12th c.

Plate XVII

Fig. 4a Sacrificial goddess, detail of Fig. 3

Fig. 4b Bodhisattva panel, detail of Fig. 3.

Fig. 6 Door of the Mañjuśrī temple, wood, Alchi, Ladakh, ca. mid-13th c.

Plate XVIII

Fig. 5 Buddha Life episodes on the Du-khang portal, details of Fig. 3:

- a) Three stūpas (symbolizing the Buddhas of the Past, Present and Future)
- b) Consecration of Maitreya
- c) The Four Encounters
- d) The Great Renunciation
- e) Subduing the Mad Elephant
- f) Parinirvāṇa and Cremation

Plate XIX

Fig. 7a Central Mañjuśrī figure, detail of Fig. 6

Fig. 7b Flying *gandharvas* supporting a crown, detail of Fig. 6

Fig. 8a Freestanding doorframe, wood, Sumda Choon, Ladakh, ca. mid-13th c.

Fig. 8b Details of lintel from Fig. 8a

Plate XX

Fig. 9a Portal of the Kra-shi Sum-tsek temple, wood, Wanla, Ladakh, ca. early 14th c.

Fig. 9b Bodhisattva from lintel, detail of Fig. 9a.

Fig. 10a Consecration of Maitreya, detail of Fig. 9a

Fig. 10b First Bath, detail of Fig. 9a

Note : All photography by the author except when otherwise noted. Tibetan names have been given in simplified spelling without diacriticals and 'silent' letters.

Masons' Marks from Morena and Gwalior

Arvind K. Singh

Masons' marks are found on temples and other monuments, images, heavy ashlar, walls, steps of tanks, in quarry and working site, etc. which give us evidence of the artists and their guilds. Masons' marks include either letters and signs or symbols, some of which represent numerals. The evidence can be classified broadly into two categories: the masons' marks and the masons' names. It is believed¹ that the societies of wise master-builders and co-workers have instituted certain secret signs and tokens, by which they might know one another and to disclose their presence and handiwork. It seems probable they were personal marks of the masters of the works; conveying, in forms determined by the associations, sometimes directions to the setters how to lay the stones. Possibly, this would then be useful in computing the amount of work done, which was paid for by contract. The antiquity of masons' marks seems to go back to the pre-Common Era, and such marks are known from Bharhut, Mathura and many other sites. Such marks occur on Mughal monuments also. Some of these show a continuity of more than seven centuries.² In any case, masons' marks help to know the work of the particular artist or of "group", building technique, and spread of particular style in far and wide regions as also the fact that artists could adopt themselves to varied kinds of work, regardless of their sectarian character or functional nature.

The role of artisans is significant in art history. They lived during various phases of art-activity and were responsible for bringing the art forth. Art activity in ancient India involved different sections of the society like artisans for raising monuments, patrons for financing the projects, priests for consecrating the monuments, and so on.³ The concept of patronage is usually restricted to the relationship between the patron and the recipient of patronage. However, the relationship created through the act of patronage can vary considerably according to the form of patronage.⁴ The patron, the artist and the object are pointers to each other and are deeply interlinked. In general, art historians of India looked for an individual patron and for that reason monuments are frequently labelled by dynasty and rarely by the name of the architect even when this is known.

As for the artisans, the *Mānasāra* (ll. 11-12; 17-20) refers to the origin of divine architects: Viśvakarmā, Maya, Tvaṣṭā and Manu from the four faces of Brahmā and further elucidates that the sons of these architects were respectively Sthapati, Sūtragrāhin, Vardhaki and Takṣaka.⁵ The *sūtradhāra* finds

mention in the Śilpaśāstras where he ranks fourth. But on a close examination of the epigraphic evidence it will become clear that it was the *sūtradhāra* who was the most important among the artisans. This shows that in the later period jobs came to be entrusted to the specialist in respective branches and *sūtradhāra* came to be appointed to be their chief to co-ordinate the work.⁶ About the artists' set-up and organization information is also available. Individual artists were known as *śilpī*, *rūpakāra*, *rūpadakṣa*, *karmika*, *śailālaka*, etc. Besides, artisans of lower categories, like *śailavardhakī*, *mahākāṭaka*, *kadhichaka*, *mīthika* and others were engaged for routine work. Quite often laborers had to be employed if the task to be accomplished was big.⁷ Such categories reflect a diversification of art activity and the emergence of specialized craftsmen in different developments of work where individual artists got an opportunity to exhibit their talents.

Gwalior has one of the most impressive assemblages of amazing temples like Chaturbhuj Temple, Teli ka Mandir, Sasbahu temple, Mata temple while the district of Morena possesses magnificent temples at Tiloni, Naresara, Batesara, Padhawali, Mitaoli, Suhania and other places. The art and architecture evince phenomenal growth due to several factors including patronage as well as traditional skill of artisans. The relevant epigraphs indicate a vigorous socio-religious movement of temple building, and their patrons and donors representing a cross-section of society from elite to laymen. Donations from royal scribe, foreman of artisans, writers, surveyors, artisans and stonemasons are known from Sanchi and other places which show the overlap of patron and craftsmen of artist. This situation enhanced the status of the artist because this overlap is an inversion of the pattern of patronage as it is generally mentioned where the patron is distinct from the artisans and of a higher social status. While large inscriptions have mostly been studied in detail, efforts have been made for collecting and analyzing no less important evidence encountered in the minor inscriptions and graffiti at the temples and other monuments or in the quarry, or working sites, or engraved on the various components and architectural members lying loose at site or in the contiguous area.⁸ During our exploration for data collection under U.G.C. Major Research Project programme we have visited different sites of Morena and Gwalior and noticed a number of masons' marks and minor inscriptions containing personal names. Many of them possibly refer to individual artists or masons who contributed exceptional aesthetic and technical qualities.

Minor inscriptions generally comprise of personal names individually or along with signs or symbols, etc. Personal names engraved at the time of construction are mostly of artisans and provide idea about the life pattern and craftsmanship of the artisans and masons as well as their specialization in building certain components of the temple or other monuments. The abundance of masons' marks and their recurrence, sometimes occurring along

with or without masons' names or different masons' mark(s) provide interesting and useful information about the masons and masons' guilds or families engaged in the building of the temple. At the same time, these also give an idea about the masons' families specializing in building certain components of the temple. In fact, in one of the quarries or working sites only one set of masons' marks was noticed that indicates the quarry or working site was assigned to a particular family or guild of masons. Masons' marks on monuments are being scrutinized afresh. These efforts hold a promise to eventually identify the artists, vis-à-vis their work. While detailed analysis and study of the masons' marks and masons' names is under way, basic information about them and some tentative inferences drawn on the basis of the available information and a preliminary analysis of the data are being presented here.

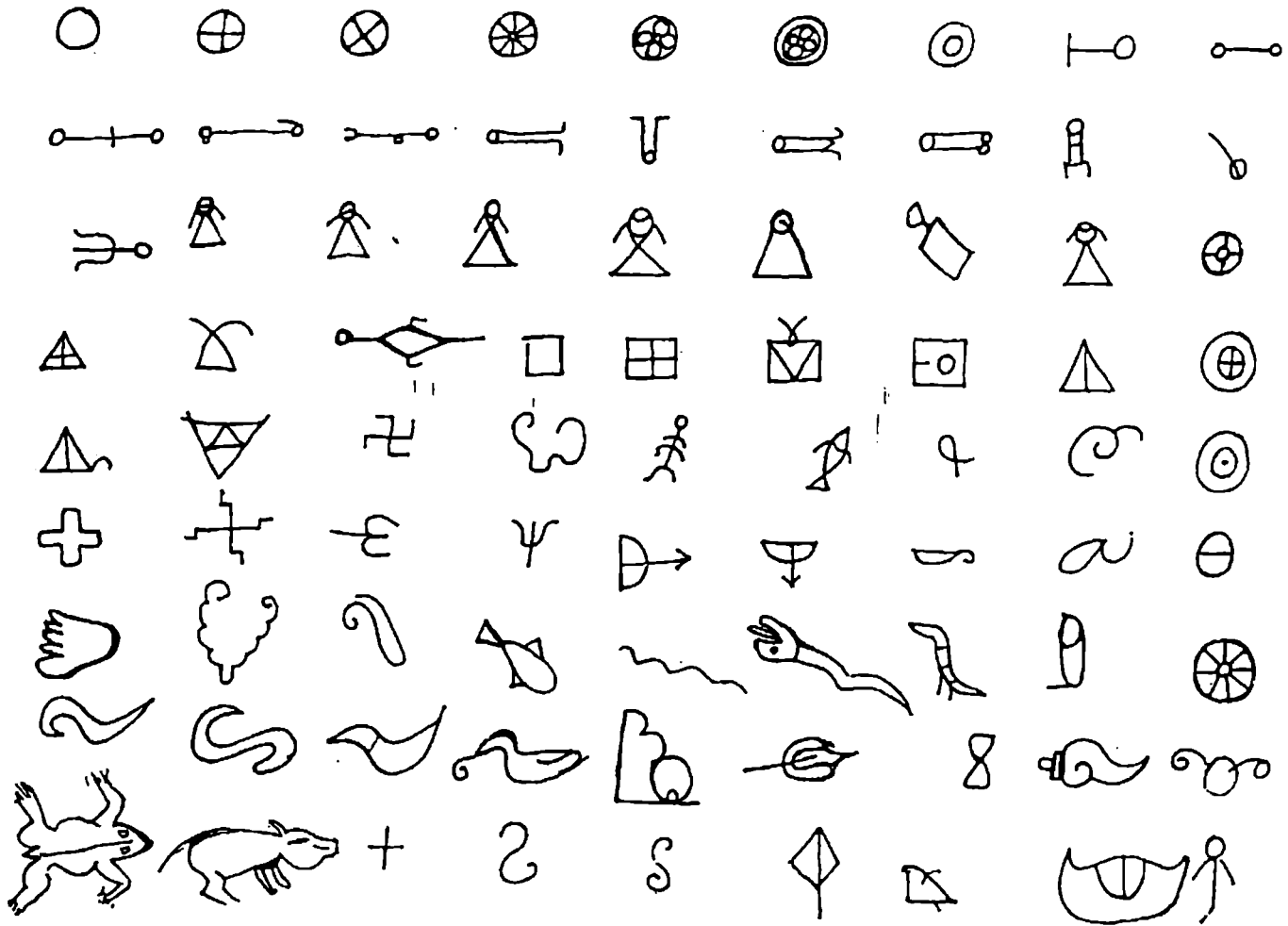
For the present it might suffice to give a brief idea about the masons' marks and masons' names from Tiloni, Naresara, Batesara, Padhawali, Mitaoli, Suhania, Gwalior and other places which occur either individually or along with different masons' mark(s) and masons' name(s). The most frequently occurring sign is the letter *ka, ga, gha, ca, cha, ja, je, te, da, dha, ta, te, tta, to, na, no, pa, pha, bha, bhe, ma, la, va, sa* at Padhawali; *u, ka, ka 3, kī, kha, gu, tha, thā, de, ti, de, dyaḥ, dha, pa, pi, bha, ma, mi, miḥ, ra, rā, lā, la, lhe, lu, lri, va, ve, sa, se, hu* at Mitaoli; *ga, na, la, la, tha, grā* at Suhania; *ga, go, ta, tā, ta, lu, ra* at Batesara; *ke, che, ja, je, jyā, ta, pa, ma, la, va* at Tiloni and *ā, 3 ke, ja 2, sa* at Naresara. The other marks are Nagari characters for numerals, sign like plain circle or circle divided into two parts, circle divided into four segments by two lines intersecting in the centre at right angle or into six segments, line with circles at both ends, circle within circle, two circles, two circles intersecting by a line, *cakra*, angle, triangle, triangle divided into two parts, triangle divided into four parts, triangle within triangle, plus-like sign, square, square with lines intersecting diagonally, *damaru*-like sign, *svastika* sign, *śarikha* sign with a number of variations, leaf-like sign, arrow, bow and arrow, trident, axe, reptile sign, scorpion sign, fish, fish in circle, frog sign, bird sign, pig sign, monkey sign, elephant sign, forepart of elephant, foot-print, eye-like sign, human figure and others. The charts and plates (XXI, XXII) are self explanatory, so more details are not given here.

As for personal names, they are in full or abbreviated form, such as *Jasa* for *Jasahara*, *Raja* or *Jala* for *Rajala*, and so on. Sometimes only the first letter is engraved like *Ja* for *Jasahara*, *Gha* for *Ghatala*, etc. In some cases one name is styled variously such as *Jasa, Jasya, Jasura, Jasahara*, etc. It is, however, to be noted that scribal errors are obvious in the writing of some of these names engraved with minor differences in spelling like *Pithavi, Pithavī, Pithivi, Pithivī*. Among the masons' names in Nagari character, known from Padhawali temple and fortress are *Atala, Uka, Uṭha, Uu, Kaka,*

Kadedya, Kala, Kalara, Kalasa, Gada, Gade, Gadala, Gahe, Gadesata, Goga, Gosala, Ghatala, Cadada, Cyada, Jasa, Java, Jai, Jahi, Jajava, Jasala, Japahara, Jadara, Jatapa, Javade, Jasetha, Jaipala, Jasarava, Joṭo, Jona, Temala, Temaṇa, Thava, Thaha, Thahadeva, Taga, Taja, Tasa, Tana, Taise, Tayala, Talasa, Taida, Taidhaṇa, Toka, Thapata, Dadi, Doca, Dau, Doda, Dera, Daira, Detaha, Dubhara, Dhathi, Nada, Nau, Nanana, Nate, Natala, Nadala, Nayapi, Narala, Nahala, Nahila, Nore, Nohala, Netala, Paṭha, Puna, Pada, Pathi, Pala, Papi, Paṭete, Pachau, Madva, Mahau, Mahijala, Yapara, Yaparasa, Rupa, Radī, Raida, Rana, Rajadha, Rahapa, Rahala, Rajala, Latala, Luhala, Lalusha, Lahara, Vava, Vasu, Vavri, Vabhata, Vasama, Vachate, Vapata, Vatata, Viraha, Vapaṭa, Vihala, Vijala, Vahava, Sata, Saḍha, Sara, Sava, Seja, Sidha, Sudakara, Satikala, Siṭapa, Sarip, Hahi, Hathapa, etc. Likewise, various architectural members of Mitaoli, bear the names of the age, Aiṇa, Aitata, Kachha, Keḍā, Kaha, Kavipi, Gaka, Chāka, Chhechha, Jaga, Jagha, Japa, Jala, Jasa, Jasaha, Jasya, Jasura, Jasahara, Jaddapa, Tachhā, Tane, Desa, Nare, Nāna, Niti, Nete, Nate, Pate, Pachhī, Pavara, Pāpare, Popaṭa, Pithivi, Piṭhaṭa, Bhane, Bhadha, Bhidharu, Maka, Rapā, Ratana, Ratane, Rate, Rena, Renha, Raja, Rajala, Rajula, Lata, Vachhā, Vina, Viradhara, Saḍha, Saja, Sava, Save, Suṭa, Supaṭa, Sauda, Sudhara, Sujata, Sitala, Silava, Sidhara, Sidala, Sidharā, Saḍaha, Hala, Hāla, Hadha etc. The names of Asa, Uva, Udaja, Kuta gaṇa, Kuravata gaṇe, Garta, Coge, Jaja, Joje, Japaṇe, Jasara, Jaṇa, Jaṇadhara, Ḍaga, Dugarā, Ḍane, Dhanī, Dhānā, Dhāna, Nara gaṇa, Bhadaī, Mahidhara, Mani gaṇa, Yanaṇa, Yuarā, Rajā, Rāvaṇa, Ramaṇā, Lakha, Lokha, Lavo, Lothi, Vata, Valā, Vudhai, Vahilī, Savaṇa, Saravaṇa, Siyiro, Sidhrā, Hauda, and others are carved on different parts of Kakanamaṭha temple at Suhania. Masons of Batesara were Sama, Tena, Deu, Gaga, Mela, Lalu, Valitā, Titana, Tatana, Utama, Sidhara; of Addauni temple was Rajala, and of Tilori quarry Malhu, Keva. Masons of Sasbahu temple of Gwalior were Kurāṇa, Divadhra, Naṭala, Padma, Maḍhala, Maṇate, Soḍhe, Soḍho, Soḍhamātiga, Saṇhi, Saṇhira, Silā, Tihana, Thopata, Tūṭe, Valata, Vachhā, Vuliyaṇa, Visa, Vale, Utama and others, while of Teli ka Mandir were Śaka, Vaipa, Bhāta, Rega, Rerai, Vaisa and others.

On many stones directions were cut in Brahmi script or in its derivatives. For example, Teli ka Mandir of Gwalior displays a number of short graffiti specifying directions, engraved on the *vedibandha* courses. Four such graffiti read *pacchīma*, four read *utara*, six read *agne*, six read *vāyava*, five reads *dakṣi* and four read *neritya* with a variant *nariti*. Except for some graffiti they are all in the appropriate directions. The direction names, of which some are in wrong direction and a few of them carved upside down or in extreme corners or in very narrow space, indicate the technique of temple construction.

Apart from above information, one Padhawali inscription of V. S. 1332 mentions *sūtradhāra* Jayamtasimha and the construction of Yakṣa-maṇḍapa⁹ and another inscription of V. S. 1560 mentions *sūtradhāra* Nārāyaṇa and



I. A. PADHAVALI







क	दी	उ	ळ	रु	ए	आ	ठ	ठा
ब	ल	ढ	त	ड	क	र	ल	त
घ	फ	श	च	य	रु	र	क	ड
ख	कि	टे	रे	र	ठ	म	ळ	ठ
ट	र	ली	कि	रु	२	०	५	→
कम	कल	गद	गके	गदे	रु	रु	डडे	डेव
तोक	दैर	देर	शु	उक	रु	रु	ताला	कक
सेह	घय	डव	वण	ठप	पठ	ठड	रु	रु

५९	उँउँ	म.हे	०रु	एट	यपि	सठ	कव	पपि
७३	क्रे	घर	वसु	कन	वृ	रुप	सिध	सँगे
८५	एड	सँक	हटे	सँटे	रदी	था	सठ	रम
११६	दाउ	तैसै	घत	तत	उठ	पुठ	मद्व	रुः
१५५	कस	पपि	कपदर	तजत	कनत	पठउ	रुसैय	अन्त
१६५	कौसल	कदल	धतल	हदर	कपदर	हदर	रुतप	टेमल
१६८	कदेस	दुदर	थयट	तजल	तकस	कमत	कदल	कैकल
१६९	ककक	मफिकल	लहर	कहर	तलुध	मपुल	रकल	रुल
१७०	वयते	वधन	विरक	विहल	वितर	मतिकल	मुयकर	यपर
१७१	कहत	वदर	वतन	वमव	तदेर	जिथ	रुद	कदेस
१७२	कवेदे	रुःयल	सदृप	हहय	ररप	ठहटे	वैकल	हठप
१७३	कतर	रुःउ	कसल	तरप	तल	यपर	ठडेप	कक
१७४	कसल	वकद	केसल	देरह	गड	पेटे	वप	कलिल
								कौन





ढ क ठ ङ ऐण ऐण अशो केडा काह
 शक कठ कविषि चाक कक रुध रुवा रुस रुसह
 रुसहर रुसु रुप रुल रुट्टप तका तकि रतके पैल
 काक कते कते किति करे मक तकिअ पिषठि पिषिषि
 पिषिषि पते पवर पकी पोपट प्रापरे पणन रुव देर
 रुक रुकुल रुकुलु रगे रणा रेकू रेठ रुके रुसुर
 पीषट लत शिषर सुपट सुउप सुठ वका षर ठिठ
 सुव शिषर सुव सुवे शिलव सुट सुरुत सुपर हल
 रतक शिषरा शितल सुउर विरवर सुरुत सुर हल रुव

III. SUHANIA

+	x	♀	□	田				
	o			→			80	100
	त	ल	फ	ठ	डा	व	o+o	क
प	घो	वा	लख	लख	लख	लख	लख	मटे
दक	दकी	उव	वट	लख	लख	अस	लोको	रफे
दक	रर	दडे	रुह	रुउल	रुगले	रमल	वुपः	उरर
रुदः	लख	रुखर	खल	रुयले	यमल	कुतर	पला	रुउद
वहिली	युअरा	सिथिरो	सिधुर	सवल	सरवल	महिपर	रुउलपर	कुतगल
रुदकतडाले	महिगल	करगल						

ॐ			१					ॐ
०	०	१	५	२	७	१०	१	४
४	८	८	रा	सम	तन	देउ	७७	सि
१६	मेल	ललु	कलीता	टिक	टम	तमा	३०	६६
७	सिघर	०	५					

IV. BATESARA

त्रा	३के	६२	७		४		५	४
०	०	१	२		४	१	६	

V. NARESARA

रजल

VI. ADDAUNI



पद्म पद्मे तुरग-उतम दिवपर शिला शिला सलि सहर
 सौंटे सौंटे सौंढमातिशः वले वलत विस वुलियक तिदक वका
 ठोपत मढल कटल टटे मठा मल्ले

VIII. SASBAHU TEMPLE

४ षीक वंश नमक रेण ल् व र र्श
 वयव उरु उतर यकीय कैस्य रक्ति जवे सवे उम
 वैस पकीय १

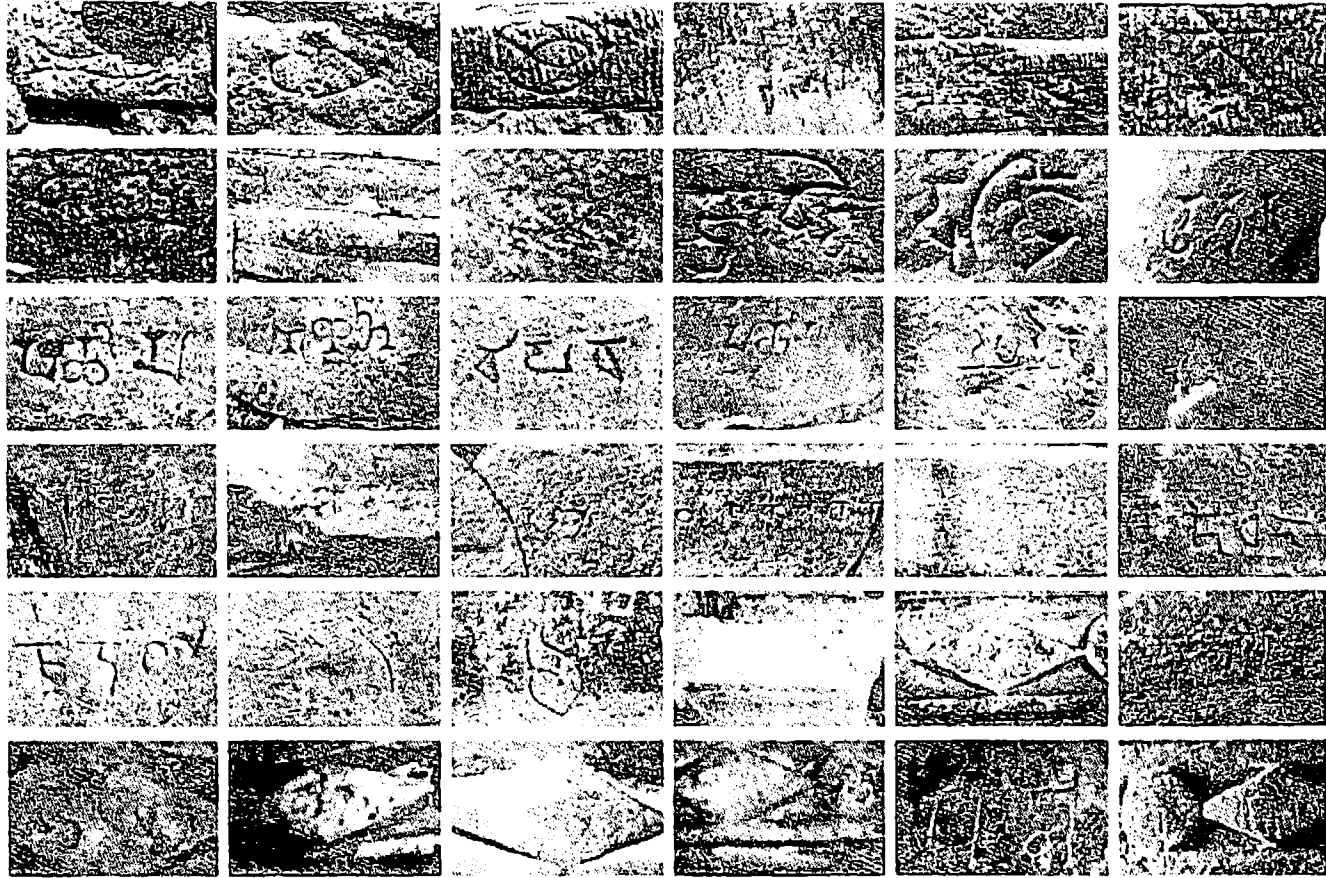
IX. TELI KA MANDIR

○	१	१	१	A	≡	○	⊙	⊕
+	७	△	△	△	क	क	म	β
५	←	∩	∩	∩	⊞	⊞	∞	∞
☺	☺	☺						

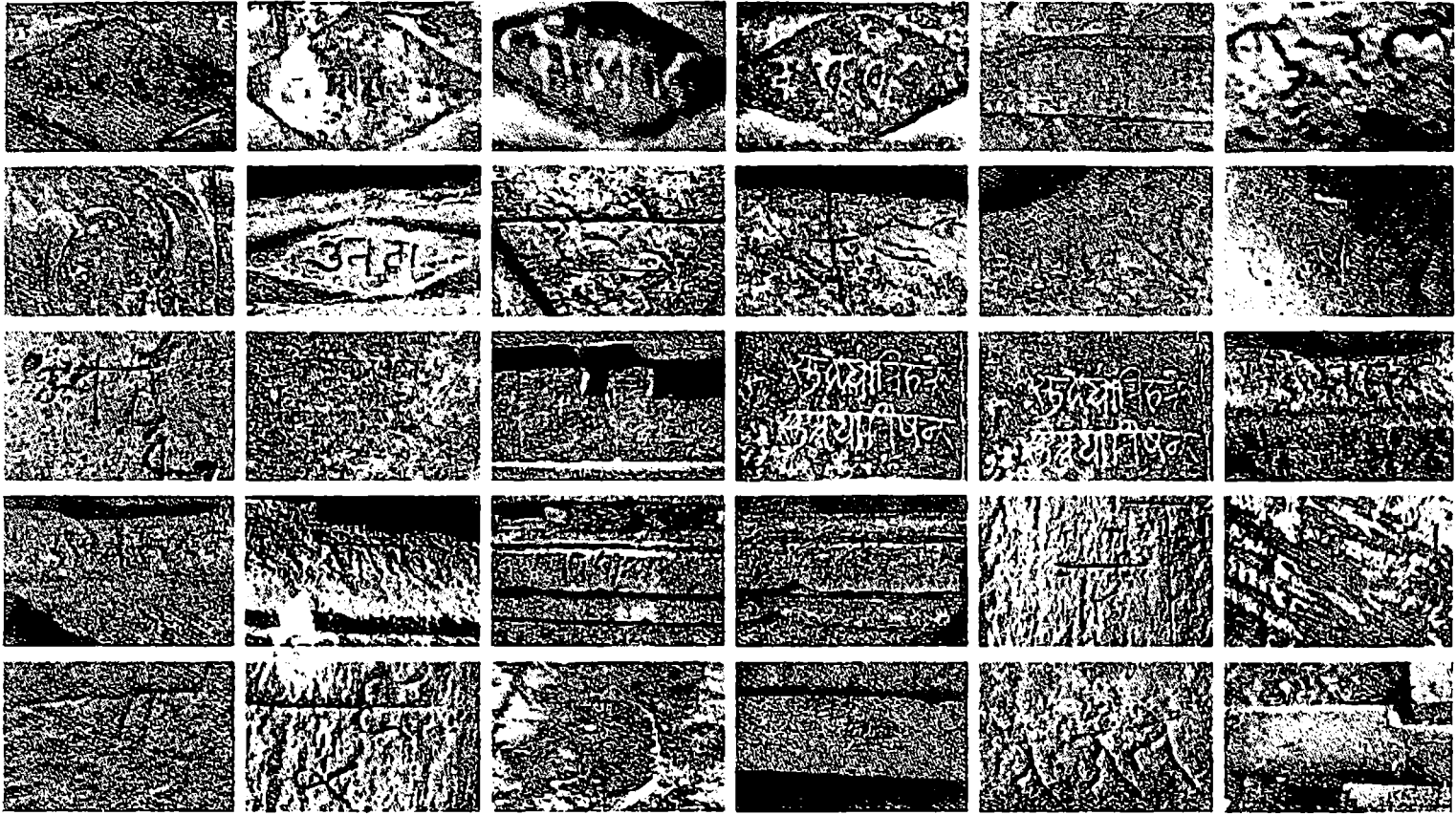
X. GWALIOR FORT



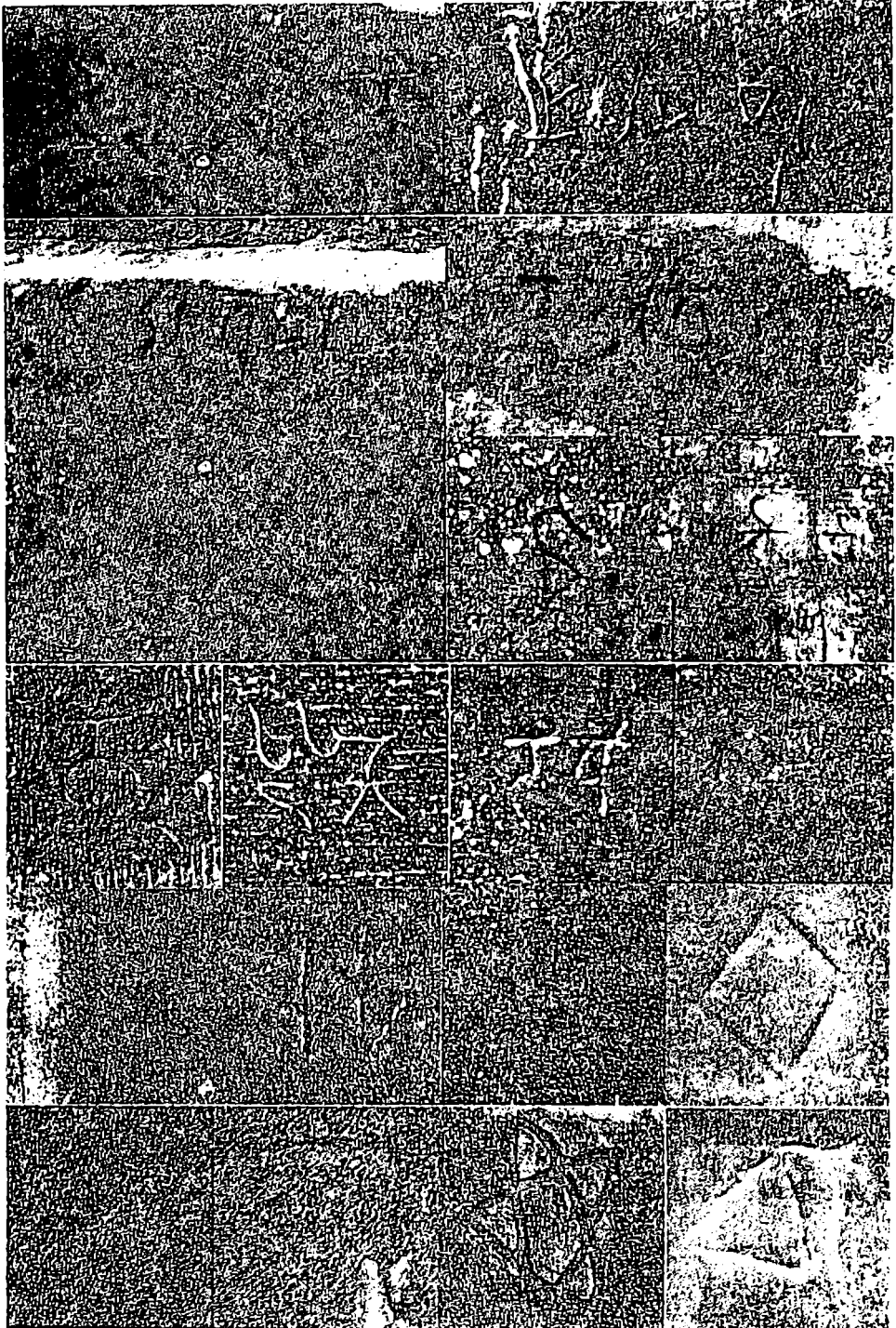
MASONS' MARKS FROM JABALPUR

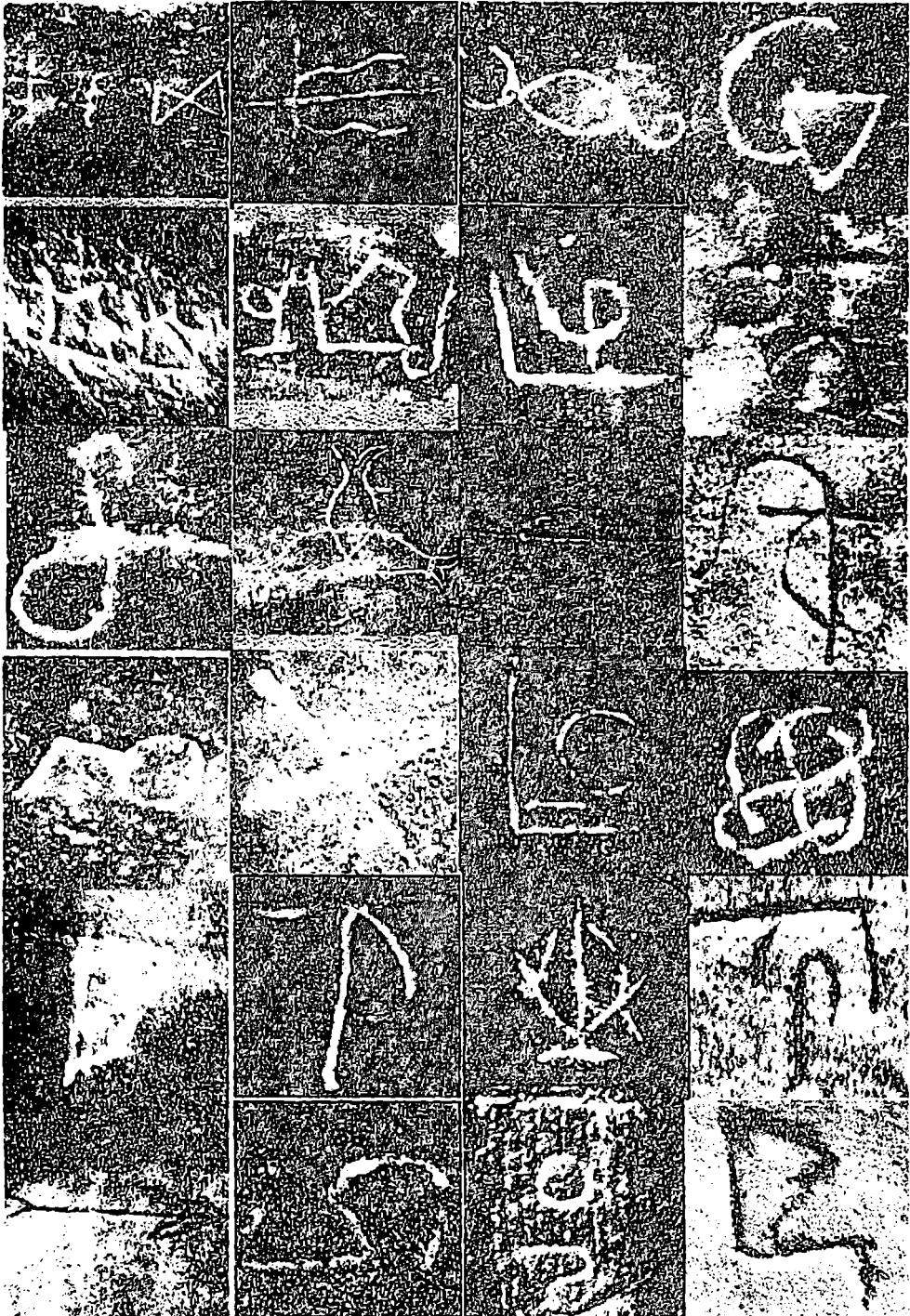


Masons' marks from Morena and Gwalior.



Masons' marks from Morena and Gwalior.





MASONS' MARKS FROM JABALPUR

some of his work.¹⁰ Mitaoli inscription of V. S. 1380 refers to the writer Bhojadeva¹¹, while the names of three *sūtradhāras* – *sūtradhāra* Haru, *sūtradhāra* Śanu, *sūtradhāra* Prasu are engraved on the entrance gate of Mitaoli temple. Suhania inscription of V. S. 1467 refers to *sūtradhāra* Haridāsa.¹² Naresara inscription records the name of writer Savda, son of Teratha.¹³ On the Gwalior fort the name of *sūtradhāra* Keśava, the son of Pana is engraved while another inscription of V. S. 1553 mentions *sūtradhāra* Mahesu of Dhodha and other *sūtradhāras*. Mahesu had done renewal work of the rampart (*paurī*) of Uravai. The Sasbahu temple inscription of Mahipāla, (V. S. 1150) was composed by poet Maṇikaṅṭha, written by Yaśodeva-Digambararka and engraved by the three *śilpīs*: Padma, the son of Devasvāmin, Śirṃhavaja and Mahula.¹⁴ It would be naive to regard highly skilled artisans like *sūtradhāra*, *rūpakāra*, *śilpī* and others merely as engravers of records and nothing more. It is possible that owing to their pre-eminent position in their realm of activity the *sūtradhāras* decided upon either doing the job themselves or deputing other ranks of artisans such as *śilpi*, *rūpakāra*, etc. for it. They had greater responsibility and skill, which showed itself in their accomplishments pertaining to the building activity on a larger scale. It will be interesting to find out how closely the *sūtradhāras* and other classes of artisans were connected with the building of temples, their sculptural decoration and the special role of *sūtradhāra* at various stages of such activity.¹⁵ The evidence available in the Sasbahu temple provides information in this regard. Interestingly, the name of Padma which is engraved several times on the Sasbahu temple with a variant of Padme proves his role of the designer and the executor of the temple as a skilled artist; and suggests that he was not merely an engraver of the epigraph as recorded in the Sasbahu temple inscription of Mahipāla. It is further evident from inscriptions that a *sūtradhāra* or *śilpī* who constructed the temple also performed the engraving and other work at some stages and training made him expert in more than one type of job. In their turn, they handed over their skill to the coming generations. The process continued for generations till their patrons were able to give work for their skilled hands. In this regard mention may be made about the continuity of Kokasa family from 1195 to the 15th century CE.¹⁶

Undoubtedly it is the skilled artists who brought architectural splendour and sculptural grace. Apart from the clear references to *sūtradhāra* and *śilpī* it may also be contemplated that the person(s) whose name(s) they bear executed those pieces of work. The artists' work continued from structural planning to the carving of letters that was performed by the incorporate group of several persons. Some of them were labourers who brought stone from quarry and enormously helped the artisans. Artists' works were also of varying nature, such as planning, scraping, smoothening, sketching, cutting, shaping, etc. A large number of masons whose names sometimes occurred on the architectural members were busy in scraping and smoothening the pillars

and slabs. However, the names inscribed only on surface do not indicate that they were only the scrapers of the related pieces. They may also have played an important role in making of sculptures and construction of temple, which unfortunately is not specified. Some names inscribed on a particular type of architectural members indicate their specialization in a particular work. Some craftsmen had expertise in varied types of work. Some sort of work division as well as corporate work was also present as evident from different marks and names on separate architectural members and joint marks and names on the same architectural members.

Guilds of artists must have been an important factor in building-activity. The scale of activity together with the hereditary practice of same craft in the family or the *ācārya*-disciple relationship among the craftsmen¹⁷ indicates a possibility of guild existence. The practice of the same profession in one family for two generations or more is often occurred in the epigraphic references to artists. The masons' names reveal the artist as an individual as well as a part and parcel of the "group" or "class" to which he belongs. Personal names like Kalasa, Talasa, Papparasa, Gadala, Ghatala, Gosala, Atala, Rahala, Mahijala, Vijala, Latala, Nehila and others show a family or group relationship among the artisans. The names suffixed with the letter *ga* and *gaṇa* indicate that the *gaṇa* were known after the names of their chief. Some definite instances of guilds are known from Khajuraho.¹⁸ It is also interesting to note that the names of four such guilds are engraved on the Kakanmaṭha temple of Suhania. They are Kuta gaṇa, Kuravata gaṇa, Mani gaṇa and Nara gaṇa.

The migration of masons from distant places is evident from the references in the inscriptions. The occurrence of the name of the same artist in the inscription of two different dynasties indicates that the change of ruling dynasty in a locality did not affect the fortune of the artist.¹⁹ Professionally, an artist was free to move from place to place and change patronage at will. His skill therefore seems to have been his guarantee for work. On the basis of the occurrence of such marks at different places and their localization at Tilori, R. N. Misra opines that it could have been a stronghold of artist communities. In an overall perspective they also indicate both the resident as well as itinerant character of artists' guilds. The evidence of masons' marks from Tilori viewed in this light, suggests that it was an ancient village where guilds of artists were in residence,²⁰ and when they found work they moved to near or distant places like Suhania, Padhawali, Mitaoli, Gwalior or to Bhojpur²¹ or even to far off places like Jabalpur and Jaunpur.²² M. M. Upadhyay, Divisional Commissioner of Jabalpur, was kind enough and provided the photographs of masons' marks of Jabalpur. In these photographs, signs like scorpion, fish, plus, square, arrow, trident, *damaru*, letters like cha, the, tha, ga, na, nā, bha, ra 6, ve, vi and names like Bhote, Daga, Deve, Cipasa, Nāga, Tava, Taganepa, Rrarpa, Rāvāga, Mahadahasi, Lahataga, Luhapa, Sina, Sese and

others are noticed.

Thus, information is now available which can help not only to reveal the names and achievements of individual artists or artists' guilds but also to check the misleading comments like, 'it is but surprising that the artists who worked at them have not even left their names.' The artists left a 'secret' code of their identity which can be established by field studies. In general, this code consists 'masons' marks' and 'masons' names' occurred on sculptures, or on different architectural parts of temples in abundance. The drawings along with this paper explain their typology. These marks need a careful analysis. More studies on the point may help in eroding the myth more conclusively.

Notes and References

1. M. J. Walhouse, "Masons' Marks," *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, pp. 202-203.
2. R. N. Misra, "Anonymity of the Ancient Indian Artist: Facts or Fiction", *Kalakshetra Quarterly*, Vol. V (no. 4), p. 6.
3. R. N. Misra, *Ancient Artists and Art Activity*, Simla, 1975, p. 1.
4. According to Romila Thapar ("Patronage and the Community", Barbara Stoler Miller (ed.) *The Power of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992, p. 19) such a relationship can perhaps be categorized into at least four significant forms, (i) patronage which is embedded in a society and where the patron and recipient are built into the system as it were, (ii) patronage as deliberate act of choice, (iii) service, and (iv) public activity. In the view of R. N. Misra ("Anonymity of the Ancient Indian Artist", p. 5) the five different and parallel "sub-systems" were operating within the professional structure of *śilpīs*: (i) under the orthodox system of the previously existing 'varṇa-jāti' model; (ii) under the Buddhist Saṃgha and its various sects; (iii) under the autonomous system of Śreṇis 'guilds'; (iv) under royal patronage or the patronage of elite or even (v) under the patronage of a lumpen group of commoners and elites who combined together to support the construction of a monument.
5. cf. P. K. Acharya, *Mānasāra*, an *Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, vol. VII, Oxford University Press, 1946, S. V. Sthapati.
6. M. K. Dhavalikar, 'Sūtradhāra', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. LII (1971), Poona, p. 218.
7. The *Thupavamiśa* cites the case of a skilled mason who wanted to employ five hundred workmen for achieving his task (referred in R. N. Misra, *Ancient Artists and Art Activity*, p. 24). One such panel is known from Khajuraho, in front of the Śilpī, where six figures of *karmikas*, 'labourers', are seen carrying a finished block of stone, probably a capital of pillar, which is suspended with ropes from a pole shown across the shoulders of the labourers.
8. In this regard attempt has been made by R. N. Misra, "Anonymity of the Ancient

Indian Artist", pp. 3-9; *Ancient Artists and Art Activity*, B. M. Pande, "The date and the builders of the Śiva temple at Bhojpur (Dist. Raisen, M. P.) and by the author, "Minor Inscriptions and Graffiti from Khajuraho", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 64-66, (1989-91), pp. 222-237; and "Artists of Khajuraho", Viśvarnhara, *Probing in Orientology (Prof. V. S. Pathak Festschrift)* Vol. II, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 292-296.

9. Michael D. Willis, *Inscriptions of Gopaksetra, Material for the History of Central India*, British Museum, 1996, p. 15.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
13. A. K. Singh, "Naresara Inscriptions", J. P. Joshi (ed.) *Facets of Indian Civilization-Recent Perspectives (Essays in Honour of Prof. B. B. Lal)*, New Delhi, 1997, p. 612.
14. F. Kielhorn, "The Sasbahu Temple Inscription of Mahipāla of V. S. 1150," *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, pp. 33-46.
15. Certain records (*C. I. I.*, IV, p. 558; *E. I.*, XI, p. 47) exclusively by *sūtradhāras* define their role properly, in which these artists find specific occurrence as the designers and the executors of the temples as well as engraver of the inscription.
16. For detail see R. N. Misra, "A Profile of Indian Artists", G. M. Sheikh (ed.), *Paroksha (Coomaraswamy Centenary Seminar Papers)*, 1987, pp. 65-69.
17. A Cālukyan inscription refers to Sarva-Siddha-ācāryas who were well versed in the secrets of Sri-Sīla-Mudde. The term signifies some guild of artists. Besides literary and epigraphic references a panel on a wall of a side temple in the Lakṣmaṇa temple of Khajuraho, represents a scene of *śilpaśālā*, 'artisans' workshop' where a chief-*śilpī* is shown sitting surrounded by apprentices. While the *śilpī* engraves on a slab of stone, with full attention, his apprentices surrounding him seem to be watching his action.
18. A. K. Singh, "Khajuraho Abhilekhon men Gaṇa", *The Bounteous Tree, Treasure in Indian Art and Culture (Homage to H. V. Trivedi)*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1977, pp. 551-554.
19. Reference to Palhaṇa in the Kalacuri and the Candella territories is available.
20. "Anonymity of the Ancient Indian Artist", p. 4. A text refers to land grants made to masons that helped in setting the artists' communities in certain chosen places. Information concerning certain grants of land made to artists after the completion of the Sun temple at Konarka is available. Inscriptions confirm some artist villages like Posali in Bengal (*E. I.*, Vol. XIX, p 6); Sadanandapur in Orissa which is named after the name of chief architect of Konarka Sun Temple, Sadananda. The Deopara inscription of Vijayasena refers to a master craftsman Rānaka Śūlapāṇi who was the crest-jewel of the *goṣṭhi* (guild) of *śilpī* of Varendra (*Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 249, v. 36).

21. cf. B. M. Pande, "The Date and the Builders of the Śiva temple at Bhojapur", *Malwa through the Ages*, Bhopal, 1981, pp. 170-175.
22. cf., M. J. Walhouse, "Masons' Marks", *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, pp. 302-305 & Chart. For the masons' marks of Saranath and Delhi cf., A Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. I, plates XXXIV & XXXVII.

Royal Seats of Ancient Konkan

H. R. Thosar

Inscriptions connected with the Konkan region of Maharashtra mention a large number of place-names, which had once played the role of royal seats or provincial capitals during different periods of history. Very few of them have been correctly identified. A critical discussion about their identification and the circumstances under which they were chosen as centres of political activities is necessary to highlight an important aspect connected with the history and historical geography of the Konkan region of Maharashtra, which is attempted through the following pages. Before having a discussion, it is essential to take into account the geographical situation of the Deccan in which Konkan and Maharashtra are included. The tableland of the Deccan is regarded as geologically the most ancient one, not only in India, but in the whole world.¹ When the tableland of the Deccan witnessed the dawn of human civilization, the coastal belt of Konkan was under the ocean. It was exposed later on due to the natural process of sea erosion, which has given rise to the legend of Paraśurāma. Consequently, the cultural progress of the coastal region of Konkan began later than the mainland of Maharashtra.

During the early historic period, Konkan was regarded as a part of the western coastal region of India, which was designated as Aparānta. In the Buddhist literature, the region around Sopara has been described as Śunāparānta.² The exact meaning of this term is not clearly defined so far. According to Monier Williams, 'Śuna' means auspicious or grown-up.³ If we accept this interpretation, it seems that because of the gainful foreign trade of India during the early centuries of the Christian era, several ports from this region like Sopara, Kalyan, Chaul and Balipattana from North and South Konkan had obtained unprecedented prosperity and affluence. In contrast, there were certain rocks and islands like Diu, Daman, Lakshadvip and Maldiva in the same Aparānta region, which were not so developed and hence in contemporary literature and epigraphs, they have been described as 'Barbara' or uncivilized.⁴ As a matter of fact, Barbara was also regarded as one of the Saptakonkanas.⁵ Some scholars had located Barbara near Sindh in Pakistan. However, this does not seem to be absolutely correct, because in the records of the Solankis of Gujarat, the islands of Daman and Diu are also termed as 'Barbara'. In the same way, the inscriptions of the Kadambas of Goa describes the islands of Laccive and Maldiva as 'Barbara'.⁶ 'Barbara' therefore will have to be taken for granted as all the islands and rocks in the Arabian sea,

which were detached from the main coast, and hence were less civilized than the mainland.

During ancient times, Konkan was divided in two main natural divisions i.e. Konkaṇa-1400 or North Konkan and Konkaṇa-900 or South Konkan. The exact borderline between these two divisions cannot be drawn, but it seems that the Vashishthi river at Chiplun in the Ratnagiri district was generally regarded as the boundary between these two divisions of Konkan. During the Śīlāhāra period, these two divisions were ruled over by the Śīlāhāras of North Konkan and the Śīlāhāras of South Konkan. Recent epigraphical studies have revealed the existence of yet another branch of the Śīlāhāras, who had their royal seats at different places in Central Konkan as discussed in the sequel. We will discuss the royal seats of Konkan in these three sub-divisions of Konkan.

North Konkan

During the Mauryan period, Konkan was included in the Aparānta division, which was a part of the Ujjain viceroyalty; while the rest of Maharashtra seems to have been included in the viceroyalty of Dakṣiṇāpatha, the main seat of which was at Suvarṇagiri.⁷ The inclusion of the rest of Maharashtra and the coastal region of Konkan in two separate administrative units is indicated by the deputation of two different Buddhist monks as missionaries in these two regions by the third Buddhist council, held under the patronage of Aśoka.

ŚŪRPĀRAKA : According to R. G. Bhandarkar, Sopara in Thane district, which represents ancient ŚŪrpāraka was the headquarters of Śunāparānta.⁸ This view is substantiated by the discovery of two inscriptions of Aśoka at this place, which contain his instructions in his VIII and IX rock-edicts.⁹ Sopara was thus the earliest metropolis of Konkan. The ancient port-town of Sopara was situated on a sub-creek or an arm, that touched the Vasai creek on the south near Nāgapura or Naigaon and continued to flow to the north upto the Vaitarana creek at Agashi near Arnala.¹⁰ Because of the process of sea-erosion, this arm gradually silted and dried and consequently the most ancient port of Konkan became a land-locked place. With this setback, the status of Sopara as the chief town of Konkan also slowly waned.

At the middle of the 12th century CE, there was a temporary eclipse to the rule of the Śīlāhāras of North Konkan, following the death of Aparāditya I. This was the outcome of the rebellions of the Dāyādas of Aparāditya, who were backed by the Cālukyas of Kalyan and their feudatories, the Śīlāhāras of Kolhapur. Aparāditya I had two sons but none of them was allowed to succeed him. Instead of them Śīlāhāra Haripāladeva, who was probably a rebellious kin of Aparāditya I, declared himself as the king at about 1145 CE.¹¹ It seems that the successors of Aparāditya I were still holding the island

of Sashti and the city of Thane, which was the royal seat of the Śilāhāras of North Konkan. Because of this, Haripāladeva seems to have made Sopara as his new capital and upgraded its status as the headquarters of 2000 villages.¹² Most of the inscriptions of Haripāladeva have also been reported from the outskirts of Sopara. It shows that this ancient city of Konkan again became a royal seat with the accession of Haripāladeva. However, after his death the rulers of this branch of the Śilāhāras had shifted their royal seats to different places in Central Konkan in the vicinity of Chaul in Raigad district. Sopara thus again lost its status as the royal seat of this area. However, it continued to be the headquarters of an administrative unit of 66 villages, which is referred to in the inscriptions of the Śilāhāras of North Konkan as Sūrpāraka Śataṣaṣṭi.¹³

PURĪ-ANIRUDDHAPURĪ : The end of the Sātavāhana period marked a slight decrease in India's foreign trade. The ports through which this trade was carried were inland ports. The utility of these ports for navigation continued to be affected due to sea-erosion. Consequently, the need for a deepwater port was felt very badly. This coincided with the rise of the Traikūṭakas, who had their earlier royal seat at Āmraka (Tryambak near Nasik). They later on shifted it to Aniruddhapurī (the island of Elephanta or Gharapuri near Mumbai). It was an ideal island, because though it was not located on the seashore, it was always surrounded by deep waters, as the Thane creek, in the midst of which it is located, becomes so wide that it looks like a bay. The Traikūṭakas developed this island as a port and later on shifted their royal seat to it. Its original name was Purī, but different prefixes were attached to Purī under different dynasties. In the royal charters of the Traikūṭakas, it is described as Aniruddhapurī. Under the Mauryas of Konkan, who succeeded the Trikūṭakas, it was known as Candrapurī, and during the rule of the Rāṣtrakūṭas and the Śilāhāras of North Konkan it was called as Śrīpura or Śrīpurī.

Under the Traikūṭakas, Purī witnessed a rapid growth, both as a port town and an urban centre. Within a very short period, a township was developed on the island, the remains of which could be seen right upto the 19th century. The earliest rock-cut caves on this island may also have been carved during the Traikūṭaka regime. Through the Kanheri copperplate grant of the Traikūṭakas, we come to know that traders from distant parts of India like Sindh, continued to visit Konkan for commercial purpose. Because of this, Aniruddhapurī continued to grow as an important commercial centre.¹⁴ After the fall of the Traikūṭakas, the Mauryas of Konkan established their kingship in Konkan sometime before 400 CE. The Aihole inscription of Cālukya Pulakeśi dated 635 CE refers to Purī as the royal seat of the Mauryas and eulogizes it as 'Aparajaladharalakṣmī.' It follows that during the first half of the 7th century CE Purī had already become the metropolis of North Konkan.

Under the Mauryas of Konkan, Purī continued to flourish both as the royal seat and a port town. The kings of this dynasty developed Purī as a strong naval base with the help of which, they could protect their country and capital from foreign enemy and also could check piracy. To connect the island port with the mainland, a new port was built on the site of the present Nhava-Sheva port, which is referred to in the inscriptions of the Cālukyas of Badami as Samagiripaṭṭaṇa. The naval strength of the Mauryas of Konkan can be estimated by the fact that a small power like them could give a stubborn fight to the mighty Cālukyas of Badami, and that too for about half a century. Among the Cālukya kings, who had invaded Konkan both by land and sea, the earliest was Kīrtivarman I. The Aihole inscription of his son Pulakeśi II describes him as a 'Kālarātri' to the Mauryas. It seems that Kīrtivarman raided the adjoining part of South Konkan, Goa and North Konkan, but without any territorial gains. His brother and successor Maṅgaleśa opened a fresh attack on the Mauryas of Konkan, both from land and sea. The inscriptions of the Cālukyas contain a graphic description of a stiff naval fight between Maṅgaleśa and the Mauryas of Konkan. Ultimately, Maṅgaleśa succeeded in the conquest of the major part of Konkan from Goa in the south to Revalīdvīpa (Revdanda near Chaul in Raigad district). Following this, he appointed his general Dhruvarāja Indravarman as the first governor of the Cālukyas of Badami, who according to his own inscription had the four *viśayas* of Revalīdvīpa under his jurisdiction.¹⁵

In spite of the loss of more than half of their territory, the Mauryas of Konkan continued to have their hold on the island port town of Purī and the surrounding area of Thane district till the beginning of the reign of Pulakeśi II. The latter undertook fresh expedition of Konkan in the second decade of the 7th century. He had deputed his trusted relatives as the commanders of his army. As per Pulakeśi's Chiplun plates, his maternal uncle Sendraka Senānnadarāja was one of such commanders.¹⁶ Through the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarṣa, who claims to have been the brother of Pulakeśi, we come to know that he was another commander of the Cālukya forces in the expedition against the Mauryas of Konkan.¹⁷ We are told that Buddhavarṣa had pitched his army camp at Pinukanagara (Pen in Raigad district), from which place he undertook several attacks on Purī. Ultimately Purī was captured by the Cālukyas after employing hundreds of warships in this naval battle. Consequently, the island town of Purī was completely destroyed due to its storming by the Cālukya forces. After this battle Buddhavarṣa was appointed as the governor of North Konkan, who made Pinukanagara as his headquarters. However, this was the chief town of Konkan for a very brief period.

During the last quarter of the 7th century, Cālukya Vikramāditya I appointed Pṛthvīcandra Bhogaśakti as the governor of North Konkan along with the neighbouring districts of Nasik and Ahmednagar. Initially his headquarters was

at Harishchandragad fort in Ahmednagar district. He gave top priority to the re-colonisation of Purī and afterwards shifted his capital to that place. Purī was thus again restored to its earlier status as the capital of North Konkan. According to the Anjaneri plates, Bhogaśakti had granted several economic concessions and incentives for the re-colonisation of Candrapurī i.e. Purī and Samagiripaṭṭaṇa, which was another port in front of it.¹⁸ It was probably on this occasion that Purī was renamed as Śrīpurī as known from the Manor plates of Maṅgalarasa.¹⁹

Through the Manor plates of Rāṣtrakūṭa Dantidurga, we come to know that Śrīpura or Śrīpurī continued to enjoy the status of the provincial capital of North Konkan during the Rāṣtrakūṭa regime. It continued to play the same role even during the first 150 years of the rule of the Śilāhāras of North Konkan, till Śilāhāra Aparājita transferred it to Thane during the last decade of the 10th century. This is substantiated by the Janjira plates of this king, which were issued from Thane.²⁰ The same inscription states that Kapardin I, the founder of the Śilāhāra kingdom was very fond of living in the water port of Purī. The continuation of Purī as the royal seat of the early Śilāhāra kings is further corroborated by its mention as 'Purī-Konkaṇa' (meaning Konkan headed by Purī) in several early inscriptions of this dynasty. At the end of the 10th century, North Konkan was invaded by Satyāśraya, the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa, who inflicted a crushing defeat upon Aparājita and stormed and burnt Purī and other cities.²¹ This proved to be a deathblow to this island city from which it never recovered in future. It not only lost its status as the royal seat of North Konkan, but the commercial activity at this place also gradually declined. Purī was soon converted into an insignificant village. In the Cintra inscription of Śilāhāra Aparāditya (first half of the 11th century), it is mentioned as Śrīpuragrāma.²² This was also one of the causes as to why Aparājita had to shift his royal seat from Purī to Thane.

PINUKANAGARA : As discussed above, Pinukanagara, which is now represented by Pen, the headquarters of a taluka division in the Raigad district, was the third royal seat from North Konkan between the period of the destruction and re-colonisation of Purī.

Central Konkan

As discussed above, several places from the Raigad district of Central Konkan were also royal seats of several chiefs during different periods of history. Following are such places.

MĀNḌAVA : References to the place-name Māṅḍava are noticed in the early Brahmi inscriptions from the Kuḍā caves in Raigad district. According to these inscriptions Māṅḍava seems to have been the royal seat of the Mahābhōja chiefs, who ruled over this area.²³ Māṅḍava has been identified

with Mandad in the Mangaon taluka of Raigad district. The same place has also been identified with Mandagora mentioned in the Greek accounts of Periplus and Ptolemy's Geography. It follows that Mandad was one of the prominent ports and centres of political activities in Central Konkan during the early centuries of the Christian era.

SANTĀNAPURA/ŚĀNTANUPURA : The next among such places from Central Konkan was Santānapura or Śāntanupura. The earliest reference to this place occurs in the Banaras plates of the Śūra chief Harirāja.²⁴ He was probably a subordinate of the Traikūtakas and governed the central part of Konkan during the 4th century. The present writer has identified Santānapura with the Janjira island-fort near Murud in the Raigad district on the following grounds.

1. Santānapura is also mentioned in the Jaina work *Prabandha Cintāmani*,²⁵ which describes the place as a sea-girt settlement and the royal seat of Mahānanda, the father of Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna, who ruled over Central Konkan as known from his Chiplun and Vasai inscriptions, from 1155 to 1162 CE.²⁶
2. Mallikārjuna was the successor of Śilāhāra Haripāladeva, who had usurped the kingdom of North Konkan from the successors of Aparāditya I, with the backing of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur as discussed above. According to the Marathi chronicle named *Mahikavatichi Bakhar*, the Śilāhāra kings of this line had their royal seats near Chaul or Champāvati.²⁷
3. In the accounts of Arab writers of the 10th-11th centuries a port named Sandabur has been frequently referred to which is shown, as near Chaul.²⁸ Sandabur is obviously a corrupt form of Santānapura.
4. The tradition of Janjira of being a royal seat continued upto the medieval period as known from the history of the Siddis of Janjira, who had carved out their own Abyssinian kingdom in that area.

These evidences bring to light a new royal seat and port from Central Konkan about which we had no knowledge so far.

CHAUL-REVDANDA : As Sopara, Gharapuri and Thane were the centres of political and commercial activities in the vicinity of Mumbai, in Central Konkan also there were such centres which came to prominence during different periods. Among these places, Chaul near Alibag in Raigad district was the most prominent. During the early centuries of the Christian era, Chaul was one of the leading ports of Konkan like Sopara and Kalyan. Chaul seems to have got the status of a provincial capital at the close of the 6th century, when Cālukya Maṅgaleśa occupied the territory of the Mauryas of Konkan upto Revatīdvīpa (Chaul-Revdanda) and appointed Dhruvarāja Indravarman

as the governor of this area as discussed above. Chaul seems to have been the secondary capital of the Śilāhāras of North Konkan. This is revealed through the accounts of Arab writers, who describe Śilāhāra Jhañja as the ruler of Chaul, while his brother Goggirāja was ruling from Purī simultaneously.²⁹ The existence of two separate royal seats of the Śilāhāras of North Konkan is also indicated by the Kharepatan plates of Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja of South Konkan, according to which his ancestor Avasara had protected the rulers of Cemulya and Candrapura, which according to the present writer is a reference to the two royal seats of the Śilāhāras of North Konkan i.e. Chaul and Puri. As discussed above, according to the *Mahikavatichi Bakhar*, Chaul was the headquarters of the nominee of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur in North Konkan. The importance of Chaul as the headquarters of Central Konkan continued even during the medieval period. This is indicated by frequent references to Daṇḍarājapurī near Chaul as the headquarters of the governor of the Bahamanis and the Adilshahi Sultanate of Bijapur. Because of this historical background, some researchers like Bhave had identified Puri with Daṇḍarājapurī near Chaul.³⁰

VṚṢABHINIKHETAKA/PRṬHVĪPARVATA : From the 4th to 6th century CE, when the Mauryas of Konkan were ruling over North Konkan, during the same period Central and South Konkan regions were governed by the Bhojas. These two dynasties were matrimonially related with each other and probably ruled the coastal region of Konkan conjointly.³¹ Chandor in Goa was the early capital of the Bhojas, but later on due to its conquest by the Kadambas, they were forced to shift their royal seat to Vṛṣabhinikhetaka or Prṭhviparvata. This is known from the Goa copperplate of Bhoja Prṭhvimallavarman, which was issued from Vṛṣabhinikhetaka, while later three records of the same king were issued from Prṭhviparvata. Up till now the place-names mentioned in these plates were not identified. The present writer has located them in the vicinity of Alibag in Central Konkan. On this basis Vṛṣabhinikhetaka has been identified with Sagargad fort near Alibag, because according to the *Chaulachi bakhar*, the old name of Sagargad was Khedaḍurga. The present writer is of the opinion that both Vṛṣabhinikhetaka and Prṭhviparvata are identical. It seems that the earlier name of this place was changed by Prṭhvimallavarman as Prṭhviparvata during the later part of his reign. When Maṅgaleśa conquered Revaḍidvīpa as discussed above, he merged this territory with his kingdom. During the 13th century, the same place was the royal seat of Anantadeva of the Śilāhāra family of Central Konkan, introduced by the Dive-Agar inscription dated 1254 CE.³² It was known as Kheṭa and was conquered by Rāmacandra Yādava, according to the Puruṣottamapurī grant.³³

ŚRĪVARDHANA : It is mentioned as Śrīvardhanapura in an inscription on the pedestal of a Jaina image from the Ellora caves. It belongs to the reign of Yādava Singhaṇa II.³⁴ It has been identified with Shrivardhan, the headquarters

of a taluka division in the Raigad district of Central Konkan. Śrīvardhana is also mentioned in the *Rājaprasasti* of Hemādri as the royal seat of Antala, who was defeated by Yādava king Bhillama V.³⁵ The present writer has identified this Antala with Śilāhāra Anantadeva, who has been introduced by his Vasai inscription dated 1189-1199 CE. He also belonged to the Śilāhāra family of Central Konkan. Śrīvardhana was thus another royal seat of the Śilāhāras in Central Konkan. This Anantadeva was the predecessor of Anantadeva of the Dive-Agar inscription referred to above. It seems that the royal seat of this branch was later on shifted to Khetaka as discussed above.

South Konkan

BALIPATTANA : It was the southernmost port and mart of the Konkan region. It has been mentioned as an important port of South Konkan in the Greek sources like Periplus and Ptolemy's Geography. In the *Brhatsamhitā* it has been mentioned as Baladevapattana.³⁶ Now it is represented by the village of Valaval in the Kudal taluka of Sindhudurg district as per the view of the present writer. The antiquity of this place up to the 2nd century CE has been substantiated by an inscription from Sannati in the Gulbarga district of Karnatak, which records its name as Balivadara.

Though it was a commercial town, right since the early centuries of the Christian era, Balipattana seems to have obtained the status of a royal seat during the 7th century, when Cālukya Candrāditya alias Nāgavardhana and his queen Vijayabhāṭṭārikā were assigned the territory of South Konkan by Cālukya Vikramāditya I. As per the contention of the present writer, Balipattana must have been the royal seat of this couple, because two inscriptions issued by Vijayabhāṭṭārikā have been reported from Nerur and Kochre, which are very near from Valaval.³⁷ As many as seven copperplates of different Cālukya kings have also been reported from Nerur.³⁸

As per the inscriptions of the Śilāhāras of South Konkan, Balipattana was chosen as the royal seat of this kingdom, where Dhammiyāra, the first prominent king of this line built a fort. It continued to be the royal seat of this kingdom during the 9th and 10th centuries. From 11th to 12th centuries, it was the third royal seat of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur, besides Kolhapur and the fort of Panhala near it.³⁹ During the 13th century, South Konkan was included in the kingdom of the Śilāhāras of Central Konkan. When Rāmacandra Yādava conquered it and annexed it to the Yādava kingdom, he assigned it to Śilāhāra Haripāladeva II, known from the Kasheli Marathi inscription dated 1279 CE.⁴⁰

CIPRALUNA : It is the inscripational name of the present town of Chiplun in Ratnagiri district. According to the Narvan plates of Vikramāditya II dated 742 CE, Cipraluna was the headquarters of Rāṣṭrakūta Govindarāja, who was the governor of this area and also the son-in-law of the Calukya king.⁴¹

It follows that during the closing years of the regime of the Cālukyas of Badami, Chiplun had been the royal seat of a Rāstrakūṭa feudatory family, which continued to rule over that area till the end of the Cālukya rule at about 756 CE.

SANĠAMEŚVARA : We come to know from an inscription in the Mahalakshmi temple at Kolhapur, that a branch of the Cālukya family ruled over Sangameshvar, the headquarters of a taluka division in the Ratnagiri district during the 11th and 12th centuries.⁴² Cālukya Karṇa has been described as the progenitor of this line. The present writer feels that this Karṇa was a descendant of Jayasimha III. The latter was the son of Jayasimha II and the brother of Someśvara I. Jayasimha III died on the battlefield of Koppam (Khidrapur near Kolhapur) in 1054 CE. Cālukya Karṇa was the contemporary and also the cousin of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI, according to the Kolhapur inscription cited above. As per an inscription from Sangameshvar, Cālukya Vikramāditya VI deputed Karṇa on an expedition to Kolhapur, which was directed against Śilāhāra Bhoja I of Kolhapur. The latter had defied the authority of the Cālukyas.⁴³ Cālukya Karṇa defeated and dethroned Śilāhāra Bhoja I and installed his brother Ballāla on the throne at Kolhapur. The descendants of this Karṇa continued to rule at Saṅgameśvara, which was probably assigned to Karṇa by Vikramāditya VI. The Tervan copperplate grant of a Cālukya prince named Kāmvaḍeva has been reported from this area of South Konkan.⁴⁴ He was ruling over Saṅgameśvara upto 1261 CE. He was probably the last descendant of Cālukya Karṇa. According to the Puruṣottamapurī grant, Rāmacandra Yādava captured the kingdom of Saṅgameśvara and annexed it to his own kingdom.⁴⁵

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45. V. V. Mirashi, *EI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 199-225.

Three Inscription Slabs, with Nandi on the Top,

At Hampi-Vijayanagara

Anlla Verghese

Hampi, the erstwhile city of Vijayanagara, capital of the Vijayanagara Empire from the mid-fourteenth century to CE 1565, is a site remarkable for its rich architectural and sculptural remains, set within a dramatic landscape of river, rocks and agricultural zones. Being a centre of intense socio-cultural, religious, economic and political activities during the couple of centuries that it served as the metropolis of a mighty empire, there are innumerable inscriptions scattered all over the site. Some of these are found within architectural settings, carved on the walls, pillars, basements or doorways of temples and other structures. Such epigraphs were largely noted by the epigraphists towards the end of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century and have been published in epigraphical series such as *Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy* or *South Indian Inscriptions*. However, there are also hundreds of inscriptions carved on rocks and boulders or on stray slabs, which were often covered with vegetation. Most of these have not been noted or recorded by the early epigraphists. Fortunately, during the past quarter century, since Hampi was declared by the Archaeological Survey in 1975 as one of three National Medieval Sites and as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in the mid-1980s, a number of these scattered epigraphs have been noted and even published by the Karnataka State Directorate of Archaeology and Museums. Yet, there are a number that have still not been noted, studied or published. Indeed, the three stone-slabs described in this paper have been noticed by me only fairly recently, even though I have been doing field-work at the site since the mid-1980s.

Among the numerous inscriptions that have been discovered during the past twenty years, are three unusual ones each having a small Nandi image, carved in the round, resting on top of the slab. The inscriptions on two of these slabs have been recently published, but the one on the third has not yet been. Also, the details of the slabs and their sculptures have hitherto not been studied or recorded.

Besides the fact that all three have Nandis on top, indicating a common cult affiliation, there is some similarity also in the location of the three slabs. For all three are located not far from the Tungabhadra river: one is to the rear of the Virūpākṣa temple complex, while the other two are not far from

each other, to the east of the Viṭṭhala complex, at Talārighāt, where there is the main ferry crossing to Anegondi.

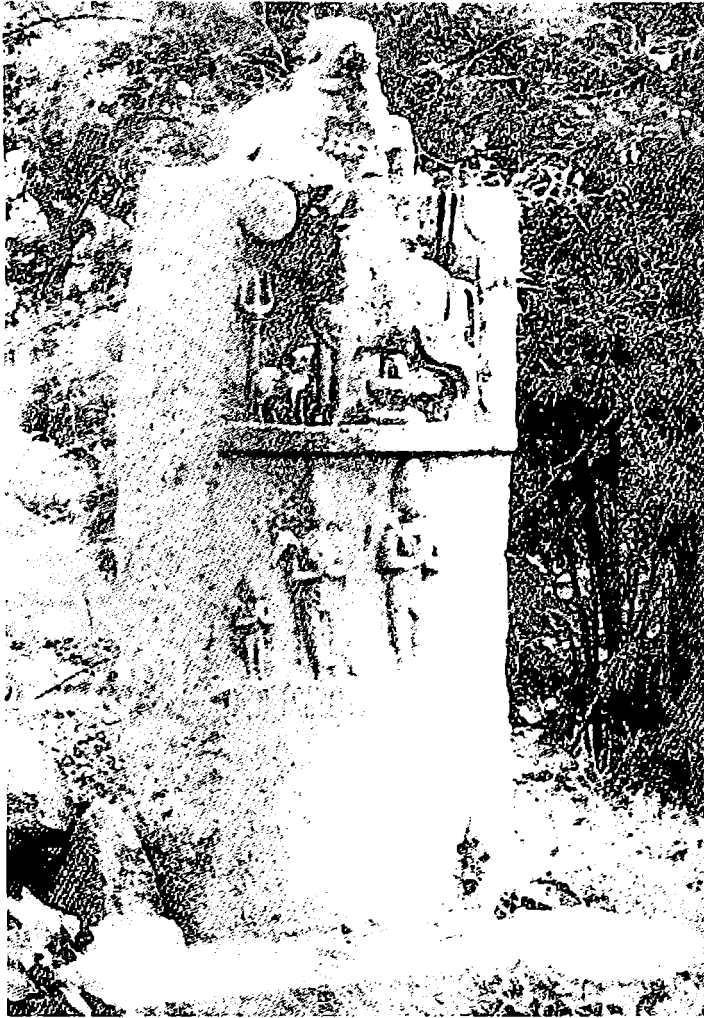
The first, which is situated to the west of the Virūpākṣa temple complex, stands within a grove, near a small picturesque restaurant, much favoured by tourists called the 'Mango-Tree Restaurant.' Here we find a squat stone slab on which is carved a standing lady with hands joined in worship, evidently a donor or devotee. Above her is a horizontal space on which there is an inscription; on top there is a fairly large Nandi. Being close to a habitation, the Nandi is worshipped and is beautifully decorated with flowers and coloured powders. The inscription below the Nandi image is a one line record, in Kannada script, mentioning the name of Bhūteśvara;¹ this appears to be the name of a divinity. Perhaps, it records some grant made in favour of the said deity or is an invocation to the deity. Possibly, the woman portrayed below was the patron (Pl. XXIII).

The two slabs at Talārighāt stand along the pathway down to the river from the road. The one nearer the river is a crudely cut stone block, with a Nandi image on top. On the slab some lines of inscription, in the Kannada script, are faintly visible. Above these are carved some motifs, of which the sun and crescent moon, which are usually found on Vijayanagara inscripational slabs to denote that the donation would last as long as the sun and moon would last, can be discerned (Pl. XXIV-A). This inscription has been published.² This brief epigraph states that Eraḷanāyaka of Sindhagatta made a land grant to Nanjuyadeva.

The third is the most elaborate of this group. Although it is located near the pathway leading down to the ferry crossing at Talārighāt, it was not noticed till fairly recently for the entire slab had been covered with vegetation and undergrowth. It is a splendid example of an inscription slab. The stone is divided into three registers. On the lowest appear many lines of inscription in Kannada script. Above is an elegantly carved family group of a man, woman and young boy, all standing with hands joined in adoration. In the crook of the right elbow of each rests a fly-whisk. Their costume and jewellery indicate the affluence of the family, the same being also reflected in the inscription which mentions a grant of 600 gold coins to Mailāradeva by Hoṇṇabhova, son of Nāgabhova, in the cyclic year Aṅgīrasa³ during the reign of Kṛṣṇarāya-mahārāya.⁴ One may presume that the man carved on the slab is Hoṇṇabhova who made this very substantial grant to the Śaiva deity Mailāradeva (the same deity is popular in Maharashtra under the name of Khaṇḍobā). The high standard of the sculpture also reveals the socio-economic standing of the donor. Above the donor reliefs is a beautiful carving of a cow and calf. The cow's udders are over a Śiva-līṅga, obviously the cow devotee is doing milk-*abhiṣeka* to the *līṅga*, while its calf looks on rather



Inscription Slab in the Mango-Tree Restaurant.



B. Inscription Slab of the grant by Honnabhova.



A. Inscription Slab of the land grant to Nanjuyadeva.

pathetically. Śaiva emblems, the *triśūla* and *damaru* are found on either side of the cow and calf, while the sun and crescent moon are clearly visible on the top. Above the three registers rests a small image of Nandi, elaborately embellished with tassels and bells. Due to the foliage under which the slab rests today, it is difficult to photograph this slab well (Pl. XXIV-B)

The third inscription can be dated to the reign-period of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, however there is no way of dating the other two. Of the three, the last is undoubtedly the most elaborate. All three are obviously of Śaiva affiliation as revealed by the Nandi on top and also by the names of the deities referred to: Bhūteśvara, Nanjuyadeva and Mailāradeva. The presence of Nandi on top of the three slabs indicates that these were donations by or pertaining to the Vīraśaiva sect. The latter reformist sect of the twelfth century CE was pioneered by a saint called Basava, who is considered by his devotees to be an incarnation of Śiva's *vāhana*, Nandi, come down to earth to reform the Śaiva religion. Nandi is even addressed fondly by Vīraśaivas as Basava or Basavaṅṅa. All three appear to be private donations, probably by Vīraśaiva residents of the capital.

Regarding the location of the three epigraphs, one is not sure whether or not they are in their original spots. The first inscription is too brief to reveal whether it deals with a donation or with merely devotional greetings to a favourite deity. The second and third are clearly donation epigraphs, the first of land to a deity (i.e. to a temple) and the second of a substantial gift of gold again to a deity, namely a temple to this divinity. They do not seem to be in the place of the actual grant or near the temple of the deity. Either these stone slabs have been relocated to their present spots, or they were always situated here, along a prominent pathway, which would have been traversed by hundreds crossing the river across to Anegondi daily during the Vijayanagara period, thus giving a lot of visibility to the donor and his donation.

The three stone-slabs differ in the quality of their workmanship. The one donated by Hoṅṅabhova is very well carved, with details clearly visible. The slab now in the Mango-Tree Restaurant is less elegantly carved, but it has quite a character of its own. The third, with no figure sculpture on it is crudely executed. The one aspect that links the three stone-slabs with each other is that all three have Nandi on top and obviously were of Vīraśaiva affiliation. Being the only ones of this type so far noted at this vast site, with the squatting Nandi resting atop, they form a group by themselves.

Notes and References

1. D. Devaraj and C. S. Patil, *Vijayanagara - Progress of Research 1984-87*. Mysore: Karnataka State Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 1991, No. 4., p. 29.

2. *Ibid.*, No. 115, pp. 51-52.
3. In the Vijayanagara period, dates were calculated on the basis of the Śaka era and/or the cyclic years. There are sixty cyclic years; thus each of the cyclic years occurs after a gap of sixty years. During the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, the cyclic year Aṅgīrasa coincided with CE 1512-1513.
4. This epigraph has not yet been published. I am indebted to Mr. T. M. Manjunathaih of the Karnataka State Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, for giving me information about the details of this epigraph.

Illustrations

XXIII : The Inscription Slab in the Mango-Tree Restaurant

XXIV-A : Inscription Slab of the land grant to Nanjuyadeva

XXIV-B : Inscription Slab of the Grant by Hoṅṅabhova

REVIEWS

ARYANS REVISITED, RAMENDRA NATH NANDI, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 2001, pp. 142, Rs. 350.

This important book that discusses how we can reconstruct history from the extant verses of the *R̥gveda*, is by a scholar who has in-depth knowledge of the text and does not base his interpretations on entries in secondary sources such as the *Vedic Index*.

Initially transmitted orally, the *R̥gvedic* verses came to be compiled by several redactors, six of whose editions were known to Pāṇini in the fifth century BCE, and only one of which (the recension of Śākalya) tends to be used by historians today. The ten *maṇḍalas* into which the *sūktas* have been compiled in Śākalya's recension are not homogeneous books (p. 5)—authorship was assigned at some stage of editing, and the bards' names are not integral to the structure/content of any *sūtra* (p. 7). The obvious limitation of the *R̥gveda* as a historical source is the long periods that would have elapsed between the bard and his verse, on the one hand, and various portions of the text as we know it today, on the other. Thus there is nothing self-explanatory about the text. For instance, the verses expectedly glorify war heroes, but this does not mean that everyone in that period and place was always fighting (p. 30).

Nandi's aim in this book is to show that many widely-held ideas about *R̥gvedic* times (that have become sacred truths by sheer circulation and repetition) do not stand up to the detailed scrutiny of the text. For instance, it is erroneous to say it was a society of 'pastoral nomads': various environments were inhabited, and hunting-gathering and agriculture are equally attested in the text. In fact, all stages of the crop cycle find mention in one or other part of the text, and multiple terms refer to the plough or its parts (pp. 39-41). The *vidatha* was not a political assembly, but a gathering around a sacred fire. The *R̥gveda* cannot in all contexts be held up as a contrast to the Later Vedic corpus for there are continuities. Nandi finds that terms such as *jana* and *viś* cannot be distinguished in terms of their respective inclusiveness. Significantly, historians hitherto have failed to emphasize that on internal evidence *R̥gvedic* fighting groups could have comprised no more than about 150 men; in one instance it is just 21 fighting men of two localities who are vanquished (p. 13). Thus we are dealing with a very small-scale society. Nandi does not find that terms such as *grahapati* and *prajā* refer to a relatively late

phase of the *R̥gveda* and therefore does not see in their usage the beginnings of social differentiation. It is also intriguing, for any interpretation of social structure, that the bard-priests on occasion lament their own poverty (p. 24).

The author does not make heavy weather of the now tiresome 'Aryans-as-outsiders' issue. While there was no invasion as such, there were probably several movements of disparate groups to and from eastern Iran and southern Central Asia (p. xi). Nandī writes about conflicts between Vedic speakers and 'aboriginals', the former being the aggressors (p. 2). He seems to suggest that we cannot carve up the map of those times into neat linguistic regions. Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages could both have been current in north-western South Asia. Yet retroflexion (a mark of Dravidian influence or of Dravidian native speakers adopting the Vedic language) is evident in the extant *R̥gveda*, but not in the Śākalya recension used by Pāṇini (pp. ix-x). This accepted, one wonders why the author invokes physical biology (p. xi) as disproving an Aryan invasion. If *ārya* does not and did not mean a particular race or physical type (p. x), what is the relevance of skeletal features? The author in fact explicates that *ārya* referred only to people who composed and chanted prayers (for wealth, for protection from natural forces or evil) to the nature gods of a particular pantheon in a particular language – *ārya* had no connotations of facial or other biological features. "Whoever conformed to the ideology of Daiva worship was an Ārya or righteous person, whoever did not was a Dasyu or an enemy" (p. x.) (I would add that in modern scholarship 'Aryan' is a linguistic category, nothing more).

Leaving aside other aspects of the book (such as its attempts to match text with archaeology) I now discuss Nandī's argument, *contra* R. S. Sharma and Romila Thapar—and others—that R̥gvedic society was not tribal, and that the state is in evidence. Nandī argues that there are no references to apical ancestors (pp. 6-7), yet refers (p. 15) to the *pañca janāḥ* as the probable descendants of the five (apical ?) ancestors who, in time, parted ways and formed five groups.

At the macro-level Nandī finds that the population as reflected in the R̥gvedic hymns falls into three categories, the priest-poets, the householders who organized the sacrifices, and the subjected non-Aryans (see p. 19). There are also references to non-kin labour and servitors (pp. 35-9) but captive slaves/servants are known in many tribal societies. One wonders what incontrovertible evidence there is that the priests were not producers: Nandī admits that they did *not* get the lion's share of the division of the sacrificed items and did not decide who got how much (p. 24). One is also reminded of Fitz Stall's observation that in some ways the R̥gvedic priest is like a shaman (a charismatic individual but not a non-producer in the sense of being too exalted/powerful to work) - thus there is little evidence that the

priest-poets constituted a class. We find no social category that directed production by controlling the means of production, thereby directing also the distribution of the produce. Nandi makes several references to tribute and voluntary homage—characteristic of chiefdoms (a form of tribal society)—not to the compulsory exactions that are integral to the functioning of the state.

Also, it appears that the form of Ṛgvedic warfare, in spite of the use of the horse-drawn chariot, fits the mould of the chief-and-small-retinue on periodic raids rather than of the king leading a state army in campaigns of territorial aggrandisement. Warfare was directed towards the capture of the wealth of others, not towards the annexation of land that would subsequently put to regular exactions by a conqueror. True, there is mention of warfare over fields as there is over sons, cattle, streams, etc. (pp. 32-33), but this does not suffice to infer warfare for territory. So also we can confidently state that hereditary positions (p. 26) are not exclusive to the rulers of states: given certain conditions, tribal chiefships too are generally hereditary.¹

As for private property, it has connotations beyond that of the personal possession. In tribal societies families would certainly have possessed their own parcels of land (p. 39) but they would not have had the right to exclusive use, or to dispose of them as they wished. Collective tenure is characteristic of tribal society but it is not simply the plural form of private property. Tribal tenure involves rights to usufruct rather than rights to disposal. Last, one is not convinced that the administration of a state, albeit inchoate, would constitute just the ruler, his consort, the village representative, the priest, and the chariot maker.

Nandi's arguments may not be totally acceptable to all, but he has contributed much to our understanding of Ṛgvedic society. Armed with his work on the text we can refine our theoretical perceptions, just as, it is hoped, he may think further about what precisely constitutes the 'tribe' as against the 'state.'

Shereen Ratnagar

1. One notices that Marshall Sahlin's *Tribesmen* - a starting text that clarifies the basics of tribalism - is missing from the bibliography. It is surprising how many Indian archaeologists and historians continue to think that tribalism is essentially a hunting-and-gathering way of life rather than a social form that came into being in tandem with the agricultural village.

THE CONCEPT OF ŚŪNYA, Editors A. K. BAG, S. R. SARMA, Indira Gandhi National Centre For The Arts, Indian National Science Academy, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2003, pp. ix + 287. Rs. 1250.

The book under review consists of three parts: Śūnya in Speculative Thought (8 articles), Śūnya in Mathematical System (9 articles) and Ramifications of Śūnya in Other Fields (7 articles). The present book is a collection of most of the papers presented in a seminar, organised by the Indian National Science Academy and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. Most of the eminent contributors are agreed that the concept of zero in mathematics was discovered in India around the pre-Christian era, and travelled to the West via Arabia. There are a few dissenting voices.

Śūnyatā, for the Buddhist, is not emptiness or void, but *asāśvata* (impermanent) (p. 33), whereas for the Advaitin it is *sāśvata* (permanent). Swami Jitātmananda (*Śūnyatā : Its Meaning in Philosophy and Science*) goes on to the subject of particle physics, and after a short but lucid explanation of the theories involved, states that void in field theory is a pulsating rhythm of endless creation and destruction. Similar to this field is the Advaitic concept of *brahman* who is the substratum of creation - *śūnya / pūrṇa*.

S. A. S. Sarma (*Vedic Numerical System Including Śūnya*) gives interesting examples of number terms from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as well as from the *Lalitavistāra*. He also gives synonyms of *śūnya* from Vedic literature. This is further developed by K. V. Sarma (*Word and Alphabetic Numerical Systems in India*) where he gives word-numerals, as for example the number 4 is denoted by the words *veda*, *varṇa*, *āśrama*, etc. He also goes on to explain the more sophisticated *Katapayādi* system, first developed in Kerala. His three Appendices are indispensable for scholars in the field, and add interest to the article (Words for Numbers, Numbers for Words and Numbering of the Pages of a Pali Manuscript).

Ajay Mitra Shastri (*Brāhmī Numerals and Decimal Notation : Nature and Evolution*) states that the decimal place-value system, and the zero were India's path-breaking contribution to the world's science and culture, and this was a culmination of numbering system, as seen from the Brāhmī inscriptions. He refutes David Pingree's contention (*Zero and the Symbol for Zero in Early Sexagesimal and Decimal Place-Value Systems*) that Indians got the idea of zero in the decimal system from the Babylonians via the Greeks, not earlier than the 5th century CE. Shastri convincingly argues that while the Babylonians had a sexagesimal notation, Indians had a decimal place-value system. He concedes that both Indians and Babylonians developed the place-value notation simultaneously, but independent of each other. Shastri's reliance on Piṅgala's *Chandaḥsūtra* for the use of the word *śūnya* in literature is supported by

S. R. Sarma (*Śūnya* in Piṅgala's *Chandaḥsūtra*), who admits to being reluctant to prove "Indian priority in every aspect in the history of ideas" (p. 132), but examining the internal evidence of Piṅgala's work, places it to about 400 BCE and feels that the decimal system and zero developed in India before the beginning of the Christian era.

B.N. Mukherjee (*Kharoshī Numerals and the Early Use of Decimal Notation in Indian Epigraphs*) examines Kharoshti inscriptions, and finds Semitic influence on both its alphabets and numerals, and concludes that the sign for zero had not developed in India till CE 4th century. R. C. Gupta (*Technology of Using Śūnya in India*) deals with *lopaḥ* in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which idea is taken up and treated with incisive clarity and in detail by M. D. Pandit in his "Reflections on Pāṇinian Zero."

Wang Yusheng gives a short picture of the evolution of arithmetical calculations in China and the aids used for the process. It is surprising to learn that complicated calculations could be accurately performed with the aid of counting-rods. The title of this work "Chinese 'Ling' (0) and Indian 'Sunga' (0) Spread to China" is puzzling because the word 'Sunga' does not occur in the body of the article, and once it is correctly spelt as '*Śūnya*' (p. 143).

R. C. Gupta, in his second contribution to this anthology (*Zero in the Mathematical System of India*) takes us through arithmetical operations involving zero, its evolution, and usage by various mathematicians of India, and describes the final triumph of Kṛṣṇa (circa 1600 CE), who gave a good exposition of Indian algebra in his *Navāṅkura*, a commentary on *Bījagaṇita* of Bhāskara II. C. K. Raju (*The Mathematical Epistemology of Śūnya*) gives a veritable treat to the students of mathematics in his various arguments for division by zero. He contends that "... Indian mathematics was oriented towards calculation rather than proof: it was more computational than formal" (p. 175), and that *śūnya* "meant 'non-representable' both philosophically and mathematically" (p. 179). A. K. Bag's "Need for Zero in the Numerical System in India" mostly covers matter already dealt with in the earlier articles.

J. N. Kapur (*The Importance of the Concept of Zero in Modern Mathematics and Science*) shows step by step how zero became an integer, a rational number, an irrational number, a real number and finally a complex number by a process of gradual extensions. M. R. Adhikari writes on "The Concept of *Śūnya* and Its Ramifications in Mathematics and Computer Science." S. A. Paramahans (*Philosophical and Mathematical Implications of Zero in Indian Culture*), adds his comments on R. C. Gupta's views on categorization of the use of zero termed as 'small', that it is a relative meaning.

Coming to the last part of this anthology, H. N. Chakravarty (*The Concept*

of *Śūnya* in Tantra and Āgama) takes us through the different usages of *śūnya* and its synonyms in the various Śaivite texts. M. C. Joshi in his "Concept of *Śūnya* in Śākta Tantras" comments on the usages of the term *śūnya* with illustrative quotations from the Tantric texts. A particular one on Tārā from the *Tāropaniṣad* "...*śūnyam madāsanam*..." engages one's attention on to the further implications of the phrase.

After an introduction to the concept of *śūnya* and its synonyms in philosophy and mathematics, Devangana Desai in her absorbing article "*Śūnya* in the Context of Temple Art" leads us to the *garbhagrha* of a Śiva temple in Khajuraho, where our attention is arrested on the *śūnya/pūrṇa* symbol of the Supreme. Śiva spreads out his web of creation, symbolically represented by the images in the "points of the web" of concentric circles in the temple, and re-absorbs them back into Himself. We learn the interesting fact that only *niskala* Śiva as a *liṅga* can be represented at the centre of the bottom of the axis mundi in the *garbhagrha*. She also illustrates the emanatory scheme of the God in the descending order of fractions, with Himself remaining *pūrṇa*. She closes her concluding thoughts explicating beautifully the symbolism of the *vaṭapatraśāyin Viṣṇu* (*pūrṇa*) as seen by the inner vision of Mārkaṇḍeya, when the sage, rid of his egoism, becomes *śūnya*.

Prem Lata Sharma considers *khālī* as akin to *śūnya* in the *tāla* system in Indian music in her "*Śūnya* in the Indian *Tāla* System." P. Manansala (Number Mysticism in Other Regions and the Impact of *Śūnya*) considers the symbol of the zero as the origin and end in philosophy and mathematics. He concludes that "...historically *śūnya* offered its greatest reward to the systems possessing a philosophy of divine emptiness and voidness". S. C. Malik has interesting comments on "NOW" in his "NOW - Dimensionless (No-Mind-*Śūnya*) State." According to him, "...experientially the mind in its wholeness is the NOW" (p. 249). *Śūnya* in all its usages in different disciplines is considered by R. Satyanarayana in "*Śūnya* : A Holistic View."

This publication by the prestigious Institutes IGNC and INSA, contains thought-provoking articles which make interesting reading even for non-mathematicians. This work is laudable as our interest is sustained by the different inputs on the subject by the eminent contributors.

Indira S. Aiyar

HINDU SPIRITUALITY, *Post-classical and Modern*, edited by K. R. SUNDARARAJAN and BITHIKA MUKERJI, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2003, pp. xxxvii + 584, 17 photographs. Rs. 450.

This Volume II, under review, forms part of the series "World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest" which aims at presenting "in a single collection the richness of the spiritual heritage of the human race" (p. xiii), and each volume could be pursued independently. There are 6 parts in the present volume, each devoted to: The Regional Spiritualities; The Spiritualities of the Purāṇas, Āgamas and Tantra; The Spirituality of Modern Hinduism; Contemporary Hindu Spirituality; Cultural Expressions of Hindu Spirituality; and Hindu Spirituality in Dialogue.

Spirituality is defined not as other-worldly, but as "worldlessness" when the Hindu "adhyātma" akin to the Western term 'spiritual' opens up levels of reality beyond the reaches of the discursive or sense bound mind.

Part I is heavily weighted with eight articles of diverse views of the One, from different regions of India. Bettina Bäumer with her usual clarity and simplicity explains Kashmir Śaivism "without reference to the different traditions it contains... and to the historical developments" (p. 5). She discusses the difference between Śaṅkara's *advaitic nirguṇa Brahman* and Trika's *Paramaśiva*, and illustrates the difference in the knowledge leading to liberation in these two systems, with the following charming analogy : Śaṅkara calls upon the example of illusion due to *māyā* of seeing a snake in the rope, the removal of this misapprehension leads one to true knowledge. Kashmir Śaivism resorts to an example where a girl has a very faint memory of her lover, or has heard of him. When she first comes face to face with him she does not recognize him, but when she recalls her earlier knowledge of him, a flood of recognition overwhelms her.

Bäumer concludes this illuminating essay with a thought-provoking idea that we may learn certain lessons from the spiritual quest of the school; the quest presupposes an amount of discipline while an initiate treads the path to freedom. So, she emphasizes, that a person today should embrace all human values while pursuing her particular spiritual path.

S. N. Bhavasara (The Spiritual Contribution of Maharashtra Saints) introduces us to the teachings of the regional saints with a preamble of the biographical sketches of the four: Jñānadeva, Nāmadeva, Ekanātha and Tukārāma. Sudhindra Chakravarti (Bengal Vaiṣṇavism) gives a lucid account of the background of Vaiṣṇavism as envisaged by Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbārka (who emphasized *mādhurya bhakti* as against *aiśvarya bhakti* of the former two), Vallabha (who stated that the love of the *gopīs* for Kṛṣṇa, as described in the *rāsaliḷā* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was the sole means of salvation), all of which led

to Caitanya's statement that the *mahābhāva*, the love of Rādhā for Kṛṣṇa dissolves all dichotomies, including the subject / object duality, in its fulfillment.

Mīrā had no philosophical background; Sūradāsa based his devotion on the lines delineated by Vallabha in his *Puṣṭimārga*; Tulasīdāsa was conversant with the extant religious literature and philosophy. These saints had a goal of emotional union with God, and not realization of the Supreme Reality, as we learn from Nagendra (The Devotional Poetry of Sūradāsa and Tulasīdāsa), and Braj Sinha (Mīrabāī: The Rebel Saint).

The concept of the "presence of absence" in the devotional perception of these saints can be traced to Āṇḍāl from the South (T. Saroja Soundararajan - The Spiritual Quest of Āṇḍāl) as well as the saints Māṇikkavācakar and Nammālvār (Exemplars in the Life of Grace : Māṇikkavācakar and Nammālvār). Soundararajan resorts to Hartshorne's thoughts on neo-classical theism, and concludes her interesting article with the statement that God "continues to surpass everything - only He is to be thought of as the self-surpassing surpasser of all." Devasenapathi considers the bridal mysticism in the two saints' works which highlights the excruciating longing of the devotee's yearning to be united with the Lord. The sage Yājñavalkya, we know, has said that the physical union best illustrates the state of *samādhi* where one is not aware of any duality.

S. Gopalan (The Personal and Social Dimensions of *Tirukkura!* Spirituality) compares and contrasts in a very interesting article, *Tirukkura!*'s approach to the four *puruṣārthas* with that of the Sanskrit tradition. A point of distinction in the *Kura!* is that there is no distinct barrier between the *āśramas*. Where there was *anpu* (love) in *illaram* (domestic life), there is *aru!* (benevolence) in *turavaram* (asceticism). Though there is no distinction between social and individual morality, both society and the individual are involved in the concerns of humanity without a trace of egoism.

In Part II Georgio Bonazzali (Purāṇic Spirituality) sees similarity between the Purāṇas and Hinduism, as they contain seeming contradictions in their trend. The Purāṇas follow Sāṁkhya philosophy, and govern the spiritual and social life of the individual. They indicate the attractive path of *bhukti-mukti* (enjoyment-release). This, Héléne Bunner (Mysticism in the *Śaivāgamas*) says, is also instructed in the (Sanskrit) Śaiva Siddhānta. The Siddhānta places great emphasis on rituals. Bunner explicating private worship—exterior, and interior, as well as the *nirvāṇa dīkṣā*, states that there is mysticism underlying ritual life, because the initiate ascends the spiritual path, supported by the "railing" of discipline which prevents him from straying. She, as well as H. N. Chakravarty (Tantric Spirituality), bemoan the fact that there is a diminishing number of serious followers of these paths. T. N. Ganapathy (The Way of the Siddhas) says that a Siddha is a free thinker and a revolutionary untrammelled

by tradition or social norms. The symbolism they use in their songs are, for the uninitiated, erotic and vulgar. Thus they were a much maligned and misunderstood lot. The author calls them pious rebels in a theistic fold, for whom religion was not a rigid creed or code, but a vehicle for an encounter with the Supreme Reality.

In Part III, V. A. Devasenapathi (The Spiritual Vision of Rāmaliṅgar) states that the saint taught that humanity belonged to a single family irrespective of denominational differences. Walter G. Neeval, Jr. (Śrī Rāmakrishna : At Play in His Mother's Mansion) has similar comments on Rāmakrishna. This saint saw the Oneness of the Supreme and by his own spiritual experiences proved that no path that led to God was unique. This brought about a huge change in the perception of the West on Hinduism.

Anantanand Rambachan (The Spirituality of Swami Vivekānanda) has brought under his harsh critical eye a few salient features in Vivekānanda's views. He relies mostly on his own earlier critical studies of the Swamiji. In his concluding remarks he answers – one hopes to his own satisfaction – his criticisms, that “Standing on his [Vivekānanda's] feet, as it were, he responded to major challenges facing the Hindu tradition, with little time to assess and evaluate the overall consistency and persuasiveness of these responses” (p. 316). Sitansu Sekhar assesses Tagore's spirituality through his poems and plays in “The Spirituality of Rabindranath Tagore : The Religion of an Artist.” Tagore hated sectarianism and created a new religion enshrining his ideas, called “The Religion of Man.” This did not take roots in India, since it was not a creed, but it was a guiding principle in understanding other religions.

In Part IV, Ravi Ravindra (J. Krishnamurti : Traveller in a Pathless Land) tries to find psychological cause for Krishnamurti's two personalities: spiritual, and superficial. In “The Spiritual Descent of the Divine: The Life Story of Swāmi Sivānanda”, David M. Miller goes beyond giving a biographical sketch of the Swāmi but gives a cutting insight into the tradition of our Hagiographical literature. To highlight this he juxtaposes two biographies: one, by the Swami himself just five years before he passed away, and the other by his long time disciple, and secretary, Venkatesānanda. In “Śrī Aurobindo : The Spirituality of the Future”, Sisirkumar Ghose who comments on Aurobindo's thoughts, says that Aurobindo held that it was not a *sannyāsī* who can guide men towards a higher ideal, but the *ṛṣi* - one who sees life from within and above; and spiritual evolution becomes a bridge between life and spirit.

In “The Spirituality of *Ahimsā* (Nonviolence) : Traditional and Gandhian”, John G. Arapura comments that Gandhi is almost alone in his perception that the essential teaching of the *Bhagavad Gītā* is *ahimsā*. But for Gandhi, *ahimsā* was incontrovertibly connected with Truth. Arapura calls *satyāgraha* as righting the world's wrongs by militant non-acquiescence, and Gandhi's

concept of *ahimsā* is completely dynamic in nature.

In Part V, Prema Nandakumar (Hindu Temples and Festivals: Spirituality as Communal Participation), Sushil Kumar Saxena (Spirituality and the Music of India), and R. Venugopal (The Spirituality of Carnatic Music), comment on the spiritual upliftment the participant feels in these forms of artistic expressions. Bäumer in her second contribution to this anthology, ("The Spiritual Dimension of Indian Art"), feels that symbolic art will continue to inspire the mystics as well as the simple devotee, as long as its symbolism is "spontaneously understood." The icon (of God) is a symbol which arises from the intuitive perception of a realized person, and one makes use of this to go beyond and see Reality.

In the last section (VI) K. Banerjee deals with Kabir (Sant Kabir: The Spirituality of Sahaja Sādhanā); J. Valiamangalam writes a well-researched article on "Indian Christian Spirituality", and Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh writes on "The Spiritual Experience in Sikhism."

As stated by Ewert Cousins, the General Editor of the series, each author is well grounded in the particular religious and cultural theme he is treating, and at the same time he is endowed with a scholarly objectivity, which will make the book reach a wide readership. It well provides a "perspective for understanding one's place in the larger process."

Indira S. Aiyar

THE BUDDHIST CAVE PAINTINGS OF BAGH, ANUPA PANDE, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2002, pp. xvi + 212, colour plates 82 b/w 13, figs. 72, Rs. 2400.

Indian art in the early period was assessed by historians who discussed architectural points chronologically, but had paid scant attention to its aesthetics. Their measure of judgment, if any, was the Greek model. This would not do, the author of the book under review feels, because the Indian point of view is to perceive "transcendental consciousness shining through felt images" (p. 2). Later, pioneers in the field of art history assessed Indian art by combining archaeology with aesthetics, symbolism and metaphysics. She rightly calls art as "the sensuous image of what a culture regards as its most valued experiences and ideas." (p. 3).

The nine rock-cut caves at Bagh are situated in the only sandstone outcrop in an otherwise basaltic region. Superimposed on this friable stone is a band

of clay stones which retains water and causes it to seep into the caves. Cave no. 1 is plain and cave no. 3 has very few extant paintings which are much damaged. Cave no. 2 has some interesting sculptures and paintings. Cave no. 5 seems to have served the purpose of possibly a refectory, oratory, a school or even an alms house. The cells of cave 6 are thought to be used for storing food and other supplies. Caves 7, 8, and 9 have completely collapsed. The best of these caves seems to be cave no. 4. The base under the paintings is a mixture of thick mud plaster, topped by lime plaster. This technique is the same as that used in Ajanta we learn, but the method was so slipshod that it contributed in no small measure to the deterioration of the paintings. No chemical colours have been used, exception being carbon, used for black. The author puts the date of the excavations of the caves to around the middle of the 5th century CE, which date tallies with the style of the paintings and sculptures representing the height of Gupta art.

Of the series of paintings on the verandah of cave 4, the author takes the assistance of Āsvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda* to identify them. These deal with the conversion by the Buddha of his brother Nanda who is passionately fond of his wife Sundarī. When the Buddha takes the hero to show him the *apsarās* who are more beautiful than Sundarī, the poet makes use of similes two of which are quaint: like a man washing dirty clothes makes them seem more dirty by putting soda on them (to remove the dirt), or like a physician whose medicine initially increases the patient's disease (but finally cures it) !

Good art, the author describes, is made up of three equally important components: aesthetic ornamentation, symbolism and cultural values; this last she interprets as *puruṣārthas*. All these are provided by religious themes. Hellenistic plastic and Buddhist iconographic forms struggled earlier to find a balance in expression, but attained perfect harmony in the Gupta period (4th-6th centuries CE). Even though the Buddha himself did not encourage worship of form, after him many sects found ways of depicting him. *Rūpa* for them was assimilated to *citta*, but it was a vehicle to represent what transcended it. *Rasa* was evoked by *rūpa*. It was consciousness, not one of mere cognition, or even the involved consciousness of material life, but the detached universal consciousness of aesthetic experience, similar to the meditative or mystic experience. She arrives at the conclusion that "...the perennial function of art is to lead consciousness back from the world to itself" (p. 86). One can see from the illustrations that human form in its variety of moods and expressions is delineated by the artists beautifully, whereas plants and animals are treated in a most casual way. The female faces and forms do not replicate the Ajanta norms, nor do they follow the classical rules for the perfect form. This, the author feels, is due to the ethnic influence

which marks them apart.

Discussing the status of Buddhism in the Gupta period the author resorts to the following sources: *sūtras* and *śāstras*, accounts by Chinese travellers, Chinese biographies of Buddhist masters, Tibetan histories of Buddhism, and inscriptions and archaeological remains of the Gupta age. The author feels that the distinction is one of kind not of class amongst the major sects of Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. The Chinese travellers also state that though there are different (Buddhist) sects there is mutual tolerance. The spread of Buddhism in and beyond India is supported by a tabulated illustration, (pp. 146/147), which shows the number of monasteries, the number of monks there, and the particular sect they followed as seen by the Chinese traveller Hsuan Chwang on his travels all over India.

The last chapter of the book examines the dress of the period as well as the adornments and coiffure as seen in the paintings. The different fabrics, their texture and patterns, the dazzling ornaments and the intricate coiffure are astonishing in their variety. We feel proud of our expressions of aesthetic sense not only in architecture and art but in our personal adornment.

There are two folded maps of the plan of the caves and the paintings on the verandah of cave 4. The colour and black and white photographs not merely supplement the text, but are complementary. A minor error may be mentioned, that while Gujarat is so spelt on page 170, it is spelt twice as Gujrat on page 22.

Pande has followed her dictum of methodology for art assessment by a judicious combination of "source-based critical history with the perspective of Indian aesthetic tradition" (p. 2). This is a meticulously researched work, and an indispensable addition to an art historian's library.

Indira S. Aiyar

THE VARIEGATED PLUMAGE: Encounters with Indian Philosophy, Commemoration Volume in Honour of Pandit Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal', Editors N. B. PATIL and MRINAL KAUL 'MARTAND', Sant Samagam Research Institute, J & K and Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, pp. xxvii + 387, Rs. 595.

This is a commemoration volume in honour of Pandit Jankinath Kaul

'Kamal', an eminent Sanskrit scholar and doyen of Kashmir Śaivism. It is a collection of articles and research papers contributed by over forty scholars, a majority of whom are themselves prominent Sanskrit scholars and specialists in their respective fields. The editors present their contributions in three parts.

Part I : In Memorium contains ten contributions. The first three are tributes paid in Sanskrit and are entitled, 1. *Śabdāñjaliḥ* (Pt. Dinanath Yaksha), 2. *Bhāvāñjaliḥ* (Dr. Sashidhar Sharma) and 3. *Kamalāṣṭakam* (Mrinal Kaul 'Martand'). The remaining seven papers are in English. 4. A Synopsis of the Works of Pandit Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal' (Shri Sapatnekar), 5. Pandit Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal'-The Man and his Achievements (Professor A. N. Dhar), 6. Professor Jankinath Kaul's Contribution to Kashmiri Thought and Culture (Professor S. Bhatt), 7. A Devotee with Determination (Shri Trakru), 8. Pandit Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal' - *A Jīvanmukta* (Professor Bhalla), 9. Pandit Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal' As I saw Him (Shri Khar), 10. Saint Scholar Pandit Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal' As I knew Him (Shri Upender Bhatt).

These articles, especially the last seven, will prove of great use to a scholar who wants to work for his Doctorate on "Pandit Jankinath Kaul 'Kamal' : His Life, His Personality, His Works and His Contribution to Kashmiri Śaiva Thought and Culture."

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to draw the attention of readers to the fact that Mrinal Kaul, the Project Co-ordinator, informs us in his Acknowledgements (p. xxvi) that Prof. N. B. Patil not only went through the whole manuscript but also revised it and added critical remarks. These remarks are neat, brief as well as apt. They facilitate the work of a reviewer of this volume. It would therefore be redundant to go over the covered ground again. It is enough in a short review like this to judge these papers and articles in a very general way.

Part II : Indological Essays: These essays are presented under three Sections A, B and C. Keeping in mind their subject matter, they are so grouped. Each Section is preceded by a preface embodying the critical remarks : Preface (pp. 51-54) to Section A - Saiva Studies; preface (pp. 177-79) to Section B : Cultural and Philosophical Studies; and preface (pp. 287-88) to Section C : Bhakti, Yoga and Poetics, and finally preface (pp. 349-50) to Part III: Spirituality and Divine Path.

As Kashmir Śaivism forms a very important branch of Śaivism and as it was the first love of Kamal, these eleven essays relating to this branch are rightly given the pride of place. Among these papers, Kashmir Śaivism (Swāmī Lakṣman Joo), The Pratyabhijñā System (M. P. Pandit), Āgamādhikāra of Ācārya Utpaladeva (Koshalya Walli) and the critical and informative paper Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism (Kapila Vatsyayan) form the most important part for

a proper understanding of Kashmir Śaivism. Bettina Bäumer's lucid translation of Abhinavagupta's *Anuttarāṣṭikā* followed by her equally lucid commentary arrests the attention of readers. Just as the Editors have included the article by M. P. Pandit on Pratyabhijñā System (p. 51) even so if they were to include a paper by an eminent scholar on Śaṅkara's Advaita and Abhinavagupta's Pratyabhijñā Darśana, it would have been equally befitting. As regards grouping of papers and articles in this or that section there is scope for difference of opinion. But there would be no two opinions that it is rather odd to cobble Poetics with Bhakti and Yoga. Other groupings are all right.

Section B : Culture and Philosophical Studies comprises twelve articles. The Editors' preface (pp. 177-179) has briefly appreciated each and every one of the twelve papers. This review therefore is left with no option but to make only general observations, wherever necessary. The Vedas are the basis/ foundation of *dharma*. The *Itihāsa* and Purāṇas are meant to amplify and complete it. The term 'Indian Culture' embraces not only the culture of the *Traivarnikas* (the first three *Varnas* - Classes) but of all the classes so in later times the term 'Hindu' (most probably derived from 'Sindhu') instead of Vedic *dharma* came into vogue. Naturally enough, Prof. N. Gangadharan has broadly reviewed the principal Purāṇas and recorded the salient characteristics of the Hindu Culture. Dr. Rajendran's insightful approach throws fresh light on the influence of the Nyāya philosophy on Alankāra Śāstra. Dr. Mathur's paper gives a brief yet enlightening account of works on gnomic and didactic poetry and fable works in Sanskrit, of course, rightly excluding works on *rājanīti*. Each paper in the Section is important in its own way, but the papers of Dr. Rajendran, Dr. Dalai and Dr. Lokesh Chandra deserve specific mention. The Editors in their preface have brought out, briefly though, their special significance and importance.

Dr. Rajendran shows the inter-relation between Logic and Poetry and that the popular view that "*Niramkuśāḥ Kavayaḥ*" - poets are completely free in their province of poetry and their poetic creation is without any foundation. The paper 'Jain Concept of Mind - A Critique' is in a way unique. It clearly shows how among the Systems of Indian Philosophy, it is the Jainas alone who have a unique and highly developed and complex concept of mind. Their terminology is very different and altogether new to non-Jain scholars. The paper attests to the author's wide and intensive reading of the philosophical works of both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Sects and principal commentaries written by learned scholars on those texts. Dr. Lokesh Chandra's paper 'Sanskrit and the Cultures of the World' is remarkable for its sweep. The Editors in their preface (p. 178) have rightly remarked "...presents a world scenario in the context of Sanskrit language... Many a new fact in the history of Sanskrit Language has been presented here." Papers like these truly enhance the worth and value of the concerned commemoration volume. The remaining

papers are good as far as they go, but hardly shed light on some new aspects worth mentioning.

Part II : Section C : Bhakti Yoga and Poetics : The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni is considered as the supreme authority on the science of drama. In his two important *kārikās* - one on *rasa* and another on *bhāva*, he lays down that-

"In a drama, there are the following eight *rasas* - erotic (*Śṛngāra*), comic (*hāsya*), compassionate (*karuṇa*), furious (*raudra*), heroic (*vīra*), terrifying (*bhayānaka*), disgusting (*bībhatsa*), and awesome (*adbhuta*)."

The permanent emotions (*sthāyibhāvas*) have been declared to be love (*ratī*), amusement or laughter (*hāsa*), sorrow (*śoka*), anger (*krodha*), dynamic energy (*utsāha*), fear (*bhaya*), disgust (*jugupsā*) and wonder (*vismaya*).

From these two *kārikās* listing eight *rasas* and the eight *sthāyibhāvas* it is as clear as the day-light there is no place for *bhakti rasa* and that there is no corresponding *sthāyibhāva* (permanent emotion) for the *bhakti rasa* in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In the field of poetics, there were controversies for years as regards admitting *Śānta rasa* as well as *Bhakti rasa* especially in *dr̥śya kāvya*. Later, writers like Bopadeva succeeded in giving Bhakti the status of *aṅgī* (principal) *rasa*. The editors have briefly but ably surveyed the papers in this Section leaving hardly any room or scope to comment upon.

Part III : Spirituality and Divine Path : The five articles in this concluding part are : 1. A Glimpse into the life and Teachings of Shri Ramana Maharshi (Dr. Sarada Natarajan), 2. Some Thoughts on Vedanta (Dr. Karan Singh), 3. The Spiritual Life with special reference to Arunachal Pradesh (Prof. Sujata Miri), 4. Shri Aurobindo's Integral Yoga (R. K. Langar) and 5. Value Education for the new millenium (Dr. N. B. Patil). These five articles "may not be research articles but all the same they spell out our cultural values."

This is truly a splendid volume which throws light on various aspects of Indian Literature, Culture and Philosophy. The editors, Dr. Patil and Mrinal Kaul, deserve warm congratulations on their planning and presenting the excellent volume in the present form.

V. M. Kulkarni

SIGN AND STRUCTURE: INDOLOGICAL ESSAYS, C. RAJENDRAN, Pub. by the author, University of Calicut, 2001, pp. 144, Rs. 22.

The present volume is a collection of seventeen articles of Dr. C. Rajendran, an eminent scholar of Sanskrit who is working as Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Calicut. "Most of these articles were either published in research journals or presented in various National and International Seminars." The first seven articles deal with Sanskrit Literary Theory, the next four with the Linguistics, and the last four, isolated though, deal with interesting topics connected in a way with Indology. In the first article, "Dhvani theory - A Post-Structural Perspective" Dr. Rajendran examines Ānandavardhana's Dhvani theory from an essentially post-structuralist angle and rightly concludes that the "Dhvani theory comes in handy in facing onslaught of post-structural theories as it assumes some fixity of the text and its meaning, even when its significance undergoes remarkable transformation."

In his second article "The Ideals of Simplicity and Complexity in Sanskrit Literary Criticism" he observes appropriately: "We do not find any poetician in Sanskrit wilfully approving obscurity and complexity as an ideal to be pursued as in the West." Articles 3 to 6 and 9 to 11 reveal Dr. Rajendran's deep study of Sanskrit Poetics, more particularly of Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* and Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka* and Sanskrit Grammar. His article "The Vithis of Rāmapāṇivāda" deserves special attention. We know only of two old *Vithis* mentioned by Bhoja *Mālatikā* and *Indulekhā*. On the basis of the passages quoted by Bhoja as examples (*Bhoja's Śringāra Prakāśa*, p. 889 (1963 edn) Dr. V. Raghavan observes that they are of the nature of a light love-comedy, a miniature *Nāṭikā* (with features of *Prahasana*) grafted on to it (*ibid*). Dr. Rajendran concludes his study of "The Vithis of Rāmapāṇivāda" in these words: "The mono-act structure and monologue format of Rāmapāṇivāda's Vithis may be their only historically valid characteristics." It means Dr. Raghavan and Dr. Rajendran disagree about the form and nature of Vithi.

Dr. Rajendran had studied in depth Mahimabhaṭṭa's famous, difficult though, work *Vyaktiviveka* mainly dealing with Sanskrit Poetics and incidentally with Grammar. Naturally, we have in this collection half a dozen articles connected with *Vyaktiviveka*. Dr. Rajendran has also studied modern Western Science of Linguistics. This study helped him in showing how some of the concepts of this modern science were already known and used in discussion by ancient Ālaṅkārika-cum-Grammarians Mahimabhaṭṭa.

The subjects of the articles are well-chosen and their treatment is lucid. It is, however, regrettable that this volume is open to two drawbacks. One,

no diacritical signs for Sanskrit words are used and two, almost each and every page is disfigured by printing errors!

V. M. Kulkarni

REFLECTIONS ON CREATIVE WRITING, W. K. LELE, Mansanman Prakashan, Pune, 2003, pp. vii + 232, Rs. 240.

This book contains the author's published essays and lectures on Sanskrit poetics. The topics are : 1. The Making of a Poet. 2. Ancient Literary Controversies. 3. Concept of Polishing in Sanskrit Poetics. 4. Transformational Operations and Kālidāsa's *Mālvikāgnimitram*. 5. Fundamentals of Creative Writing. 6. A Stylistic Study of *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam* and 7. Indian Poetics in comparison with Western Stylistics. Of these seven topics three, bearing numbers 4, 6 and 7 are outstanding in view of the author's study in the light of 'the requirements of the rules of the transformational generative grammar as discovered by the Western grammarians and also the norms of stylistics as laid down by the Western stylisticians.' These studies are a departure from the traditional way of appreciating a creative work. This new approach is certainly welcome. It however seems that it is in no way superior to our traditional method or approach.

The work reveals the author's critical and comprehensive study of Sanskrit poetics. He has especially devoted close attention to Rājasekhara's *Kāvyaśikṣā* which 'makes no innovation in theory' but 'is a work in other regards of no small interest and originality' as observed by Keith. He has ably discussed a number of topics dealt with by Rājasekhara' in this brilliant work. Most important among these are plagiarism and poetic conventions. This writer had published two papers, one on Plagiarism and another on Poetic Conventions in 1954 and 1960 respectively. These were later included in the book *Studies in Sanskrit Sāhitya Śāstra* (pub. in 1982). The author refers to the paper on plagiarism in these words : "In his exhaustive paper entitled Sanskrit Writers on Plagiarism, V. M. Kulkarni has presented a survey of the viewpoints held by ancient creative writers and critics on this topic. Some essential principles left out in that paper are being taken up here for consideration" (p. 38). When however, he writes about *Kavisamayās*, poetic conventions, there is no reference to this writer's paper "*Sanskrit Rhetoricians on Poetic Conventions*." It has escaped the author's attention. It is, however, no reflection on the author's wide reading. It is rather too much to expect of any author to be fully equipped with knowledge of all the preceding writing on the topic concerned.

These studies are a departure from the traditional approach or method of appreciating a creative work. This approach is exciting and welcome. But the question still remains whether it leads to better appreciation of creative writing. The last chapter, Indian Poetics in comparison with Western Stylistics, is very important from another point of view also. Some modern Indian scholars of Western Poetics and Aesthetics speak rather disdainfully about Indian Poetics and Aesthetics. It may be of some help in changing their biased attitude.

In the course of reading this work we come across a few misprints or errors. For instance, बहुविधकृती दृष्ट्वा (p. 119), repentence for repentance (p. 172), constrution (p. 176) for construction, सद्यः परनिर्वृततये (p. 193); p. 199. "In fact some unknown poet... poems" there is no question of "some unknown poet" - प्रबन्धायमाना itself conveys the meaning; p. 223 varbal (for verbal) forms.

These misprints or errors are negligible. But one statement deserves notice: p. 214 : *Ayuktimat doṣa* - Illogicality - At the end of his discussion of this fault the author observes: "In short, one should look at such poetry with a sensitive mind and aesthetic viewpoint. Bhāmaha's adverse criticism against the *dūtakāvya* is unpoetic in spirit."

Now, this criticism is indeed unfair to Bhāmaha. In levelling this criticism against Bhāmaha the author himself has committed a glaring mistake. He has completely ignored Bhāmaha's own statement that follows l. 42-43.

यदि चोत्कण्ठया यत्तदुन्मत्त इव भाषते ।
तथा भवतु भूम्नेदं सुमेधोभिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

Meaning: "If, however, (the hero, etc.) out of his (intense) longing (for his beloved) speaks like a mad (or intoxicated) person, what is illogical, let it be so. Wise men (poets) very often use—resort to—this mode."

In the light of this verse (Bhāmaha l. 44) we can easily observe that the author's criticism is without any basis. But for this single fault the author's work "*Reflections on Creative Writing*" is flawless. Dr. Lele, the author, deserves all praise and admiration from discerning readers and critics for producing such an excellent work.

V. M. Kulkarni

HINDU CIVILIZATION AND THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY, V. RAMANATHAN, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai-400 007, 2004, pp. xxx + 707 + 39 + pls. 90. Rs. 595.

The book under review has a vast subject, Hinduism, and a comprehensive approach in its presentation adds to its bulk. There does not seem to be any work which explains Hinduism in all its aspects to the educated young. This may be due to the surprising fact that the young in the past had lived and breathed Hinduism at home and it came alive for them through its resplendent myths and rituals. The subject is presented here "as not merely a religion or a set of metaphysical ideas but as a many-sided civilization with spiritually oriented values at the core" (p. xvi). Justifying the title the author rightly says that a knowledge of the past is essential to plan for the future of the survival of Hinduism.

The book is divided into twelve sections containing a total of 181 chapters, covering a wide range of topics. The encyclopedic nature of the work is substantiated by a perusal of the chapter headings in the Contents. Thus it serves the purpose of a reference book. There are innumerable publications, not a few of them containing lucid and interesting accounts, of Indian / Hindu History under all its different rulers; and there have been an equal number of books with clear expositions on its philosophy and culture. The trend of the present book can best be gauged by an assessment on the two sections; one on philosophy, an abstruse subject, and the other on the much maligned caste system.

In Section V, (Concepts, Tenets and Beliefs), Ramanathan covers the *brahman-jīva-jagat* relationship in the different systems of philosophy. The *raison d'être* of each philosopher's arguments is explained in a simple and concise way. The Trinitarian relationship is illustrated by a least known equation of the mathematician Ramanujam which involves zero and infinity. Absolute Reality is represented by zero and infinity stands for the creation in its variety. The product of these two does not pertain to one number alone, but to the whole gamut of numbers, and each one of these identifies with an act of creation. Thus the universe containing the diverse forms and names is represented by $\infty \times 0$.

Prakṛti of Sāmkhya is akin to Einstein's Unified Field, except that *prakṛti* includes psychic as well as perceptible phenomena. The body-mind complex referred to as *kṣetra* in the *Bhagavad Gītā* is significant. In psychology, neurosis is removed by bringing it up from the subconscious to the conscious field. So also, the author says, understanding the subtle cause of existence will remove misery from our lives. The author says that the *advaitic* 'ignorance' is analogous to the Christian concept of Original Sin. Such examples thrown

up from modern sciences should enhance the youthful reader's interest.

There are a couple of references to Upaniṣadic concept of "*sat-cit-ānanda*"; but the Upaniṣads speak only of "*sat-cit-ananta*." The replacement of '*ananta*' by '*ānanda*' was a later concept. The Upaniṣads held different views on the relationship between God and his creation. The author comments that this was due to the fact that those statements were intuited by the sages in diverse states of spiritual insights over a long time span. Though there are certain basic concepts of Vedānta accepted by all philosophers, the differences arise in their interpretations of the *ātman-brahman* identity and of the state of *nirvikalpa samādhi*. If, the author says, there can be two theories (the wave and the corpuscular) on the nature of light, a more profound subject is bound to give rise to many interpretations propounded by philosophers.

Varṇa is caste as applicable to the four principal classes. It has divine sanction as seen from its Vedic origin. *Jāti* is a later concept and is the modern usage for caste attributed to it by the Europeans, creating a lot of misunderstanding. In Section VIII (The Structure or the Caste System), the author says that *jāti* is second only to the extended (Joint) family system in lending support to the individual and providing him with social security. This is seen in the supportive help rendered by the *jāti*-cum-extended family system which supplemented the Government's schemes to relocate refugees from Pakistan, after partition.

Certain core values are held in esteem in each society. That segment of the society which adheres strictly to these values is respected, and thus a hierarchy based on the degree of adherence to the society's values comes into existence. Thus, hierarchy is an inevitable phenomenon in any society. Hinduism, the author says, has accepted this phenomenon, and instead of brushing it under the carpet, has institutionalized it.

Intermarriage between *jātis* residing in different geographical areas is allowed, but each *jāti* has a segregated locality allotted to it in a village. Thus there is local segregation, but geographic integration. Sanskritisation was undertaken voluntarily by a *jāti* and never was it imposed on it. This is the main cause, it is felt, for Hinduism to be resilient and evolutionary. A distinction of Hinduism as related to other cultures is that the social status not only depends on economic and political power, but over-riding these is the ritual status.

Discussing *varṇa* it is felt that it is equivalent to a cadre system, cadre being defined as "a collective of ordinary persons performing extraordinary tasks through the harmony and uniformity of their behaviour" (p. 404). *Varṇa* thus stands for a cadrebased organisation, and it functions on the principles of what psychology calls 'Behaviorism.' It makes an ordinary person perform

extraordinarily through a process of conditioning. This conditioning starts from birth itself. *Varṇa*'s uniqueness lies in its preserving a profound and diverse civilization all these years. This cadre system again holds good for the average person, whereas there are always exceptional persons who achieve excellence in a *varṇa* not theirs by birth, examples being Droṇa of the *Mahābhārata*, and the many non-*kṣatriya* kings and dynasties.

Thus we find an abstruse subject like Hindu philosophy made intelligible, and further, Ramanathan must be thanked for stating categorically that *varṇa* is deliberately based on Behaviorism and that there are good points in the *jāti* system. The author is fully aware of inherent weaknesses in Hinduism, and he offers certain measures of correction, at the same time advising us to keep an open mind to absorb whatever is good in Western thought.

This book stands almost alone in the presentation of a wide panorama of Hinduism and the many apt inputs found in the treatment. The author should be commended for the wideness of his vision and the depth of focus on the subjects. He richly deserves the words of praise expressed in the comments of some scholars appended in the book. One hopes it reaches the wide audience the author had envisaged.

Indira S. Aiyar

ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE RAMPUR RAZA LIBRARY,
SREERAMALU RAJESWARA SARMA, Rampur Raza Library, 2003, pp.
95. Rs. 850.

Scientific instruments of the ancient period constitute an important source for the reconstruction of the history of science and technology. These instruments are also part of our cultural and intellectual heritage, but they did not receive adequate scholarly attention so far.

The author of this book, Sreeramalu Rajeswara Sarma, began preparing a comprehensive catalogue of all astronomical and time-measuring instruments which are preserved in museums in India and abroad. The Nawabs of Rampur were avid collectors of manuscripts, paintings, and other objects of art. They also collected some rare astronomical instruments belonging to different ages and different lands.

Rampur Raza Library possesses an important collection of astronomical instruments. It consists of three regular astrolabes, one Mariner's astrolabe, four celestial globes, and one sine quadrant, one perpetual calendar-cum-horary

quadrant and one honary quadrant-cum-nocturnal. While seven of these instruments were manufactured in India, two belonged to the Middle East and two are of European origin. Chronologically, they belong to the thirteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and nineteenth centuries and bear legends in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and English.

These eleven instruments can be classified into three distinct groups: a) Foreign instruments; b) Mughal instruments and celestial globes; c) Indian instruments of the 19th century.

This study was undertaken as part of author's project "A Descriptive Catalogue of Indian Astronomical and Time-Measuring Instruments," which was funded by the Indian National Academy of Science and sponsored by Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts.

The two oldest instruments are Kufic Astrolabe produced by Al-Sarrāj Damishqu in A. H. 626 (CE 1228-29) and the Kufic Celestial Globe crafted by Muhammad ibn Ja'far in A. H. 834 (CE 1430-31). These are historically very important.

With the active support of Dr. W. H. Siddiqui, Officer on Special Duty, Rampur Raza Library, the author undertook the study and cataloguing of the scientific instruments. The author gives historical background, details of legends, description of the instruments part by part, the method of construction and its uses, provenance and chronology of each instrument. All the instruments are illustrated in colour.

The printing of the book is good. The dust-jacket illustrates the astrolabe by Diya Al-Din Muhammad, dated A. H. 1074/CE 1663-64. End papers show detail from a Mughal Celestial Globe showing the Constellation Draco.

The author Sreeramalu Rajeswara Sarma must be congratulated for bringing out this prestigious publication which will inspire students of scientific studies.

B. V. Shetti

KING, COURT AND CAPITAL : AN ANTHOLOGY OF KANNADA LITERARY SOURCES FROM THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD, Translated by C. T. M. KOTRAIAH and Edited by ANNA L. DALLAPICCOLA, with a Foreword by John M. Fritz, Manohar Publishers and American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 2003. pp. 166, Rs. 750.

This is the ninth volume of the *Vijayanagara Research Project Monograph*

Series. While the previous volumes deal with the art, architecture and material culture of Vijayanagara, this volume deals with the Kannada literature of the period that throws light on the king and court, as well as the people, artifacts and habitats that surrounded them. The themes presented in this anthology have been selected to complement the data obtained through epigraphic, archaeological and art historical research, attempting to recreate the atmosphere of the Vijayanagara period. The excerpts are drawn from twenty-seven of the most relevant Kannada works written between 1345 and 1585. The authors of these texts came from different religious and cultural backgrounds: Jaina, Viraśaiva, Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva.

The anthology consists of twenty-five chapters, arranged in six parts. Part One deals with 'The Setting'; it contains descriptions of landscapes, cities and their amenities, agriculture and forestry. Particularly important is Chapter 5, which deals with texts that consider the Vijayanagara area as the locus of mythological events and, hence, as a hallowed spot.

Part Two, 'The King', is concerned with courtly life, including royal visits and receptions and the bestowing of honours. Chapter 7, that focuses on the Ideal Ruler in the Ideal State, is of special interest in this section.

Part Three, 'Polity', has vivid accounts of the organization of the army, layout of encampments, types of weapons and descriptions of cities and fortresses under siege.

Part Four, 'Pleasures of the Court', deals with courtly pastimes such as hunting, visits to royal gardens and water-sports. Royal banquets, with extensive comments on the menu, dining etiquette, and even cooking recipes, are described. Royal weddings, with detailed descriptions on dress, makeup and ritual, and royal patronage of the arts are other topics dealt with in this section, which highlights the pomp and pageantry of courtly life.

Part Five, 'Religious Life', is devoted to festivals and rituals. Of special interest is Chapter 21, which includes a description of the *Mahānavamī* festival. However, the account given here of this nine-day festival is much less detailed than those provided by the sixteenth-century visitors to Vijayanagara city. Royal worship and visits to temples and monasteries are discussed in Chapter 22. The account of *sati*, given at the end of this chapter, is worthy of special note.

Part Six, 'Everyday Life, Beliefs and Pastimes', records activities of daily life. Here, Chapter 23 has various accounts of dreams of the mothers-to-be of princes or sages, and proceeds with narratives detailing the various ceremonies that celebrate a royal birth. Omens, magic spells and traditional medicine are described in Chapter 24. Chapter 25 recounts the various pastimes

of different categories of people: betting games, board and indoor games, martial sports and so on.

Three appendices are included in this volume. Appendix I provides summarized information about the twenty-seven texts that have been cited and their authors. The material is presented in chronological order, according to the dates generally assigned to the authors. Appendix II is a useful glossary of the Kannada terms that occur in the texts and their English equivalents. Appendix III contains explanations of some of the recurrent phrases such as "the eighteen persons at the service of the king" and "the proverbial 56 countries."

This volume is of importance because it brings together for the first time in English a selection from literary sources in medieval Kannada language, written both at the Vijayanagara capital and various provincial outposts of the empire, by the most accomplished authors and poets of the day. It must be noted that the texts conform to the literary conventions and imagery of their era and should not be considered historical chronicles. As aptly described in the foreword, "we may read these Kannada texts of the Vijayanagara period on several levels: as literary formulas, as indications of components of the material world of the elite, as evocations of an ideal world in which the elite wished to see themselves or as elements of cultural patterns through which elites coped with the tensions between an ideal, poetical world and the untidy and threatening world of the everyday." What is portrayed is a richly poetic world, "part reality, part convention, part creative exposition." Nevertheless, these extracts shed valuable light on the ways in which the contemporary authors perceived life at the Vijayanagara capital and they make for delightful reading. This volume will undoubtedly be very useful to students and scholars of Vijayanagara history.

Anila Verghese

CHRISTIANS OF INDIA, ROWENA ROBINSON, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 235, Rs. 300.

This book studies various Christian communities in India in a comparative anthropological perspective. Rowena Robinson, a sociologist, traverses the many worlds of Christian traditions across the country, analytically comparing upper caste and lower caste, tribal and peasant Christian communities in the diversity of their experiences and engagements with Christianity.

The book is divided into seven chapters. In the introductory chapter, the

author argues in favour of an anthropology of Indian Christianity. Even though Christians constitute more than 20 million of India's population, there have as yet been few studies which provide a holistic account of the many 'Christianities' which exist in India. This is due in no small measure to the general neglect of all non-Hindu religions in Indian scholarship, which simultaneously arises out of and further feeds the erroneous notion that India is a Hindu nation and that all non-Hindu religions are alien.

In the second chapter Robinson focuses on the sociology of conversion. Not only has Christianity come to India at different points of time and from different regions of the world, it has made its impact through a variety of means and approaches: as a religion of conquest (in Goa), as the religion of groups that negotiated their status through political alliances with local rulers (Syrian Christianity in Kerala), as a religion brought by missionaries with only the indirect and not always unequivocal support of colonial authorities (as in parts of British India). The varied modes of constitution of identity and the drawing of boundaries by different Christian groups are also examined. In the third chapter Robinson explores the patterns of hierarchy, of ideas of class or status differences and of gender inequalities within different groups of Indian Christians. The Christian churches are rarely innocent of the markings of status and gender inequalities. Though they fight against the worst features of caste, they often remain complicit in perpetuating various kinds of hierarchical differences. The fourth chapter explores the realm of cultural convergence and communication, dialogue and dispute. Church-centred ritual, as well as social and cultural practices of different Christian communities, reveal an astonishing degree of consonance with local customs. However, it is sometimes likely that the relationship convert groups have with local or regional traditions, might not be completely harmonic or unproblematic.

In the process of evangelization in different parts of the country, Christianity has articulated and often clashed with prevailing patterns of ritual, kinship, marriage and patrimony, sartorial codes and even food conventions. The fifth chapter examines some of these issues, in particular the organization of kinship and the norms of inheritance among various Indian Christian communities. In the sixth chapter, Robinson deals with cults, cures and challenges to the church. She analyses expressions of resistance to church patriarchal ideology and hierarchical organization and the retrieval of power through popular practices and cults, especially by Dalits and women. In more recent times, Charismatic and Pentecostal Christian cults offer an alternative to the mainstream churches themselves.

In the concluding chapter, Robinson draws together the various themes and issues. Questions are raised and problems identified for future scholarship. The bibliography has focused on sociological and cultural materials, but also

includes several works of historical interest as well as some theological accounts of Christianity in India.

With its multiple engagements, broad canvas and comparative perspective, *Christians of India* will form essential reading for students and scholars of anthropology and sociology of religion. It will also be of interest to historians, political scientists and students of non-western Christianity as well as to the general reader interested in the role of religion in contemporary India. Its handy size and moderate price add to the attractiveness of the book.

Anila Verghese

KURUJYOTI: 1998 (Research in Indology), Second Volume : Editors: Dr. INDU SHARMA et al, Kurukshetra University, Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Kurukshetra 136119, 2002, pp. 238. Price not mentioned.

Kurukshetra University is known for her Sanskrit and Indological Studies. Here is a second volume of *Kurujiyoti: 1998*. The year of publication is 2002. The volume contains 28 research papers by well-known scholars in Indology.

All these papers are arranged in four broad groups, viz. 1 *Veda and Nirukta*. 2 *Vyākaraṇa and Bhāṣā Vijñān*. 3 *Bhāratīya Darśan* and 4 *Sahitya and Sanskriti*. These papers were first presented in the National Seminar organized by the Kurukshetra University from 28th to 30th December 1990. The papers are thus not very recent and yet they are as fresh as they were first presented. This is so, as they deal with certain eternal questions in philosophy and culture.

The first group of seven papers dealing with *Veda and Nirukta* extends over 67 pages. Two of these papers are in English and the rest in Hindi. In the first paper, Dr. B. B. Chaubey examines the word *Ārya* in various *ṛcs* and contrasts it with the word *Dasyu*. The author believes that the Aryan settlement in the *Sapta Sindhu* region eventually separated itself in two groups. The latter group came to be known as *Dasyus* and is so mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. *Dasyus* abandoned their sacrificial religion and that caused hostilities in these two groups. Dr. Chaubey cites a number of *ṛics* in support of this view.

Another article in English is by Dr. Ranvir Singh. It is titled '*Tīrtha in Ṛgvedic Tradition*'. Here, he cites the word *Tīrtha* in eight textual contexts and states that the original meaning of this term underwent a change in

the epic and classical periods.

Other papers in this section are in Hindi. Two are on Yajurveda and they deal with 'Yajnya' and 'Indra' as interpreted by Maharshi Dayananda. These are by Dr. Kishanlal and by Chittaranjan Dayal Singh of Delhi and Kurukshetra universities respectively. Dr. Ramakant Sharma of University of Punjab expounds the hymn *Dvā Suparṇā sayujā sakhā*. Dr. Mansingh writes on '*Vedic Ākhyān and Yāska*' and Ayodhya Chandra Das on '*Svara evam Artha*'. Dr. Das points out that although *Svarāghāt* is important in interpreting various Vedic *mantras* it does not necessarily lead to a change in the meaning.

The second section is titled "*Vyākaraṇa and Bhāṣā Vijñyan*" and is equally rich in its contents. Dr. Vikram Kumar deals with the contribution of Maharshi Dayananda to Sanskrit *Vyākaraṇa*. This paper is in Sanskrit. In another paper in English, Dr. B. S. Kumar invites our attention to *Nijanta Constructions in Sanskrit*. Here both causative and non-causative constructions are dealt with. The rest of the five papers are in Hindi. Dr. SriKrishna Sharma critically examines the *Dhātupāthas in Āpiśal Vyākaraṇa*. Dr. Bhimsingh expounds the nature of word with reference to Patañjali's exposition in *Mahābhāṣya*. The two essays on "*Dhvani*" and "*Alaṅkāras*" by Dr. Dharmavir and Dr. Bhatiya respectively deal with the relationship of these poetic concepts with grammar.

The third group of papers deals with Indian Philosophy. This contains six articles, four in English, one in Sanskrit and one in Hindi. The Sanskrit article by Dr. Dharmananda Sharma traces the cosmological thought in Vedānta, particularly with reference to major Upaniṣads. In his Hindi article, Dr. Dharmachandra Jain narrates qualifications and duties of *Upādhyāya* in Jain tradition. There are two articles dealing with position of women in Jainism and Buddhism and are presented by Dr. Bhagachandra Jain and N. H. Samatani respectively. Dr. Mahesh Tiwary has elaborated *Śīla* in early Buddhist tradition. *Pañcaśīla* as expounded in the Buddhist texts was upheld, decades ago, by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in the Bandung conference. Dr. Tiwari draws our attention to other *Śīlas* that have contributed to the world culture.

The last section deals with Literature and Culture and contains two articles in Sanskrit, one in English and the rest five in Hindi. Three articles draw on *Mahābhārata*. Dr. K. V. Sharma traces *Dharma* to *Mahābhārata* while Dr. Brajamohan Sharma examines the concept of *Satya*. He supports his arguments with quotes from *Mahābhārata*. In his article titled *Mahābhāratākālīn Prācīn Śāstrāstra*, Swami Omananda Saraswati ransacks archaeological and literary sources to find out the weapons used in ancient India. Dr. Indu Sharma has traced the concept of *tapas* in the Epics and the Purāṇas. *Tapas* is an efficient way of self purification and attainment of supreme knowledge. There are two articles, one on the female characters in Kālidāsa's dramas and the other on the poetess Śīlabhaṭṭārikā, who ranked on par with the classical writer

Bāṇabhaṭṭa. An article on *Kuvalayāvali* is quite informative.

The collection ends with an article by Ramajivana Pandey on the necessity of Sanskrit studies for nourishment of human culture. Majority of papers in this volume are in Hindi. A wider circulation of this volume will go a long way in enlightening the masses and enabling them to discern our cultural heritage.

N. B. Patil

HARIVAMŚAPADĀNUKRAMAKOŚA, 2000, pp. 638. Rs. 1400; **MAHĀBHĀRATA PADĀNUKRAMAKOŚĒ-ĀDIPARVA KHAṆḌAḤ**, 2002, pp. 634, Price Not given; **MAHĀBHĀRATA PADĀNUKRAMAKOŚĒ-SABHĀPARVA KHAṆḌAḤ**, 2003, pp. 254. Price Not given; Editors: Prof. Dr. INDU SHARMA et al. Pub. Sanskrit and Prachya Vidya Sansthan, Kurukshetra Vishva Vidyalaya, P. O. Kurukshetra (Haryana) 136119.

Harivamśa is *Mahābhārata* in its extended form. It is also called as Khila Parva of *Mahābhārata*. As the name indicates, it is also an account of Kṛṣṇa's life and his line of succession. The volume also contains a number of other things that are narrated in the Purāṇas.

Both, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivamśa* thus form the pedestal of the lofty Indian culture. Both these works are *Upajīvyā* i. e. other literary writers can always draw on these volumes for their literary creations. Many scholars refer to these works for pursuing their research in ancient Indian culture.

The editorial board, headed by Prof. Indu Sharma has taken up the voluminous work of indexing the *Mahābhārata* along with *Harivamśa*. Indexing of *Harivamśa* was taken up first and completed. This served as a trial volume and the board of editors has now launched on the main task of indexing the *Mahābhārata*. Two volumes have been completed and have been published. These are under review. Thirteen more such volumes are to come. The index is based on the text published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune.

There are other indices of *Mahābhārata* that are available. The widely referred one is that of Sorensen. There is also the *Pratīk Index* of *Mahābhārata* published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. There is one published by Geeta Press. While the *Pratīk Index* is of the verses in *Mahābhārata*, the one published by Geeta Press is of names of persons and places. All

these publications are extremely helpful for the scholars to make an in depth study of *Mahābhārata*. However, the index of the *padas* was a desideratum. Kurukshetra Viswa Vidyalaya deserves praise for undertaking this huge project.

It is said about the *Mahābhārata* that the gods and the *ṛṣis* once to evaluate *Mahābhārata*, weighed *Mahābhārata* against the Vedas and it was *Mahābhārata* that was weighty. *Catvaro ekato vedāḥ Bhāratam caika ekatah / Samāgataiḥ surarṣibhiḥ tulām āropite puraḥ / Mahatve ca gurutve ca dhriyamānam tatodhikam / Mahatvāt bhāratatvātcaca Mahābhāratam ucchate. Pada* is a word that has either a case ending or a verbal termination. *Suptingantam padam* – So the index is of all such words in the *Mahābhārata* that are used as either a noun or a verb.

Having completed such an index of *Harivaṁśa*, the editorial board took up *Ādiparva* and then the *Sabhāparva*. All the *Padas* have been categorized as *Nāma*, *Ākhyāta*, *Upasarga* and *Nipāt*. This takes care of all words that occur in each *Parvan*.

These three volumes and the proposed thirteen others that would be coming during the decade would be of immense help to all researchers in the area of ancient history and culture.

N. B. Patil

FATE, PREDESTINATION AND HUMAN ACTION IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA,
PETER HILL, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, pp. 398.
Rs. 600.

People all over the world believe in fate or predestination. But there is a category of men and women who have faith in themselves and their work. They believe that one is the architect of one's destiny. The Hindus believe: *pūrva janma kṛtam karma taddaivam iti kathyate tasmāt puruṣakāreṇa vinā daivam na sidhyati* This maxim strikes a balance between destiny and freewill. It admits both, free will as well as fate; but lays an emphasis on human action. The concepts viz. Fate, Predestination and Human action are the subject matter of the book under review. The author traces the history of these ideas in the context of the *Mahābhārata*. The author states that it is generally believed that Indians are fatalists. But this is betrayed by the *Śāstras* as well as by the epic poetry of *Mahābhārata*. The author here expresses the ideas viz. *karma*, fate, efficacy of action with the *Mahābhārata* as a backdrop.

There are a number of instances in the *Mahābhārata*, where the will

and the efforts had their way in shaping the course of life of certain individuals. One achieves the fourth *purusārtha* i.e. *mokṣa*, not as a gift of God, but by human achievement through righteous and meditative life. They constantly discriminate between the real and the unreal. In dealing with this subject, the author has meticulously avoided the Western Approach on the subject of fate and predestination.

The author says that the best known answer for the problem of human action and the causal agency is the doctrine of *karma* (p. 361). He further states... 'and formally at last the doctrine of *karma* is an ideal compromise answer to the difficulties in reconciling fate and human action (p. 361). Thus, the doctrine of predestination accepts the importance of both as the lot of the individual transmigrating through time. Though God might ordain individual's place in the world, He does this on the basis of that person's past deeds. A sensible man who lives by a cruel occupation should see how his occupation can be made virtuous. The *Dharma Vyādha* in the *Mahābhārata* did not slay animals but merely sold the meat of the animals slain by others. He did not eat meat. In the *Sānti Parva* it is said that a being is born alone, dies alone and traverses his difficulties alone.

The *Mahābhārata* recognises some degree of human causal agency and its non-compromising assertion that the good people ultimately receive their rewards and the bad ones, their punishments. This provided a convincing rationale for the Hindus for adherence to *Dharma*.

The book contains six chapters running over 372 pages and discusses threadbare 1. Karma, 2 Predestination, 3 Impersonal Fate, 4 Human action and 5. The Philosophy of *Bhagavadgītā*. The author draws copiously from various legends and episodes that are at the core of the Epic. This makes a very interesting and enlightening reading. Though the book limits itself to the text of the *Mahābhārata*, it critically examines fate and human actions as these concepts evolved in human history.

Scholars of the Epic will find this volume extremely useful in assessing the ideals that ultimately formed the core of Indian culture.

N. B. Patil

SOME ASPECTS OF THE STUDIES OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA, DR. S. G. MOGHE, C. P. Gautam, Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, Delhi 110033, 2003, pp. 222. Rs. 400.

Dr. S. G. Moghe had been an eminent scholar of Dharma-śāstra and Pūrva-mīmāṃsā pursuing his studies from 1967 after having completed his thesis 'Mīmāṃsā on the Bhagavanta Bhāskara of Nīlakaṇṭha' under the guidance of his Guru, late Prof. H. D. Velankar, the first R. G. Bhandarkar Professor of Sanskrit of the University of Bombay. Dr. Moghe served in Government Colleges of Maharashtra and retired as Reader in Sanskrit in July 1994. He was Professor in charge of Sanskrit Department of Marathwada University. The writer of this review had been enjoying the privilege of watching his career now for more than three decades.

Present volume is a collection of 21 papers of this scholar and happens to be a valuable addition to his research publications viz. *Studies in Dharmaśāstra* (Collection of 35 research papers), *Prof. Kane's Contribution to Dharmaśāstra*, *Śrāddha-sāgara of Kullūkabhaṭṭa*. He had already presented *History of Dharmaśāstra* (by MM Dr. P. V. Kane) in essence, in a function, held in the precincts of the Asiatic Society. This volume begins with the paper on *Vyāghra Smṛti* which has been critically edited by him with the help of two MSS from Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. This paper brings out some peculiar views of the author— the author of the Smṛti has permitted a person to speak untruth if he is mentally harassed. Dr. Moghe has taken care to indicate the importance of this Smṛti although not referred to by the great savant late MM Dr. Kane. The article on '*Devala Smṛti* : Reconstruction and a critical study' brings out the exhaustive treatment given to this lost Smṛti by the author Dr. Wadekar and presents an ideal review by Dr. Moghe.

Two papers in this collection bearing titles 'More than Three Decades of *Dharmaśāstra* Studies' as well as 'The Progress of Studies of *Dharmaśāstra* (in the 20th century in India and abroad)' throw sufficient light on researches undertaken by modern scholars in the case of all topics like Gṛhya-Sūtras, Śrauta-Sūtras coming under Dharmaśāstra. Reference to important research-papers such as 'Institutions of Money-lending' by H. S. Singh (p. 126) as well as the paper of J. D. M. Derret entitled 'An Aspect of the Arranged Marriage in Dharmaśāstra' in the Diamond Jubilee Volume of the Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (p. 107-120) add to this survey a completeness of its own. It will also be proper that two special papers on the basis of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts are included here with the purpose of showing contribution of Maharashtra authors to the domain of Dharmaśāstra.

Dr. Moghe's attempt to evaluate the works of modern scholars of

Dharmaśāstra of the calibre of Gode, V. N. Mandlik and Gharpure (Articles XIV, XV and XVI) can be taken to be a significant as well as interesting feature of this collection. Being an humble student of Dharmaśāstra, the present reviewer was very glad to find that Gode's contribution to the dates and works of Dharmaśāstra as well as his success in determining the chronological position of the works of Nagoji Bhaṭṭa has been duly recognised.

Dharmaśāstra in ancient India was intimately connected with law and justice and it is only in the fitness of things that the present volume in one of the articles deals with 'Right and Justice in India with reference to Dharmaśāstra and Classical Sanskrit literature.' From the discussion in the paper on 'the *Bhagavadgītā* and Dharmaśāstra', the students of that Celestial Song come to know how some topics of the *Gītā* are elaborated by the Dharmaśāstra works, and in the case of some words like *Yogakṣema*, evolution has taken place. In addition to the academic interest of the author of this collection he had also studied Law qualifying him to compare Medieval Hindu Law and Modern Law. (Article XIII). In this article the author clearly points out that there was no place for divorce as marriage was taken to be sacrament by Dharmaśāstra authors although Kauṭilya favoured the idea of divorce in hard cases. Nevertheless, he has agreed with the suggestion of late Dr. Kane to accept it on the basis of English Law. This vigilant student of Dharmaśāstra has not failed to point out that Anantadeva, the author of *Sariskāra Kaustubha* had allowed the adoption of a daughter and has also referred to the modification in this case introduced by the Hindu Adoption Act (p. 159-160). Really speaking this article covers all modifications introduced by new Hindu Law. Paper on Kashinath Upadhyay alias Baba Upadhye, the famous author of *Dharmasindhu* or *Dharmasindhusāra* throws light on this digest bringing together 'the extraordinary passages by quoting several Smṛti passages' and attempts to resolve the conflict by resorting to the Mīmāṃsā rules of interpretation or determining the scope of the particular text. The present reviewer had a student working on *Dharmasindhu* making him appreciate this interesting article.

Other papers deal with the interesting topics of 'Theft in Ancient India' (Paper IV), 'Holidays i.e. Anadhyāyas in Ancient Education System' (Paper V). In the first paper the author has shown the comprehensiveness of the topic of Theft in ancient India dealing with thieves, punishments given to them, the fine laid down for burglars, the atonement, banishment etc. Second paper in this list brings together for the first time, the material scattered in digest works like the *Brahmacāri Kāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtya Kalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara; *Smṛticandrikā-Saṃskāra Khaṇḍa* of Devaṅṇa Bhaṭṭa. The third article discloses interesting information about the association of the young generation with the old generation resulting into the benefits for the former and this is done on the basis of references to the critical editions of the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra* and *Manusmṛti* (Vol. IV - Part I (Published by Bharatiya

Vidya Bhavan). This speaks volumes for the canvass of the author's study.

The article entitled 'A Note on Vipra' speaks of the contribution of Atri to the Dharmaśāstra-thought that a brāhmana is reduced to different castes, in view of his particular activities and particular views having no bearing on the intermixture of castes. In one more article entitled 'A Note on Usha Jain's Article, The Custom of Biting Grass in Retrospect', the readers find the author of this collection losing patience with plagiarism of Usha Jain resulting from the non-mention of the article of Dr. P. K. Gode submitted to Prof. P. M. Barua Felicitation Volume. Really speaking Dr. Moghe is known to researchers for his frankness in appreciation as well as carping criticism when the latter becomes necessary.

To sum, '*Some Aspects of the Studies of Dharmaśāstra*' reveals various aspects of Dharmaśāstra and evinces the indebtedness of the pupil to his professors (1) The Late Dr. S. N. Gajendragadkar (2) The Late Dr. P. S. Sane (3) Dr. M. D. Paradkar (4) Dr. G. H. Godbole (who is now no more). It is out of this regard, that he has dedicated the present work to them. It has been already pointed out that Dr. Moghe deserves to be complimented for this volume; the poignant part is that he breathed his last on 24th May 2004, leaving all his teachers, admirers and researchers in a state of heartfelt sorrow.

M. D. Paradkar

THE FIFTH MANDALA OF THE RĠVEDA, (English Translation and Critical Notes) : Professor H. D. VELANKAR, Edited by Dr. S. G. MOGHE, Koshal Book Depot, Delhi, 2003. pp. 326. Price not given.

Late Prof. H. D. Velankar was known to the teachers and countless students interested in Sanskrit and Prakrit, not only as a reputed and unassuming scholar who had contributed to the studies in the Vedic Sanskrit, Jaina Prakrit and and Chanda-śāstra. His versatility is also indicated by the number of pupils who secured Ph. D. Degree under his guidance (the figure is 30) and the variety of subjects taken by them mastering various branches of Sanskrit studies. The inspiration that he has given to them in making a name in their professions of choice has resulted into converting his name into a legend even in his lifetime, a rare achievement indeed. Dr. Moghe, the editor of the present volume has been one of his distinguished pupils who followed his advice and has expressed his respect for him in the way of a worthy researcher in Dharmaśāstra. A reference to his earlier publication titled *Āarikārika*

Interpretation of the Ṛgveda, published in 1993 which speaks of his contribution to Vedic Indology is certainly opportunate. This was a collection of 15 research papers of the learned scholar revealing different aspects of Vedic interpretation, especially the Ālankārika aspect, throwing light on his independent views also. The present volume presents the edition of the Fifth Maṇḍala of *Ṛgveda* translated and annotated by the late savant. The typed copy was prepared by him as early as the year 1966 but could not see the light of the day.

Really speaking, enriching the Vedic field with elegant English translation and exegetical notes on Maṇḍalas of *Ṛgveda* in the light of the views of German, French and English scholars of repute, like Oldenberg, Geldner, Renou, Macdonell and others was the mission of Prof. Velankar's life. This is evident from his critical notes on the *Ṛgveda*-Maṇḍalas II, III and VII. His *Āksūktasāfi* has also to be referred to in this matter. Taking all this into consideration along with his articles in the journals of the University of Bombay on the translation of the Indra hymns with annotations, this discerning pupil of the late Professor has presented this volume.

Part I of this volume presents 9 articles which throw light on the Professor's theory of word economy and Ṛgvedic interpretation. All these articles do not amount to mere reproduction of the original articles but they are at times compressed by him, taking care to provide illustrations of Maṇḍala V. 'Emotional and Decorative Similes in the Atri Maṇḍala' is important from the point of view of Prof. Velankar's approach. The article entitled 'Other Vedic Scholars and Prof. Velankar' becomes extremely interesting due to the carefulness of this studious pupil in bringing out the originality as well as the constructive approach of the Guru. Nevertheless, the pupil true to a researcher has not failed to bring out inadequacy of the theory of word economy at some places. In fact, he has written an independent article with the title 'A Note on Prof. H. D. Velankar's Word Economy and Ṛgvedic Interpretation' which has been published in the *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 65, 1984 (pp. 251-257). The introductory part of the present volume consists of Dr. Moghe's interesting paper on 'The Employment of Ṛgvedic Maṇḍala V in the Dharmaśāstra Literature' as well as 'The Element of Contrast in the Ṛgvedic Poetry.' The first is one for which the editor is eminently suited; the second one brings together various varieties of contrast with good illustrations; here the editor has used the material available in the notes of the Ṛgvedic poetry at the hands of other poets also.

Part II gives the translation of the hymns of the Fifth Maṇḍala (from p. 49 to 129) and the concluding Part III deals with notes (p. 153 to 307). No wonder that here also he has taken care to mix up the similes in the body of notes on the particular stanzas and has refrained from merely reproducing his Guru's article on the similes in the Atri Maṇḍala. Index, carefully

prepared by the editor, running over 19 pages has added to the reference value of the Volume. Above all the entire volume begins with Dedication to the Wilson College and Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (Bombay) as well as University of Bombay as these three institutes have the largest share in the academic career of Prof. Velankar, the loved Guru, and his good reputation as a sound scholar of the *Rgveda*.

In short, the present volume not only speaks volumes for the editor's devotion to the Guru but also throws light on the scholarship of Dr. Moghe. One cannot but mention the poignancy of the sad demise of such a devout and industrious student as well as researcher in the month of May 2004, turning this review into an offering to his memory.

M. D. Paradkar

OBITUARY NOTICES

Dr. S. G. Moghe

(1935-2004)

The sad demise of Dr. Shantaram Ganesh Moghe on 24th May 2004 at the age of sixty-nine at Dhule was indeed a severe blow to the world of research scholars in the field of Sanskrit and Indology. For the last few years, he was suffering from liver cirrhosis, which ultimately proved fatal to his life.

In the galaxy of the distinguished students of Late Prof. H. D. Velankar, Dr. Moghe was a particularly brilliant star. Under the guidance of this renowned Indologist Dr. Moghe got his Ph. D. degree for his thesis on the topic "*Mīmāṃsā in the Bhagwant Bhāskar of Nīlakaṇṭha*" from the University of Mumbai. He was highly acclaimed for his profound scholarship in the realm of *Mīmāṃsā* and *Dharma-Śāstra*. In his book *Studies in Applied Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* which is a collection of twenty two papers published in various research journals, Dr. Moghe has presented a very wide outlook in the subject of *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* as applies to other branches of Sanskrit study. For instance, he has ably discussed the importance of the application of the Mīmāṃsā rules of interpretation to the well-known *Rasa* theory in Sanskrit poetics, to the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* and also to the theory of word-economy and Ṛgvedic interpretation. He has advocated the evolutionary theory of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā doctrine in his papers on Atideśa, Ūha, Punarvacana and Vākyabheda. He has pointed out the significance of Śaṅkarācārya's approach to Arthavāda, mostly neglected by the scholars. His attempt to present before the readers Kālidāsa's knowledge of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā is really very interesting.

Even a cursory glance over the list of his published works would sufficiently indicate the wide, comprehensive and exhaustive nature of his research work. The most prominent and prestigious one is of course the voluminous work entitled *Bhārataratna Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P. V. Kane's History of Dharma-Śāstra in Essence* whereby Dr. Moghe's name has been inseparably associated with "that towering personality and doyen of Sanskrit scholars in the domain of research and particularly the *Dharma-Śāstra* research." The trustees of MM Dr. P. V. Kane Memorial Trust assigned this monumental project to him; and no one can ever gainsay that Dr. Moghe has not fully justified the confidence they had shown in his remarkable ability. The original work of MM. Dr. P.

V. Kane in seven volumes covering more than six thousand five hundred pages and the first volume revised in mid-sixties contain such extensive discussion of Smṛtis, numismatics, epigraphy, lexicography etc. that these volumes were used mainly by scholars for purpose of references. Dr. Moghe's work has satisfied the pressing need of making available the contents of these volumes in a concise form to non-specialist general readers in India as well as in other English speaking countries. Dr. Kane's work was published over a long period of four decades, so the discussions on particular topics by Dr. Kane are to be found not only in different volumes of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra* but also in other books and journals. In his condensed version, Dr. Moghe has attempted to present coherent and consistent accounts of all such discussions. For the benefit of readers he has also provided summaries of the chapters and the long sections in the original work.

Dr. Moghe attempted to discharge the *Ācārya-Ṛṇa* to some extent by writing 'Academic Biography of Prof. H. D. Velankar', which was a part of the centenary celebrations of his Birth Anniversary. It is indeed a peculiar form of biographical literature in which Moghe has ignored all other details of the personal life of Prof. Velankar and has exclusively concentrated on his academic achievements and the precious treasure of his thoughts as reflected in his writings. This work was so inspiring that it was proposed by some lovers of the great Indologist Dr. R. N. Dandekar that his biography also should be written in a similar manner. It was indeed creditable to Dr. Moghe that when this proposal was under discussion, Dr. Dandekar himself had strongly recommended his name as a competent scholar to undertake this task. Unfortunately, however, the proposal could not be materialized due to some inevitable difficulties.

Some other important works by him are : Sanskrit : 1. *S'ānta-Ārāmaḥ*, 2. *Haritoṣaṇam*. English : 1. *Studies in Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, 2. *The Vyāghra Smṛti*, 3. *Studies in Dharma Śāstra*, 4. *A Peep at Indology*, 5. *The Śrāddha Sāgara of Kullūka-bhaṭṭa*, 6. *Some Aspects of the Studies of Dharma Śāstra*. Edited works : 1. *Prof. Velankar and Vedic Interpretation*, 2. *Dr. Kane's Contribution to Dharma Śāstra*, 3. *The Fifth Maṇḍala of ṚV*. Biographical Works : Marathi : *Yaticakravartī Vāsudevānanda Saraswatī*.

Dr. Moghe started his career as a lecturer in Sanskrit in the Govt. colleges in Mumbai and Aurangabad and he was gracing the chair of the Reader when he accepted voluntary retirement in 1994. He was extremely popular among students as an excellent teacher and he had successfully guided six students for the Ph. D. degree of the University of Mumbai and Marathwada University, Aurangabad. He was also the Chairman of the Board of Studies in Sanskrit in the Marathwada University. He was awarded the prestigious Springer Research Scholarship by the University of Mumbai to work on the

topic "*Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and Alankāraśāstra*". Similarly, the University Grants Commission, Delhi, had sanctioned him the necessary study grant to work on Kullūka Bhaṭṭa's *Śrāddhasāgara*. He was honoured by the Government of Maharashtra as a distinguished Sanskrit Scholar in the year 1993.

Though Dr. Moghe was known for his rigorous logical acumen, his heart was always overwhelmed by the sentiment of devotion. He was a very ardent and sincere devotee of His Reverence Śrī Vāsudevānanda Sarasvatī. He has written his biography in Marathi to mark the occasion of the Sesqui-centenary celebration of his Birth Anniversary and it is followed as a gospel by the Swamiji's devotees. Needless to say that his personal life was absolutely pure and chaste. He had silently practised the principle of charity and offered financial assistance to several needy persons, purely out of sense of compassion without expecting anything in return.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Dr. Moghe was an embodiment of intelligence, industriousness, sincere friendship, unchanging affection and unflinching devotion. May his soul rest in peace.

Ramesh Kher

Dr. MANI P. KAMERKAR

(1925-2004)

Dr. Mani P. Kamerkar, who passed away on 11th October, 2004 at the age of 80, was a versatile person and combined in her scholarship, learning, compassion and zeal.

After completing her M. A. and later Ph. D. in History, she opted for teaching as a career and taught for many years. She was the Principal of Maniben Nanavati Women's College for 13 long years. She was Professor and Head, Department of History, D. & W. National College, and later Professor and Head, Department of History, at Parle College. During all this period, she was Professor of History and guiding students for award of Ph. D. degree. She was the Director, College Development Council and also the Chairperson, Board of Studies in History, S. N. D. T. Women's University, Mumbai.

She guided many students leading to their Ph. D. degree and took keen interest in their career and maintained contact with all of them till the end. It was not surprising, therefore, that the annual Youth Seminar that she organised for the Asiatic Society, year after year, became a huge success.

Dr. Kamerkar was a Fellow of the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta and the President of its Annual Conference in 1992. She was the Chairperson of the India History and Culture Society in 1990. She was also the Fellow

of the International Centre for Asian Studies, Hongkong. She was also on the Executive Committee of Heras Society for Indian History & Culture, Mumbai.

She travelled far and wide, attended conferences, presented papers and was invited as Benedict Distinguished Visiting Professor of Women's studies, Carleton College, Minnesota and as Kirk Visiting lecturer at Agnes Scott College, Decatur. She undertook study tours to U. S. A., Canada and Germany.

Dr. Kamerkar was a conscientious citizen and worked for the handicapped as well as for the street children through Avehi, an audio-visual resource centre distributing material to schools and adult education centre and Altrusa. She was also connected with the Women Graduates Union. She was Chairperson of Vidya Vikas Mandal, Andheri, Mumbai, an educational society conducting primary and secondary schools.

She has to her credit two noteworthy books and forty research articles. Many of her important articles were published in well-known national and international journals. Her important publications include: a) *British Paramountcy : British-Baroda Relations, 1818-1848*; 1980; b) *From the Iranian Plateau to the Shores of Gujarat : The Story of Parsi Settlements and Absorption in India*, 2003.

The Society requested her to handle the project of preparing an annotated catalogue of published works on Parsis. However, it is sad to note that though the work is complete and awaiting publication, Dr. Kamerkar will not be there to see the book. She was actively connected with the Bicentenary Celebrations of the Society and chaired Lectures and Conference Committee. She had planned meticulously a two-day All India Conference on Archaeology which was held as scheduled on November 5 & 6. Unfortunately, she is not there and she was sadly missed at the conference.

A few years back, she had very successfully organised a Conference on Darmesteter, a French Zoroastrian scholar, when the request came from the French Embassy in Delhi. It was a memorable conference and was a feather in Maniben's cap.

Dr. Kamerkar exuded rare charm and all those who came in contact with her remained her friends till the end. She became member of the Asiatic Society in 1961 and rose to become its Vice President in 1993 till the end. She chaired many Sub-Committees with great skill. Soft spoken, kind hearted, hard working and sincere to the core, she will be missed by the members and the staff of the Society.

Vimal Shah