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Editors
DEVANGANA DESAI
INDIRA AIYAR

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Some Reflections on the Subhāṣitas
in the Works of Kālidāsa

Jaya Chemburkar

Subhāṣita, an apposit saying, is employed by poets or dramatists to explicate or emphasize a situation. These come at the end of a verse or observation and show the author's wide range of insight into all aspects of life including Philosophy. Thus they have universal appeal.

This article proposes to examine the subhāṣitas from the works of Kālidāsa.

Kālidāsa is known as a dramatist and a poet. His vision and expression have made him vidagdhamahākavi. He has transformed his observation, imagination and experience into artistic expressions which reveal his vision about culture to his sahrdayas, aesthetes, who with their poetic sensibility enjoy the rasa, 'poetic pleasure'. Kālidāsa has profusely made use of subhāṣitas in his works.

Kālidāsa's Subhāṣitas can be classified as follows:

1) His Regard for Virtues:

Kālidāsa has glorified virtues in the words gunaih padam hi sarvatra nidhiyate (Raghuvaṁśa = Rag III 62), 'Virtues are everywhere.' His regard for virtues can be seen in his expression eko hi doṣo guṇasannipāte nimajjatindoh kiraṇeṣvivāṅkaḥ (Kumārasambhavam Kum 1.3). 'One single defect is drowned in an assembly of virtues, like the spot on the moon in her (rays).' In a brief forceful subhāṣita viz. anutsekah khalu vikramālaṅkārah (Vikramorvaśiyam = Vik. Act I) 'humility always embellishes valour.' Kālidāsa has praised modesty. Another instance of modesty he sees in the trees 'which bend down with the weight of fruits and in the clouds that bear down heavy with water, similar to virtuous persons in prosperity' bhavanti namrāstaravah phalāgamaih navāmbubhi bhūri vilambinā ghanāh anuddhatāh satpuruṣāh samrdhibhih (Abhijñānaśā-kuntalam = AB V. 12). Kālidāsa holds modesty in high esteem. He describes the sublime and the beautiful; he does not stoop to describe the meaner, disagreeable and darker aspects in nature as well as in human life.[1] He remarks kṣudrespi nūnam śaraṇam prapanne mamatvamuccaih śirasām satīva (Kum. I. 12) 'Indeed the high-minded (i.e. lofty minded) have affection even for the mean who come for shelter, as for the good.' He observes, anubhavati hi

mūrdhnā pādapastivramuṣnaṁ śamayati paritāpam chāyayā saṁśritānām (AB V. 7) 'Indeed the tree top suffers intense heat while it relieves by its shade the fatigue of those that resort to it.' In these *subhāṣitas* the poet praises noble benefactory behaviour of the high-minded. He admires generosity of the virtuous when he observes *ādānam hi visargāya satām vārimucāmiva (Rag IV. 86)*, 'of the good as of clouds, acquisition is for bestowal.' His admiration for the magnanimous who care much for their self-respect can be seen in his remarks viz. (1) *yāñcā moghā varamadhiguṇe nādhame labdhakāmā (Meghadūtam (Meg I. 6)* 'A request turned down by a meritorious person is better than one complied with by a mean person; and (2) *abhyarthanābhaṅga-bhayena sadhurmādhyasthamiṣṭesvalambate (Kum I.52)* 'A good (man) resorts to indifference even towards a desired object, through fear of rejection of (his) request.' He points out high-mindedness of Dilīpa who prizes his good name and fame above all, even above his body, *svadehāt yaśodhanānām hi yaśaḥ gariyaḥ (Rag XIV.35)*.

Kunhan Raja remarks that Kālidāsa must have had an intensive and broad based education. He was well acquainted with the Vedas, systems of Philosophy, and various Purāṇic literature which must have moulded him into a cultured, decent person.[2] According to Kālidāsa, inquiry about another's wife is impolite, *athavanāryaḥ paradāravyavahāraḥ (AB VII)*. He remarks on the decent behaviour even of nature when he observes *kumudānyeva śaśāṅkaḥ savitā bodhayati pankajānyeva vaśinām hi paraparigrahasaṁśleṣa parāmukhī vṛttiḥ (AB V. 28)* 'The moon awakens the night lotuses only, and the sun the day lotuses. The disposition of those who possess control over their senses is averse to embracing another's wife.' He speaks highly of persons who have great control over their senses. He holds that those alone are great persons whose minds are not *perturbed* even in the midst of anxieties '*vikārahetau sati vikriyante yeṣām na cetāṁsi te eva dhīrāḥ (Kum I 59)*.

2) Kālidāsa's Understanding of the Human Mind

Being gifted with poetic genius, *subhāṣitas* occur to Kālidāsa easily. They are not presented in an isolated manner. They harmonize well with the context, adding depth and weight to the expression. His *subhāṣitas* show that Kālidāsa's approach is never superficial. He seriously thinks about his subject matter. In some *subhāṣitas* he has shown his understanding of the human mind. Explaining the behaviour of the love-sick *yakṣa* who requested an insentient cloud to convey his message to his beloved from whom he was separated, Kālidāsa remarks *kāmārtā hi prakṛtikṛpaṇāḥ cetanācetaneṣu (Meg I.5)* 'A love sick person cannot distinguish between sentient and insentient objects.' Similarly, he tells us that Pārvati did not give up her love and regard

for Śiva even after hearing from (Śiva disguised as) a *brahmacāri*, how Śiva was repulsive. This attitude of Pārvatī has been explained in the words *na kāmavṛttirvacanīyamikṣate* (*Kum* V.82). Such *subhāṣitas* enhance the beauty of the sentiment. Human mind where desires originate is fickle and passes from one object to another in no time. Any number of desires, whose fulfilment may or may not be possible spring up in our fickle mind which takes them from one goal to another. There is nothing inaccessible to desires. This is universal experience. Taking into account this quality of desires Kālidāsa holds *manorathānāmagatirna vidyate* (*Kum* V. 64) also of *nāstyagatirmanorathānām* (*Vik* Act II). The poet's insight takes into account the inclinations of the minds of his characters. Indumati chose Aja as her counterpart, because in the previous birth they were Rati and Smara and Indumati was aware of this. Kālidāsa remarks *mano hi janmāntarasaṅgatijñam* (*Rag.* VII 15). This appears to be Kālidāsa's firm conviction. He has used this favourite idea of his in the *AB* also where on hearing Haṁsapadikā's song King Duṣyanta becomes anxious and remarks, 'When hearing sweet sounds one becomes anxious. Then indeed he remembers in his heart friendships of other lives, that are permanent through mental impressions. *taccetasā smarati nūnambodhapūrvaṁ bhāvasthirāṇi jananāntarasauhṛdāni*' (*AB* V 2).

3) Words of Wisdom

On serious occasions serene and serious thoughts occur in our mind. And such serious thoughts give rise to expressions that contain truth and can be described as words of wisdom. Brief expressions like

1) *Atisnehaḥ khalu kāryadarśī* (*Vik* II)

'Genuine affection indeed counsels wisely.'

2) *Atisnehaḥ pāpaśaṅkī* (*AB* IV)

'Excessive affection is apt to suspect evil.'

3) *Snigdhajanasaṁvibhaktaṁ hi duḥkhaṁ sahyavedanaṁ bhavati* (*AB* III).

'Grief shared with an affectionate person becomes bearable.'

4) a) *Gurvapi virahaduḥkhamāśābandhaḥ sāhayati* (*AB* I) 'the tie of hope makes (persons) bear the sorrow of separation though heavy, and also

b) *āśābandha kusumasadṛśaṁ prāyaśa hyaṅganānāṁ sadyaḥpāti praṇayi hṛdayaṁ viprayoge ruṇaddhi* (*Meg.* I 10). Such expressions contain words of wisdom; they appeal to us and become a part of our emotional being.

4) Attitude of the world

In a brief *subhāṣita* Kalidāsa points out *ākṛtiviśeṣu ādaraḥ padam karoti Mālavikāgnimitram* (*Māl* Act I); Extraordinary forms command respect i.e. lovely forms naturally become the object of admiration. Another brief *subhāṣita* viz. *na ratnamanviṣyati mṛgyate hi tat* (*Kum* V. 45) 'a gem does not seek (its supporters) it is sought by the people,' - speaks of our experiences that people go in search of virtuous persons and not vice-versa. *Mahadapi paraduḥkhaṁ śītalaṁ samyagāhuḥ* (*Vik* IV. 13) 'Misery of another is always taken lightly by one.' These refer to universal experience.

5) Philosophical Subhāṣitas

Certain *subhāṣitas* indicate Kālidāsa's philosophical trend of mind e.g. (a) *kasyātyantaṁ sukhamupanataṁ duḥkhamekāntato vā / nicairgacchatyupari ca daśā cakranemikrameṇa //* (*Meg.* II 6) "Man's condition (of life) goes up and down in the manner of a felly of the wheel i.e. neither uninterrupted happiness befalls us nor invariable misery[3] and (b) *maraṇam prakṛtiḥ śarīriṇām vikṛtirivitamucyate budhaiḥ* (*Rag.* VIII.87) 'wise men say that death is but the nature of sentient beings, and life is a mere deviation from that natural state,' These are philosophical expressions of a comman man for consoling a distressed person. Such remarks make Kālidāsa's expressions weighty. They appeal to our spiritual being. In his works poetry and philosophy go hand in hand.

6) Belief in the Role of Destiny

On several occasions, Kālidāsa refers to destiny e.g. *nāsti vidheralaṅghaniyaṁ* (*Vik* IV) 'There is nothing that fate cannot assail', similarly *parāvṛttabhāgadheyānām duḥkham duḥkhānubandhi* (*Vik* IV) i.e. 'one after another calamities befall those from whom fortune has turned away its face' and *bhavitavyānuvidhāyinindriyāṇi* (*Vik* III) 'the senses are the slaves of destiny' and *paribhavāspadam daśāviparyayaḥ* (*Vik* IV) 'reverse of fortune subjects one to insult.' These *subhāṣitas* suggest Kālidāsa's belief in the working of fate or destiny in man's life. Due to fate Śakuntalā (cf. I), Pururavas (cf. III), Yakṣa (cf. *Meg* II.49), Aja (cf. *Rag* VIII 46, 47) and Rāma (cf. *Rag* XV. 85) were subjected to misery in the form of separation from their beloved. These *subhāṣitas* have emotional appeal. They touch the heart of the reader and become a part of our emotional and spiritual being.

7) Advice Implied

Poets play the role of a preceptor in society. We have before us examples of great poets like Maharṣivyāsa and Vālmīki.[4] Besides poetry is not meant for its *rasāsvāda* only, i.e. enjoyment of *rasa* 'sentiment.' It is supposed

to give advice in sober, mild words in the manner of a beloved. *Kāntāsammittayopadeśayuje*. (Mammaṭa - *Kāvyaprakāśa*.) Some of the *subhāṣitas* of Kālidāsa imply advice to his readers e.g. avoiding delay and negligence in performing one's duty is implied in the *subhāṣita* viz. *mandāyate na khalu suhṛdāmabhyupetārthakṛtyāḥ* (*Meg.* I 41) and *paribhavāspadam niṣphalārambhayatnāḥ* (*Meg.* I 5) implies that one should not exert oneself in a fruitless undertaking. In another well known *subhāṣita* Kālidāsa hints at the importance of hard work. He points out to us *kleśaḥ phalena hi punarnavatām vidhatte* (*Kum* V. 86) 'fruit of hard work brings freshnnes.' Similarly he asserts that fortune crowns those who yield not to despair *anirvedaprāpyāni śreyāṁsi* (*Vik* iv). This can be said to convey the same purport which is conveyed by the previous *subhāṣita*; *śreyas* 'credit' or fruit corresponds to both *phala* and *navatā* 'freshness' while *nirveda* corresponds to *kleśa* 'hard labour.' In the *subhāṣita, na yuktan subhāṣitam pratyācaritum* (*Vik V*), It is not proper to oppose (contradict) good words, valuable advice for good manners is suggested. Kālidāsa makes use of natural phenomenon to advise his readers to become bold, firm and courageous and not to tremble even in the midst of dire calamities, like mountains which do not tremble even when there are stormy winds. He exclaims *pravāte niṣkampāḥ girayaḥ* (*AB* VI). While suggesting how one should shape one's behaviour he describes great men and remarks *pathaśruteḥ darśiyitāraiśvarāḥ mahimasāmādadate na paddhatim* (*Rag.* III. 46) 'Great ones who are guides of the Vedas do not themselves take to the filthy ways.' Kālidāsa does not believe in sparing a villain. He remarks, *sāmyetpratyapakāreṇa nopakāreṇa durjanaḥ* (*Kum* II 40) 'A villain may become quiet by retaliation and not by obligation.' It will be observed here that this *subhāṣita* is synonymous of the well known *subhāṣita* viz. *śaṭham prati śāṭhyaṁ* 'wickedness towards a wicked.' Like an elderly experienced person who looks after the well-being of his fellow beings Kālidāsa advises us. *Śarīramādyam khalu dharmasādhanam* (*Kum* V. 33) 'Body is the first means of doing our duty.' Therefore it is important to take care of one's body. Kunhan Raja has rightly remarked "Kālidāsa is a poet of the people and he wrote for the people".[5]

Concluding Remarks

A perusal of these *subhāṣitas* would indicate that they are not meant only to heighten the poetic beauty, but also to enlighten us and make us think of the serious aspects of life, to make us aware of the values in life.[6] Throughout he has indicated his regard and admiration for magnanimous conduct. Ethical tone predominates in his *subhāṣitas*. Sublime thoughts in these *subhāṣitas* arise from his brilliant intellect, his immense imagination and the philosophical trend of his mind. He has a philosophical approach to life and he

has tried to instil such ideas in our mind. Hindu culture finds its expression in these *subhāṣitas*.[7] Though Kālidāsa excels in his similes, the figure of speech *arthāntaranyāsa* in these *subhāṣitas* is also appealing.

Sthāyibhāvas are latent moods in our mind and they respond to these *subhāṣitas*.

There is so much of intermingling of nature and human life that it is difficult to separate one from the other. Kale remarks, "In Kālidāsa's poetry it is impossible to see where the poet of nature ceases and the poet of human emotion begins."[8] Though Kālidāsa flourished several centuries ago, thoughts expressed in these *subhāṣitas* are not unfamiliar to us as they touch our hearts by their universal appeal.

Kālidāsa flourished several centuries before the rhetorician Mammaṭa. Mammaṭa enumerates the purposes of poetry as: attainment of fame, acquisition of wealth, knowing the ways of the world, destruction of evil, instantaneous attainment of the highest bliss and conveyance of advice with the concern of a beloved. Kālidāsa's *subhāṣitas* fulfil all these requirements.

In conclusion, it can be said that these *subhāṣitas* speak of the glory of Sanskrit poetry.

Notes and References

1) Karandikar M. A. and Karandikar Shailaja, *Kumārasambhavam*; p. xii.

2) C. Kunhan Raja, *Survey of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 98.

3) Cf. Bhāsa *Svapnavāsavadattam*, Act I - *cakrārapainktiriva gacchati bhābyapanktiḥ*.

4) *Ibid* p. 127.

5) *Ibid* p. 127.

6) *Ibid* p. 127

7) Kale N. R.; *Meghadūtam* p. X.

8) *Ibid* p. X.

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1) Kale, N. R.; *Meghadūtam*; Booksellers Company, Bombay 4.

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Solar Eclipse and the 'Fourth' Mantra of Atri

Sindhu S. Dange

The oldest reference to solar eclipse, most probably total eclipse, occurs in the *Ṛgveda* (= *RV*) in its fifth *maṇḍala*, which is the Atri *maṇḍala*, for the hymns of the seer Atri and his descendants are found here. It is said that once when the demon Svarbhānu, having caught hold of the sun, hid him with blinding darkness, the seer Atri found out the sun with the *turīya* (fourth) mantra (*RV* V. 40. 6) and placed him in the heaven (*ibid.* 8). This myth occurs in several other Vedic texts. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (*Tait. Saṁ.* II. 1. 2. 2), the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (*Mait. Saṁ.* II. 5. 2) and the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* (*Kāṭh. Saṁ.* XII. 13) mention it, adding ritualistic details to it, which we will have occasion to discuss.

The Brāhmaṇa-texts also mention this myth. The *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (=*Pañc. Br.*) gives this myth as *arthavāda* in several contexts in order to praise certain *sāmans*. At times the seer Atri does not figure in the myth but only the gods. At one place the Divākīrtya *sāmans* are praised, for with them only the gods drove away the darkness from the sun, when the demon Svarbhānu struck him (*Pañc. Br.* IV. 6. 12,13). The same myth is stated in order to praise the Svara *sāmans* (*ibid.* IV. 5. 1,2). In the context of the Bhāsa *sāman* also the same myth figures but unlike the two above-mentioned accounts, here the seer Atri and not gods repels the darkness by reciting the Bhāsa *sāman* and the sun shines again (*ibid.* VI. 6. 8 ; XIV. 11. 12,14). In two Brāhmaṇa texts there is a mention of this myth as also of giving gold to Atri, for he acquired the sun i.e. the lustre, and gold stands for lustre. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* speaks of Atri, the Hotṛ priest of *the ṛṣis* dispelling the darkness and states that the sacrificer (in the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice) gives some gold to an Ātreya (a person of the Atri descent), for gold is light or lustre and by that lustre Atri dispelled darkness (IV. 3. 4. 21). The *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (=*Jaim. Br.*) lays down while mentioning the myth that the gold to be given to Atri should weigh hundred measures. Though not stated here, number hundred stands for hundred years of man's life.[1]

The myth of the demon Svarbhānu mentioned by the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇa-texts stands as a clear evidence of a solar eclipse and most probably a total eclipse, which had taken place in the hoary past and thus an event to be remembered and hence to be recorded in the texts. The myth got developed in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, in a full-fledged myth of the demon Rāhu (-Ketu) swallowing the sun and the moon. The original

myth in other mythologies is of a demon seizing the sun, at times with a change, in that instead of a demon, we have at times a fierce beast chasing the sun or the moon, finally swallowing them.[2]

Now regarding Atri's role in this great event of rescuing the sun from darkness and thus from the clutches of the demon---Tilak referring to *RV* (V. 40. 6,8) says that the eclipse of the sun was then first observed with any pretensions to accuracy by the sage Atri.[3] Even granting this, we have to point out that the myth stresses the importance of mantra beyond doubt.[4] And in the same line come the various *sāmans,* reciting which the gods or Atri rescued the sun.[5] But the *RV* does not speak only of mantra (*brahman)* but the *turīya brahman* and this expression requires some thought.

The word *turīya* no doubt denotes the meaning 'fourth', leaving open the question of deciding about the exact mantra. Sāyaṇa in his commentary on verse no. 6 (*RV* V. 40. 6) states that the *turīya* mantra is verse no. 8 having the initial words - *grāvṇo brahmaṇā* etc. In Sāyaṇa's opinion, as the myth of Svarbhānu is stated in 5 mantras *(RV* V. 40. 5,6,7,8 and 9), verse no. 8 occupies the 'fourth' position and it is verily the *turīya* mantra. The verse (no. 8) points out that by arranging the grinding stones (for taking out the Soma-juice), worshipping with the prayer (*kiriṇā saparyan*) and propitiating the gods with food or homage (Sāyaṇa – *namasā - annena havirlakṣaṇena namaskāreṇa vā*), the Brahmā priest Atri warded off the evil powers of Svarbhānu and placed the eye of the sun in the sky. This verse does not speak of any specific mantra – and not certainly any 'fourth' mantra – but simply states the various ways of propitiating the gods. Then what could be the *turīya* – "fourth mantra"? Even Geldner gives the meaning of the word *turīya* as 'fourth' ('vierten Zauberspruch') but does not elucidate the concept.[6] The references in the *RV* having the word *turīya* point to the same meaning i.e. 'fourth'.[7] Sāyaṇa can be of some help in a couple of these references. At *RV* VIII. 52.7, which is addressed to Indra, while explaining the words *turīya āditya,* Sāyaṇa speaks of Indra – the son of Aditi – as *avasthātrayātīta* i. e. one who is beyond the three stages and hence is *turīya* - the fourth. At *RV* VIII. 80. 9, which is addressed to Indra, the seer says -- 'O Indra ! after you take the 'fourth' name (*turīyaṃ nāma*), related to sacrifice (*yajñīyam*), which we long for, you take us to you.' On this Sāyaṇa says that the first name of a person is after the constellation (at the time of his birth); the second is his secret name; the third is his name which is given to him for daily dealings, and the fourth name is concerning sacrifice as a performer of Soma-sacrifice (*somayāji-iti*). Apart from the belief underlying the concept of name[8], the mention of the 'fourth' name is important from our point of view, for it is said to take the devotee near the god, obviously for the former's gain. The same

thought is marked in the *Atharvaveda* (VII. 1.1). The hymn (VII. 1) contains only two verses and is said to be 'mystic'. Whitney translates VII. 1.1[9] - "They either who by meditation led the beginning (*agram*) of Speech ,or who by mind spoke righteous things (*ṛtāni*) — they increasing with the third incantation (*brahmaṇā*), perceived with the fourth (*turīyeṇa*) the name of the milch cow." This shows that the 'fourth' mantra (the text does not say which exactly this mantra is) helped to know the name of the milch cow and thus stands efficacious. Can we say 'fourth' stands for a stage of excellence, where a positive result could be achieved ?

We have said that ritualistic details are added to the original myth of Svarbhānu. Even the *Pañc. Br.* and the *Jaim. Br.* tread on the same path. And here we have a reference to 'fourth' (effort or effect). The *Tait. Sam.* says that when Svarbhānu pierced the sun with darkness, the gods desired an atonement for him. The first darkness of his which they struck off became a black sheep (*kṛṣṇā aviḥ*), the second a bright-coloured one (*phalgunī*), the third a white one (*balakṣī*); what they cut off from the upper part of the bone became a barren ewe (*vaśā*) and they offered that to Ādityas for (the fulfilment of their) desire (II. 1.2,3). *The Mait. Sam.* also speaks of the earlier three sheep (*kṛṣṇā, lohinī* and *balakṣī*) and the fourth one as *vaśā* — the *devapaśu*— the beast meant for the gods — which the gods offered to Kāma — Desire (II. 5.2). The *Kāṭh. Sam.* mentions *kṛṣṇā, phalgu, balakṣī* and the fourth one as *vaśā*, which the gods offer to Aditi for desire (XII. 13). Even the *Jaim. Br.* mentions the three sheep - *kṛṣṇā, dhūmrā* and *phalgunī* (I. 80). The *Pañc. Br.* also mentions three sheep — a black one, silvery one and a reddish one. And when with the Bhāsa *sāman*, Atri set free the sun's original appearance i.e. the colour, that became a white sheep (VI. 6. 8). These accounts bring out the concept that it is the 'fourth' effort that leads the gods or the seer Atri to success.

When the reference to *turīya* (fourth) mantra of Atri is placed *vis-a-vis* the above-mentioned references, it clearly points out the importance of the 'fourth'. However, unlike the self-eloquent concept of 'fourth' in these references, the *turīya mantra* of Atri in the *RV* (V. 40. 6) is mute about its exact implication. We can say that the *turīya* mantra might have been connected with the sacrificial matters (as in *RV* V. 40. 8, which we have already seen), and like the *turīya* name, which was *yajñiya* (*ibid.* VIII. 80. 9, which also we have taken into account), it proved successful. We can say that it was a secret mantra like 'Open Sesame', with which Atri got back the sun hidden by darkness, spread by Svarbhānu.

It is interesting to note that the four stages of the *catuṣpāt ātman* are

stated in detail by the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad,* though the *Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad* (VII. 11.18) also gives them. The *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad,* however, elaborates these. The first is the stage of being awake, the second that of dream, the third that of deep sleep and the 'fourth' one, described on the lines of '*na iti, na iti*' (verses 2ff). This is the *turīya brahman* of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad,* the Highest state, which cannot be caught in words. Can we say that the *turīya brahman* of Atri, which stood for a secret effective mantra assumed a new face-lift in the Upaniṣadic period? Most probably so, for both stand for the 'Highest'.

Atri must have seen the *turīya* mantra with his 'mental eye' and it must have rushed through his mouth to save the world from the great calamity. And it is the seer Atri only that some households unknowingly remember, when they follow the practice of reciting some mantras during the period of the solar and lunar eclipse. The concept obviously goes back to that of the power of mantra. Again there is a practice of giving gifts to avert the 'evil' befalling these two luminaries.[10] A practice, becoming obsolete day by day, is observed in some houses and it is of keeping the idols of daily worship in water, some time prior to the solar or lunar eclipse till the end of it. The waters here stand for the primeval waters, which alone were there prior to the creation of the universe,[11] thus suggesting that in the event of the sun and moon not being there, the world would revert to that condition -- the fear of which is a cause for worry, and hence the *turīya* mantra of Atri is remembered in some form or the other !

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11. For similar details regarding Creation-accounts, in various mythologies, see Dange, Sindhu S. (Ed), *Myths of Creation*, (Papers read at the Seminar, held by the Dept. of Sanskrit), University of Bombay Pubn., Bombay (Mumbai), 1987.

World of Trees : The Buddhist Perspective

Parineeta Deshpande

Introduction

Trees are inextricably woven into the thoughts and language of men, symbolizing and representing diverse ideas such as stability, life breath, roots, seeds, cyclical renewal of life, fruits, fruit of knowledge, benign protection, gracious shelter and so on. Myths and legends around the world are replete with tree motifs.

Tree was an object of worship and one of the very first objects of man's worship. The simple straight-forward and uneducated mind of the primeval savage led man to adore the tree. Pursued by a beast of prey, overtaken by pitiless storm or scorching under the fierce heat of the sun, the early man would have found in some large tree a refuge excelling all others. On its branches was a hiding place where he could rest safe from his fierce enemies, beneath its leafy canopy was shelter from intolerable heat. Its ever lovely foliage inspired him with sentiment of beauty; its size, its longevity and its equal majesty inspired him with a sense of awe. It was beautiful, beneficent and wonderful and he venerated it. Such may be the probable origin of the worship of tree.

Vedic Background

The practice of worshipping trees is quite ancient in India. From times immemorial tree worship has formed an integral part of the religious system of the Indo-Aryans. Its origin can be traced back with confidence to the Indus civilization, which dominated the Indus valley for thousands of years.[1] A large number of seals and painted pottery unearthed at Harappa and Mohenjodaro shows figures of trees very frequently. Some of them clearly attest to the actual artistic representation of symbolism of tree worship, pregnant with meaning. Trees were regarded as celestial plants and supposed to be inhabited by divine spirits. A number of trees and plants have also been held sacred and venerated since the Vedic times.[2]

Though there are a number of passages in the Vedic literature where trees are invoked as deities, as regards the *Aśvattha* or *Pippala*, one cannot but be interested to find that it figures throughout ancient Indian literature as a sacred symbol of life and growth. In the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* and the *Bhagavadgītā*[4] the evolution of life has been illustrated by the *Aśvattha* tree,

eternal and undecaying, with its roots above and branches below. "The tree was certainly held in high esteem even as early as the Vedic poems. Vessels for the mystic soma juice were made of its wood, and so were the caskets containing the sacrificial materials."[5] It is undoubtedly the *Aśvattha* or *Pippala* which in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* symbolizes the tree of life on which perch two charming birds and dwell as inseparable comrades, one of which eats fruits and the other simply looks on and ponders without eating anything.[6] The same symbolism of the *Aśvattha* or *Pippala* of life, characterized by its two different trends vital and reflective, finds a marvellous poetic expression even in the ancient Ṛgvedic hymn of *Dirghatamas*.[7]

Buddhist View

This notion of tree worship survived down to the rise of Buddhism. In the *jātakas* we have so many references of offerings made to the spirits who were supposed to dwell on trees.[8] Trees were consulted and expected to give sons and wealth[9]. The tree spirits injure those who injure the trees.[10] The tree spirits are pleased when garlands are hung upon the branches, lamps are lit around it; *bali* offerings are made at the base.[11] Sujātā the daughter of a general, in order to be blessed with a son promised the tree-deity to offer *bali*. When her prayer was fulfilled, as promised, she decided to perform that *bali* offering and came to the tree where Siddhārtha Bodhisattva was seated. Seeing him in contemplative mood sitting under the tree and shining with abundant splendour, thinking him to be the tree-deity incarnate, she offered the *pāyasa* which she had prepared as offering.[12] Sometimes a tree itself was identified with the god and worshipped. The *Mahāvagga* refers to a god living on a *Kakudha* tree.[13] The tree deities were called *Nāgas* and were able at will, like the *Nāgas*, to assume human form.[14] In *Mahā-vaṇija Jātaka* the spirit of a banyan tree who reduced the merchants to ashes is called *Nāgarājā*. In *Mahāvagga* the *Mucalinda* tree under which the Buddha sits after attaining enlightenment, is conceived as a tree spirit from the abode of Śakra (Indra) as well as a king of serpents.[15]

These are all examples of pure and simple tree worship, the worship of powerful spirits supposed to dwell in trees. The Pali canons allude to many references of tree worship which prevailed in the contemporary Indian society.[16]

Now, the *Aśvattha* or *Pippala,* which excels all other trees in sanctity, has invariably served as the outstanding symbol of early Buddhism. The pre-eminence of the *Pippala* in Buddhism is such that, the history of the rise of all Buddhist holy places, both in and outside India, may be real in no better term than that of the planting of the seed or branch of the *Bodhi* tree. The *Bodhi*

tree of the historical Buddha has been venerated by the Buddhists not as an element of tree worship, but as a pre-eminent object of worship and emblem of their faith. It is the tree sitting under which Gautama the Buddha attained enlightenment. As a matter of fact, the word *bodhi* is an epithet of the tree (referring to *Assattha-Aśvattha*). In the oldest accounts of Gautama's attainment of Buddhahood, there is no mention of the proper name of the tree under which he was sitting at that time.[17] As pointed out by Prof. Rhys Davids,[18] "so far as the whole corpus of the Pali canonical texts goes, it is nowhere but in the solitary *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* that the *Bodhi* trees of seven Buddhas, including *Aśvattha* find an incidental mention. No special sanctity is attached to these trees". Davids further observes that it might be possible that the disciples, in all good faith associated their master with the *Pippala* tree because even before his time. it had been held sacred above all other trees and during the later period the Buddhist attitude moved towards venerating the sylvan symbol of Buddha-hood.

Besides this, the *Pippala, Bodhi* or Bo-tree, the chief sacred tree of the Buddhists, has certainly some attributes which would account for its being selected above other trees as the typical tree of worship. It is noble in dimension and appearance. Its seeds have extraordinary vitality and when a drop of moisture has caused them to shoot, even in a crack, high in some lofty tower, they will not die but will be nourished. Its Sanskrit name *Bodhi*-tree may be translated as the tree of wisdom. The same word *Bodhi* is also applied to the penetrating wisdom of the Buddha and is said to be derived from the root '*budh*' which also means penetrate. If it obtained this name, '*bodhi*' independently and not in connection with any religious myth, it may have originated in the above described penetrating character of its roots.

Seven Mānuṣi Buddhas

Buddhist tradition also says that the seven Buddhas, including Gautama the Buddha, have attained wisdom under a tree. The tree differs with each of them. The *Mahāpadāna* Discourse of *Dighanikāya* enumerates seven Buddhas who attained enlightenment under some tree and their association with trees is stated thus -

1)   *Vipassi - Pāṭalī*
2)   *Śikhi - Puṇḍarīka*
3)   *Vessabhū - Sāla*
4)   *Kakusandha - Śiriṣa*
5)   *Koṇāgamana - Udumbara*
6)   *Kassapa - Nigrodha*
7)   *Sākya - Assattha*

It was under such trees that the followers of the Buddha believed that the Buddhas became enlightened. The discourse also indicates the new association of trees with the acquisition of knowledge which was missing till that time. It is the remarkable contribution of Buddhism that it provided the world of trees with this novel orientation.

The Aniconic Symbol

It is well known that in its early stage Buddhist art was aniconic. The founder of the religion, the Buddha was not at first represented directly in human form but rather by symbols.[19] The aniconic symbols reached triumphal expression in elaborate *stūpas*.[20] In depicting the scene of the Buddha's enlightenment, the artists depicted the Bodhi tree as standing in the centre of the bas-reliefs, surrounded by an ornate stone railing, garlanded with hanging wreath, crowned with umbrellas, graced by *tri-ratna* symbol, approached by flying angels, watched by the tree spirits and confronted by a pillared but open hall of worship with a cubical seat. The whole presentation is symbolic. The umbrellas indicate the royal majesty of the tree which reigns on the spot as the lord of forests. The well-shaped foliage and canopy of the tree indicate the greatness of the Buddha, and his religion as the true shelter for the afflicted humanity.

Now, by whatever actual historical process the *Bodhi* tree came into prominence, when it was offered as an object of worship to the masses, it was welcome to them as it appeared in no other form than *Aśvattha*, their ancient highly revered "Tree of Life." The Buddhist tradition supplied a new association of enlightenment to the tree which was readily accepted and venerated as the object of worship, a living emblem of their Buddhist faith and the history of its expansion.

The Buddha and trees

The adoration of the trees at an early period of Buddhism goes back even before the birth of the Buddha himself. According to *Nidānakathā*, before being born as Siddhārtha, the *Bodhisattva* was in *Tuṣita* heaven where he was beseeched by the celestial deities to be born among men and open the gates of immortality. This scene at Barhut is laid in a celestial grove marked by the presence of the heavenly trees. *Nidānakathā*, the Pali biography of the Buddha, also tells us that the Buddha was born under a *Śāla* tree, not within the four walls of a man-made house but was born as a free man in the open air, duly protected by the trees which were destined to play a pre-eminent role in his later life both as a man and as a teacher. The Buddha spent most of his life in forests which in turn had great impact on his thinking and lifestyle.

Prince Siddhārtha when still a child, greatly loved open air environments and trees. He used to go out in his father's farm and sit alone there in a contemplative mood under a rose apple tree enjoying the peace and beauty of Nature. He had experienced pure bliss and ecstasy which raised him far above the levels of sense experience[21].

One *Pippala* tree, the symbolic pre-eminence of which has already been discussed above, is the most sacred tree for the Buddhists because it was under this tree, Gautama while meditating at Uruvela on the bank of river Niranjana attained Buddha-hood. This tree is called *Bodhi* tree, the tree of wisdom and the place of Buddha's enlightenment is known as Bodh Gaya. The pilgrims first salute the *Bodhi* tree at Bodh Gaya.

After his enlightenment the Buddha is said to have remained standing before the place where he sat and the tree that provided him with shade, contributing to his attainment of Buddha-hood. Gazing at it without even blinking his eyes, he remained there for one whole week, expressing his sense of gratitude and close communion with the tree. It has been stated in the *Mahāvagga*[22] that, after the enlightenment Gautama the Buddha said, "Vast has been the kindness and service which this great holy Bo-tree has rendered to me. Trusting to its protecting shade I have attained omniscience. Yet I have nothing here to express my gratitude. I have but my eyes with which I make my offering". This also shows the greatness of Buddhist tradition where trees are not looked upon as mere objects of consumption but a deep sense of gratitude towards them is also expressed. Then the Buddha sat under different trees in the neighbourhood of the *Bodhi* tree for four weeks.[23] First he sat under the *Ajapāla Nyagrodha* tree (banyan tree of the goat-herds) for seven days enjoying the bliss of emancipation. Rising from there the Enlightened one repaired to the foot of *Mucalinda* tree where he meditated. From *Mucalinda,* the Blesssed one went to the *Rajāyatana* tree and sat at its foot for seven days enjoying the bliss of emancipation and again he came back to the *Bodhi* tree before leaving for *Isipatana* for 'setting the Wheel of law in Motion.' Even the very first sermon was delivered in the deer park by the Buddha before the group of his former comrades, who later on came to be known as *panca-vaggīya bhikkhus* and thus laid the foundation of *Sangha.* Thus, all important events in the life of the Buddha have taken place in close communion with trees. With such a beginning it is not surprising that the Buddha and his disciples continued to encourage respecting, nurturing and preserving the natural environment.

One of the rules in the *Mahāvagga*[24] of the *Vinaya piṭaka* deals with the declarative of the four resources (*nissayas*) at the time of *Upasaṁpadā.*

One of them is that they should endeavour to live in open air under trees. Surely there could be no better way for the Buddha to emphasize[25] the importance of trees. The Buddha, the founder of the monastic order, discovered from his own experience that a natural surrounding is the best place for a monk to undertake contemplation, leading to enlightenment and freedom. At the end of a discourse the Buddha would often advise his disciples to resort to the roots of a tree (*rukkhamūla*).[26] In *Ariyapariyesana sutta,* (the Discourse on the noble quest) the Buddha refers to his search for a suitable place for his striving, in a delightful piece of land (*ramaniyam bhumibhagam*) in a soothing forest grove (*pāsādikam vanasandam*).[27] Lord Buddha made Arhatship as his ideal and betrayed a predilection for solitude. The members of the order were advised to cultivate the art of solitude and to dwell under trees in forests caring for flora and fauna around them which became also their source of sustenance. In the *Theragāthā* which is a collection of psalms of the Brethren as the *Therigāthā* is of the sisters, a number of *Theras* have sung the praises of trees and forests.[28] In accordance with the direction of the Master they were always on the move, excluding the rainy season, preaching the doctrine for the welfare and happiness of the masses. By and large, therefore, the trees on the outskirts of the villages used to be the night shelters of the *Saṅgha,* though occasionally the monks stayed in the assembly hall of the villages also. When the *Saṅgha* had grown in strength, the necessity of a fixed place of rest for his disciples was felt by the Buddha. The first *vihāra* of the residence of the *Saṅgha* was the *Veḷuvana Vihāra* in Rajgir which was offered by the King Bimbisāra who was a lay devotee of the Buddha.[29] As the name indicates, it was a garden of Bamboo trees which was always resorted to by the Buddha invariably whenever he was in Rajgir.

All the big monasteries mentioned in the *Tipiṭakas* were built in gardens with shady trees to enable the *Bhikkhus* to dwell in solitude and silence. Undisturbed by the city's hustle and bustle, they could zealously engage themselves in meditation. At Kapilavastu the *Nigrodhārama* (Banyan grove) was the residence of the Buddha.[30]

Vaishali had the famous mango grove which was donated by Āmbapālī, the famous courtesan, who herself was brought up by the owner of the mango orchard. Nalanda had the famous Pāvārika mango grove where the blessed one had sojourned.[31]

As the narration in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta*[32] tells us, the Tathāgata on his last journey to Kushinara had stayed at Pava in the Mango grove of Chunda. Lastly, the thin *Sāla* trees of Kushinara are closely connected with the

life of the Buddha because, it was under them in the Upavattana Sāla-grove of
Kushinara that the Buddha entered *Mahāparinirvāṇa* and laid down his mortal
remains.

Environmental View

One can hardly say that Gautama Buddha was not aware of the Vedic
thoughts of gods inhabiting natural phenomena such as fire, wind, rain and
even herbs. But he spoke of gods residing in pleasances (*ārāma*), in groves
(*vana*), in trees (*rukkha*), in medicinal herbs (*oṣadhi*) and large trees
(*vanaspati*) just to encourage people to respect natural vegetation.[33]

Those who are involved in planting of pleasances (*ārāmaropa*) and
forest grove (*vanāropa*) are said to acquire spiritual merit (*puñña*) and reach
heaven (*sagga*). This also indicates his encouragement given to horticulture.[34]

Furthermore, to destroy a tree that has contributed much to the
cleansing of the air and providing shade to the scorched traveller is considered
as the betrayal of a friend[35] (*mittadubhi*).

In *Aggañña Sutta*[36] the moral deterioration is linked to man's tendency
to exploit excessively the natural resources. The *Sutta* refers to the world's
passage through alternating cycles of evolution and dissolution indicating that
natural processes are directly affected by human morals. When there is
deterioration of human morality, the excessive exploitation of nature takes place.
In *Cakkavattisimhanāda Sutta*[37] it is stated - "gradually the health of people will
deteriorate and so will the life. By that time all delicacies will have disappeared
from the earth and poorest, coarsest food of today will become a delicacy of
that time". Thus the Buddha lays emphasis on the ethical code of conduct
which has direct bearing on the world of trees.

In *Aṅguttaranikāya*[38] the person who wastes natural resources is
compared to a fig-eater who shakes the branch of a tree for the fruits, both
ripe and unripe, but eats only a few and wastes the rest. This wasteful attitude
is not only antisocial but also criminal. Conservation of natural resources and
putting them to proper use, both are equally important as far as protection of
plant life is concerned. According to the Buddha he who abstains from injuring
plant life, is the perfect man. Even the branch of a tree giving shelter should
not be destroyed.[39]

In *Sigālovada Sutta*,[40] the Buddha asks the householders to accumulate
wealth in a way similar to the one adopted by a bee in collecting nectar from
a flower. In other words, human beings are expected to make appropriate use
of nature so that the beneficial pattern of man-nature relationship is not

threatened. Also Buddha's obsessive emphasis on non-violence can be interpreted in terms of his awareness in preserving ecological balance. The destruction of plant life for reclaiming land posed a serious threat to the balance between man and nature.

The relationship between man and nature can be seen in the theory of the five natural laws (*pañcaniyamadhamma*[41]). According to this theory, there are five natural forces at work, namely, *utuniyama* (season law), *bijaniyama* (seed law), *cittaniyama, kammaniyama* and *dhammaniyama.* These five laws demonstrate in a reciprocal causal relationship, with changes in one necessarily bringing about changes in the other. Like the mind and body of a person are interdependent, human beings and nature are equally dependent on each other. The Buddhist literature stresses that trees and human beings need to live in close harmony as the trees are benevolent towards mankind and in return do not demand anything.

One of the basic facts of nature is that it naturally balances and harmonizes. This is an inbuilt mechanism of nature. Impurities in nature are due to impurities in the mind of mankind. The eco-crisis is a reflection of the imbalance in the human mind. The teachings of the Buddha inspire people to travel the middle-path towards living a balanced life. Harmony will arise when extremes are avoided; when harmony and balance rise, peace and happiness will prevail. A purified mind will lead to a pure environment of love, friendliness and compassion.

Conclusion

The Buddhist world of trees has threefold perspective. As far as the religious aspect is concerned, the notion of tree worship, which was well preserved in the Vedic scenario, survived down to the rise of Buddhism. The Buddhist tradition supplied a new association of enlightenment to the tree which was readily accepted and venerated as the object of worship, the living emblem of the Buddhist faith and the history of its expansion.

As far as the life of the Buddha is concerned, all the significant events attest to his close communion with trees which had a great impact on his thinking and lifestyle, both as a man and as a teacher. Gautama the Buddha, established the interplay between the ethical code of conduct and the existence of trees.

The Buddhist tradition also pronounced the environmental dimension to the world of trees which was, till then, revolving around the religious hub. The Buddha's law of Dependent Origination can be well applied to the environmental ethics wherein all living organisms, including human beings,

depend on each other for sustainable co-existence. The world of trees can be well preserved by putting into practice this law and by abandoning greed.

With this thoughtful approach to the trees, the Buddhist tradition becomes extremely relevant to the contemporary process of urbanization.

Notes and References

This paper was presented in SSEASR, at Bangkok, May 2007, under the section Religion and Ecology.

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2.   Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* pp. 154.

3.   *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* VI. I - *ūrdhvamūlo vākśākho eṣo'śvatthaḥ sanātanaḥ I.*

4.   *Bhagavadgītā* XV. I *ūrdhvamūlam adhaḥśākham aśvattham prāhur avyayam I.*

5.   T.W.Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 231-232.

6.   *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* III. I.

7.   *Ṛgveda* I. 22.164.20.
      dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā samānam vṛkṣam pari saṣvajāte /
      tayor anyaḥ pippalaṁ svādu attyanaśnan anyo abhicākaṣiti II .

8.   *Jātaka* 474, 488.

9.   *Ibid* 98,109.

10.   *Ibid* 2IO, 353.

11.   *Ibid* 3.23,153.

12.   *Nidānakathā* (ed.) N. K. Bhagawat, p 87 ff.

13.   *Mahāvagga* I. 3.

14.   *Jātaka* 493.

15.   *Mahāvagga* I. 2-5.

16.   T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India pp.* 151 ff.

17.   *Mahāvagga* 1.22, 117,249.

18.   *Ibid* pp. 152.

19.   Vide on this point Bachhofer, Ludwig, *Early Indian Sculpture* Vol. I Chap. I.

20.   Barua, B. M., *Barhut - Stone as a Story-teller*, book II, section I, p. 5 ff..

21.   *Lalitavistara* Chapter XI.

22.   *Mahāvagga* I. 2 - 5.

23.   This is the oldest form of the tradition of *Mahāvagga.*

24.   *Ibid* 1.118, *Samyuttanikāya* 4. 133.

25.   *Majjhimanikāya* -1.249, 346,440-442, 3.3.

26.   *Ibid.* I. 118; *Anguttaranikāya* 4. 139.

27.   *Majjhimanikāya* 1.167.

28.   *Theragāthā* 537, 539, 602, 603.

29.   *Nidānakathā* (ed) N. K. Bhagwat, pp. 108; *Vinaya piṭaka* 1.39.

30.   *Dīghanikāya* II. 116; *Vinaya piṭaka* III.235; *Rāhula sutta, Samyuttanikāya* pp. 58

31.   The archaeological finds have also shown that the mango tree has an important place in the Buddhist art. The Stūpa at Sanchi has various sculptures and patterns of the mango tree and its fruit. This could be the earliest depiction of this tree.

32.   Discourse 16 of *Dīghanikāya.*

33.   *Majjhimanikāya* I. 306.

34.   *Samyuttanikāya* I. 33.

35.   *Petavatthu* 259.

36.   *Dīghanikāya* (ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter) Vol. III, London, 1890 - 1911) Vol. III p. 71.

37.   *Ibid,* Vol. III, p.80.

38.   *Anguttaranikāya* (ed. R. M. Morris and E. Hardy, 5 vols, London I (1885-1900), Vol. IV, p 285.

39.   *Samyuttanikāya* Vol II 23,47.

40.   *Dīghanikāya,* III. 180-93.

41.   *Aṭṭhasālinī* (ed.), R. Sankar Tripathy, Varanasi, 1989, pp. 385 -387.

Some Early Sculptures from Indonesia

M. A. Dhaky

From the standpoint of ancient art and architecture, from among the south-east Asian countries, Indonesia is closest to India. This happened without, of course, diluting their typical Indonesian character and expression. For discussion I select seven sculptures, some of which in large measure endorse the aforenoted view.

The first two illustrations show the representations of Viṣṇu which, incidentally, are the earliest known deity images from Indonesia. These, moreover, demonstrate their stylistic affiliations with the contemporaneous Indian icons of Viṣṇu. The first one from Tjibuaja, Java (plate I) has a slightly tribal looking roundish face with open eyes, long ears with somewhat indistinctly ring-shaped ornament, short but thick neck, pipe-like short arms with condensed palms, and stunted heavy legs with shortened feet. On the head sits an early type of *kirīṭa*-crown, very gradually (and thus only slightly) tapering toward the upper end and displaying floral and jewel-like ornament on its fronton. The deity holds in his upper right hand *cakra*-disk (shown frontwise) and the left hand carries conch; the lower right hand is supported on the *gadā* or mace and the lower left hand carries an indistinct (fruit-like ?) object in the palm in lieu of the normally noticed *padma* or lotus. The figure wears *dhotī* with flattened cloth band, also man's plain *kaṅkaṇas* or bangles around the wrists, and an ornamented *hāra*-necklace in the neck, all schematized. An aureole, rayed only on the left half, figures behind the head. On this image comments Bernet Kempers: "In 1952 this interesting statue of Vishṇu was found in the village of Tjibuaja in West Java. It seems to be the earliest image of a Hindu god in Java. The god's attributes are a club, a *cakra*, a conch and a fruit. The way in which he holds these objects, the general style of the image and the conical headdress are similar to those of statues from the South Indian Pallava kingdom, about the 6th-7th century AD. The statue is rather flat and entirely smooth at the back. The conical headdress reminds us of the earliest Vishṇu images, found in Indo-China, and, as regards Indonesia, of a small head of Vishṇu, likewise in stone, discovered on the island of Bangka."[1] My perception, on one point differs. Ethnically, the image's face is not Pallava; it could perhaps be Āndhran. The shape of the *mukuṭa* is northern, not southern Indian. Although, to a great extent, it follows the Indian formal formula, it may be a handiwork of some artist who worked in Siam/Thailand (or Cambodia?) whose forefathers may have hailed from India.

The Indonesian Viṣṇu, as Kempers rightly observes as having similarity with those found from Indochina, may have been imported in Indonesia from that territory, not India, even though Indian looking in its generalities. Stylistically, it could be of late fifth or early sixth century.

The second Viṣṇu (plate II) is also strongly reminiscent of India, particularly its southern territory. However, its jewelled crown, though slightly broadened at the top-end, is akin more to the western Indian instances than Pallavan. Viṣṇu's *dhotī* in this instance is marked by folds suggested by incised lines or serrations instead of the transparent *dhotī* of the preceding instance. It, moreover, shows the male genital organ as had been rendered in some instances of the Gupta period Viṣṇu images in India. The *dhotī* here is held by a frugally delineated *maṇimekhalā* or jewelled waist-band. As in the preceding image, the upper right arm holds *cakra*, likewise shown frontwise, and, the upper left carries conch; while the lower right bears a fruit-like object and the lower right hand grasps the thinner end of a flattened mace. Ethnically, the face lacks the elongation and the typical Pallavan physiognomical features noticeable in the deity figures of Tamilnadu of the first half of the seventh century. (Could it be racially early Muttaraiyar and hence pre-Chola?) This image, too, seems the handiwork of some south-east Asian Indian settler whose craft tradition, however, apparently derived both from southern India and, for a few details, such as the ornamental treatment of the crown, also northern India. It may date from early seventh century.

The third illustration is of a standing Buddha from Selaton, Sumatra. It has broken arms and mutilated as well as abraded nose (plate IV). The transparent robe is reminiscent of the standing Buddha images from Sarnath in India. The snail-shaped hair tufts and the *uṣṇīṣa*-projection at the top likewise remind of Indian instances. Ethnically, however, it is different from the Indian precursors. It perhaps shows the physiognomic features of an autochthon of Sumatra and does not, hence, look like an import from India. It may be compared with two contemporaneous parallels, one from Cambodia-a pre-Khmer instance from Prei Kabas[2] - and the second from some site in northern Siam[3]. Both of these instances ethnically differ from each other as well as the Sumatran just as Indian. But all of them follow the Sarnath tradition of showing a transparent robe with scalloped border. The Siamese instance has a very elegant face imbued with serenity and is stylistically earlier, by some decades, than the other two instances - Sumatran and Cambodian under reference. The Sumatran example apparently dates from early seventh century.

The next illustration (plate V) is of the Maitreya Buddha, seated in the characteristic *pralambapāda* or the so-called European posture. It is reported

from Semasang, Java. The image's throne is simply moulded, the uppermost course showing schematically rendered lotus petals suggestive of a *padma-pitha* or lotus-seat. The robe is transparent and transversely worn about the chest. The face is not Indian and though earlier by about a century and a half than the famous Maitreya image in Candi, Mendut,[4] Java, the image lacks the perfection as well as serene contemplative beauty of that image which belongs to the classical Javanese style and period (*c.* CE. 775-800). A shade of the Pallavan schematicism is apparent in Semasang instance.

The next three examples hail from Dieng plateau, the seat of the kings of the brahmanical Sañjaya dynasty which ruled in northern Java contempora-neously with the Buddhist Śailendra dynasty of Sumatra and southern Java.

The first one (plate III) illustrates the head of *gandharva-mukha* (heav-enly minstrel)[5] originally inset within the cavity of the *gavākṣa*-dormer of the early Nāgara looking *śikhara* of the temple going by the name of Caṇḍi Bhima (*c.* 8th cent. CE).[6] The face plausibly represents local tribal but is not unhand-some. It reflects an incipient contemplative serenity even when the eyes are open. It wears a *paṭṭabandha*-headband and the pierced and elongated ears wear heavy round studs.

The second example, of a head of a Śiva image, seems a portrait of what could be a deified royalty, perhaps a king, from one of the temples of Dieng (plate VI, A).[7] The *jaṭā* is unlike any example from India. The eyes are half-closed, the nose slightly flares at the lower end plausibly after a tribal physiognomy. The face, with personalized features, shows mustache which fur-ther emphasizes its being a portrait head[8]. The multiple borders of the halo be-hind the head are unlike any example known from India. It may date from *c.* 775 CE, the general date of the buildings on that plateau.

The last illustration (plate VI, B), also of a haloed head but showing feminine seeming facial features apparently is indicative of a goddess figure and could be of a portrait of a deified royal lady, perhaps a queen cast as Pārvati or Lakṣmi. The face with long lotus petal-like eyes, shapely nose and delicately done lips, though not exhibiting meditative expression, still looks placid and graceful. The *kirīṭa*-crown with doubled jewelled band shows an aureole of the type shown behind the Śiva head (plate VI, A) and may be close in date.

Acknowledgements

Viṣṇu, Tjibuaja, west Java, c. 6th century CE.

Viṣṇu, Indonesia, *c.* 7th century CE.

Gandharva-mukha, from a *śikhara-gavākṣa,*
Candi Bhima, Dieng plateau, *c.* early 8th century CE.

Standing Buddha, Selaton, Sumatra, *c.* 7th century CE.

Maitreya Buddha, Semasang, Java, *c.* 7th century CE.

A. Head of a male royalty, probably deified as Śiva, from some temple on Dieng plateau, *c.* CE 775.

B. Head of a female royalty, probably deified as Pārvatī (or Lakṣmī), Dieng plateau, *c.* CE 775.

Notes and References

1.   A.J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art,* Cambridge, Massachusetts 1959, plate 23, p. 31. I have noticed illustrations of such Viṣṇu figures from the erstwhile Indochinese territory, but the published sources here in Ahmedabad are not available for reference. (These are in the AIIS's library, Gurgaon.)

2.   Cf. Benjamin Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India Buddhist-Hindu-Jain,* The Pelican History of Art, Reprinted with revision and updated bibliography by J.C. Harle, 1977, fig. 318.

3.   *Ibid.,* fig. 319.

4.   Kempers, figs. 58, 59.

5.   *Ibid.,* fig. 32.

6.   *Ibid.,* fig. 29.

7.   Unlike India, in South-east Asian countries like Java, Cambodia, and Campa, it was customary to sculpt divine images as commemorative of the royalty, after his/her likeness plausibly for enshrining a funerary shrine. In ancient Egypt, king's portrait figures were made and worshipped, but they were not cast as divinities - Ra'Aman, Atan, Horus, *et cetera.*

8.   In My Son (or Mi-son) in Campa (Vietnam) the head of Śiva and that of a bust of Śiva likewise wears a mustache: *Cf.* Emmanuel Guillon, *Cham Art,* Thailand 2001, figs. 10, 17, pp. 40, 79.

List of Illustrations

I.   Viṣṇu, Tjibuaja, West Java, *c.* 6th century CE.

II.   Viṣṇu, Indonesia, *c.* 7th century CE.

III.   *Gandharva-mukha,* from a *śikhara-gavākṣa,* Caṇḍī Bhima, Dieng plateau, *c.* early 8th century CE.

IV.   Standing Buddha, Selaton, Sumatra, *c.* 7th century CE.

V.   Maitreya Buddha, Semasang, Java, *c.* 7th century CE.

VI, A. Head of a male royalty, probably deified as Śiva, from some temple on Dieng plateau, *c.* CE 775.

VI, B. Head of a female royalty, probably deified as Pārvatī (or Lakṣmī), Dieng plateau, *c.* CE 775.

A Unique *Dvi-garbha* Temple at Kudala-Sangama District Solapur, Maharashtra

Kumud Kanitkar

The *dvi-garbha* temple at Kudala-Sangama in Solapur District of Maharashtra is located at the confluence of the rivers Sina and Bhima. The line drawing (Fig. 1) brings out the fact that Bhima for the most part flows west to east and Sina, north to south. Near their confluence at Kudala-Sangama (tehsil: South Solapur), however, there are loops in both the rivers such that Bhima flows in from the north and Sina, from the east; it is a 'T' shaped *sangama*. 'Kudala' is a Kannada word meaning '*sangama*' (confluence). That the spot was considered holy and was popular in mediaeval times is obvious from the presence of many temples, scattered remains and various inscriptions found here. Ironically, the 1971 census lists the population at 348!
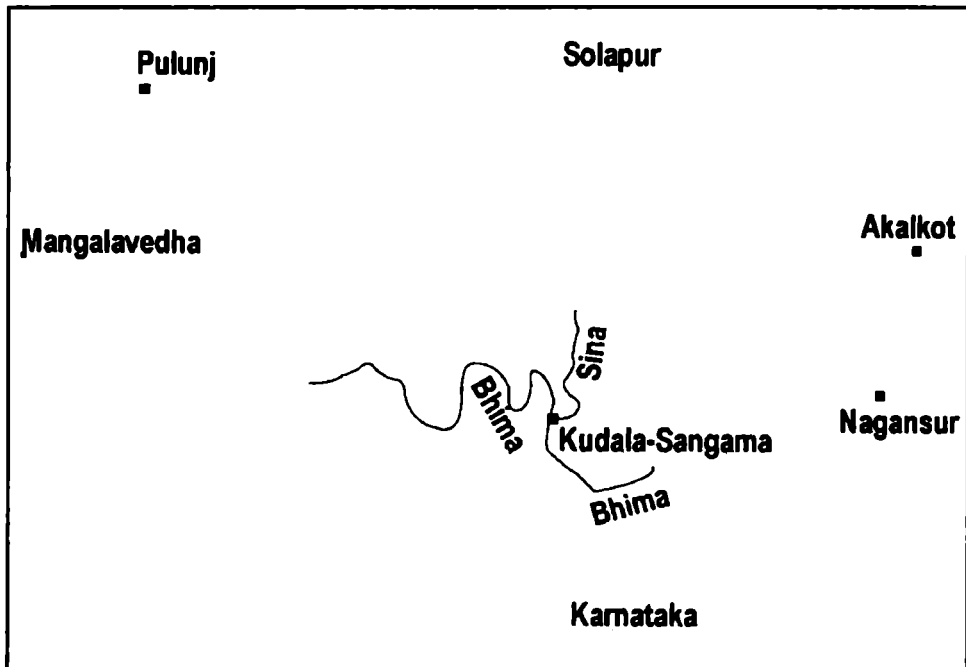
Fig. 1

Kudala-Sangama has temples at two physically different levels. The temples are totally different in style as well. The upper group may actually be a composite of two temples joined together later – a single shrined Śiva temple facing north and a triple-shrined Śiva temple (all three shrines with

śivaliṅgas) facing east. The lower structure is the *dvi-garbha* temple of Śiva and Viṣṇu described here. The meticulous documentation by A. V. Naik[1] does not mention the temple probably because till 1996 the lower *dvi-garbha* temple was partly buried in silt and was accessible only after 1998 as a result of the joint efforts of the late Dr G. L. Bhide (DAV College, Solapur) and the local community.

The upper group is typical of temples found intact in Solapur district. The outside is plain. The single shrine temple has a beautiful *padmaśilā* panel in the centre of the trabeated ceiling of the *maṇḍapa*. Other *padmaśilās*, equally ornate, are lying in the yard. The triple-shrined temple is also quite plain. It has a large *maṇḍapa* from which one can enter the three shrines on the west, north and south. Broken sculptures are placed in niches along the south wall of the yard. The layout clearly hints that at one time each temple had its own *Nandi maṇḍapa,* one on the north and the other on the east.

In the courtyard of these temples is a large stone slab bearing three inscriptions[2]:

1. Saṅkhama Kalacuri (1175-1180 CE), ruling from Kalyāṇa; gift of land to the temple of Kudala Saṅgameśvaradeva on the bank of the Bhima; temple consecrated by Hariścandra; (Saṅkhama was one of the sons of Bijjala Kalacuri. Bijjala ruled from Kalyāṇa for a short period after ousting the Cālukyas).

2. Same stone slab, Śilāhāra Ḍākarasa of Akkalkot, gift of two villages to the same deity;

3. Sixteenth year of Yādava Siṅghaṇa; gift of land for perpetual lamp to the same temple by *mahāpasāyta* Jaitaya-sāhaṇi)[3]

Triple shrined temples are quite common in Solapur district and can be seen for example at Kudala-Sangama, Tarapur, Nagansur and Chapalgaon.[4] In addition, many inscriptions also mention '*trikūṭa*' temples.

In some, all three shrines contain *śivaliṅga* as in the upper temple at Kudala-Sangama (see Post Script). Such a plan is also borne out by an inscription found in Budhavar Peth, Solapur, dated 22nd December, 1135 CE, during the reign of Cālukya Bhūlokamalla Someśvara III. It states that after Kalacuri Bijjala's successful attack on the Hangal fort, *Mahāpradhāna* Śrīkaraṇa Kannapayya-nāyaka, built a temple dedicated to Kanneśvara, Chaṭṭeśvara and Mallikārjuna, and Bijjala II granted some land to this *trikūṭa śivālaya*. The deity, Kanneśvara, is named after the donor *Mahāpradhāna* Śrīkaraṇa Kannapayya-nāyaka.[5]

Similarly, in the triple-shrined temple at Darphal, all three shrines have a *śivaliṅga*. A lengthy inscription found near the temple records that the temple, with three *liṅgas* (Gopanneśvara, Vijapaleśvara and Kañcapaleśvara) was constructed in the twentieth regnal year of Yādava Siṅghaṇa II (which would be 1218 CE) by Paitalladevī, the wife of Gopanadeva, an officer of Siṅghaṇa.[6] Here the deity is named Gopanneśvara after Gopanadeva. A notable fact in the inscription is that Paitalladevī refers to herself as *Cālukya-kula-prasūte* i.e. born in the Cālukya family, showing that some scions of the Cālukyas transferred their allegiance to the Yādavas when they rose to power. She was said to be governing Hiriya Maruḍige, another remarkable fact for the times of a woman in charge.[7] 'Hiriya' means large as opposed to 'Chikka Maruḍige' which would mean small Maruḍige; Darphal is mentioned as being situated in Maruḍige-80.

Some triple-shrined temples have the principal god in the central sanctum flanked on either side by two other deities.

The Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tarapur even today has Brahmā in one of the subsidiary shrines and a *śivaliṅga* in the other.

In an unusual combination, at least two triple-shrined temples in Solapur district have Śiva as the main deity with Sūrya in one of the subsidiary shrines.

The triple-shrined Mallikārjuna temple at Chapalgaon has a *śivaliṅga* in the main shrine but must have had Sūrya in one of the other two shrines. The image of Sūrya is no longer there but the *lalāṭabimba* clearly shows Sūrya and the *pīṭha* clearly shows the seven horses and Aruṇa. Combined with *dvārapālas* with two lotuses in their hands, there is no doubt that the sanctum originally contained the cult image of Sūrya.

The triple-shrined Mallikārjuna temple at Nagansur also had an image of Sūrya in the side sanctum as mentioned by A. V. Naik[8]; the image is currently in the palace museum of Akkalkot.

Fragment of a big inscription built into the wall of a darga at Bhandarakavathe, mentions Raceśvaradeva, Ādityadeva and Roṭṭeśvaradeva to whom grants of land were made; Ādityadeva indicates Sūrya.[9]

Solapur district is rich in inscriptions.[10] Many of these mention the names of priests associated with temples and *sattras*.[11]

In addition to the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Yādavas (Seuṇas) of northern Maharashtra (who, only later, became the Yādavas of Devagiri), the Kalacuris of Mangalavedha have also left their footprint. Bijjala II (1130-1168 CE) of this Kalacuri family played an important part in weakening the former

overlords, the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa.[12] He was the grandson of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI from his mother's side. He was the contemporary of Basaveśvara (founder of the Virasaiva sect and Siddharāma, a respected Virasaiva saint). One of Bijjala's queens was probably of the Jaina faith.[13] Different faiths existed in the region. Bijjala declared independence in 1156 CE and occupied Kalyāṇa but his successors could not retain their hold. Cālukya Someśvara IV regained control of Kalyāṇa by 1183 CE but by then Seuṇa (Yādava) Bhillama V was too strong to be subdued and declared his independence. By the end of the twelfth century, the Solapur region was occupied by Bhillama who used it as a base in his march towards Kalyāṇa and beyond.

There are four more inscriptions in the complex at Kudala-Sangama, pertaining to the temples in this complex[14] :

- on the west face of a beam of the *maṇḍapa*, Saṅgameśvara temple (upper group); purport not clear.

- three inscriptions in the 'ruined shrine' (which refer to the lower *dvi-garbha* temple described in this article); the contents of these inscriptions also are inconclusive.

The present article describes the *dvi-garbha* temple at Kudala-Sangama in some detail. There are two west facing sanctums, identical in dimension, side by side. It is unique in plan as well as in the placement of the decorations in the *raṅga-maṇḍapa* which are at a height, out of harm's way.

The temple is currently called Hari-Hareśvara temple. The plan of the temple (Fig. 2) clearly places both gods, Hara and Hari on equal footing. The north sanctum has a *śivaliṅga* and the south one at present contains a damaged statue of Muralīdhara.

The temple is an aesthetic blend of simplicity and sensuousness. The outside does not have any sculptures except a Gaṇeśa standing in *samabhaṅga* on either dwarf wall at the entrance. Also at the entrance is a large slab with two different goddesses carved on its two faces. The attributes of the figure facing south are lost but she resembles the figure on the *lalāṭabimba* of the south entrance.

The *mukha-maṇḍapa* on either side has *kakṣāsanas* and in the ceiling are three very beautiful panels. The central panel has five torsos with one common head - in effect a composite of five pictures, flaunting the virtuosity of the sculptor (Pl. VII A). The north panel is Kṛṣṇa with friends (Pl. VII B) and the south panel, Kṛṣṇa with gopīs.
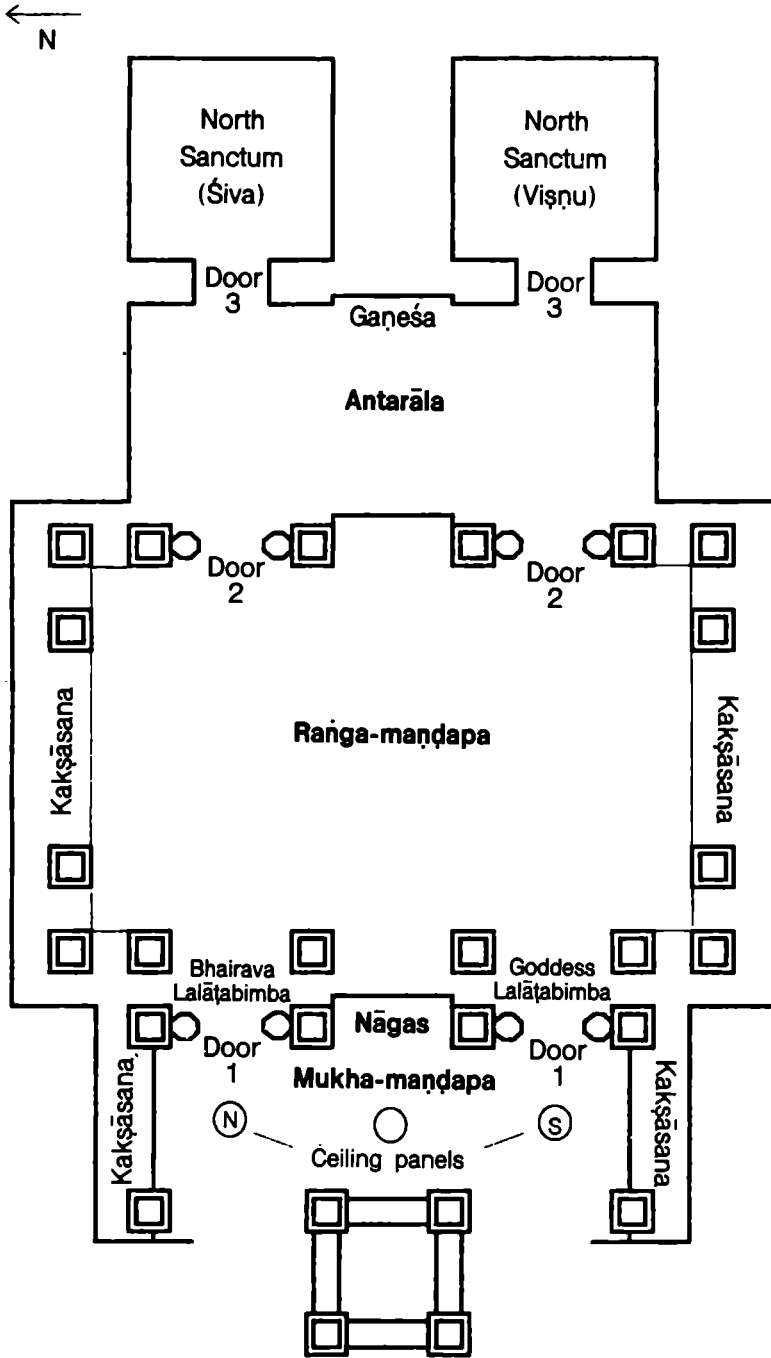
Fig. 2

Yādavas claimed descent from Kṛṣṇa. The location and presence of these two panels and of another panel with *Kāliyamardana* motif lying outside the lower temple at Kudala-Sangama (Pl. VIII A) seem to support the suggestion previously made[15] that the temples built by Yādavas or their feudatories, bear this 'seal' of Yādava suzerainty, regardless of the deity to whom the temples are dedicated.

Such panels have been noted at (Fig. 3) :

● **Vaghli,** east Khandesh, (Kṛṣṇa with gopis; the 1069 CE temple was originally dedicated to Siddheśvara according to an inscription inside the temple),[16]

● **Dhodambe,** district Nasik[17] (temple dedicated to Viṣṇu, panel shows Kṛṣṇa subjugating Kāliya),

● **Devalane,** district Nasik (temple of Jogeśvara Śiva, Kṛṣṇa with gopis playing musical instruments),

● **Ganjibhore,** district Ahmadnagar, (Mādhaveśvara temple, dedicated to Mādhava and Śiva, panel shows Muralidhara with gopis).[18]

All these are located in the established territory of the Yādavas (present districts of Khandesh, Nasik and Ahmadnagar). By the end of twelfth century, Yādavas had supplanted the local Kalacuris in Solapur district; this, combined with the style of the *dvi-garbha* temple (which also seems to be late twelfth/ early thirteenth century) lends credence to the suggestion that these panels are seals that acknowledge the suzerainty of the Yādavas.

This feature is not seen in temples built during the Cālukya suzerainty and local Kalacuri rule in Solapur district. The ruined triple-shrined Nagansur Mallikārjuna temple, (placed 1150-1200 CE by A. V. Naik on stylistic basis) has the very ornate but typical Cālukya feature, 'the trabeated dome of the *maṇḍapa*' and has the *aṣṭa-dikpālas* surrounding a twelve handed Mahākali.

Returning to the Hari-Hareśvara temple, each sanctum is approached by three sets of doors. The first set leads from the *mukha-maṇḍapa* to the *raṅga-maṇḍapa*, second, from the *raṅga-maṇḍapa* to the *antarāla* and the third, from the *antarāla* into the sanctum.

The doorjambs i.e. the *dvāraśākhās*, are surprisingly plain. The lintel on the north entrance from *mukha-maṇḍapa* to *raṅga-maṇḍapa* (door 1, north, in Fig. 1) has Bhairava on the *lalāṭabimba*[19] while the corresponding south entrance has a goddess standing in *tribhaṅga* posture. The figure is too worn to be identifiable. On both the *lalāṭabimbas*, the images of Bhairava and

Figure 3

Ceilings from some Yadava temples

Jogeśvara temple, Devlane

Krsna with gopis Kāliya-mardana Krsna with friends

Kāliya-mardana Visnu temple Dhodambe 11 th century CE

Venugopāla

Jogeśvara temple Devlane 12 th/13 th century

Krsna temple Vaghli, Khandesh,1069 CE

A Five torsos and one head, central ceiling panel,
mukha-maṇḍapa, Hari-Hareśvara temple, Kudala-Sangama.

B. Kṛṣṇa with friends

A. Roundel depicting subjugation of Kāliya, now lying in the yard.
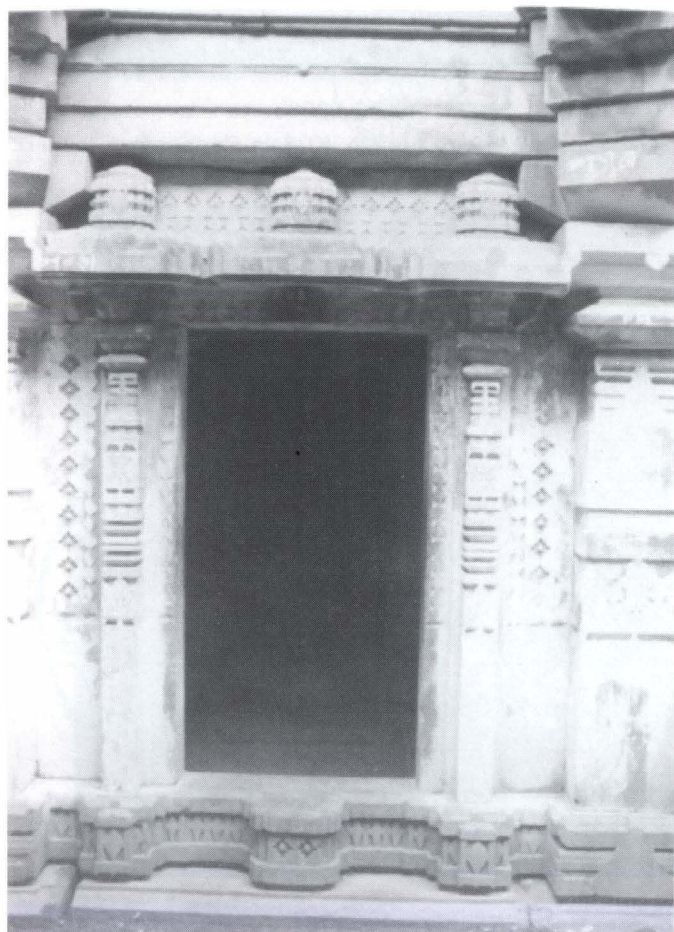
B. Door from the *ranga-mandapa* to *antarāla*. (no. 2 in Fig. 2)

A. *Kinnara* playing cymbals.

B. *Kinnari* playing drum.
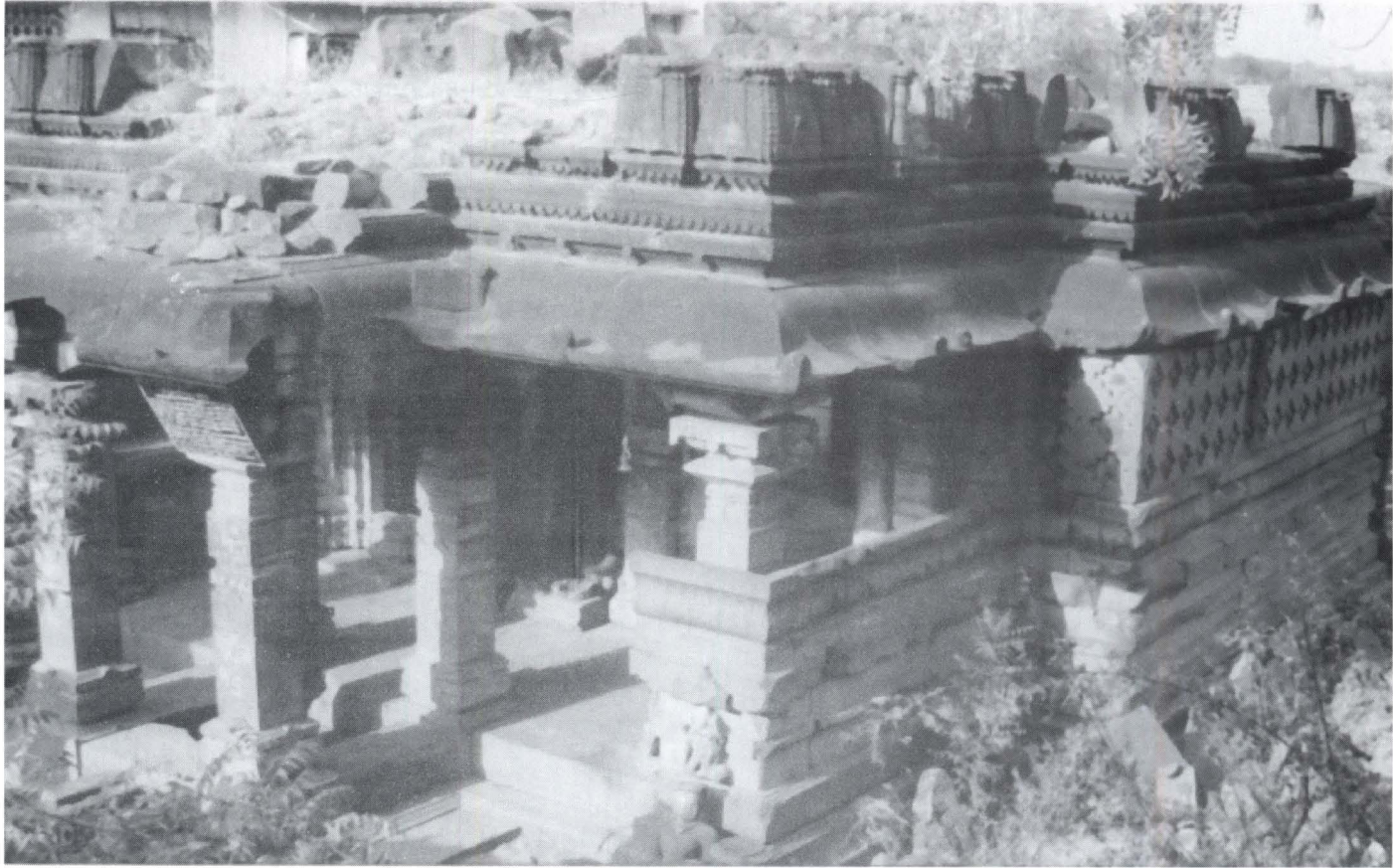
Hari-Hareśvara temple, from south west.

Surasundaris, bhāravāhakas, vidyādharas, in the *raṅga-maṇḍapa,* Hari-Hareśvara temple.
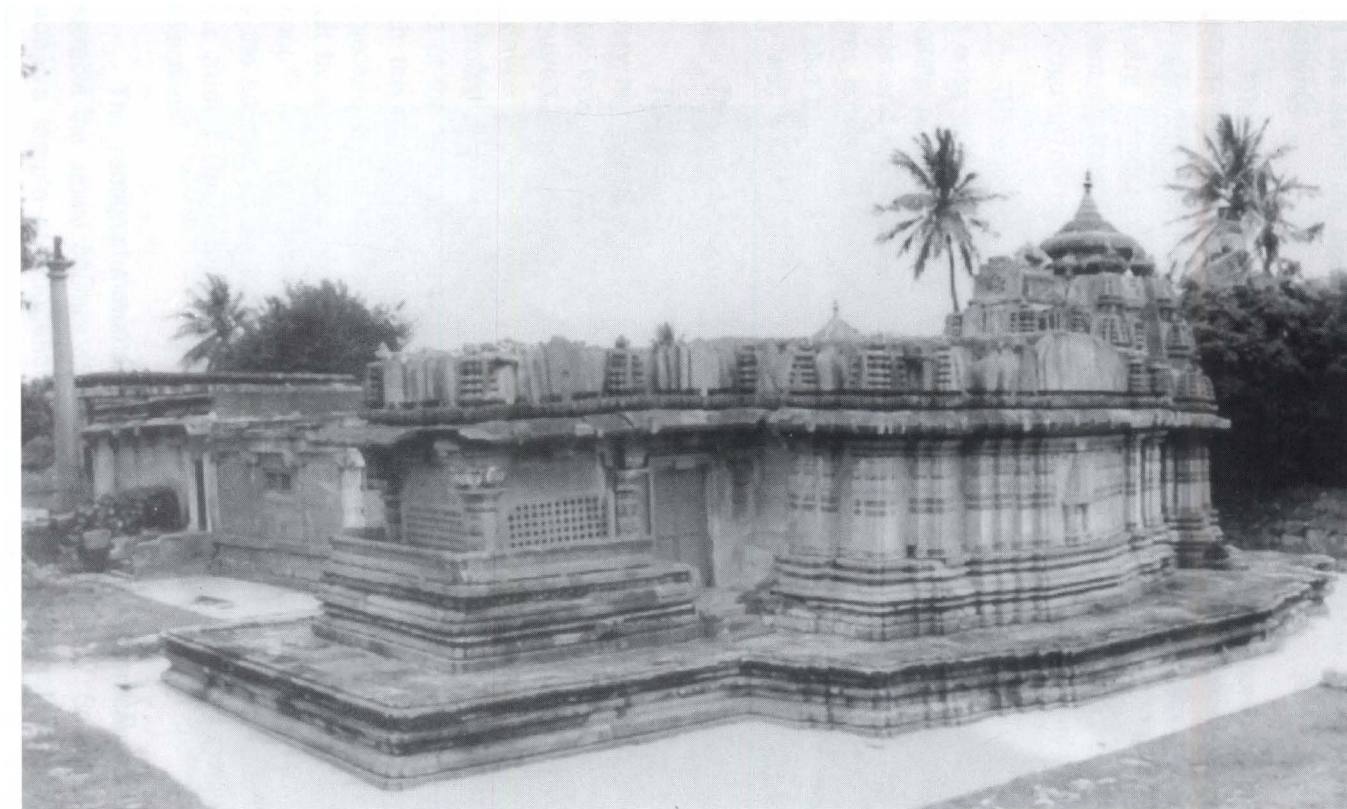
Sadāśiva temple at Nuggehalli, Hasan district, Karnataka, 1249 CE, Courtesy ASI, Bangalore.

Superstructure of the Hari-Hareśvara temple, from north east.
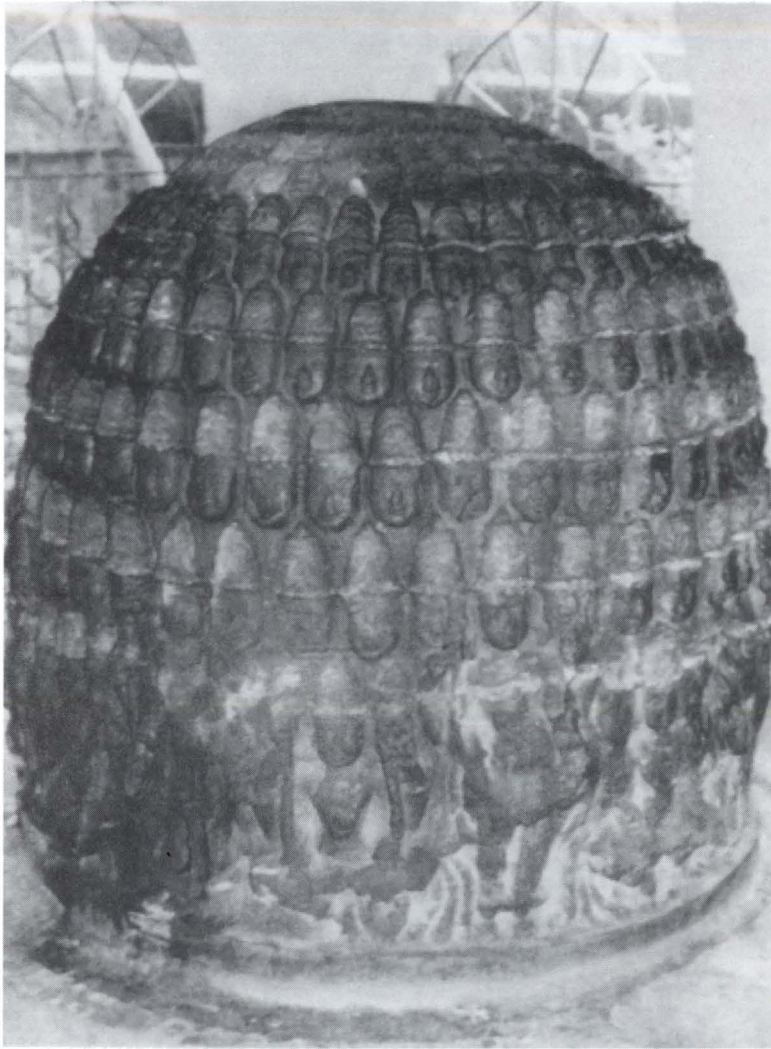
Mahāsadāśiva liṅga found at the Hari-Hareśvara temple.

goddess are flanked by frolicking *kinnaras* and *śikhara* models.

Doors from *ranga-maṇḍapa* to *antarāla* (nos. 2 north and south) (Pl. VIII B) are neatly carved but devoid of the usual ornate *śākhās*. Both these and the sanctum doors (nos. 3 north and south) have Gaṇeśa on the *lalāṭabimba*.

The *ranga-maṇḍapa* is without doubt the best part of the temple. The brackets are not inclined but vertical - rather like the brackets in the *svargamaṇḍapa* at Khidrapur Koppeśvara temple near Kolhapur, started by Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya (1108-1138 CE) and completed by Vijayāditya. Incidentally, Kalacuri Bijjala (1130-1168 CE) had fought Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya of Kolhapur, on behalf of his overlords, the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa.[20]

The supports of the brackets of the *ranga-maṇḍapa* in the north half and ones in the south half clearly point to two different centres. The central brackets point due east west. The top part of the *ranga-maṇḍapa* is very ornate and has pleasing proportions. An unusual feature of the decorative figures is the *kinnaras* playing different musical instruments. (Pl. IX A,B). There are also the usual motifs of *surasundaris*, *bhāravāhakas*, flying *vidyādharas*, all very well sculpted (Pl. X).

The ceiling of the *antarāla* has a beautiful *padmaśilā*.

The temple is small but not ordinary. The patron was definitely royal or a very high ranking official. The equal importance accorded to both Śiva and Viṣṇu, the signature Kṛṣṇa panels in the *maṇḍapa* and its location in the newly acquired Yādava territory leads one to speculate that it was built when Yādavas were securely in place as suzerains of the territory. Yādavas controlled this area after the decline of Kalacuris of Mangalavedha towards the end of the twelfth century. The lack of ornamentation on the outside combined with the higher, safer placement of ornamentation inside, supports the conjecture regarding the period of construction. One can speculate that it was built by a princess of a devout Śaiva dynasty married to a Yādava king or prince.[21] Another possibility is that an original single Śiva shrine was modified by the addition of a shrine dedicated to Muralīdhara and a common *maṇḍapa* was added (the outside rear walls of the two shrines have different projections).

The remains of the *śikharas* of Hari-Hareśvara temple (Pl. XI, XII) resemble the 'quasi *bhūmija śikhara*' described by K. V. Soundararajan of the Sadāśiva temple at Nuggehalli, Hasan district, Karnataka[22] (Pl. XIII). The Nuggehalli Śiva temple has an admittedly atypical tower format. The same

temple's superstructure is described in the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* as '*tritāla* quasi *bhūmija*'[23]. It had been built by Bomanna Daṇḍanāyaka, a general of the Hoysaḷa monarch Someśvara in 1249 CE. The Hari-Hareśvara temple has lost its main *śikhara* but small *śikhara* models are in place all along the parapet similar to those seen in the photo. The Yādava temples of Gondeśvara at Sinnar and Māṇakeśvara at Jhodge have the typical *bhūmija śikharas*. A new territory, a new alliance, a new set of artists, may have led to a modified form of the *śikhara* for the Hari-Hareśvara temple.

A relatively small but intact image of Veṇugopāla was also found during conservation work. It could possibly have been on the *śukanāsa*, by analogy to the Māṇakeśvara temple at Jhodge, Maharashtra[24].

There is a small *pañcaliṅga* presently housed in a niche shrine in the perimeter wall. Another, interesting, unusual and very large *liṅga* (perimeter 4 metres, wt 4 tons, 117 cms tall) (Pl. XIV) was also found during conservation work around the Hari-Hareśvara temple. The *liṅga* has bas-relief figures of seated Śiva alternating with standing Śiva in the lowest layer. The rest of the surface of the *liṅga* is covered with heads of Śiva. It probably represents Mahāsadāśiva.[25] There is no obvious possible location in the Hari-Hareśvara temple for such an important piece.

In conclusion, there is no doubt that the *dvi-garbha* temple at Kudala-Sangama deserves notice for both its plan and the beautiful sculptures decorating the top half of the *raṅga-maṇḍapa*.

Post Script

Based on the article by Vasundhara Filliozat, 'Two Kālāmukha temples in Haveri District (Jakkaṇācārigudi in Karnāṭaka)' Chapter 21, page 223, '*Prajñādhara*,' *Essays on Asian Art History, Epigraphy and Culture in honour of Gouriswar Bhattacharya*, published in 2009, Kaveri Books, New Delhi.

The essay is relevant in the present context since Solapur district has many triple shrined temples where all three shrines house a śivaliṅga.

Briefly, the essay correlates data from literary sources to the temples built by Lakulaśaivas (which includes Pāśupatas and their offshoot, Kālāmukhas). The Śiva temples built by Kālāmukhas considered here are Kaḍambeśvara at Raṭṭihaḷḷi and Somanātheśvara at Haraḷahaḷḷi in Karnataka.

It suggests that Lakulaśaivas were Miśraśaivas and this resulted in the particular layout of the temples built by them. (The literary sources include '*Pampāmāhātmya*' and '*Vātulaśuddhāgama*'). *Vātulaśuddhāgama*, a Śaivāgama, in the tenth paṭala mentions Miśraśaiva among various kinds of Śaivites. It is said

that they should worship all gods along with Śiva (hence the epithet 'Miśraśaiva')* *Vāmanapurāṇa* describes how Brahmā, Viṣṇu and other divinities were considered emanations of Śiva himself and all of them are housed and worshipped under one roof.

By and large, in the layout of the temples built by Kālāmukha and Pāśupata communities, Śiva was installed in the central sanctum, Viṣṇu and Brahmā or Sūrya on either side of the central cella (in some temples, Brahmā is replaced by Sūrya). Gradually, Viṣṇu and Brahmā came to be replaced by a liṅga, when the idea that they are emanations of Śiva started gaining more and more terrain. From second half of the 12th century, the liṅga came to be installed in all the cellas.

Notes and References

1. A. V. Naik, 'Structural Architecture of the Deccan' *New Indian Antiquary*, July-December, 1947.

2. Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1960-61 no. 369, 370, 371.

3. Shrinivas Ritti and Anand Kumbhar, *Inscription from Solapur district*, p. xxix, Shrihari Prakashan, Dharwad, 1988; Introduction : 'sāhaṇi' is explained as 'officer'; Shrinivas Ritti and G. C. Shelke, *Inscriptions from Nanded District*, p. 239, the equivalent of 'Hāthisāhaṇi' in Sanskrit is Hastisādhanika.

4. Rajkumar Khude, Ph.D. Thesis, submitted to the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Shivaji University, Kolhapur, June 2006.

5. Shrinivas Ritti and Anand Kumbhar, *Inscription from Solapur district*, no. 9, p. 149.

6. Ritti, *ibid* no. 26, p. 161.

7. Ritti, *ibid*, p. 161; Another woman, Bhāgaladevi, is referred to as *Sāhiṇi*, *ibid*, p. 162. She later rose to be the Sarvādhikāri in Singhaṇa II's reign, governing the divisions of Heda, Kanambade and Tardavadi, covering considerable portions of modern Bijapur district, *ibid*, p. xxix.

8. A.V. Naik, *ibid*, p. 287.

9. Ritti, *ibid*, no. 34, p. 165; Dr. Jamkhedkar in personal discussion suggested that this combination of Mallikārjuna with Sūrya probably leads to the 'Malhāri-Mārtaṇḍa', Khaṇḍobā's appellation.

10. Note: mention must be made of the untiring efforts of one man, Anand Kumbhar, to locate as many inscriptions as possible from Solapur district resulting in the publication ref. 3(1).

11.   Ritti, *ibid*, p. 143, 1082 CE, grant to the temple of Rāmeśvara entrusted to Vimalaśakti-paṇḍitadeva of the Lakula Śaiva sect.

12.   Ritti, *ibid*, p. xiv, Introduction.

13.   Ritti, *ibid*, p. 156.

14.   Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1960-61, inscription no. 372,373,374 and 375.

15.   Kumud Kanitkar, *Jñana Pravāha*, Bulletin No. 10, 2006-2007, p. 133-139; A case in point is the Varāha roundel in the Lad Khan temple at Aihole; Varāha was the deity worshipped by the Cālukyas of Vātāpi.

16.   Henry Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, Plate LXV.

17.   Kumud Kanitkar, *ibid*, Fig 1.

18.   A. P. Jamkhedkar, *Maharashtra State Gazetteer* (Marathi), *Itihas, Prachina Kala* Vol. I part II *Sahitya ani Kala*, p 187.

19.   A. V. Naik, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, no. 4.2, p. I-29. The temple of Bhuleśvara at Yavat has a similar Bhairava *lalāṭabimba* on its subsidiary shrine. The Yavat temple is placed in the 1150-1200 CE period by Naik on stylistic grounds.

20.   Ritti, *ibid*, no. 8, p. 148, line 12, 'victory over Gaṇḍarāditya, chief of western mountains'.

21.   There were many recorded instances of inter-dynasty marriages between Yādavas, Cālukyas and Kalacuris. These marriages fostered friendly relations and worked in the interest of protecting borders.

      Seuṇa chief Bhillama III (1010-1055 CE) was defeated by Nāgavarmā, a general of Cālukya Someśvara I, but instead of being punished for rebellion, Someśvara I (1042-1068 CE), in a conciliatory gesture and in the interest of peace, gave his sister Avvaladevī in marriage to Bhillama III.

      Kalacuri Jogama's daughter Sāvaladevī was married to Cālukya Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 CE) of Kalyāṇa. Vikramāditya and his 'senior' wife, paṭṭa-mahādevī Caṇḍaladevī (princess Candralekhā of Śilāhāras of Karahāṭaka according to Bilhaṇa's *Vikramānkadevacarita*) had a daughter named Nāgaladevī. She was married to Kalacuri Jogama's son Permāḍi. Bijjala II was Permāḍi's son and thus grandson of Vikramāditya VI and paṭṭa-mahādevī Candralekhā.

22.   S. H. Ritti, ed. *Prof. Desai Felicitation Volume 'Studies in Indian History and Culture'*, K. V. Soundararajan, "Two Unusual Temple Models in the Mysore area," p. 137.

23. M. A. Dhaky, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture : South India*, Vol. I, part 3, p. 372.

24. Henry Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, p 42.

25. A. P. Jamkhedkar, personal discussion.

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Kane, Bhavabhūti and Rāmāyaṇa Mythology

Vishvanath Khaire

This paper is the outcome of the study in Indian languages across the classical divisions into Language families and the efforts towards *understanding*, rather than interpreting, Indian mythologies. This present study is an effort based on the writings of three great authors relating to a single theme in Indian mythology that is known to every Indian of over a hundred generations.

That is the theme of the abandonment of Sītā by Rāma for removal of popular blemish at accepting as wife, one who had lived in another man's house; followed by reconciliation with wife and her twin sons born in banishment and the final disappearance of Sītā into Mother Earth. The episode has been poetically narrated in the Uttarakāṇḍa of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. Bhavabhūti in the eighth century put it in dramatical form in *Uttararāmacāritam* a play in seven acts and mainly dominated by *karuṇa rasa*. In 1915, Kane edited the play for University students, with Introduction, Notes and Translation all in English.[1] This edition also contains a Sanskrit commentary on the play by one Ghanashyama, an 18th century author of Tanjavur Maharashtrian descent. I will therefore be moving among the three literary and critical creations and present some aspects of understanding *Rāmāyaṇa* in particular and Indian mythology in general. The word 'myth' is given four meanings in the Concise Oxford Dictionary. I use it in the sense of मिथ्य - the primal expression of मिथ्याज्ञान as the personisation of सर्प imagined in a रज्जु.

1. Names, Etymologies and Mythology

Kane informs us that, "There is controversy about the name of the poet. Most of the commentators say that his name was Śrīkaṇṭha and that later on the poet came to be called Bhavabhūti in consequence of a verse he composed in honour of Pārvatī. Besides this, two sources give another story of the origin of the title Bhavabhūti.

The lines of the two different verses (of Bhavabhūti) referred as leading to the title, are - साऽम्बा पुनातु भवभूतिपवित्रमूर्ति: । (That great mother, the one who is made sacred by the ashes from Śiva, may sanctify me);

-- गिरिजाया: कुचौ वन्दे भवभूतिसिताननौ (I bow to Pārvatī's breasts that are grey-faced because of ashes from Śiva's body).

It is obvious that the contents of the two are different in their implication, one somewhat devotional, the other leaning toward sensuousness.

The third, a story, relates to the poet himself:

--किं च अस्मै कवये ईश्वर एव भिक्षुरूपेण आगत्य भूतिं दत्तवान् इति वदन्ति । एवं च भवाद् भगवतो भूति: यस्य इति भवभूति: इति अन्वर्थ: इति आहु: । (They say, Śiva (भव) manifested himself to the poet in the form of a Brahmin and gave him riches (भूति). So is his name Bhavabhūti meaningful, as one whose riches (भूति) is derived from भव.)

The one common attribute of all these derivations or etymologies is that they are afterthoughts based on splitting up the components of a compound either as a *tatpuruṣa* or *bahuvrīhi*. They are provided more to prove how the poet lived up to his name than to narrate how his parents came to naming him so.

Kane remarks, "It appears to me that the commentators had no certain knowledge on the subject and that they were led away by the etymologies to which the word भवभूति lent itself." (Kane 1929 : VIII). That they had no certain knowledge is obvious even from the epithet" "Contemporary of Kālidāsa and others and enjoying the patronage of King Bhoja." (कालिदासादिसमानकालिक: भोजराजाश्रय:) given to Bhavabhuti by Ghanashyama while giving the first etymology. The commentators were not just led away by the etymologies, they made stories out of them, overtly in the third source and covertly in the first two. Indian mythology is replete with stories of this kind, composed by authors who led people away by the etymologies, to which words lent themselves or which the authors forced on them.

In *Uttararāmacaritam* (= *URC* 1.25) the expression वैखानसाश्रिततरूणि तपोवनानि means 'hermitages, the trees in which were resorted to by hermits.' Kane notes, "Vaikhānasa is the same as Vānaprastha giving reference from Haradatta's commentary on *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, वैखानसो वानप्रस्थ: । विखनसा प्रोक्तेन मार्गेण वर्तत इति ।" Kane says further, "From this it appears that a sage called Vikhanas had in very ancient times composed a Sūtra work dealing with the duties of Vānaprasthas and Bhikṣus." (K. 27) Now, in the verse itself, the meaning of Vaikhānasa as hermit is doubtful, because in the next two lines येष्वातिथेयपरमा *यमिनो भजन्ते* । नीवारमुष्टिपचनना *गृहिणो गृहाणि* ।, it is clear that those who have practised the *yamas* (moral observances) were staying in houses and not on trees. "The Vānaprastha was allowed to go to a forest with his

wife; hence to some extent he was a गृही." (K. 27). Therefore, *the sage called Vikhanas* is an etymological invention from Vaikhānasa meaning perching on trees." This meaning is derivable from SI (South-Indian) 'vaiku-perch'. R1.

R1-The references from *URC* given below contain the idea that birds are staying in the trees and that Vaikhānasa meaning 'hermit' is a human being living like other fellow-beings.

गोदावर्याः पयसि विततश्यामलानोकहश्रीः ।

अन्तःकूजन्मुखरशकुनो यत्र रम्यो वनान्तः । २.२५ । U 47

करकमलवितीर्णैः अम्बुनीवारशष्पैः ।

तरुशकुनिकुरङ्गान् मैथिली यान् अपुष्यत् । ३.२५ । U 68

स (जनकः) तदैव देव्याः सीतायाः तादृशं दैवदुर्विपाकम् उपश्रुत्य वैखानसः संवृत्तः ।

U 87

While viewing the picture-gallery, Sītā puts a question to Lakṣmaṇa, वत्स एष कुसुमितकदम्बतरुताण्डवितबर्हिणः किंनामधेयो गिरिः (*U* 1 p. 211). On this Kane quotes क्षीरस्वामी – ''तण्डुमुनिना प्रणीतं ताण्डवम् ।'' (K. p. 28). This Taṇḍu muni is obviously an invention. The word Tāṇḍava is secondary and needed no explanation. Yet the commentator had a go at etymology to bring out one more ṛsi for a form of dance. The SI word tāṇḍu 'to dance' is the obvious origin of the Sanskrit word.

Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa itself provides instances of this phenomenon.

Pulastya, a sage staying in the abode of Tṛṇabindu had proclaimed a curse that any girl coming into his view would become pregnant. The king's daughter so conceived was blessed thus by him : यस्मात् तु विश्रुतो वेदस्त्वया इह अध्ययतो मम । तस्मात् स विश्रवा नाम भविष्यति न संशयः । As you heard the veda from me reciting it, so he will be विश्रवा ('listener') by name (V 2.31), no doubt about that.

In olden times, Prajāpati created the waters and the beings whom he instructed to protect them. Those who said यक्षाम ('will sacrifice'), he said, will become yakṣas. And those who said रक्षाम would become rākṣasas. (v 4.9, 13) प्रजापतिः पुरा सृष्ट्वा अपः सलिलसम्भवः । तासां गोपायने सत्त्वान् असृजत् पद्मसम्भवः । उ. ४.९ रक्षाम इति यैरुक्तं राक्षसा ते भवन्तु वः । यक्षाम इति यैरुक्तं यक्षा एव भवन्तु वः । उ. ४.१३. In all such cases, the poets attempt to fashion mythical stories on alphabetic or syllabic analysis of words either for fashioning the names of heroes or for demonstrating how the hero's deeds justified his name.

मोक्षमूलराख्यानम् I Grinding at the Root of Salvation

Indian students of language or mythology would not but be familiar with the name and deeds of the 19th century Oxford savant Max Mueller. It was he who proclaimed that "Mythology is the pathology of language." He had the conviction that most mythical stories are products of forced and wrong etymologies. Whether we agree with this view or not, the fact remains that we Indians have been greatly impressed by the title page of his edition of the *Rgveda* stating that it was authored मोक्षमूलरभट्टेन उक्षतरणवासिना meaning, in English, 'by Max Mueller, resident of Oxford'. Both names in Sanskrit are what I have called for thirty years now, उद्भ्रंशs or phonetic Sanskritizations of non-Sanskrit words.

Max Mueller provided in these उद्भ्रंशs enough basis for composition of a mythical story in accordance with his own dictum quoted above. I have tried my hand at it and composed one in Sanskrit. A brief sampling from it will be of interest.

पुरा कृतयुगस्यादौ भगवान् नन्दिवाहन: । गौरिसमेतो गौराणां देशेऽस्मिन् अटते मुदा ॥७॥

अकस्मात् तु महावृष्ट्या नदी सा प्रलयंकरा । आपूर्यमाणाऽविरतं पारावारावतिस्थिता ॥८॥

महाजवेन द्रवती रौद्रनादं च कुर्वती । भूतान्येकायती पश्च दृश्यते स्म तरङ्गिणी ॥९॥

वाताश्च प्रववु: शीता: तमश्छादति चोदकम् । नीलकण्ठग्रहकरा भीता भ्रान्ता च पार्वती ॥१०॥

अश्वस्य, ककुदि स्थाप्य नन्दिनस्तामुमापति: । आज्ञापयद् वृषं गन्तुं तरसा प्रलयाम्बुधौ ॥११॥

महावीचय उत्थाय मज्जयन्तीव पुङ्गवम् । नासामुद्धार्य शृङ्गे च धूयमानं पुन:पुन: ॥१२॥

क्षणेनैव तु ता: स्पर्शं प्राप्नुवन् गिरिजाङ्घ्रियो: । निमिषान्तरमात्रेण नदी वहति निम्नगा ॥१३॥

सस्मितोऽविस्मित: शम्भुर् धीरोदात्तश्च गोपति: । शान्ता गौरी त्रिकं देव्यं क्षेमं पारं तदाऽगमत् ॥१४॥

उमा क्षणेन तरति स्थानेऽस्मिन् इति शम्भुना । उक्षतरणं स्थानस्य नाम तस्य तदा कृतम् ॥१५॥

तत:प्रभृति उक्षाणो गावो वत्सास्तथैव च । तरन्ति सरितामेतां स्थानेऽस्मिन्नकुतोभया: ॥१६॥

तेनामनन्ति सामान्या उक्षाणां तरणादिदम् । कृतं नाम ह्याजानन्त इतिहासं पुरातनम् ॥१७॥

पारे गत्वा वरं चैव महादेव उदीरते । *गिरिजालयानि* भव्यानि स्थानेऽस्मिन् भवितानि ह ॥१८॥

तत: कलियुगे राजन् अश्मभि: काष्ठ-धातुभि: । शराग्र-शिखरैश्चित्रै रच्यन्ते पर्वता इव ।
घण्टानादनिनादानि गिरिजाऽस्तानि विद्विदाम् ॥१९॥

आजगाम तत: काले तत्र धर्मविदां वर: । *शार्मण्यदेशात्प्राचीनात्* विजयाशासितां भुवम् ॥२०॥

वेदवेदाङ्गविद्यानां ध्याता य: स्यात् अहर्निशम् । *मोक्षमूलविचारज्ञ:* कुलेन मनसा तथा ॥२१॥

वंशोऽस्यासीद् यश:प्राप्त: पेषकाणां पुरातन: । वृत्तयो: शिलयोर्मध्ये अन्नधान्यानि चूर्णिनाम् ॥२२॥

सूर्यवंशे यथा रामो व्यासो वंशे च चन्द्रजे । पेषकाणां तथा वंशे महान् मक्षोऽभिजायते ॥२३॥

येनायं वेदविद्यासु महापारंगतोऽभवत् । तस्मात् पिष्टभृता वृत्ति: पुण्या मोक्षप्रदा मता ॥२४॥

सर्वेदान् प्राच्यग्रन्थान्स मुद्रित्वा प्रचकास ह । अघोषयत् स वात्मानं मोक्षमूलरनामकम् ॥२५॥
मिथ्यं कुपथ्यं भाषायाः प्रोक्तवान् कृतवांस्तथा । पिष्टपेषणविद्वांस: कृतज्ञास्तस्य तेन ह ॥२६॥

उक्षतरणं इति Oxford नगरनाम–शब्दस्य शब्दश: अनुवाद: । कथायां तु 'उमा·क्षणेन तरणात्' सूच्यते, यथा हि कुमारसम्भवे 'उमेति मात्रा तपसो निषिद्धा पश्चादुमाख्यां सुमुखी जगाम।'

मोक्षमूलर इति Max Mueller नामशब्दयो: उद्भ्रंश: । मूलशब्दयोर्मूलार्थ: नितरा हि भिन्न: उद्भ्रंशस्य संस्कृतार्थात् । द्वावपि तु समानीय, काव्यकथायां च संयुज्य, पेषणान्मोक्ष इति आध्यात्मिका युक्ति: प्रकाश्यते । क्रिस्तधर्मीयानां 'इगर्जि' इति प्रार्थनामंदिरवाचक: शब्द: कथायां हिन्दीभाषाया अनुसारेण गिरिजालयमिति उद्भ्रंशरूपेण प्रयुज्यते, शिवपार्वतीकथया Oxford विद्यापीठस्य वस्तुस्वरूपं चाभिसंधीयते ।

In former times, at the beginning of *Kṛta* age, the Lord, carried by *nandī*, Alongwith *Gauri*, in this land of the white, quite pleased. 7. Out of the blue, the river swollen by a torrential shower, out to cause deluge and being fed continuously, flowed full beyond the rims. 8. Running in great speed, roaring intensely, mingling together the five elements, thus was seen the rolling river. 9. Cold winds blew hard, darkness veiled the waters. Held by the hand of blue-neck *Śaṅkara*, *Pārvatī* was in fright and dazed. 10. Reassuring her, *Śiva* seated *Pārvatī* on *nandī's* hump, And commanded the bull to move fast in the sea of deluge. 11 . High waves rose, almost drowning the great bull, Raising his nose and shaking the horns again and again. 12. In a moment, they attained a touch at *Pārvatī's* feet; next moment, the river flowed lowly low. 13. Smiling *Śiva* unamazed; the bull brave and poised; *Pārvatī* at peace trio divine safely reach the bank. 14. '*Umā* in a moment forded by *nandī* at this spot' hence *ox-ford*, the name was given by *Śiva*. 15. Since then do oxen, cows, and calves alike, at this spot cross, with fear from no one. 16. Thence imagine the common folk, due to oxen fording was this name given, - not knowing the ancient event. 17. Gone across, the great God uttered this boon: Great temples for *Girijā* will arise at this place. 18. In due course , O king, in the *kali* age, were built in stone, wood and metal abodes of the goddess, resounding with ringing bells, for those versed in learning. 19. Later, there came the leader of experts in dharma, From the ancient land of Germany, to the land ruled by Victoria. 20. Who was destined to be, by clan and mind, a day-and-night meditator of Veda and and Veda's branches, a thinker into the roots of salvation. 21. His was an ancient family of repute, of *millers* who ground grains betw'n circular stones. 22.

Like *Rāma* in the solar line, and *Vyāsa* in the lunar, In the line of Millers, was born the great Max .23. Whence he became greatly versed in the disciplines of Veda. Hence is considered, *living by grinding, sacred*, leading to salvation. 24. With Vedas, sacred books of the East, he published And

proclaimed himself *mōkṣamūlara*, root of salvation. 25. 'Mythology is pathology of Language', quoth he and made some, The learned, versed in 'regrinding the ground' were grateful to him. 26.

उक्षतरण is a literal translation of the name 'Oxford'. In the story it is hinted to be from 'Umā in a moment forded by Nandi' just as in the *Kumārasambhava*, "Later, on being restrained by her mother saying, '*u māī* (O, no !) the fair-faced Pārvatī was called Umā."

मोक्षमूलर is an उद्भ्रंश of the nom Max Mueller. The meaning of the original words is totally different from that of the Sanskrit उद्भ्रंश. By bringing the two together, and employing them in the story, a spiritual connotation is given to the effect that deliverance is to be had by grinding. The Christians' term 'igarji' for Church, is employed in उद्भ्रंश 'गिरिजालय' as in Hindi. The story of Śiva and Pārvatī is directed to explaining the origin or rise of Oxford.

Vivarta in Drama and Mythology

Composition of a mythical story can be explained with the help of a philosophic concept referred by Bhavabhūti more than once through two or three characters. Its first occurrence is in the second act in which the female ascetic Ātreyī on her way to Pañcavatī, expresses to the sylvan deity Vāsantī, "अथ स भगवान् प्राचेतस: प्रथमं मनुष्येषु *शब्दब्रह्मणस्तादृशं विवर्तमितिहासं* रामायणं प्रणिनाय । (p. 36 *URC 2*). Thereafter the venerable son of Pracetas (i.e. Vālmīki) composed the history of *Rāmāyaṇa*, the first manifestation of. *śabdabrahma* in that garb in the modern world.

Kane notes : "The word विवर्त requires explanation and careful attention. The poet has used it in the drama again in the third act and in the sixth. In the technical language of the Vedanta philosophy, *vivarta* means an illusory appearance presented upon a real substratum e.g. the idea of a serpent on seeing a rope in the dark. The underlying reality is रज्जु which remains unchanged but the appearance is that of serpent, which is dispelled by correct knowledge. Similarly in the most transcendental sense the world is an appearance superimposed upon the one reality viz. ब्रह्म. As opposed to विवर्त the word परिणाम (modification or development) means the transformation of a cause into its effect e.g. दधि is the परिणाम of दुग्ध; here milk entirely passes over into the state of दधि, and there is no mere illusory appearance. परिणामभावो नाम वस्तुन: यथार्थत: स्वस्वरूपं परित्यज्य स्वरूपान्तरप्रतिपत्तिर्यथा दुग्धमेव स्वरूपं परित्यज्य दध्याकारेण परिणमते । विवर्तभावस्तु वस्तुन: स्वस्वरूपापरित्यागेन स्वरूपान्तरेण

मिथ्याप्रतीति: यथा रज्जु: स्वस्वरूपापरित्यागेन सर्पाकारेण मिथ्या प्रतिभासते । अवस्थान्तरतापत्तिरेकस्य परिणामिता । स्यात् क्षीरं दधि मृत्कुम्भ: सुवर्णं कुण्डलं यथा ।८। अवस्थान्तरभानं तु विवर्तो रज्जुसर्पवत् । निरंशेऽप्यस्त्यसौ व्योम्नि तलमालिन्यकल्पनात् ।९। ततो निरंश आनन्दे विवर्तो जगदिष्यताम् ।१०। पञ्चदशी १३.८-१०।. It seems to us that the author has not used the word *vivarta* here in its technical sense. He wanted to show off his knowledge of the Vedanta philosophy and uses the word *vivarta* because the word brahma has already been used. *Vivarta* here simply means a modification of words in the form of *Rāmāyaṇa*. The author, we think, has no intention to suggest that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is such an illusory appearance of the word principle as the serpent of the rope. It is not impossible, we must however say, to explain *vivarta* even here in its strict technical sense." (K 58-59). एको रस: करुण एव निमित्तभेदात् । भिन्न: पृथक्पृथगिवाश्रयते विवर्तान् । आवर्तबुद्बुदतरंगमयान्विकारान् । अम्भो यथा सलिलमेव हि तत्समस्तम् । ३.४७ (*URC* 83).

The word विवर्त has been explained above. It is to be noticed that the word occurs here in juxtaposition to विकारान्. This may possibly be urged as a reason for holding that the word *vivarta* was used by the author in the sense of *vikāra* and not in the strict technical sense as explained. But the occurrence of the word in the 6th act in the verse विद्याकल्पेन मरुतां मेघानां भूयसामपि । ब्रह्मणीव विवर्तानां क्वापि प्रविलय: कृत: । lends support to the view that the technical sense of the word was known to the author. The words क्वापि प्रविलय: require that the appearances manifested in Brahma exist no more and that there remains only one undifferenced Brahma. It appears to us that even in the present verse the word *vivarta* is used in its technical sense of 'an illusory appearance.' The example is given only for the purpose of showing the *oneness* (*sameness*) of the underlying entity. It is not necessary that the illustration and the thing illustrated should be on all fours. Hence the word विकारान् cannot help in determining the sense of विवर्तान्.

This verse is a key to the whole of the drama. He further puts forward this verse as his own analysis of the whole drama." (K 116-7).

विद्याधर: - हन्त हन्त भो: सर्वमतिमात्रं दोषाय ।

यत्प्रलयवातावलिक्षोभगम्भीरगुलुगुलायमानमेघमेदुरान्धकारनीरन्ध्रनद्धमिव एकवारविश्वग्रसन-विकटविकरालकालमुखकन्दर *विवर्तमानमिव* युगान्तयोगनिद्रानिरुद्धसर्वद्वारनारायणोदरनिविष्टमिव भूतजातं प्रवेपते । साधु चन्द्रकेतो साधु । स्थाने वायव्यमस्त्रमीरितम् । यत: विद्याकल्पेन मरुता मेघानां भूयसामपि । ब्रह्मणीव विवर्तानां क्वापि प्रविलय: कृत: । ६.६ ।

The following long sentence contains three poetic fancies. The mortal world is shivering (on account of the cold due to the downpour of cold water). As if bound without any outlet (for escape) by the darkness that is intensified by the clouds that produce a deep rumbling noise on account of the agitation due to the stormy winds at the time of *pralaya, as if rolling in the cavern-like mouth of Death* that is very terrible and wide open for devouring at one time the whole universe, as if placed in the belly of Nārāyaṇa who has closed (stopped the operation of) all the portals (of his body i.e. his senses) on account of the yogic slumber that he has at the end of the cycle of years.

The clouds though many have been dissolved (dispersed) somewhere by the wind resembling correct knowledge as illusory appearances are dissolved in Brahma by correct knowledge (i.e. not a trace of the clouds is left).

It .seems to us that the word विवर्त is used in the technical sense here and that Bhavabhūti knew the Māyāvāda if he was not an adherent of it. (K 165)

About the first occurrence of the word विवर्त, it is difficult to agree with Kane's remark that Bhavabhūti wanted to show off his knowledge of Vedanta by its mention. The word occurs in the speech of a female ascetic who is proceeding all the way to Agastya's āśrama with the intention of learning Vedanta from the many authorities living in the area (भूयांस उद्गीथिविदो वसन्ति तेभ्योऽधिगन्तुं निगमान्तविद्याम् १२.३ । *UCR* 33), If such words or expressions are strewn in her dialogue, they bring out the author's capacity for apt characterisation rather than his intention to show off. In the course of the same dialogue, Ātreyi the female ascetic calls *Rāmāyaṇa* as a विवर्त on शब्दब्रह्म which Kane says, "it is not impossible to explain in its strict technical sense." Given his family background, Vedanta could very well have been studied by Bhavabhūti, which is why for the next two occurrences, Kane has almost paid compliments to him saying that the verse 3.47 is a key to the whole drama. From the viewpoint of dramatic art, the word occurs fittingly in the dialogues of a river-divinity Tamasā and a celestial being - a vidyādhara.

According to Kane, Bhavabhūti puts forward verse 3.47 as his own analysis of the whole drama (K 116-7). It will be worth our while to have another look at the concept of *vivarta* not only for analysis of this drama but also for understanding the process of composition of mythology which is the foundation of the drama as well as the epic on which it is based.

Kane explains, *vivarta* means *an illusory appearance presented upon a real substratum e.g. the idea of a serpent on seeing a rope in the dark.* The

underlying reality is *rajju,* which remains unchanged but the appearance is that of serpent. विवर्तभावस्तु वस्तुनः स्वस्वरूपापरित्यागेन स्वरूपान्तरेण मिथ्याप्रतीतिः यथा रज्जुः स्वस्वरूपापरित्यागेन सर्पाकारेण मिथ्या प्रतिभासते । Myth or मिथ्य is the verbal description of this appearance, the naming as *sarpa* of an appearance perceived by the observer, who would proceed to describe the event of that appearance in literary form, creating a mythical story in the process. The myth-maker is not interested in knowing the 'real substratum', the *rajju* or rope in this case. The length, thickness, twist and perhaps waviness etc. of the rope arouses in him, by analogy, the perception of a serpent that he has seen and known as such. His imagination takes him further along the route to composing a literary piece. The real substratum could be a phenomenon in nature the appearance of which can be likened to many things known to various observers around the world. They could describe the phenomenon in the form of verbal, visual or material creations of their imaginations, which may or may not be developed into mythical stories.

A tellingly impressive example of such a phenomenon is that of the comet Ketu or Dhūmaketu. Even the three names contain elements of the विवर्त and मिथ्य in their meanings - 'hairy, flag, smoke-flag' - all verbal descriptions of the 'appearance' by analogy with something already known. The comet appears to be moving in the sky, with its head towards the sun. Movement suggests 'life'. The hairy moving appearance was therefore imagined to be a *hairy living being* - the ape or monkey in India. (In the absence of monkeys in Europe, this *vivarta* could not arise in European cultures.) So the ape or monkey became the myth of the comet. This myth was personised into characters like Hanuman, Vāli, Sugrīva, Jāmbavān etc. whose exploits are described in three kāṇḍas covering three-seventh of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

Since appearances can invoke various analogies in different persons, more than one myth can arise from the perception of one and the same appearance. 'Shooting stars' or 'meteors' provide a case in the point, The blaze accompanying the descent of a meteorite gives the appearance of a long tail, not unlike that of a comet, though much smaller in magnitude. The myth of monkeys in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is based on these meteors, complementing that of the apes based on comets. To the primitive ancients, stars or stella also 'appeared' as females (companions of the 'male' moon changing every night) so that 'shooting stars' were thought to be females in flames and the meteorites falling on or embedding into the earth, as female divinities or 'fallen' women. The birth and two fire-ordeals of Sītā as well as the fall and rise of Ahalyā are mythical events based on the phenomenon of blazing meteors and meteorites discovered on and inside the earth, usually brought up by

ploughshare tips. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa also mythical, based on the bright and dark parts of the male moon.

Vivarta in *URC*

We can notice *vivarta* being acted upon in Bhavabhūtī's play itself. Right in the beginning, the Sūtradhāra says : एषोऽस्मि कार्यवशात् आयोध्यक: तदानींतन: च संवृत्त: I - here have I become a sojourner in Ayodhyā for some purpose as well as one living at the time (when Rāma was crowned). The Sūtradhāra *throws off his real character* as a person belonging to the place where the drama was acted and says that he *is now a sojourner* in Ayodhyā (K5) The *vivarta* can be multiple. The first act of *URC* is named चित्रदर्शन, Viewing the pictures. Lakṣmaṇa introduces thus : तेन चित्रकारेण अस्मदुपदिष्टम् आर्यस्य चरितम् अस्यां वीथिकायाम् अभिलिखितम् I (*B*. 10) The painter has depicted,as directed by me, the good lord's life in this gallery. The reality was the life lived by the good lord; it was narrated to the painter as observed by Lakṣmaṇa and the painter depicted it in pictures in the gallery. So the depiction has gone through three *vivartas* of form and content. Yet, when Sītā sees the missiles-bestowal scene, she asks, ''के एते उपरि निरन्तरस्थिता उपस्तुवन्ति आर्यपुत्रम् I Who are these that stand above very close and seem to praise my lord ?'' This is the fourth *vivarta* in that, the painter in reality has provided only the appearance of live persons as per his imagination. Lakṣmaṇa explains, एतानि तानि सरहस्यानि जृम्भकास्त्राणि – these are the yawn-missiles. He means, of course, the appearance of missiles *as painted*. On this, Rāma asks Sītā to bow to the missiles (depicted in the picture) and Sītā obeys dutifully. All these are instances of trusting as reality, the 'appearances' arising from multiple *vivartas*.

Bhavabhūti creates some new 'mythical persons' for his dramatic presentation. The third Act of *URC* starts with the stage-direction, ''तत: प्रविशति नदीद्वयम् I Enter the pair of Rivers.'' Deviating slightly from the text, Kane notes, ''This Act opens with a dialogue between Tamasā and Muralā, the presiding deities of two rivers.'' Interpreted this way or taking the text literally, either way, the two characters are mythical. It is stated that goddess Bhāgīrathī has *come* with Sītā *to see* Godāvarī. Later, during the encounter with Rāma in Janasthāna they all remain invisible to him - a circumstance that is supernatural or mythical, however much it may be justified as dramatic convenience or necessity.

Not that there is no precedent in the epics for such transformations. The *Rāmāyaṇa* has it that, ''This golden Gangā is the eldest daughter of

Himavān; the great Bhagiratha seated in a heavenly chariot led the way and Gaṅgā followed behind. इयं हैमवती ज्येष्ठा गङ्गा हिमवतः सुता । (*R Bala*. 42.23) भगीरथो हि राजर्षिः दिव्यं स्यन्दनम् आस्थितः । प्रायादग्रे महाराजस् तं गङ्गा पृष्ठतोऽन्वगात् ॥ (*R Bala*. 43.30,31). The shift between the riverine and human (or divine) aspects of Gaṅgā pervades the narrative.

Variations from the *Rāmāyaṇa*

        Kane has noted: "Bhavabhūti in composing the *URC* made one vital change and a few minor changes in the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The catastrophe of the drama is totally different from that of the *R*. Among the other changes are : (1) The fight between Lava and Candraketu; (2) Rāma's meeting with Vāsanti; (3) the invisible presence of Sītā while Rāma was in the Daṇḍakā forest; (4) the stay of Vasiṣṭha, Arundhatī and Rāma's mothers in the hermitage of Vālmīki. It is interesting to consider whether Bhavabhūti might not have taken some of these minor incidents from other sources than the *R*." Kane then proceeds in the classical indological style to enumerate various textual sources detailing their variations from the *R*. In conclusion he remarks: "There is great similarity between the story given in the *Padmapurāṇa* and the story of the *URC*. Whether Bhavabhūti borrowed from the *Padmapurāṇa* it is difficult to say. From the way in which all Purāṇas have been tampered with and interpolations have been introduced, I would rather say that the *Padmapurāṇa* is the borrower." (K xxvi-xxvii).

        In literary creations, variations from received mythologies are not only common, they are almost inevitable if the author has to throw some new light on the characters or events in the original. The variations from *Mahābhārata* introduced in *Śākuntala* by Kālidāsa are too wellknown to be elaborated. Bhavabhūti who aimed at presenting Rāma's life as the fountainhead of Vīrarasa and Karuṇārasa separately, in *Mahāvīracaritam* and *URC*, made the variations' in keeping with the norms and beliefs of the society of his times. He was merely elaborating on the sentiments or emotions in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, with some deviations from its narration of events, adding some of his own imagination.

        Literary versions in the form of poetry or drama have also been created in the regional languages of India. In the last century, the element of social critique was added by the socially conscious dramatists. Warerkar was one such in Marathi. His *Bhūmikanyā Sītā* has the same theme as of *URC* and he unlike Bhavabhūti explains his position with regard to variations from the *Rāmāyaṇa* in his Preface. It is worth quoting at some length:

माझ्या विद्यार्थींदशेत मालवणच्या एका स्थानिक नाटकमंडळीसाठी 'उत्तररामचरीत' या भवभूतीच्या नाटकाचा संगीत अनुवाद मी केला होता. ते नाटक रंगभूमीवर येण्याचे भाग्य जरी मला लाभले नाही तरी त्यातूनच वाल्मीकीने लिहिलेल्या रामकथेशी इतर रामकथांची तुलना करण्याची प्रवृत्ती माझ्या ठायी उत्पन्न झाली. प्रचलित रामकथा आणि वाल्मीकीची रामकथा यांत कुठेच मेळ बसत नाही. विशेषतः अध्यात्मरामायण, अद्भुतरामायण, आनंदरामायण प्रभृती रामायणांतील कथा वाल्मीकीशी विसंगत आहेत. फक्त कालिदासाच्या रघुवंशात तेवढा वाल्मीकीशी मेळ बसतो; इतकेच नव्हे, तर त्यात रामकथेतील नवीन आणि सुसंगत असलेले असे काही नवे प्रसंग सापडतात. प्रस्तुत नाटकात मी वाल्मीकिरामायण आणि रघुवंश यांतील कथेचाच तेवढा आधार घेतला आहे.

भास, कालिदास आणि भवभूतीपासून अण्णा किर्लोस्करांपर्यंतच्या पूर्वसूरींनी नाटक लिहिताना पौराणिक कथानकात नाट्यदृष्टीने अवश्य असलेले काल्पनिक फेरफार करण्याची प्रथा अमलात आणली आहे. भास आणि भवभूती यांनी लिहिलेल्या रामकथेवरील नाटकांत तर त्यांनी संपूर्ण उलटापालट केली आहे. भवभूतीने तर उत्तररामकथेचा शेवटच अजिबात बदलून टाकला आहे. त्या दृष्टीने प्रस्तुत नाटकात मी फारसे रचनास्वातंत्र्य घेतलेले नाही. केवळ शंबूकाचा काळच तेवढा बदलला आहे... तरीही वाल्मीकिरामायणाच्या कथेला कुठेही बाध न येईल अशी खबरदारी मी घेतलेली आहे. (५). ऊर्मिला ही व्यक्ती पौराणिक आहे. तिच्या लग्नानंतरची हकीकत कुठल्याच रामायणात आलेली नाही. (रवींद्रनाथ ठाकुर आणि मैथिलीशरण गुप्त) या दोन्ही लेखकांनी ऊर्मिलेचे चरित्र आणि चारित्र्य या दोहोंच्या बाबतीत कसलाच प्रकाश टाकलेला नाही. ऊर्मिलेची उपस्थिती रामाच्या उत्तरचरितातच जाणवते, म्हणूनच या नाटकाच्या द्वारे पहिल्यानेच मी ऊर्मिलेला रामकथेत उभी केली आहे. (६).

"In my student days, I had made a translation of Bhavabhūti's drama, the *URC*, as a musical drama for a local drama troupe in Malvan. Though I was not so lucky as to have the drama performed on the stage, through it developed in me the inclination to compare with the Rāma story composed by Vālmīki, and the other Rāma stories. The story of Rāma as current does nowhere tally with Vālmīki's version. In particular the narratives in *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* and *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* and the like are at variance with Vālmiki. Only in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* there is correspondence with the *VR*; not just that; in it are found some new incidents that are novel and consistent with Rāma's story - in this drama, I have taken as basis the story of Rāma in *VR* and *Raghu* only. Distinguished past writers from Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti to Aṇṇā Kirloskar have been votaries of the custom of making imaginative variations in the purāṇic theme to suit the needs of the theatre. In this drama I have not taken much liberty in construction. Only the period of Śaṃbūka has been altered. Even so, I have taken precaution that

there may be no spoiling the story in *VR*.

Ūrmilā is a Purāṇic character. None of the *Rāmāyaṇas* contain any narration about her life after marriage. Both Rabinadranath Tagore and Maithilisharan Gupta have not thrown any light on her life and character. Ūrmilā's presence is felt only in the later part of Rāma's life. Therefore in this drama, I have, for the first time stationed Ūrmilā in the *Rāmāyaṇa*."

In spite of the disclaimers, and following illustrious precedents, *Bhūmikanyā Sītā* contains some critical variations. The washerman, the first critic of Sītā, and his wife (Vijaya and Vāsantī) are shown to be menials in the palace. (20). Śambūka dilates on the ārya-anārya conflict in the light of the Aryan aggression theory. (28). While claiming sympathy from Sītā, 'a fellow daughter-of-the-soil', (29) he still proclaims it bliss to receive death at the hands of the God Rāma (71).

The main variation is in the characterisation of Ūrmilā. In oblivion in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, only once mentioned in the *URC* in a jest by Sītā to Lakṣmaṇa opposite a picture in the gallery, (सीता – वत्स इयमप्यपरा का । लक्ष्मण: – (सलज्जस्मितम् । अपवार्य ।) अये ऊर्मिलां पृच्छत्यार्या । भवतु । अन्यत: संचारयामि ।) Ūrmila in *Bhūmikanyā Sītā* debates with Sītā in the first act and even with Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Vālmīki elsewhere standing up against disregard of and disrespect to women by men for whatever lofty ideals and aims they may hold dear or declare.

Internal Variations In Mythology

Apart from variations in derived literatures, in the compendium of Indian mythology itself, such variations and borrowings as well as additions are not rare at all. They are found, for example, in the story of Gaṅgā's descent alluded to above. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the story is related by Viśvāmitra to Rāma with reference to King Sagara's sacrificial horse disappearing and his sixty thousand sons not returning from the search. In the *Mahābhārata*, the story is related by Lomaśa to Yudhiṣṭhira, a pilgrim to Agastya's hermitage in the Pāṇḍya country, with reference to refilling the ocean gulped by Agastya, (*Mbh. Vanap.* 88, 105-109).

It is narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that in the course of her journey to the sea, Gaṅgā drowned the sacrificial premises of Jahnu, possessor of amazing powers. Jahnu gulped the whole of Gaṅgā's waters at which the gods, gandharvas and ṛsis prayed to him to consider Gaṅgā as his daughter. Propitiated thus, Jahnu *ejected her through his ears*, whence is Gaṅgā called

Jāhnavī, daughter of Jahnu. This episode does not find place in the *Mbh*. But in one version of folklore, Jahnu is said to have let Gaṅgā out *through his legs, not ears.* ततो हि यजमानस्य जह्नोरद्भुतकर्मणः ।।३४।। गङ्गा सम्प्लावयामास यज्ञवाटं महात्मनः । तस्यावलेपनं ज्ञात्वा क्रुद्धो जह्नुश्च राघव ।।३५।। अपिबत् तु जलं सर्वं गङ्गायाः परमाद्भुतम् । ततो देवाः सगन्धर्वा ऋषयश्च सुविस्मिताः ।।३६।। पूजयन्ति महात्मानं जह्नुं पुरुषसत्तमम् । गङ्गां चापि नयन्ति स्म दुहितृत्वे महात्मनः ।।३७।। ततस्तुष्टो महातेजाः श्रोत्राभ्यामसृजत् प्रभुः । तस्मात् जह्नुसुता गङ्गा प्रोच्यते जाह्नवीति च ।।३८।। (*R. Bāla.* 43)

It was shown earlier that *a la* मोक्षमूलर, many stories in Sanskrit mythology were based on उद्भ्रंशः. The Jāhnavī story is an example of the same genre. Jāhnavī is an उद्भ्रंश of the Marathi Jānavi that is the sacred thread worn round the neck. It is placed round the earlobe while passing urine, as a talisman against evil forces that are assumed to be active at this time. The story appears to be an 'origin myth' of the custom. The 'appearance' i.e. the analogy here consists in the saltishness of urine and sea-water which basically prompted the story of Agastya gulping the ocean and passing it out at the request of the gods. Agastya is the bright star that rises close to the southern horizon around Śrāvaṇa full moon day after which the sea is quiet. The association of the star's rise with calming down of the sea provides the basis for the myth of power residing in Agastya.

Variations between Mythology and Folklore

The two kinds of variations seen above can be termed as 'External' and 'Internal' for Mythology, and considered as the source for the themes and plots in what are termed as 'Literary Works' like drama and poetry. Going back in time, compiled Mythology, and Sanskrit Mythology in particular, should also be considered as literature subject to all the literary devices that the composing poets could employ in its creation. It is a development from primitive myth.

One example from the *Rāmāyaṇa* will help make the point. It is the wellknown episode of Prince Daśaratha on a hunting spree, taking aim at the sound of someone filling his pitcher by a lakeside in the jungle, which the prince mistakes to be that of an elephant drinking water. On hearing human wails, the prince approached the victim, who said, "You have hit two blind persons my mother and father. Now remove the arrow from my body." To the prince who was hesitating, the victim said, "You can banish from your heart, woe felt at *Brahmahatyā*. O king, I am not a twice-born, have no worry. I am born of a Śūdra woman by a Vaiśya father." (द्वावन्धौ हिनतौ वृद्धौ माता जनयिता च

मे । अयोध्या ६३.४० । ब्रह्महत्याकृतं पापं हृदयादपनीयताम् । न द्विजातिरहं राजन् मा भूत् ते मनसो व्यथा । ६३.५० । शूद्रायामस्मि वैश्येन जातो नरवराधिप । ६३.५१ ।)" There is no name of the victim, said to be Munikumāra only.

We in Maharashtra know the name as Śrāvaṇabāḷa. In the grindstone ovis from Marathwada the episode is described thus : "सरावन बाळा । तुझ्या खांद्यावर काई । मायबापाची कावड । काशीला नेतो बाई । ४ । माय–बापाची कावड । ठेवली बेलाच्या फांदीला । सरावन बाळ । गेला पान्याच्या शोधाला । ९ । पृ. २७ । उत्तम तळ्यावरी । झारी बुडबुडा वाजं । राजा दशरत मनी । पानी पेतंय सावज । १ । दशरथ राजानं । बान धनुष्या जोडीला। श्रावण बाळाच्या । बान छातीत घुसला । २ । पृ. २८ । सरावन मनीतो । मी त भाचा तुमी मामा । मायबापाची कावड । उदक झारीमधी न्याना । १७ । पृ. २९ । नांदापूरकर (१९९०)

Śrāvaṇa, boy, what is it on your shoulder ? Lady, I carry the sling-pole of my parents to Kāśi. The sling-pole of parents was kept on a *bel* tree branch. Boy Śrāvaṇa went in search of water. At the best pond, the pot-water sounded '*bud-bud*.' King Daśaratha said to himself, some game is drinking water. King Daśaratha put the arrow to the bow. The arrow pierced into Śrāvaṇa's chest. Śrāvaṇa says, "I am a nephew and you my maternal uncle. To the sling-pole of parents, carry the water in the pot."

There is no doubt that the story in the Marathi folklore and in the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* is the same. The clue to the name of the Munikumāra in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is provided by the following verses : स तु दिव्येन रूपेण मुनिपुत्रः स्वकर्मभिः । स्वर्गमभ्यारुहत् क्षिप्रं शक्रेण सह धर्मवित् । ६४.४७ । आबभाषे च तौ वृद्धौ शक्रेण सह तापसः । ४८ । स्थानमस्मि महत् प्राप्तो भवतोः परिचारणात् । भवन्तावपि च क्षिप्रं मम मूलमुपैष्यथः । ४९ । एवमुक्त्वा तु दिव्येन विमानेन वपुष्मता । आरुरोह दिवं क्षिप्रं मुनिपुत्रो जितेन्द्रियः । ६४.५० । अयोध्या. That hermit's son, versed in dharma, on account of his deeds, quickly with Indra, rose to heaven in celestial form (47). And alongwith Indra, he spoke to his father (48), "By serving you, have I obtained a great station. You two as well will soon come to my place" (49). Having said so, the hermit's son who had control of all organs, speedily rose to heaven, by a celestial flying plane in material form (50). *To say that a character rose to heaven(s) is to say that the myth is based on a star in the sky.* In the instant case, from the folklore, the name of the star should be Śrāvaṇa. This is connected to the name of the constellation called Śravaṇa, with the brightest of three stars in the middle. The fainter stars form the 'blind' parents in the 'slings' at the two ends of the pole. The arms of the pole are unequal, obviously because the weights of the father and mother are unequal. Śrāvaṇa derived from Śravaṇa is the mythical character formed by the *vivarta*

on the constellation's 'appearance.'

What is remarkable is the slant given to the genealogy of the main character, turning a 'dutiful son' of folklore into the 'munikumāra' of mythology and turning him into a Vaiśya-Śūdra saṁkaraprajā to save the prince from the sin of brahmahatyā. This variance from folklore to mythology can be explained as follows:

Myth was born in pre-literate society, in the society's dialect. The mythical story was folklore. In the special social situation in India, Sanskrit, the literary language was a guarded possession of a particular class, the Brahmins or even the Brahmin males to be more specific. They conducted all their worldly business in the folk langauage of the region in which they lived, and performed all their religious rituals and prayers in Sanskrit. Theirs was a spiritually dominant and economically dependent position in society. They adapted to this situation by converting the dialectal folklore into literary Sanskrit. The process was however complicated by their special interest in providing a mythical basis for their superiority in society. As a result, we find the streak of Brahmin bias running through most Sanskrit mythology including the Vedic and Epic literature.

As between Indian folklore and Sanskrit Mythology this could be termed परिणाम in contrast to विवर्त which helps formation of 'myth' without affecting the form and content of the phenomenal referent. परिणामभावो नाम वस्तुन: यथार्थत: स्वस्वरूपं परित्यज्य स्वरूपान्तरप्रतिपत्तिर्यथा दुग्धमेव स्वरूपं परित्यज्य दध्याकारेण परिणमते । "Pariṇāma means the assumption of another form by an object by changing its inherent form. Just as milk itself results in the form of curds, changing its own form." It is to be noted that the form of milk needs to be changed by addition of a coagulant by a human being. The conversion of Indian language folklore into Sanskrit mythology was achieved through the coagulant of devavāṇī at the hands of Brahmin poets.

We are thus able to sift the contents of a mythical story and approach via folklore to the original myth - what may be called 'Understanding the Myth.' In the absence of a full story in folklore, words in folk-speech (i.e. Indian languages and dialects other than Sanskrit) will help, as also internal comparison among mythical stories with similar motifs or narratives.

We will apply this process to an important episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *URC* plot, the Śambūka episode.

The Śambūka Story

A rural Brahmin brought his dead son to the king's door. He wailed that this was a premature death in Rāma's reign. People die premature when the king's conduct of life is not good. "I with my wife will die at the king's doorstep like destitutes. O Rāma, with that brahmahatyā accomplished, live happily thereafter."

It was Nārada who explained : "Quite against dharma, a Śūdra in dvāpara eon is engaged in severe penance on the borders of your regime. Because the sinner performs penance, therefore this death of a child."

Rāma boarded the Puṣpaka plane to search for the culprit.

He found in a lake, a hermit in penance, hanging face downward. In that position spoke he, "Born a Śūdra, I am steeped in penance. O Rāma, I pray for godhood, live-bodied. Know me, I am a Śūdra, Śambūka by name."

As he said so, Rāma, drawing out the shining sword, cut off his head. At the very moment this Śūdra was felled, the Brahmin's child regained life.

The gods conveyed this news to Rāma and flew away in their spacious planes. Rāma too swiftly went to Agastya's hermitage.

(ततः कतिपयाहःसु वृद्धो जानपदो द्विजः । मृतं बालमुपादाय राजद्वारमुपागमत् । ३ । मृत्युरप्राप्तकालानां रामस्य विषये ह्ययम् । ९ । राजद्वारि मरिष्यामि पत्न्या सार्धमनाथवत् । ब्रह्महत्यां ततो राम समुपेत्य सुखी भव । १२ । असद्वृत्ते हि नृपतौ अकाले म्रियते जनः । १६ । वा. रा. ३ ७३.

नारदः प्रत्युवाच – अधर्मः परमो राजन् द्वापरे शूद्रजन्मनः । स वै विषयपर्यन्ते तव राजन् महातपाः । २८ । अद्य तपति दुर्बुद्धिस्तेन बालवधो ह्ययम् । २९ । वा. रा. ३ ७४ ।

तस्मिन् सरसि तप्यन्तं तापसं सुमहत्तपः । ददर्श राघवः श्रीमान् लम्बमानमधोमुखम् । १४। वा. रा. ३ ७५ । अवाक्शिरास्तथाभूतो वाक्यमेतदुवाच ह । १ । शूद्रयोन्यां प्रजातोऽस्मि तप उग्रं समास्थितः । देवत्वं प्रार्थये राम सशरीरो महायशः ॥ ७६.२ । शूद्रं मां विद्धि काकुत्स्थ शम्बूकं नाम नामतः । ३ । भाषतस्तस्य शूद्रस्य खड्गं सुरुचिरप्रभम् । निष्कृष्य कोशाद् विमलं शिरश्चिच्छेद राघवः । ४ । यस्मिन् मुहूर्ते काकुत्स्थ शूद्रोऽयं विनिपातितः । तस्मिन् मुहूर्ते बालोऽसौ जीवेन समयुज्यत । १५ । ततो देवाः प्रयातास्ते विमानैर्बहुविस्तरैः । रामोऽप्यनुजगामाशु कुम्भयोनेस्तपोवनम् । २० । वा. रा. ३ ७६ ।)

Compared to this brutally frank account of the murder of a hermit charged of an act considered heinous because of the premature death of a

Brahmin child, the course of events alluded in *URC*, is a glorified devotional narrative in which the killer is apologetic and dispenser of divine grace on the victim.

Ātreyī tells Vāsantī : "When Rāma claimed himself to be the guilty one on the ground that premature death of a subject does not occur in the absence of misconduct by the king, an incorporeal voice said, 'A Śūdra named Śambūka performs penance on the earth. O Rāma, he deserves to be beheaded. Slay him and bring the twice-born back to life." Vāsantī informs her that Śambūka, a smoke-inhaler is penancing in Janasthāna. Rāma has lifted his sword 'with kindness' when he encounters Śambūka. Rāma sarcastically hints that as Sītā-abandoner, his limb, the hand, has no mercy in it. He *somehow* hits the Śūdra hermit, for the sake of the life of the twice-born's child.

Bhavabhūti's Śambūka is someone special. He is pleased that Rāma's coming to his station is the best reward for his penance. He thanks Rāma for the slaying of rākṣasas by which people like him were able to move freely in Janasthāna. He receives benediction from Rāma to be able to reach the highest and happiest of worlds. Before going to the higher worlds, he has to pay respect to Agastya. And he even comes back to Rāma to deliver Agastya's message calling Rāma to meet him.

आत्रेयी – ततो न राजापचारमन्तरेण प्रजासु अकालमृत्यु: संचरति इति आत्मदोषं निरूपयति रामभद्रे सहसैव अशरीरिणी वाक् उदचरत् – शाम्बूको नाम वृषल: पृथिव्यां तप्यते तप: । शीर्षच्छेद: स ते राम तं हत्वा जीवय द्विजम् । २.८ । ३ ३९ ।

वासन्ती – शाम्बूको नाम धूमप: अस्मिन्नेव जनस्थाने तपश्चरति । ३ ४० ।

राम: (सदयोत्खातखड्ग: ।) – (कथंचित् प्रहृत्य) हे हस्त दक्षिण मृतस्य शिशोर् द्विजस्य । जीवातवे विसृज शूद्रमुनौ कृपाणम् । रामस्य गात्रमसि निर्भरगर्भखिन्न – । सीताविवासनपटो: करुण *कुतस्ते* । २.१० । कृतं रामसदृशं कर्म । अपि जीवेत्स ब्राह्मणपुत्र: । ३ ४१.

राम : – द्वयमपि प्रियं न: । यत्रानन्दाश्च मोदाश्च यत्र पुण्याश्च संपद: । वैराजा नाम ते लोकास् तैजसा: सन्तु ते शिवा: । २.१२ । ३ ४१

शाम्बूक : – अन्वेष्टव्यो यदसि भुवने भूतनाथ: शरण्यो । मामन्विष्यन् इह वृषलकं योजनानां शतानि । क्रान्त्वा प्राप्त: स इह तपसां संप्रसादेऽन्यथा चेत् । क्वायोध्याया: पुनरुपगमो दण्डकायां वने व: । २.१३ । ३ ४२

– (देवेन राक्षसा हता: ।) येन अस्मिन् जनस्थाने मादृशामपि जानपदानाम् अकुतोभय: सञ्चारो जात: । (४३)

– यावत् पुराणब्रह्मवादिनम् अगस्त्यम् ऋषिम् अभिवाद्य शाश्वतं पदम् अनुप्रविशामि । उ ४६

राम : – आरण्यकाश्च गृहिणश्च रताः स्वधर्मे । सांसारिकेषु च सुखेषु वयं रसज्ञाः । २.२२ । ४६

K 65 वीरराघव says, रामसदृशं कर्म, न तु दशरथसदृशम् । दशरथो हि अबुद्धिपूर्वकं शूद्रतापसवधं कृतवान् ।

Kane's comments are textual, with reference ot Sāhityaśāstra and chronology.

"The Śūdratāpasa, on being killed, assumed the form of a divine being.

The way in which Daṇḍakā is pressed on Rāma's notice is extremely clever.

Bhūtanātha - This is an anachronism. The poet transfers his own feelings to persons who were contemporaries of Rāma. Rāma himself had no idea that he was an avatāra of Viṣṇu." (K 66).

The inherent contradiction between execution for the sin of penance and immediate transformation into divine being is glossed over.

Having flown by a plane that took him to the place wished in the mind, Rāma should not have needed suggestion from his predetermined victim, a sinner, about Daṇḍakā. Branding a statement as anachronism presupposes a chronology for the 'events' narrated in *VR* as well as for the composition of the epic. Both being mythical, the presupposition is not sustainable.

Internal comparison leads us to the Triśaṅku story.

Parallels In the Triśaṅku Story

Triśaṅku undertook the sacrifice with the desire of reaching the status of devatās. Rejected by Vasiṣṭha, he went to the sons who refused to go against their father. When he told them that he would seek someone else, *they* cursed him to be a caṇḍāla. Viśvāmitra however promised him that he could attain the status of a deva, with that body. He offered a share of his own penance for the purpose. But seeing Triśaṅku reaching heaven, Indra along with all the gods said, "Triśaṅku, you are not fit to live in heaven. Cursed by the guru, fall down head first." Thus spoken to, Triśaṅku fell downwards. Viśvāmitra again entered into severe penance and created a whole new world as a result of which the gods approached him. He said, "May Triśaṅku enter

heaven whole-bodied. May the constellations created by me stay, as long as the three worlds hold." The gods agreed, and said, "let them be away from the sun's course. *Among them, effulgent, may Triśaṅku stay like a god, with his head down. And these constellations will follow the great king.*"

As stated before, such allusions to winning a place in the sky indicate that narrative being related to the myth of a constellation. The mention of Triśaṅku going south leads us to the stars on the southern horizon, including Agastya, Mitra, Triśaṅku etc. The constellation that fits his topsy-turvy position is the one that is called Crux in western astronomy. (The appearance of it is likened to something familiar to them).

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                                        * Agastya


                     g

                 *     * d   Crux

             * b

                 * a
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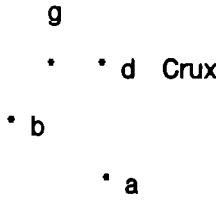
We remember that Śambūka was doing penance close to Agastya's hermitage.

Names of both the accused are उद्भ्रंशs of simple names given by the folk-speeches. Thus Śambu, cambu (vessel with belly and long neck) is at the root of Śambūka. Tiri = (Ta.) to *turn* and jaṅgu, caṅku, caṅgu, śaṅku in speech) = to jump. Śaṅku also means a śaṅku or conch shell. If the normal position is imagined to be with the point upwards, the reverse position is comparable to the head-down position of a human being. This simple *vivarta* would have been innocuous even if some mythical story had been constructed on it. To imagine that this was a punishment for some heinous offence against Brahmin supremacy or injunctions was an imposition by the Brahmin poets who composed the epic.

त्रिशङ्कुरिति विख्यात इक्ष्वाकुकुलवर्धनः । तस्य बुद्धिः समुत्पन्ना यजेयमिति राघव । ११ । *गच्छेयं स्वशरीरेण देवतानां परां गतिम् ।* वसिष्ठं च समाहूय कथयामास चिन्तितम् । १२ । अशक्यमिति चाप्युक्तो वसिष्ठेन महात्मना । प्रत्याख्यातो वसिष्ठेन स ययौ दक्षिणं दिशम् । १३ । ततस्तत्कर्मसिद्ध्यर्थं पुत्रांस्तस्य गतो नृपः । १४ । बाल. ५७ ।

ऋषिपुत्रशतं राम राजानमिदमब्रवीत् । १ । अवमानं कथं कर्तुं तस्य शक्ष्यामहे वयम्। ६ । स राजा पुनरेवैतान् इदं वचनमब्रवीत् । ७ । अन्यां गतिं गमिष्यामि स्वस्ति वोऽस्तु तपोधनाः। ८। शेपुः परमसंक्रुद्धाः चण्डालत्वं गमिष्यसि । ९ । अथ रात्र्यां व्यतीतायां राजा चण्डालतां गतः। १०।

एको हि राजा काकुत्स्थ जगाम परमात्मवान् । १२। दह्यमानो दिवारात्रं विश्वामित्रं तपोधनम् । १३ । बाल. ५८ ।

उक्तवाक्यं तु राजानं कृपया कुशिकात्मजः । अब्रवीन्मधुरं वाक्यं साक्षाच्चाण्डालतां गतम् । १ । गुरुशापकृतं रूपं यदिदं त्वयि वर्तते । अनेन सह रूपेण सशरीरो गमिष्यसि । ४ । बाल. ५८ ।

स्वार्जितं किंचिदप्यस्ति मया हि तपसः फलम् । १४ । राजंस्त्वं तेजसा तस्य सशरीरो दिवं व्रज । १५ । स्वर्गलोकं गतं दृष्ट्वा त्रिशङ्कुं पाकशासनः । १६ । सह सर्वैः सुरगणैः इदं वचनमब्रवीत् । त्रिशङ्को गच्छ भूयस्त्वं नासि स्वर्गकृतालयः । १७ । गुरुशापहतो मूढ पत भूमिमवाक्शिराः । एवमुक्तो महेन्द्रेण त्रिशङ्कुरपतत् पुनः । १८ । "स्वर्गोऽस्तु सशरीरस्य त्रिशङ्कोरस्य शाश्वतः । नक्षत्राणि च सर्वाणि मामकानि ध्रुवाण्यथ । २८ । यावल्लोका धरिष्यन्ति तिष्ठन्त्वेतानि सर्वशः । २९ ।" एवमुक्ताः सुराः सर्वे प्रत्यूचुर्मुनिपुङ्गवम् । एवं भवतु भद्रं ते तिष्ठन्त्वेतानि सर्वशः । ३० । गगने तान्यनेकानि वैश्वानरपथात् बहिः । नक्षत्राणि मुनिश्रेष्ठ तेषु *ज्योतिःषु जाज्वलन् । ३१ । अवाक्शिरास्त्रिशङ्कुश्च तिष्ठत्वमरसंनिभः । अनुयास्यन्ति चैतानि ज्योतींषि नृपसत्तमम् । ३२ । बाल. ६१*

Conclusion

Indian mythology, particularly the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been commented upon in Indology for two centuries, I submit, in the framework of the Indo-European hypothesis-turned-axiom. How deep this axiom is entrenched can be gauged from the definitions of two related terms given in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 10th Ed. 1999. They are : Indo-European *n. 1 the ancestral proto-Indo-European language. 2 the family of language spoken over the greater part of Europe and Asia as far as northern India. 3 a speaker of an Indo-European language,especilly proto-Indo-European. *adj, relating to or denoting Indo-European.

Indo-Aryan *adj. 1 relating to or denoting an Indo-European people who invaded NW India in the 2nd millenium BCE. 2 another term for INDIC.

Rāmāyaṇa has generally been considered the "Indo-Aryan peoples" epic of political and cultural penetration into South India, with Agastya as the forerunner and Rāma a later follower.

I have not followed the beaten track. Standing on the shoulders of three great representatives of various ages, I have endeavoured to look deeper into our literary cultural traditions with a view to understand Indian Mythology, its making and its content. I have presented instances of myths based on words, the operation of the विवर्त principle in myth-making and mythical stories,

the pre-eminence of folk traditions, the debt that Sanskrit mythology owes to folk speeches, the phenomenal basis of stories of Ahalyā, Sitā, Jāhnavi, the class-biased twist given to stories like those of Śrāvaṇa, Śambūka and Triśaṅku and so on.

These are all elements of what I have termed as New Indology.

Notes and References

परिणामभावो नाम वस्तुनः यथार्थतः स्वस्वरूपं परित्यज्य स्वरूपान्तरप्रतिपत्तिर्यथा दुग्धमेव स्वरूपं परित्यज्य दध्याकारेण परिणमते । विवर्तभावस्तु वस्तुनः स्वस्वरूपापरित्यागेन स्वरूपान्तरेण मिथ्याप्रतीतिः यथा रज्जुः स्वस्वरूपापरित्यागेन सर्पाकारेण मिथ्या प्रतिभासते । अवस्थान्तरतापत्तिरेकस्य परिणामिता । स्यात् क्षीरं दधि मृत्कुम्भः सुवर्णं कुण्डलं यथा । ८ । अवस्थान्तरभानं तु विवर्तो रज्जुसर्पवत् । निरंशेऽप्यस्त्यसौ व्योम्नि तलमालिन्यकल्पनात् । ९ । ततो निरंश आनन्दे विवर्तो जगदिष्यताम् । १० । पञ्चदशी १३.८–१० ।

नांदापूरकर ना. गो. (१९९०) म्हाटी स्त्री-रचित रामकथा, म. सा. प. आंध्र प्रदेश, हैदराबाद

1. Kane P. V. (1929) उत्तररामचरितम् with the Commentary of घनश्याम p. viii.

2. The references from *URC* given below contain the idea that birds are staying in the trees and that वैखानस meaning 'hermit' is a human being living like other fellow-beings.

गोदावर्याः पयसि विततश्यामलानोकहश्रीः । अन्तःकूजन्मुखरशकुनो यत्र रम्यो वनान्तः । २.२५ । U 47

करकमलवितीर्णैः अम्बुनीवारशष्पैः । तरुशकुन्किकुरङ्गान् मैथिली यान् अपुष्यत् । ३.२५। *U* 68

स (जनकः) तदैव देव्याः सीतायाः तादृशं दैवदुर्विपाकम् उपश्रुत्य वैखानसः संवृत्तः । *U* 87

3. विवर्त : १. (क) अतात्त्विकोऽन्यथाभावः । स च, अपरित्यक्तपूर्वरूपस्य रूपान्तरप्रकारकप्रतीतिविषयत्वम् । यथा मायावादिमते – परब्रह्माणि सर्वस्य जगतो विवर्तः । (ख) पूर्वरूपापरित्यागेन असत्यनानाकारप्रतिभासः । यथा शुक्तिकायां रजतस्य, रज्ज्वां वा सर्पस्य, प्रतीतिः। २ नृत्यम्, इति नर्तका आहुः । ३. समुदायः इति काव्यज्ञा आहुः । न्यायकोश – भीमाचार्य झळकीकर, निर्णयसागर १८९३ पृ. ७१२

Variations from *Rāmāyaṇa*

Kane has noted that, "Bhavabhūti in composing the *URC* made one vital change and a few minor changes in the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The

catastrophe of the drama is totally different from that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Among the other changes are : (1) The fight between Lava and Candraketu; (2) Rāma's meeting with Vāsantī (3) the invisible presence of Sītā while Rāma was in the Daṇḍakā forest; (4) the stay of Vasiṣṭha, Arundhatī and Rāma's mothers in the hermitage of Vālmīki. It is interesting to consider whether Bhavabhūti might not have taken some of these minor incidents from other sources than the *Rāmāyaṇa*." Kane then proceeds in the classical indological style to enumerate various textual sources detailing their variations from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In conclusion he remarks : "There is great similarity between the story given in the *Padma Purāṇa* and the story of the *URC*. Whether Bhavabhūti borrowed from the *Padma Purāṇa* it is difficult to say. From the way in which all Purāṇas have been tampered with and interpolations have been introduced, I would rather say that the *Padma Purāṇa* is the borrower."(K xxvi-xxvii).

The Concept of Anumiti as Applied by Śaṅkuka[1]

Rajashree Oak, Malhar Kulkarni

1. Background:

The aesthetic experience, and its nature, and its elements are discussed extensively in the Indian tradition of poetics. The aesthetic experience in any art, especially poetry and drama, is termed as *rasa*. In the tradition of Indian Poetics, the discussion begins with *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, who propounds '*rasasūtra*' (a formula for *rasa*) as follows :

vibhāva anubhāva vyabhicāribhāvād rasaniṣpattiḥ I[2]

[From the combination of *vibhāva, anubhāva, vyabhicāribhāva*, is born *rasa*.]

The theorists after Bharata were mainly interested in the meaning and interpretation of the *rasasūtra*. There was much controversy regarding the words *saṁyoga* and *niṣpatti* in the *rasasūtra*. From the various interpretations of the word *niṣpatti*, all the theorists have expressed their views on the process of the 'experience of the *rasa*'. Various theorists interpreting *rasasūtra* include Bhaṭṭalollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Abhinavagupta and others. Texts of all these theorists are unavailable today. We come across all these theorists in *Abhinavabhāratī* of Abhinavagupta. Mammaṭa also quotes the same theorists in *Kāvyaprakāśa*.

Among these theorists, Śaṅkuka interpreted the *rasasūtra* with the help of the concept of *anumāna* or inference, and hence he is considered a scholar from the ancient Indian school of logic. Śaṅkuka states that the aesthetic experience is in the form of inference. *Sthāyī* is not *svaśabdavācya* i.e. it cannot be presented by uttering its denotative word. Hence, *Śabda Pramāṇa* does not apply here and hence it has to be inferred. Thus, *Śabda Pramāṇa* is not applicable in case of *rasa*, but one must rely on *Anumāna Pramāṇa*.

According to Śaṅkuka, The aesthetic experience is an 'inference' on the part of audience. The *sthāyī* of the character is inferred by the audience in the actor. The *vibhāva* etc. imitated or represented by the actor play the role of *hetu* in the inference."[3]
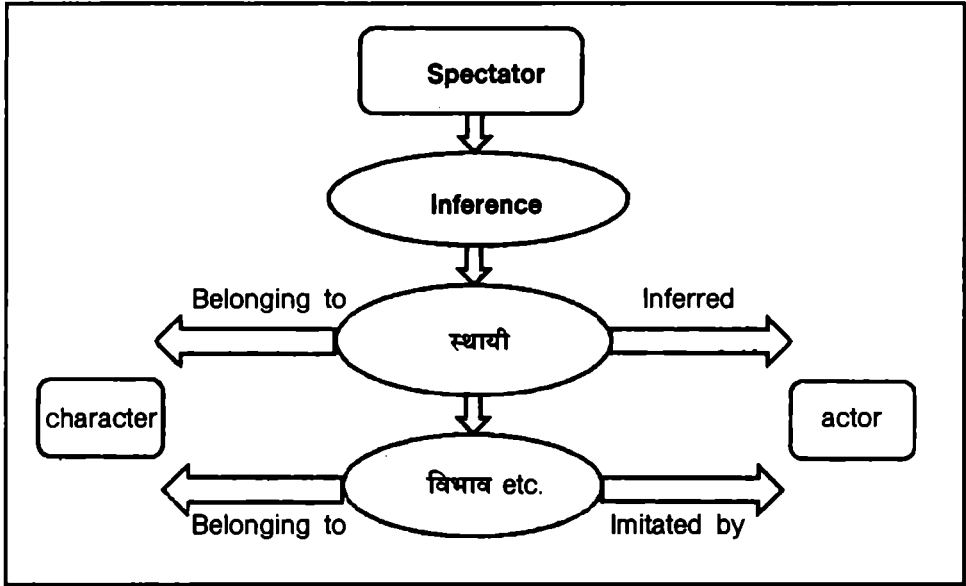
Figure 1

2. The Problem:

1. What is the form of the inference?

2. Is this inference identical with the concept of *anumiti* as given in the school of Nyāya ?

3. Whether the Nyāya concept of *anumiti* with five-steps-syllogism is applicable in the *anumiti* given by Śaṅkuka ?

4. What did Śaṅkuka mean by the concept of *anumiti* ?

3.   Survey of Literature:

3.1 . Textual sources:

As stated before, the individual text of this theorist is not available. The available textual source is the theory of Śaṅkuka quoted in *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Kāvyaprakāśa*. These texts present the theory as a *pūrvapakṣa*. Both these texts discuss Śaṅkuka's theory and refute it to support the theory of Abhinavagupta. Both the texts do not discuss anything about the form and the interpretation of *anumāna*.

Abhinavabhāratī although gives emphasis to the *anumāna* part of the theory, it does not talk about the structure of *anumāna*.

3.2. Commentaries:

Vimalā ṭīkā of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* discusses *anumāna* and tries to give the probable syllogism of this term. Yet, it does not discuss the difference between the forms of *anumāna* in art and in logic. *Kāvyapradīpa ṭīkā* and *Bālabodhinī ṭīkā* of *Kāvyaprakāśa* discuss on the same line.

3.3. Critical Works:

The works of *History of Sanskrit Poetics* by Prof. Kane, Prof. De, and Krishna Chaitanya and others treat Śaṅkuka as one of the undeveloped theorists before Abhinavagupta. The critical books by Jog, Gadgil and others do not discuss the theory in detail. Prof. R. B. Patankar puts up some arguments defending Śaṅkuka. His defence is based on *citraturaga-nyāya*. He also has not discussed anything about the form of *anumāna*. *Kāvyaprakāśa kā dārśanika dharātala* by Prof. Sharma discusses in detail the concept of *anumāna* as used by Śaṅkuka. There too, there is not much discussion about the comparative study of the two concepts of *anumāna*.

Thus, hardly any discussion is found about the concept of *anumāna* by Śaṅkuka and its comparison with the concept of inference in Indian Logic.

4. Purpose of the paper:

The purpose of this paper is to study the nature and form of *anumiti* which is used by Śaṅkuka while establishing his theory in the light of the general concept of *anumiti* as given in the school of Nyāya. The purpose is also to check whether the Nyāya concept of *anumiti* with five-steps-syllogism, is applicable in the *anumiti* given by Śaṅkuka and also to examine what Śaṅkuka meant by the concept of *anumiti*.

5. Concept of *anumiti*:

Anumāna is that cognition which presupposes some other cognition. It is knowledge which arises (*anu*) from a previous cognition. It is mediate and indirect and arises through a mark, *liṅga* or *hetu* (middle term) which is invariably connected with the *sādhya* (the major term). Invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) is the nerve of inference. The presence of the *hetu* in the *pakṣa* (minor term) is called *pakṣadharmatā*. The invariable association of the *liṅga* with the *sādhya* is called *vyāpti*. In the technical terminology of Nyāya, *anumiti* is knowledge that arises from *parāmarśa*. *Parāmarśa* is a complex cognition which arises from a combination of the knowledge of invariable concomitance (*vyaptijñāna*) and that of the presence of the *liṅga* in the *pakṣa*-technically known as *pakṣadharmatājñāna*.[4] The example of mountain, fire and smoke is well known.

If we apply the same concept of *anumiti* to the example of an actor acting the character of Duṣyanta,

Sādhya is *sthāyī*, say *rati* of Duṣyanta, *pakṣa* is the actor, *hetu* are the *vibhāva* etc. represented by the actor.

The syllogism of *anumiti* as given in the commentary of *Sāhityadarpaṇa*-

Pratijñā : *duṣyanto(a)yaṁ śakuntalāgocararatimān* I

Hetu : *tadādyālambanavibhāva anubhāva saṁcāribhāvādimatvād* I

Vyāpti : *yo yadā ālambanavibhāvādimatve sati*

tadviṣayakānubhāvasañcāribhāvavan sa tadgocaratimān I

On seeing smoke at the mountain, one recalls the association of fire and smoke and hence infers that this smoke must also be accompanied by fire. In the same way, on seeing the *vibhāvādi* in an actor, one recalls the association of these *vibhāvādi* with the *sthāyī* of the character and hence infers the *sthāyī*.

Here, the problem arises about the *pakṣa*. Liṅga i.e. *vibhāvādi* are perceived in the actor which is *pakṣa*, but the *sādhya* i.e. *sthāyī* is inferred on some other *pakṣa* namely, character.

If we apply the definition given by *Tarkasaṅgraha*, the *rati* is inferred from *parāmarśa*. Here *parāmarśa* is the cognition which arises· from a combination of the knowledge of invariable concomitance i.e. the association of *sthāyī* and *vibhāva* and that of the presence of the *liṅga* in the *pakṣa*— technically known as *pakṣadharmatā*, which here is the knowledge of the presence of *vibhāvādi* in the actor. Though *sādhya* and *liṅga* are associated here, yet the definition does not fit in because *sādhya* is associated with some *pakṣa* and the *liṅga* is associated with some other *pakṣa*.

Thus, neither the general concept of *anumiti* nor the particular definition given by *Tarkasaṅgraha* applies to the concept of *anumiti* given by Śaṅkuka. The argument will be more precise by analysis of the definition of *vyāpti* in Nyāya Śāstra. The definition of *vyāpti* in *Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvali* is as follows :

vyāptiḥ sādhyavadanyasmin asaṁbandhaḥ udāhṛtaḥ I

Vyāpti is the statement that the *hetu* is not associated with any other

pakṣa other than the one possessing *sādhya*.

In case of this *vyāpti*, the *sādhya*, the *sthāyī* which is associated with the *sādhyavad* character, is inferred in the *sādhyavadanya pakṣa* i.e. the actor.
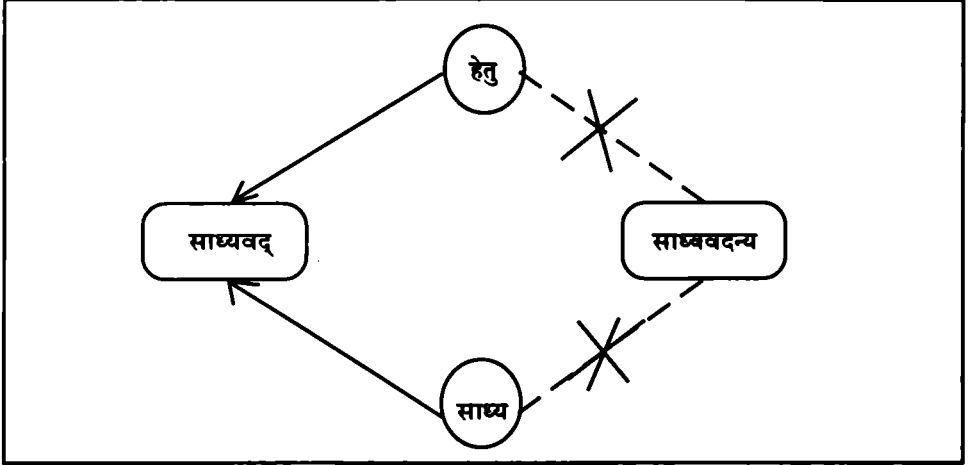
Figure 2
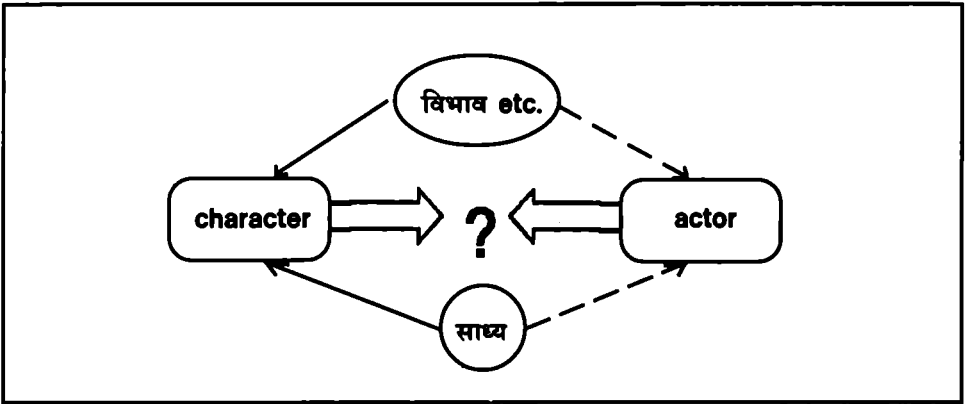
Figure 3

6. Difference between the *Anumiti* in Logic and *Anumiti* in Art:

Hetu is observed on *pakṣa. sandigdhasādhyavān pakṣa:*[5] Here, the **vibhāvādi** are the **hetu**. They are the emotions of the character; hence their substratum turns out to be the character and not the actor. In this case if we assume that the actor is the *pakṣa* then the emotion will belong to the actor and the spectator is least interested in the personal emotions of the actor. Hence some arrangement should be made so that even if the *pakṣa* is the

actor[6], the **hetu** will belong to the character. Hence the *pakṣadharmatājñāna* should be defined here in a new way.[7]

Śaṅkuka deals with this problem in detail. He establishes his *pakṣa* as the actor and states that the actor should be perceived by a special *pratipatti*[8], cognition. This special cognition of *pakṣadharmatā* is different from our other experiences of the knowledge of *pakṣadharmatā*, in the following way:

6. 1 . *saṁyak:* The spectator does not have the notion that the actor himself is Rāma.[9]

6. 2. *mithyā:* actor is not Rāma.[10] The perception is *mithyā* when it is refuted afterwards by the *saṁyak*. Here, the perception is not refuted by *bādha*. It is not the case that spectator assumes the actor to be Rāma only in the performance and after the performance is over, he suddenly realizes that the actor was not at all Rāma. The spectator always remembers the experience of the *sthāyī* as the emotion of Rāma and not the emotion of the actor. Thus in this particular cognition, *bādha* never appears.[11] Sometimes there is possibility of *bādha* when during the performance, the actor loses his bearing of the character, and the spectator is forced to realize the fact that this is not Rāma but the actor. Then there is possibility of *bādha*, which then proves the cognition of Rāma to be *mithyā* and turns out as *rasavighna*.

6.3. *sādṛśya:* actor is similar to Rāma.[12]

Spectator does not even think that the actor is a person resembling Rāma.

6.4. *saṁśaya:* is actor Rāma?[13]

Spectator does not experience the doubt, whether this is actor or Rāma. Nyāya believes that, the knowledge is *pramāṇa* if it results in some action i.e. *arthakriyā*. If not, it is *mithyā* e.g. mirage. There is perception of water but the action of bathing etc. is not possible. Thus this perception is *mithyā*. Here, the knowledge is *mithyā* yet there is action of pleasure *rasāsvāda*.[14] This proves that the perception is not *mithyā*. This also distinguishes this *anumiti* from the general *anumiti*. This *anumiti* has *arthakriyā* i.e. this necessarily results in some action that is pleasure. The *anumiti* in general may or may not have *arthakriyā*. Thus this cognition *of pakṣa* is different from the cognitions mentioned above.

7. Concept of *Anukaraṇa*:

Śaṅkuka states that this cognition is different from mere resemblance or even imitation because it involves *anukṛti*.[15] Here *anukṛti* does not mean similarity or imitation but it is the representation of the original in which there

is almost unawareness of the difference owing to the excellent skill and the command on the art.

Śaṅkuka uses the word *anusandhāna*[16] for this sense. This *anusandhāna* is acquired by many factors, which include the perfect depiction of emotions on the level of the script i.e. the dialogues, speeches, the language used etc. Also responsible are the factors in the performance part of the script, viz. the expertise in acting which is acquired by training, deep study and a good deal of practice of the same. This skilled acting enables the spectator to perceive the actor as the representation of the character ignoring the difference.[17] This is what Śaṅkuka refers as the special cognition of *pakṣa*, actor. Thus, even if *sādhya* is not present in *pakṣa* yet *pakṣa* should necessarily be the representation of the known *pakṣa* of the *sādhya* which here is the character. This factor of *anukṛti* distinguishes the *anumiti* in art from the common *anumiti,* because in this *anumiti,* one infers the *sādhya* which is actually not present in the *pakṣa,* but the spectator infers the *sādhya* in the *pakṣa* assuming *pakṣa* to be the representation of the character due to the excellent *anukṛti.*

Anumiti or inference of an emotion is also experienced in real life, as for example on seeing the reactions like crying, weeping etc., one infers that the particular person is sad, that is, he infers the emotion of pathos from particular reactions. Yet, this inference is not an object of relish because unlike the inference in art, this does not contain *anukṛti,* while, the inference in art is relishable owing to the presence of *anukṛti.* Thus *anukṛti* is the factor that makes the inference an object of enjoyment.

8. The Special *Śakti* of *Abhinaya*: Abhinavagupta's Approach

Indian Poetics give three different powers of a word namely *abhidhā* [denotative meaning], *lakṣaṇā* [connotative meaning] and *vyañjanā* [suggestive meaning]. The *abhinaya,* on the other hand, possesses an extra type of power, which is known as *avagamanaśakti.*[18] The meaning conveyed by *abhinaya* is due to this *avagamanaśakti* which is different from *abhidhā,* etc. and the base of this *śakti* is *anukṛti.* As *abhidhā* resides in the word, this resides in the actor. Thus Abhinavagupta states that the *anumiti* in art due to the excellent *anukṛti,.* is an intrinsic power *of abhinaya.*

9. The *Citraturaga-nyāya*:

Śaṅkuka states that the actor is perceived with a special type of cognition, which is different from all the other real-life-cognitions. To support this, he gives the axiom of the picture-horse.[19]

This nyāya is the contribution of Śaṅkuka to Indian Poetics as well as a criticism of art in general.

The picture of a horse is a mere imitation of the original horse. Though the *citraturaga*, the picture-horse is not a real horse, it does not altogether lack reality. The horse may not be real as a horse, but it is surely real as a picture-horse. Similarly the actor is not the real Rāma, but he is real as a *naṭa* Rāma.

10. The Status of Art: the Concept of *saṁvādī bhrama*:

Thus, it is clear from the above discussion that, Śaṅkuka admits the virtual status of art. Yet it is necessary to examine this when he compares it with the example of a picture-horse.

Here we can compare this concept with the classification of illusion, *bhrama*, given by Dharmakīrti in his *Pramāṇavārtika*. He classifies *bhrama* as *saṁvādī bhrama* and *visaṁvādībhrama*[20]. *Saṁvādī bhrama* is an illusion but it is an illusion closer to reality. He gives the analogy of the fire and the glory of a jewel. Perception of both of them as jewel is an illusion. The former is a *visaṁvādī bhrama* and the latter is *saṁvādī bhrama* as it leads to reality i.e. it leads to the original. In the same way, the perception in art is an illusion yet it is closer to the real and it leads to the perception of the original.

11. Conclusion : *Anumiti* In Art according to Śaṅkuka :

According to the words *"iti pratipattyā grāhye naṭe"* as given in the text ascribed to Śaṅkuka by *Kāvyaprakāśa*, *anumiti* in art is based on the following assumptions:

- The actor is perceived as the representation of the character.

- The *vibhāvādi* should be acceptable to the spectator as associated with the character. This depends upon the cultural background of the spectator.

- The *vibhāvādi* should be portrayed according to the particular form of drama or performance.

Notes and References

1.   This paper was presented at the Brihan Maharashtra Pracya Vidya Parishat, Mumbai, May 2007 in the Philosophy and Religion section. The paper was awarded first prize in the section.

2.   Bharata, *Nāṭyaśāstra.*

3.   *vibhāvādiśabdavyapadeśaiḥ... anumīyamānopi... sthāyitvena sambhāvyamānaḥ ratyādibhāvaḥ... Kāvyaprakāśa* Ullāsa 4.

     vibhāvāditrayam liṅgamavagamyate... Kāvyapradīpa

4.   *parāmarśajanyajñānam anumitiḥl / vyāptiviśiṣṭapakṣadharmatājñānam parāmarśaḥ / Tarkasamgraha* p. 75.

5.   *Tarkasaṅgraha.* p. 76.

6.   *Gavaye gaurayamitivat abhinetari duṣyantoyam/Vimalā ṭīkā, Sāhityadarpaṇa.*

7.   *vyāpyasya pakṣavṛttitvam pakṣadharmatā / Tarkasaṅgraha* p. 75.

8.   *"iti pratipattyā grāhye naṭe", Kāvyaprakāśa.*

9.   *rāma eva ayam ayameva rāmaḥ, Kāvyaprakāśa.*

10. *na rāmoyam... Kāvyaprakāśa.*

11. *atra ca bādha anavatāraḥ spaṣṭaḥ eva I Kāvyaprakāśa, Bālabodhinī ṭīkā* p. 89.

12. *rāmasadṛśoyamiti. Kāvyaprakāśa.*

13. *rāmaḥ syādvā na vāyam... Kāvyaprakāśa.*

14. *arthakriyāpi mithyājñānād dṛṣṭā/Abhinavabhāratī,* p. 271

15. *anukartṛsthatvena liṅgabalataḥ pratīyamānaḥ sthāyī bhāvaḥ... anukaraṇarūpaḥ Abhinavabhāratī,* p. 271.

     anukṛtimahimnā samutpāditasya... Vimalā ṭīkā, Sāhityadarpaṇa

16. *kāvyānusandhānabalād... kṛtrimairapi tathā anabhimanyamānaiḥ / Kāvyaprakāśa* p. 89.

17. *śokṣābhyāsakṛta abhinayanaipuṇyena vāstavarūpeṇaiva pradarśitasya ...I Vimalā ṭīkā, Sāhityadarpaṇa*

18. *avagamanaśaktirhi abhinayanam vācakatvādanyā / Abhinavabhāratī,* p. 272.

19. *citraturagādinyāyena rāmoyamiti pratipattyā grāhye naṭe / Kāvyaprakāśa* p. 88

20. *maṇipradīpaprabhayormaṇibuddhyābhidhāvatoḥ /*

     mithyājñānaviśeṣepi viśeṣo'rthakriyām prati //

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Hemacandra's Conception of Originality
and Authorship in his Pramāṇamīmāṁsā

V. M. Kulkarni

In Medieval India we come across compendiums of works on Alaṁkāraśāstra (also called Sāhityaśāstra or Kāvyaśāstra). Among these, Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* is the most important and most popular. Over more than fifty erudite Sanskrit pandits have written their commentaries in Sanskrit on it probably with a view to winning the most coveted title of Ācārya. Hemacandra, who was highly respected by the two kings of Gujarat, Siddharāja and Kumārapāla for his profound and vast learning and knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit has also written, perhaps to compete with Mammaṭa his *Kāvyānuśāsana*,[1] which is important from several points of view. Learned Sanskrit pandits, however, did not take its notice for many centuries as is evident from the lack of Sanskrit commentaries on it.

Let us now note the dictionary meaning of the three words: original, authorship and plagiarism, before taking up the topic for discussion. The word 'original' means 'that was served as pattern, of which copy has been made, not derivative or dependent, first-hand, not imitative, novel in character or style, inventive, creative.' Originality, therefore, would mean novelty. 'Plagiarism' means 'an appropriation or copying from the work of another in literature or art, and the passing off of the same as original.' The word 'authorship' means 'the origin of a book or other written work'. Now we take up the present topic for discussion:

Pramāṇamīmāṁsā[2] is a Jaina work on logic by Hemacandra. Immediately after salutation to the Arhat he informs us that he is writing a commentary on the *sūtras* of Jaina doctrine composed by him. At the very opening of this commentary the *pūrvapakṣa* asks the author: "If these *sūtras* on Jaina doctrine are your own, then what and made by whom were the *sūtras* prior to yours ?" He answers : "You have raised only a very narrow question. You might as well ask, what and made by whom were the *sūtras* on Grammar and other sciences prior to Pāṇini, Piṅgala, Kaṇāda, Akṣapāda, etc.? The fact is, these *śāstras* are indeed without a beginning (*anādi eva*). They, however, appear newer and newer according as they are presented in abridged or expanded forms (*saṁkṣepa - vistāra -vivakṣayā*) and are said to be the work of this or that person.[3]

Whether this definition of originality and authorship satisfied his critics

we do not know. It may, however, be stated here that Hemacandra's statement, word for word, is based on Jayantabhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjari* and that Jayantabhaṭṭa was a great and famous Naiyāyika (Logician). This writer, however, feels that in the absence of the original title and author, readers are likely to understand that Hemacandra himself has written 'the borrowed *sūtras* or passages'. This writer himself holds Hemacandra in very high regard and completely agrees with the following remarks of Professor Jacobi which give, as Professor R. C. Parikh has observed, a fair estimate of Hemacandra's work: 'Hemacandra has very extensive and at the same time accurate knowledge of many branches of Hindu and Jaina learning combined with great literary skill and an easy style. His strength lies in encyclopaedical work rather than in original research but the enormous mass of varied information which he gathered from original sources, mostly lost to us, makes his works an inestimable mine for philological and historical research'. Incidentally, it may be mentioned here about "sources" that in the latest edition of Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*, the compiler, Dr. Tapasvi Nandi, very carefully and meticulously gives his sources of translation in English. This is, perhaps, the first edition with complete translation in English of the text of *Kāvyānuśāsana*, the gloss (*vṛtti*) *Alaṁkāracūḍāmaṇi* and the additional special commentary *Viveka*.[5]

Dr. Jacobi speaks of 'enormous mass of varied information which he, Hemacandra gathered from various sources, mostly lost to us'. Here it may be mentioned by way of example Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* [6] containing the two very important chapters, Ch. VI on Rasas and Ch. VII on Bhāvas. The first editor of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (GOS edn, Baroda) gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* in editing the corrupt text of Ch.VI on rasas which has preserved the text of rasa-sūtra almost intact. Regarding Ch. VII on Bhāvādhyāya, Ambāprasāda's *Kalpalatāviveka* has preserved the major portion of *Abhinavabhāratī* on this chapter which was believed to have been lost till the other day.[7]

This digression apart, I wrote years ago, a paper on 'Sources of Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*' in a tabular form: subject, *Kāvyānuśāsana*, principal source / sources.[8] A large number of passages, some long, some longer, have been appropriated or adopted or borrowed from the corresponding sources by Hemacandra. These are drawn either directly from the source books or very often he has drawn them indirectly through the sources utilized by him in writing the *Kāvyānuśāsana*. It is clear from the table given in the paper that the *Kāvyānuśāsana* does not constitute an original contribution to the subject. It would not be, however, correct to describe his work as plagiarism or only a compilation. It is a good textbook on Alaṁkāraśāstra. It makes free use of the illustrious writers on this subject who

preceded him. It is a lucid compendium of the well known alaṁkāra works of his illustrious predecessors like Bharata, Daṇḍī, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Rājaśekhara, Kuntaka, Abhinavagupta, Dhanaṁjaya, Dhanika, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Bhoja, and Ruyyaka. It attests to Hemacandra's wide reading and profound scholarship. He seems to silence his critics who charge him with plagiarism by using the very words of the great Naiyāyika Jayantabhaṭṭa: *'anādaya evaita vidyāḥ saṁkṣepa-vistāra - vivakṣayā navanavibhavanti tat tatkatṛkāścocyante.*[9]

Now Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* is a work on Alaṁkāraśāstra. The authors of their works are well known. It is not necessary to mention them to well informed readers and students. Research scholars in the field of Alaṁkāraśāstra are very delighted and feel highly obliged when they come across passages from lost or undiscovered works. It would not be, therefore, correct to charge Hemacandra with plagiarism. Again, some Ālaṁkārikās allow, in their writings, certain types of borrowing giving cogent reasons. This writer's paper 'Sanskrit Writers on Plagiarism' deals with the subject of plagiarism in detail.[10] It treats of the views of Vākpatirāja, Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Ānandavardhana, Vāmana, Rājaśekhara, etc. Among all these writers it is Rājaśekhara who treats plagiarism in great detail. Hemacandra borrows the whole discussion from Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. He sums up the discussion in the famous lines: "There is no poet that is not a thief, no merchant that does not cheat, but he flourishes without reproach who knows how to hide his theft."[11]

Certain types of resemblances e.g. (i) *pratibimbakalpa* (where the sense is the same entirely but the setting is in other expressions) and (ii) *ālekyaprakhya*: when through a moderate elaboration of particulars a subject appears different, it is called a copy-sketch. Resemblances of these two types should be avoided by (budding) poets. (iii) *tulyadehitulya*: resemblance by corporeal equivalence and (iv) *parapurapraveśa-pratimā* (= *sadṛśa*): resemblance by way of foreign city - entrance (i. e. where there is substantial identity but the garnishing is widely divergent). These two types of resemblances the author recommends to poets. By the way it may be stated here that Ānandavardhana disapproves of the type of *ālekhyaprakhya* resemblance.[12]

In another context, he says: The great have similarities of poetic genius and temper and they present identical ideas or thoughts. To avoid such coincidences or resemblances a poet should read and study the works of earlier poets. Rājaśekhara disagrees saying that one possessed of a literary eye intuitively knows what is touched and what is not. Sarasvati makes words and senses flash on the mind of great poets even if they be asleep.

Writers on Sanskrit poetics deal with plagiarism at some length. They, however, rarely speak or discuss what they mean by originality or novelty. We

have the famous statement of Jayantabhaṭṭa, the reputed author of *Nyāyamañjari* a work on logic, made use of by Hemacandra in replying to his critics quoted above (f.n.3).

Among the few writers on poetics the most prominent is Ānandavardhana, who deals with the concept of originality and literary theft. His views may briefly be stated as follows: "The words of a later poet even if they may correspond to his predecessor's, gain freshness and novelty when they are used to convey a suggested sense. The province of poetry is unlimited owing to the almost infinite varieties of the suggested sense in spite of the fact that hundreds of poets have composed works for centuries. Good poets can celebrate the events and episodes of the world in their poems at their sweet will, making them convey suggested sense. The thoughts of old poets when made to glow with some suggested sense, appear new like the trees in spring. A poet, who composes his poetry having regard to the suggested sense and the suggestive words definitely imparts newness to his subject. For instance, the descriptions of battle etc. in the works like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, though frequent, appear very new. Again, the striking modes lend novelty to the subject matter of poetry."

Notes and References

1. *Kāvyānuśāsana of Ācārya Hemacandra*, ed. Prof. R. C. Parikh and Dr. V. M. Kulkarni, pub. Sri. Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay (Mumbai), 1964.

2. Hemacandra's *Pramāṇamimāṁsā* - a work on Jaina Logic, ed. Nagin J. Shah, Gujarat Vidyapith-Ahmedabad. I4, 2002.

3. *Ibid.* Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad ed. p.50; see also Bombay edn, Introduction by R. C. Parikh, p. 64, f.n.l.

4. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol-VI, p. 591.

5. *Kāvyānuśāsana of Ācārya Hemacandra*, compiled by Dr. Tapasvi Nandi, pub. Hemacandracharya N. Gujarat University, Patan, 2007.

6. *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, pub. GOS, Baroda.

7. This writer's paper: '*Abhinavabhāratī* (VII) Recovered', included in '*Studies In Jaina Literature*' (The collected papers contributed by Prof. V. M. Kulkarni) pub. by Jitendra B. Shah, Ahmedabad, 2001.

8. This author's paper : 'Sources of Hemacandra's Kāvyānuśāsana'- this paper too is included in *Studies In Jaina Literature* (mentioned under S. No. 7, above).

9.   See the quotation from *Pramāṇamimāṁsā*, given in f.n.3, above.

10. 'Sanskrit Writers on Plagiarism' - this paper is reprinted in my book: *Studies In Sanskrit Sāhityaśāstra*,   pub. B. L. Institute of Indology, Patan (North Gujarat), 1982, See p. 6, f.n.l5.

11. In the same paper, given against S. No. IO above, see p-no. 5, f. n. 11, as well as p. 4, f.n. No. 6, *śloka* no. 6.

12. In the same paper see: 1-4, the *ślokas* given in the f.n. (nos 5-10).

Linguistic Archaeology of Vedic Culture

Ashoka K. Mishra

Like history, archaeology can be justified on a philosophical level, as part of man's apparently natural curiosity about his own past. It can also be justified, like anthropology, as an attempt to gain an objective and scientific understanding about mankind itself. Both the philosophical and scientific factors do suggest, however, the practical ways to our concern with our past. Modern archaeology had passed beyond the stage of nationality; it already knew that such things as "pure races" or "pure cultures" or "chaste languages" are myths. It had passed its pioneer stage and was settling down to the very difficult and detailed task of understanding a very complex and very interesting being - man himself.

Therefore, archaeology is the science that studies the history of human past through its material remains, and is limited to analysis of those items (and inferences drawn therefrom), which have escaped the destructive forces of decay. By this limiting factor of decay, how can we postulate any clear hypothesis on the basis of limited excavated artifacts?

Some of the major demographical developments of the past, which are indicated by archaeology, will be reflected to some degree or other in the past patterns of proto-language distribution. Conversely, evidence for the borrowing of words to describe material culture could be tested against the archaeological record, on the assumption that the description follows the trail of an actual object from one social group to another. Based on these principles Philipson equates the evolution and spread of the Bantu language[1] with the spread of iron into Southern Africa, since the linguistic and archaeological evidence exhibit similar patterns (especially the rapid, and relatively recent spread of the Eastern Bantu language on the one hand, and the equally rapid spread of fairly homogeneous Late Iron Age assemblage on the other).

This was the first hypothetical and tested approach in the field of linguistic archaeology. The thesis is based on two questionable assumptions:

1. that material culture and language vary within the same social subsets, which is at best, a hypothetical confirmation and,

2. that a recurring group of evidence is a valid analytical unit which must be firmly rejected.

In consequence, comparisons of the patterns of change are as in-

conclusive as the tracing of individual loaned words or items of material culture. Nor is there any reason to assume that taxonomic distance between 'cultures' or even techno-complexes. is in any way correlated with the classification of various dialects, languages or even language families.

Therefore,

<div align="center">

Change in language (linguistic evidence)

⇕

Change in socio-economic condition of men

⇕

Change in material culture (archaeological evidence)

</div>
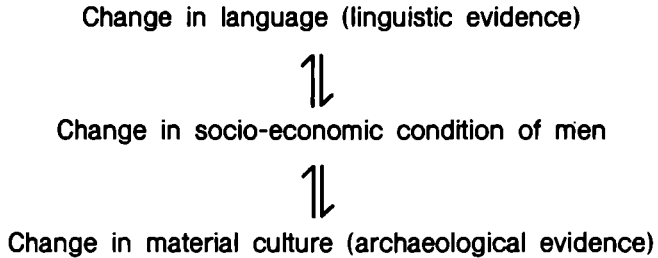
Although archaeologists cannot study languages and linguists cannot dig up archaeological material, if a textual evidence is present, then both archaeological and linguistic evidence can be counterchecked and correlated by which a stable theory of the past can be established. The thrust of this paper is the 'text' which is Vedic (both lexical and structural) and the archaeological material of same geographical and chronological areas in which the Veda was compiled. This model continues to assume a close correlation between language changes and population movements. This may be the result of dealing with protolanguages, where the number of archaeologically testable hypothesis remains limited. The cultural dynamics evident in both language and archaeological record were analyzed independently at first; this was followed by a comparison of patterns of change to establish possible correlations.

1. Did old Indo-Aryan speakers have a Dravidian mother tongue which they gradually abandoned?

<div align="center">OR</div>

2. Did old Indo-Aryan speakers come in contact with old Dravidian and old Munda speaking peoples?

When we say that two or more languages are (genetically) related, we mean that we consider them to be historical continuations of a single earlier language, spoken among the members of a single earlier speech community e.g. Proto-Dravidian was a single speech community in the past from which the Tamil, Telgu, Toda, Kolami, Gondi, Malto and Brahui languages evolved. Likewise Santhali, Mundari, Ho, Sora, Kharia and Korku have evolved from one linguistic

family i.e. Proto-Munda.

Linguistic Symbiosis

Linguistic evidence for contact between two or more speaking communities can involve lexical diffusion (borrowing of individual words) or structural diffusion (phonological or grammatical influence of one language over the other, which can be treated linguistically in terms of the borrowing of rules). Evidence of diffusion of any kind leads to a historical inference that some members of one or both speech community have some degree of bilinguism. The quantity and linguistic types of lexical items diffused can lead to more specific inferences regarding the type of contact, its range and its intensity. The directionality of lexical diffusion can sometimes, but not always, be established by cultural or linguistic arguments, whereas the directionality of structural diffusion is often impossible to establish without contemporary evidence. The semantic areas in which borrowed words occur (e.g. agriculture, metallurgy, flora, fauna etc.) lead to inferences about the social or technological domains in which contact took place.

The lexical evidence of Dravidian-Aryan contact

I have attempted to organize the loanwords belonging to the earliest period of Dravidian-Aryan contact i.e. in their *proto* stage into three groups:

a) Probable borrowing from Dravidian into Indo-Aryan.

b) Probable borrowing from Indo-Aryan into Dravidian.

c) A category of words which seems to be too similar for accident and appears to be early in both families, but which is of intermediate origin—either Dravidian or Indo-Aryan or some other sources.

a) For Dravidian loans in early Indo-Aryan, we have primarily the work of Burrow[2]. He has listed 26 words, all clearly attested in the *Rgveda* for which he claims Dravidian origin. Mayrhofer has challenged 8 of them, and Theme has challenged 3 (including one also challenged by Mayrhofer). Mayrhofer has agreed to the possibility of Dravidian origin in 9 cases. Eliminating those which have been seriously challenged, as well as a few which look unconvincing to many linguists, we have at least 19 cases for which Dravidian origin seems to be uncontroversial in early Vedic text like the *Rgveda*. In 19 cases, 4 were related with technology, 3 were with flora and fauna, 5 were with body parts, 4 were with nature and 4 were related with agriculture.

b) On the other side, Dravidian borrowing from Indo-Aryan, the main

list includes 336 items. In addition they mention 70 cases, which were included in the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, but which they later felt should have been listed as borrowing from Indo-Aryan. Therefore, at least we have 336+70=406 items of Dravidian borrowings from Indo-Aryan. But most of the materials in Dravidian borrowing Indo-Aryan are attested only in four southern languages (Tamil, Telgu, Kannada and Malayalam), and thus do not offer adequate evidence for being very early borrowings. By this very fact, their frequency is greater than the frequency of Dravidian loaned words in the early Indo-Aryan as evidenced in the *Rgveda*. From this whole lot of 406, I have selected only those Dravidian words which appear in Vedic or early post Vedic sources. By this process I left only 13 items out of 406, which have very early origin, out of which 8 are related with technology, 2 are with agriculture, 1 for fauna and 2 for social structure.

c) Coming to the third category of words, we have here a number of items, which clearly suggest early connections between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, though we are unable to determine the direction of borrowing. But one thing must be clear that there was a high degree of contact between these two groups from the earliest period for which we have proper linguistic records (both lexical and structural).

Linguistic contact of Early Indo-Aryan-Dravidian

Linguistic studies in old Indo-European elements in old Indo-Aryan languages lead to the inference that there was contact from the earliest period between old Indo-Aryan speakers and speakers of other languages up to the time of the *Rgveda* in the region of the Sapta-Sindhu (the region of the seven northern tributaries of the Indus or between 28° to 35° North parallels and 70° to 78° East meridians) roughly from the Kabul River in west to the Sarasvati River in east, now the dry bed of the Ghaggar irrespective of the fact that Rgvedic people are indigenous or exogenous. But one thing must be clear, that the *Rgveda* shows no evidence of substantial contact with the Harappan civilization in the Sapta-Sindhu region Thus it would follow that the Vedic people entered this region only after the decline of that great civilization in the mid-2nd millennium BCE. It has been acknowledged from the *Atharvaveda* (4.6.2) and *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (38.26) that the Aryan culture resided in the geographical area of the Sapta-Sindhu. The *Rgveda* depicts a pre-urban society with copper and possibly, iron technology, evolving from nomadic pastoralism dependent on cattle, to a form of settled agriculture. (In the earliest period, the specific crops mentioned are barley and beans, while later texts such as the *Atharvaveda*

mention other cultigens including wheat and rice). This linguistic data of crops confirms the movement of the Vedic people from west-to-east in the regions of seven rivers.

Elements of Dravidian origin are found in the Indo-Aryan language of the *Rgveda* and a handful of words even appear to have entered the language during the stage preceding the separation of Indo-Aryan from Indo-Iranian in west, which could be placed roughly in the early second millennium BCE. The numbers of probable loaned words of Proto-Dravidian into Sanskrit for the different periods are as follows:

1. Proto-Indo-Iranian Period = 5

    (*Circa* 2000-1500 BCE)

2. Early Vedic Period = 27

    (*Circa* 1500-1000 BCE)

3. Later Vedic Period = 8

    (*Circa* 1000-600 BCE)

4. Epic and Classical Sanskrit = 48

    (*Circa* 600 BCE - 600 CE)

While these numbers are not very large, it must be remembered that the early Vedic texts represent the ritual language, which could not only have been linguistically conservative, but would have consciously avoided terms which were known or believed to be of non-Aryan origin (here Aryan means linguistic race, not any anthropological race because MaxMüller in 1848, first of all identified that the word 'Aryan' is purely linguistic and not ethnic). Thus it is likely that the spoken language of early Vedic period contained a considerably large number of Dravidian elements.[3]

Inspite of lexical evidence, there is also evidence for the structural influence of Dravidian on old Indo-Aryan, though it is controversial for the earliest period. A number of structural features of Indo-Aryan appear to have come from Dravidian as indicated below:

Dravidian structural features in Indo-Aryan languages

		Early Vedic (1500-1000BCE)	Later Vedic (1000-600BCE)	Pali (500 BCE)	Dravidian (2000-1500BCE)
1.	Retroflex dental contrast	(Frequency is directly proportional to ascending time from 1500 to 500BCE) →→→→→→→→→→→→→→→→→			Regular Proto Dravidian feature
2.	Assimilation of stops	Sporadic	Regular	Regular	Regular Proto Dravidian feature
3.	Weakening of Stops	Absent	Sporadic	Sporadic	Late Proto Dravidian (sporadic)
4.	Initial Stress	Absent	Absent	Absent	Regular Proto Dravidian feature

These are particularly marked in the eastern and southern Indo-Aryan languages, which are presumably descended from those varieties of Old Indo-Aryan most affected by contact with Dravidian speakers. While individual loan words may pass from one speech community to another as a result of casual trade contact, this type of structural influence of one language on another is usually associated with extensive cultural symbiosis accompanied by large-scale bilingualism. Now it is well established that linguistically (by lexical and structural linguistics) there was a cultural symbiosis between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian speakers and they must have been in contact with each other for some time before the composition of the *Rgveda* and thereafter too. Assuming the position that it was composed in the period *circa* 1500-1000 BCE, the period of contact must be placed around the middle of the second millennium BCE at the latest. It is conceivable but unlikely, that there was continuous contact between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian prior to the composition, during and after the composition of the *Rgveda* (*circa* 1500-1000 BCE). Now it is a big question mark if linguistically bilingual symbiosis contact theory of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian can be established archaeologically. If it is likely, then, how is it applicable in the cited three stages- prior to, at the time of and after the composition of the *Rgveda* ?

Prior to 1500 BCE

Asko Parpola[4], Mayrhofer[5] and Ghirsman[6] have offered a detailed linguistic study, suggesting the presence of Indo-Aryan in the Gorgan region of northern Iran already by *circa* 3000 BCE in the form of Proto-Indo-Iranian in

which at least five loan words of Proto-Dravidian were traced. But this linguistic hypothesis of Proto-Dravidian symbiosis with Proto-Indo-Iranian can not be supported by archaeological records of Iran. The linguistic evidence in the Vedic texts themselves points, of course, to a close relationship with the Iranian speaking tribes. However, it is not entirely clear where the combined Indo-Iranian lived together before they left for Iran and India, when they went on their separate ways, by which routes, and in what order. Simultaneously all these linguistic steps can not be supported by archaeological artefacts because the material culture of Iran from *circa* 3000-1500 BCE was far removed in similarity from the material culture of the Sapta Sindhu from *circa* 1500-1000 BCE.

Between 1500-1000 BCE

The oldest extensive data in the Indo-Iranian branch is represented by the *Ṛgveda* (dated since the days of MaxMüller to somewhere between 1500-1000 BCE.), which has been composed orally in the region of the Sapta Sindhu (land of seven rivers), whose earliest manuscripts date to the 11th Century CE in Sharda Script which were found in Kashmir. Right from the beginning, in Ṛgvedic period, elaborate steps were taken to ensure the exact reproduction of the words of the ancient poets. As a result, the *Ṛgveda* still has retained the same wording in such distant regions as Kashmir, Kerala and Orissa and even the long extinct pitch/ musical accents have been preserved. Therefore, it is clear that the present day *Ṛgveda* recitation is a true reproduction of what was first composed and recited some 3000 years ago, with certain micro changes. It is also pertinent to point out here that the words that occur in the *Ṛgveda* often have cognates or direct correspondence in the old Iranian, especially Avestan texts while they no longer appear in the post-*Ṛgveda* texts.

Ṛgvedic culture is a post-Harappan culture of the north-western part of India and Pakistan from which the Proto-Dravidian elements were linguistically traced out. Although at present Dravidian lingual people are concentrated in South India, their remnants are present in Baluchistan as the Brahui language.

Archaeological evidence for linguistic symbiosis in the Vedic culture

Since Indo-Iranian languages are assumed (by linguists) to have been brought into South Asia by migrants, we must begin to examine the archaeological record for evidence of migrations, and then justify the link between these and the spread of the Indo-Iranian language. Simultaneously we must search out archaeological evidence of local Dravidian elements and their amalgamation with Indo-Iranian material culture. The first of these tasks is accomplished with reference to material culture of Indo-Iranian, Proto-Dravidian and Indo-Aryan,

while the second proceeds by a comparison of the spatial-temporal parameter revealed by archaeology with that offered by linguistics.

Cremation (the practice of burning the dead) is the most important archaeological evidence which appears to have originated in the Indo-Iranian borderlands and spread northwest (and south-east) which stands against the postulated movements of Indo-Aryan linguistics speakers. This is postulated on the basis of the process of disposal of the ashes, resulting from cremation. The practice of cremation is clearly preferred in the *Rgveda*, whose archaeological occurrence was seen in the Indo-Iranian borderlands. Its gradual spread East and South at the expense of the older custom must be viewed as significant. What is more, in several areas of the borderlands it gives way to fractional burials, a custom associated with early Iranian speakers on the testimony of the Vendidad[8]. Apart from the example of Nal (27° 52'N; 66°22'E) in southern Baluchistan which Stacul[9] dates to 3000 BCE; the first occurrences may be dated to the early 2nd millennium BCE. at Khurabs in southeastern Iran[10-11] and Burzhom (34°11'N; 75°17'E) in Kashmir. They are followed by examples from cemetery-H in Harappa[12] (31°10'N; 73°52'E) from period II and VI of the Swat sequence[13] and from the last period at Timargarh[14] (33°22'N; 72°16'E) and Zarif Karuna[15] (34°10'N; 72°11'E) in Pakistan. It is in the last two areas of Gandhar and to some extent in Swat in Pakistan, that fractional burials succeed cremations, and since all are presently inhabited by speakers of an Iranian tongue (Pashto), it is tempting to suggest a confirmation of the linguistic evidence. This urge is reinforced by the general north-west and south-east gradient of both cremations and fractional burials within the subcontinent, suggesting an external origin for them. The ritual of post cremation urn burial around 2nd millennium BCE is also reported in northern and southern Baluchistan, Periano Ghundai II (29°14'N; 64°16'E), Mughal Ghundai II (28°54'N; 63°18'E), Dabar Kot (29°22'N; 65°11'E), Mehi (27°12'N; 63°16'E)and Sutkagendor (26°11'N; 62°14'E)[16]. Cenotaphs in the south cemetery of Mehargarh (29°11'12"N; 67°40°14"E) in Baluchistan were also inferred by Santoni[17], to have represented cremations as they were dug into extensive burnt deposits. By the mid second millennium BCE, this type of post cremation burial practice can be observed in Swat, Dir and Zafir Khan in Pakistan. After that by the beginning of the first millennium BCE, it has entered the Gangetic basin, where the cremated remains were deposited in unlined pits instead of urns, in the chalcolithic phase of Chirand (25° 44'N; 84°51'E) and Sonpur (24°59'N; 84°57'E) and in the iron age from Rajghat (25°18'N; 83°31'E) and Rajgir (25°13'N; 91°27'E). Since early historical times, of course, cremation has been the predominant mode of disposal of the dead among the Hindus in the Indian subcontinent. Therefore, chronologically in

descending order the practice of cremation can be well established from the Indo-Iranian borderland to the Gangetic basin through Pakistan and north-western India.

The post-cremation ritual, cf. Allchins[18], of the Indo-Aryans may also be identified with the Timber - Grave / Andronovo culture which flourished around 2000 BCE in the southern regions of the Iranian plateau. This also supports the evidence referred to above. They note that Kassite rulers of Babylon had Indo-Aryan names at the beginning of the 16th Century BCE., as did the Mitanian rulers of the same region of later centuries. The gods of the *Ṛgveda* - Mitra , Indra, Varuṇa are also familiar to these ancient population of Mesopotamia. On the basis of linguistic interpretations the Allchins conclude that there were two periods of Indo-Aryan diffusion from 2000 to 1400 BCE.

i) The first migration was undertaken by Dardic-speaking, non-Sanskrit and pre-Vedic Indo-Aryans.

ii) The second by Sanskrit speakers who established the Vedic traditions and moved both westward to Mesopotamia and eastward to the region of the seven rivers (28^0 to $35'$N; 70^0 to 78^0E).

By this, the Dardic speakers became isolated in the northwestern region of Pakistan, in the regions of Kafiristan, Gilgit, and Chitral. But this fine linguo-racial demarcation is not supported by the latest archaeological discoveries in Pakistan.

The archaeological picture of post-Harappan phase which coincides with the final compilation of the *Ṛgveda* in the region of the seven rivers is very hazy and diverse due to the advent of different local cultural traits. At the same time the archaeological remains of the Indo-Iranian borderland during 3rd-2nd millennium BCE, have got no traces and continuity in the post-Harappan phase in the land of the seven rivers in which most of the Ṛgvedic hymns were composed.

During the mid-second millennium BCE many urban Harappan settlements were dismantled by different factors at different sites. The most surprising fact is, after that, varied rural regional cultures developed in the same region as for example, in Bahawalpur (Cholistan region of Pakistan), it was dramatic compared to Sindh - but all Indus Valley and Baluchistan regions were affected by the Mughals.[19] The Bahawalpur exploration identified 174 mature Harappan sites having a total combined area of 443 hectare[20]. During the late Harappan phase in Punjab, 50 sites with a total combined area of 216 hectare were found, the numbers declining by 71% and 51% respectively, from the preceding period. During the succeeding PGW, only 14 sites were identified

with a total and combined area of 36 hectare, a further drop of 72% and 38% respectively from the Punjab Harappan and only early historic sites were located. Bahawalpur is the best documented area, but it may not be representative of the entire Indus basin, since the Ghaggar-Hakra river, its main water source, was captured during this period by the Yamuna-Ganga drainage and became a dry channel. However, localized Harappan occupational sites in many Indus basin areas are the last habitation sites until the Medieval period. Like Bahawalpur of Pakistan, fully comparable data from Punjab, Haryana and northern Rajasthan are not forthcoming. There is only a site Gazetteer of this region[21] without information on the site areas. In Punjab, mature Harappan sites number 107, whereas late Harappan sites number 429, a 300% increase. Gujarat had 110 mature Harappan sites, followed by 130 post-Harappan sites which represents an 18% increase. This statistics of sites indicates decreasing tendency in post-Harappan activities, when we move from the north (Punjab) to the south (Gujarat) in the region of the seven rivers.

As per Shaffer,[22] another important characteristic of these regions is the fluid status of the settlements; each period has seen the abandonment as well as establishment of a high number of sites. In the Indian Punjab 79.9% and in Gujarat 96% of sites changed settlement status between the mature and localized Harappan developments. It is likely that Kot Dijian groups were also shifting location but poor chronological control makes it difficult to discuss them. Simultaneously, 50% of Bahawalpur sites changed settlement status between the mature and localized Harappan developments during this region's abandonment. It is evident that a major geographic population shift accompanied this localization process in the 2nd millennium BCE. This shifting in Harappans by post-Harappans, is the only archaeological evidence of west-to-east movement of human population in the land of the seven rivers.

Similar movement from west to east in the case of PGW was calculated by their site frequency in the Indo-Gangetic divide. Out of the 720 sites of PGW, 35.8% were reported from Haryana, and 30.3% from western Uttar Pradesh[23]. Many scholars[24] proposed that it was a Later Vedic pottery due to its earliest occurrence in the region of Kuru and Panchal, but their arguments are refutable because PGW is not reported from the region between west of Indus and east of Sutluj (land of five rivers of Punjab) in Pakistan. If it was a Rgvedic / Later Vedic pottery, then its remnants must appear in the post-Harappan phase of the said regions, but the fact contradicts it. Therefore, it is clear that PGW represents an indigenous cultural development from local chalcolithic communities in the Indo-Gangetic divide, and that it does not reflect an intrusive culture from the northwest or the land of the seven rivers. This interpretation is partially supported by the localized pattern of exchange, which

is seen in the post-Harappan phase of Indian Punjab and not of Pakistan.

Finally I would like to list issues, which are limitations to this new branch of research (linguistic-archaeology) in the Vedic context as follows:

i) The Vedic texts as we have are the end product of a long oral transmission. Any conclusion based on their linguistic features needs to take into account the possible linguistic changes that may have crept into the text during this process.

ii) We need to distinguish language and social contact from language and social convergence. Evidence for the first does not necessarily imply the second. We cannot have convergence without contact, but we can have contact without convergence.

iii) When we speak of linguistic symbiosis we need to make a distinction between sporadic, intensive and extensive bilingualism. These different types may possibly lead to different linguistic consequences.

iv) Whose linguistic output is available to us as evidence in the Vedic text? Do we have Vedic Sanskrit influenced by Dravidian or Dravidian influenced by Vedic people? Is there any place for the polarity between Vedic Dravidian versus Dravidian Vedic or is there a homogenized result due to convergence with the resultant loss of polarities?

v) The recent archaeological developments in India and Pakistan between Harappan culture (2600-1900 BCE) and early historical period (beginning around 600 BCE) in which probably the whole of the Vedic text was compiled, have localized material culture without any uniformity and continuity in time and space e.g. Cemetery-H, Jhukar; Pirak; Gandhara Grave, Rangpur; OCP; PGW, BRW etc.

vi) Albeit, archaeologically the so-called Aryan aggression of Vedic people from west on Harappans is now in air and replaced by their migration in one or more than one wave, this theory of migration is not supported by recent archaeological records of India and Pakistan. Simultaneously, the linguistic complexity of the Vedic text is not likely to help much in the interpretation of archaeological data and vice versa. The theories proposed by reputed archaeologists of India and abroad are laboured ones and based on preconceived notions of foreign or indigenous origin of Vedic people without any solid acceptable archaeological base.

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Bodhisattva Images at Kanheri

Suraj A. Pandit

Kanheri (Kṛṣṇagiri in Sanskrit and Kanhagiri in Prakrit) is one of the major cave complexes in India comprising more than 100 caves. It had developed certain special features such as a well-developed water system; it owned agricultural land, satellite settlements and was self-sufficient in resources for subsistence. This is the only cave site in India, which was inhabited for more than a millennium by Buddhists.

The religion of the Buddha must have spread in this region, i.e. 'Aparānta', around 3rd century CE. Its visual manifestation in the form of rock-cut architecture at the site was around 1st century CE and it was popular here for at least a millennium. Though we do not have much art historical evidence for the last few centuries, enough epigraphical evidence is there to prove the existence of a Buddhist brotherhood till the 11th century CE. The glory of this place in early centuries can be seen in the art and architecture of the site. There are about 101 caves, out of which around 75 belong to the first three centuries after the rise of monastic settlement in the 1st century CE.

Kanheri has its own historical importance. It had developed its own peripheral centres like Kondivate and Magathane. The glorious past of this magnificent site can be put in three chronological time brackets for the convenience of study. We have labelled these phases after the names of the contemporary ruling dynasties that are known through epigraphical evidence available at the site. These are as follows:

1. Sātavāhana ˙phase (1st century to 4th century CE)

2. Traikūṭaka phase (5th - 6th century CE)

3. Rāṣṭrakūṭa- Śilāhāra phase (7th century CE onwards till the abandonment of the site)

This paper will deal mainly with the chronology of the sculptures and their stylistic affiliations.

Bodhisattvas at Kanheri

Most of the Bodhisattva sculptures at Kanheri are intrusive (not part of the original scheme) except a few in the main shrines depicted as attendants of the Buddha. These intrusive sculptures are found not only in phase I caves

nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 19 ,50, 53, 54, 56, 64, 67, 73, 93, but also in phase II caves nos. 1, 12, 26, 31, 34, 41, 52, 89, 90. These sculptures can be classified in this context in two parts as: 1) attendants, 2) as the central deity in the panel.

There are mainly four types of Bodhisattva sculptures out of which the sculptures of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi/Avalokiteśvara can be identified with certainty (Plate XV). Many of them are weathered and therefore the possible combined description with their identifications is given in Table I.

Type II Bodhisattva is also depicted without a lotus, in Caves nos. 3, 67, 89 and 90. In these cases, he is depicted as holding a rosary, water flask (*kamaṇḍalu*), and has a crown of knotted hair (*jaṭāmukuṭa*). We can see the seated figure of the Amitābha Buddha on his crown in the meditation posture, in Caves nos. 2, 3, 67, 89, 90 and 92. Type IV Bodhisattva is difficult to identify, as it does not hold any specific attributes in hands. Such figures can be seen in the caves at Nasik and Kuda.

In the Chinese translated version of *Sukhavati Vyūha*, Avalokiteśvara is described as an assistant to Amitābha, lord of the western paradise. Among his various functions, he guides devotees from earthly deathbed to rebirth in the spiritual land. This text was first translated into Chinese at around 148-170 CE[1]. This concept of the Bodhisattva as an attendant is quite old and can be traced back at least to the 2nd century CE. In *Amitāyurdhyānasūtra* also, there is a description that the "Buddha Amitāyus stood in the midst of the sky and Bodhisattva Mahāsthāma and Avalokiteśvara attending on his right and left respectively."[2] (Plates XVI A and B).

In the verandah of Cave no. 4 at Ajanta an intrusive panel suggests the proper identification of these so-called Trinity panels. The Buddha is shown seated on the lion throne and he is attended by two Bodhisattvas, both holding *cauri* in their right hands. One of the Bodhisattvas placed on the left side of the Buddha also holds a rosary in his right hand. The Buddha rests his feet on the lotus and in front of the lotus the *dharmacakra* and two deer can be seen. This suggests the identification of this panel as of the first sermon of the Buddha. The only difference in the later panels is the absence of the *dharmacakra* and deer.

Similar composition of the panels with the addition of two Nāgas, Nanda and Upananda is identified as the Śrāvasti miracle (Plate XVII A). Though the textual reference resembling this depiction has not been found till today, one can trace the development of this panel in art from Ajanta to Aurangabad (phase I) and then to Kanheri.[3] It continued further to Aurangabad

(phase II) and then to Ellora. The Buddha had performed two miracles at Śrāvasti viz. *Yamaka pratihārya* and *Lokavivaraṇa*. The depiction of the first can be seen at Ajanta in sculptures and paintings. In later period, such panels known as Śrāvasti miracle panels became a popular theme.

Apart from this, we can see few individual panels of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (See Table II).

Only two Jātaka/Avadāna stories can be seen at Kanheri i.e. one is the Story of Dīpankara (Cave 67) and the other is Koṭikarṇāvadāna (Cave 87).

Chronology of the Bodhisattvas

At Kanheri a new regional art style flourished at the close of the 5th century and in the 1st quarter of the 6th century CE. Traikūṭakas were not the immediate successors to the Sātavāhanas in the region. They ruled over northern Konkan from early 5th century. They are believed to have political affiliation to Abhiras, and used the Abhira era of the ruler Īśvarasena (from 11th century onwards this era was known as Kalacuri era). Traikūṭakas not only ruled over the strip of Konkan but also ancient Lāṭa in Tapi valley. Dāhrāsena proclaims in his charter of 453 - 54 CE to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice.

Their date is still a subject of controversy as not a single copperplate of kings of this dynasty refers to the name of the era used by them. Scholars like V. V. Mirashi and M. Leese[4] believe it to be the Kalacuri era, it seems to have been started by the Ābhiras in 248-49 CE. Some others like H. S. Thosar and Dilip Rajgor opine that they must be referring to the Śaka era that started in 78 CE. As Purāṇic tradition tells us, the Sātavāhanas were followed by the Abhiras in the Deccan. M. A. Dhaky[5] gives the date as late 5th century and early 6th century by supporting Mirashi's view. One copperplate (year 245 - 493-94 CE) mentioning the name of this dynasty has been found at Kanheri from a 5th century stūpa.

Geneology of these kings can be reconstructed on the basis of numismatic and epigraphical data as Indradatta, Dāhrāsena (known year 204), Vyāghrasena (known years 238,245)[6], Madhyamasena (known year 257), Vikramasena (known year 284).

The stūpa at Kanheri from which the copperplate was found can be dated to 5th century CE.

The reign of the Traikūṭakas seems to have been interrupted by the Vākāṭaka invasion. In the last quarter of the 5th century the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa of the Vatsagulma branch had conquered the region. The inscription

in Cave no. 16 at Ajanta tells us about the conquests of Hariṣeṇa. The 18th verse in the inscription as translated by V.V. Mirashi[7] is as follows:

'He [conquered], Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, Āndhra, ... which, though very famous for valour...'

Shobhana Gokhale[8] has suggested the last missing word as 'parānta', which can be considered equivalent to 'Aparānta'. Epitaphs in the Cave no. 87 at Kanheri follow the Vākāṭaka style of palaeography[9]; decorative motifs follow the Ajanta tradition. The stūpa in Cave no. 31 has stylistic affiliation to Ajanta[10].

Kanheri copperplate proves the reinstallation of the power of Traikūṭakas in this region most probably immediately after the death of the great Vākāṭaka Emperor Hariṣeṇa. This might have happened during the reign of the Traikūṭaka king Vyāghrasena.

By 533 CE, Vikramasena, grandson of Vyāghrasena had issued the last known copperplate of the Traikūṭakas. Most probably the Kalacuri king Kriṣṇarāja overthrew the Traikūṭaka dynasty.

It seems that the Traikūṭakas were followed by the Kalacuris. They were ruling from their capital at Māhiṣmatī. Though scholars have various views about the identification of Māhiṣmatī, it is believed that they were also ruling over north Konkan. In the beginning of the 7th century, this region was under the control of the Maurya kings as can be seen through Pulakeśi II's inscription at Aihole.

With the rise of the Kalacuris, patronage to Buddhism declined. It is believed that the Traikūṭakas were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas during the reign of the great king Hariṣeṇa as mentioned above. Sculpting activity at the site had started around 493-494 CE after reinstallation of the Traikūṭaka power.

Most of the Bodhisattva images from the site are of this period. For a better understanding of the chronology of the sculptures of Traikūṭaka phase at Kanheri, one needs to understand the religious development at the site along with the stylistic development of the art. Till the fifth century, the monastic settlement at Kanheri had achieved a maturity which could have produced the philosophical landmarks.

Buddhist Monastery at Kanheri

With the decline of the prosperity in the trade routes and the trade centres in post-Sātavāhana period, most of the Buddhist sites were gradually abandoned. The activity of excavation of caves was very limited throughout

western India during this period. But here at Kanheri, the monastery retained its fame. Very few donative inscriptions are recorded of lay worshippers or lay followers. Most of the donations are made by monks who were residents of Kanheri. Though very few caves were excavated during this period, various intrusive sculptures were carved.

These donor monks have specifically mentioned their Śākya clan[11]. The question arises here about the source of money for donations. It suggests that till this period, the monastery must have allowed monks to keep money; or they were able to keep the resources of lay followers in their own name. The latter option does not sound feasible. As we know, the first split in the Saṅgha as Therāvādins and Mahāsaṅghikas in the 2nd council was over ten controversial points. One of them was 'the acceptance of gold and silver'.[12] This tradition must have been followed by Vajjiputtiyas and their sub-sect, Bhadrāyaṇiyas[13] and Dhammotariyas[14] who laid the foundation of monastic settlement at Kanheri.

On the other hand, absence of royal patronage should be noticed. The donation of the brick and stone stūpa mentioned in the copperplate is not given by any king. This is a donation by Buddharuci who was a resident of the village Kanaka, in the 'Sindhu' province. This copperplate records the donation of a brick and stone 'caitya'. If this event is considered as a turning point in phase II to bring Kanheri in the limelight again, as thought by various scholars, one should find the explanation for this donation and the native village of the donor. It shows that the monastery was quite famous in the 4th and 5th centuries CE. The monastery must have become the educational centre during this period. This type of development again suggests the efficient administrative system within the existing monastic structure.

Very few panels seen here are based on scriptural themes, whereas most of them depict the trinity or the Śrāvasti miracle. This indicates the changing pattern in the patronage. These panels must have helped the monastery to exploit the existing economic resources in a unique manner.

These later caves have a different socio-economic, political and cultural background than the early caves. To gain the merit of donating the Buddha figures, people must have started donating trinity panels[15]. The donation of the trinity panel in the main chamber of the cave was necessary before the donation of the cave. As we can see in the case of temples, it is necessary to consecrate an idol of the main deity in the sanctum after the temple's construction and before its inauguration. Donation of the image must have remained just a ritual to gain the spiritual merit in the later period. Donors who were not capable of financing the excavation of an entire cave, must have

donated these (intrusive) sculptures to gain a partial spiritual benefit of the donation. The monastery itself must have played a significant role in it to make up for the regular expenses after the decline in patronage. Political instability had become a feature of this period. Various dynasties like the Traikūṭakas and the Mauryas arose and declined.

In short, it was not as simple for the monastery to survive in phase II as in phase I on donations. The monastery tried its best to exploit economic resources with every possible option. Thus, these Bodhisattva images played a vital role in the economic policy of the monastery.

One of the early thematic panels at the site can be seen in Caves nos. 2, 3, 50 and 90. Early sculptures of the Traikūṭaka period in Cave no. 50 reveal great stylistic affinity to the sculptural art of Ajanta and remind us of the sculptural art of the Lonad caves. The central panel in Cave no. 90 suggests further development of the decorative motifs in the *makara* on the back side of the lion throne. Sculptures in Caves nos. 2 and 3 follow the thematic depictions as litany of the Avalokiteśvara panel in Cave no. 2 or the colossal Buddha figures in the verandah of Cave no.3.

Decorative panels on the big stone stūpa in cave no. 87 show a resemblance to the decorative patterns from Ajanta. A few of the decorated slabs kept in the store room at the site, mainly collected from cave 87 also reveal the affiliation with this art style. Behind the large stone stūpa, there are small rock-cut cells, in which a few sculptures are carved which are now in a very bad state of preservation.

Stylistic analysis of the sculptures reveals some interesting facts. Though most of them are dated to the 6th century CE, a few sculptures show the impact of the art of the Brahmanical caves at Jogeshvari. A few Bodhisattva sculptures give us an impression of being the prototypes of those from Ellora. It is quite possible that the early sculptures at Ellora are chronologically parallel to the later sculptures (Close of 6th century CE) at Kanheri, especially the intrusive sculptures in the Cave no. 41.

It is interesting to note here an observation made by Dr. Gerry Malandra about the chronology of the early caves at Ellora[16]:

"... Spink was the first to question this assumption, suggesting instead that caves 14 and 6 were contemporary. He further connected the shift from Śaiva caves 21 and 17 to Vaiṣṇava iconography of cave 14 with the decline of Kalacuri power and the rise of Cālukyas around 610 CE, and placed the date of Cave 6 *ca.* 610 CE. The relation between caves 21 and 6 suggests

that there was a smooth transition from Brahmanical to Buddhist activity, hardly evidence for a major disruption at the site even if politics and patronage had changed hands.":

This helps us to put the upper limit of the late sculptures at Kanheri. They can be placed maximum to the end of 6th or the beginning of 7th century CE.

Internal chronology discloses the development of iconography of Bodhisattva sculptures and the development of Buddhism at the site of Kanheri.

All the sculptures of this phase can be divided into two groups on the basis of their stylistic affiliations and location. Early sculptures evince the development from the Ajanta to the Jogeshvari style, while the later sculptures stylistically and thematically are the prototypes of those at Aurangabad (Mahāyāna Phase) and of the early sculptures at Ellora. This transition can be clearly seen in the sculptures of Cave no. 90 at the site. Main panel on the back wall i.e. of the two attendant Bodhisattvas[17] can be dated to the early period of the Traikūṭakas while the other two panels, viz. the litany of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and the so-called 'Pañca-jina maṇḍala' on the opposite wall, can be dated to the beginning of the later segment of this phase; and the panels in the veranda show a further development. This is an exceptional cave where panels in the hall of the cave are earlier than the panels in the veranda though both are intrusive.

Conclusion

● Bodhisattva sculptures are carved in Phase I as well as Phase II caves at Kanheri.

● They are stereotype panels (494-533 CE) except for panels like the Eleven Headed Avalokiteśvara (Cave 41), Litany of Avalokiteśvara (Cave 90), Avalokiteśvara and Tārā (Cave 87), (2nd half of 6th century CE).

● They evidence the development of the cult of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara at site.

● Literary tradition of *Ekādaśamukha Dhāriṇī Sūtra, Ekādaśamukham* and *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* was very prominent which has influenced the iconography and style of the Bodhisattva sculptures at Kanheri.

● They mark the development from the early sects like Bhadrāyaṇīya, Aparaśelia to Sarvāstivāda and then to the various cults in the Mahāyāna tradition.

Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as an attendant, Kanheri Cave 67.

A. Central shrine panel, Kanheri Cave 90.

B. Trinity panel, verandah, Kanheri Cave 67

A. Śrāvastī Miracle panels, Kanheri Cave 89.
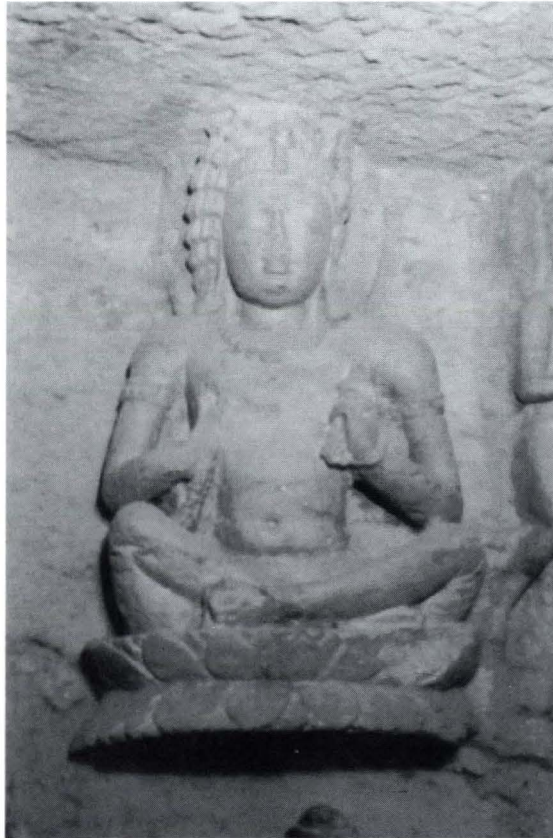
B. Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in Litany panel, Kanheri Cave 90.
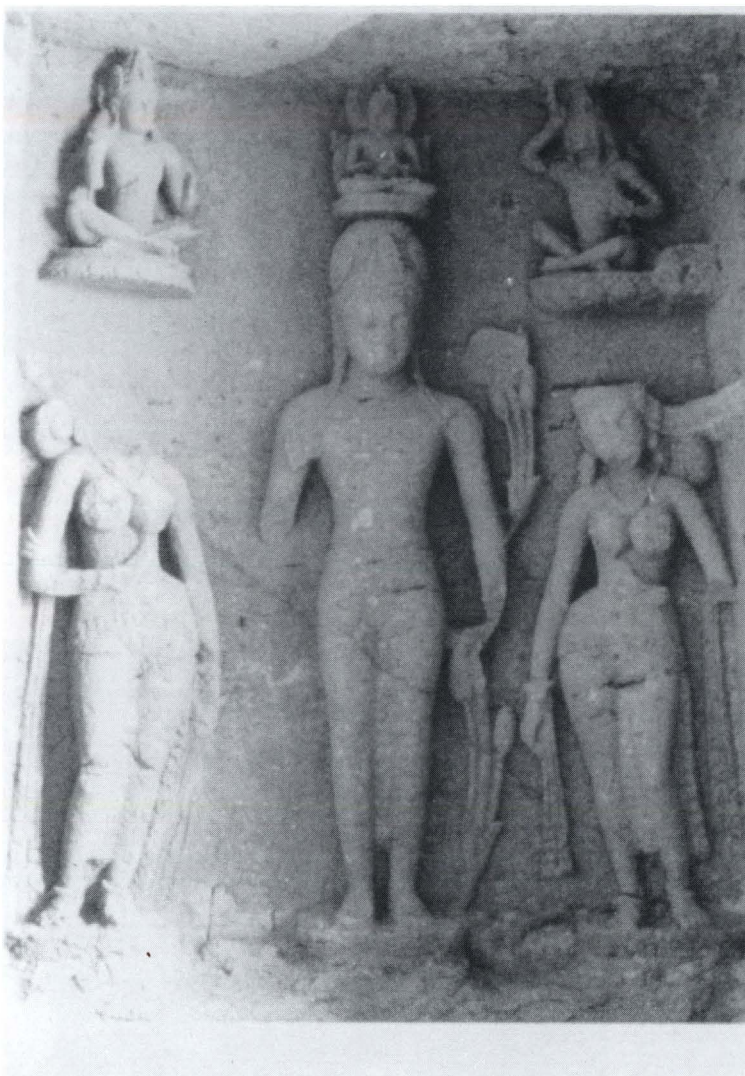
Avalokiteśvara attended by Tārās and Bodhisattva, Kanheri Cave 67.
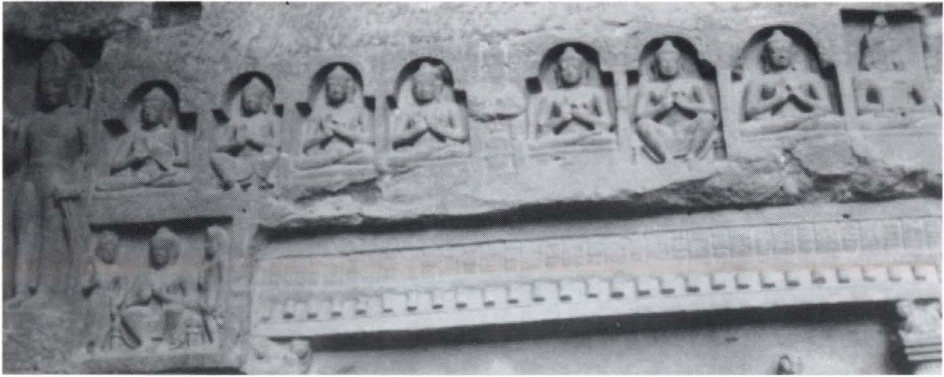
A. Panel of Seven Mortal Buddhas, with Avalokiteśvara
   and Maitreya, Kanheri Cave 3.

B. Avalokiteśvara, Verandah, Kanheri Cave 3.

Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, cell in the courtyard,
Kanheri Cave 41.

- They show the stylistic development from Ajanta to Jogeshvari and then to Ellora.

- These panels played an important role in the economy of the monastery.

Table I

Identification of Attendant Bodhisattva **in trinity[18] panels** at Kanheri

Features Type	Posture	Attributes in hands (Lāñchana)		Head Dress	Dhyāni Buddha in Head Dress
I (Vajrapāṇi)	Tribhaṅga	Cauri (Near shoulder)	Vajra (Near thigh)	Three picked peaked crown (with) wavy hairs	No Buddha Figure
II (Padmapāṇi)	Tribhaṅga	Cauri (Near shoulder)	Padma/ Japamālā Kamaṇḍalu	Jaṭāmukuṭa	Some times Amitābha or Akṣobhya
III (Maitreya?)[19]	Tribhaṅga	Cauri (Near shoulder)	Some times Japamālā / Kamaṇḍalu	Curly hair	Stūpa
IV (?)	Tribhaṅga	Cauri (Near shoulder	----	Three picked peaked crown (with) wavy hair	-----

Table II

Panels of Avalokiteśvara

	Name of the Panel	Caves no.	Features
1.	Litany of Avalokiteśvara[20]	2,41[21] and 90	Panels in 2 and 41 are with eight episodes in the story while panel in 90 is with 10 episodes.
2.	Avalokiteśvara and Tārās (Plate XVIII)	67,87[22] and 90	Litany panel in Cave 90 is a thematic combinaion of Litany panel and Avalokiteśvara with Tārās in Cave 67. There are two Bodhisattvas shown seated above, one of them is Vajrapāṇi. (Plate XVII B)

	67 and 89	These panels are too small to notice. Two additional Bodhisattvas are missing.
3. Avalokiteśvara and Tree Goddess	67	No textual or art historical parallel has been found till the day for this panel.
4. Mortal Buddha and Avalokiteśvara (Plate XIX A)	67	Only one such panel has been recorded from Kanheri. This panel reminds us of a similar panel from Aurangabad caves.
5. Eleven Headed Avalokiteśvara[23] (Plate XX)	41	Only known stone sculpture of this deity in India and this is the earliest known sculptural depiction of this deity in the world.[24]
6. Avalokiteśvara (Plate XIX B)	3	He holds Japamālā and Kamaṇḍalu in hands and not the lotus.
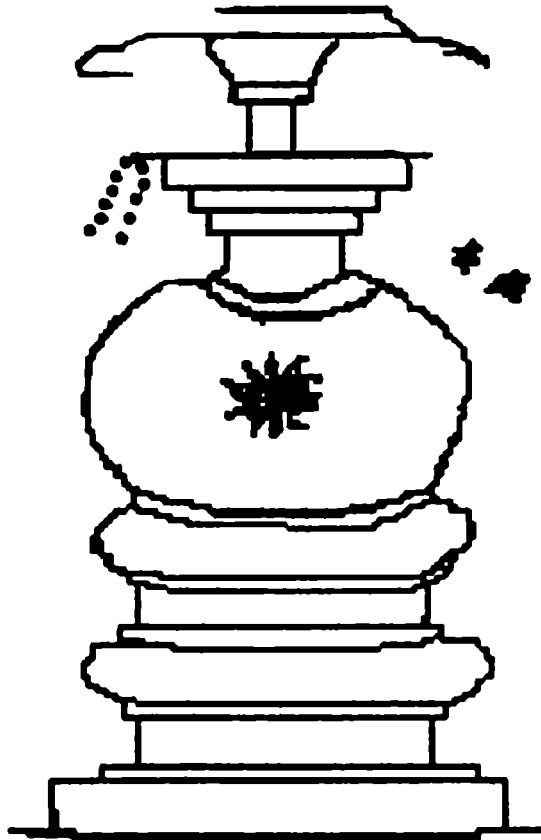
Stūpa, Ajanta Cave 10

Notes and References

1.   F. Maxmuller, 1985-reprint, Sacred Books of East. Vol.: - XLIX, Introduction.

2.   F. Maxmuller, 1985-reprint, Sacred Books of East. Vol.: - XLIX, Introduction.

3.   Though earliest description of this episode can be seen in the Khuddaknikāya, Paṭisambhiddāmaggapāli, 1.116. also in Aṭṭhakathā 2.1.116. as Yamaka pratihārya, description does not resemble the panel.

4.   Leese M., 1982, The Traikūṭaka Dynasty and Kanheri's Second Phase of Cave Excavation : (Unpublished Doctoral thesis). University of Michigan. Michigan.

5.   Dhaky M.A., 1988, *Encyclopedia of India Temple Architecture*, AIIS, Delhi. p. 79.

6.   Though the name of the king is not mentioned in the Kanheri Copperplate scholars have assumed this belongs to Vyāghrasena's reign.

7.   Mirashi V. V., 1963, Inscriptions of Vākāṭakas, CII Vol. V. pp. 110.

8.   Gokhale S., 1991, Kanheri Inscriptions, p. 9.

9.   *Ibid.*

10. See 5th century painting of a stūpa in Cave 10 at Ajanta. (See Drawing on p. 98).

11. .Dr. Cohen has showed in his doctoral thesis that these Śākya Bhikṣus were Mūlasarvāstivādins and brought some revolutionary changes in the contemporary Buddhist doctrine. Cohen, 1995, *Setting The Three Jewels*: The Complex Culture of Buddhism at The Ajanta Caves : (Unpublished Doctoral thesis). University of Michigan, Michigan. Pp. 202-245. Also *Divyāvadāna* refers Sopara as one of the major Buddhist centres and also the place where Bodhisattva Pūrṇa used to live as per 'Pūrṇāvadāna' belongs to Mūlasarvāstivāda. (see Winternitz M., 1993-reprint, p. 273)

12. *Dipavaṁsa* IV, 55-56. (Sinha P. (Ed.), 1996, pp. 66-67).

13. Main *caitya* at the site is given to the Bhadrāyaṇiya Bhikṣusaṅgha.

14. For a detailed discussion on the Bhadrāyaṇiyas at Kanheri, see; Pandit S., 2005, 'Late Hīnayāna Buddhism and the Transition to Mahāyāna: A Study of Early Buddhist Saṅgha and the Buddha Figures at Kanheri' Published in *The Eastern Buddhist* (New Series), *Journal of the Eastern Buddhist Society*, Otani University, Kita-ku, Kyoto 603-8143, Japan in the Volume XXXVII Nos. 1 & 2.

15. They must have recorded their names as donors in paint which is much cheaper than getting it engraved. Most of the Ajanta inscriptions of this period are also in paint. There are many caves at Kanheri which show evidence of the paintings.

16. Malandra G.H., 1997, *Unfolding a Maṇḍala, the Buddhist Cave Temples at Ellorā*, Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi; p 25.

17. There is no central Buddha figure in this cave. The elaborate throne is placed between the Bodhisattvas. Most probably some wooden, stone or metal figure of Buddha was placed there. Makara here follows the Ajanta pattern but still much developed.

18. Here the world Trinity is used for the panels depicting Buddha attended by Bodhisattvas.

19. This identification is suggested by Ichang Kim in his special chapter on Iconography. See, Ichang Kim, 1997, *The Future Buddha Maitreya*, D. K. Printworld, Delhi.

20. The description of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with all his grace and compassion in the savior aspect can be seen in the 24th chapter known as 'Sāmantamukhaparivarta-Adhyāya' of the text *Saddharmapuṇḍarika.*

21. The panel in Cave no. 41 is highly weathered. So we cannot make out the seated figure of the Buddha either in his headdress or above his head.

22. The panel in Cave 87 is highly weathered and gives no details of the figures.

23. The earliest complete iconographic description of the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, or Kuan-yin as he came to be known in China, occurs in the Sanskrit sūtra translated into Chinese by Yaśogupta in 561-577 CE i.e. Avalokiteśvara Ekādaśamukha Dhāriṇi Sūtra. Atigupta translated a second version of the same Sanskrit original in 653 CE i.e. Ekādaśamukhārdhamantra-Hṛdaya-Sūtra. The third was made only two years later by the great Chinese monk-traveller Huen-Tsiang.

24. For detailed discussion, see : Pandit S., December 1999, 'Kānherī Yethil Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara Mūrti' (Marathi), *Saṁśodhak* and Lee and Ho (1959) "Colossal Image of Eleven Headed Avalokiteśvara of tSang Dynasty". Vol. 41, pp. 37-41.

List of Illustrations

Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra - Mātṛgupta and Rāhula

A. S. Pathak

From a mere reference to Naṭasūtras of Kṛśāśva and Śilālin appearing in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* we come upon fully developed treatise on dramaturgy in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* which was probably composed in the first or second century CE. There must have been many works on the subject since then. In fact, we are aware that Udbhaṭa, the court poet of King Jayāpīda, had written one commentray on *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Also Lollaṭa, Kīrtidhara, Śrīharṣa had written commentaries on *Nāṭyaśāstra* besides the author of Ṭīkā. However, except for Abhinavagupta's commentary called *Abhinavabhāratī* no other work has come to light so far.

Between Bharata and Abhinavagupta there appeared two important authors who wrote with great authority on various issues relating to Indian dramaturgy. They are Mātṛgupta and Rāhula. We come to know about them from the citations from their works, references to their views scattered in later works. Of them, Mātṛgupta's date can be fixed on the basis of Kalhaṇa's authority as he mentions the fact that Mātṛgupta was a contemporary of Emperor Harṣa in his work *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Therefore, we can place him in the first half of seventh century. As for Rāhula, he can be tentatively placed one century or more after Mātṛgupta and well before the arrival of Abhinavagupta and Padmaśrī, the author of *Nāgarasarvasva* both of whom have quoted Rāhula on more than one occasion. In the enumeration of old masters by Śāraṅgadeva, the author of *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*, following lines appear -

आञ्जनेयो मातृगुप्तो रावणो नन्दिकेश्वरः ।
स्वातिगुणो विन्दुराजो क्षेत्रराजश्च राहलः ॥

If Rāhala here is taken for Rāhula it establishes the antiquity of Mātṛgupta over Rāhula.

Mātṛgupta

Citations from Mātṛgupta appear in *Abhinavabhāratī*, Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on *Śākuntalam* and many other works. It is evident that Mātṛgupta had written an independent treatise on Indian dramaturgy. Prof. V. Raghavan had observed in the introduction of *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* of Sāgaranandin - "... he wrote an independent treatise on *Nāṭyaśāstra* in Anuṣṭubha verse." The

citations from Mātṛgupta cover the following topics --

1. Definition and characteristics of the characters appearing in Sanskrit plays.
2. Languages and dialects used by the characters in plays.
3. Components of a play and construction and development of the plot and the theatrical techniques.
4. Conceptual clarity of Rasa and Bīja.
5. Miscellaneous.

It will be noted that there is no citation which is explicitly in relation to Bharata's work by way of its exposition or contradiction. We give below the citations classified under the above five heads.

1) सूत्रधार:

चतुरातोद्यनिष्णातोऽनेकभूषासमावृत: ।
नानाभाषणतत्त्वज्ञो नीतिशास्त्रतत्त्ववित् ॥
वेषोपचारचतुरो पौरेषणविचक्षण: ।
नानागतिप्रचारज्ञो रसभावविशारद: ॥
नाट्यप्रयोगनिपुणो नानाशिल्पकलान्वित: ।
छन्दोविधानतत्त्वज्ञो सर्वशास्त्रविचक्षण: ॥
तत्तद्गीतानुगलयकलातालावधारण: ।
अवधाय प्रयोक्ता च योक्तॄणामुपदेशक: ॥
एवं गुणगणोपेत: सूत्रधारोऽभिधीयते ।

P. 5. राघवभट्टटीका । शाकुन्तलम्

सेनापति: –

शीलवान्सत्त्वसम्पन्नस्त्यक्तालस्य: प्रियंवद: ।
पररन्ध्रान्तराभिज्ञो यात्राकालविशेषवित् ॥
अस्त्रशस्त्रादितत्त्वज्ञो लोकेचाक्रमतां गत: ॥
दैववित् कालविच्चैव भवेत्सेनापतिगुणै: ॥

P. 63 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्

कञ्चुकी –

ये नित्यं सत्यसम्पन्ना: कामदोषविवर्जिता: ।
ज्ञानविज्ञानकुशला: कञ्चुकीयास्तु ते स्मृता: ॥

P. 159 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्

प्रतिहारी –

सन्धिविग्रहसम्बद्धं नानाकार्यसमुत्थितम् ।
निवेदयन्ति याः कार्यं प्रतिहार्यस्तु ताः स्मृताः ॥

<div align="right">P. 162 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्</div>

परिचारिका –

संवाहने च गन्धे च तथा चैव प्रसाधने ।
तथाभरणसंयोगमाल्यसंग्रथनेषु च ॥
विज्ञेया नामतः सा तु नृपतेः परिचारिका ।

<div align="right">P. 206 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्</div>

2) शौरसेनी –

प्राक्प्रतीचीभुवोः सिन्धोर्हियवद्विन्ध्यशैलयोः ।
अन्तरावस्थितं देशं आर्यावर्तं विदुर्बुधाः ॥
आर्यावर्तप्रसूतासु सर्वास्वेव जातिषु ।
शौरसेनीं समाश्रित्य भाषां काव्ये प्रयोजयेत् ॥

संस्कृतम् –

संभतानां देवतानां राजन्यामात्यसैनिके ।
वाणिङ्मागधसूतानां पाठ्यं योज्यं तु संस्कृतम् ॥

<div align="right">P. 15 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्</div>

प्राकृत (एवं संस्कृत) –

योज्यं विदूषकोन्मत्तबालतापसयोषिताम् ।
नीचानां पण्डकानां च नीचग्रहविकारिणाम् ॥
विद्वद्भिः प्राकृतं कार्यं कारणात्संस्कृतं क्वचित् ।

<div align="right">P. 130 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्</div>

3) रूपक (नाटक) –

प्रख्यातवस्तुविषयं धीरोदात्तादिनायकम् ।
राजर्षिवंशचरितं तथा दिव्याश्रयान्वितम् ॥
युक्तं वृद्धिविलासाद्यैर्गुणैर्नानाविभूतिभिः ।
श्रृंगारवीरान्यतरप्रधानरससंश्रयम् ॥
प्रकृत्यवस्थासन्ध्यङ्कसन्ध्यन्तरविभूषणैः ।

पताकास्थानकैवृत्तं पतंगैश्च प्रवृत्तिभि: ॥
नाट्यालंकरणैर्नानाभाषायुक्पात्रसंचयै: ।
अंकप्रवेशकैराद्यं रसभावसमुज्ज्वलम् ॥
सुखदु:खोत्पत्तिकृतं चरितं यच्च भूभृताम् ।
इतिवृत्तं कथोद्भूतं किञ्चिदुत्पाद्यवस्तु च ॥
नाटकं नाम तज्ज्ञेय रूपकं नाट्यवेदिभि: ।

<div align="right">P. 9 राघवभट्ट । शाकुन्तलम्</div>

आमुख –

स्वैरागैश्चापि वीथ्यगै: प्रकुर्यादामुखं बुधै: ।

<div align="right">P. 13 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्</div>

बीज –

क्वचित्कारणमात्रं तु क्वचिच्चफलदर्शनम् ।
क्वचिदारम्भमात्रं तु फलमुक्त्वा क्रिया क्वचित् ।
व्यापारश्च विशेषोक्त: क्वचिद्धा फलसाधक: ।
बहुधा रूपकेष्वेवं बीजरूपेण दृश्यते ।
फले यस्य हि संहार: फलबीजं तु तद्भवेत् ।
वस्तुबीजं कथा ज्ञेया अर्थबीजं तु नायक: ॥

<div align="right">P. 15 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्</div>

पताकास्थानक –

मुखे प्रतिमुखे गर्भे विमर्शे च चतुर्ष्वपि ।
भेदा: सन्धिषु कर्तव्या: पताकास्थानकस्य तु ।

<div align="right">P. 114 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्</div>

कार्य व फलयोग –

यदाधिकारिकं वस्तु सम्यक्प्राज्ञै: प्रयुज्यते ।
तदर्थो य: समारम्भस्तत्कार्यं कथ्यते इति ।
अभिप्रेतं समर्थं च प्रतिरूपं क्रियाफलम् ।
इतिवृत्तं भवेदस्मिन्फलयोग: स उच्यते ।

<div align="right">P. 238 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्</div>

अन्तरसन्धि –

स्वप्नो दूतश्च लेखश्च नेपथ्योक्तिस्तथैव हि

आकाशवचनं चेति ज्ञेया ह्यन्तरसन्धयः ।

<div align="right">P. 20 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्</div>

नाटक –

पूर्ववृत्ताश्रयमपि किञ्चिदुत्पाद्यवस्तु च ।
विधेयं नाटकमिति मातृगुप्तेन भाषितम् ॥

<div align="right">P. 234 शारदातनय / भावप्रकाशनम्</div>

प्रवेशक –

विटटापसविप्राद्यैर्मुनिकञ्शुकीभिस्तथा ।
प्रवेशकमिच्छन्ति सन्तः संस्कृतभाषिभिरिती ॥

<div align="right">314 नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोश & 2 / नाट्यलोचनम्</div>

सिद्धिः साध्यसिद्धता –

इदं मातृगुप्तेन संक्षेपात्सन्ध्यङ्गनिरपेक्षेमेवेदं लक्षणमुक्तम्

<div align="right">534 नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोश</div>

4) रस –

रसास्तु त्रिविधा वाचिकनेपथ्यस्वभावजाः ।
रसानुरूपैरालापैः श्लोकैः वाक्यैः पदैस्तथा ॥
नानालंकारसंयुक्तैर्वाचिको रस उच्यते ।
कर्मरूपवयोजातिर्देशकालानुवर्त्तिभिः ॥
माल्यभूषणवस्त्राद्यैर्नेपथ्यरस उच्यते ।
रूपयौवनलावण्यस्थैर्यधैर्यादिभिर्गुणैः ॥
रसः स्वाभाविको ज्ञेयः स च नाट्ये प्रशस्यते ।

<div align="right">P. 7 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्</div>

बीज –

फले यस्य हि संहारः फलबीजं तु तद्भवेत् ।
वस्तुबीजं कथा ज्ञेया अर्थबीजं तु नायकः ॥

<div align="right">p. 279 साहित्यदर्पण – टीका</div>

5) तथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन –

पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शनान्वितः ।

<div align="right">P. 32 / VOL IV अभिनवभारती</div>

उपमाद्यैरलंकारैर्गुणै: श्लेषादिभिस्तथा: ।
रत्नाद्यैबहुभिर्युक्तं भूषणैरिव भूषणम् ।

P. 20 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्

विकासितकपोलान्तमुत्फुल्लामललोचनम् ।
किंचिल्लक्षितदन्ताग्रं हसितं तद्विदो विदु: ॥

p. 75 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्

अर्थोपक्षेपणं यत्र न गूढं सविनयं भवेत् ।
श्लिष्टप्रत्युत्तरोपेतं तृतीयं तन्मतं तथा ॥

P. 127 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्

उत्तमस्य समुद्दिष्टं स्मितं हसितमेव च ।

P. 75 राघवभट्ट / शाकुन्तलम्

प्रासादोद्यानशैलादिगमनैर्दिव्यदर्शनै: ।
सभाविमानमायेन्द्रजालशिल्पादिदर्शनै: ।
हृदयेप्सितलाभैश्च विभावैस्तस्य सम्भव: ।
तं च लोचनविस्तारप्रसादोपगमादिभि: ।
रोमांचस्वेदहर्षाश्रुसाधुवादैश्च दर्शयेत् ।

P. 146 । / नामलिंगानुशासनम् टीकासर्वस्व

The treatise of Mātṛgupta must have been very important for its exclusive and precise treatment of the core subjects of construction of a play, its ingredients, qualifications of various characters, language and dialects to be used by them in the play, cohesive development of the plot, its embellishments, treatment of the sub-plots, techniques for connectivity and development of the plot, etc. Sāgaranandin acknowledges him and presents his views at many places in his *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*.

Besides these references, his reputation as a poet also needs to be taken into account. Kṣemendra had quoted the following verse composed by him in his *Aucityavicāracarcā*.

नायं निशामुखसरोरुहराजहंस:
कीरीकपोलतलकान्ततनु: शशाङ्क: ।
आभाति नाथ तदिदं दिवि दुग्धसिन्धु
डिण्डीरपिण्डपरिपाण्डु यशस्त्वदीयम् ॥

There is another verse that is attributed to him which appears in

Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva which is as follows:

नाकारमुद्वहसि नैव विकत्थसे त्वम् ।
दित्सां न सूचयसि मुञ्चसि सत्फलानि ॥
निःशब्दवर्षणमिवाम्बुधरस्य राजन् ।
संलक्ष्यन्ते फलत एव तव प्रसादः ॥

This upholds the personal account of Mātṛgupta that appears in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. It states that Emperor Harṣa sent Mātṛgupta to succeed Hiraṇya on the throne of Kashmir. Later on Mātṛgupta gave the throne to Pravarasena, the nephew of Hiraṇya and went to lead an ascetic's life in Varanasi. (*Rājataraṅgiṇī* III. 125-252).

Discovery of Mātṛgupta's work will be a very important addition to the ancient Indian dramaturgic literature.

Hemacandra followed Abhinavagupta, vide:

शाक्याचार्यराहुलादयस्तु मौग्ध्यमदभाविकत्वपरितपनादीन –
प्यलंकारानाचक्षते । तेऽस्माभिः भरतमतानुसारिभिरुपेक्षिता ।

<div align="right">P. 378 Kāvyānuśāsanam.</div>

Later writers on Alaṅkāraśāstra did not reject Rāhula's views. Padmaśrī wrote as under in his *Nāgarasarvasva* -

हेलाविच्छित्तिबिब्बोककिलकिंचितविभ्रमाः ।
लीला विलासो हावश्च विक्षेपो विकृतं मदः ॥
मोट्टायितं कुट्टमितं मौग्ध्यं च तपनं तथा ।
ललितं चेत्यमी हावश्चेष्टा श्रृंगारभावजाः ॥

<div align="right">3.4 / 13 th ch.</div>

They accomodated Rāhula's additions without disturbing Bharata's scheme. Thus Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* counts 28 Alaṁkāras - 20 of Bharata plus 4 added by Rāhula and 4 more introduced by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇam*.

यौवने सत्त्वजातास्तासामष्टाविंशति संख्यकाः ।
अलंकारास्तत्र भावहावहेलाख्रयोऽङ्गजाः ॥
शोभाकान्तिश्च दीप्तिश्च माधुर्यं च प्रगल्भता ।
औदार्यं धैर्यमित्येते सप्तैव स्युरयत्नजाः ॥
लीलाविलासो विच्छित्तिर्बिब्बोकःकिलकिंचितम् ।

विहृतं तपनं मौग्ध्यं विक्षेपश्च कुतूहलम् ।
हसितं चकितं केलिरित्यष्टादशसंख्यका: ॥

89-92/3 *Sāhityadarpaṇa*

The 'Ga' manuscript of *Sāhityadarpaṇa* carries definition of Mada and Maugdhya as follows:

मधुपानमदप्रायस्तारुण्यातिशयोद्भव: ।
विकारो यौवने स्त्रीणां तं वदन्ति मदं बुधा: ॥
बाल्ये गते वचोभंगी रामाणां कान्तसन्निधौ ।
हारमौक्तिकमालेव तन्मौग्ध्यं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

P. 123 *Sāhityadarpaṇa*

Above definition of Mada also appears in *Nāgarasarvasva* of Padmaśrī who was a Buddhist scholar like Rāhula and who generally follows him in the matter of Alaṁkāras. Therefore, it is possible that these definitions might have come from Rāhula. There is an interesting rejoinder in *Sāhityadarpaṇa* under the illustration of Maugdhya which is as under -

आचार्यास्तु स्त्रीणां स्वभावमेव मौग्ध्यं मन्यते ।

10

Rāhula

1. There are many citations from and references to Rāhula in the later day works on poetics and dramaturgy. One controversy over interpretation of Alaṁkāras draws our attention as it lingered on for quite a long time, up to the time of Viśvanātha who wrote *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. Rāhula had amended a few old alaṁkāras and had invented a few new ones. The range of expressions and psycho-physical changes that appear in a Nāyikā in her behaviour with Nāyaka have been defined and listed under alaṁkāras by Bharata as follows

यौवने सत्त्वजा: स्त्रीणामलंकारास्तु विंशति: ।
भावहावहेलास्त्रयोऽङ्गजा: । शोभाकान्तिदीप्तिर्माधुर्यं
प्रगल्भ्यमौदार्यं धैर्यमित्ययत्नजा: सप्त ।
लीलाविलासो विच्छित्तिर्विभ्रम: किलकिञ्चितम् ।
मोट्टायितं कुट्टमितं बिब्बोको ललितं विहृतम् ॥

Bharata had classified such behaviour under Aṅgaja, Ayatnaja and Svābhāvika as listed below :

Aṅgaja   : Bhāva, Hāva, Helā

Ayatnaja   : Śobhā, Kānti, Dīpti, Mādhurya, Prāgalbhya, Audārya, Dhairya.

Svābhāvika : Līlā, Vilāsa, Vicchitti, Vibhrama, Kilakiñcita, Moṭṭāyita, Kuṭṭamita,
                  Bibboka, Lalita and Vihṛta.

This arrangement of 20 Alaṁkāras was generally accepted by later writers. It was when Rāhula came out with different interpretations in some cases and innovated a few new ones that the traditionalists led by Abhinavagupta rejected his views. Rāhula had in fact clubbed Helā and Hāva with Līlā and introduced Maugdhya, Mada, Bhāvikatva and Paritapana as Alaṁkāras. Abhinavagupta came out with following observations rejecting his views.

शाक्याचार्यराहुलादिभिर्यन्मतं विशेषसौक्ष्म्यादनुपलक्ष्य हेलाहावादीन लीलादिमध्य एव पठन्द्रिश्चेष्टैवालंकारभूतेति एतावन्मात्रे विश्रम्य सामान्येन चेष्टालंकार इति तदयुक्तम् ।

<div align="right">P. 158. N.S. / G.O.S. VOL III</div>

परितपनादीनामपि गत्याचार्य (शाक्याचार्य) राहुलादिभिरभिधानं विरुद्धम् इत्यलम् बहुना।

<div align="right">P. 38 N.S. / Madras Edn. VOL III</div>

If Ācārya above refers to Bharata it is obvious that the controversy created by Rāhula by introducing Maugdhya etc. had not died down uptill the time of Viśvanātha.

2. Besides introducing new Alaṁkāras Rāhula defined Helā as under-

विदग्धशृंगाररसोपपन्नां वधूजनस्याभिनिवेशनिष्ठाम् ।
वदन्ति हेलामिह चारुचेष्टां जने तु हेलाक इति प्रसिद्धिः ॥

Ṭīkāsarvasva commentary on Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana of Amarasiṁha ascribed this to Rāhula.

3. The following definition of Khaṇḍitā Nāyikā has come from Rāhula as per Trilocanāditya, the author of Nāṭyālocana. राहुलस्तु तल्लक्षणं सविशेषं प्रपंचयति निद्राकषायकलुषीकृतताम्रनेत्रः नारीनखव्रणविचित्रितांगः । यस्याः कुतोऽपि गृहमेति पतिः प्रभाते सा खण्डितेति गदिता कविभिः पुराणैः ॥

Probably Rāhula had quoted this from earlier sources.

4. Rāhula has been quoted in reference to Pracchedaka by

Sāgaranandin in his *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa.* राहुलस्तु आह – यत्र दैवात् प्रियपुरुषेण प्रार्थ्यमानामन्यां नायिकामवलोक्य प्रेमपरिच्छेदसमर्पितो मानिन्या मन्युर्मनस्तापयति स प्रच्छेदकः ।

5. Abhinavagupta quotes Rāhula at one place as under.

यदाह राहुलः – परोक्षेऽपिहिवक्तव्यो नार्या प्रत्यक्षवत् प्रियः ।
सखी च नाट्यधर्मोऽयं भरतेनोदितं द्वयम् ।।

6. Aufrecht has given the following verse under Rāhulaka from *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (135,14) उन्निद्रकन्दलदलान्तरलीयमानगुंजनमदान्धमधुपञ्चितमेघकाले स्वप्नेऽपि यः प्रवसति प्रविहाय कान्तां तस्यै विषाणरहिताय नमो वृषाय ।।

P. 104 *Subhāṣitāvali*

7. *Nāṭyālocana* of Trilocanāditya carries Rāhula's views on merits and demerits of music in the chapter on pātrapraveśa.

अत्रैवावसरे राहुलोद्दिष्टान् गीतगुणदोषान् ब्रूमः
'रागोऽथ माधुर्यं अतश्च साम्यं तारेषु मन्द्रेषु च ।
विस्फुटत्वं दीर्घग्रहाणामधिरोहिता च सप्तैव गीतस्य गुणाः प्रदिष्टाः ।।
एते च गुणाः प्रधानाः ! अन्यानाह ।
"स्निग्धो घनस्रावकसंज्ञकोऽन्यो माधुर्ययुक्तः
स्वरागवांश्च... त्रिरक्तान् शोभेति गुणाः प्रदिष्टाः ।

गीतदोषानाह –

सन्दष्टकस्तुंविकिकाकिसंज्ञौ तथा एवास्थानयुत
चतुर्थः कपिलेन सार्धं दन्तसन्दशनात्संदष्टकः ।
काकल्यास्वरोच्चारणात्तुंविकिः । अनुस्वारेणोच्चारणस्थानसंयोगः काकिः । अस्थानमृच्छरं।

8. All these quotations and references add up to the fact that Rāhula had authored an important work on Nāṭyaśāstra. It is possible that he had written a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra.* Rāhula's views at places seem to be reactive to the then prevalent views of Bharata.

From Abhinavagupta to Trilocanāditya in the 14th century besides Padmaśrī, Hemacandra, Sāgaranandin coming in between, all took due cognisance of the views of Rāhula which underscores his eminence in the field of Nāṭyaśāstra.

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Kīrttirāja and Kakanamaṭha Temple of Suhāniyā

Arvind K. Singh

Kīrttirāja was the fourth ruler of Kacchapaghāta dynasty of Gwalior, as recorded in the Sās-bahū temple inscription of Mahipāla dated VS 1150 (CE 1093). The dynasty came to prominence in the tenth century, after they were able to capture the fortress of Gwalior after the Gurjara Pratihāras. The Sās-bahū temple inscription describes that Vajradāmana 'put down the rising power of the ruler of Gādhinagara (Kanauj) and his proclamation drum... resounded on the fort of Gopādri'[1]. The Kacchapaghātas of Suhāniyā (ancient Siṁhapāniya) subsequently ruled from the centre of Gwalior (ancient Gopādri, Gopagiri). Other branches of the family had their seats at Dūbkuṇḍ (ancient Caḍobh or Ḍobha) and Narwar (ancient Nalapura). Each branch secured distinctive geographical area. Of them, the most powerful branch was Gwalior, who seemed to have ruled the large tract bounded on the north and west by the river Cambal and undoubtedly the most important in terms of architectural activity.

The main source for the history of the Kacchapaghāta lineage of Suhāniyā and Gwalior is the stone slab inscription of Mahipāla inside the Sās temple situated on the Gwalior fort. The first historical person mentioned in the Sās-bahū inscription was Lakṣmaṇa, who is described in it as 'an ornament of the Kacchapaghāta race, who had, by force, extirpated mighty princes'[2]. He was followed by Vajradāmana designated *mahārājādhirāja* in a Jaina image inscription discovered at Suhāniyā, dated VS 1034 (CE 977)[3], who is known in the Sās-bahū inscription to have wrested by force the fort of Gopādri from the hands of some valiant ruler, possibly the Pratihāra monarch Vijayapāla, of Gādhinagara (Kanauj). Vajradāmana celebrated the victory by performing a *suvarṇa-tulādāna* and shifted the capital to Gwalior. He was succeeded by Maṅgalarāja, who is conventionally described as scattering his enemies as the Sun does the darkness. Maṅgalarāja was followed by Kīrttirāja who defeated a mighty Mālava (Paramāra) army. His description in the inscription that 'in his march, the sheet of dust rising from the armies took away the colour of the sun and at the same time that of his enemies'[4] does not appear to have been a boast for he is also said to have 'repulsed the army of the Mālava king, whose countless hosts met with defeat and received such a terrible shock that the multitudes of spears fallen from their hands in every direction through fear were later collected by the villagers and were used for fencing their houses'[5].

The temple of Śiva, locally known by the name of Kakanamaṭha, is

most important of the monuments at Suhāniyā (26°35' N, 78°50' E) in District
Morena of Madhya Pradesh. It is popularly believed to have been built by the
orders of a queen named Kakanāvatī or Kandanāvatī from whom the temple
derives its name[6]. But a verse in the Sanskrit inscription of the Sās-bahū
temple on Gwalior fort confirms the authorship of this building, and records
that in the town of Siṁhapānīya Kīrttirāja constructed a wonderful temple of the
Lord of Pārvatī (i.e. Śiva), which shines like a column of glory:

Adbhutaḥ Siṁhapānīyanagare yena kāritaḥ /
kīrttistaṁbha ivābhāti prāsādaḥ Pārvatīpateḥ // [7]

Kakanamaṭha temple which is situated at a distance of about 2 km to-
wards north of the village Suhāniyā, recorded to have been built by
Kacchapaghāta ruler Kīrttirāja, is a magnificent edifice even in its ruins and is
astonishing in its sculptural wealth (Pl. XXI A). The temple facing east, built en-
tirely of stone on a spacious platform, stands on a soaring ornate *pīṭha* and is
encircled by at least four subsidiary shrines[8]. The temple proper consists of a
sanctum enclosed by an ambulatory with three balconied transepts. In front of
this are an *antarāla* (vestibule), a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* (closed hall) with lateral tran-
septs, and a *mukhamaṇḍapa* (porch) approached from the east by stairs. The
steps were flanked by gigantic lions, like the temple at Paḍhāvalī, that have
been removed to the Gujari Mahal Archaeological Museum, Gwalior and now
stand on the either side of the entrance of .the museum building. The *pīṭha* of
the Kakanamaṭha temple is stylishly moulded, relieved by rows of rosettes, lo-
tus blossoms in relief, a recessed band of triangular floral motifs interrupted by
niched figures of deities, sliced open on the north side by a *praṇāli* (spouted
channel) used to drain libations from the *liṅga* in the cella. The sanctum of the
temple is of *pañcaratha* type. It has the usual *vedībandha* mouldings
topped by a *jaṅghā* screening a row of large niched sculptures canopied by
toraṇas and surmounted by a row of various friezes on the projections and
with Vyālas and Surasundarīs in the recesses. In the shrine is a Śiva *liṅga* still
in worship. The sanctum doorway comprises of seven ornate *śākhās* (jambs)
which include a large row of deities between two *mithuna-śākhās* (bands of
couples). The *udumbara* (sill) bears elephants and recumbent lions, which is
an exceptional example of sculpture and its linear style of the period to which
it belongs. The *bhadras* display larger projecting niches, which are now empty,
and flanked by Surasundarīs. The projections of the *karṇas* and the
pratirathas have Dikpālas and Surasundarīs. It is interesting to note that Aṣṭa
Dikpālas, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera and Īśāna are shown
on all the appropriate *karṇas* of *jaṅghā*. On the transepts of the sanctum and
the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* the *kakṣāsana* balustrade is noteworthy. Though outer
walls, balconies and facing stone of the spire have all fallen away, the spire

itself remains standing in its full height (around 37 m.). Only the rough masonry core and part of the *āmlasāraka* (serrated crown) have survived. The *maṇḍapa* soared to a height of three storeys and was crowned by a *ghaṇṭā* (bell-finial). The central ceiling is missing, while existing peripheral ceiling shows usual designs of cusped coffers. The *maṇḍapa* is supported by forty-two pillars. The *antarāla* has a single slanting row of four pillars while the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* has four groups, each of four pillars, arranged in four rows in alignment with those of the *antarāla*. All the pillars are of the *bhadraka* style. They are very massive and tall and ornamented only on the upper part with bands of scrolls, *kīrttimukha* and *ghaṭapallava,* and crowned by brackets of plain curved profile.

The *adhiṣṭhāna* and *jaṅghā* portion of the Kakanamaṭha temple bear the sculptures of deities, Dikpāla, Vyāla, Surasundarī, and a Gaṇa in the *pārśva maṇḍapikā*[9]. The marvellous beauty may be seen in the well carved characteristic features on the long and slim figures of the sculptures. The noteworthy sculptures of Suhāniyā are Yakṣa, Vāyu, Śiva seated on Nandi, Viṣṇu, Yama, Varāha, Agni, Indra, Brahmāṇī, Sūrya, Brahmā with Sāvitrī, four armed Pārvatī, Kamalāsanā, etc. Many single images of Suhāniyā have been taken to the Gujari Mahal Archaeological Museum of Gwalior, and Archaeological Survey Museum on Gwalior fort.

M. B. Garde had described an image of Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa from here. Another image of Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa is preserved in the Gujari Mahal Archaeological Museum of Gwalior. The most important and rare image is of Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa. This broken image has five heads of Viṣṇu - Saumya, Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha and Nṛsimha, and the remaining three hands out of six bear Paraśu, Hala, and bow-arrow[10]. Garde has referred to an image of Viṣṇu in the Viśvarūpa form possessing ten hands and five heads. In the background of this image are seen figures of Navagraha, Aśvamukhī Aṣṭa Vasu and other deities. Besides, Gaṇeśa, Cakra Puruṣa, Gadādevī and Anucara are seen carved on the image. According to Garde this image belonged to the early tenth century CE.[11]

That the temple continues to exist even in the present position is only because of the preservation and conservation work that was undertaken from time to time. Recently Archaeological Survey of India repaired the *jagatī* and has done some conservation work. Before that, during 1925-27 the temple was taken for repair by M. B. Garde, Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State. The jungle, which grew on the temple and on the large mound on which the temple stands, was cleared and rooted out, and the main temple was freed from its own heavy debris by which it was shrouded. The steps of

the staircase were reset, cracked or damaged lintels, architraves and pilasters were strengthened, and some hazardously hanging stones were either taken down or positioned into a safe arrangement, while a few decorative sculptures which had moved out of their position were reset [12]. Prior to this, such type of work was done in VS 1950 (CE 1893), which is also recorded in the inscriptions on a pillar of the temple. Two inscriptions of VS 1950, engraved on a pillar in the Kakanamaṭha temple (Pl. XXII), in Nāgarī characters and Sanskrit language, record the restoration of the Mahādeva temple by Durgāprasāda.

A. TEXT

1. Śrī Mahādeva Jī ko
2. jīrṇa-uddhāra karo
3. Śrī Vyāsa Śrī Durgā Prasa (sā) -
4. da Jī nemitọ Śrī
5. śrāvaṇā vadī 10
6. saṁvat 1950

B. TEXT .

1. Śrī Durgāprasāda Vyāsena
2. jīrṇoddhāra Śivasya
3. cakvepto Umeṣvaṁ ka
4. caṁdraśva jāyano vi-
5. kramasya vai śrāvaṇa-
6. syāsite pakṣeda-
7. śamyāṁ caṁdravāsa-
8. re Śrī Śaṁkara prasā-
9. dārthaṁ sarvahāṇai saṁ-
10. va[t] 1950

Besides the renovation records, there are some pilgrim records on the pillars which suggest that people visited the place to pay their homage to the god. On a pillar in the Kakanamaṭha, 2 lines' inscription in Nāgarī characters and Sanskrit language is engraved (of the period of about the 11 century).[14] It mentions '1. Śrī Paliyaṭa 2. purohitaḥ.' Another pilgrim record of VS 1497 (CE 1140) is engraved on a pillar in the Kakanamaṭha temple, in 9 lines in Nāgarī characters and local dialects. This pilgrim record mentions Sadyāṭa mukalu, son of Sādhunī. It belongs to the time of a Tomar ruler of Gwalior, Duṁgara and refers the name of Dekhaṇa, son of Kaṁkala, who was a resident of Nalapura fort[15].

TEXT

1. Amvikāpresaṇu āai-
2. vi sidhi Śri samvat 1497
3. vaisaṣu 9 ravau Śri Ḍeṁ(Ḍuṁ)gara
4. nṛpaḥ Sādhuni putra Sa
5. dyāṭa mukalu Nala-
6. puragaḍha vāstavyā
7. Kaṁkala purū(tra) Deṣaṇa a-
8. ai //
9. thāṛū / kopālāganu

On a pillar in the Kakanamaṭha, an inscription of 6 lines is engraved in Nāgari script and local dialect; mentions Kandupālikṣa and Śrivi of Nalapura, in late character[16].

TEXT

1. Aikuhakāruduvārakadvi-
2. chā Kānaudāmāta // Aihuka
3. vatiha nisigaha // sura-
4. ta samaija Kandupālikṣa
5. tanūrāvu Śrivi Nala-
6. purasthiti

One of the pillars of the Kakanamaṭha temple bears an inscription of VS 1878 (CE 1821) which is written in 2 lines, in Nāgari script and reads 1. Motorama samvat 187? 2. 1878[17].

It is difficult to determine with certitude when Kirttirāja ascended the throne. On the basis of Sās-bahū temple inscription scholars have suggested numerous dates for Kirttirāja and Kakanamaṭha temple. H.C. Ray took this event as happening during CE 1015-1035[18]. This view is accepted by many other scholars. H.V. Trivedi[19] assigns his reign to CE 1005-1030. Garde conjectured 1000 CE to be the appropriate date for his accession.[20] Cunningham believed his time in power about 990-1010 CE[21]. In the opinion of Patil the temple was freshly built in the 11th century CE[22] and R. N. Misra[23] follows the same view. But these dates go against the date 'Oṁ samvat / 1044 śudi 3' that is carved on the Kakanamaṭha temple and noticed by us for the first time (Pl. XXI B). This inscription specifies that the author of the temple, Kirttirāja was apparently on the throne in VS 1044 (CE 987) and possibly his accession was prior to this date because the inscription under discussion is engraved on the western jaṅghā of the sanctum. This suggests that the construction work of the temple was started some time earlier and

reached at least up to the *jaṅghā* level, if not completed till CE 987. In addition, on one of the stone lions (now standing on the other side of the entrance of Gujari Mahal Museum building) there is an inscription, the Nāgarī characters of which are considered by scholars to be about the 10th century.[24] It is not much clear, however, tentatively in the first line it records 'Sāduhalarugaheda ca raha'' and in the second line 'airābheṇapaladevata varaṇa'. The 10th century date of the stone lion also supports the view that the construction of temple was started prior to the 11th century CE.

If the date, CE 987 is accepted for the rule of Kīrttirāja the early history of Kacchapaghāta requires a few revisions. The Sās-bahū temple inscription informs us that 'Vajradāmana, son of Lakṣmaṇa, by his irresistible strong arms captured the fort of Gwalior from the ruler of Gādhinagara (Kanauj)'. His inscription of VS 1034 (CE 977) from Suhāniyā suggests that the ruler was living at that date with full power with the title of *mahārājādhirāja*. From the Rakhetrā rock inscription of Vijayapāladeva, dated VS 999-1000 (CE 942-43), it is confirmed that the region was held by the Pratīhāra ruler till at least 942-43 CE.[25] Further it is evident that the Pratīhāras must have lost it sometime between 942-43 and 977 CE, which is the year of Vajradāmana inscription from Suhāniyā. In the Khajurāho stone inscription of Yaśovarman,[26] it is documented that the fort of Gwalior was held by Dhaṅga as early as VS 1011 (CE 953-54). On the assumption that Vajradāmana had captured Gwalior on or before 977 CE, it is observed by most of the scholars that the possible conclusion is that the conquest of Gwalior by the Kacchapaghātas and the Candellas refers to one and the same incident when they sided with each other in defeating the Pratīhāra ruler who has been identified as Vijayapāla. We have no record of Vajradāmana after CE 977, so it may be presumed that the reign of the ruler closed after sometime, when he was succeeded by his son, Maṅgalarāja, who is only conventionally described as scattering his enemies as the Sun does the darkness. It is possible that he ruled for a smaller period, after CE 977 and before CE 985. Maṅgalarāja's successor was his son, Kīrttirāja who had 'conquered in battle the countless hosts of the prince of Mālava'. The Mālava ruler was identified by scholars as the Paramāra Bhojadeva and they surmise that 'it was practically impossible for a minor chief like Kīrttirāja to inflict this terrible shock on the invading forces without the moral and material assistance of his mighty sovereign, the Candella Vidyādhara'[27]. But in the light of the new date for the accession of Kīrttirāja in c. 985 CE there is a possibility that the Mālava ruler conquered in battle by Kīrttirāja may be Paramāra Sindhurāja (c. 995-1000 CE). Moreover, in the present scenario there is little evidence to accept the view that 'it is probably Kīrttirāja who surrendered to Mahmūd of Ghaznī, when the latter invaded

Gwalior in 1021 CE[28]. That Kacchapaghāta ruler may be a successor of Kirttirāja.

⋅   In the light of the Gwalior museum inscription of VS 1038 (CE 981) the antiquity of the Kacchapaghāta family would carry back even beyond Lakṣmaṇa[29]. Gugga is stated to have served as minister *(san-mantrin)* to the rulers of the Kacchapa dynasty *'bhūpaiḥ Kacchapa-vaṁśajaiḥ'*, which is the earliest mention of the family name Kacchapa-vaṁśa or the Kacchapaghāta dynasty and this expression implies that Gugga was the contemporary and minister of more than two Kacchapa kings. Since the known date of Vacchila, as given in this inscription falls in 981 CE, his great grandfather Gugga, who, according to this inscription was a minister of the Kacchapa rulers, may be considered to have lived towards the end of the 9th century CE. The claim made for Gugga in this inscription is also supported by architectural remains lying loose in the village Suhāniyā or preserved in the Museums. An important ruin at Suhāniyā located in the middle of the village shows that the town was established well before it ascended to importance in the eleventh century under the name Siṁhapāniya. The outer wall of the hall and a few stray fragments are all that remain of the early ninth century structure[30]. Pottery sherds from the large mounds around the present village date from the ninth to fourteenth centuries.

Notes and References

1.   F. Kielhorn, "The Sāsbahū Temple Inscription of Mahipāla, of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150", *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV (1886), p. 36, v.6.

2.   *Ibid*, v. 5.

3.   'Saṁvataḥ /1034 Śri Vajradāma mahārājādhirāja Vaisākha vadi pācami.' Rajendralal Mitra, "Vestiges of the Kings of Gwalior", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXI (1862), p. 411 and number 6 (Pl. I); D. R. Bhandarkar, "A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India in Brahmi and its derivative Scripts, from about 200 AC". *Appendix to Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XIX to XXIII, no. 86; Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. II (1862-65), Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1972, p. 401; *Annual Administration Report of the Archaeology Department, Gwalior State* (GAR), no. 20; Michael D. Willis, *Inscriptions of Gopaksetra (IG)*, London, 1996, p. 3.

4.   F. Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 36, v. 9.

5.   *Ibid*, v. 10.

6.   D. R. Patil, *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, Gwalior, 1952, p. 84-85; A. M. Sinha, *Madhya Pradesh District Gazetteers, Morena*, Bhopal, 1996, p. 368.

7.   F. Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 36, v. 11.

8.   For architectural detail please see, Krishna Deva, *Temples of India*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 176-77; Michael D. Willis, "Architecture in Central India under the Kachhapaghata Rulers", *South Asian Studies*, 12, 996, pp. 13-32; M. A. Dhaky (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: North India Beginning of Medieval Idiom*, AIIS, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1998, pp. 15-34.

9.   Ramanath Misra, *Bharatiya Murtti Kala ka Itihas*, Granth Silpi, Delhi, 2002, p. 287.

10.   S. K. Dixit, *A Guide to the Central Archaeological Museum*, Gwalior, 1962, pp. 44-58.

11.   *GAR*, 1983 (1926-27), p.7, pl. III-b.

12.   For detail please see, *GAR*, 1982 (1925-26), p. 6-7; *GAR*, 1983 (1926-27), p.7.

13.   *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)* (1961-62), no. C 1587; Willis, *IG*, p. 27: refers that an inscription of VS 1[4]50 is engraved while there are two inscriptions and the date is VS 1950.

14.   *JASB*, XXXI (1862): number 17 (Pl. III); *ARIE* (1961-62), no. C 1590; Willis, *IG*, p. 120: read Śrī Paliyaṭa Purahitaḥ.

15.   *JASB*, XXXI (1862): 422 and number 17 (Pl. III); *ARIE* (1961-62), no. C 1588; Willis, *IG*, p. 30.

16.   *ARIE* (1961-62), no. C 1589; Willis, *IG*, p. 120: at the end written *vimalapurasthiti*, in late character.

17.   *ARIE* (1961-62), no. C 1591; Willis, *IG*, p. 120: *kaupālā manu*, in the late character.

18.   H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India: Early Medieval Period*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, Second edition, 1973, p. 824.

19.   *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. VII, Part I, ASI, New Delhi, 1991, p. 124.

20.   *GAR*, 1982 (1925-26), p. 6-7.

21.   Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. II (1862-65), p. 374.

22.   D. R. Patil, *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, p. 84-85.

23.   Ramanath Misra, *Bharatiya Murtti Kala ka Itihas*, p. 287.

24.   *GAR* (VS 1994/AC 1937-38), no. 8; *ARIE* (1961-62), no. C 1478; Willis, *IG*, p. 120.

A. Kakanmaṭha temple of Suhāniyā.
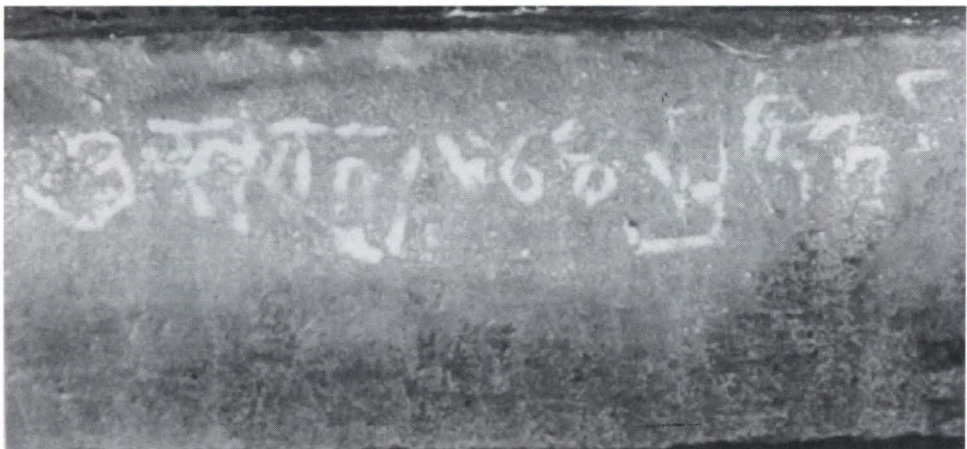
B. Kakanmaṭha temple Inscription of VS 1044.
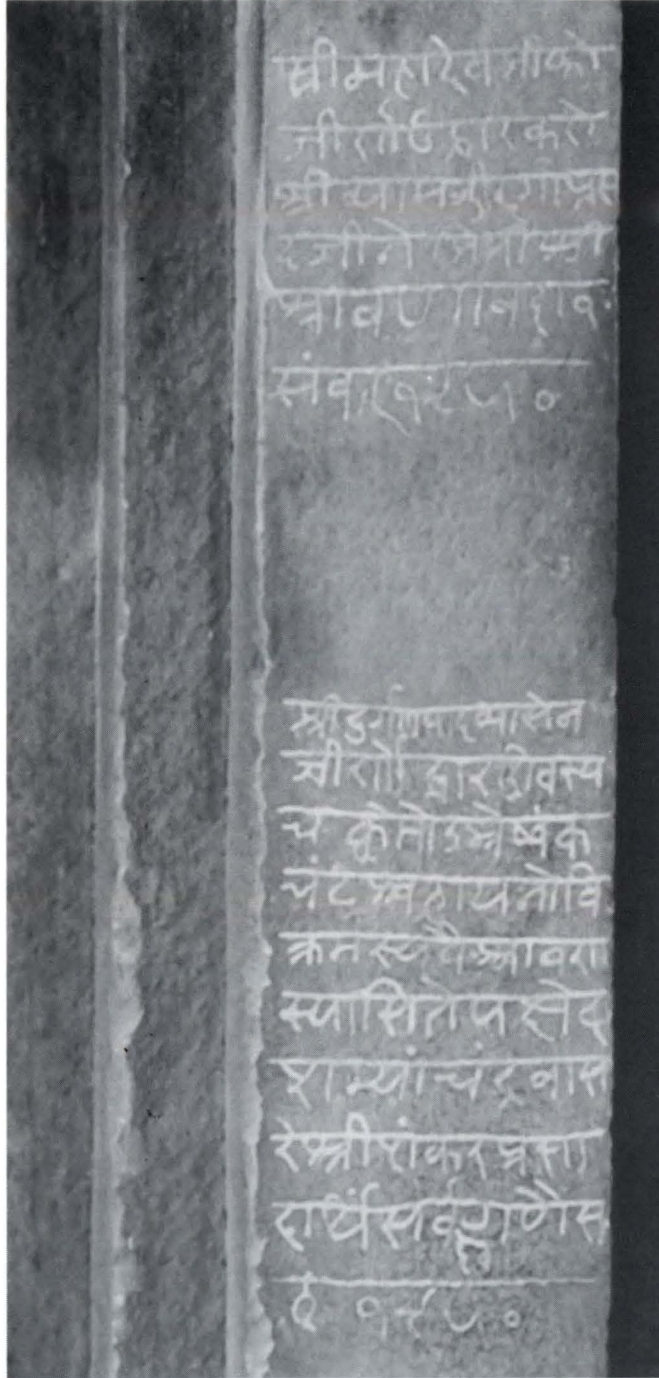
Kakanmaṭha temple Inscriptions of renovation in VS 1950.

25.   *GAR* (VS 1981/AC 1924-25), no. 32.

26.   F. Kielhorn, "Stone Inscription of Yaśovarman, of the year 1011", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I (1892), p. 129, v. 45.

27.   H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, p. 824-825; H. V. Trivedi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. VII, Part I, p. 23.

28.   D. C. Ganguly 1957. "Northern India During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", in *The Struggle for Empire,* R.C. Majumdar and others (ed.), Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Second edition 1966, Chapter II, p. 56.

29.   K.V. Ramesh, and C. L Suri, "An Unpublished Inscription in the Gwalior Museum Samvat 1038", *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XL, no. 37, pp. 191-96, p.193.

30.   For detail please see, Michael D. Willis, *Temples of Gopakṣetra: A Regional History of Architecture and Sculpture in Central India AD 600-900,* London, 1997, p. 69-70.

List of Illustrations

XXI A Kakanmaṭha temple of Suhāniyā

XXI B Kakanmaṭha temple Inscription of VS 1044

XXII Kakanmaṭha temple Inscriptions of renovation in VS 1950

Enumerating the Number of *Śailagṛhas* at Ajanta

Rajesh K. Singh

The rock-cut excavations at Ajanta are numbered consecutively from 1 to 29 according to the sequence by which the present day visitor enters the site, beginning from the ticket office of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI).[1] The one that is nearest to the ticket office is assigned No. 1, and the one at the farthest end from the ticket office is assigned the last number in the sequence, i.e. 28. The *caityagṛha* No. 29 situated on upper level, in the centre of the horseshoe-shaped scarp between caves 20 and 21, was initially not numbered. But Burgess in his numbering scheme of 1883 included it and assigned No. 29 making it the last number in the sequence.

The basis of the above numbering scheme is determined by the sequence of the visitor's journey through the caves. It has nothing to do with the historical sequence in which the caves were excavated. This is because our knowledge of historical chronology has been so inadequate. Prof. Spink of the University of Michigan has been trying hard to unravel the chronology knot but his views are not yet universally accepted.

Hence, with historical chronology as a base, we cannot fault the existing numerical scheme. However, other parameters expose the anomalies, which are highlighted in the present essay. The exercise is not merely a number game, since it throws some light on the crucial question of individual patronage during the Mahāyāna phase, the original scale, and dimensions of some damaged edifices, and novelties of architectural design. As noted earlier, the ASI has 29 caves in its list. But, authors on Ajanta have placed different numeration, e.g. 29[2], 30[3], and 31[4]. Such differences beg for identifying the errors or anomalies and re-computing the excavations afresh.

The first anomaly emerges from the small *vihāra* of the Theravāda period, which is situated near the elephant gate and which came to light while clearing the debris or landslide in the 1950s.[5] The *vihāra* should be added to the total quantum although understandably the given numbers of other caves would not change, since they have acquired the status of proper nouns in the course of time.

The second anomaly emerges from the fact that two different excavations have been assigned the same number. This was done by Fergusson and Burgess, which the ASI and Ajanta scholars have followed. The excavations in

question may be called caves Lower 6 and Upper 6. Generally, it is understood that the two storeys make a single edifice. But Spink has shown that this is not the case. Additionally, my independent research has convinced me that the two must be regarded as distinct entities. The reason for this shall be examined later on. The third anomaly emerges from the fact that caves 25, 26, and 27 have been treated as separate entities. Actually, they are parts of a single edifice as revealed from the researches of Spink[6] and the present author.[7] No. 25 and 27 are parts of the *caityagṛha* No. 26 patronized by monk Buddhabhadra.

The root cause of the above anomalies lies with the usage of the English word 'cave,' which is problematic as far as the site is concerned. How to define the meaning of 'cave' ? Does it have anything to do with the extent and scale of excavation, or with the parts, or the whole? Consider for instance: a partial excavation such as Ajanta No. 3, or 28, is called a cave as well as the elaborately planned, stupendous, rock-cut edifices such as Ellora No. 16 (Kailāsanātha) is also called *a* cave. To give another example, Ajanta No. 18 that consists merely of two pillars and a cistern is *a* cave just as the elaborately designed No. 26 *caityagṛha* with a courtyard and flanking wings (that are detailed *vihāras* in themselves but without any number!) is *a* cave.

Alternately, does the term 'cave' at all respect the architectural details of the excavations, some of which are highly complex and elaborate? Consider for instance: the lower wings of No. 26 *caityagṛha* have not been given any number; obviously, because it is clearly visible they are part of the *caityagṛha* not requiring separate numbers. But if proved that caves 25 and 27 are also parts of the same *caityagṛha,* would they still require the numbering that has been assigned to them with the belief that they are distinct edifices, maintaining separate entities from adjoining caves? The likely answer is no. The above problems would not arise if we followed the makers of Ajanta. They were using the word *śailagṛha*[8] (house of stone) to denote rock-cut architecture. The usage is found in ancient texts and inscriptions.

For enumerating the number of Ajanta excavations, let us explore how many *śailagṛhas* are there. Many excavations do not pose difficulties in identifying as separate and distinct *śailagṛhas.* These are 27 in total: No. 1-5, 7-15, 16-24, 26, and 28-29.

The remaining four *śailagṛhas* need to be examined. Two of these exist in Cave No. 6. The recently unearthed 15A (or 30) has no number. Whereas No. 25 and 27 need not be numerated any more, as we admit that they are actually the adjuncts of the *caityagṛha* Cave No. 26.

S. No.	ASI No.	Śailagṛha No.	Unit of excavation
1.	Cave 1	Śailagṛha 1	1
2.	Cave 2	Śailagṛha 2	1
3.	Cave 3	Śailagṛha 3	1
4.	Cave 4	Śailagṛha 4	1
5.	Cave 5	Śailagṛha 5	1
6.	**Cave 6**	**Śailagṛha 6 Lower**	1
7.	-	**Śailagṛha 6 Upper**	1
8.	Cave 7	Śailagṛha 7	1
9.	Cave 8	Śailagṛha 8	1
10.	Cave 9	Śailagṛha 9	1
11.	Cave 10	Śailagṛha 10	1
12.	Cave 11	Śailagṛha 11	1
13.	Cave 12	Śailagṛha 12	1
14.	Cave 13	Śailagṛha 13	1
15.	Cave 14	Śailagṛha 14	1
16.	Cave 15	Śailagṛha 15	1
17.	-	**Śailagṛha 15A**	1
18.	Cave 16	Śailagṛha 16	1
19.	Cave 17	Śailagṛha 17	1
20.	Cave 18	Śailagṛha 18	1
21.	Cave 19	Śailagṛha 19	1
22.	Cave 20	Śailagṛha 20	1
23.	Cave 21	Śailagṛha 21	1
24.	Cave 22	Śailagṛha 22	1
25.	Cave 23	Śailagṛha 23	1
26.	Cave 24	Śailagṛha 24	1
27.	**Cave 25**	**Adjunct**	-
28.	Cave 26	Śaila-prāsāda 26	1
29.	**Cave 27**	**Adjunct**	-
30.	Cave 28	Śailagṛha 28	1
31.	Cave 29	Śailagṛha 29	1
		Total śailagṛhas	**29**

*Table showing the ASI numbers, the proposed śailagṛha numbers, and the anomalous ones highlighted in boldface (**S. No.** 6-7, 17, 27 & 29). The total number of caves or excavations is seen in the last column totalling 29.*

Cave 6: The number has been assigned to two excavations, one on top of the other. Spink rightly calls them Cave No. Lower 6 and Cave No. Upper 6. The latter is accessed by a staircase flying up from the hall of the former. Thus, both have a common entrance door located in Lower 6. This fact gives an impression that the storeys are parts of a single edifice patronized by a single individual.

Spink is the first to study the storeys. He found that the two storeys have little in common. In fact, some glaring art and architectural distinctions place them apart from each other. The single entrance door for entering both the floors suggests that the storeys initially had similar floor plans. There is evidence suggesting that such a plan was never implemented. After initial progress, the original plan was abandoned. This was done after the storeys were hewn out for a metre or two. By the time of the 'recession' and 'hiatus,' the hall and major cells of Lower 6 were completed, but the hall of Upper 6 lay abandoned. When the work resumed after the hiatus period, a new patron had likely taken over. He adopted a new layout and plan to match with the latest architectural style and fashion emerging on the site. The architecture of Lower 6 had become 'outmoded.'

Although Upper 6 began with similar layout as Lower 6, the delay of work in the hall turned out to be advantageous, since the ground plan was now able to match the latest fashions seen in the *śailagrhas* that began later, such as Nos. 1, 21, 23, and 24.

Thus, Upper 6 is an edifice distinct from Lower 6. The two storeys should not be clubbed as a single edifice.

Caves 25 and *27* : Spink (2006: ii, 22-96) has proposed that these two excavations had started early (462 CE) in the Vākāṭaka phase. They were intended to serve as upper adjuncts to Cave 26-*caityagrha*. I have investigated the matter and support Spink on the issue. Due to heavy landslide on the cliff, the front portions of these caves, together with much of the original facade of Cave 26-complex, have perished. Hence, the extant remains have not permitted the scholars to gauge the original form of the edifice consisting of Nos. 25, 26, and 27 within a single programme. For a long time, it has been held that they are separate edifices. That is why they were assigned separate numbers.

Aside from the view of Spink, my independent research has convinced me that Caves 25 and 27 were, indeed, the 'upper wings' of Cave 26-*caityagrha;* and there is a pair of 'lower wings', much damaged, which sensibly have not been given any number because of their easy identification as 'wings.' The same exemption from numeration could be endorsed for the upper

wings. In such a case, the total quantum *of śailagṛhas* would be reduced by two.

Cave 15A or 30: The lately rediscovered cave has not been numbered yet. The cave remains locked, perhaps due to its supposed insignificance. Some call it Cave 30[9]; others Cave 15A[10], but the cave is still to be officially numerated.

The foregoing discussion boils down to the total quantum of 29. The tally arrived as such is free from the anomalies found in the existing system.

Notes and References

1.   The author would like to acknowledge the help received from Barbara Ash in checking the typescript.

2.   James Fergusson and James Burgess. *The Cave Temples of India* (London: W.H. Allen & Co. 1880; repr. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2000), p. 283; and Gulam Yazdani, *Ajanta: Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajanta Frescoes Based on Photography, with an Introduction by Laurence Binyon and Explanatory Text by G. Yazdani*, i-iv (London: Oxford University Press, 1931; repr. Delhi: Swati Publications, 1983).

3.   R.S. Gupte and B.D. Mahajan. *Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves* (Mumbai: D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1962), p. 106; and Debala Mitra. *Ajanta* [1996, 11th edn.], (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1956/1996), p. 5.

4.   Sheila L. Weiner. *Ajanta: Its Place in Buddhist Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 1.

5.   R.S. Gupte et al., *op.cit.*

6.   Walter M. Spink. *Ajanta, History and Development, i-vi.* Handbuch Der Orientalistik (HDO) series, ii.: India; ed. J. Bronkhorst (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2005-08).

7.   Rajesh Kumar Singh. *Forthcoming*, 'Ajanta: The Early Years of the Vakataka Phase.'

8.   The word *śailagṛha* is found in Buddhabhadra's dedicatory inscriptions in Ajanta cave 26, verse 6.

9.   R.S. Gupte, *op.cit.*.

10.   Walter M. Spink, *op. cit.*

Vijayanagara Historiography: An Overview

Anila Verghese

The history of the Vijayanagara Empire (mid-fourteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century CE) has aroused a lot of interest among historians since 1900. Looking at the broad spectrum of Vijayanagara historiography, chronologically the following approaches have been dominant at different points of time: orientalist, nationalist, regionalist approaches, as well as the segmentary statehood approach and the more recent material-cultural approach. The latter two have been given particular emphasis during the last thirty odd years. Although the focus of this paper is on the last fifty years of Vijayanagara historiography, especially on the material-cultural approach that has brought a great spurt of energy and enthusiasm to Vijayanagara historiography, some note must be taken of what preceded the more recent approaches.

Orientalist Approach

The interest in the Vijayanagara Empire and its capital, Vijayanagara city, the present-day 'Hampi', by European scholarship dates from 1800 when the area around Hampi came under British rule as a part of the Ceded Districts. Hampi, on the river Tungabhadra, was at the northern limits of the Ceded Districts. The importance of this region, adjoining the territories of the Nizam and the Marathas, was well understood by the British. Thomas Munro, an enlightened orientalist who was well versed in Persian and Indian languages, was sent as the Collector of these districts in October 1800, a post he held for the next seven years. It was here that Munro introduced the famous land revenue settlement made directly with the peasants. Munro's enlightened administration not only brought stability to the region, but must have also aroused scholarly interest in the region's historical background, since knowing India well was the basis of the careers of men like Munro.[1]

The earliest, though unpublished, account of Hampi was by the antiquarian Colonel Colin Mackenzie, later Surveyor-General of India. Travelling through the Deccan and South India in the last years of the eighteenth century, Mackenzie noted temples and forts, copied inscriptions and collected manuscripts in the vernacular languages. Mackenzie was aided by a set of learned Indians who copied and translated inscriptions and 'traditional histories' in the local languages. He visited Hampi-Vijayanagara in the winter months of 1799-1800, on which occasion he described the overall layout of the site

and attempted to identify various structures, irrigation works and fortifications. He also provided the earliest map of this site. The sketches and water-colours that he had prepared of certain monuments survive to this day in the India Office Collection of the British Library, London.

The first published accounts of Vijayanagara and its monuments appeared in the course of the nineteenth century. Ninety years before the publication of Robert Sewell's seminal work, *A Forgotten Empire*, a partial account of Vijayanagara had already been presented to the English speaking world by Mark Wilks in 1810. Wilks' work was prepared while he was the English East India Company's 'Resident' at the court of the Wodeyar king of Mysore, after this dynasty had been reinstalled in 1799 on the throne seized from them some forty years before by Haidar Ali Khan. The basis of Wilks' reconstruction was an eighteenth century Kannada language work by a brahmin scholar known as Pootia Pundit.[2] In 1836 the description of Hampi-Vijayanagara by the orientalist scholar, H.H. Wilson, appeared, accompanying the translation of twelve inscriptions from the site by E.C. Ravenshaw, which marks the beginnings of investigation into the epigraphical records of the capital.[3]

In 1900 Robert Sewell's pioneering work, *A Forgotten Empire*, was published.[4] This was the earliest attempt to give a comprehensive picture of the empire and its capital. Sewell relied mainly on the narratives of Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz, Portuguese visitors of the early sixteenth century, as well as on Muslim chronicles and indigenous but non-contemporaneous sources and traditional accounts. He presented the first chronological history of the Vijayanagara Empire from its foundation to its eclipse. Sewell's work provided the foundation on which a regular history of the Vijayanagara Empire could be constructed. 1917 saw the publication of the first official guide-book on the capital city, namely A.H. Longhurst's *Hampi Ruins: Described and Illustrated.*[5]

These British writers "sought to devise an historical past not for the sake of pure knowing, but for the purpose of controlling a subject people whose past was to be so constructed as to make British rule a necessity as well as a virtue... Vijayanagara kings of the sixteenth century were presented as oriental despots....Harsh oriental despotisms and factious local magnates were seen to have led to the dominion of Muslims in North of India and they threatened the South as well. Despite the peril to Hindu institutions posed by Muslim powers in peninsular India after the fourteenth century, Indians, in this view, could not overcome the flaws in their political institutions. This task awaited the British."[6]

Nationalist Approach

The publications of these British writers, especially Sewell, had opened the eyes of scholars to the great heritage of the Vijayanagara Empire. The orientalist approach to the writing of Vijayanagara history was bound to change as Indians seized control of the writing of their own history. The earliest and most influential Indian successor to Sewell was S.Krishnaswami Aiyangar. In his opinion, the Vijayanagara Empire was founded at a very crucial period in the history of South India and played an important part in arresting the Muslim expansion in the South and in fostering the Hindu religion and traditional culture.[7] In the first half of the twentieth century, during the Indian National Movement, historians and historical writings highlighted the role of Vijayanagara as a bulwark against foreign rule and an alien culture and as the protector of Hindu religion and culture. This view emphasised that the Vijayanagara Empire "came into existence for (1) the purpose of saving South India from being completely conquered by Muhammedans, (2) to save Hindu religion and give it a chance for its natural development, at least in this corner of India without molestation from outside agencies, and (3) to save for India as much of its culture and learning as it was possible."[8] The protection of *dharma* and religion was made out to be the very essence of this empire: "The empire was founded for the protection of *Dharma* ....In the whole range of South Indian history an instance of an empire founded with the purpose of giving protection to a religion irrespective of different sects, has yet to be discovered ...."[9] This view was upheld, either directly or indirectly, in the writings of B. Suryanarain Row, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, N. Venkataramanayya and others.[10] During this period, the focus was primarily on the political history of Vijayanagara. At the same time, the earliest attempts to understand the social and cultural life under Vijayanagara,[11] as well as the economic conditions that prevailed[12] were also made. To sum up, nationalist writers departed in two important ways from the historiography inherited from the European historians: one was the emphasis on Hindu-Muslim conflict as being the cause and principal shaper of the Vijayanagara polity and the second was the claim that resistance to Islam and the promotion of Hindu religion and culture was the great vindication of Vijayanagara.[13]

Regionalist Approach

During the National Movement, various regional and linguistic sentiments were also appealed to, in order to awaken the masses against British rule. Thus, the desire for a single unified state for people of a common language was fostered already well before Indian Independence. This was true both of the Kannada and Telugu speaking peoples. Therefore, many scholars took a regionalist approach to the writing of Vijayanagara history. For example, the sexcentenary of the foundation of Vijayanagara was celebrated by Kannada

historians in 1936 and by Andhra scholars in 1946.

The Karnataka Vidya Vardhaka Sangha, founded in 1880, focussed on the Kannada speaking people in the then Bombay Presidency with the dream of unifying all Kannada speaking regions into a single provincial unit. The Kannada Sahitya Parishat, founded in 1915, concentrated on promoting Kannada language and literature, while the Karnataka Sabha, established in 1916, pursued the unification efforts politically. Side by side, the Telugu speaking people formed the Andhra Mahasabha and pressed for the formation of a linguistic state of their own. Both groups laid claims to the Bellary district, in which Hampi-Vijayanagara is located. To strengthen their positions, both groups put forth theories about the origins of the Vijayanagara Empire and of its founders, the Sangama brothers, in support of their view-points.

The protagonists of the Telugu origin theory, led by N. Venkataramanayya, proposed that the Sangamas were originally officers of the Kākatiyas of Warangal, who fled to Kampili after the fall of Warangal in 1323. They were taken prisoners to Delhi and converted to Islam when Kampili was conquered by Muhammad Tughluq in 1327. They were later sent back by the sultan to the lower Deccan to put down the rebellion of the Hoysala king Ballala III and appointed as governors of Karnataka. Soon they raised the standard of revolt and established an independent kingdom, with Vijayanagara city, the present-day Hampi, as their capital.[14] This view was challenged by B.A. Saletore,[15] Henry Heras,[16] P.B. Desai[17] and many others. According to the Kannada origin theory, Harihara and Bukka were *mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras* of the Hoysala kings Ballala III and Ballala IV. Hence, there was continuity between the Hoysala kingdom and the Vijayanagara Empire.

Regional chauvinism, excessive reliance on sources, often non-contemporaneous, that supported their respective stand-points characterise this polemic about the origins of the founders of Vijayanagara. While one might understand this debate within the context in which it arose, it is unfortunate that many articles on the 'origins of Vijayanagara' continued to be published even after the Reorganisation of States on linguistic basis in 1956!

Thus up to the mid-twentieth century, historiography on Vijayanagara had passed through three broad stages: European orientalists opened the field by identifying its major literary and inscriptional sources and its broad chronology; however, their works indirectly buttressed the British imperial agenda. The orientalists were succeeded by scholars like Krishnaswami Aiyangar and many others who added greatly to the corpus of knowledge on Vijayanagara; but, in their somewhat different ways, these historians imbued Vijayanagara historiography with an anti-Muslim and nationalistic bias. From

them, Vijayanagara history passed into a third phase when scholars like Saletore and Venkataramanayya explored new sources of Vijayanagara history and raised questions regarding the origins of this empire; but, they sought in this history a basis for the regional patriotisms of the Kannada and Telugu speaking peoples.

One feature common to all the above three approaches is that they focussed on the textual and inscriptional sources for the reconstruction of Vijayanagara history.

Segmentary Statehood Approach

A recent, and rather controversial, approach to Vijayanagara historiography came from a group of historians from outside India; it was especially highlighted in the publication *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* by the American historian Burton Stein.[18] Borrowing from anthropology, Stein applied a radical new model to interpreting the political structure of the Vijayanagara and preceding Chola states – which he called the segmentary state. Without going into details, in a nutshell, Stein postulated that, outside the core territory of the empire, the Vijayanagara monarchs exercised only a "ritual sovereignty" and that even at the height of their power in the early sixteenth century, beyond the heartland of their empire where their hegemony and resources commanded were formidable, the *rayas* were content with homage and occasional tribute of distant lords. Moreover, they tolerated, if they did not actually foster, the creation by their nominal agents of compact and clonal kingdoms – denominated as the 'nayaka kingdoms' – whose competition later helped to destroy the empire. While some modern scholars loved this approach as being a refreshingly new way of looking at the Vijayanagara polity, many others fiercely criticised it as being a one-sided and incomplete approach that cannot adequately answer certain questions. For example, even the most cursory studies of the Vijayanagara period art and architecture would highlight that there was a fair degree of unity of architectural and sculptural expression over a large area covering much of southern India and the time span from the late fourteenth century to the early eighteenth; how would one account for this? However, wherever one stood, Stein's work provoked numerous serious responses and engagement with the historical sources and moved discussions on Vijayanagara to a new level of theoretical sophistication.

The research of N. Karashima and others, especially of Tamil Nadu under Vijayanagara rule, also adopts a feudal interpretation of the Vijayanagara polity, particularly in the sixteenth century, one that focussed upon the relations between kings and local lordship, the appearance of sub-infeudation among

nayakas and complex landholding rights.[19]

Material-Cultural Approach

This approach has been predominant since the late 1970s. Till about thirty years ago, little historical work had been done on Vijayanagara using the archaeological data or the material remains available of this period. However, since the late 1970s there has been an upsurge of interest in Vijayanagara archaeology. The focus of attention has been particularly on the city of Vijayanagara, and for good reason, since the ruins of the city form, perhaps, the most impressive and extensive medieval site in India, affording a wealth of data to the archaeologist and historian. Some work had also been done during the last few years in studying the monuments and material remains in the wider area of the empire in order to understand Vijayanagara history, art and culture.

This recent approach to Vijayanagara historiography has not only focussed on the material remains, it has also been interdisciplinary and collaborative in nature. Today, 'interdisciplinary' and 'interdisciplinarity' are fashionable words in academic circles. This is a seemingly simple and commonsense approach of bringing together scholars from different disciplines to study a single topic. In practice it is much more difficult than in theory, for researchers coming from different disciplines have to go beyond the particular perspectives of their own traditions, disciplines and methodologies to engage with others in creative ways to produce new ways of thinking about a topic and new answers to old questions. The last three decades' research on Vijayanagara has been interdisciplinary before this concept became widely popular — involving historians, epigraphists, art historians, religious historians, geographers, geologists, astronomers, anthropologists and archaeologists who were interested in understanding questions concerning the nature, organisation and history of the Vijayanagara Empire from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century as the largest and most effective polity in pre-colonial South India. This resulted in a remarkable collaborative effort.

The approach of this collaborative community of Vijayanagara scholarship has differed from that of earlier historians. For most of the early generations of scholars on Vijayanagara it was the texts that mattered — whether the inscriptions, travellers' accounts, poetic works, sacred texts, chronicles and so forth. It was these that told the story of the lost grandeur of the Vijayanagara Empire. In their view, the material remains might have been impressive, but their role was largely secondary in nature, to illustrate the stories told by the texts. However, for the scholars engaged in the recent material-cultural approach to the study of Vijayanagara, the material remains,

whether the monuments, sculptures, pottery or even etchings on the rocks, speak loudly. They raise a whole range of questions not touched upon in the written sources: about the organisation and construct of space and the kinds of activities that took place in the spaces that were created; about labour and work; about structures of power and methods of seeking legitimation of power won by force or usurpation; about beliefs and religious practices; of how food was grown and craft products manufactured; of the processes of cultural assimilation, synthesis, transformation, creation and dissemination that were at work resulting in a great mobility of ideas, of content and form and of new trends in art and architecture, religious practices and courtly styles. The textual material is not ignored by these scholars; it is used as corroborative and supportive to the data provided by the archaeological remains.

This interest beginning initially with the remains of the present-day Hampi, the erstwhile city of Vijayanagara, the capital of the mighty Vijayanagara Empire, and later widening its scope to the larger area of the empire, was sparked off by various factors: in 1975 the then Union Minister for Education, Nurul Hasan, a noted historian and archaeologist, declared three medieval sites as national archaeological projects, these were Hampi, Fatehpur-Sikri and Champaner. In the early 1970s the Archaeological Survey of India published the up to date guide-book on Hampi by D. Devakunjari.[20] At more or less the same time the Indian-French team of Vasundhara and Pierre Filliozat was working at Hampi in preparing an architectural and inscriptional study of the Vitthala temple[21] and incidentally of other aspects related to the site. Then to the site came a team of international scholars who were soon joined by many others.

In the creating of this interdisciplinary community of scholars there are certain individuals who deserve special acknowledgement. George Michell, an Australian-born, London-based architectural historian, who specialized in medieval monuments, is the first of these. He came to Hampi-Vijayanagara in the late 1970s to begin a documentation of the standing monuments. He and his team of volunteers camped amidst the ruins and began the process of making detailed drawings of many of the hundreds of large and small standing structures in the core area of this site. This was for a comprehensive book on the site, which he edited along with Vasundhara Filliozat, for a *Marg* publication.[22] Soon after, Michell met the American anthropologist-archaeologist John Fritz and invited him to join the project. Thus was born the Vijayanagara Research Project. Fritz had previously specialized in the prehistory of south-western United States; he brought with him skills in recognizing remains that were not standing and a strong theoretical interest in understanding how communities created and linked natural and constructed landscapes with their

beliefs and cosmologies. Another important figure in this story is M.S. Nagaraja Rao, a skilled archaeologist, who was then Director of the Karnataka State Directorate of Archaeology and Museums (from 1972 to 1984 and again from 1987 to 1990) and later Director-General for three years of the Archaeological Survey of India (1984-1987). Nagaraja Rao opened the doors for this team of international scholars to work at Vijayanagara and initiated a productive collaboration between the Vijayanagara Research Project and the Karnataka State Directorate of Archaeology and Museums that lasted for over two decades. Also at this time, the Archaeological Survey of India, under the 'National Project', had already commenced excavations at Hampi.

Thus, starting from 1979-80 there was an enormous burst of archaeological, architectural and historical research at Hampi-Vijayanagara. The initial work done was the focus of the discussions at an international conference held at Heidelberg University in 1983, resulting in the publication of the very important volume *Vijayanagara City and Empire: New Currents of Research.*[23] The discussions begun at this conference, continued during the winter seasons when the team gathered at the archaeological field camp of the Karnataka Directorate of Archaeology and Museums at Hampi and elsewhere. Various others joined the community of Vijayanagara scholars, like the epigraphist and historian S. Rajasekhara, art historian Anna Dallapiccola, historian Philip Wagoner, anthropologist-archaeologists Carla Sinopoli and Kathleen Morrison and religious historian Anila Verghese, to mention just a few.

Extensive excavations have been carried out at Hampi since the late 1970s by the Archaeological Survey of India and the Karnataka State Directorate. Both the archaeological departments have also engaged on an ambitious scheme of clearance and conservation, both of standing and exposed structures. An important contribution made by the staff of the Karnataka State Directorate of Archaeology has been their widespread exploration of the site, not only to identify unnoticed structures and sculptures, but also to locate unpublished inscriptions, resulting in the publication of a large number of hitherto unrecorded epigraphs. The intense field research at Hampi by this department was mainly the work of three archaeologists, C.S.Patil, Balasubramanya and T.M.Manjunathaiah. Sadly, each of them passed away too early and their loss is sorely felt by the community of Vijayanagara scholarship. The Directorate has undertaken the publication of the *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research* series and a number of other books on the site.[24]

The general aim of the Vijayanagara Research Project, headed by the Michell-Fritz team, has been to document the physical remains of this settlement as they are visible on the surface, using the techniques of surface

archaeology, so as to understand the life of this city as the capital of the most powerful Hindu state in pre-modern South India. Mapping of the entire site, the architectural drawings of all the standing structures and extensive publications, especially under the *Vijayanagara Research Monograph Series,* of which ten volumes have been published to date, has been the contribution of this team,[25] besides a number of other publications.[26]

An extension of the programme of surface archaeology undertaken in the core area of the city by the Vijayanagara Research Project was the Vijayanagara Metropolitan Survey, carried on for nearly a decade from 1987, by the team led by Sinopoli and Morrison. This survey aimed at understanding the city of Vijayanagara within its regional context of the wider metropolitan area that supplied it food, raw materials, labour, craft products, and so on.[27]

The work begun initially in the capital city of Vijayanagara, the present-day Hampi, was later expanded to the wider area of the empire. Again, George Michell was the pioneer in this and his publications on the architecture and arts of southern India under Vijayanagara and its successor states are of seminal importance.[28]

As a result of the collaborative and collective work of a large number of scholars using this approach to Vijayanagara studies, we have new understandings of the history of both the capital city and the empire as a whole and of the changing nature of relations both within ruling dynasties and in how elites tried to manage this complex polity. This was done through force and conquest, through developing elaborate networks and relations of political and economic alliances with local rulers and elite groups and through various ideologies of kingship and sacred and secular authority. These new ideologies were created and manifested through religious patronage, through the development of new forms of art and architecture, new styles of clothing, new literary genres, through diplomatic exchanges and so on.

We have a new understanding of the place of religion during the Vijayanagara period in South India – both within the imperial city as well as in and through the great temples and *mathas* found throughout the imperial territories: the careful balancing of patronage accorded to different Hindu cults and sects as well as to minority religious groups by the Vijayanagara rulers and elites; the transposing of cults out of their original local contexts and the elevation of some of them to pan-empire status; the use of religion in the processes of political legitimation and so on.[29] The study of Vijayanagara art and architecture has demonstrated that, in addition to the creation of an imperial religious and courtly architecture of a more or less uniform style

covering much of southern India, new themes and variations appeared in sculpture and a rich repertoire of images was produced across the South Indian landscape.

New insights have been gained into the agricultural economies and practices that provided the economic foundations for urban growth and expansion during this period. We know more about communication and movement across the Vijayanagara landscape and of the organization of craft production of ordinary goods of everyday life and its relation to political economies.

This approach has by-passed the concerns of the orientalist, nationalist and regionalist historians, for the focus has been not so much on political history as on the socio-cultural and the ideological underpinnings of the Vijayanagara polity. It has indirectly challenged some of the basic assumptions of the earlier schools of historians. The findings of this recent research point out that the Vijayanagara polity was far from being the static oriental despotism as portrayed by the European scholars, neither was the identity of the empire dependent primarily on Hindu-Muslim conflict or on the protection and promotion of Hindu *dharma,* nor can we see it as a purely Kannada, Andhra or Tamil state. In the complex processes that created a new art, aesthetics and culture as well as political ideologies during the Vijayanagara period, there were both major and minor cultural influences at play. This is hinted at in the two types of titles the Vijayanagara kings assumed: on the one hand they prided themselves on titles such as '*āvaidikamārga-sthāpanācārya*' i.e., establisher of the Vedic path, and '*varṇa-āśrama-dharma-sthāpanācārya*' namely, establisher or protector of the castes, stages of life and *dharma*[30] and on the other hand they also addressed themselves as '*hindu-rāya-suratrāṇa*' or sultan among the Hindu kings.[31] While the dominant influence in the forming of 'Vijayanagara culture' is of the traditional 'Hindu' cultural features suggested by the first two titles, there are also cultural influences, less obvious, but nevertheless of significance and interest, that can be broadly termed 'Islamic', that were incorporated by the rulers who considered themselves sultans among the Hindu kings and, who, in certain aspects, even imitated the contemporary Muslim sultans. The two streams, the major and the minor, merged together to form new trends in art and architecture, religious practices and courtly styles that are uniquely Vijayanagara. During the past thirty odd years, a fairly substantial amount of scholarly work has been done on Vijayanagara's borrowings from the indigenous religious and cultural patterns from the Tamil zone and from other parts of the empire to create a new religious dynamism, a new aesthetic and political ideology; similarly research has also been undertaken, though to a lesser extent, on the influences that were absorbed

from Vijayanagara's northern Muslim neighbours.[32]

This recent multi-disciplinary work done on Vijayanagara has helped to bring international recognition to Vijayanagara studies and the site of Hampi. In 1986 UNESCO included the monuments at Hampi in its list of 'World Heritage Sites' and it has become a popular destination for both national and international tourism. Besides the Heidelberg Conference of 1983, Vijayanagara has been the focus of a number of international seminars and conferences, for example, at Houston and Los Angeles (U.S.A.) in November 2005, in Houston (Texas, U.S.A.) in December 2006, in Mumbai in January 2007 and at Hampi in January 2008. These have attracted not just scholarly attention but also interest from the informed public.

This recent approach to Vijayanagara historiography that integrates the archaeological with textual evidence, and is both interdisciplinary and collaborative in nature, has answered many questions as well as raised and continues to raise numerous new ones. While not underestimating the wealth of research work that has been undertaken and the large corpus of publications on Vijayanagara during the past thirty years that has resulted from it, one cannot ignore the fact that a lot of work still remains to be done by both the present and future generations of Vijayanagara scholars, using this approach to arrive at a holistic and comprehensive picture of the Vijayanagara polity and society.

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Acknowledgement

Reviews

MOVEMENT AND MIMESIS, The Idea of Dance in the Sanskritic Tradition, MANDAKRANTA BOSE, D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi, pp. xi + 335. Rs. 650.

Dance and drama are inseparable in Indian tradition. Ritualistic dance is mentioned in the Vedas as in the Mahāvrata ceremony, and at the end of the Horse Sacrifice. Later it became a court function to show honour to a king, or to a visiting dignitary. It was also enjoined as one of the accomplishments for a prince/princess to acquire. It became established as a ritual service to god, during festivals, processions, etc. Thus from the Vedic period onwards dance has been woven into the fabric of Indian life, and has evolved along with the cultural need of the populace. The book under review sets out to prove this phenomenon, and does so successfully.

In her Preface, Bose outlines the search for source material for this form of art, and discovers that like any branch of historical investigation, one can only resort to ancient Sanskrit texts. After a brief introduction of the texts and their authors, she takes up the earliest source on dance: the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, which has maintained its prime source for all forms of art. Bharata treats dance as but one part of performing arts, which enhances the beauty of dramatic performances. He also pays attention to what he considers the most artistically developed form, ignoring those that might have been popular as practised in the regions. Examining the historical process of the development of dance, the author finds that it absorbed various techniques and forms, and evolved fulfilling its purpose aesthetically by its new modes. This flexibility of assimilation has kept·the dance form alive even through political upheavals.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is dated to not later than the 2nd century CE. The later works on dance from 12th to right upto 14th centuries keep the basics of *Nāṭyaśāstra,* but fit into this framework the variations in the form of their times. The author divides the treatises into three periods, based on how they define body movements and clarify concepts and nature of dance, with the first period ending with Abhinavagupta's *Abhinavabhāratī* of the 10th century. This is a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and there are many references in this to works which are now lost. The second period is from the 11th to the 15th centuries, when dance came to be accepted as a separate form and not just as an adjunct to drama. A new genre emerged known as dance dramas.

Distinctions were also made between the *mārga* and *deśi* styles. As noted earlier, these texts keep to the basics of Bharata's work, but fit into their work the variations of the form of their era. The most important work in this period is *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Sāraṅgadeva and the format of this work was followed by later treatises. The third period from 16th to 19th centuries saw works mostly in vernacular which show no great development in the form.

The 2nd chapter is the longest in the book, and examines in detail all available literature on dance. Bharata's work is examined chapter by chapter. A study of *Abhinavabhāratī*, the author states, makes one realize that dance was evolving as an art form and was not stagnant since Bharata's time. Bose compares the two works *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and *Bharatārṇava* and refutes V. Raghavan's claim that both are by the same author, because the former is a summary of the latter work. But the author points out that there are many discrepancies in the technical details of the two works, and assigns different periods for them. It is interesting to learn that the performing artists of the main classical forms that are popular now follow different treatises for their distinctive styles. This is due to the source material providing not only theoretical information but also practical guidance. There is tabulated information on the names, dates and authors of the treatises appended at the end of the chapter, which scholars would find very useful. In the next chapter certain terms are examined from the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* and the author points out that *nṛtya* and *nāṭya* may have been synonymous in the earlier period, but later on the term *nṛtya* evolved out of both these earlier terms, and came to signify mimetic dance. In the 4th chapter the term *lāsya* is examined in detail. The 5th chapter concludes with tabulated information on the minor dramatic types, followed by a description of these types.

In the next chapter, she examines terminologies such as 'bandhas' and 'anibandhas' and finds the foundational text sources in *Nartananirṇaya*. Of the two types of dances - *mārga* and *deśi*, the former rigidly follows rules laid down in the early treatises, while the latter evolved assimilating local traditions. The influence of the Moghul court on the evolvement of the Kathak style cannot be gainsaid. The different regional styles are mentioned by Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala in the text mentioned earlier, and this is examined in the 7th chapter. Thus while earlier writers, particularly Daṇḍin or Bhāmaha, mention certain types of dances as mimes and visual presentations, the emphasis shifted in the later texts to details of composition. This gained so much prominence that it virtually replaced the earlier tradition. A style just touched on by Bharata gained recognition and became strong enough to evolve into a distinct tradition. Bharata's manual expanded in the following centuries with the expanding varieties of the mimetic dance.

After an in depth analysis of the evolution of the dance form spread over the centuries, through almost all available Sanskrit literature on the subject, Bose proves that the approved major classical dances have their roots in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but have evolved with the cultural needs of the times. Thus she shows that "the evolutionary process is therefore one of dynamic growth rather than a static survival" in her conclusion.

This contribution of Mandakranta Bose to the art form of dance should be welcomed by students of dance, performing artistes and dance aficionados.

Indira S. Aiyar

BEYOND ORIENTALISM, The Work of Wilhelm Halbfass and Its Impact on Indian and Cross-Cultural Studies, edited by ELI FRANCO and KARIN PREISENDANZ, Motilal Banarsidass, First edition, 2007, pp. XXXIII + 673. Rs. 895.

The present volume under review is a collection of papers on Halbfass' work with responses by the subject himself, to these comments. Mostly the critiques on the views are expressed in the volumes *India and Europe,* 1988, *Tradition and Reflection,* 1991 and, *On Being and What There Is,* 1992.

There are lists of Halbfass' works in two sections covering monographs and selected articles and his contributions to Encyclopaedias, etc. In an introductory essay Halbfass puts forth his views on the current theme of "Orientalism", followed by five sections each covering : 1. Cross-Cultural Encounter and Dialogue, 2. Issues of Comparative Philosophy, 3. Topics in Classical Indian Philosophy, 4. Developments and Attitudes in Neo-Hinduism, and 5. Indian Religion, Past and Present. There is a Bibliography of original texts and secondary sources of references provided.

The book is voluminous and each article needs reflection. This review can take up only some papers (the editors state that the eminent scholars are spread over three continents) presented in this work.

Tracing the development of the word "Orientalism", Edward Said's work *Orientalism* (1978) is taken as the starting point, where "Orientalism" is criticized only with reference to Islam. Halbfass gives a similitude between Communism, where Karl Marx imagined a Utopian state of classless society and Said's demand for liberation from the "objectification and essentialization" imposed by Western Orientalists. There have been harsh critics of Hinduism

and Indology. Heidegger 'had claimed "Europeanization of the earth" which has in it an inseparable implication of claims of mastery and domination over the "others" by Europe. Partha Mitter had much earlier stated that Indian art and iconography have been systematically misunderstood and misrepresented by the West. But, overall these critics have contributed no less to Indic studies than the empathetic scholars.

Dermont Killingley in his *Mlecchas, Yavanas and Heathens* : Interacting Xenologies in Early Nineteenth-Century Calcutta, analyses the mutual attitudes of Europeans and Hindus, in particular, Rammohan Roy of Bengal. The latter was termed a 'heathen' by a Christian missionary! The attitudes of Bengalis to Europeans were varied, coloured by their background, be it the Brahmin culture, being the employees of the East India Company, the influence of the Asiatic Society or those of the missionary zealots. He feels that "The Orientalist thesis is often a device to enable modern scholars to dominate, restructure and have authority over their predecessors, without the need to understand their work" (p.140, fn.14).

Fred Dallmayr (Exit from Orientalism? Comments on Wilhelm Halbfass) quotes Halbfass to show the latter's sympathetic reinterpretation by modern scholars on Hinduism, that it is an expression of transformation of thoughts committed to the Vedic revelation and is "a hybridization of the traditional self-understanding" (p. 53). Sergei D. Serebriany (Some Marginal Notes On *India and Europe),* quotes Halbfass' opening words in this book that philosophizing should be undertaken only after a study of the source books of the respective philosophies of India and Europe. Lucidity of expression is possible only in the language of a culture. Thus he suggests a side by side study of the philosophies in the respective languages of those cultures, till such time when a synthetic language common to both evolves! He makes a perceptive comment that the Muslims recorded their history in India; the Hindus had no idea of historiography; in the modern Indian languages the word '*itihāsa*' has been used to denote history, similar to the usage of '*darśana*' for philosophy, and '*dharma*' for religion.

Reena Sen (Some Reflections On *India and Europe)* makes some valid criticism of the book, particularly of the opinion that India had no "concept of philosophy" since it was mixed up with religion; that whatever the quest for philosophy there was, it was motivated by "*prayojana*"; that Divinity played the ultimate role in philosophy; and that our philosophy worth its name is the outcome of hard work done by the Europeans - all of which she proceeds to demolish one by one, by considered arguments, though she is fulsome in her praise of Halbfass on this work. Halbfass has not commented on these views.

J. N. Mohanty in his usual lucid style takes up the term "Indology" (much discussed as to its validity), and feels that there seems to be no similar single term to denote the entire German culture. Further, he states, that German philosophers commenting on Indian philosophy did not have a sound knowledge of it. As to the term neo-Hinduism, he appreciates the fact that Indian philosophy shows resilience when confronted by challenges, that it could assimilate Western philosophical values and emerge in its "neo-form". Further, such "faults" exist in all philosophies as they are caught up in historical developments. He also defends the use of the word *darśana* for philosophy. The critical spirit that pervades the *darśanas* also justifies their classification under the genre of philosophy and not that of literature. The same standard by which Indian philosophy was adjudged to be not a philosophy, if applied to Greek thought would show similar shortcomings. In "doing" philosophy, or for that matter any discipline, grounding our statements is far more important than making assertions. Mohanty demolishes some "global assertions" which Western philosophers make to underline the superiority of their thought. As for the Europeanization of the earth, it may be possible technologically, but how European are those phenomena which they uphold as theirs, Mohanty asks, since they had their origin in the East and the Orient.

While agreeing with most of Mohanty's thoughts, Halbfass disagrees with O'Leary's (Heidegger and Indian Philosophy) basic tenet as he comments on *On Being and What There Is* that there was absolutely no philosophy in India and China, because there was no grasp of "being". Though there were certain themes common to both Indian and Greek philosophy, such as forms, causality, act and potency etc., there is a perception of the superiority of Greek thought, and a grudging admittance of equal if not better theories on certain themes on India. Halbfass in his comments advises on a true dialogue on "hermeneutical and historical keys", but cautions on being too closed or exclusive in the approach.

In the interesting section 3 on Topics on Classical Indian Philosophy, Jan Houben (Bhartṛhari's Perspectivism) examines Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya - Kārikas* and the *vṛttis* to see whether perspectivism and relativism in both are similar or not. Between *āgama* and *pramāṇa* Bhartṛhari conclusively supports the superiority of the former. As to the question of the eternality of the universe as well as *śruti*, there seems to be an acceptance of both the cyclical and non-cyclical views, which *Kārikas* 1.172-173 and 3.1.42-43 refer. As to the point on Bhartṛhari's views on *śabda* and *apabhraṁśa*, the *kārikas* 1.181 - 183 are examined in considerable detail, and Houben avers that Bhartṛhari states that the earlier *apabhraṁśa* words were altered by Grammarians to the latter correct forms. Hence the later ones should be accepted as true. Later

Bhartṛhari refuted this, and stated that since the correct form was derived from Prakrit that also should be rejected. These views seem to be good examples of Bhartṛhari's perspectivism. Halbfass comments that Bhartṛhari was aloof from the different doctrines he elucidated including his own theories, commenting from a higher semantic and theoretical level. He was more concerned with the framework of these doctrines which are the Vedas than with the doctrines themselves.

Johannes Bronkhorst (Philosophy and Vedic Exegesis in the Mīmāṁsā) examines the exegetic principle of Mīmāṁsā which states that only the direct meaning of a word in its primary sense should be preferred over its other meanings. Mīmāṁsā accepts the eternality of the Vedas, but as a consequence of this view, different interpretations developed within this school.

John Taber (The Significance of Kumārila's Philosophy) says that for Kumārila knowledge of right or wrong was not according to reason, conscience or perception, but depended entirely on the Vedas. Taber suggests that to make this traditionalist ethics relevant to the Western readers of today, we have to reinterpret the opinion of the eternality of the Vedas. They are only seemingly so, because the tradition is so ancient that they seem to be without a beginning! Kunio Harikai comments on Kumārila's acceptance and modification of categories of the Vaiśeṣika school in the eponymous article. Halbfass pays the following handsome tribute to Kumārila "... this towering figure in the history of Indian philosophy", ".... is a truly great thinker, with a penetrating sense of fundamental problems in epistemology, metaphysics and ethics, in command of formidable intellectual powers and dialectical skills" (p.481). Concluding this section is Victoria Lysenko's "The Vaiśeṣika Notions of Ākāśa and Diś", and Bruce M. Perry's "Early Nyāya and Hindu Orthodoxy: Ānvikṣiki and Adhikāra".

The fourth section takes a critical view of the Neo-Vedantins. The "Neo-Hindus" such as Vivekananda, Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and others had a Western training in their educational outlook, and are said to present Hinduism contrary to its tradition. Also Yohanan Grinshpon (Section 5: Experience and Observation in Traditional and Modern Pātañjala Yoga) comments that Neo-Vedantins like Keshub Chandra Sen, Debendranath Tagore, Vivekananda, Aurobindo and others laid great emphasis on spiritual experience. This was followed by "Neo-Yoga" which was far removed from the cautionary statements on personal experience by Pātañjala Yoga. He states that Classical Yoga is a tradition of "secondary transformation of primary verbalisation" (p.563). Halbfass himself though does not ridicule the "Neo-Hindus", he nevertheless feels their philosophical perception has no roots in the tradition, nor have they perfected their methodological and philosophical approach of

Western scholarship. To quote from the Editorial Essay p. xvii, "The dormant potential of the extremely self-centered and xenophobic Hindu traditionalism has been awakened and 'historically actualized' ...by the encounter with the West and the subsequent, not yet completed Europeanization....". One should overlook such statements, since he has contributed vastly in changing Western perception on Indian scholars struggling to present the philosophy with the benchmark of Western scholarship. The fifth section deals with "Indian Religion Past and Present." The first two articles in this last section by Minoru Hara (A Note on *Dharmasya Sūkṣmā Gatiḥ*), and Albrecht Wezler (The Story of Ani-Māṇḍavya as told In The *Mahābhārata* : Its Significance for Indian Legal and Religious History) are very interesting.

In the Editorial Essay it is stated that Halbfass has an "inimitable, admirable gift for rendering the seemingly dry and scholastic texts of Indian philosophy fascinating to intellectuals outside the narrow circle of Indologists; ...Halbfass combines European academic thoroughness with the readability of Anglo-Saxon scholarship" (p. vi). It is further commented that as a philosopher he has thrown fresh light on many philosophic issues and texts. From a perusal of the present volume one fully tends to agree with the above opinion.

Indira S. Aiyar

DHARMA AND ABHIDHARMA, KALPAKAM SANKARNARAYAN, KANCHANA MAHADEVAN, RAVINDRA PANTH, and MOTOHIRO YORITOMI (Ed), 2 Vols, Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., Mumbai and New Delhi, 2007, Pages L + 627. Rs. 1600.

This review addresses a reading of the proceedings of the fourth biannual international conference with a collection of forty-seven papers in two volumes on 'Dharma and Abhidharma' jointly organized by K. J. Somaiya Centre for Buddhist Studies, Mumbai, Department of Philosophy, University of Mumbai, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Nalanda, and Shuchin University, Kyoto (Japan) held on 06 - 09 March 2006, and in doing so offers an evaluation. The *leitmotiv* of the two volumes, as the editors mention in the Preface, is "the term 'Dharma' in general and 'Abhidharma' in particular as understood in Buddhism" (p. xxiv), and in his keynote address Geshe Ngawang Samten quoting from Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyā-yukti* elucidates the varied nuances of the term 'Dharma' in Buddhist parlance: "... the word dharma has ten meanings - object of knowledge, spiritual path, Nirvāṇa, faculties, virtue, life, the doctrine, nature of constant becoming, precepts, and worldly law" (p. xxxiii).

The first volume consists of twenty-one articles and the second volume presents the remaining twenty six articles. The main advantage of a conference book is that it offers a compendium of recent work by a number of active contributors in the field. One disadvantage is exemplified in the title of the volume under review which suggests a breadth and depth of treatment that would be difficult to supply in a purpose-written book by a single author. Such a treatment cannot be found here. The forty-seven articles included in the two volumes could be classified into seven broad categories related to: (1) the exposition of the terms 'Dharma' and Abhidharma, (2) the historicity and development of Buddhism in south and southeast Asia, (3) the schools of Buddhism, (4) the original Buddhist texts, (5) comparative study of Buddhism and Buddhist texts with other philosophies (like Daoism, Confucianism, Vedanta) and texts (like *Bhagavadgītā* and *Rāmacaritamānasa*), (6) Art, architecture, iconography, epigraphy and inscriptions, and (7) Ecology, Women and other topics of contemporary importance.

One would have found the volumes handier, if the two volumes had been divided into above mentioned seven (or so) sections/categories. Though the editors have mentioned some eight themes/various aspects of the conference papers in their preface (p. xxiv), it does not reflect in the way the articles are presented in the volumes. The work in discussion also lacks an elaborate introduction which would have been beneficial to both scholars and laymen. However, these small and minor things do not affect the greatness of these volumes.

A short review cannot do justice to these two volumes. There is much more, of course, to be said about them, and all other things the volumes employ. The editors deserve appreciation for this marvellous work. The publisher Somaiya Publications, Mumbai and New Delhi, has brought out the volumes beautifully in very clear and readable print. Teachers, researchers and students, and readers of Buddhism and Asian philosophy will gain from this work.

C. D. Sebastian

PRATĪTYASAMUTPĀDA-Dependent Origination, Ed. by KALPAKAM SANKARANARAYAN, PARINEETA DESHPANDE, Somaiya Publications Pvt Ltd., Mumbai, 2007, pp. lvii + 179. Rs. 500.

The present book under review is a collection of papers presented at a National Seminar at the K. J. Somaiya Centre for Buddhist Studies. There is

an attempt to present different facets of this system in Buddhist philosophic thought. Some papers catch our attention more than others in their interesting presentation of their theme.

Dhadphale in his Inaugural Address has touched on the relevant points of this most important philosophy of causation stated by the Buddha himself, and whetted our interest for the ensuing papers. He shows a correspondence between the Sāṁkhya *tattvas* and the Buddhist, and hints at the influence by two teachers of the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga systems on the Buddha's philosophy. He also raises the point that in spite of its special importance later Buddhism paid little heed to this philosophy. He has provided a rare pictorial manuscript in Gilgit script, illustrating the *Pratītyasamutpāda* philosophy. S. R. Bhatt in his Key Note Address touches on the three main facets of *Pratītyasamutpāda: Idampratyayatā, Nissvabhāvatā* and, *Dharmadhātutva*. The first underlies the other two. No objects or events have permanent existence, and they are in incessant concatenation, or *Santāna* where the previous one gives rise to the latter. Nāgārjuna has brilliantly highlighted the *nissvabhāvatā* or *śūnyatā* of the phenomenal world, and he draws our attention to the distinction between the two basic terms 'vyavahāra' and 'paramārtha.' He was followed by his commentator Candrakirti who highlighted the philosophy's *parasparāśrayatā* aspect. This understanding of our world is also stated in Quantum Physics. Bhatt has correctly said that the significance of this philosophy's relevance to ecology and universal well being cannot be underestimated.

The Presidential Address raises the piquant question on the Buddhist concepts of misery of saṁsāra and its alleviation, whether it was prior or later to similar thoughts in the Upaniṣads, and leaves the question open for the scholars to decide. It further opines that the relevance and popularity of Buddhism in the modern West might be because the Buddha tried to find a way out of our worldly woes, not attaching much importance to the transcendental world. While Kanchana Mahadevan in her Special Remarks tries to see similarity between *Pratītyasamutpāda* and the Kantian views on substance, causation and reciprocity, Shubhada Joshi takes up the philosophy of Heidegger and states that there is much similarity with the Buddhist theory of causation, though she does not set out to compare the two.

The philosophy of *Pratītyasamutpāda* starts with ignorance and ends with old age, death and rebirth. Some scholars feel that primarily the Buddha preached the Four Noble Truths, and thereafter the Causal Origination theory overtook the earlier theory. During the Teacher's time, dialectics regarding the existence and nature of the soul, and its condition after death were exceedingly numerous. The Buddha held these at a distance as it were. He

desisted from answering the wandering monk Vatsagotra on the question of the existence of the soul, and admonished the pupil Malunkyaputra not to get confused with questions as to the reality of the world, etc. It may be surmised that he suggested that his followers abandoned such questions because it led to futile arguments and deflected one from the goal of deliverance. *Pratityasamutpāda* states that it is the nature of dharmas to be produced by concurrent causes and what is produced by causes does not exist in itself. Therefore, *śūnya* in such a context would mean production by causes or, dependence. Because the Buddha precluded metaphysical speculations from his teachings, it does not mean that he had no views on them. Meena Talim in her Valedictory Address states that the Buddha did not believe in the existence of the soul, and propounded a no-soul concept.

Buddhadev Bhattacharya, in the 2nd Paper, (p.13, fn. 5) gives an interesting etymological meaning to the word *Pratityasamutpāda*. Every object or being *(prati)* is subject to dissolution *(itya = vinaśvara)*. Those dissolved appear *(samutpāda)* again and again. Angaraj Chaudhary in his paper observes that even if this concept is explained intellectually, it should be felt experientially by first following faithfully the Eightfold Path. M. A. Deokar examines etymological meaning of the word in his paper *Paticcasamuppāda* and Grammar. Examining the meaning as expounded in Pali by Buddhaghoṣa, and in Sanskrit by Vasubandhu, he finds the approach of the former conservative remaining within the grammatical framework, while the latter lays emphasis on the doctrine. Again Buddhaghoṣa using Pali etymology lays stress on mutuality, while Vasubandhu, similarly using Sanskrit, emphasizes dependence. Thus though minor, these differences later on gave rise to different schools of philosophic thought. Meenal Katarnikar compares the Jaina *Anekānta* theory with the Buddhist Middle Doctrine, and states that the latter is based upon rejection and exclusion, while that of Mahāvira's theory is based on acceptance and inclusion. She concludes on a note of doubt, questioning the very validity of the nomenclature 'Middle Way', whether it is a myth or a mirage!

Bimalendra Kumar (10th Paper), commenting on the theory of Dependent Origination, examines it as found in the exegetical literature, from the teachings of the Ācāryas of various schools. He critically scrutinizes each link in this theory and concludes that *avidyā* and *tṛṣṇā* are the main forces working individually as well as collectively, accelerating the process of repeated existence.

Ujjval Kumar in the next paper, states that the Independent Buddhas arose out of a particular cause, and not due to the teaching of a Buddha. Further, the concept of *Pratyekabuddhas* must have been borrowed from the

Sanskrit word *pratyaya-* cause, since there is a similar term in Jainism, viz. - *Patteya-Buddha*. Hari Shankar Prasad in his very interesting paper brings out certain points in Nāgārjuna's philosophy, particularly the two views, positive as well as negative on *śūnyatā*: the first advocates achievement of excellence in ethical practices and the second creates the background for ethical holism. Reality cannot be established if the binary concepts of cause and effect are not proved to be identical, or different from each other. The concluding paragraph considers further arguments on these lines and shows all philosophic theories of *ātmavādins* or *anātmavādins* as empty, irrelevant and disadvantaged. The whole paper brings out some of the brilliance in Nāgārjuna's dialectic. In the last paper Sharmila Virkar states that Neo-Buddhism does not discuss or comment on *Pratītyasamutpāda* because Dr. Ambedkar was more concerned with social upliftment and equality, and may have found arguments on philosophy futile.

Space restrictions preclude commenting on all the papers. Most of the contributors unfortunately repeat the basics of the topic, explaining the meaning and significance of the key philosophic terms which is tiresome while reading, but may have been inevitable while presenting the papers. For scholars interested in this important philosophy, this book should be recommended reading.

Indira S. Aiyar

THE ARCHAIC AND THE EXOTIC : Studies in the History of Indian Astronomical Instruments, SREERAMULA RAJESWARA SARMA, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi.

Dr. S. R. Sarma has written an interesting and important book that discusses the various astronomical instruments used in India in historical times.

Astronomy has been an important aspect of Indian culture right from the Vedic period and the Rgveda itself declares astronomy as a crown jewel of learning. From then to the Siddhantic period, astronomy makes a steady and systematic progress in India. supported by myths, observations and knowledge gained from other fields. The Siddhantic period is famous for its meticulous astronomical calculations and prediction of astronomical events.

However, one of the dark corners in our understanding of the history of the growth of astronomy in India has been our lack of clarity on the manner in which astronomical data was received and recorded. We are not

clear how they measured: equinoxes, stellar coordinates and the rise and setting time of sun, moon and stars. In fact even the nature and accuracy of measuring time are not clear. We have few records of actual astronomical observations that must have been used in creating the knowledge about astronomy.

Through this well designed, short book, Dr. S. R. Sarma has tried to fill this gap in our knowledge. He has discussed various astronomical and time-keeping instruments used by Indians in pre-Siddhantic and Siddhantic period. Dr. Sarma is a very distinguished scholar and has spent several decades studying this subject and his scholarship is clearly revealed in this highly readable book. The book throws light on the astronomical and time-keeping instruments, their origin, their accuracy and their modification. In the first chapter, several of his earlier published papers are reproduced in part that put the entire problem in perspective. They illuminate the reader on the present knowledge of this subject and put it in the context of general intellectual enquiry and astronomical needs. Discussions on various astronomical instruments in detail in later chapters then allow the reader to explore the working and importance of various instruments. This adds significant information to the earlier chapter which outlines the historical growth. Hence depending on the choice of the reader, he or she may get a quick idea about the historical growth without being cluttered with details of individual instruments while a more serious reader may get details of the working of each instrument against the historical perspective to obtain detailed information on this interesting subject.

The book is therefore an important source of basic information on the astronomical and time-keeping instrumentation. Its style is lucid and provides a wealth of related information of great interest and value to the readers. It also has many little bits of information scattered all over the book which provide interesting insights into the subject. His promised large volume with details of instrumentations of 26 different categories (listed on page 27 of the book) only whets the appetite of the reader.

However, the picture that emerges from the book is a disappointing one. As pointed out by the author himself, while on one side Indians toyed with such complex ideas as perpetual motion machines which had deep impact on science across the world and especially in China and Europe, they seem to have completely ignored instrumentation for astronomical observations (page 56). Indeed, to highlight this contrast Dr. Sarma has even dedicated a chapter to the design and idea of perpetual motion machine and its impact on the scientific world. Why this should be so, continues to be a mystery. It seems

that the Indian astronomers never went beyond a gnomon and a water clock for their observations. This contempt for observations may well have arisen from a great confidence in the older method of observation and the unchanging nature of the sky that the later observers did not find it necessary to observe again, except for the most rudimentary checks. Even the use of complex astronomical instruments such as the astrolabe for navigation seems to have been ignored. The only exception to this seems to have been the Mughal kings who had several astrolabes made in Urdu and Sanskrit and several of their instruments find place in the miniatures painted during that period. Indeed, it is only the reemphasis on observations by Raja Jai Singh at the Jantar Mantar that this state of mind changed. Yet, Indians were aware of complex and useful instruments. Several Arab instruments like the astrolabe and the celestial globe were indigenised and rewritten in Sanskrit even if some of the commentaries are too cryptic to reveal the manner of their use.

The book highlights these issues, sometimes with explicit discussions and sometimes in a more subtle manner as when he points out that the water clocks had a whole series of limitations and accuracy problem but the astronomers of that period seem to have done precious little to improve their technology. This disdain of technology and instrumentation over pure abstract theoretical work has been the bane of Indian science for a long time and the present work provides an excellent starting point to look for answers to such puzzles. His complete catalogue therefore will be eagerly awaited by serious workers in the field.

However, one point on which this book disappoints is that there is no discussion on the astronomical instruments used by mariners. We know that the maritime traditions in India are rich and at least from 14th century onwards, there is verifiable data on the tools used by the mariners in the west and south coasts of India. The instruments they used for navigation also had strong links to astronomy and a chapter on them would have given a more complete history of India's astronomical tradition.

In spite of this limitation, I would strongly recommend this book to any person even peripherally interested in the history of astronomical instruments in India. It is an excellent point for general readers and interested researchers to begin their enquiry and we must thank Dr. Sarma for this excellent and balanced book.

Mayank Vahia

BHĀMAHA'S KĀVYĀLAMKĀRA, A Critical Study and Edition, C. R. SUBHADRA, Publication Division, University of Calicut, Calicut University Sanskrit Series 29, Calicut, 2008, pp. 375.

This is a published version of the doctoral dissertation of the author of the same title submitted to the University of Calicut (date not mentioned). It has a Foreword by Prof. K. Sekharan, Head, Department of Sanskrit, University of Calicut and a. Introduction by Prof. C. Rajendran and a Preface by the author.

The work is divided into two parts. The first part is entitled "Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālamkāra:* A critical study" (p. 17-277). The second part is entitled "Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālamkāra:* Critical edition" (p. 278-321). Apart from a Bibliography, the work also contains 3 indices (verse, name and subject) and two appendices. The first appendix is entitled "Parallel passages in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin" and the second appendix is entitled "Parallel passages in Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa." In the first appendix passages are classified under 10 heads (On purpose of poetry, fame; on faultless poetry; on the definition of Mahākāvya; on the description of Hero; on dramatic forms; on the distinction of *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā;* on the distinction of Vaidarbha and Gauḍiya; on the defects of *Upamā;* on *Alamkāras;* on poetic blemishes). The second appendix contains passages regarding the *Alamkāras* (however, the author has not said so at the beginning of this appendix).

The first part is divided into nine chapters starting with an introduction. In the introduction, the author has stated that Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālamkāra* is the oldest known work dealing with many an aspect of the *śravyakāvyas.* Bharata dealt exhaustively with the *Dṛśyakāvya* in his *Nāṭyśāstra.* In *Kāvyālamkāra,* we see several theories propounded by later theoreticians in their "germinal form". There is an extensive survey of literature bringing out peculiar features of different researches and concluding that there is a need to have a complete study of *Kāvyālamkāra.* Here the author has provided a summary of contents of all the six chapters of *Kāvyālamkāra.*

In the second chapter, "Bhāmaha and His Times" the author has argued about various personal aspects of Bhāmaha and has concluded mainly that Bhāmaha flourished in the 6th century CE. The other conclusions are that he was a non-Buddhist, that he must have written works other than the *Kāvyālamkāra,* that he was. earlier than Bhaṭṭi, Daṇḍin and Dharmakīrti and that he does not refer to Jinendrabuddhi.

The third chapter entitled "Bhāmaha's Concept of Poetry" discusses in detail various aspects of the concept of poetry as propounded by Bhāmaha. It starts with the definition of poetry and further discusses the importance of

Vakrokti, Vaidarbha and Gauḍa poetry, defects of poetry, functions of poetry, sources of poetry, classification of poetry, lesser known types of visual arts as known to Bhāmaha.

The fourth chapter deals with 'Bhāmaha's Concept of *Alaṁkāra.*" In this chapter, it is stated that according to Bhāmaha, *alaṁkāras* are the internal aspect of poetry and not external addition and there can be no *alaṁkāra* without *vakrokti.* The author has expressed the view that Bhāmaha has given little importance to *guṇas* while defining *Alaṁkāra.* In fact, he held the view that *"Guṇas* and *Alaṁkāras* both are inseparable aspects of poetry. ... In this respect Daṇḍin follows Bhāmaha." (p. 90). Bhāmaha has treated 38 *alaṁkāras* in the 2nd and 3rd chapters of his work. The author has classified them under four heads and presents them in a tree form (p. 93). There is a detailed comparative historical study of the *alaṁkāras* treated by Bhāmaha in this· chapter.

The 5th chapter is devoted to the concept of "Poetic Blemishes". In this chapter, historic development of the concept of Poetic Blemishes is studied and in this light the author presents Bhāmaha's concept. The author has classified the blemishes enumerated by Bhāmaha under four heads. While describing them critically the author has also pointed out views of Daṇḍin and Vāmana at the relevant places. The author has concluded that 1) Bhāmaha followed Bharata to a great extent. 2) Along with *Nāṭyaśāstra, Nyāyasūtra* and *Nyāyabhāṣya* also exerted great influence on Bhāmaha. 3) Daṇḍin though a follower of Bharata in the treatment of *guṇas* is a follower of Bhāmaha in the treatment of conventional blemishes. 4) Bhāmaha's classification of poetic blemishes is simpler and more elegant in comparison to his predecessors and followers.

The 6th chapter studies the Logical principles applicable to *Kāvya.* While pointing out straight away that the logic of poetry differs from the scientific one, the author has dealt with Bhāmaha's concept of *Pramāṇas* and his acceptance of two *Pramāṇas* viz *Pratyakṣa* and *Anumāna* and similar concepts like *Pratijñā, Hetu* and *Dṛṣṭānta.* He has argued that Bhāmaha seems to adhere to the view of Vaiśeṣikas.

The 7th chapter is titled "Some Observations on Poetry and Grammar." In this chapter, views expressed by Bhāmaha in the 6th *Pariccheda* are studied in detail. The main argument of Bhāmaha is that the language in poetry must be grammatically correct and at the same time it should be conducive to bring out the aesthetic beauty from within.

In the 8th chapter entitled, "Works and Authors cited by Bhāmaha", the

author points out that Bhāmaha refers to only 5 authors and 3 books by name but shows awareness of the existence of at least 23 other works. These works pertain to branches like Smṛtis, Mahākāvyas, Grammar and Philosophy. The author has pointed out in particular that the *Nyāsakara* that Bhāmaha refers to can not be Jinendrabuddhi (8th century CE).

In the concluding chapter, the author has attempted to take stock of the contributions of Bhāmaha to Sanskrit Poetics with the help of discussions done before. There are 11 points around which the discussions revolve. It is noteworthy that after this discussion, there is a section which deals with the drawbacks which levels 5 serious charges against Bhāmaha, the most important being, "Therefore, it can be argued that the emotional element of Poetry was nearly disregarded by Bhāmaha. In other words he seems to have failed to deal with poetry from the point of view of a sensible reader." (p. 272).

In order to prepare the Critical edition of *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, the author has used 3 MSS and 7 printed editions. The description of the manuscripts is not available in detail. The manuscripts are mentioned in the Select Bibliography. The interrelation of these MSS is also not mentioned in the work.

Malhar Kulkarni

ĀKHYĀYIKĀPADDHATI OF RĀMAPĀṆIVĀDA (Edited with Critical Study), K. P. SREEDEVI, Publication Division, University of Calicut, Calicut, 2008, Pp. 256. Rs. 200.

Ākhyāyikāpaddhati of Rāmapāṇivāda is a collection of stories on the lines of *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, but is a short compilation as compared with these two. It is authored by Paṇḍita Rāmapāṇivāda, a Keralite Sanskrit scholar of 18th century. Smt. K. P. Sreedevi selected this MS for her doctoral dissertation from among the collections of MSS of Sri V. K. S. Bhaṭṭāripāda of Varavoor of Thrissur dist. of Kerala. Dr. P. Narayanan Namboodiri, Head, Sanskrit Department, University of Calicut, guided Sreedevi in her research. She studied and edited this MS and has presented it here, with two elaborate chapters on (1) Textual material and the author and (2) A critical study of the MS. The third chapter in the book is the text, critically edited by Dr. Sreedevi. But as the editorial changes have not been indicated in the text, it is very difficult to identify the original text. The critical reader is entitled to know the original text. This book is said to be the revised form of

her dissertation.

Unfortunately, the MS taken up for a critical study is not complete. It contains only the first three *lambakas*. The original *Ākhyāyikāpaddhati* is supposed to contain ten *lambakas* with ten episodes each.

It is not quite clear, why Dr. Sreedevi chose this incomplete MS for her dissertation. Nowhere is it mentioned that the scholar did attempt to trace the complete MS either in Kerala or elsewhere. Rāmapāṇivāda was a prolific writer comparatively of a recent century and it is likely that MSS of this and his other works would be traceable in Kerala or other parts of the country. Narrative literature, even otherwise, s eads far and wide. So, there is yet scope for researchers to trace other MSS in or outside Kerala of these pleasant narratives.

The two chapters which precede the text go a long way in enabling the readers to study the text in its proper perspective.

The appendix gives alphabetical index of the verses and is useful in locating many of the 1586 stanzas in the three *lambakas*. The select bibliography is helpful to anyone desiring to know more about narrative literature in Sanskrit.

The introduction by Dr. P. Narayanan Namboodiri surveys briefly the *Kathā* literature in Sanskrit, enabling readers to appreciate this work in its proper setting.

This is the 31ˢᵗ publication in the Sanskrit Series of the University of Calicut by its Publication Division. More such publications would go a long way in the promotion of Sanskrit in India and abroad.

N. B. Patil

A STUDY OF VAIKHĀNASA ICONOGRAPHY, K.K.C. LAKSHMI NARASIMHAN, Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute, Mumbai, 2007, pp xxii + 391+ 60, colour plates. Rs. 1500.

The book comprises of eight chapters. It discusses terminology, iconometry, material and image making, forms of Viṣṇu (*vyūhas, avatāras* and minor forms), *strī devatās* and *parivāra devatās.* The title clearly states the scope of the present study, iconography based on (eight of the twenty eight) works of the Vaikhānasa system.

Sage Vikhanas, áuthor of *Dharma-*, *Gṛhya-*, *Śrauta-* and *Kalpa-sūtras* is the founder of the Vaikhānasa system. His disciples were Atri, Bhṛgu, Kāśyạpa, Marici, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasiṣṭha and Angiras. Compiled works of the first four propagated the Vaikhānasa system of rituals. According to them Viṣṇu exists in five forms, viz. *para, vyūha, vibhava, arcā* and *antaryāmin.* The entire philosophy of Vaikhānasa tradition focuses on *mokṣa,* only through iconic worship. Vaikhānasa treatises consider *samūrta* worship greater than *amūrta.* One of the advantages of *samūrta* worship given is that whereas *amūrta* worship finishes with the death of the worshipper, *samūrta,* based on an icon, continues for generations. Additionally, *amūrta* worship in the form of *agnihotra* was admissible to the *dvijas,* for those ineligible, iconic worship was the equivalent of *agnihotra.* Vaikhānasa *āgamic* tradition helped sustain the tradition of iconic worship by formulating rules for perfect iconography and temple architecture. The last i.e. the unique temple architecture is evident in the three storeyed temples where Viṣṇu is depicted in *sthānaka, āsina* and *śayana* postures on three different levels.

In the introductory chapter the author notes the non-availability of authentic, complete and error-free Vaikhānasa source-books to scholars. He especially rues the errors that have crept in palm-leaf manuscripts every time a new copy was made. Besides being in Telugu or Grantha scripts some texts are in the possession of a few *arcakas* and thus not available for study.

The study considers only the icons and panels found in rock-cut caves and temples still in worship in South India. The author explains that Vaikhānasa *āgamas* played the same role in south Indian Vaiṣṇavism as Pāñcarātra in North India. Vaikhānasa school was evident between the Godavari and the southern end of India prior to $8^{th}/9^{th}$ century.

In view of the importance of iconic worship, it is only natural that the largest single chapter in the book is devoted to forms of Viṣṇu including *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. This is also to be expected since it is in some of these concepts that Vaikhānasa is different from Pāñcarātra. Many details of *dhruva beras, vyūhas, avatāras,* minor forms of Viṣṇu are noted as also iconography of *stri devatās* and *parivāra devatās* in subsequent chapters.

The author has explained material, image making and iconometry in detail making this book a useful source of information on these topics too. He has the unique advantage of hands-on experience in the workshop of sculpture and architecture (one of his brothers is a scholar in *āgamas* and another, a sculptor and temple architect). This is evident in the clarity of his description and appreciation of the details provided in the *āgamas* - whether explaining the use *of pralamba phalaka* to ensure accurate measurements for

the icon or describing the technique of making a *mṛd-bera* using *śūla, rajju* etc. Where there are differences within Vaikhānasa works i.e. Marīci, Atri, Bhṛgu and Kāśyapa giving differing vertical divisions (*māna*) it is suggested that possibly, they were from different regions, where features of people would be different.

Although the book is on iconography, some details it alludes to make it an important source for the study of important social and religious transitions. For example, the observation that though *gadā* is not admissible as an *āyudha* of Viṣṇu in Vaikhānasa work, it is seen in early Pallava metal images in Kanchipuram. On the other hand, evidence of this *āyudha* being removed from certain images near Tirunagari, birthplace of Vaiṣṇava hymnist Tirumaṅkai Ālvār is also noticed.

The acceptance of *Saptamatṛ-gaṇas* albeit with differences in iconography (the mount of Indrāṇī is said to be the horse Śukatuṇḍa) is another example.

The ālvārs of higher birth are depicted with *udbandha kuntala* whereas Tirumaṅkai Ālvār, born in another caste, is depicted with a *dhammila* hairstyle.

All these hint at inter-sect rivalry, the influence of Pāñcarātra texts and iconographic norms dictated by the then religio-social environment.

The book would be very useful reference for the study of Vaiṣṇava iconography in general and Vaikhānasa iconography in particular though an index at the end of the book would have been welcome in such a valuable work.

Kumud Kanitkar

KALHĀR : STUDIES IN ART, ICONOGRAPHY, ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF INDIA AND BANGLADESH, Eds., GOURISWAR BHATTACHARYA, GERD J. R. MEVISSEN, MALHAR MITRA AND SUTAPA SINHA, Kaveri Books, New Delhi 110002, 2007, Pages 370+37 preliminary pages (i - xxxvii) and illustrations including maps, drawings and photopgraphs in colour and black and white. Rs. 3500.

Kalhār is a collection of forty papers presented in five sections *viz.*, Archaeology, Art and Iconography, Architecture, Epigraphy and Numismatics and Religion brought out to felicitate Dr. Enamul Haque. He was the founder and former Director General of the Bangladesh National Museum and Director

of the International Centre for Study of Bengal Art at Dhaka. He also pioneered the museum movement in Bangladesh and was responsible for.the transformation of the Dhaka Museum into a National Museum. The articles, mostly confined to Bengal with some papers on the neighbouring regions, are published to express admiration to a scholar whose devotion to the study of art, architecture, and iconography of Eastern India, particularly Bengal, is known worldwide and with his yeoman service an exclusive centre for Bengal Art and Archaeology was set up at Dhaka in Bangladesh.

The book starts with a profile of Dr. Haque including his personal details, achievements, academic and professional activities prepared by Sirajul Islam besides lists of illustrations and contributors. In the first section, there are five papers on the various aspects of archaeology. The first article is on the village potters of Kunor - a small village situated about 12 km south of Raiganj town, the district headquarter of North Dinajpur. The author traces the existence of terracotta horses and elephants generally made for use in rituals. Interestingly women prepare the pots by using *athal* or rotating plate of earth collected from a particular pond termed as *rangamati*. Various shapes are made throughout the year but *Soal Hadi* with five large circular perforations at the bottom is made only occasionally. Pottery making is still a continuing tradition of the village, practised as a popular craft. While Asok Dutta made a case study of the subsistence strategies of the Chalcolithic people of Bengal, Jamal Hasan deals with a unique burial excavation at Charaideo used as a burial ground for the Ahom royal dynasty. Comparable to the pyramids of Egypt, this is considered to be a sacred place for the coronation of kings and a place of worship of the ancestral deities. The next paper in this section is on the early historical Cattagrama port - which is the only maritime port that survived the ravages of time. There are two papers on Wari-Bateswara, one on the excavations and the other on the amulets and pendants. While Abu Imam believes that the Neolithic background of Wari-Bateswara is yet to be firmly established, the early historical material, marked by some distinctive traits, closely imitates the Ganga Valley. Though Rahman finds no stratified evidence, he believes that there is a cosmopolitan character of the site during the early historical period. Mallar Mitra's paper on the archaeological remains of Buddhist relics and relic-caskets examines the significance of inscribed relic-caskets. The last paper in this section is on the Terracotta Ringwells from the pre-Muslim Mahasthangarh.

Section-II is a very important one devoted to the study of Art and Iconography. There are seventeen papers on the various aspects on the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina sculptures and paintings. Of these, Eva Allinger's paper on the representations of twenty-eight Buddhas of former aeons at Bagan

describes the life stories of Buddha with variations in pictorial depictions.The paper on the Hidden God by Claudine narrates the importance of secondary deities which exist at the periphery of the great pantheon. Sudipa Bandyopadhyay's paper on the Jaina Āyāgapaṭṭa from lower Bengal salvaged from village Vaidyer Cak in South 24 Parganas is interesting and informative. Bhattracharya has made an objective study on the Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu images and suggested four stages of development in the imagery based on sculptural depictions. Desai in his paper has pointed out some glaring lapses in the exhibition catalogue of Mughal paintings as he found the labelling of exhibits on regular display was deplorable in every museum because of their lack of understanding of the paintings and the Persian language. From Gail's paper it is interesting to know how the floral and faunal representations form an integral part of art, especially the trees and flowers which serve as important symbols in Indian art form right from the Harappan period where there are ample depictions of trees, leaves and flowers not only as symbols but also as designs for ornaments worn by the deities. While writing on the semiotic function of trees in early Indian art, Gail has traced the connection of trees in pre-Buddhist art with gods thus integrating worship of trees with religion. Another interesting paper that deserves our attention is on sari by Zulekha Haque. The example of sari is best represented in the depictions of Didarganj Yakṣi or the female figures in terracotta from Chandraketugarh and Tamluk which portray the females wearing sari-like dress held by an elaborate girdle or a waist band - it has remained an unmatched costume for ages.

Hagewald's paper deals with both the religio-philosophical and ritualistic connection between the various three-legged components in Jaina art. The *meru, samavasaraṇa* and *siṁhāsana* are referred to in the Jaina literature which have wide depictions in art forms into a three dimensional sculptural or architectural model. These are highly symbolic and sacred, venerated by both the sects, viz., *Śvetāmbara* and *Digambara*. Isabell Johne who very briefly examines the Hāriti images from Bihar-Bengal, finds the existence of Hāriti cult in the last stage of Buddhism in eastern India, until the Muslim conquest. Mevissen has made an exhaustive study on the astral deities supplemented by tables on the provenance, material, time-frame, distribution, placement and location of the deities apart from detailed notes and bibliography. It forms a part of a series of documentation of astral deities and symbols confined to the Buddhist female deities. There are ninety-two female images, accompanied by figures of one or all nine planetary gods (*navagraha*), figures of the twenty-eight constellations (*nakṣatra*), symbols of the Sun and the Moon, or the symbols of the twelve zodiacal signs (*rāśi*). He surveyed and analyzed the devi images accompanied by the images of *grahas* published elsewhere.

Shyam Chand Mukherjee points out the importance of the text *Dharmakośa-Saṁgraha* of which only two are now preserved. Important images only described in the text (not illustrated), now in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, are compared with those depicted in the *Sādhanamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvali*. Corinnah has made an iconographic study on the Deccani ceiling panels with Aṣṭadikpālas and Naṭeśa. She has also incorporated a discussion on the distribution of Aṣṭadikpāla ceiling types from the 9th to 11th century besides an appendix on the ceiling panels. The last paper by Niaz Zaman examines the influence of Indo-Portuguese tradition of embroidery on *nakṣī-kantha* which are made of discarded or worn-out clothes by the housewives. These are decorated with a variety of motifs including the domestic or agricultural life besides the depiction of various gods and goddesses.

The next section begins with the study of Mughal hamams in Bangladesh. These hamams have great importance as precious heritage of Mughal architecture and they are in need of protection. Other papers in this section which deserve mention for providing useful information are on the Architectural study of the Madrasahs built in the Sultanate period in Bengal as prime educational institutions set in a separate style. Bautze contributes an interesting account on the only published visual depiction of the 19th century Dhaka, containing 19 engravings published in a large volume on the Art of Dacca; the Smaśāna Temples of Joydevpur constructed by the Bhawal Rajas in memory of the departed soul as an important group of Samādhi architecture of the late 19th - early 20th centuries of Bengal, besides a study by Abdul Qadir which brings out the importance of Manarah - an elevated architectural place to offer prayers collectively for attainment of success.

The following section is devoted to the study of Epigraphy and Numismatics. Yaqub Ali's study based on two undeciphered inscriptions believes that the terminology of Varendra, equated with north Bengal, witnessed the rise and fall of a number of ruling dynasties. The inscriptions belong to the Sultanate and the late Mughals of Bengal. The inscription of the Sultanate period, marked by calligraphic excellence, is highly aesthetic while the one belonging to the late Mughals provides significant information on the construction of a mosque in Bengal. Chattopadhyay's study on the silver content in Bengal coins reveals that there is higher variation of gold content in silver coins. While writing on the ornamental Brāhmī inscription in Prakrit language influenced by Sanskrit, Mukherjee considers the additional marks and lines as decorative letters. Dolly Mukherjee's paper is an important study on metrology. Sayatani's paper deals with land grants pertaining to the transfer of cultivated or royal dynasty's land of early Bengal. It is believed that the ruler

himself was involved in granting the land at his own initiative.

The last section has two papers classified under 'Religion'. The first paper by Gudrun is a brief overview of Smārta literature apart from the characteristics of the Smārta tradition based on Vedic heritage. Nagaswamy's paper on the inscriptions brings out the event of the migration of agriculturists from Tamilnadu to the Gangetic plains.

The book with its contents will definitely serve as an important source material for research on the art and archaeology of Bengal. All the papers are informative, well-researched, with exhaustive notes, references and bibliography. The work of editing is indeed a great task. In their painstaking endeavour the editors and the publisher have done a commendable effort to bring out such a scholarly volume with quality illustrations both in colour and black and white for which they all deserve appreciation and congratulations.

Arundhati Banerji

THE COASTAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF WESTERN INDIA, M. NAMBIRAJAN, Kaveri Books, New Delhi, 2007, Pages 165, including Bibliography, Index, prelims - iii - xiv and Photographs 26. Rs. 450.

Extensive field work in Goa and the adjoining states of Kerala-Karnataka and Maharashtra conducted by Shri Nambirajan, now posted as Superintending Archaeologist in Thrissur Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, has resulted in the discovery of numerous sites with evidence ranging from the Early Palaeolithic to the early historical period till the end of sixth century CE. This enabled the author to study and reconstruct the development and distribution of various cultures of the region including the environmental and sea level changes. The environmental conditions are vital to study the settlement pattern of the pre-historic cultures. The study of these sites also suggested that in the Goa region due to fluctuation in sea level and thick vegetation, there was scarcity in rock material for the use of Early Palaeolithic men. Pre- and protohistoric stages of Goa region were surveyed systematically by bringing to light 120 localities out of 250 that cover the entire region.

The Early, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic sites though scanty, show similarity to the neighbouring Malaprabha-Ghataprabha valleys of Karnataka. Handaxes are negligible in Malwan region of Ratnagiri district, north of Goa.

During the course of exploration, the author collected Early Palaeolithic tools from Shigao area in Goa. But his study indicated limited occurrence of Early, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic sites with a very small quantity of tools mainly due to the tidal nature of the rivers, as the area is in the coastal region. The author also states that in the tract between Malwan and Shigao area, no Early Palaeolithic site was reported so far during the survey. Neither is there any from the Karwar area, South Goa, suggesting an intrusion from Karnataka across the ghats. The presence of Middle Palaeolithic sites indicates that the region of Goa received an impetus from the Middle Palaeolithic times and the potential Middle Palaeolithic site was represented by Anakhane reported from the middle reaches of the Talpona river on an elevated land.This trend is indicative of the fact that when the Deccan and western India were under Chalcolithic occupation, the region of Goa was still experiencing the mesolithic stage with a distinctive life style. It is further mentioned that Shigao was occupied right from the Early Palaeolithic period to the mesolithic time through the Middle Palaeolithic phase. Trial-trench and surface exploration also revealed a cave site at Molanguinim with evidence of Upper Palaeolithic and mesolithic periods. There are numerous mesolithic sites in the central dissected plain where the sea level underwent fluctuations.

The Neolithic culture appeared quite late in the region in the first millennium BCE soon followed by Iron Age megalithic culture. Although the cultural contents of both these stages are not substantial, the rock-engravings at Usgalimol and Kazur display a distinctive feature. These are characteristic of Bhole near Ankola, Gawali in coastal Karnataka - Skoda and Haleluru in down ghat region. The rock-engravings indicate the people as pastoral nomads with preference for cattle and the wild variety of elephants. Among the engravings, cakravyūha is widespread and significant. This region was popular during the Sātavāhana period and the seventh century as per the inscriptional evidence found in the brick temple at Chandor .

The author has done his best to present his observations on the field work carried out in Goa including the sites located in the neighbouring regions of Karnataka and Maharashtra to reconstruct the cultural development but the study requires further investigations to understand the archaeology of the area in a more comprehensive manner. The study, though brief, with bibliography, index including line drawings and colour photographs, is interesting.

Arundhati Banerji

ARTHA: Meaning (A Volume in the Series of FOUNDATIONS OF PHILOSOPHY IN INDIA), JONARDON GANERI, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006, pp. x + 258. Rs. 575.

This is a volume in the series *Foundations of Philosophy in India*. The aim of this series as stated in the blurb is "to make available a critical reassessment of the philosophical achievement of the classical Indian tradition in such a way that it contributes to the dialogue between civilizations of the new century. Although a wealth of literature is already available in translation, it exists in scattered form and is primarily oriented towards philological rather than philosophical concerns."

There are in all nine chapters in the book which are grouped under the following four heads :

1. Meaning and Meanings. 2. Testimony and Meaning. 3. The Cognitive Basis of Meaning. 4. Special Cases.

In the acknowledgements, the author has pointed out that this "... work revises and updates" his earlier treatment of the subject, *Semantic Powers* (a mention in detail of this work in the Bibliography would have been helpful). By both these works, the author has claimed that both aspects of "Meaning" namely, *śakti* and *artha* are thus covered by his treatment. According to him, "this book deals with both of these concepts, [sic] and relates them, in particular, to the importance of testimony and the epistemology of meaning in the Indian discussion". The introduction is in fact a rich tool in understanding the work. It is a brief summary of the arguments presented in detail in the later chapters. The author should be congratulated for providing this tool with utmost precision. Here we find an interesting statement namely that, "... the semantic power of a word and the epistemic power of a hearer or reader, should be connected; but it was the singular achievement of the Indian philosophers of language to analyse the nature of that connection in far greater depth than anyone had done before."

Although the author has primarily discussed views of different Indian philosophical schools, he concentrates on the Nyāya school.

The first part, "Meaning and Meanings" consists of Chapters 1 and 2. In Chapter 1, various theories like *jātiśaktivāda, vyaktiśaktivāda* etc. are discussed. In Chapter 2, we find discussion on Meaning as a relation, as postulated by Indian schools. The Indian philosophical discussion prefers the referentialist theory of meaning from the earlier times. The author argues that this approach has only recently become widely respectable in the western literature. The author rightly points out in this context that Indian philosophers

draw distinctions betweeh two notions of meaning namely, the reference of an expression on any occasion of its use (*artha* or *padārtha*) and a constant, unvarying meaning element, variously thought of as a 'basis' for the use (*pravṛtti-nimitta*).

The second part, "Testimony and Meaning" consists of Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Chapter 3 discusses the *Kāraka* theory of Pāṇini and the way the school of *Nyāya* interpreted it from semantic and logical points of view. The main issue discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 is that according to the Indian Philosophical schools, language is primarily a device for the reception of knowledge. In other words, we decide what meaning is by describing what must be the case if language is to be a source of knowledge.

The third part, "The Cognitive Basis of Meaning", consists of Chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 6 discusses the concept of *pravṛttinimitta* and Chapter 7 discusses the concept of *śakyatāvacchedaka,* the delimiter. The basic thought that comes out of this discussion is that the meaning of an expression is not to be identified with its reference alone, but also with the way the reference is to be thought of.

The fourth part, "Special Cases" consists of Chapters 8 and 9. Chapter 8 takes up the issue of meaning of names. Chapter 9 discusses issues related to the meaning of pronouns. The basic point the author wants to communicate in this part is that by introducing the concept of "modes of thought (*viṣayatāvacchedaka*)" the later Naiyāyikas have better explained the meanings of names and pronouns. The author argues that Gadādhara has introduced two important semantic hypotheses: i) it is possible for indexical utterances to be evaluated with respect to non-actual contexts and, ii) ordinary indexical terms can function anaphorically when they are within the grammatical object of a propositional attitude verb (p. 234).

The work discusses not only the Indian theories of meaning but also compares them critically with modern western theories from philosophical position / point of view and is full of modern western philosophical terminology and abbreviation. The author has shown merits as well as shortcomings of Nyāya positions. Consider Chapter 4, where the epistemological position of Nyāya is compared with modern western philosophers like Evans, McDowell and Strawson on the issue of "understanding-assent" and development of Nyāya position is shown. In the same chapter, while discussing the role of mandates the author shows that, "This is a partial defence of the role of Nyāya mandates. However, in extending such an account to the entire language, the Nyāya seems to commit a quantifier-shift fallacy." (p. 93)

The author has introduced his own terms which seem justified and proper. Consider the discussion in Chapter 9 (which deals with issues related to the meaning of pronouns) where the issue of reference of a pronoun which occurs in a direct report of someone else's speech. The author states that Gadādhara has offered two solutions which he calls as "paratactic" and "anaphoric" (p. 229). This section 4 is especially recommended to all those working in the field of NLP and dealing with the problems of Ambiguity Resolution Techniques.

It was noticed that the first item in the list of symbols was similar to the second one. When the author was contacted by email he replied the following- "I use bold to denote properties, and non-bold to denote classes. It seems okay in the body of the book, but has disappeared from the symbols list. I have just made up and attach a corrected version, which I might also post on my website" (email dated 14th July 2006).

The cover of the book is attractive with a big orange coloured triangle (with another green triangle within) on the background of different colours. It seems that the triangles reflect the different angles of meaning related to language as discussed in the work.

Malhar Kulkarni

RAGHUDEVA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYAVIRACITĀ NAVYANYĀYAVĀDAGRANTHĀḤ, (*Eight Dialectical Treatises of Raghudeva Bhattacharya*) critically edited with introduction in English by SWETA PRAJAPATI, published by Sweta Prajapati, C-62, Aksharadham Society, Baroda-20, 2008, pp. xxvii + 132. Rs. 150.

Nyāya is one of the main schools of thought of Indian Philosophy and it is an accepted fact that the emergence of the Navya-Nyāya is a revolutionary historical phenomenon as far as the development of this school in particular and Indian philosophy in general is concerned. Starting from Gaṅgeśa, there are many philosophers whom we know today, who have contributed to the growth of Navya-Nyāya. Many of them wrote commentaries on important works like Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and the commentaries upon it. Some of them wrote independent works like *Vyutpattivāda*. There were many small treatises, especially *Vādagranthas* which dealt with a particular topic and explained the Nyāya positions thereupon. It is important to bring to light such small treatises of known as well as unknown authors and any attempt to publish the hitherto unpublished work of this school should be appreciated by

the scholarly world of Indologists.

The work under review is one such type and it brings to light eight small treatises dealing with various aspects of Nyāya philosophy. These works are : *Muktivāda* (p. 1-16), *Īśvaravāda* (p. 17-26), *Prāgabhāvavāda* (p. 27-37), *Laukikaviṣayatāvāda* (39-47), *Anumitiparāmarśavicāra* (49-65), *Viśiṣṭavaiśiṣṭyabodhavicāra* (67-89), *Ākānkṣāvāda* (91-112), *Sāmagrivāda* (113-132).

The introduction consists of information related to the personal life of Raghudeva, his date, his works, description of some of his works, and description of the manuscripts used for the purpose of preparing a critical edition presented in this work.

From the introduction we come to know that Raghudeva belonged to Bengal and flourished there. He was a disciple of Harirāma Bhaṭṭācārya Tarkavāgīśa (1625 CE) and a contemporary of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya (1650 CE). There are more than 35 works whose authorship is adduced to Raghudeva (32 works are actually listed). Amongst these there is one work entitled *Viṣayatāvāda*. The editor has taken care to critically evaluate the evidence and state that the *Viṣayatāvāda* attributed to Raghudeva and the *Viṣayatāvāda* attributed to his teacher Harirāma are different works.

The editor has taken care to describe and compare the manuscript material and has attempted to collect manuscripts from collections all over India. In fact, the editor is remarkably candid and straightforward in mentioning that in case of some works even though she is aware of many more MSS, she could not procure them due to various reasons.

In *Muktivāda*, Raghudeva has tried to establish the Nyāya view namely *ātyantikī duḥkhanivṛttiḥ muktiḥ* with the help of arguments using *avacchedaka* terminology. He has also criticized views of Bhaṭṭa as well as the Vedāntin on the subject. In *Īśvaravāda*, Raghudeva has followed Udayanācārya and discussed the pramāṇa for accepting the concept of Īśvara. In *Prāgabhāvavāda*, again the pramāṇa for accepting *prāgabhāva* is discussed. In *Laukikaviṣayatāvāda*, the nature of *Anuvyavasāya* and how a previous cognition is related to the later cognition is discussed. In *Anumitiparāmarśavicāra*, the importance and nature of Parāmarśa in Inference is stated and discussed by quoting Dīdhiti among others. In *Viśiṣṭavaiśiṣṭyabodhavicāra*, the causal relationship between a cognition of a specific property and the cognition of the substratum of that specific property is discussed. In *Ākānkṣāvāda*, the nature of the concept of expectancy which is required for the verbal cognition is discussed. In *Sāmagrivāda*, the causal material for the inferential cognition is

discussed and much thought is given to the *pratibadhya-pratibandhakabhāva* in this regard.

The editor has taken great care providing variant readings and many times we note that the variant readings bring to light an altogether different aspect of the matter (variant no. 18 of *Muktivāda*). Sometimes they bring exactly opposite meanings to light as for instance variant no. 3 of *Laukikaviṣayatāvāda*. In *Īśvaravāda*, we note that a MS omits an entire paragraph which is so important from the argument point of view.

All these variants make these already complex texts of Navya-Nyāya more complex, as the editor has pointed out.

Despite the blurred printing of some pages (e.g. pp. 45-6) and the minor printing errors, the editor should be congratulated for this significant job. It remains questionable however, whether to call some of these editions a "critical edition" or just "editions based on a number of manuscripts."

Malhar Kulkarni

NĀRĀYAṆA PAṆḌITA AND HIS WORKS, K. SEKHARAN, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 2008, Pp.190. Rs. 125.

This is a critical study of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita and his works - a revised version of the dissertation submitted to the University of Calicut for a Ph. D. degree in Sanskrit. Dr. K. Sekharan was guided by Dr. N. V. P. Unithiri, former Head of the University Department of Sanskrit, Calicut. Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita was a renowned pandit in Kerala in mid 17th century. He was a contemporary of King Mānaveda in the line of Zamorins of Calicut.

Chapter I of the book gives briefly the life sketch of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita and lists his important works, followed by a chapter on Āśleṣā, the poet's beloved. This is a love lyric of 100 stanzas of *vipralambha śṛṅgāra*. The author discusses this lyrical poem in all its aspects of *rasa paripoṣa*. The poem has its own place in the *śatakas* in Sanskrit literature viz. *Amaru Śataka, Sūrya Śataka* of Mayūra, *Devi Śataka* of Bāṇa and the *Śatakatraya* of Bhartṛhari. Āśleṣā, the sweetheart of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, was a princess in the family of Zamorins. These hundred stanzas were written by the poet after her death.

Dr. Sekharan discusses other works of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita in the subsequent chapters. *Mānameyodaya*, a treatise on *Mīmāṁsā*, is critically

studied. *Mīmāṁsā* evolved as a logical or rather a philosophical tool, first to supplement ritualistic operations and then to overpower opponents in a debate. The author takes a review of earlier *Mīmāṁsā* works. This is followed by the evaluation of *Mānameyodaya* *vis a vis* other *Mīmāṁsā* treatises.

The next chapter deals with Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita's commentaries on the two Mahākāvyas of Kavikulaguru Kālidāsa viz. *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumārasambhavam.* Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita is very thorough in writing these commentaries and these cover *anvaya, padārtha, vākyārtha* and *samāsavigraha.* The commentaries on both these Mahākāvyas make them easy for comprehension.

Dr. Sekharan has taken every care to transform his Ph.D. thesis into a readable book, both for scholars as well as for lay readers. He has presented Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita as a versatile Sanskrit scholar of his age, by highlighting his pursuit of poetry and allied Sanskrit literature. The author takes the readers to a Sanskrit literary world of the 17th century.

The book is a welcome addition to the literary history of Sanskrit language.

N. B. Patil

SHAH JAHAN AND HIS PARADISE ON EARTH, KOBITA SARKER, K. P. Bagchi & Company, 286, B. B. Ganguli Street, Kolkata 700 012, India, pp. 218 + xiv, colour plates 54. Rs. 2000.

Dr. Kobita Sarker, the author, succeeds in transporting the reader to the golden era of the Mughal period. This is the story of Shah Jahan's creations in Agra and Shahjahanabad in, what the author calls, the 'Golden Days of the Mughals'. In the loving memory of his wife Mumtaz Mahal, he conceived and built the Taj Mahal at Agra, which is now universally counted among one of the eight wonders of the world. Taj Mahal is a living testimony to Shah Jahan's incisive perception of architecture and keen sense of aesthetics. He created, according to Sarker, many beautiful buildings based on Persian concepts of paradise as mentioned in the Koran .

According to Sarker, in every respect, Shah Jahan's was an ideal period for glorious socio-political and cultural life. The author highlights Shah Jahan's good governance which created all round opulence, peace and harmony. This was conducive to the growth of art and architecture. Boundless

flight of imagination was respected in planning of cities and buildings. He gave full scope to brilliant ideas which are reflected in splendid palaces, gardens, groves of trees and exceptionally artistic fountains. He struck a balance between Shariat and tenets of good governance. His Durbar and his Umaras were efficient, learned, and full of refined ideas of culture. His kingdom stretched from Afghanistan to Assam and almost the whole of Deccan. Trade, agriculture and art flourished as peace prevailed in the vast kingdom.

In the 1857 war, British soldiers demolished many important, beautiful and massive buildings by gunning them down. The writer has recreated Shahjahanabad city after studying old records and drawings of buildings. Shah Jahan claimed that he created in his cities paradise on earth. He founded cities with grand garden layouts. He erected edifices of great beauty and grandeur. Buildings were decorated with precious and semi precious stones. He erected monuments which are perfect and splendid architectural wonders. White and coloured marbles, which were used, were selected by him personally. Inlay work and designs show his high taste and acumen in art. Taj Mahal, Jama Masjid, Shahjahanabad are examples of his great creative instincts and ability.

An important part of this book is the commentary on the lives of people who were occupying these places. The writer gives vivid descriptions of the ceremonies like birthdays, weddings, festivals which were celebrated in the grand premises. The readers are informed about the lavish lifestyle of Mughal princes and princesses. Life in the palace was not only life of luxury, pomp and show, but also of heartbreaks, misery, plotting against each other and betrayal. Shah Jahan was kept virtually imprisoned by his son Aurangzeb. Sarker narrates the pathetic life of Shah Jahan's dear daughter Jahanara, who looked after him in his sunset years. From Agra fort where he was kept captive, the dethroned king spent the rest of his life looking at Taj Mahal, the Mausoleum he built for his beloved queen Mumtaj Mahal.

The book is replete with beautiful, colour photographs. Sarker describes the construction and decoration of Kila-e-Mubarak in such great detail that one gets a ringside view and virtually breathes the atmosphere of that place. Shah Jahan established Shahjahanabad with roads, trees, grand buildings with minute designs on them, fountains, and hot water baths. White, pink and yellow marbles were used for various shades and effects. His purpose was not just to construct buildings, but to create something touched by paradise. Detailed records of expenses and sources and supply of materials were maintained. Particulars of craftsmen engaged, and payments made to them were kept. We come to know the social conditions, availability of goods, and trading practices of the period. The book gives picturesque details of Diwan-i-am and Diwan-i-

khas, Jama Masjid, Agra Fort, Jharoka-i-Darshan, Khwabgah, Bangala-i-Jahanara and many other buildings. We also get a glimpse of the famous Peacock Throne.

Shahjahanabad was intended to be the seat of the capital. But Sarker underscores that few cities have suffered so much of ruthless vandalism and vindictive mutilation as did Shahjahanabad. Few would believe today that Shah Jahan modelled his new capital on the Quranic concept of "Paradise". In its hey-day, as a newly laid out city, it was the pride of the Mughal empire. Contemporaries compared it to Rome and Constantinople in grandeur. It was said that happy and fortunate was the man who got a chance to reside in Shahjahanabad .

Within a limited scope, Sarker has tried to highlight the architectural, cultural, economic and administrative achievements of Shah Jahan who, according to her, was a proud, talented and efficient emperor. He tried to bring down "Paradise" on earth through his masterly creations in marble and gold. She also says that besides deep respect for and an appreciation of Shah Jahan, her work may also be considered a tribute to the achievements of "The Great Mughals."

Sarker seems to be conscious of the wealth of culture we inherited from our Mughal past - nay, she would appear to be overwhelmed by it.

Sanjeevani Kher

LINGUISTIC TRADITIONS OF KASHMIR (Essays In Memory of Pandit Dinanath Yaksha), Eds: MRINAL KAUL and ASHOK AKLUJKAR, Pub. D. K. Printworld, New Delhi 110015, in association with Harabhatta Shastri Indological Research Institute (Kashmir) 181121, 2008, Pp. 609. Rs. 1250, US $ 62.50.

This splendid volume on linguistic traditions is in memory of Pt. Dinanath Yaksha, a little known scholar from Jammu and Kashmir, who unceasingly spent all his efforts for Sanskrit studies, with his meagre resources. The initiative in producing this beautiful volume is taken by the budding Sanskrit scholar, Mrinal Kaul, the grandson of Late Pt. Janakinath Kaul, a Sanskrit scholar and an ardent disciple of Sri Laxman Joo, a leading spiritual Guru and an authority on Kāśmira Śaivism.

The volume contains 21 long essays by national and international scholars with a focus on linguistic and grammatical studies in Kashmir. Many

Sanskrit scholars in Kashmir dedicated themselves to the study of grammar and poetics alone, and little did they care to excel in composition of *Mahākāvya* and drama.

The volume under review takes care to present most of these geniuses and their works in a proper perspective. The scholarly contributors are both from India and abroad. Notable among these are Bettina Bäumer, an Austrian scholar now settled in Varanasi, India; J. Bronkhorst from Lausanne, Switzerland; George Cardona, from Lumberton, USA; Estella Del Bon from Paris, France; David Peter Lawrence from North Dakota, USA; Raffaele Torella from Italy; Vincenzo Vergiani from Cambridge, U.K.

Among the contributors from India are Dr. M. M. Agrawal from Delhi, Dr. M. G. Dhadphale, Dr. S. D. Joshi, Dr. Nirmala Kulkarni, Dr. Hukumchand Patyal, all from Pune and Malhar Kulkarni from Mumbai; C. Rajendran and Dr. P. Visalakshi, both from Kerala. All the articles from these stalwarts are a fitting tribute to Pt. Dinanath Yaksha, who cared for Sanskrit studies all his life.

The volume opens with a life sketch of Pt. Dinanath Yaksha (1921-2004) by Mrinal. Pt. Yaksha was deeply rooted in the Sanskrit tradition of Kashmir. Having had his Sanskrit education in the traditional way in the *pāṭhaśāla,* he obtained University degrees late in life. He preferred to work in the Research Department of Jammu and Kashmir Government Record office of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Jammu and could annotate a number of MSS. His main job was to edit the MSS and prepare press copies. He assisted a number of Indian and foreign scholars in their studies. For his lifelong work Pt. Dinanath was honoured by the President of India in 2003, a year before his demise.

The articles are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the contributors. The first one is by Prof. M. M. Agrawal, titled *Mukulabhaṭṭa and Vyañjanā.* Mukulabhaṭṭa was the Guru of Pratihārenduraja who had Abhinavagupta as his disciple. Prof. Agrawal traces the development of the concept of *Vyañjanā* by later poeticians, upto Mammaṭa and his *Kāvyaprakāśa.*

Prof. Ashok Aklujkar has contributed 166 pages consisting of three long articles on Patañjali, perhaps the latest study of the great *Mahābhāṣyakāra.* In his first article titled *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya as a Key to Happy Kashmir* he records a continuous tradition of the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* in Kashmir under royal patronage. He cites Bilhaṇa, Kalhaṇa, Keilhorn and Jonarāja and concludes that there was an unbroken tradition of the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* in Kashmir for about a millennium, after Patañjali; and it nourished the study of *Kāvya,* in an abstract grammatical way. This

gave rise to poetics and linguistics.

In his second article titled *Gonardīya, Goṇikā-putra, Patañjali and Gonardīya*, Aklujkar critically examines these three authors referred to in various texts on poetics, grammar, erotics as also in lexical literature. Various commentaries have been studied here with reference to these three words. The way Dr. Aklujkar collects this varied evidence and thrashes it threadbare, should really inspire young researchers in Indology in their research.

The third essay titled *Patañjali, a Kashmirian* is also a fine and well chiselled research paper. The bibliography at the end of these three papers is extremely useful to the scholars in this area.

Bettina Bäumer in her essay on *Three Grammatical Persons and Trika* expounds Abhinavagupta's *Parātriśika vivaraṇa*. This is the triadic reality consisting of metaphysical principles *Śiva, Śakti* and *Nara*. This is further elaborated by Utpaladeva in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñā kārikā* and also by Abhinavagupta in his various commentaries. *Puruṣa* in Sanskrit grammar viz. *uttama, dvitīya* and *tritīya* is but a divine reality and it enables us to realize *Sarvam sarvātmakam*.

Estella Del Bon and Vincenzo Vergiani present a paper titled *The Treatment of the Present Tense in the Kāśmīrasabdāmṛta of Īśvara Kaul*.

Johannes Bronkhorst has contributed two articles, one is on *Kashmir and Orthodox Pāṇinian Grammar* and the other is on *Udbhaṭa, A Grammarian and a Cārvāka*. Both these articles taken together, point out the history of grammar and culture of Kashmir.

In his long essay running over 65 pages Prof. Cardona traces theoretical precedents of *Kātantra* - the variety of grammar authored by Sarvavarman. All the devices used by Sarvavarman have been minutely examined. His grammar, *Kātantra* was, as the legend goes, first used to teach Sanskrit to the King Sātavāhana, and therefore was made simplistic. But it was thoroughly based on the earlier grammatical theories.

In his brief article on Kṣirasvami, Dr. M. G. Dhadphale refers to his *ṭīkā* on *Amarakośa* and lauds his ability to deal with four grammatical categories viz. *Nāma, Ākhyāta, Upasarga* and *Nipāta*.

Oliver Hahn of Hamburg University has written on three Kashmirian texts on *Sanskrit Syntax : Kuḍaka's Samanvayadis, Devaśarman's Samanvayapradīpa* and *Samanvayapradīpasaṅketa*. His conclusion is that we can now construct Kuḍaka's text. Then there are two articles by two stalwarts Prof. S. D. Joshi and Prof. V. N. Jha. Dr. Jha comments on Jayanta's

interpretation of Pāṇini 1.4.42 (Aṣṭā). In his brief but learned article, Prof. S. D. Joshi has attempted to remove Nāgeśa's misunderstanding about Kaiyaṭa regarding Pāṇini's *sūtras* (6.4.146 and 7.3.108 of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*).

Dr. Hukum Chand Patyal presents a linguistic study of certain vocables from *Paippalāda Saṁhitā* of *Atharva Veda*. Raffaele Torella beautifully delineates the philosophical interchange in Somānanda and Utpaladeva regarding Bhartṛhari.

Dr. Nirmala Kulkarni has written on Uvaṭa. Vincenzo Vergiani has written about Helarāja and P. Visalakshy has written on the impact of *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* on *Kāśikā*. Dr. Malhar Kulkarni has contributed on a MSS in Śāradā script on *Kāśikā*.

Mrinal Kaul has thoughtfully appended five appendices which will go a long way in guiding scholars all over the world, in their research on Kashmir-related subjects. The last one gives the names of all notable poets, authors, grammarians, historians and lexicographers from 2nd century to 19th century.

The volume has a Foreword by Kapila Vatsyayan and is prefaced by Prof. Aklujkar. The introduction by Mrinal Kaul ushers the readers smoothly through the refreshing essays.

Although, after Independence, there is an exodus of Sanskrit Pandits from Kashmir, the scholarly tradition in the valley still survives, though with difficulty. The present volume will go a long way in reestablishing literary and cultural links with Kashmir. Both the editors and the publishers deserve full compliments for such a weighty volume. The getup of the book is excellent.

N. B. Patil

NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA OF BHARATAMUNI (WITH THE COMMENTARY ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ OF ABHINAVAGUPTĀCĀRYA, Vol. IV, chapters 28-37), revised and critically edited by V. M. KULKARNI and T. S. NANDI, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 145, Oriental Institute, Vadodara, 2006, pp. Intrn. IX-XXXV; pp. 1-520; Appendices I-VIII pp. 521-693; Rs. 640.

This is the fourth and the last volume of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, incorporating *adhyāyas* 28-37, with *Abhinavabhāratī,* the commentary of Abhinavagupta, revised and critically edited by Dr. V. M. Kulkarni and Dr. T. S. Nandi.

This edition of the present volume has a long history. It was at first to be edited by M. Rāmakr̥ṣṇa Kavi, who, having started the work, could see only 32 pages of the present volume in print, before he passed away in 1957. The responsibility of editing the present volume (Vol. IV) then fell on the shoulders of (late) J. S. Pade, the Introduction from whose pen figures here in the critical edition of the present volume (under review), giving a detailed account of the painstaking work done by him, as an editor. He speaks of the Sanskrit rendering of the Prakrit passages in the Paiśācī language as also of the Dhruvās of verses in the Śauraseni Prakrit. He also discusses at length the problem whether the Nāṭyaśāstra has 37 chapters or 36 chapters and has shown that Abhinavagupta though started in the beginning with the idea of the Nāṭyaśāstra having 36 chapters, ultimately came to the conclusion that chapter no. 33, though a part of chapter no. 32, should be shown as a separate one, thus taking Nāṭyaśāstra finally to be having 37 chapters. (Late) J. S. Pade has not discussed other topics about the Nāṭyaśāstra, which are already discussed by Mm. P. V. Kane in his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*. In his edition, an alphabetical index of all the half verses occurring in the present volume and that of the authors and the works actually quoted in the commentary are given at the end for ready reference.

And now to turn to the revised and critically edited present volume of the Nāṭyaśāstra, from the hands of Dr. V. M. Kulkarni and Dr. T. S. Nandi. These two editors have consulted the newly acquired manuscripts from Nepal, have carefully added the variants and noted down the variations at respective places in the text. Dr. V. M. Kulkarni has spared no pains in reconstructing the Prakrit passages in the Dhruvā *adhyāya* (chapter 32), which are the most difficult passages in the text. In fact his deftness is notable in such endeavours, and to mention just one of these is the *Prakrit Verses in Sanskrit Works on Poetics* in 2 Vols., pub. by B. L. Institute of Indology, Delhi, 1988 & 1990. There are 8 informative Appendices to the present edition, particular mention must be made for stating the variants suggested by Dr. N. Ramanathan (chapters 28-32), which though welcome could not be incorporated in the main edited text, as the latter was in the press and practically ready.

For a general and casual reader, the most useful part is the Summary of the chapters 28-37 (pp. XVII- XXXV), and the entire Volume for the students and researchers of the Nāṭyaśāstra. This volume is the last in this monumental Series, the first Volume being from the hands of the Great Master in the field Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy and the present one from the two equally authoritative scholars, who have dedicated their life for the study of Sanskrit Poetics. Every library will be enriched with this Volume.

Sindhu S. Dange

THE TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA, ADAM HARDY, John Wiley & Sons, West Sussex, England, 2007, pages 256, illustrations including maps, drawings and colour photographs. US $ 90.

Prof. Adam Hardy has been involved in design of several Hindu temples in the UK, and has taught temple architecture in universities. With a basic understanding of form and temple space, he clarifies and simplifies many issues of temple architecture. As he has been teaching construction, he can observe how medieval architects created new forms. He visualizes the temple as containing numerous smaller temples and shrines, arranged hierarchically at various scales. He tries to probe a "meaningful relationship between the parts which can be instantly grasped and quickly described". He looks at aedicules (from Latin *aedicula,* meaning little buildings) as not just ornaments but the basic units from which most Indian temple architecture is composed.

Hardy's is a different approach from the usual way of describing a monument. He briefly gives a historiographical overview from writings on Indian temple architecture by pioneers such as James Fergusson, Ananda Coomaraswamy, Heinrich Zimmer, Stella Kramrisch and of the works by M. A. Dhaky and Krishna Deva who analyzed canonical texts and correlated these with actual temples. Hardy looks at temples from the point of view of how they were designed. He reads Indian art in terms of movement, how a unit is depicted in different ways creating a significant architectural pattern and rhythm. The core period of the book covers temples of 6th to 13th centuries.

Stella Kramrisch in her monumental book, *The Hindu Temple,* discusses the temple, as a monument of manifestation. The principal divinity in the sanctum manifests in its different aspects in the cardinal niches. She speaks of the temple as cosmos, and metaphorically links the ascent and descent of spires and mini-spires of the *śikhara* with the dissolution and creation of the universe. Adam Hardy also shows ascending and descending forms of aedicules in temple roofs. He points out the metaphysical concept of the emergence of the hierarchy of the five-fold Sadāśiva from the formless Highest Śiva, embodied in iconic programmes of several well-organized temples such as Khajuraho and Tanjavur, and in rituals and meditative practices described in texts and undertaken in actual practice. He also notes the emanatory theology of Pañcarātra, associated with several Viṣṇu temples. He refers to the dynamism which "creates a cosmos of emerging, expanding and proliferating forms", and clarifies: "If I might claim a contribution to the theory of the Hindu temple as unfolding cosmos, it would be in showing *how* it happens architecturally" (p. 18).

While reviewing the socio-historical background of the large-scale

temple building activity in the medieval period, he refers to social historian R. S. Sharma on the hierarchies of sculpted gods. Hardy says that "once the design of temples is understood in terms of a hierarchy of interpenetrating aedicules, analogies with social structures, and even with the ways these seem to have evolved, become much more compelling" (p. 22). However, he is cautious while pointing out the analogies or structural resemblances of temple architecture, society, religion and philosophy.

Hardy is in his own domain in the section on Temple Design. Here he discusses plans and spaces, geometry, and the architectural components - mouldings, pillars, ceilings and *gavākṣa* (horse-shoe arch motif or *caitya* window). He examines the *maṇḍapas* of temples and plans of *sāndhāra* temples with inner ambulatory of different periods. He finds the classification of pillars by Indian Vāstu texts as architecturally unhelpful and gives five main types stating that pillar types evolve and interact. There are numerous diagrams to illustrate the bell type and cushion type, as well as the *ghaṭa-pallava* type of pillars. He illustrates by analytical diagrams the manipulation of the forms such as the lotus in the case of ceilings, or *gavākṣa* in *śikhara* decoration by splitting, progressive multiplication, configuration of different elements, and so on. Hardy is at his best in his presentation on *gavākṣas,* their characteristic patterns, from wooden prototypes in cave architecture to early and medieval temples, in different regions and as seen in various scales.

After discussing and analyzing architectural components along with numerous diagrams, Hardy examines the temples historically. He mainly accepts the chronology of the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* and examines the origin and development of the Nāgara and Drāviḍa architectural languages, presenting many examples of temples of different regions of India. We see the five modes of Nāgara in northern India: Phāṁsanā, Valabhī (barrel-roofed), Latina (single-spired), Śekharī (multi-spired), and the Bhūmija. He deals with the interesting plans of some temples in the Bihar and Orissa regions, as also in Gujarat and central India.

Hardy surveys the early Drāviḍa temples and devotes a chapter on the great 8th century Drāviḍa temples at Kanchipuram, Pattadakal, Ellora and Kalugumalai. With equal mastery he deals with the Cola temples of Tanjavur and Darasuram. A chapter deals with the Karṇāṭa Drāviḍa temples at Lakkundi, Dambal, Ittagi and other sites with their plans. The application of the word "Vesara" to the mixed mode is explained.

Not stopping with the 6th-13th century temples, the central theme of his book, Adam Hardy goes on to present the continuation of the Nāgara and Drāviḍa traditions in several sites such as Vijayanagara, Tiruvannamalai,

Ranakpur, Trimbakeshwar and others. He points out that in some contemporary temples in the USA (Florida, for instance), architects have given "a suspended ceiling throughout, with no view from inside of towers". Most contemporary architects, Hardy believes, are "oblivious to the vertical connections which are the basis of a multi-aedicular composition" (p. 240).

The book offers prolific visual material: maps of Buddhist sites, Hindu and Jaina temple sites, plans and cross-sections of temples, analytical drawings of aedicules in early and later architecture, both cave and structural temples. The author does not miss pointing out the basic units as seen in the Gandhāra art of the 1st century BCE. Photographs of fine quality enhance the value of the book. The configurations and multiplications of aedicules and component units of temples are dynamically presented in the book as they are in his lectures usually accompanied with dance gestures. His presentation of architectural structures and pointing out their probable analogies with metaphysical and social structures is an important contribution, as also his analysis of the basic temple design. Unlike other books on the history of art describing the temples of a site and region, this book offers the structures of temples, their different components and the underlying geometry. The book will be of great help to researchers and students of temple architecture, as well as to temple architects.

Devangana Desai

NALACANDRODAYA :   A Critical Study and Edition, P. MOHAMMED ABDUL RAHIMAN; Calicut University Sanskrit Series No. 28, 2006, Pp. 463. Rs. 300.

'*Nalacandrodaya*', a critical study and edition, written by P. Mohammed Abdul Rahiman is a welcome contribution to the field of Sanskrit literature. The original Mahākāvya entitled as *Nalacandrodaya* is written by a Kerala poet Karikkāṭṭu Karuṇākara Vāriyar of about 17th-18th century. Dr. N. V. P. Unithiri got the MSS in 1974 for the first time and came to understand that the work was hitherto undiscovered. It is written in fairly legible Malayalam script and it is the only extant MSS of this Mahākāvya. Dr. Unithiri's student Prof. P. M. A. Rahiman undertook its study for his Ph. D. degree. Since there is only one manuscript of the Mahākāvya available, there is no scope of a critical edition, but Dr. Rahiman has tried his best to make perfect edition, writing informative notes containing emendations, etc.

This book has two parts: 1) A critical study *of Nalacandrodaya* and 2)

edition of the text. The first part contains seven chapters. Chapter one is an introduction to the whole study. It is a brief survey on the Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit literature especially from Kerala and an appraisal of the influence of Nala-episode in Sanskrit literature. Chapter two is a discussion on his period and family details. Chapter three is a canto-wise summary of *Nalacandrodaya*. The deviations of the plot from the *Mahābhārata* are highlighted in the fourth chapter. A comparative study also is made of *Nalacandrodaya* with other important works in Sanskrit and Malayalam with Nala-theme. A discussion on the influence of Kālidāsa and other important poets on *Nalacandrodaya* is presented in the fifth chapter. Chapter six is an appraisal of the meritorious qualities of the work as a literary piece and the last chapter winds up the present disquisition.

The second part comprises the edition of the text. The author notes that, notwithstanding the fact that the present MSS is in Malayalam script, the corruptions in the work are suggestive of transcriptions from another manuscript with Devanagari script. The book is well planned as it deals with: the author and his date, an analysis of contents, deviations from the original plot, the comparative study of other Nala-works and an analysis of poetic merit.

This is all about the structure and contents of the book. It is learnt from the academic history of Sanskrit literature that Kerala *prānta* is listed as one of the most important centres where Sanskrit in all its literary flavour flourished and prospered. The Malayalam MSS of *Nalacandrodaya* is an evidence of this statement. Dr. Rahiman has certainly done a commendable job by undertaking the critical study of this MSS and making it available in Devanagari in a full-fledged form. Because the available MSS is a transcription, there are corruptions in the work but Dr. Rahiman in the foot-notes has rightly mentioned them exhibiting his critical acumen. The author has given a concise account of works based on Nala-episode and arranged them systematically. He also has classified them as Rūpakas, Mahākāvyas and Campus. The present piece of work i.e. the *Nalacandrodaya* covers the whole gamut of experiences of Nala and Damayantī. It is interesting to note that starting from The *Mahābhārata* till the publication of this critical study, that is, post-second millennium, the Nala-theme has enraptured and mesmerized the minds of Sanskrit authors down centuries. The original work *of Nalacandrodaya* belongs to the second half of the 17th the century and is being edited and critically studied in the first half the of 21st century. This fact evidences the popularity of Nala-Damayantī-episode as an inspiring dramatic theme for even the modern classical poets.

As a special feature of this book, Dr. Rahiman has rightly pointed out that though the Nala theme is common to many of the Sanskrit works, this work exhibits certain provincialities. For example - the description of matrimonial rituals which follow the Kerala-tradition differs from those in other works having this theme, but he also remarks that the descriptions of the honeymoon, petty quarrels and consolations are similar to those in the *Raghuvaṁśam* of Kālidāsa.

The section 'Deviations from the Original Plots' gives a clear graph of comparison between the *Mahābhārata, Naiṣadhīyacarita* and the present work, *Nalacandrodaya*. Deviations from some important events are discussed critically. The author observes that deviations are mostly for the better and give the much needed aesthetic experience to the reader. He also brings out the influence of other poems and poets in the successful moulding of this creative work. As the *Nalacandrodaya* is composed in a much later period than the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, the work is simpler in style than the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, and more charming than the *Mahābhārata*. Thus it seems that Dr. Rahiman places *Nalacandrodaya* as a bridge between the *Mahābhārata* and the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, not chronologically but aesthetically. By this time the Sanskrit Kāvya had become very ornate and artificial but the critical study of *Nalacandrodaya* brings out the fact that descriptive ornate quality of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* blended with the simplicity and lucidity of the *Mahābhārata* takes the work *Nalacandrodaya* to the status of a Mahākāvya. The plot of this Kāvya is derived from Itihāsa and is expanded and changed to enhance the aesthetic experience. Some observations of Dr. Rahiman are very remarkable -

1. "By making Nala ride on an elephant, the author of *Nalacandrodaya* creates an atmosphere peculiar to Kerala since history reveals that the kings of Kerala used to journey on elephants only". (p. 55).

2. There is an interesting remark by the author. It is about catching the swan by Nala. He says-'when we read the narration of *Mahābhārata* as mentioned above we feel that it is to catch the golden swan that the king has gone to the garden whereas in *Nalacandrodaya,* the capture of the bird seems accidental and which undoubtedly is more realistic in the peculiar state of love-lorn Nala'. (p. 56).

On the episode of the release of the bird Dr. Rahiman comments that the corresponding description in the *Mahābhārata* looks unrealistic and artificial whereas the same in *Nalacandrodaya* can claim originality because the poet makes the bird try his maximum to escape from Nala's hold by giving a sorrowful account of its family. The bird's offer of service is treated as its last

resort. In describing this as the last stand the bird has, the poet is showing cleverness of artistry that appeals much to the common reader.

From all the observations that Dr. Rahiman has put forth, it seems that in his view the *Nalacandrodaya* bears the qualities of both the *Mahābhāratā* and *Naiṣadhīyacarita* - and tries to avoid the defects of the two.

In comparing the *Nalacandrodaya* and other well-known works, the critique brings out the similarities with other works and specially brings out the poet's indebtedness to the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*. There is a similarity in meaning, ideas, figures of speech etc. which are appropriately highlighted by the author. He adds that the apparent similarities do not stop with the above mentioned particulars. It can be seen everywhere in the selection of metres. Both the poets use the same metres to describe the honeymoon of the couple; *aṛtavilambita* is used in both the Mahākāvyas. The identification of the name of the author and the number of the respective canto at the end of each canto is done by Karuṇākara as well as Śrīharṣa. The author also compares with *Nalābhyudaya, Nalodaya* and also with a Malayalam work.

Dr. Rahiman has creditably analyzed the poetic merits of the work. The analysis has occupied quite extensive space in the book. The author claims that the poet has exhibited many elements of drama too (such as *Mukha-Sandhi, Garbha-Sandhi* etc. p. 98) though it is a Mahākāvya. The poet uses all the devices that are required for the delineation of rasa and also exhibits Śṛṅgāra, Vīra, Hāsya, Karuṇa and Śānta too. Anandavardhana's words - "Texture with decorum in the delineation of sentiments will shine out wherever it might be found. It will, however, assume a shade of variation coupled with the decorum of literary medium" are very true with this work.

Dr. Rahiman concludes that Karuṇākara, the poet of *Nalacandrodaya*, deserves to be given a prominent place among the poetic luminaries in classical Sanskrit literature, especially that of Kerala.

This book has thrown a flood-light on the only unexplored MSS of *Nalacandrodaya* and made it available to Sanskrit readers. His notes and comments are very useful to understand the poem and to enjoy it thoroughly. Any *sahṛdaya* will sincerely thank and congratulate him for his contribution.

Uma Vaidya

Obituary Notices

Y. V. Chandrachud (1920-2008)

Yeshwant Vishnu Chandrachud, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, passed away on 14th July 2008 at the age of 88. After celebrating his birthday with family and friends, he felt sick and was admitted to the hospital, where he passed away.

He had his early school education in Nutan Marathi Vidyalaya in Pune and thereafter he shifted to Bombay and joined Elphinstone College. He graduated in History and Economics and then joined Government Law College for law course. He stood first class first in the law examination.

Justice Chandrachud started legal practice in Bombay and simultaneously took up teaching assignment in the prestigious Government Law College in the city. He was appointed Assistant Government Pleader at Bombay High Court in 1952 and was promoted as Government Pleader in 1958.

He was appointed judge of the Bombay High Court on 19th March 1961 where he continued till 1972 and thereafter he was elevated to the Supreme Court and he took over as the Chief Justice of India in 1978 and retired in July 1985. He holds the record for the longest serving Chief Justice of the apex court.

During his tenure in the Supreme Court the famous Habeas Corpus case came up before a five judge bench and Justice Chandrachud was one of them. He functioned as a one man commission for fixation of payscales of officers of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and became arbitrator between the BEST Undertaking and its employees' union. He served as a one man commission to inquire into the death of Deen Dayal Upadhyay, Jan Sangh leader who died under mysterious circumstances. After retirement he was invited to inquire into scandals relating to cricket in betting, bribing and matchfixing by the BCCI.

He was a legal luminary and renowned jurist and was respected by both the legal community and people at large. When the Asiatic Society reconstituted its Board of Trustees in 1995 it invited Justice Chandrachud to join the Board. He became its Chairman and served till the very end.

Earlier, way back in 1971 when Justice Gajendragadkar resigned as the President of the Society consequent upon his appointment as the Chairman of the reconstituted Law Commission in New Delhi, Justice Y. V. Chandrachud took over as the President of the Society and continued for eleven months till he resigned on 7th August 1972 on his elevation to the Supreme Court.

Though his tenure as the President was short he made a few important decisions towards the smooth functioning of the Society.

It was for the first time that stringent rules were made regarding issue of valuable books of the library. Government records, bound volumes of periodicals, rare books on art and architecture, expensive books and editions published before 1900, folios and fascimiles, maps, large Atlases, encyclopaedias, and reference books could not be issued out and rules regarding issuance of new books were framed and a fine system was introduced for late return of books. He also took a firm decision to put an end to staff indiscipline and made rules to check absenteeism among the staff.

Yet another decision that must be remembered is the freedom he granted to the members of the Managing Committee. If a member wished to disassociate from a particular resolution he could do so by seeking permission of the Managing Committee.

As the Trustee of the Society, he spread vintage charm and wisdom. At the meetings he heard every member carefully and then decided on an issue. He normally arrived 10-15 minutes before the meeting and started the meeting on the dot. During the staff agitation for pay hike, he invited them for discussion and in his cool manner heard them patiently and assured them of his support and help. Justice Chandrachud remained trustee for 14 years and harmony prevailed in the working of the Board. He respected people and they in turn held him in very high esteem. His speeches were marked by precision and clarity.

The harmony we saw in his life may in part be due to his love of music. He was a discerning listener and hardly missed an important concert in the city. He had a large circle of friends. He would be remembered for the dignity with which he carried himself and the touch of softness that he brought to any issue before him.

Justice Chandrachud would be remembered for his book "Laws of India, 1836 to Date with commentary and State Amendments" as well as for his distinguished scholarship and learning. We in the Asiatic Society will cherish

his warmth and pleasant memories of his long and fruitful association. We sadly miss the old world culture he brought along with him. May his departed soul rest in eternal peace.

Vimal Shah

M. N. Deshpande (1920-2008)

Dr. M. N. Deshpande, former Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, who passed away on 7th August 2008 at the age of 88 was a versatile scholar who combined archaeology and art history.

Born on 11th November 1920, he was educated in Pune. Thereafter he joined the Archaeological Survey of India. He was posted as Superintendent of the South Western or Aurangabad circle and in that capacity he became a Trustee of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, now called Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya. He started taking keen interest in the sculptures there and it was exclusively due to his efforts that Buddhist sculptures from caves at Pital Khora became part of the Museum collection.

He was an academician at heart. Therefore, it was not surprising that he was connected with various academic institutions in Bombay, Pune, Delhi and Karnataka. His lectures were a treat to the listeners and he made them visually pleasant and interesting through slides.

Dr. Deshpande was invited to take over as the Director of the Discovery of India project at the Nehru Centre. He participated in many national and international seminars and presented highly scholary papers. Writing came to him effortlessly and he wrote hundreds of articles on various aspects of art and archaeology.

He was a tremendous source of inspiration to young scholars and at seminars he was always seen surrounded by people. He was a teacher willing to help students and they in turn gave him warm respect and held his scholarship in awe.

Dr. Deshpande loved to travel and visit new places. He travelled extensively here and abroad and collected information rare and valuable. It was during his tenure that he led an expedition to Afghanistan to conserve the ancient colossal Bamiyan Buddha statues. His lecture on this subject at the Museum is still remembered. His lecture on the Kailasa Temple at Ellora in the Asiatic Society was perhaps one of the best lectures in recent years.

Deshpande said that the Sthapati when he saw his own work was himself amazed that he could create such a marvellous piece of art. It was a well known fact that Dr. Deshpande loved rock cut caves in western India and he spoke and wrote with authority, involved as he was totally with Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta.

Dr. Deshpande was a scholar much sought after to guide the Presidents and the Prime Ministers at the caves and Pandit Nehru was impressed by his knowledge and comments when he visited the Ajanta Caves. Though the world knows him as a renowned archaeologist, it is amazing to learn that he began his career with research on Jaina Canonical literature and in 1996, he presided over a symposium on Jaina Art at the CSMVS Museum, Mumbai and delivered the keynote address. His knowledge of Buddhism was vast and he delivered a prestigious endowment lecture at the Museum on Buddhism in Gandhara.

As a person Dr. Deshpande was very warm, affectionate and friendly. He was untouched by the bureaucratic set up and maintained simplicity. He disarmed everyone who met him with his friendly smile. In his personal life, he was a spiritual person and even walked from Alandi to Pandharpur. It is this spirituality that built up his inner strength and inspired him to get to greater depth in research.

The likes of him are rare and the world of scholarship and learning is poorer by his passing away.

Vimal Shah

B. V. Shetti (1930-2008)

Shri Bhalchandra V. Shetti, a long time Life Member of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai expired after a brief illness on 11th July, 2008. Shetti was an expert in Archaeology and Numismatics. He served as a member of the Managing Committee for a number of years. He was associated with various committees of the Society. He was Chairman of Conservation and Microfilming Committee, and of Pre-Modern Book Selection Committee; he was Convener of Medals, Research Grants, and Hon. Fellowships Committee, and Member of the Journal Committee, and of MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Research Committee.

I first met Mr. Shetti in 1970, when he was Curator (Archaeology and

Numismatics) at the Prince of Wales Museum, now called Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya. This position he held from 1960 until 1990, when he retired, but was again reappointed there from 1998 to 2000. He was trained in Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics at the Chief Epigraphist office at Mysore.

Mr. Shetti was a recipient of the J. D. Rockefeller Fellowship and studied Art History at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York and the New York University in 1971-72. He gained workshop experience at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and travelled around the world, visiting various museums. He participated in a number of seminars in India and abroad, including the International Numismatic Conference in Madrid in 1999.

He researched on the Western Calukyan temple art. He participated in the Newasa Excavation conducted by the Deccan College, Pune, and Ter Excavation by Dr. M. G. Dikshit.

Mr. Shetti lectured to M. A. students of the University of Mumbai on Indian Art and Archaeology. He was trained as Tourist Guide by the Tourist Department, Government of India.

Because of his specialization in Numismatics, he helped in the listing of coins of the Asiatic Society. He showed our collection of the Sopara bronzes and other antiquities to special guests. Dr. Abdul Kalam, the former President of India, was very pleased when Mr. Shetti guided him around the Asiatic Society and showed him the collection of antiquities displayed in the Kane Room. Dr. Kalam especially thanked him in his speech at the Town Hall.

Mr. Shetti has contributed several research articles to various journals, *Marg* magazine, and many commemoration and felicitation volumes. He liked to review books, particularly on Numismatics and Epigraphy, and his reviews are published in our Journal. He has written on the Memorial Stones of Mumbai, and on some lesser known Western Calukyan temples near Badami.

He wrote a small monograph on Ganesa, which was published by the Prince of Wales Museum. Dr. Moti Chandra has specially thanked him for his assistance while preparing the Catalogue of Stone Sculptures in the Prince of Wales Museum (1974).

Mr. Shetti had suggested to me that we jointly undertake writing on the Treasures of the Asiatic Society, but that sadly did not happen.

Mr. Shetti regularly attended meetings of the Archaeological Survey of India, Sion Circle, for identifying antiquities. He has donated his large collection

of books on art and archaeology to the ASI.

We miss his presence in the various committees of the Asiatic Society and his witty jokes. He used to collect curriculum vitae of various scholars and suggest names for the Society's Gold Medals and Hon. Fellowships. He was so much involved with the committees and activities of the Society that he attended the meetings almost till a fortnight of his sudden demise. For years, before the commencement of meetings, we would see him relaxing on the sofa in the lobby of the Asiatic Society. His benign presence is bound to be missed.

Devangana Desai

TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	*a*	औ	*au*	ठ	*ṭha*	भ	*bha*
आ	*ā*	क	*ka*	ड	*ḍa*	म	*ma*
इ	*i*	ख	*kha*	ढ	*ḍha*	य	*ya*
ई	*ī*	ग	*ga*	ण	*ṇa*	र	*ra*
उ	*u*	घ	*gha*	त	*ta*	ल	*la*
ऊ	*ū*	ङ	*ṅa*	थ	*tha*	व	*va*
ऋ	*r*	च	*ca*	द	*da*	श	*śa*
ॠ	*r̄*	छ	*cha*	ध	*dha*	ष	*ṣa*
ऌ	*ḷ*	ज	*ja*	न	*na*	स	*sa*
ए	*e*	झ	*jha*	प	*pa*	ह	*ha*
ऐ	*ai*	ञ	*ña*	फ	*pha*	ळ	*ḷa*
ओ	*o*	ट	*ṭa*	ब	*ba*		

ं (*Anusvāra*)	*ṁ*	× (*Jihvāmūlīya*)	*h*
ँ (*Anunāsika*)	*m*	⌣ (*Upadhmānīya*)	*h̄*
(*Visarga*)	*ḥ*	ऽ (*Avagraha*)	,

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC

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

PERSIAN

پ	*p*	چ	*ch*	ژ	*zh*	گ	*g*

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5. The Editorial Committee will determine whether a paper shall be printed and, if printed, in what form.

6. Contributors should use the system of transliteration adopted by this Society. A transliteration sheet has been appended in the issues of the Journal. Sanskrit words in the body of the text should be transliterated. However, Sanskrit verses may be retained in Devanagari Script.

7. Contributors are urged to study the conventions employed in recent issues of the Journal, particularly the style of citation of books and periodical articles and the bibliographical information inserted at the head of reviews. Titles of books should be in italics. Titles of books cited should be given in full at the first citation; thereafter reference should be made by using only significant words in the title, but with sufficient clarity to avoid doubt or confusion. Uniformity of abbreviations must be observed throughout the paper.

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