

**Volume 84 for 2010–2011
(New Series)
ISSN: 0972-0766**



(Established in 1804)

**JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF MUMBAI**

Editors

A. P. Jamkhedkar

N. B. Patil

Kalpakam Sankarnarayan

Published by

The Asiatic Society of Mumbai

Town Hall, Mumbai- 400 023.

Maharashtra State (INDIA)

2012

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF MUMBAI

Town Hall, Mumbai- 400 023.

Tel: 22660956 / 22665560 / 22660062 Fax: 22665139

Website: www.asiaticsociety.org, E-mail: asml@mtnl.net.in; asiaticsociety1804@gmail.com

CHIEF PATRON

H.E. The Governor of Maharashtra

Managing Committee for the year 2011 – 2012

PRESIDENT

Dr. Aroon Tikekar

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Prof. Vispi Balaporia

Dr. Devangana Desai

Dr. Arvind P. Jamkhedkar

Dr. Gita Kasturi

HON. SECRETARY

Mr. V. V. Ganpule

HON. JT. SECRETARY

Ms. Madhavi G. Kamat

MEMBERS

Dr. Mohsina Mukadam

Mrs. Usha Banerji

Mr. Deepak Mehta

Mrs. Sanjeevani Kher

Dr. Mangala Sirdeshpande

Ms. Madhavi G. Kamat

Mr. Shrikant Soman

Mr. Yogesh Kamdar

Mr. Arvind Sonawale

Mr. Irfan Kazi

Prof. Meenal Kshirsagar

Prof. Shehernaz Nalwalla

Mr. Girish Vakil

Dr. Usha R. Vijailakshmi

Mr. S.G. Kale (Ex-Officio- w.e.f. 15-09-2011 till AGM, 2013)

Mrs. Vimal Shah (Co-opted w.e.f. 15-09-2011 till AGM 2013)

Dr. Usha Thakkar (Co-opted w.e.f. 15-09-2013 till AGM 2013)

Dr. N.B. Patil (Hon. Director, MM Dr. P.V. Kane Institute)– Invitee w.e.f. 15-09-2011

Mr. Ronald Deniz (ASM- Employees' Representative)

State Government Nominee

Shri D. S. Chavan, Director of Libraries, Directorate of Libraries, Maharashtra State, Mumbai

Central Government Nominee

The Joint Secretary, Ministry of Culture, Government of India, New Delhi

HON. FINANCE SECRETARY

Mr. S. G. Kale

HON. JT. FINANCE SECRETARY

Mr. Arvind Sonawale

Hon. Auditors

Mr. Virendra Shah

Mr. A.D. Bhorkar

TRUSTEES

Mr. Justice B. N. Srikrishna (Retd.)

Chairman (Board of Trustees)

Mrs. Justice Sujata Manohar (Retd.)

Prof. J. V. Naik

Mrs. Ketu Mehta

Dr. Anil Kakodkar

Dr. Suma Chitnis

**Volume 84 for 2010–2011
(New Series)
ISSN: 0972-0766**

**JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF MUMBAI**

**Editors
A. P. Jamkhedkar
N. B. Patil
Kalpakam Sankarnarayan**

**Published by
The Asiatic Society of Mumbai
Town Hall, Mumbai- 400 023.
Maharashtra State (INDIA)
2012**

**Website: www.asiatic society.org
E-mail: asml@mtnl.net.in**

**London Agents
ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN
41, Great Russell Street, London, WC1B, 3PL**

**Journal Committee
for the Year 2011–2012**

**Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar
(Chairman)**

Dr. Devangana Desai (Member)

Dr. Indira Aiyar (Member)

Dr. Kumud Kanitkar (Member)

Dr. Ambarish Khare (Member)

Dr. N. B. Patil (Member)

Dr. Suraj Pandit (Member)

Mrs. Vimal Shah (Member)

Mr. V. V. Ganpule (*Ex-officio* Member)

**Prof. Kalpakam Sankarnarayan
(Convener)**

EDITORIAL

This is the 84th volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai. The Journal continues to provide a diverse array of the subjects such as Vedic ritual, Buddhist literature, ancient Indian Architecture, Sanskrit grammatical texts and Epigraphy. The MM. P. V. Kane Memorial Lecture delivered by Prof. M. L. Wadekar in 2010 has also been included in the present Volume.

The Journal also comprises of a good number of review-articles along with the newly launched section entitled "*Notes on New Findings*" containing the report of the archaeological explorations and surveys as well as the information about the newly discovered caves and other artifacts at various sites.

The Society suffered a great loss due to demise of esteemed members like Mr. B. G. Deshmukh, Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao, Mr. Sadanand Bhatkal, Mrs. Sharada Dwivedi and Dr. Ashok Ranade. The Editorial Board deeply regrets their loss.

We are thankful to Dr. Ambarish Khare and Dr. Suraj Pandit for their unstinted help for making this issue flawless as possible. Dr. Khare worked as a proof and copy editor while Dr. Pandit worked on the photo-alignment. Their contribution deserves special mention.

The Journal Committee is also aware of the fact that the Volume of the Journal is behind the expected schedule by a year. The committee will try to pace up this year and bring the next issue also, during the year 2012.

A. P. Jamkhedkar
N. B. Patil
Kalpakam Sankarnarayan

Guidelines to Authors for Submission of Articles

1. Submit one hard copy of the text with soft copy.
2. Photographs, illustrations and maps too, shall be submitted in both the forms.
3. Indicate where in the text they should appear.
4. The soft copy of the article prepared in MS Word 2003 compatible format along with the PDF file format should be submitted to the Society. Abstract or Key-words are not expected with the article.
5. The article should be prepared using the **Gandhari Unicode** font. Roman script with proper diacritical marks according to the style sheet prescribed at the end of the journal should be used for Indian languages.
6. Names of authors and published ancient texts should not be italicized. Foot notes should be used for giving the additional information only. Reference should be made in the article only by quoting the name of the author followed by the year and page number(s) separated by colon in the parenthesis. Bibliography and References should be according to the Chicago Style sheet in general. Some examples are as follows:
Gokhale, S. 1991. *Kānheri Inscriptions*. Pune: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute.
Kashikar, C. G. (ed. & tr.) 1964. *The Śrauta, Paitṛmedhika and Pariśeṣa Sūtras of Bhāradvāja*. 2 Volumes. Poona: Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala.
Eggeling, Julius (tr.) 2001. *The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School*. Part I. SBE Series Vol. 12. Reprint. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
Verghese, Anila. 2010. "Kṛṣṇadevarāya's Grants and Constructional Activities Related to his Kalinga War". *JASM*. Vol. 83: 115–27.
Jamkhedkar, A. P. 1987. "Vedic Sacrifices in Archaeological Findings". *Sacrifice in India Concept and Evolution* (Papers presented at the UGC Seminar, 1986). Edited by Sindhu S. Dange, 159–64. Aligarh: Viveka Publications.
7. Metric system should be adopted while indicating the weights and measures.
8. Resolution of the photographs should be at least 300 dpi.
9. The first page of the article should indicate the name of the author(s), address for correspondence, contact number(s) and email address as it is expected to appear in the list of contributors. Authentic and proper Title (Prof./Dr./Mr./Mrs.) along with the designation / relevant membership of professional body should also be indicated here.
10. It is at the sole discretion of the society to determine whether an article shall be accepted for publication and, if accepted, in what form. Please refer to the Regulations printed at the end of the Journal for details.

**JOURNAL OF
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF MUMBAI
Volume 84 / 2012
(for the year 2010–2011)**

CONTENTS

Articles

- | | | |
|--|---------------------|----|
| 1. Buddhaghosa: A Commentator Par Excellence | Angraj Chaudhary | 1 |
| 2. <i>Caṅkī Sutta</i> : Conspectus and Analysis | Parineeta Deshpande | 15 |
| 3. Offering the <i>Sāmnāyya</i> to Indra or Mahendra: A Brief Study | Ambarish Khare | 25 |
| 4. Franz Kielhorn and the Text of Aṣṭādhyāyī as given in the Kāśīkāvṛtti: A Study | Malhar Kulkarni | 31 |
| 5. Few Lesser Known and Unknown Caves from Kanheri | Suraj A. Pandit | 51 |
| 6. Newly Discovered Inscriptions from Ambulge in Nanded District and Dharmapuri in Beed District | Chetan Shankar Sali | 61 |
| 7. Progress of Modification of Nāgarī Alphabet and other Signs: A Study Based on Paramāra Inscriptions | Arvind K. Singh | 67 |
| 8. A Kannada Variant in Sculpture of the Bhagavata Purana | Anila Veghese | 87 |
| 9. Dharmasastra and Modern Age | M. L. Wadekar | 93 |

Reviews

- | | | |
|--|------------------|-----|
| 1. <i>Relevance of the Teaching of the Buddha as in Early Scriptures to the Contemporary Society</i> , ed. Kalpakam Sankamarayan | Shobhana Gokhale | 101 |
|--|------------------|-----|

2.	<i>Gold Coins in the Collection of the Asiatic Society</i> , ed. Sutapa Sinha	Amiteshwar Jha	103
3.	<i>Images of Skanda-Kārttikeya-Murugan: An Iconographic Study</i> , by Haripriya Rangarajan	Indira S. Aiyar	105
4.	<i>Philosophy of Aesthetics</i> , ed. Parineeta Deshpande	Indira S. Aiyar	108
5.	<i>Buddhist Culture in Asia: Unity in Diversity</i> , ed. Supriya Rai	Indira S. Aiyar	111
6.	<i>Ganitasārakaumudī by Thakkura Pheru</i> , ed. SaKHYa	S. P. Deshpande	114
7.	<i>Śrīnidhiḥ</i> (Prof. S. S. Bahulkar's Gratitude Volume), ed. Shripad G. Bhat et al.	Mugdha Gadgil	118
8.	<i>The Geopolitical Orbits of Ancient India: The Geographical Frames of the Ancient Indian Dynasties</i> , by Dilip K. Chakrabarti	A. P. Jamkhedkar	120
9.	<i>Imitation in Continuity: Tracking the Silver Coinage of Early Medieval India</i> , by K. K. Maheshwari	Devendra Handa	124
10.	<i>South India Under Vijayanagara: Art and Archaeology</i> , by Anila Veghese and Anna L. Dallapiccola	Kumud Kanitkar	126

Notes on New Findings

1.	A Note on the Copper Plates of Unknown Donor	Shobhana Gokhale	130
2.	A Note on Brāhmī Inscription from Vasai-Sopara	Siddharth Kale, Suraj Pandit and Manjiri Bhalerao	131

3. A Short Note on the Explorations at Chandhore, Dist. Raigad	Kurush F. Dalal	133
4. A Note on Brahmanical Cave at Khireswar, Junnar, Dist. Pune	Saili K. Datar	136
5. Dated <i>Pādukās</i> ? A Documentation from Pulunj, Dist. Solapur, Maharashtra	Varada Khaladkar	139
6. Caves in the Vicinity of Patan	Pravin Patil	140
7. Preliminary Report on the Archaeological Explorations in Vasai-Sopara Region	Siddharth Kale	145

Obituary Notices

1. Mr. B. G. Deshmukh	Vimal Shah	150
2. Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao	Kirit Mankodi	153
3. Mrs. Sharada Dwivedi	Vimal Shah	156
4. Mr. Sadanand Bhatkal	Meena Vaishampayan	157
5. Dr. Ashok Ranade	Vimal Shah	159
Acknowledgments of Books Received		162
Transliteration Chart		164

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

1. **Dr. Indira Aiyar**
3, Attur Terraces
19, Cuffe Parade
Mumbai- 400 005.
Mobile: 9820355440
2. **Dr. Manjiri Bhalerao**
Assistant Professor
S. B. L. Centre of Sanskrit and Indological
Studies, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth.
1242 Sadashiv Peth, Pune- 411 030.
Email: manjiri24@gmail.com
3. **Dr. Angraj Chaudhary**
Vipassana Research Institute
Dhammagiri, Igatpuri,
Nashik.
4. **Dr. Kurush F. Dalal**
Assistant Professor
Centre for Extra Mural Studies
University of Mumbai, Mumbai- 400 098.
5. **Mrs. Saili K. Datar**
Indologist and History Researcher
(Samvidyā Institute of Cultural Studies)
Flat No.13, B-6, Rakshalekha Society
Dattawadi, Pune- 411 030.
E-mail: sailikdatar@gmail.com
6. **Dr. (Mrs.) Parineeta Deshpande**
Assistant Director
K. J. Somaiya Centre for Buddhist Studies
3rd floor, Management Institute Building
Somaiya Campus, Vidyavihar (East)
Mumbai- 400 077.
Email: somaiya.buddhist@gmail.com
7. **Dr. S. P. Deshpande**
16, Loukik Co.op. Housing Society Ltd.
St. Gadge Maharaj Lane, Off D. P. Road
Dadar (East), Mumbai - 400 014.
Email: sadashivdeshpande@yahoo.com
8. **Dr. Mugdha Gadgil**
Assistant Professor
Department of Sanskrit and
Prakrit Languages
University of Pune
Ganeshkhind, Pune- 411 007.
9. **Dr. (Smt.) Shobhana Gokhale**
Abhijat, Aniket Society No. 1, C-14,
Bibwe Road, Bibwewadi, Pune- 411 037.
Tel.: (020) 24215531
10. **Dr. Devendra Handa**
1401, Pushpac Complex
Sector 49B, Chandigarh- 160 047.
Tel.: 0172-2631556

11. Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar
Vice President
Asiatic Society of Mumbai
Town Hall, Mumbai- 400 023.

12. Dr. Amiteshwar Jha
Director (Research)
Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic
Studies, A/P. Anjaneri, Nashik- 422 213.
Tel.: 02594-220006
Email: amiteshwar1963@gmail.com

13. Mr. Siddharth Kale
Department of AIC, Sathaye College
Vile Parle (East), Mumbai- 400 057.

14. Dr. Kumud Kanitkar
105, Bhawe House, 4th Floor,
4th Lane, Hindu Colony, Dadar (East)
Mumbai- 400 014.
Mobile: 9892750059
Email: kumudkanitkar@yahoo.co.in

15. Dr. Kirit Mankodi
202 Chintan, A/16, Yashwadan
General Vaidya Road,
Goregaon (East), Mumbai - 400 063.
Email: klmankodi@rediffmail.com

16. Ms. Varada Khaladkar
BB 49/1, Sector I, Salt Lake
Kolkata- 700 064.
West Bengal.
Email: varada.kh@gmail.com

17. Dr. Ambarish V. Khare
Managing Trustee and Director
Samvidyā Institute of Cultural Studies.
Shree Khunya Muralidhar Mandir
1236 Sadashiv Peth, Pune- 411 030.
Email: avkhare@gmail.com

18. Dr. Malhar Kulkarni
Department of Humanities and Social
Sciences
IIT Powai, Mumbai- 400 076.
Email: malharku@gmail.com

19. Dr. Suraj A. Pandit
Head
Department of Ancient Indian Culture,
Sathaye College
Vile Parle (East), Mumbai- 400 057.
Email: surajpanditkanheri@gmail.com

20. Mr. Pravin Patil
Plot No. 132/13/5, Sector No.16
Raje Shivaji Nagar, Chikhali Pradhikaran
Opp. Tata Motors,
Chinchwad, Pune- 411 019.
Email: pv.pravin@gmail.com

21. Dr. Chetan Shankar Sali
19-13, Yashobhumi Housing Society
Laxman Nagar, Lokhande Mala
Dasak, Nashik Road
Nashik- 422 101.
Mob: 7588109236

22. Mrs. Vimal Shah
B-3/4, Mevawala Apartments
Church Road, Vile Parle (West)
Mumbai - 400 056.
Res : 022-26148237, Mob : 9819348237
E-mail: vimalshahn26@yahoo.co.in

23. Prof. Arvind K. Singh
Professor and Head
Department of AIICA,
Jiwaji University
HIG-1, University Campus
Gwalior- 474 011.

25. Dr. Anila Verghese
Principal
Sophia College for Women
Convent of the Sacred Heart
Bhulabhai Desai Road,
Mumbai- 400 026.
Tel.: 022-23512088 / 2642

24. Dr. (Mrs.) Meena U. Vaishampayan
A-504, Kusum Bharati Apartments
Opp. Tata S.S.L, Dattapada Road
Borivali (East), Mumbai - 400 066.
Res: 022-28541757. Mob: 9833882305
Email: meenaulhas@gmail.com

26. Prof. M. L. Wadekar
Officiating Director
Oriental Institute
M. S. University of Baroda
Vadodara, Gujarat.

The editors thank Dr. Ambarish Khare and Dr. Suraj Pandit for editorial assistance and the staff of The Asiatic Society of Mumbai for helping in various matters.

BUDDHAGHOSA: A COMMENTATOR PAR EXCELLENCE

ANGRAJ CHAUDHARY

With the passage of time people forget so many important events of their life. They remember only those which leave deep impressions on them. As far as remembering the teachings of a great man is concerned they forget even those. Very often they remember their utterances and quote them without understanding their original meaning because they have moved far away from his time and also because the words used by him have come to mean something different now from what they meant when the man was alive.

This happened in the case of the Tipitaka as well, where the teachings of the Buddha are collected. One thousand years is a great gap of time and it is quite natural that people after that long interregnum were unable to understand the real meanings of the words of the Buddha.

Just as Sāyaṇācārya was greatly needed to explain the meaning of the Vedic text, so a Buddhaghosa was as greatly needed to bring out the import of the Buddha's words. I shall explain below the differences between Sāyaṇācārya and Buddhaghosa.

Before I do this I would like to point out the important characteristics of the *Aṭṭhakathās* written by Buddhaghosa. One of the important characteristics before explaining the meanings of the words of a *gāthā* or a prose paragraph is that Buddhaghosa does not forget to place the *gāthā* or the *sutta* in the right context, because it is the context that greatly helps in understanding the meaning. Context comprises these things— who speaks with whom, where, when and why?

This method of exegesis has, more or less, been uniformly followed by Buddhaghosa in all the *Aṭṭhakathās* that he wrote. One example will make it clear.

While commenting on the first *gāthā* of the *Uraga Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* he first of all narrates the occasion when the Buddha uttered this *gāthā* to a tree deity. The deity was very angry with a bhikkhu of Ālavī because the bhikkhu cut the branch of a tree where the deity lived and even when he was requested by him not to demolish his abode for constructing his *vihāra* he did not pay any heed to his request. Moreover, he knocked the arm of his son while cutting the branch. This made the tree deity furious. He wanted to kill the bhikkhu on the spot but thinking that giving vent to anger is not good he went to the Buddha and complained to him against the bhikkhu.

The Buddha was very happy to know that the tree deity had controlled his anger and had not become a prey to his passion. It is in this context, particularly in praise of such exercise of control over his anger that the Buddha said that ‘a monk who controls the rise of anger goes beyond the bounds of both here and yon like a snake, who sheds his old and worn-out slough.’

The second characteristic of his exegesis (*aṭṭhakathā*) is word for word explanation. Here also Buddhaghosa is different from other commentators. Whereas other commentators explain the meaning of words by giving their synonyms and quoting grammatical rules how that particular word is formed Buddhaghosa is not satisfied with giving only the lexical meaning of words, which he thinks significant but he does more than that. He explains them in detail. For example he does not only say that *uppatitaṃ* means *uppannaṃ* but explains its different kinds such as *vattamānuppannaṃ* (*dhammas* which arise, exist and pass away), *bhutvāpagatuppannaṃ* (*dhammas* which have ceased to be after becoming the objects of experience in the past), *okāśakatuppannaṃ* (*kammas* powerful enough to produce their results at the proper time superseding other *kammas*) and *bhūmiladdhuppannaṃ* (firmly established *akusala kammas* in different planes of existence which wait for their eradication by vipassanā).¹

This word ‘*uppannam*’ has been further classified into four viz. *samudācāruppannaṃ* (origination of *kilesas* on account of irrational or wrong thinking); *ārammanādhiggaḥituppannaṃ* (origination of *kilesa* due to appropriate object); *avikkhambhituppannaṃ* (origination of unsuppressed *kilesas*) and *asamūhatuppannaṃ* (origination of the *kilesas* not completely eradicated).²

This sort of detailed explanation helps the reader a great deal and he comes to know what kind of origination is and how what has originated can be ended or eradicated. If one knows the origin of a thing, it is easy to end it.

While explaining *kodham* (anger) Buddhaghosa goes deep into the problem of anger, its various causes and the harm it can do. Therefore, anger must be removed. The Pali word for removal is *vinaya* (derived from *vineti-* to remove). Not only its two kinds such as *saṁvara vinaya* (removal consisting in restraint) and *pahāna vinaya* (removal consisting in overcoming) but five kinds of each have been explained with examples from the *Tipiṭaka* by him. The first comprises restraint by virtue (*sīla saṁvara*), restraint by mindfulness (*sati saṁvara*), restraint by insight (*ñāṇa saṁvara*), restraint by patience (*khanti saṁvara*) and restraint by effort (*virīya saṁvara*).³

In the same way he has explained five kinds of *pahāna vinaya* (removal consisting in overcoming). They are *tadaṅgappahāna* (overcoming by the opposite), *vikkhambhanapahāna* (overcoming by repression), *samuccheda-pahāna* (overcoming by destruction), *paṭipassaddhi-pahāna* (overcoming by tranquillization) and *nissaraṇa-pahāna* (overcoming by escape).⁴

Another important characteristic of his method of exegesis is giving different connotations of a compound word in great detail. For example 'orapāram' consists of 'ora' (this world) and 'pāra' (the higher worlds). Whereas 'ora' stands for one's own self, six internal *āyatana*s, human world, *kāma dhātu*, *kāmarūpa bhava* and self; 'pāra' stands for other's self, six external *āyatana*s, *devaloka*, *rūpārūpa dhātu*, *arūpa bhava* and the requisites for making one happy.⁵

Yet other characteristic of his method of exegesis is while explaining a lexical term he gives its types. For example, *dhana* (wealth) is of five kinds, such as wealth earned by giving gift and observing precepts which follows you (*anugāmikadhanam*), immoveable (*thāvara*) property consisting in arable land and the plot of land where houses can be constructed, moveable (*jaṅgama*) property like cows and horses etc; moveable (*saṁhāriya*) property like gold and ornaments made of gold and learning of crafts with limbs like hand etc so that they become as important as parts of one's body (*aṅgasamadhana*); (ibid.,24) *lolatā* (greed) is of five kinds (greed for food, for ornament, greed for making love to another man than her husband, greed for earning wealth by hook or by crook and greed for loafing about visiting different places (ibid.,30) and cows are of three types such as cows giving milk (*dhenupā*), pregnant cows (*godharaṇī*) and cows young enough to mate with bulls (*paveṇiyo*).⁶

Let us now show the difference between Sāyaṇācārya and Buddhaghosa by showing difference between the *Bhāṣya* and *Aṭṭhakathās*. The *Aṭṭhakathās* in

Pali are distinguished from *Bhāṣyas* in Sanskrit in more than one respect. The latter brings out the intended meaning by exclusively explaining the meaning of words. Sāyaṇācārya explains the meaning of words by giving synonyms from Yāska's Nirukta. He also explains meanings by showing the formation of words. He quotes the rules of Pāṇini and Uṇādisūtras to show how a particular word is formed. The third method followed very rarely is to refer to the variants in the text- *ityapapāṭhah*.⁷

Buddhaghosa in his commentary breaks new ground. In addition to giving meaning of words and referring to grammatical rules for explaining their formation he also enumerates their kinds where possible and explains them in detail. But there is one respect in which he surpasses all previous commentators. Scholars might say that he had learnt this method of commenting from the previous Sihala commentators but this will be just a conjecture because the commentaries on the basis of which they could prove it are irretrievably lost. We know that the commentaries written in Sihala language were given to Buddhaghosa to render them into Māgadhi only when the senior monks of Ceylon tested his intelligence. The *Visuddhimaggo* that he wrote clearly brings out his vast knowledge of the *Tipiṭaka* and his deeper understanding of the teachings of the Buddha as also the method adopted by him to make meanings of the words of the Buddha crystal clear. On the basis of his performance as a writer of the *Visuddhimaggo* where he explained *sile patitṭhāya naro sapañño* we can say that he broke new ground. The following passage may be taken as a typical example of his method.

Brahmacariyaṃ Nāma methunaviratisamaṇadhammasāsanamaggānaṃ adhivacanam. Tathā hi "abrahmacariyaṃ pahāya brahmacārī hotī'ti (D. 1.194; M. 1.292) evamādīsu methunavi rati brahmacariyanti vuccati. "Bhagavati no, āvuso, brahmacariyaṃ vussatī'ti evamādīsu (M 1. 257) samaṇadhammo. "Na tāvāhaṃ, pāpima, parinibbāyissāmi, yāva me idaṃ brahmacariyaṃ na iddhañceva bhavissati phītañca vitthārikaṃ bāhujaññaṃ"ti evamādīsu (D. 2.168; S. 5.822; U. 51) sāsanaṃ. "Ayameva kho, bhikkhu, ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo brahmacariyaṃ. Seyyathidaṃ, sammādiṭṭhī'ti evamādīsu (S 5.6) maggo.

It is pretty evident from this that Buddhaghosa takes up a polysemous word, brings out all its different meanings, quotes sentences from the *Tipiṭaka* to show their different uses and then puts his finger on the meaning that it obtains in a particular context. Like a modern compiler of good Dictionary he gives all different meanings with examples/usages.

Scholars may disapprove of this method and may argue that giving all meanings of a word does not serve our purpose of understanding the text quickly. Isn't it, they would say, like taking us round and round a jungle to show us a particular tree? But I think that it has a great value. It also speaks of the great authority that Buddhaghosa wields in bringing out the meaning. The numerous quotes that he gives from the *Tipiṭaka* prove beyond any doubt that the entire Pali Tipiṭaka was at his finger's tips and therefore what he says here is authentic. The second importance of this method is if we collect all the polysemous words found in his commentaries, an exhaustive and authoritative Pali Dictionary can be compiled.

Another characteristic of his commentary is the collection of variants. The text abounds in '*iti pi pātho*'.⁸ This proves that he took meticulous care of consulting a number of texts or manuscripts to write commentary of the text he considered authentic or genuine. Like a modern editor he adopted all *apparatus criticus* to bring out a correct text as far as possible.

Buddhaghosa also reveals his deep knowledge of Pali grammar. He shows genitive being used for accusative⁹ instrumental used for accusative¹⁰ and locative¹¹.

Apart from these characteristics Buddhaghosa's commentary has two very important dimensions. The first is that he brings his psycho-ethical knowledge/scholarship to bear upon his commentary. This can be seen in his exegesis of anger, its different degrees, what harm it can do and how it can be controlled. All these are subtle psycho-ethical matters, which Buddhaghosa describes competently and comprehensively. This is clear from his commentary on the *Uraga Sutta*. Different degrees of anger have been explained in the following way:

Visesapadānaṃ paṇāyaṃ padato atthato ca vaṇṇanā– akkodhanoti akujjhanasabhāvo. Yo hi so pubbe vuttappakāra-āghātavatthusambhavo kodho ekaccassa suparittopi uppajjamāno hadayaṃ santāpetvā vūpasammati, yena ca tato balavataruppanna ekacco mukhavikūṇanamattaṃ karoti, tato balavatarena ekacco pharusāṃ vattukāmo hanusañcalanamattaṃ karoti, aparo tato balavatarena pharusāṃ bhaṇati, aparo tato balavatarena daṇḍaṃ vā satthaṃ vā gavesanto disā viloketi, aparo tato balavatarena daṇḍaṃ vā satthaṃ vā āmasati, aparo tato balavatarena daṇḍā dīni gahetvā upadhāvati, aparo tato balavatarena ekam vā dve vā pahāre deti, aparo tato balavatarena api nātisālohitam jīvitaṃ

*voropeti, ekacco tato balavatarena pacchā vipparisūrī attānampi jīvītā voropeti sīhaḍḍīpe kālagāmvāsī amacco viya. Ettāvātā ca kodho paramavepullappatto hoti. So bhagavatā bodhimaṇḍeyeva sabbaso pahīno ucchinnamūlo tālavatthukāto, tasmā bhagavā “akkodhanohamasmi”ti āha.*¹²

One type of anger arises in one, burns him for some time and then is quieted, another type of anger stronger than the first distorts his face and his facial expression makes it clear that he is angry, the third type stronger even than the second agitates him so much that he becomes ready to speak harsh words, the fourth type of anger makes him speak harsh words, the fifth type stronger than the fourth one makes him look for weapons and staff, yet stronger anger makes him take a weapon, yet stronger anger makes him run after the man with whom he is angry, yet stronger anger makes him beat the man with a staff, yet stronger anger makes him kill even his relative and yet stronger anger makes him so repentant that he commits suicide. This is a wonderful psychological description of different degrees of anger.

The commentary on the *Dhaniya Sutta* highlights the Buddha's comparison and contrast between worldly pleasure and nibbānic bliss. Worldly pleasures are insatiable. They keep us constantly burning. This fire that keeps us burning can be put out only by sprinkling the water of the Noble Eight-fold Path.¹³ The Noble Eight-fold Path has been compared with water. As water cools a man burning with heat so walking on the Noble Eight-fold Path can cool him burning with desires. This is an apt but innovative simile. Buddhaghosa gives many such apt and appropriate similes to make the meaning clear. Some similes are very sublime and exalting. We shall speak about such apt and exalting similes later.

Buddhaghosa is also aware of many social aspects and the popular beliefs in the society of that time as he is aware of moral and ethical aspects. This is revealed in his commentary on the *Dhaniya Sutta*. Here he makes a distinction between a *gopa* and a *gopālaka*. Dhaniya is a *gopa*, not a *gopālaka* because he keeps his own cows and does not work as a labourer for keeping other's cows. *Yo hi attano gāvo pāleti, so 'gopo' ti vuccati. Yo paresam vetanena bhato hutvā, so gopālako.*¹⁴

Buddhaghosa's *Aṭṭhakathās* reveal several aspects of his personality. Not only he was a great scholar and knew various *sāstras* but also he knew so many things about agriculture, the implements used in farming as also about when there

would be good rainfall and when there would be drought. Like a true Indian farmer who constantly observes nature and knows the moods of weather he also knew about them. This is clear from what he says about when to expect a good rainfall and when not.

*Yadā sakuṇikā kulāvakāni rukkhagge karonti, kakkatakā udakasa mīpe dvāraṃ pidahitvā thalasaṃpadvārena vaḷaṅjenti, tadā suvuṭṭhikā bhavissatīti gaṇhanti. Yadā pana sakuṇikā kulāvakāni nīcaṭṭhāne udakapiṭṭhe karonti, kakkatakā thalasaṃpade dvāraṃ pidahitvā udakasamīpadvārena vaḷaṅjenti, tadā dubbuṭṭhikā bhavissatīti gaṇhanti.*¹⁵

When birds make their nests at the top of the trees, crabs covering the door near the water frequent the door near the land, then a good rainfall is expected. A bad rainfall is expected when just the opposite happens.

His commentary on the *Kasibhāradvāja Sutta* reveals not only his knowledge of agriculture, agronomy, pomology and botany but also the depth he had attained in his spiritual and meditative life. The way he explains the agriculture of the Buddha and in the language he describes it are wonderful examples of his sublime thought. His explanation of why *saddhā* is the seed, endeavour the rain and so on throws sufficient light on his spiritual insight into the process of the realization of nibbāna. This process has been compared to great and excellent agricultural operation (*mahākasā*). As far as the agriculture of Kasibhāradvāja is concerned all that he uses for getting the produce are material things such as seed, plough, plough-share, pole, yoke, rope goad and bullocks. But according to the Buddha development of faith is the first requisite for walking on the spiritual path. Other requisites are energy, wisdom, modesty, fear of doing something morally wrong, and mindfulness. When they are developed arahathood is attained, nibbāna is attained. This is the best and most sublime fruit.

The agricultural produce of Kasibhāradvāja is appetitive. It can not allay one's hunger for all time but the Buddha's produce that he obtains from his spiritual farming is so good that it allays one's hunger for all time.

Buddhaghosa's explanation of why *saddhā* is called seed (*bīja*) is quoted here in extenso. *Tattha yathā brāhmaṇassa kasiyā mūlabhūtaṃ bījaṃ dve kiccāni karoti, heṭṭhā mūlena pati ṭṭhāti, upari aṅkuram utṭhāpeti; evaṃ bhagavato kasiyā mūlabhūtaṃ saddhā heṭṭhā sīlamūlena pati ṭṭhāti, upari samathavipassanaṅkuram*

utthāpeti. Yathā ca taṃ mūlena pathaviraṣaṃ āporasaṃ gahetvā nālena dhañña-paripākagahaṇatthaṃ vadḍhati; evamayam sīlamūlena samathavipassa nārasaṃ gahetvā ariyamagganālena ariyaphaladhaññaparipākagahaṇatthaṃ vadḍhati. Yathā ca taṃ subhūmiyaṃ patiṭṭhahitvā mūlaṅkurapaṇṇanā-lakaṇḍappasavehi vuddhiṃ virūlhiṃ vepullam patvā, khīraṃ janetvā, anekasāli-phalabharitaṃ sālīsisaṃ nipphādeti; evamayam cittasantāne pati ṭṭhahitvā sīlacittadiṭṭhikaṅkhā-vitarāṇamaggāmaggañānadassanapaṭipadañānadassanavisuddhī hi vuddhiṃ virūlhiṃ vepullam patvā nānadassanavisuddhikhīraṃ janetvā anekapaṭisambhidiḥ bhiññābharitaṃ arahattaphalaṃ nipphādeti. Tenāha bhagavā— “saddhā bījan”ti.¹⁶

Just as the basic requisite of Kasibhāradvāja’s agriculture is seed, so the basic requisite of the Buddha’s agriculture is *saddhā* (faith). What does a seed do? It strikes roots in the soil below to establish itself and germinates above. It draws its sustenance in the form of sap through the roots and sends it through the stalk above so that the plant may grow up well and healthy and may eventually bear fruits. In the same manner faith-- the basic requisite of the Buddha’s agriculture-- establishes itself in *sīla* and takes the sap of *samatha* and *vipassana*, sends it through the stalk of the Noble Eight-fold Path so that the fruit in the form of nibbāna can come into being.

As rain helps in the sprouting forth of the seed and does not let the plant wither away so restraint of sense organs supported by faith goes a long way in the development of *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā* and does not let them wither away.

The *Kasibhāradvāja Sutta Atthavaṇṇanā* from which these paragraphs are taken, in fact, shows that the *sutta* itself is an extended metaphor in which the farmer’s process of cultivating land, sowing the seed and raising crop has been compared to a monk’s leading a *brahmacariya* life with faith in the three *ratanas* and achieving nibbāna—the *summum bonum* of the Buddha’s way of life. Buddhaghosa’s explanation of the metaphor in the *Atthakathā* is couched in a sublime language. Therefore it may be regarded as a gem of exegetical literature. It reads like sublime poetry.

There are many such passages in Buddhaghosa’s *Atthakathās* where the Buddha’s metaphors have been explained in a sublime language. I would like to quote one from the *Dhaniya Sutta*. Here the Buddha compares the raft of Dhaniya with his own raft. Dhaniya is proud that he has a raft and with its help he can cross the river even in flood. But the Buddha says that his raft enabled him to cross the river of becoming for ever and he does not need to cross it again.

Dhaniya has to prepare it again and again when he needs to cross a river. In other words his raft is not a permanent secure means to cross the river. But the raft of the Buddha is not an ordinary one prepared from material things. It is a spiritual raft, which has been prepared by collecting all the constituents of the Noble Eight-fold path and binding them with the rope of wisdom. Because all the thirty-seven factors of enlightenment are so well-fastened by wisdom that they remain at their places without being disturbed by one another and do not need to be fastened again. With the help of this raft he went to the other shore from where he is not to come back. He went to the shore after destroying all his *āsavas* (taints). Dhaniya might feel rich for having the raft. But the Buddha does not feel the poorer for not having a raft as he has crossed all the four floods. This accounts for his having no raft.

Buddhaghosa gives a wonderful description of the raft of the Buddha, which he prepared from the thirty-seven factors of enlightenment which include four *satipaṭṭhānas*, four *sammappadhānas*, four *iddhipādas*, five *indriyas*, five *balas*, seven *bojjhaṅgas* and eight constituents of the Noble Eight-fold Path. This enabled him to cross all the four floods such as *kāmogha* (the flood of sense desire), *bhavogha* (the flood of eternal desire for existence), *diṭṭhogha*, (the flood of wrong views) and *avijjogha* (the flood of ignorance).¹⁷

This description of the Buddha's raft reminds me of a simile used by Asvaghosa in his epic *Saundarananda*. Nanda has to fight with Māra. How does he make himself fit for it? He takes the bow of true knowledge, wears the armour of mindfulness, mounts on the riding animal of *sīla*, fights with the enemies represented by *kilesas* in his own mind in order to gain victory. How does he enter the army of *kilesas*? He takes up the sharp weapons of seven factors of enlightenment, mounts the animal of effort having the strength of the elephant of the Noble Eight-fold path and then with the arrows of the four foundations of mindfulness kills the four enemies represented by four false views, the cause of suffering within no time. He tears asunder the five mental obstacles with the five noble forces like *saddhā* etc and defeats the Eight Elephants of false views with the Eight Elephants of right views. It is a very elaborate description of Nanda's preparation for fighting with Māra as also of the weapons he uses to defeat him, to put him to rout.¹⁸

Such descriptions are Buddhaghosa's original descriptions, which speak of his deep spiritual scholarship if I may use such a phrase. He definitely attained this scholarship by leading the life of a Buddhist monk.

His *Aṭṭhakathās* have such characteristics in abundance. As his *Aṭṭhakathās* interweave such original descriptions in sublime language with explanations of moral problems and technical terms, they make an interesting and illuminating reading.

From the commentary on the *Kasibhāradvāja Sutta*¹⁹ we find how with the passage of time the process of deification of the Buddha had become almost complete. Not only birds and beasts but also other objects of Nature seem to realize the divinity of the Buddha. All of them are ready to serve him. When the Buddha goes out for alms gentle breeze sweeps the road clean, clouds sprinkle cool water to suppress the dust and protect him from the sun. Another type of breeze collects flowers and strews them on the road along which he travels. The road becomes even as the high land bends low and the low land rises high. Elephants, horses and birds stand spell-bound where they are and produce sweet sounds.

Seyyathidam— piṇḍāya pavisato lokanāthassa purato purato gantvā mudugatiyo vātā pathaviṃ sodhenti; valāhakā udakaphusitāni muñcantā magge reṇuṃ vūpasamtvā upari vitānaṃ hutvā tiṭṭhanti. Apare vātā pupphāni upasaṃharitvā magge okiranti, unnatā bhūmippadesā onamanti, onatā unnamanti, pādanikkhepasamaye samāva bhūmi hoti, sukhasamphassāni rathacakkamattāni padumapupphāni vā pāde sampati cchanti, indakhīlassa anto ṭhapitamatte dakkhiṇapāde sarīrā chabbaṇṇarasmiyo niccharitvā suva ṇṇarasapiṇjarāni viya citrapaṭaparikkhattāni viya ca pāsādakūtāgārādīni karontiyo ito cito ca vidhā vanti, hatthi-assavihaṅgādayo sakasakaṭṭhānesu ṭhitāyeva madhurenākārena saddaṃ karonti, tathā bherivīṇādīni tūriyāni manussānaṃ kāyūpagāni ca ābharaṇāni, tena saññānena manussā jānanti “ajja bhagavā idha piṇḍāya pavittho”ti.²⁰

Apart from these scholarly and spiritual merits the *Aṭṭhakathās* are full of historical and quasi-historical anecdotes. In the *Ratanasuttavaṇṇanā* Buddhaghosa has given a mythical account of the origin of Licchavis, Vajjis and Vesālī.

Once upon a time the queen-consort of the king of Benaras gave birth to a lump of flesh as red as lac and Bandhujīvaka flower. Wishing to avoid disgrace, her ladies in waiting put it in a sealed casket and threw it in the Ganges. The seal bore the stamp of the king. One deity took pity on it and rescued it. Then he pasted a golden leaf on it with the inscription that the casket contained the

embryo of the queen consort of Benaras. The deity then put the casket in the quiet and unruffled current of the river.

At that time an ascetic lived near the hamlet of the milkmen on the Ganges. In the morning after his constitutional when he was to plunge into the river he saw the floating casket coming towards him. He took hold of it and read what was inscribed on it. He opened it and saw a lump of red flesh. He thought it must be an embryo as it did not give out a foul smell. He took it to his hermitage and kept it at a sacred place. After a fortnight the lump of flesh divided itself into two and again after a fortnight one lump became a golden boy and the other became a beautiful girl. The hermit developed great affection for them so much so that milk began to flow from his thumb. He began to take care of them, gave them all the milk and lived only on rice.

Whatever went into their stomachs were clearly visible as if there were no covering of skin. Hence they were called *nicchavi* (skinless) by some. Others called them *linacchavi* because they thought the covering of the stomach and the food particles inside it were inseparably woven together. Hence these two children were called *Licchavis*.²¹ The origin of the *Vajjis* and *Vesālī* is also closely connected with the *Licchavis*. The story continues further. When the milkmen came to know that the ascetic had to go out early morning for alms to feed them, they came to him and requested him not to bother about the children. They further requested him to allow them to take care of the children.

The ascetic gladly accepted the proposal. The milkmen came the following day and took them home with great honour. The ascetic instructed them to take good care of them and said further that they should be allowed to marry each other when they attain marriageable age. He also asked them to procure a plot of land from the king, develop there a township and anoint the boy the king of that town. They agreed and took them home. These two children, however, used to fight with the children of the milkmen and bully them. When they narrated their tales of woe to their parents they said that the two children were not good enough to play with and so were fit to be avoided (*vajjitabbā*). Since then the place where the two children lived was called *Vajji* and the children were called *Vajjis*.²²

The township was developed. The children were now grown up. So the boy married his own sister. When he was anointed a king he made it a rule that no girl of his kingdom should be allowed to marry in another kingdom and no

girl from other kingdom should be brought in marriage to his kingdom. Later on, a twin consisting of a boy and a girl was born to them. Sixteen such twins were born subsequently. When they attained marriageable age each boy of the twin married the girl. Their families grew and they needed more space for their garden, for their residence and for accommodating their servants. Thus the original plot of land expanded and expanded (*Visālikatattāti vesāli*), hence it was called Vesali.²³

In the same way the origin of Sāvatti has been described in the *Maṅgalasuttavaṇṇanā*. It was called Sāvatti because the sage Savattha lived here.²⁴ Another tradition has it that people assembling there asked one another what they had (*kiṃ bhaṇḍam atthi?*) and they replied that they had everything (*sabbam atthi*). So the place was called Sāvatti.²⁵ In the same way the origin of Kosala has been given in the *Pūralāsasuttavaṇṇanā*.²⁶

Buddhaghosa's Aṭṭhakathās are a store-house of popular superstitions prevalent in the society in those days They have been mentioned in the *Maṅgalasuttavaṇṇanā*²⁷ Eight kinds of ascetics (*tāpasās*) have been described in the *Hirisuttavaṇṇanā*²⁸ They were *saputtabhariyā tāpasās* (ascetics having wife and children), *uñchācārikā* (ascetics who lived on rice and grains that they got by teaching different kinds of arts to the sons of Brahmanas and Khatiyas), *sampattakālikā* (ascetics who lived on whatever they got at lunch time), *anaggipakkikā* (ascetics who lived on uncooked food), *asmamuttṭhikā* (ascetics with stones in their hands to peel the bark of the trees when they felt hungry), *dantaluyyakā* (ascetics who peeled barks with their teeth) *pavattaphalikā* (ascetics who lived on flowers and fruits and in their absence on the bark of a tree) and *vaṇṭamuttikā* (ascetics who lived on the leaves that fell on their own from the branches).

In the *Brāhmaṇadhammikasuttavaṇṇanā*²⁹ different kinds of sacrifices such as *assamedha*, *purisamedha* etc. have been mentioned, the *Sammāparibbājanīya sutta*³⁰ records a dispute for water between the Sākyas and the Koliyas a feature found even now in India where farmers depend on water for their cultivation of land.

There are some stories which underline the importance of wholesome *kammas*.³¹ The story of Kaṭṭhavāhana records that very fine rugs were made in Benaras those days and free trade exempt from octroi was established between two friendly kingdoms.³²

In conclusion we can say that besides word for word explanation of the text Buddhaghosa's *Aṭṭhakathās* reveal his poetic and spiritual gift, which is clear from his explanation of the agriculture of the Buddha which allays hunger for good and the raft made by the Buddha to go across this world to the land of light and liberation.

They are also a store-house of different kinds of social and religious information. They also reveal his vast knowledge of the teachings of the Buddha both *pariyatti* and *paṭipatti*.

Notes and References

1. Sn A.I, p.5
2. Ibid. p.7
3. Ibid. p.8
4. Ibid. p.9
5. Ibid. p.12
6. Ibid. 32.
7. See Uṇādikosaḥ 84, 87, 97.
8. See SnA I.32, 133, 142, 144, 153, 176, 184 etc and Sn A. II.51,53, 57, 94, 120, 128, 135, 142 etc.
9. Ibid. *kissa loko ti upayogathe sāmivacanāṃ*, I.180, II.239, II.272; *migānanti sāmivacanāṃ upayogavacanāṃ katvā*, I.101)
10. Ibid. *upayogathe kāraṇavacanāṃ saddasatthe sījḥati*, I. 232
11. *bhummathe kāraṇavacanāṃ*, II.7, 155, accusative used for instrumental, (ibid. I.117) and for locative (ibid. I, 111).
12. Sn A. I pp. 25-6.
13. *Ariyamaggasalilasekenanibbuto*-- Sn A I.27.
14. Sn A I p. 24.
15. Sn A I p. 23.
16. Sn A I p. 114.
17. Sn A I p. 29.
18. See the 17th canto of Saundarananda.
19. Sn A I p. 105.
20. Ibid.
21. Sn A I p. 231.
22. Sn A I p. 231.
23. Ibid.
24. Sn A II. p. 5.
25. Ibid, p. 5.
26. Sn A II.p. 116.
27. Sn A II pp. 1-2.
28. Sn A I. pp 269-70.
29. Sn A II. p. 51.
30. Sn A II. p. 82.
31. Sn A II pp. 218-9.

32. Sn.A II pp. 267-9.

Bibliography

(Unless otherwise mentioned all books referred to here are published by Vipassana Research Institute, Dhammagiri in 1998)

Dīgha Nikāya

Majjhima Nikāya

Saṃyutta Nikāya (S)

Suttanipāta (Sn)

Udāna

Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā Vol I and II

Kapiladeo Shastri. 1966. *Yaska's Hindi Nirukta*. Meerut: Sahiya Bhandar.

Yudhisthir Mimansaka. 2000. *Pāṇini Uṇādi Koṣah*. 3rd edn. Delhi: Lomas offset Press.

CANĪSUTTA: CONSPECTUS AND ANALYSIS*

PARINEETA DESHPANDE

Introduction

Caṅkī Sutta is a part of *Majjhima Nikāya*¹ and arguably one of the intellectual dialogues in the Buddhist Canon. It contains discussion about attainment of truth (*saccānuppatti*) which is of central importance in Buddhist philosophy and is full of great human interest. Though great scholars like K.N. Jayatilleke,² D.J. Kalupahana³ and K.N. Upadhyaya⁴ have worked on the Buddhist Epistemology, this paper is focused on the in depth study of the present *sutta* which categorically deals with the twelve steps to attainment of truth. The setting is the Devavana (where oblations are offered to gods) in the north of Opāsāda gāma, a Brahmin village of the Kosalāna where the Buddha was touring and the *sutta* seems to have been taken from the real life at the time of Buddha. Though the discourse is named as *Caṅkī Sutta*, the dialogue takes place between the Lord Buddha and a Brahmin youth named Kāpaṭika who is eager for philosophical debate and courteously persistent in asking his question. However the dialogue is prompted by Caṅkī a Mahāsāla Brahmin (title indicating his esteem and prosperity) from Opāsāda on whose request Kāpaṭika is allowed to ask questions to Buddha and Buddha satisfies him by quenching his curiosity.

The *sutta* consists of three parts; the first part is introduction giving the occasion, background and information of Caṅkī Brahmin who obtained a chance for Kāpaṭika for discussion with Buddha. The second part consists of interlocution in which interlocutor Kāpaṭika is engaged in a series of questions and answers given by the Buddha and the third part tells how the Buddha defines and explains the terms *saccānurakkhaṇā*⁵ (preservation of truth), *saccānubodha*⁶ (awakening to truth) and *saccānuppatti*⁷ (attainment of truth)— the concise summary of the whole *sutta* intended to be driven home with the listener. The dialogue ends happily with declaring Kāpaṭika himself to be a lay follower of Buddha, joining the *saṅgha*.

Caṅkī was a Brahmin contemporary of Buddha, reputed for his great learning and highly esteemed in Brahmin gathering at Icchanangala and Manasakata.⁸ He is mentioned together with such eminent and wealthy Brahmins as Tarukkha, Pokkharasadi, Janussoni and Todeyya.⁹ Caṅkī lived in a Brahmin village of Opāsāda on a royal fief granted him by the king Pasenadi. When Buddha came to Opāsāda, Caṅkī visited him, in spite of the protests of other Brahmins and on this occasion the *Caṅkī Sutta* was preached.¹⁰ That Caṅkī held Buddha in great esteem is evident from the introductory part of this *sutta*. When Caṅkī visited Buddha at Devavana (Deva's grove), Buddha was conversing with some eminent and aged Brahmins. A young Brahmin called Kāpaṭika frequently interrupted the conversation and was rebuked by the Buddha. At this the Caṅkī Brahmin informed the Buddha that the youth was a very clever and good scholar and requested him to allow Kāpaṭika to ask some questions.

***Saccānurakkhaṇā*: Safeguarding of truth**

The young Brahmin Kāpaṭika represents that Brahmin class of Buddha's time which derived its knowledge on the basis of sacred scriptural tradition of the *Vedas* on the epistemological grounds. He entered into a discussion with the Buddha about the 'three *Vedas*' which had been handed down from generation to generation in an unbroken tradition. He wishes to know the Buddha's opinion on the attitude of the Brahmins who come absolutely to the conclusion (*ekamsena nittham gacchanti*) that only what is contained in the *Vedas* is true and everything else is false (*idam eva saccaṁ mogham annam*). The Buddha then declares that the Brahmanic pretensions to possess the sole truth are vain because they believe the ancient saying handed down through hear-say and authority, is the truth, all else is not the truth. According to Buddha, the authors of *Vedas* were ancient sages.¹¹ None of these sages are said to lay claim to direct personal knowledge of truth.¹²

The attitude of the Buddha towards Vedic authority is very clearly indicated in his analytical gradation of the stages of faith and knowledge. According to him these five factors¹³ exert influence on the individual's knowledge process:

- 1) "*Saddhā*: Faith
- 2) *Ruci*: Preference/ Inclination
- 3) *Anussava*: report / (oral tradition)
- 4) *Ākāraparivitakko*: consideration of reason; arguing upon evidence (speculative aspect)

- 5) *ditṭhijijhānakkhanti*: reflection on and approval of opinion (reflective aspect)¹⁴

The Buddha then explained to Kāpatika that the Brahmins cannot vouchsafe for truth by saying that they have seen the truth and know it. The tradition which the Brahmins believed to be the only truth, is like a line of blind men each other clinging to the preceding one¹⁵ and nobody bothers to see the reality. By this pointer parable of blind, the Buddha indicated that the Brahmins were no better than a file of blind men who are carried away by other's opinion. This amounts to the fact that the faith of the Brahmins is groundless (*amūlika*) which is not effective for realization of truth.

The faith that the Brahmins have in Vedic tradition cannot guarantee the truth. Though scholars are divided in their opinion about the connotation of 'saddhā' in Buddhism,¹⁶ in Pali *Nikāyas* it is used in the sense of trust, confidence in teacher, as a preliminary requirement, finally leading to knowledge which can be easily understood as an emotion insufficient for realization of truth but extremely important on the way to it. But that does not mean that the Buddha expects his followers to accept everything without criticism. For him knowledge is more important than faith. Faith in a sense implying an authoritarian could not have any place in his teaching. In *Dhammapada* the Arhat is described as the one who does not require faith anymore (*asaddho*),¹⁷ as he has already attained the Arhatship. The Buddha wanted his disciples to go beyond the faith by attaining wisdom. When a person has faith, he preserves truth when he says, 'My faith is thus'; but he does not yet come to the definite conclusion 'only this is true, anything else is false.' Buddhism rejects blind faith which it refers to as *amūlika saddhā* (rootless or groundless faith)¹⁸ and distinguishes from it faith based on insight (*dassana mūlika saddhā*).¹⁹ If one relies on authority because one has faith in that, it still makes sense to ask how the authority knows what he says. If the authority also relies on a further authority, there is then no ground at all for any confidence that the authority is right. Authority must be grounded in something other than authority. Even if one relies on authority, even if he is a sage, what one says is not true just because one pronounces that it is so.

Even if one hears something on profoundest tradition, that may be empty, hollow and false (*susaddahitamyeva hoti tañca hoti rittam tuccham musā*); while what one does not hear by profoundest tradition, may be factual, true and not otherwise (*no cepi susaddahitam hoti, tañca hoti bhutam, taccham anaññathā*) It is not proper for an intelligent person to come categorically to the conclusion in

this matter that this alone is true and all else is false. But if one has non-dogmatic attitude to what has been learnt from tradition or authority and if he does not come to a categorical conclusion that this alone is true and all else is false, then he safeguards or preserves the truth (*saccānurakkhaṇā*) and there is no awakening to truth.

In response to the Buddha's criticism that the Brahmin attitude amounts to blindly following a tradition, the truth of which has not been tested at any point, Kāpaṭika retorts that the Brahmins claim the validity of *Vedas* on the basis of 'anussava.' Dr. Jayatilleke has pointed out three connotations of the term.²⁰

1. Divine Revelation
2. Authoritative tradition
3. Report coming from mouth to mouth

There are some *suttas* in the Pali canons which contain Buddha's rejection of 'anussava' as a reliable means of truth. In *Tevijja Sutta*, the Brahmanical claim of the divine origin of the *Vedas* is criticized by him.²¹ In the *Sandaka Sutta*²² too, the Buddha criticizes 'anussava' on epistemological grounds. According to the Buddha, there is a twofold difficulty with regard to the truth based on oral tradition. First, it is difficult to ascertain whether it is well remembered or ill remembered. Secondly, even if it is well remembered, it is not a guarantee of its truth. In *Vīmaṅsaka Sutta*²³ the Buddha tells his disciples that if the faith in the Truth-finder is planted by foregoing researches, then such faith is based on insight and reason and not to accept even his words blindly out of respect for him.

Thus, in the present *Caṅkī Sutta* too, the Buddha criticizes the five incorrect methodologies which were referred to as the five so-called ways to know the truth, prevailed in the contemporary field of epistemology. The Buddha emphatically told that all these five methods including the results of abstract reasoning and views accepted upon reflection, do not yield certainty and therefore are not reliable source of truth. They may be good enough to safe-guard or to preserve the truth (*saccānurakkhaṇā*). In each of these cases no guarantee is provided of the truth of what is believed. Religious views based on reason and speculation (*takka* and *vīmaṅsa*) are not necessarily false, but neither are they true with certainty, even if fundamental doctrines are said to be self-evident.²⁴

The Buddha rejected the Brahmanic notion that simply memorizing, reciting and studying some sacred scripture philologically, as it were, will lead to

attainment of the truth. Brahmanic orthodoxy intolerantly insisted on believing and accepting their tradition and authority as the only truth without question. On this background it is very noteworthy what the Buddha said, "To be attached to one view and to look down upon other things as inferior, this, the wise called a tie."²⁵ The *Sandaka Sutta* refers to four comfortless vocations which are based only on authority and tradition. (*anassāsikāni brahmacariyāni*).²⁶

Awakening to truth (*Saccānubodha*) and attainment of truth (*Saccānuppatti*)

Cāṅkī sutta has the soteriological relevance as it further deals with two important concepts from the field of Early Buddhist philosophy which are very finely distinguished by the Buddha. After this initial stage of *saccānurakkhaṇā* the Buddha speaks of *Saccānubodha* and *Saccānuppatti*. The former can be explained as intellectual comprehension or understanding of truth (from the root *anu + budh* – to know, to understand) whereas *saccānuppatti* means attainment of truth (from the root *anu + ut + pad*). For attainment of truth understanding the truth is very important because unless one understands the nature of truth one will not be able to attain it. Thus *saccānubodha* can be considered as a stepping stone towards *saccānuppatti*. The stage *saccānubodha* is said to be arisen when one, on critical enquiry and examination of speaker, finds him free from greed (*lobha*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*) the main three blemishes of psychological dispositions. And then having heard him with trust, applies himself and gets the glimpse.

The last stage of perfect attainment of truth *saccānuppatti* results from practice and development of the same mental state. It is very important that after understanding the truth one must examine it and then practice it. This is exactly contrary to the Brahmanic notion which believes that truth can be acquired by revelation, independently of other sources of knowledge.

The Buddha then advises Kāpaṭika the details of the training path which leads to the attainment of truth. When a householder approaches a monk, he examines him whether his mind is free from greed (*lobhanīya dhamma*), evil intentions (*dosanīya dhamma*) and moha (*delusion*). When he is convinced about it and that his teaching of *dhamma* is deep, peaceful excellent, subtle, he reposes faith in him and approaches him close. Then sitting near him he listens carefully to what is being taught. Then he tests the meaning of the teaching and weighs it. Interested in that, he makes efforts. Being self resolute he realizes the highest truth. This is the awakening to truth. But this is not enough for *nibbāna*, the truth

realized must be practiced continually *ettāvatā saccamanubujjhati; natveva saccānuppatti hoti*,²⁷ ... *tesamyeva dhammānam āsevanā bhāvanā bahulīkammam saccānuppatti hoti*²⁸ Attainment of truth is to experience it.

On being requested by Kāpaṭika, the Buddha then preached him this training course with twelve steps as follows:

- 1) *padhāna*: Striving is of much importance in the attainment of truth. Those who do not strive for truth, do not attain it.
- 2) *tulanā*: Scrutiny or weighing is of much help for the four fold endeavor. It pushes the mind forward earnestly, dispels arisen demerits and promotes non-arising of the not arisen demerits.
- 3) *ussāho*: Zeal or struggling is of much help for weighing. This is a mental struggle. It consists of thinking and pondering to sort out the correct and one reaches the right thinking.
- 4) *chando*: will or interest. Application of the will is of much help for zeal. If one has interest to do, one would strive for it zealously. (*chandassa kho Bhāradvājo dhamma-nijjhāna-kkhanti bahukārā*)
- 5) *dhamma-nijjhāna-kkhanti*: The reflective acceptance of teaching helps a lot for interest. Reflective acceptance leads to right speculation falling in the category of right view of the Noble Eightfold Path. Knowledge derived from observing and thinking.
- 6) *atthūpaparikkhā*: Testing the meaning is of much help of to reflection. If one does not test the meaning, the things could not seem right for his reflection.
- 7) *dhammadhāraṇā*: Memorizing the teaching is very important for examining the *dhamma*; then only it is possible to test the meaning. Otherwise what meaning will one test?
- 8) *dhammassavana*: Listening to *dhamma* is naturally helpful to memorize it for by hearing again and again one commits it to memory. Conception derived from listening is called *Sutamayīpaññā*. Three levels of wisdom according to their sources have been enumerated in the *Nikāyas – sutamayīpaññā* - wisdom from listening, *cintamayīpaññā*- wisdom from thinking and *bhavanamayīpaññā*-wisdom from mental development.²⁹
- 9) *sotāvadhāna* : Lending ear for hearing *dhamma* is the next stage because then only it is possible to hear *dhamma*
- 10) *payirupāsana*: Paying respect by drawing close is much helpful for lending ear.
- 11) *upasankamana* : Visiting or approaching the teacher is very essential for paying respect
- 12) *saddha*: Faith is helpful for visiting the teacher. If faith in teacher does not arise, one will not visit him. So, though *saddhā* is one factor on which opinions are based, it is the first basic requirement or beginning point of

process. Like Brahmanism, Buddhism also gives due importance to *saddhā* for attainment of truth but Buddhist *saddhā* is the reasonable faith.

The steps as enumerated in the present *sutta* appear to be in *paṭiloma* (reverse) order as it has been explicitly mentioned that faith is the preliminary requirement and starting point of the entire process. This gradual path must be developed, repeated and verified into his experience until there is final arrival at truth by the seeker. This is the clear exposition of complex concept given by the Lord Buddha. It seems that, according to Buddha attainment of truth is rooted in experience, practice and reflection on it. Thus, Buddhism does not permit us to go beyond experience and speak of what cannot be and never has been experienced.

The attainment of truth is described as "light within", by which things are not only attained but 'seen' clearly. That is why the terms like *paññā-cakkhu* (wisdom-eye) and (*yathā-bhūta-ñāṇa-dassana* (seeing with intuitive insight)³⁰ are always used in the Buddhist texts to describe the mental experience of a disciple in the process of Enlightenment.

"The eye has arisen, the intuition has arisen, the wisdom has arisen, and the illumination has arisen".³¹

Thus, with *saccānuppatti* the seeker sees the things as they are (*yathā-bhūta-ñāṇa-dassana*). It is always seeing through wisdom and not believing through faith. The Dhamma that is so well declared by the Buddha is the truth that can be clearly seen here and now (*sandiṭṭhiko akāliko*), inviting examination (*ehi-passiko dhammo*).³²

The Buddha, the teacher of gods and men was highly successful in helping his disciples to attain the truth. Knowing the background of the young Brahmin Kāpaṭika, he used the appropriate method starting with his tradition and gradually led him from incorrect his viewpoint to the right viewpoint. The *sutta* also reflects the Buddha's openness and religio-cultural scenario at that time.

Now, the last point for investigation is which truth is to be attained finally. In the sense of normal value of conduct, truth is truthfulness and integrity. But in the metaphysical sense it symbolizes the supreme reality which is an object of realization, attainment and vision. As far as Buddhism is concerned, insight into truths other than the Four Noble Truths is regarded as false insight (*micchā ñāṇa*).

Following the training path the seeker will see the three fundamental truths of impermanence (*anicca*), suffering (*dukkha*) and selflessness (*anatta*) in his life.

Here the *Caṅkī Sutta* throws much light on the kind of knowledge essential for attainment of the goal of *Nibbana* and what is essential for attainment of this goal is the knowledge of truth that has to be developed on the basis of the given arduous process of self discipline.

The Buddha emphatically ascertains that attainment of truth is not something mysterious and supernatural; it can be induced and experienced in this very life when necessary conditions are fulfilled by human endeavour.

Notes and References

* Paper presented at SLABS Conference, at Sri Lanka, 10th-12th Dec.2010

1. Majjhima Nikāya II.5. 422–35 (Caṅkī Sutta); Pali Text Society (tr.) II. 164–77.
2. Jayatilleke (1980).
3. Kalupahana (1994).
4. Upadhyaya (1983).
5. Majjhima Nikāya II.5.426.
6. Ibid. II.5.430.
7. Ibid. II.5.433.
8. Dīgha Nikāya I.13..518 (Tevijja Sutta)
9. Ibid. 519.
10. Majjhima Nikāya II.5.426ff.
11. Ibid. II.5.427.
12. Ibid II .5.428. *Brahmananam pubbaka isayo mantanam kattaro...*
13. According to Kalupahana, these are the five human attitudes or perspectives in philosophical explanation. For details, see Kalupahana (1994: 31).
14. Majjhima Nikāya, Pali Text Society (tr.) II.170.
15. Ibid II. 5. 428. *undha venupamam manne brahmananam bhasitam sampajjati*
16. Vide Barua (1983: 329–49); also Jayatilleke (1980: 383 ff).
17. Dhammapada v.97.
18. Majjhima Nikāya, Pali Text Society (tr.) II.170.
19. Ibid I.5.487–90.
20. Jayatilleke (1980: 177).
21. Dīgha Nikāya I.13.522ff
22. Majjhima Nikāya II.3.223ff
23. Ibid I.5.487–90; Vide, for the Buddha's similar view, Tattvasaṅgraha v 3385 (vol. II, p.922) where he admonishes the monks to accept his words only after testing, like the way gold is tested in fourfold manner.

24. Majjhima Nikāya II.5.429: *ettāvatā kho Bhāradvāja saccānurakkhaṇā hoti; na tveva tava saccānubodho hoti /*
25. Suttanipata (p. 149).
26. Majjhima Nikāya II.3.229–31.
27. Ibid II.5.432.
28. Ibid II.5.433.
29. Dīgha Nikāya III.10.305
30. Visuddhimagga II.850
31. Saṃyutta Nikāya III.5.397; Dīgha Nikāya II.1.59, 62.
32. Ibid II.3.159; II.5.290; II.6.296 ; 302 (in the famous formula of Dhamma).

Bibliography

Original Sources

1993. *Dīgha Nikāya*. 3 Vols. Igatpuri: VRI.

1995. *Majjhima Nikāya*. 3 Vols. Igatpuri: VRI.

1994. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. 3 Vols. Igatpuri: VRI.

BAPAT, P.V. (ed.) 1990. *Suttanipata*. Delhi: Sai Satguru Publication.

FAUSBÖLL, V. (tr.) 1988. *Suttanipāta*. Sacred Books of The East (Vol. X), Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

RADHAKRISHNAN, S. (ed. and tr.) 1997. *Dhammapada*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

1998. *Visuddhimaggo* (of Buddhaghosa). 2 Vols. Igatpuri: Vipassana Research Institute.

KRISHNAMACHARYA, Embar (ed.) 1988. *Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita with Commentary of Kamalaśīla*. 2 Vols. Baroda: Oriental Institute.

Secondary Sources

JAYATILLEKE, K. N. 1980. *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

KALUPAHANA, D. J. 1994. *A history of Buddhist Philosophy, Continuities and Discontinuities*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

LAW, B.C. (ed) 1983. *Buddhistic Studies*. Delhi: Indological Book House.

PANDE, G. S. 1995. *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

RHYS DAVIDS, T. W. and William STEDE. 1993. *Pali-English Dictionary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

UPADHYAYA, K. N. 1983. *Early Buddhism and the Bhagavadgita*, Delhi : Motilal Banarasidass.

ॐॐॐॐॐ

OFFERING THE *SĀMNĀYYA* TO INDRA OR MAHENDRA: A BRIEF STUDY

AMBARISH KHARE

Darśeṣṭi and *Sāmnāyya*

The solemn sacrifices that are explained in the Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas are classified into *Haviryajñas* and *Somayajñas*. A pair of sacrifices, viz. *Darśeṣṭi* and *Pūṁmāseṣṭi* performed on New moon day and Full moon day respectively, is considered as a basic model for all the *Haviryajñas*.

The sacrificial breads baked on eight and eleven potsherds are offered to the two deities, Agni and Indrāgnī respectively, in the *Darśeṣṭi*. We find an option in the ritual texts that one can offer the *sāmnāyya* (mixture of curd and milk) to Indra or Mahendra¹ instead of offering sacrificial bread to Indrāgnī. It is necessary for the sacrificer to fulfil certain conditions to become eligible for changing the deity and the material of oblation as mentioned above. The present paper tries to analyse these options and point towards the changing social norms as gleaned through it.

The Taittirīya Saṁhitā tells us that there are three *Gataśrīs* (those who have attained prosperities): a scholar of Veda (*śuśruvat*), a village-leader (*grāmaṇī*) and a *rājanya*. Only these three can offer the *sāmnāyya* to Mahendra. Others should offer the *sāmnāyya* to Indra. If they (i.e. others) are desirous of offering *sāmnāyya* to Mahendra, then after offering *sāmnāyya* to Indra up to one year from the Agnyādhāna (establishing three sacred fires) they should first offer sacrificial bread baked on eight potsherds to Agni Vratapati. They can offer *sāmnāyya* according to their own will (to Indra or Mahendra) after that.²

This passage makes it clear that in principle Mahendra is the deity that shall be chosen by the *Gataśrīs* only. However, an option has been provided to others that they may change the deity on completion of one year of the performance of the *haviryajñas* from. It is also to be noted in this regard that the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa declares that only the sacrificer who performs the Soma-

sacrifice is qualified to offer the *sāmnāyya*.³ In other words, the sacrificers who do not perform a Soma-sacrifice can only offer sacrificial bread to Indrāgnī. They cannot change the deity. We also find a tradition that a sacrificer cannot perform a Soma-sacrifice before completing one year after the Agnyādhāna ritual.

Indra or Mahendra?

As is well-known, Indra is the chief deity in the Vedic pantheon. Although many rituals and mantras related to Mahendra can be found in the Vedic literature, he is not a separate deity, but is one of the aspects of Indra. An account is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (2.20) which tells us that Indra was renowned as Mahendra due to his exploit of slaying Vṛtra.

A question may arise that if Indra and Mahendra are considered as one and the same deity, then why the tradition restricts the choice of Mahendra only for certain individuals? A passage from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I.6.4.21) mentions the custom of offering the *sāmnāyya* to Indra or Mahendra in the *Darsēṣṭi*. Eggeling (2001: 182) translates, “Now some people offer (the Sāmnāyya) to (Indra under the name of) ‘Mahendra’ (the great Indra), arguing, ‘before the slaying of Vṛtra he was Indra, it is true; but after slaying Vṛtra he became Mahendra, even as (a rāgan, or king, becomes) a Mahārāga after obtaining the victory: hence (the Sāmnāyya should be offered) to Mahendra.’ Let him, nevertheless, offer it to ‘Indra;’ for Indra he was before the slaying of Vṛtra, and Indra he is after slaying Vṛtra: therefore let him offer to ‘Indra.’”⁴

It seems from the abovementioned passage that this text is of the opinion that there is no need to offer the *sāmnāyya* to Mahendra. The details of this practice as found in the *śrautasūtras* of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, however, indicate another side. We may consult here Bhāradvāja and Āpastamba for illustration. Bhāradvāja Śrautasūtra (1.15.8–16), while explaining this ritual, states, “(8) One who has not performed Soma-sacrifice should not offer Sāmnāyya. So is it said. (9) There is the view of some teachers that he should offer Sāmnāyya. (10) Some teachers regard Sāmnāyya as pertaining to Indra; some to Mahendra. (11) Those offering to Mahendra are the following: One who has learned the scripture, a village-leader, a Rājanya, one belonging to Aurva gotra, one belonging to Gautama gotra and one belonging to Bhārdvāja gotra. (13) After having set up the sacred fires, they should offer sacrifice to Mahendra from very beginning. (14) Those who are different from these offer to Indra.” It further states that the sacrificer who is offering sacrifice to Indra (*Indrayājīn*) and willing to offer

sacrifice to Mahendra should first offer a sacrificial bread to Agni Vratapati after the completion of the first year after the Agnyādhāna, and “(15) Then he should begin to offer a sacrifice to Mahendra if he so desires. So is it said. (16) Therefore, one, who has performed a Soma-sacrifice, should offer sacrifice to Mahendra. So is it said.”⁵

Āpastamba (1.14.8–10) gives varied options and remarks that, “(8)... One who has not already performed a Soma (-sacrifice) should not perform the *Sāmnāyya* (-ritual); or rather he may perform the *Sāmnāyya*-ritual. (9) One who has not reached prosperity should not perform a sacrifice in honour of Mahendra. There are three *Gataśrīs* (those who have reached prosperities)—thus has been said in a *Brāhmaṇa* text. (10) (A sacrificer) belonging to the family of Urva, Gotama and Bharadvāja—these after having performed a Soma sacrifice should perform a sacrifice in honour of Mahendra.”⁶

Observations

From the foregoing discussion the development in the *Darśeṣṭi* ritual may be traced as follows:

1. Taittirīya Samhitā: An option to offer either sacrificial bread or *sāmnāyya*. Only *Gataśrīs* can offer *sāmnāyya* to Mahendra. Others shall stick to Indra up to one year. After that, they may opt for change of deity (after offering sacrificial bread to Agni Vratapati).
2. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa: There is a prerequisite for offering the *sāmnāyya* that a sacrificer must be *somayājin* (i.e. he must have performed a Soma-sacrifice). This, however, in itself means that *Āhitāgni* (one who has established sacred fires) cannot offer *sāmnāyya* at the outset because one cannot perform a Soma-sacrifice before completing the period of one year from the Agnyādhāna.
3. Bhāradvāja: Bhāradvāja is aware of the old tradition that a sacrificer who has not performed a Soma-sacrifice is not qualified for the *sāmnāyya* offering. But he cites the other prevalent opinion that one may offer the *sāmnāyya* even if he has not performed a Soma-sacrifice. The deity Mahendra is available also for the descendants of certain families along with the wealthy individuals from the beginning itself.

4. Āpastamba: Āpastamba hesitates in every possible way and gives many options. However, he does not mention the offering for Agni Vratapati which was essential for changing the deities in the earlier tradition.
5. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: This text mentions that there is no need to offer the *sāmnāyya* to Mahendra. Everyone should offer to Indra.

Concluding Remarks

From these observations, it becomes clear that the prosperous people chose the deity Mahendra for offering the *sāmnāyya* which was not available to the others. For the common people willing to offer *sāmnāyya* to Mahendra, an option was provided by the earlier tradition that they should offer sacrificial bread to Agni Vratapati after completing one year from the Agnyādhāna to achieve the eligibility. As any *vrata* is generally observed at least for one year, they are not allowed to offer *sāmnāyya* to Mahendra before completing one year at any cost. Thus it is clear that the common people are actually expected to offer the *sāmnāyya* to Indra.

The offering of the *sāmnāyya* too, was not open for the sacrificer who has never performed a Soma-sacrifice. Later on, the Vedic tradition cleverly deemed the sacrificer eligible for offering the *sāmnāyya* after completing one year from Agnyādhāna, even if he has not performed the Soma-sacrifice. This practice was probably allowed with the view that even if he does not perform a Soma-sacrifice after one year, he becomes qualified for the same.

Decrease in the performance of Soma-sacrifices and popularization of the *sāmnāyya* offering can be considered as the possible reasons behind these modifications, as performing the Soma-sacrifice is and was very expensive and may have been out of the financial reach of masses. Offering the *sāmnāyya*, on the other hand, was acceptable on a large scale compared to the Soma-sacrifice.⁷

The elite reserved some privileges for themselves, with a view also to maintain their distinctness from the common people. Higher rank in the society is granted to the royal, rich and learned persons. Later it was also granted to the descendants of the particular families even if they did not possess these distinctions. The descendants of the families of Ūrva⁸, Gotama and Bharadvāja were exempted from the prerequisites that were inevitable for the others.

Up to the time of Āpastamba, it seems, that pious people started offering to Indra or Mahendra according to their own will. Āpastamba does not mention the offering to Agni Vratapati to achieve the eligibility for offering the *sāmnāyya* to Mahendra, probably because it had become redundant by that time. He states (1.14.11) by the sutra *yo vā kaścit*, that “or anyone (may perform a sacrifice in the honour of Mahendra).”

We find a totally different view in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (of Yājñavalkya, who can be called a reformist) that there is no need to offer the *sāmnāyya* to Mahendra.

It becomes clear from this study that even in the higher classes (i.e. Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas), being wealthy in their own disciplines (i.e. knowledge, bravery and richness) was esteemed and such persons got certain privileges while performing the ritual.

Notes and References

1. There are several other instances too, where the names Indra and Mahendra occur as alternatives. See for example, Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra 2.18.18 and Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra 1.9.2.
2. Taittirīya Saṁhitā 2.5.4–5.
3. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 2.5.5.1.
4. There are several other instances where this text reiterates the same myth of slaying Vṛtra, but favours the name Mahendra, and not Indra. See for example 2.5.4.1 and 4.3.3.17.
5. Translation by Kashikar (1964). It may be noted in this regard that there is no tradition available to us that informs about the option enumerated as “thus is it said.” in the sūtras no. 15 and 16. Similar statement is also found in the Mānava Śrautasūtra 1.2.1.33–36.
6. Translation by Thite (2004).
7. Another interesting point may be noted in this regard. While performing the Soma-sacrifice, a Kṣatriya becomes Brahmin at the time of *dīkṣā*. If any Kṣatriya performer wants to offer the *sāmnāyya*, then it was binding on him to become ritually a Brahmin according to the earlier tradition, because only *somayājins* were eligible for offering the *sāmnāyya*. When the tradition deems a non-*somayājin* directly eligible for offering the *sāmnāyya* after completion of one year from the Agnyādhāna, i.e. by avoiding the *dīkṣā* conspicuously, it would technically create a situation in which a Kṣatriya could offer the *sāmnāyya* without becoming a Brahmin! Thanks are due to Prof. Madhavi Kolhatkar, Deccan College, Pune, for bringing this to notice of the author. Further explorations are necessary to find out the exact relation of the lenient Vedic tradition with the emergence of new cults and process of urbanization.

8. Also spelt as Urva. We find this name in the *pravaras* of the *gotras* Jāmadagna-Vatsa, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa and Bida (see Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra 12.10.6).

Bibliography

- AGASHE, Kashinathashastri (ed.) 1896. *Aitareyabrāhmaṇam*. Parts I and II. Pune: Anandashram.
- EGGELING, Julius (tr.) 2001. *The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School*. Part I. SBE Series Vol. 12. Reprint. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- HILLEBRANDT, Alfred (ed.) 1981. *The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra together with the commentary of Varadattasuta, Ānartīya and Govinda*. 2 Volumes. 2nd edn. New Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandas.
- KASHIKAR, C. G. (ed. and tr.) 1964. *The Śrauta, Paitṛmedhika and Pariśeṣa Sūtras of Bhāradvāja*. 2 Volumes. Poona: Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala.
- KASHIKAR, C. G. (ed.) 1985. *The Manava Śrautasūtra*. 2 Volumes. Reprint. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications.
- NARAYANASHASTRI (ed.) 1999. *Kṛṣṇayajurvedīyam Taittirīyabrāhmaṇam*. 3 Volumes. Reprint. Pune: Anandashram.
- RĀMANĀRĀYAṆA VIDYĀRATNA (ed.) 1989. *The Śrauta Sūtra of Āśvalāyana with the commentary of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa*. Reprint. Calcutta: Asiatic Society.
- THITE, G. U. (tr.) 2004. *The Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra*. Text with English Translation and Notes. Parts I and II. Delhi: New Bharatiya Book Corporation.
- WEBER, Albrecht (ed.) 1964. *The Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina Çākhā with extracts from the commentaries of Sāyaṇa, Harisvāmin and Dvivedagaṅga*. Reprint. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office.

FRANZ KIELHORN AND THE TEXT OF AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ AS GIVEN IN THE KĀŚIKĀVṚTTI: A STUDY

MALHAR KULKARNI

Introduction

Kāśikāvṛtti (KV), the oldest known complete commentary on the Aṣṭādhyāyī (A) of Pāṇini was recognized by the Western scholarly world in the 19th century itself, as an important tool in understanding the grammar of Pāṇini. The main reason was perhaps the completeness of the commentary- that it commented on all the rules of the A- a feature which even the most authoritative text from traditional point of view, namely, Patañjali's Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya (Mbh) did not have.¹ Most of the works referring to examples of the rules of Pāṇini had no other source than the KV on a number of occasions. Thus what they cited as the example of Pāṇini was actually an example of the KV. In India, we have a classic case where *India As Known To Pāṇini* actually refers to India as known to the KV in majority of the cases. The study of the historical development of philological studies done by the Western scholars on the Pāṇinian Grammatical tradition reveals that various texts of this tradition were edited and translated by western scholars. A was edited and translated into German by Bōthlingk, Mbh was edited by Franz Kielhorn in the 19th century and Vākyapadīya by Rau in 20th century. It seems strange that no edition of the KV was ever brought out by any western scholar. Barring the exception of the French translation by Renou and Ojihara, we do not also find any other translation of the KV by any other Western scholar. S. D. Joshi in his obituary to Dr. H. H. Ingalls published in the ABORI (1998) states that Ingalls had translated portions of the KV. This hitherto unpublished translation of the KV will be, I hope very useful if made available. The 1st edition of the KV was however prepared by a traditional pundit from Benares, named Balashastri Ranade on the basis of 3 manuscripts and was published in parts in 1873 and then as a whole in 1876. This edition was the base of all references, quotations and all other philological activity related to the KV by western scholars of that period. The next edition of the KV appeared in 1890 with a gloss of the editor, with the 1876 edition as the base. Since the first edition

was published, almost more than 12 editions of the text along with the commentaries thereupon have been published so far and strangely enough none of the editions is edited by a Western scholar. G. U. Thite (2007) in one of his recent articles has highlighted the intrinsic properties of the research carried out by Indian scholars and the Western scholars. According to him the research carried out by Indian scholars can generally be termed as “Fruit Oriented” and the research work carried out by a western scholar can generally be termed as “Root oriented”. This root oriented approach has indeed contributed a lot in serious discussion and understanding of the Indian thought especially in the field of Paninian Grammar. It is indeed strange to point out that all the editions of such an important work were brought out by Indian editors. Franz Kielhorn, the first scholar to comment upon the text of the A as given in the KV in his article published in 1887, presumably used the 1876 edition along with some manuscripts. He did not describe those mss but refers to three mss in his notes to the article quoted above. It is interesting to be able to identify the mss which were used by Kielhorn. Normally, G1 is considered to be a ms used by him. This ms is dated 1408 and is written in *devanāgarī*. It is deposited at The Niedersachsische Staats Und Universitäts- Bibliothek, Gottingen, accession no. Ms. Sanscr.183. However, there is no trace of the other two mss. These are very important mss from the point of view of the study of the transmission of the text of the KV through centuries and hence need to be identified. In this important article, mentioned above, Kielhorn (1887: 178) says, “... I cannot help drawing attention to the fact that the text of Pāṇini’s rules has neither in the editions of the Aṣṭādhyāyī nor in that of the Kāśikāvṛtti – however valuable those editions may be otherwise- received that critical attention which it undoubtedly deserves... I have come to the conclusion that in the case of a considerable number of rules the printed text differs more or less from the text which is furnished by the best MSS and that wrong readings have in succession crept from one edition into another.” Further, after having compared the text of the A as given in the KV and Mbh he concludes(1887: 179) “...the rule of the Kāśikāvṛtti which can be shown to differ from the rules as known to either Kātyāyana or Patañjali may be treated of under four heads.

1. Excepting as regards the observations of the rules of *sandhi*, the wording of the text has remained unchanged, but several consecutive words which originally were one rule have been separated so as to form two or even three rules. The technical name for this proceeding is YogaVibhāga, ‘the splitting up of a rule (into two or more rules)’.
2. One or more words have been added to the original text of a rule.

3. The wording of rules has been altered otherwise than by the addition of one or more words.

4. Whole rules have been added to the original text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.”

An attempt is made by the author of the present paper to study the above quoted conclusions in the light of the material that Kielhorn had, perhaps, no access to. This material is in the form of: the quotes of the text of the KV found in the two commentaries namely, Nyāsa (N) and Padamañjarī (P), (ii) manuscripts of the KV and the quotations of the KV as available in the later Paninian grammatical tradition.

The study, it is hoped may present some fresh evidence which will be helpful in the process of editing the text of the KV. The study is divided into the following sections:

- I- Cases mentioned by Kielhorn arranged tabularly.
- II- Comments of N and P on the rules mentioned by Kielhorn.
- III- Comments of other authors in the later Paninian grammatical tradition on the readings of the KV on the rules mentioned by Kielhorn as well as on the N and PM's comments on these readings.
- III- Manuscript evidence on these rules mentioned by Kielhorn
- IV- Conclusions

Out of this proposed study a part is presented in this paper. In this paper, only section I and II are dealt with in detail and conclusions are drawn on the basis of the discussion presented in these two sections. The other two sections will be dealt with in a separate publication in future.

Section I

Following is the information available to us from the above mentioned article of Kielhorn in a tabular form with respect to all the cases which are classified under 4 heads:

No.	Case No.	Case	Rule No.	Rule	Modified Rule as found in the extant text of the KV
1	1.1	<i>Yoga-vibhāga</i>	1.1.17	<i>uñah uñ</i>	<i>uñah</i> 1.1.17 <i>uñ</i> 1.1.18

No.	Case No.	Case	Rule No.	Rule	Modified Rule as found in the extant text of the KV
2	1.2		1.4.58	<i>prādayaḥ upasargāḥ kriyāyoge</i>	<i>prādayaḥ</i> 1.4.58 <i>upasargāḥ kriyāyoge</i> 1.4.59
3	1.3		2.1.11	<i>vibhāṣā apaparibahirañcavaḥ pañcamyā</i>	<i>vibhāṣā</i> 2.1.11 <i>apaparibahirañcavaḥ pañcamyā</i> 2.1.12
4	1.4		4.3.117	<i>saṁjñāyām kulālādibhyaḥ vun</i>	<i>saṁjñāyām</i> 4.3.117 <i>kulālādibhyaḥ vun</i> 4.3.118
5	1.5		5.1.57	<i>tadasya parimāṇam saṁkhyāyā saṁjñāsaṁghasūtrād hyayaneṣu</i>	<i>tadasya parimāṇam</i> 5.1.57 <i>saṁkhyāyā saṁjñāsaṁghasūtrādhyayaneṣu</i> 5.1.58
6	1.6		6.1.32	<i>hvaḥ saṁprasāraṇamabhy astasya ca</i>	<i>hvaḥ saṁprasāraṇam</i> 6.1.32 <i>abhyastasya ca</i> 6.1.33
7	1.7		6.1.164	<i>taddhitasya kiṭaḥ</i>	<i>taddhitasya</i> 6.1.164 <i>kiṭaḥ</i> 6.1.165

No.	Case No.	Case	Rule No.	Rule	Modified Rule as found in the extant text of the KV
8	1.8		7.3.117	<i>idudbhyām aut</i>	<i>idudbhyām</i> 7.3.117 <i>aut</i> 7.3.118
9	2.1	Addition of one or more words	1.3.29	<i>samo gamṛcchibhyām</i>	<i>samo gamṛcchi-pracchisvaratyartiśruvidibhyaḥ</i>
10	2.2		3.1.95	<i>kṛtyāḥ</i>	<i>kṛtyāḥ prāñ ṇvulaḥ</i>
11	2.3		3.1.118	<i>pratyatibhyām graheḥ</i>	<i>pratyatibhyām graheś chandasi</i>
12	2.4		3.1.126	<i>āsu-yu-vapi-rapi-trapi-camaś ca</i>	<i>āsu-yu-vapi-rapi-lapi-trapi-camaś ca</i>
13	2.5		3.3.122	<i>adhyāyanyāyodyāva-samhāraś ca</i>	<i>adhyāya-nyāyodyāva-samhāra-ādihāra-avayavāś ca</i>
14	2.6		4.1.15	<i>ṭiḍdhāñdvayasaj-daghañmātractayap-thakṭhañkañkvarapaḥ</i>	<i>ṭiḍdhāñdvayasaj-daghañmātractaya-pṭhakṭhañkañkvara-pkhyunām</i>
15	2.7		4.2.2	<i>lākṣārocātṭhak</i>	<i>lākṣārocanaśakala-kardamātṭhak</i>
16	2.8		4.2.21	<i>sāsmiṇpaurnamāsī</i>	<i>sāsmiṇpaurnamāsī samjñāyām</i>
17	2.9		4.2.43	<i>grāmajanabandhubhyastal</i>	<i>grāmajanabandhus-ahāyebhyas tal</i>

No.	Case No.	Case	Rule No.	Rule	Modified Rule as found in the extant text of the KV
18	2.10		4.4.17	<i>vibhāṣā vīvadhāt</i>	<i>vibhāṣā vīvadhvīvadhāt</i>
19	2.11		5.2.101	<i>prajñāśraddhārcābhyo naḥ</i>	<i>prajñāśraddhārcāvṛttibhyo naḥ</i>
20	2.12		5.4.50	<i>kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cvīḥ</i>	<i>abhūtatadbhāve kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cvīḥ</i>
21	2.13		6.3.6	<i>ātmānaś ca</i>	<i>ātmānāsaca pūraṇe</i>
22	2.14		6.3.40	<i>svāṅgāc cetaḥ</i>	<i>svāṅgāc ceto 'mānini</i>
23	2.15		6.3.83	<i>prakṛtyāśīṣi</i>	<i>prakṛtyāśīṣiyagovat sahaḷeṣu</i>
24	2.16		6.4.100	<i>ghasibhasorhali</i>	<i>ghasibhasorhali ca</i>
25	2.17		8.1.67	<i>pūjanāt pūjitamanudāttam</i>	<i>pūjanāt pūjitamanudāttam kāṣṭhādibhyaḥ</i>
26	2.18		8.3.118	<i>sadeḥ parasya liṭi</i>	<i>sadisvañjayoḥ parasya liṭi</i>
27a	2.19		8.1.73	<i>nāmantrite samānādhikaraṇe</i>	<i>nāmantrite. samānādhikaraṇe sāmānyavacanam</i>
27b	2.20		8.1.74	<i>sāmānyavacanam vibhāṣitam viśeṣavacane</i>	<i>vibhāṣitam viśeṣavacane bahuvacanam</i>

No.	Case No.	Case	Rule No.	Rule	Modified Rule as found in the extant text of the KV
28	2.21		8.2.12	<i>āsandīvadaṣṭhivac- cakrīvadrumaṇvaccar maṇvatī</i>	<i>āsandīvadaṣṭhivac- cakrīvatkakṣivadru maṇ- vaccarmaṇvatī</i>
29	3.1	The wording altered	5.3.5	<i>etado'n</i>	<i>etado'ś</i>
30	3.2		6.1.115	<i>nāntaḥ pādamavyapare</i>	<i>prakṛtyāntaḥ pādamavyapare</i>
31	3.3		6.1.124	<i>inder ca</i>	<i>inder ca nityam</i>
32	3.4		6.1.125	<i>plutapragḥyā aci nityam</i>	<i>plutapragḥyā aci nityam</i>
33	3.5		6.1.137	<i>samparibhyām bhūṣaṇasamavāyayoḥ karotau</i>	<i>samparyupebhyāḥ karotau bhūṣaṇe 6.1.137 samavāye ca 6.1.138</i>
34	3.6		6.1.150	<i>viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā</i>	<i>viṣkiraḥ śakunirvikiro vā</i>
35	3.7		6.4.50	<i>lyapi laghupūrvasya</i>	<i>lyapi laghupūrvāt</i>
36	3.8		7.1.25	<i>ad datarādibhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ</i>	<i>ad datarādibhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ</i>
37	3.9		7.3.75	<i>ṣaṣṭhivuklamvācamā m</i>	<i>ṣaṣṭhivuklamvāca mām śiti</i>
38	3.10		7.3.77	<i>iṣagamiyamām chaḥ</i>	<i>iṣugamiyamām chaḥ</i>

No.	Case No.	Case	Rule No.	Rule	Modified Rule as found in the extant text of the KV
39	3.11		8.4.28	<i>upasargādanotparaḥ</i>	<i>upasargād bahulam</i>
40	4.1	Whole rules added to the original text of A.	4.1.166		<i>vṛddhasya ca pūjāyām</i>
41	4.2		4.1.167		<i>yunaś ca kutasāyām</i>
42	4.3		4.2.8		<i>Kalerdhak</i>
43	4.4		4.3.132/ 133		<i>kaupiñjalahastipad ādaṅ | ātharvaṇikasyekal opaś ca |</i>
44	4.5		5.1.36		<i>dvitripūrvādaṅ ca</i>
45	4.6		6.1.62		<i>aci sīrṣaḥ</i>
46	4.7		6.1.100		<i>nityamāmreditam dāci</i>
47	4.8		6.1.136		<i>aḍabhyāsavyavāye 'pi</i>
48	4.9		6.1.156		<i>kāraskro vṛkṣaḥ</i>

Apart from these, it was found that in the article quoted above, there are 5 more cases mentioned by Keilhorn. They are-

Sr. No.	Case no.	Rule No.	Rule as Found in the printed text of A.	Rule as found in mss of KV
49	1	3.1.109	<i>etistuśāsuvṛdṛjuṣaḥ kyap</i>	<i>etistuśāsuvṛdṛjuṣaḥ kyap</i>
50	2	3.2.21	<i>divāvibhāniśāprabhā</i>	<i>divāvibhāprabhā</i>
51	3	4.1.62	<i>sakhyaśiśvīti bhāṣāyām</i>	<i>sakhyaśiśvīti bhāṣāyām</i>
52	4	4.3.119	<i>kṣudrābhramaravātarapātapādaṇ</i>	<i>kṣudrābhramaravaṭ arab-vātapādaṇ</i>
53	5	5.4.68	<i>samāsāntāḥ</i>	<i>samāsāntaḥ</i>

It is noteworthy that the actual number of cases classified under the four heads goes up to 48 as seen above. Even if we add the last 5 cases mentioned without any classification tag attached to it by Kielhorn, the number of cases goes up to 53.

It is a matter that gives rise to confusion as we note that Kielhorn (1887: 184), in the left column recounts the cases which when calculated comes to 56 and in the right column recounts the cases which when counted comes to 49.

Section 2

N and P are the direct commentaries of the KV. They quote the text of the KV every now and then. We get immense help from both these while reconstructing and deciding about the text of the KV. It is imperative therefore that we study these two very important texts on the rules mentioned above. Although, Kielhorn(1887: 178) says the following:

“...I intend in the present note to show, so far as this may be possible, to what extent the text of the rules which is given in the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, the oldest extant commentary, differs from the text that was known to *Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali*. In attempting to do this, I shall be mainly guided by the remarks that have been appended to certain rules by *Kaiyaṭa*, *Nāgojībhaṭṭa* and *Haradatta* and I

shall have only few occasions to go beyond or to differ from what has been already stated by those commentators.”

He does not present the entire picture related to P, not to speak of N which he has not consulted. Kielhorn does not quote P on more than four occasions and most of the times relies on the comments made by *Kaiyaṭa*. Therefore it is also important to have a clear and entire picture about P’s remarks on the readings of the KV on these rules.

Following is the information available from N and P on the abovementioned rules. Only the relevant portion of the long quotation is highlighted and translated. Otherwise all the short quotations are translated. We find that in most of the cases, N and P quote the rule. After studying the wording of the rule quoted in N and P we have noted down if it is same as the one mentioned in the text of the KV. In almost all the cases, we find that it is the same. We also find some additional comments regarding the modifications in the wording of the rules as found in the text of the KV. They are also presented below. After this we have made some comments which are added below.

1. *uñah* 1.1.17; *ūñ* 1.1.18

N – same;

P- *yadyam eko yogah syāt uñah ūñ iti yathā pathitam sūtrakāreṇa tataḥ nāḥ ityasya śrutena ādeśena sambandhaḥ syāt na tu pragṛhyasamjñayā/ sā tu nipātu ekājanān iti nityaiva syāt śākalyaśrutyānuvṛtṭyā cādeśe vikalpite rūpadvayameva syāt u iti ū iti iti na tu viti iti tṛṭiyam ato vibhajya[Had this been one rule as uttered by the sūtrakāra namely, uñah ūñ then...therefore it is explained after having broken it up (into two parts).]*

Comments: In the passage quoted above, P mentions the reasons why the splitting up of one rule into two is required. This shows awareness on the part of P of the existence of one rule and the subsequent split. Of course this split up is available in the Mbh itself.

2. *prādayah* 1.4.58; *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge* 1.4.59

N- same, It says- *atha kimartham pṛthag yogakaraṇam* [why is rule split up?];

P- same, It says- *atha kimartham pṛthag yogakaraṇam* [this rule is split from the earlier as well as the later (*sūtra*)];

Comments: Both these quotes show awareness of the split up of the rule. This again is done in the Mbh.

3. *vibhāṣā* 2.1.11; *apaparibahirañcavaḥ pañcamyā* 2.1.12

N- no N only *pratīka*² is mentioned;

P- no P on 2.1.11, not even the *pratīka*² is mentioned.

Comments: The discussion in N and P revolves around how *bahis* is related to ablative. There is no discussion on the split of the rule.

4. *saṃjñāyām* 4.3.117; *kulālādibhyaḥ vun* 4.3.118

N- No N only *pratīka*;

P- no P on 4.3.118. Not even a *pratīka* is mentioned.

5. *tadasya parimāṇam* 5.1.57; *saṃkhyāyā saṃjñāsaṃghasūtrādhyayaneṣu* 5.1.58

N- same; P- same

6. *hvaḥ saṃprasāraṇam* 6.1.32; *abhyastasya ca* 6.1.33

N- same; P-same

P says- *atha kasmāt yogavibhāgaḥ kriyate...* ekayogenaiva siddhe pṛthag-yogakaraṇam... [now, why is this rule split up?... the reason for breaking one rule into two when one rule is enough to accomplish(what is to be accomplished)...]

Following is a part of the discussion in the original text of the KV about the splitting up of the rule into two:

KV- *hvaḥ saṃprasāraṇam abhyastasya ity ekayogena siddhe pṛthag-yogakaraṇam...* [The reason for breaking one rule, namely, *hvaḥ saṃprasāraṇam abhyastasya*, into two when one rule is enough to accomplish (what is to be accomplished)...]

Comments: This statement in P shows the awareness on the part of P of the split of the rule. This split-up is done in Mbh.

7. *taddhitasya* 6.1.164; *kitaḥ* 6.1.165

N- same; P- no P on 165 not even the *pratīka* is mentioned

8. *idubhyām* 7.3.117; *aut* 7.3.118

N- same, It says- *iha kecit audacca gher iti ekam yogam kurvanti...*[Here some make one rule namely, *audacca gheḥ*];

P- same; It says- *iha kecit audacca gher iti ekayogam eva...*[Here some make one rule, namely, *audacca gheḥ*.] Here as well we find following discussion in the text of the KV in this regard- KV – *audaccagher iti yeṣām ekam evedam sūtram te pradhāna-śiṣṭam idubhyām autvaṃ varṇayanti anvācaya-śiṣṭam gher akāram itī* [For whom, audaccagheḥ is one rule...]

Comments: The split up is done in the Mbh.

9. *samo gamṛcchipracchisvaratyartiśruvidibhyaḥ* - 1.3.29

N- same; P- same P says- *samo gamṛcchibhyām ityetāvat sūtram/ pracchādayastu vārtikadṛṣṭāḥ sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitā sūtrakāravād vārtikakāro 'pi*

śāstrasya kartā na vyākhyāteḥ darśayitum/ [The (original) rule is *samo gamṛcchibhyām* only. The words *praccha* etc. which were seen in the *vārtika* are read as part of the rule to show that even the author of the *Vārtikas* is the creator of the *śāstra* and not mere a commentator.]

Comments: This modification is not done in the Mbh. It is a later development. Probably it is done by the author of the KV and the reasoning for doing so is supplied by P.

10. *kṛtyāḥ prāi ṅvulaḥ* -3.1.95

N –same; P –same

P says- *kṛtyāḥ ityetāvadeva paṭhitam sūtrakāreṇa vṛttikāras tu bhāṣye pūrvapakṣarūpeṇa paṭhitam sūtre pracikṣepa vicitrā hi vṛtteḥ kṛteḥ vṛttikāreṇa/* [The author of the rules wrote *kṛtyāḥ* only. The author of the *Vṛtti*, inserted (an element) which is written in the form of a *pūrvapakṣa* in the *bhāṣya*, in the rule. Indeed, the act of creating this commentary on the part of the *Vṛttikāra* is strange!]

Comments: Here P clearly shows its awareness as to who has modified the text of the A. It is the author of the KV who has done it. It is remarkable that P also expresses its surprise over this modification. For expressing it, it uses the same terminology though that was used by the KV in describing the strangeness of the author of the A.³

11. *pratyatibhyām graheś chandasi* -3.1.118

N- same; P- no

P Not even the *pratīka* is mentioned

12. *āsu-yu-vapi-rapi-lapi-trapi-camaś ca* -3.1.126

N-same; P-same

13. *adhyāya-nyāyodyāva-samhāra-ādhāra-avayavāś ca* -3.2.122

N- same; P same

P says- *ghavidhāvavahārāvāyānām upasamkhyānam vārtikam/ vṛttikāras tu ādhārāvayavaśabdau sūtre prakṣipyā cakāreṇa avahāraśabdam sādhayati sma vicitrā hi vṛtteḥ kṛtiḥ vṛttikāreṇa/* [*ghavidhāvavahārāvāyānām upasamkhyānam* is a *Vārtika*. The author of the *Vṛtti*, by inserting the words *ādhārāvayava* in the rule gets the word *avahāra* by force of the word *ca*. Indeed, strange is the act of the commenting of the commentator]

Comments: Again P shows awareness on its part about who modified the text of the A.

14. *tiḍḍhāṅdvayasajdaghaṅmātractayapṭhakṭhaṅkaṅkvarapkhyunām* -4.1.15

N- same; P- same

P says- *bhāṣye tu kankvarapaḥ ityetāvat sūtram khyunaḥ pātho 'nārṣa iti tasyāpyupasaṁkhyānameva kṛtam/* [In the *bhāṣya*, the rule ends in *kvarap* and reading *khyun* (at the end) is not following the tradition....]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV. P is strong in its wording in judging the reading and seems to disapprove it.

15. *lākṣārocanaśakalakardamātṭhak* - 4.2.2

N- same; P- same

P says- *śakalakardamayoḥ vārtike darśanāt prakṣepaḥ/* [The words *śakala* and *kardama* which were seen in the *Vārtika* are inserted in the rule.] **Comments:** Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

16. *sāsmīnpaurṇamāsī samjñāyām* - 4.2.21

N- same; P- same

17. *grāmajanabandhusahāyebhyas tal* - 4.2.43

N- same; P – No

P. Not even *pratīka* is mentioned.

18. *vibhāṣā vīvadhvīvadhāt* - 4.4.17

N- same; P same

P says- *vibhāṣāśabdo vārtike darśanāt sūtre prakṣiptaḥ/* [The word *vibhāṣā* which was seen in the *vārtika* is inserted in the rule.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

19. *prajñāśraddhārcāvṛttibhyo ṇaḥ* - 5.2.101

N- same; P same

P says- *sūtre vṛttīśabdo vārtike darśanāt prakṣiptaḥ/* [The word *vṛtti* which was seen in the *vārtika* is inserted in the rule.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

20. *abhūtatadbhāve kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cviḥ* - 5.4.50

N- same; P- same

P says – *vārtikakāreṇa cvivividhāvabhūtatadbhāvagrahaṇam kartavyam ity uktam tadavaśyam kartavyam iti manyamānaḥ sūtre eva prakṣipyā vyācaṣṭe .../* [the author of the *Vārtika* said that in the rule prescribing the suffix *cvi*, the word namely, *abhūtatadbhāva* should be uttered. (The author of the *Vṛtti*) thinking that that word should necessarily be uttered in the rule, inserted it in the rule.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

21. *ātmānśaca pūraṇe*- 6.3.6

N- same; P- same

P says- *vārtikamevedam sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitam*/ [This is a vārtika uttered as rule.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV. Here, P is sure that this statement was originally a *Vārtika* and is later on come to be treated as a rule.

22. *svāṅgāc ceto 'mānini*-6.3.40

N- same; P- same

P says - *amāniniṭi vārtike darśanāt sūtre prakṣiptam*/ [The word *amānini* is inserted in the rule because it is seen in the *Vārtika*.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

23. *prakṛtyāśiṣyagovatsahaleṣu* -6.3.83

N- same; P- same

P says - *prakṛtyāśiṣi ity etāvat sūtram pariśiṣṭam bhāṣyavārtikadarśanāt sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitam*/ [The rule is *prakṛtyāśiṣi* only. Remaining is uttered as rule because it is seen in the *bhāṣya* and the *Vārtika*]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

24. *ghasibhasorhali ca* 6.4.100

N- same; P- same

P says- *sūtre cakārasya pātho 'nāṛṣaḥ/ tathā ca vārtikam halagrahaṇamaparibhāṣyamanyatrāpi darśanāt*/ [the word *ca* in the rule is not authentic.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV. In fact again, P is critical about the reading available in the text of the KV and goes to disapprove it on account of the lack of support to it in the text of the vārtika.

25. *pūjanāt pūjitamanudāttam kāṣṭhādibhyaḥ* - 8.1.67

N- same; P- same

P says- *kāṣṭhādibhya iti vārtikam drṣṭam sūtravayavatvena paṭhitatvāt tadanurodhena pūjanād ity ekavacanam bahuvacanasthāna iti vyācakṣate pūjanebhyaḥ kāṣṭhādibhya iti*[A *Vārtika* is seen namely, *kāṣṭhādibhya iti*, it being uttered as a part of the rule, accordingly, the author of the commentary

explained that in the word *pūjanāt*, singular should be understood in the sense of plural.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

26. *sadisvañjayoḥ parasya liṭi* -8.3.118

N- same; P- same

P says- *svañjigrahaṇam ca vārtike darśnāt sūtre prakṣiptam yathāha sado liṭi pratiśedhe svañjerupasaṁkhyānam iti* [the word *svañji* is inserted in the rule because it is seen in the *Vārtika* namely, *sado liṭi pratiśedhe svañjerupasaṁkhyānam iti*.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

27. *nāmantrite samānādhikaraṇe sāmānyavacanam* - 8.1.73; *vibhāsitam viśeṣavacane bahuvacanam* -8.3.74

N- same ; P- same

P says- *bahuvacanamitī vārtike darśanāt prakṣiptam* [The word *bahuvacanam* is inserted in the rule because it is seen in the *Vārtika*.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

28. *āsandīvadaṣṭhivaccakrīvatkakṣivadrumaṇvaccarmaṇvati* - 8.2.12

N- same; P- same

P does not explain the word *aṣṭhivat*.

29. *etado 'ś* - 5.3.5

N - same; P-same

P says- *bhāṣye tu etado 'n iti nakāranta adeśa iti sthitam* [The fact is that in the *bhāṣya*, the reading is *etado 'n* i.e. a substitute, ending in *n*]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV. P is again critical about the reading of the KV.

The *tu* indicates its disapproval.

30. *prakṛtyāntaḥ pādavyapare* -6.1.115

N- same; P same

KV says- *kecid idam sūtram nāntaḥ pādavyapare iti paṭhanti* [According to some the wording of this rule is *nāntaḥ pādavyapare*.]

Comments: Both N and P comment on the abovementioned statement of the KV.

31. *indre ca nityam* 6.1.124

N- same; P- *indre ca // plutapragṛhyā aci nityam*

Comments: The word *nityam* is not discussed on both rules in both N and P. It is interesting to note that P has a reading of the rule which differs from the one available in N.

32. *plutapragṛhyā aci* 6.1.125

N- same; P- *plutapragṛhyā aci nityam*

33. *samparyupebhyah karotau bhūṣaṇe* 6.1.137; *samavāye ca* 6.1.138

N- same; P same

34. *viṣkiraḥ śakunirvikiro vā* - 6.1.150

N- same; P same

P says- *yathā tu bhāṣyam tathā viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā ityetāvat sūtram/* [According to the *bhāṣya*, the wording of the rule is *viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā.*]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV. It is critical about the reading of the KV. The word *tu* again indicates its disapproval.

35. *lyapi laghupūrvāt* -6.4.56

N- same; P- same

P says- *atra kecid ācāryeṇa lyapi laghupūrvasyeti ṣaṣṭhyantam adhyāpitāḥ anye pañcamyantam...../* [In this case, some (students) were taught about the reading, *lyapi laghupūrvasya*, i.e. ending in genitive and some were taught with the ablative reading...]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done pre Mbh.

36. *addḥ datarādibhyah pañcabhyah* 7.1.25

N- same; P same

37. *ṣaṣṭhivuklamvācamām śiti* 7.3.75

N- same; P- same

38. *iṣugamiyaniḥm chaḥ* 7.3.77

N- same; P- same

39. *upasargād bahulam* 8.4.28

N- same; P same

P says- *upasargāt anotpara iti pāṭhāntaram upasargāt parasya naso nakāryasyā natvaṁ bhavātīyarthah ubhayathāpyativyāptisambhavād vyākhyāta eva pāṭho vṛttikāreṇāśritaḥ/* [There is another reading, namely, *upasargāt anotpara*. Because of the occurrence of the errors in the form of overgeneralization as well as under-generalization, the author of the *Vṛtti* has accepted the abovementioned reading, i.e.(*upasargād bahulam*)]

Comments: Here P shows awareness of different readings of the rule and is discussing the reasons behind the decision of the author of the KV to accept either of them.

40. *vṛddhasya ca pūjāyām* 4.1.166

N- same; P same

P says- *vārtikakārīyaṃ ca idaṃ sūtram| vṛttikāreṇa tu sūtreṣu prakṣiptam/* [This rule is made up by the author of the vārtika. The author of the vṛtti has inserted it amongst the rules. This explanation is also applicable for the next rule.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

41. *yunaś ca kutsāyām* 4.1.167

N- same; P- same

42. *Kalerdhak* 4.2.8

N- same; P- same

43. *kaupiñjalahastipadāḍaṇ - 4.3.132; ārtharvaṇikasyekalopaś ca* 4.3.133

N same ; P same

P says- *pūrvasūtramidaṃ ca vārtike darśanāt sūtreṣu prakṣiptam/* [This, earlier rule i.e.4.3.132 and the later one i.e. 4.3.133 is inserted amongst the rule because they are seen in the *Vārtika*]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

44. *dvitripūrvāḍaṇ ca* 5.1.36

N- same; P- same

P says- *vārtike darśanāt sūtreṣu prakṣiptam/* [This is inserted amongst the rules because it is seen in the *Vārtika*.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV.

45. *aci śīrṣaḥ* 6.1.62

N-same; P –same

46. *nityamāreditāṃ dāci* 6.1.100

N- same; P- same

P says - *vārtikamevedam| vṛttikṛtā sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitam/* [This is in fact a *Vārtika*. The author of the *Vṛtti* has uttered it as a rule.]

Comments: Here P again shows awareness on its part of the modification done post Mbh, probably by the author of the KV. P is sure that this statement is a vārtika.

47. *aḍabhyāsavvyavāye 'api* 6.1.136
N- same; P- same

48. *kāraskro vṛkṣaḥ* 6.1.156
N- same; P- same.

49. *etistuśāsvṛdṛjuṣaḥ kyap* 3.1.109
N-same, P-same

50. *divāvibhāniśāprabhā* 3.2.21
N-same; P-same

51. *sakhyāśīsvīti bhāṣāyām* 4.1.62
N-same; P-same

52. *kṣudrābhramaravātarapātaḍaṇ-* 4.3.119
N- same ; P- same

53. *samāsāntāḥ* - 5.4.68
N-same; P-same

Section 3

Some Observations: We note that both these commentaries do have generally the same readings as mentioned in the KV as observed by Kielhorn. However, we also note that P on more than one occasion, in explicit words, recognizes the fact that these changes were made by the *Vṛttikāra*, the author of the KV himself. In fact in one instance he has also tried to explain why *Vṛttikāra* has been doing this when he says *pracchādayas tu vārtikadṛṣṭāḥ sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitā sūtrakāravat vārtikakāro 'pi śāstraysa kartā na vyākhyātā iti darśayitum* (In order to show that even the Vārtikakāra, Kātyāyana is not just a commentator but a creator of the rule himself, the words *praccha*, which were originally read in a Vārtika were read as part of a rule). On other occasions he also tries to justify the readings of the KV saying that the other reading would have given undesired result and hence the *Vṛttikāra* has accepted the current reading (39).

However, at times it has also hinted at his own view about the accepted reading by the KV by saying that the reading is *anārṣa* and so on.

It is interesting to know that at least 4 times P uses the phrase “*vārtikam sūtrarūpeṇa pathitam*” and at least in 13 cases uses the phrase “*sūtreṣu prakṣiptam*”.

There are variant readings for rule and we can point out that there is at least one case in the present corpus where even the text of KV is aware of such a variation and even N and P are aware of it.

There is one case which is strange because we find that P has a different reading of the rule, obviously in the KV, different from what is recorded in some of the existing editions of the KV. P reads- *indre ca/plutapragṛhyā aci nityam*.

We can say that there are lots of points which need close and further attention, for the time being it can be said that the traditional commentators of the KV are aware of the variation in the readings that is available in the text of the A and to some extent they ascribe it to the KV. This they show in their explicit comments on readings.

Thus we conclude that the manuscript tradition of the KV in front of N and P, at least in the cases of rules mentioned by Kielhorn, and the one which Kielhorn bases his observations upon, show remarkable similarities, of course with possible exceptions. It is interesting to study now the testimonia to throw further light on this issue. This is done in a separate publication.

Notes and References

1. Kielhorn (1887: 184) records that Mbh comments only on 1713 rules, quotes partially- 350 and fully-600.
2. Pratīka is word for a quote of the main text in the commentary.
3. The statement is vicitrā hi sūtrasya kṛtiḥ sūtrakāreṇa.

Bibliography

- DEO, Puja. 2001. *Critical Edition of the Kāśikā (3.1)*. unpublished Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Pune, Pune.

- KIELHORN, Franz. 1887. *Notes on the Mahābhāṣya*, The Indian Antiquary: 178–84.
- KULKARNI, Malhar. 2000. *Critical Edition of the Kāśikā (2.2)*. unpublished Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Pune, Pune.
- KULKARNI, Malhar. 2002. *The quotations of the Kāśikā with special reference to the Paninian grammatical tradition*. Pune: Vidyanand Prakashan.
- THITE, G. U. 1997. “Presidential Address: Veda Section”. *Proceedings of the First Brihanmaharashtra Pracyavidya Parishad*. Edited by Shrikant Bahulkar, 14–20. Pune: Brihanmaharashtra Pracyavidya Parishad.
- THITE, G. U. 2007. “Schools of Vedic Interpretation”. *Sanskrit Studies*. Vol. II. Edited by Vagish Shukla, 51–62. New Delhi: D. K. Printworld and J. N. U.
- TRIPATHI, J. S. and S. MALAVIYA. 1986–1995. Edition of the *Kāśikā with Nyāsa and Padamañjarī* and a Hindi commentary called *Bhāvabodhinī*. Vol.1–11. Varanasi: Tara Book Agency.

FEW LESSER KNOWN AND UNKNOWN CAVES FROM KANHERI

SURAJ A. PANDIT

Kanheri is one of the major monastic complexes among the cave sites in western India, comprising more than a hundred caves. The site stands with its architectural grace, epigraphical glory and sculptural masterpieces; and also talks about the history of Buddhism of more than a millennium.

Geographically the location of the site is quite significant. It is in the modern city of Mumbai and located in the dense protected forest of 'Sanjay Gandhi National Park'. The site is almost equidistant from the ancient port sites and commercial centres like Sopara, Kalyan, Elephanta Island and even Chaul.

Chronologically, the early Buddhist monuments at Kanheri can be divided into three phases based on the contemporary political rules in that region mentioned in the epigraphical data from the site as:

Phase I: From 1st century BCE to 4th century CE

Phase II: 5th century CE and 7th century CE

Phase III: 8th century CE onwards till the end.

Phase one was coeval with the Sātavāhana, Kṣatrapa and Abhīra rule. Phase two can be labeled as Traikūṭaka-Maurya phase. During the third phase, this region was mainly under the Rāṣṭrakūtas and then the Śīlāhāras. First phase gives 75% of the excavated caves but very few sculptures mainly in cave no. 3 and 53. Phase II is known for intrusive sculptures while the third phase does not give any major artistic activity at the site.

This paper aims to discuss about few lesser known and unknown caves from Kanheri. The site of Kanheri is actually spread over three hills. For our convenience they are referred to as Eastern Hill, Northern Hill and Southern Hill. Most of the caves on the Northern and Southern hills are protected by Archaeological Survey of India. No cave on the Eastern hill is protected and ever

discussed by any scholar in regard to the site, except Late Mr. Vani, who was a caretaker of the site for quite a long period and had written a small guide book on Kanheri entitled 'Kanheri Caves'. Mr. Vani had talked about three caves in his guide books which are otherwise not known to the scholarly community. We will be mainly discussing about these caves which have remained less known or practically unknown and if at all known, then only to few scholars and forgotten by them.

Description of Caves

SOUTHERN HILL

There are more than six natural caverns, which were modified in the course of time. The way leading to the lakes from the site, adjacent to cave no. 41, follows the boundary of a Śaiva *āśrama* at the site. These caves are not far from cave nos. 42 to 48 and are on the lower contours and at the beginning of the scarp on the backside of the hill. From the other side these caves reach near to cave no. 87. These are very simple excavations, rather modified natural caves. No other feature than benches or seats can be seen in these caves and they remind us of the cave nos. 84 and 85. West has given number to the first two caves in the complex as no. 28.

There is a cave on the top of the same hill, which has also remained unnumbered by ASI. West knows about this cave. This cave is on the opposite scarp, in the third layer of which the caves are excavated. There is a flight of steps leading to the top of the hill next to cave no. 101. To the exact south of it, after crossing the small plateau of the same hill, this cave is below the ground level. It is not visible till one reaches the cave. This is a simple square hall. This hall is too small and with a bench along with its northern wall. There is an outlet given for the water from the southern wall. This is a very unique cave in the whole complex. In one of her discussions, Shobhana Gokhale has made a reference to this cave.

Not far from the Group of cave nos. 53 to 55 in the second lay of caves, an attempt to excavate a cave can be seen. There is a path leading from cave no. 53 to cave no. 61. This cave can be noticed just at the beginning of the steps on the left side, on the ground level. The cave is completely buried under debris and soil. It seems that this is a cave finished up to the courtyard.

EASTERN HILL

There are a few caves scattered on the eastern hill. All these caves are unrecorded as such remained unnumbered. From the open place next to cave 88, one can see a cave on the eastern hill. The cave is unrecorded and not easily approachable. As I have not come across any description of the caves as well as I personally could not visit the cave, I am unable to give the description of the same. The eastern hill is also divided into two parts by a stream that can be called northern and southern. This stream flows towards the creek of Basin. Most of the caves are along this creek. Again the caves here are in three layers. These caves are not described or recorded by any scholar before though they were known to local people or *ādivāsīs*. With the help of the local people I have visited the caves and from them I came to know that Late Mr. V. M. Vani, Retired Conservation Assistant of Kanheri caves, knew about some of these caves. These caves were used by ascetics (*Samnyāsins*) most probably Śaiva or Śākta till 1990's. When the Śaiva *āśrama* near the dam at the site was demolished by the forest department, these ascetics left the place and the caves were abundant. These caves were either used for residence of preserving and storing hay for the cattle in the *āśrama*. There was another temple constructed by the mid of the 20th century. This temple has one stream, which opens in a tank, which is possibly ancient. This place is popularly known among the forest dwellers as 'Gāymukh' or 'Gomukha'. Most of the caves are located around this place.

CAVE NO. 1

On the northern side of the 'Gomukha', on the same hill there are two caves and both the caves are modified natural caverns. Both the caves were used for storing hay. The larger one was further modified in modern period. This one approachable by a flight of steps carved in stone from the hilltop. This cave is very simple. It is a simple cell with veranda. This veranda is like an open place next to cave. There is a long bench along the back wall. Earlier the cave was just with this bench in a natural cavern. A cell was excavated on the western side after breaking the flow of the bench. The excavated cell is too small and only one person can sit in the cell. Cell has a bench along its right wall. Just above the bench, at the level of the head, there is an open window in the outer wall. This gives a very early feature.

CAVE NO. 2

This cave is on the northern side of the cave no. 1. To reach there, one has to climb up again to the hill top and then approach to the extreme northern flight of steps to reach there. The described path to this cave is not easily noticeable. This is a proper natural cavern, spread vertically along the scarp. This only has two benches and a seat as modification. But these traces of the benches and a seat clearly tell us about the human activity in this natural cavern. It is difficult to give exact date of the cave, because it lacks any specific architectural feature, useful for the dating of the cave.

Along the western scarp of the hill there are two caves facing the main site. These caves are too small in size on very high contour and not easily noticeable from below. There is a beam like stone pillar, which is locally known as *Cimaṇī* (Photograph 1) and might be part of some construction made in the medieval period when the fortified structure was constructed on the Southern hill. This is a simple monolithic square stone block around five feet long placed in a square pit made especially for it. This is on the highest point on the western scarp and visible from the site as well as the surrounding region. There are two simple caves below this. Access to these caves is very difficult. This area is visible from the four large water tanks on the southern hill top.

CAVE NO. 3 (PHOTOGRAPH 2)

This is very simple cave comprising a bench in recess which seems to be the only modification of a natural cavern. Access to this cave is difficult and path goes through two boulders.

CAVE NO. 4

This cave is next to cave no. 3 on the northern side. The cave comprises a small bench along with a water cistern. A portion in the cave is seen prepared for an inscription.

Apart from this there is a row of caves on the scarp opposite to cave nos. 1 and 2. There are at least four caves, which can be made out from a distance. As per the information given by local people these caves are not accessible, because of which the detailed description is not possible of these caves. From a distance one can see the remains of the doorframes and walls along with the ceiling of the natural cavern. These are also natural caverns modified into caves. The first cave

in the west of this group is a natural cavern with a long bench along the back wall. Further description of the cave is not possible. (Photograph 3)

On the southern scarp of the hill, there is another natural cavern turned into a cave after suitable modifications. It is approachable after a long walk in the dense forest for at least of half an hour. The way leads to Vihar Lake from one side while on the other side it takes us to the caves on the southern hill at the site, near cave no. 41.

CAVE NO. 5 (PHOTOGRAPH 4)

This is a large natural cavern running parallel to the hill scarp. Although this cave is not exactly below caves 3 and 4, these are not far from cave 5, which is on a lower contour. There is a long bench along the back wall of the cave with a *stūpa* at the either end of the same. The two *stūpas* in this cave are with *vedikā* pattern on the *pīṭha*. These *stūpas* are in a deep relief and project themselves from a niche. These half projected *stūpas* have base, *pīṭha* with *vedikā* pattern, *aṇḍa*, *harmikā*, *yaṣṭi* and *chatrāvali*. These *stūpas* can be stylistically dated to the close of the 1st century CE. Approach to this cave is difficult and one has to face a small steep slope strewn with honeycombs. This place is familiar to the local people as a source of honey.

Apart from this there are two more caves on the northern scarp of the same hill. Both the caves are isolated and with well developed architectural features. These caves seem to be modified in recent past by the hermits living there in modern period. One of the caves which is on a slightly higher contour is decorated with tiles and I came across a figure of Durgā (Locally known as Mātā) of modern period, in the ruined cave. The modern structure was destroyed by the forest department in the course of demolishing the modern habitation of these ascetics related to the *āśramas* in the forest. This has also destroyed the ancient structure of the cave to some extent. It is difficult to make out any ancient features from this cave now.

CAVE NO. 6 (PHOTOGRAPH 5)

This cave is along the lowest contour in this group. This is a simple hall type cave. The major part of the cave is highly weathered. The entrance to the cave is from a small cell like veranda. The provision made for it can be made out. There was wooden outer wall for the hall. The hall has 'L' shaped bench in recess along

the back and right wall. No other feature is clear. People use this cave for storing hay.

CAVE NO. 7 (PHOTOGRAPHS 6 AND 7)

This cave is a proper cell-hall type of structure. Whole of the cave is covered with tiles. Detailed architectural description is not possible because of this. A small open veranda can be seen. This is so as the cave is carved out of a natural cavern. We can see the remains of the bench along the sidewalls of the veranda. A small hall without any bench follows this. There is a centrally placed cell, along the back wall, with a bench. The bench is along the left wall. A square recess like niche can be seen in the hall along its left wall.

Apart from this there are numerous benches and rock-cut steps that can be seen all over in the forest (Photographs 8, 9, 10 and 11). Near most of the natural caverns around cave no. 7, we can see benches or seats. Interestingly enough on the outer wall of cave no.7, we can see three rock-cut benches in a row that were carved out.

Chronology of Caves

We should also discuss about the chronology of these unnumbered caves at the site. They provide us information about the beginnings in the cave fashioning activity at the site. Most of these caves are on the eastern hill at the site. They are scattered on all the side scarps of the hill. As discussed in the description of the caves, out of more than 15 caves, there is clear access only for 7 of them about which a detailed description is possible. Here, therefore, only these seven caves, along with other modified natural caverns, will be taken into consideration.

As we know, the beginning of the rock-cut architecture was through the modifications of the natural caves. These modifications were like benches, seats or a small cell like chamber in the natural cave. Such features are noticed in the architecture right from very early period to the medieval times. This causes difficulty in fixing the dates of these caves. Here an attempt has been made to date these caves on the basis of few architectural features, their development at site, their location and the comparison of the features with architecture of the caves that came to be carved at the main site at a later period.

Most simple caves are considered as the earliest caves in the whole complex. Though these caves cannot be dated to Mauryan period along with

Jivadhan, of which a thin possibility cannot be denied, these can be dated at least to 1st century BC. Cave no. 1 gives us very simple features. By comparing these early features with those from other sites the given date cannot be set aside. Here again we are not considering the early caves which are modifications of the natural caverns. Cave no. 6 can be dated to 1st century AD by comparing its development with the caves at the main site. And the last phase in the development is marked by the *stūpas* in cave no. 5. The *stūpas* in this cave give us the stylistic features of the close of the first century AD. Other caves here described in details can be dated to 1st century BC to 2nd century AD. After this the main site of Kanheri begins. We can postulate that cave 5 works as a linking factor in the chorology. All these caves are on route to Ghodbandar and Thane from site. The whole route can be easily observed by standing at the square pillar like structure popularly known as *Cimañī* on the top of the back hill.

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Sopara and Kalyan are the two important commercial centres in this region as pointed out earlier. Both the places had Buddhist monasteries and are known from the inscriptions. There is an inscription at Kanheri which talks about few donations and constructions made at the monastery at Kalyan (Gokhale, 1991: 77–81). Sopara monastery is also known to us through two inscriptions from Karla (Lüder's List No. 1094–5). There are two inscriptions in the main *caitya* at Karla mentioning about the Śārīraka Pillar of *ācārya* Dhammottariya. This clearly indicates that the monastery at Sopara was flourishing and expanding. They had an affiliation to the *nikāya* Dhammottariya which belongs to the Vajjiputtiya Group. It cannot just be a coincidence that the main *caitya* at Kanheri is given in donation to the Bhadrayāniya *nikāya*, which also belong to the group of Vajjiputtiyas.

All the major donations in 2nd century AD are seen coming to the site from Sopara and Kalyan. There are total four inscriptions mentioning Sopara and two of them are from cave no. 3 (main *caitya*) mentioning the donation of the main *caitya* to the *Bhadrayaniya Bhikkhu sangha*. In total there are eight inscriptions mentioning Kalyan, including 2 from cave no.2, which is the earliest rock-cut *vihāra* at the site after the rise of Kanheri as a monastic settlement in 2nd century AD.

Kanheri was a major monastic centre that emerged in 1st century BC. The seed of Buddhist faith must have been sown for the emergence of Buddhist

monastery from 1st Cent B.C in the remote areas of Kṛṣṇagiri (Pandit, 2006: 353–85). Early caves, discussed above, at the site do not have water cisterns; rather they are placed along the non-perennial water streams. It reminds us of a *Vinaya* rule about *Vassāvāsa* (Sankrityayan, 1994: 171–84) which specifies that first or last three months of the rainy season, monks should stay at one place only. This stay is known as *Vassāvāsa*. Most probably these early caves were made for those monks who used to observe *Vassāvāsa* i.e. they used to stay at one place only during the rainy season. It is possible that few of them, may be elderly ones, stayed at Kanheri permanently, from 2nd century onwards, may be as the caretakers of the site and the administrators of the *sangha*. Fa-hsien also refers to traveling monks in his account (Giles 1959: 4). It is quite possible that there were two groups of monks. One may have settled at one place and the other might be of wanderers. It is because of the settled monks, that water cisterns were excavated at the site from 2nd century AD onwards.

Caves at Kanheri are excavated in the igneous rock which is volcanic Breccia and not the actual Basalt. These Hills in the region is the only area available for the excavation of caves because of the peculiar geological feature. By 1st century BC people have extended the habitation on this island as we can see few microlithic tools have been reported from the area around Dahisar River and Poinisar Nala. There is an inscription mentioning the donation of agricultural land from Magathane which in later period developed as the satellite settlement of the site (Pandit, 2003: 380–402). Again the agricultural land given in the donation to the monastery was owned by a merchant from Kalyan.

It is quite possible that in the early period the nature of the site was like that of a forest monastery or may be that of temporary shelters (*Vassāvāsa*). In due course when there was a gradual decline of Sopara as a trading and commercial centre, due to geological and political reasons, Kanheri started flourishing. Kanheri is almost equidistant from all the important commercial centres. Location of site must have helped the monastery to control the economic resources of the region which has resulted in the rise of Kanheri as an Educational Centre at later point of time.

The discussion can be concluded as follows:

1. Caves under discussion might have been used for *Vassāvāsa* in the early period.

2. Monks from the monastic sites at Sopara and Kalyan must have initiated this type of migration.
3. This can be one of the reasons behind the affiliation of Vajjiputtiya *nikāya* with the site in 2nd centuryCE.
4. This is also indicated by the land grant from Magathane by a merchant from Kalyan in 2nd centuryCE.
5. These early caves excavated at Kanheri were an ideal location geologically and strategically.
6. These caves in real sense laid the foundation of the Buddhist Monastery at Kanheri which remained active here for more than one million years.

Illustrations

- Plate 5.1: Cimaṇī, on the hill top of Eastern Hill
- Plate 5.2: Cave No. 3
- Plate 5.3: Unapproachable Caves in the Eastern hill, View from the Cave No. 4
- Plate 5.4: Stūpa in Cave No. 5
- Plate 5.5: Cave No. 6
- Plate 5.6: Veranda, Cave No. 7
- Plate 5.7: Cave No. 7
- Plate 5.8: Rock-cut Bench in the forest, Eastern Hill
- Plate 5.9: Rock-cut benches and a water channel behind, Eastern Hill
- Plate 5.10: Steps leading to Hill Top
- Plate 5.11: Path leading to Cave No. 7

Bibliography

- GILES, H. A. (tr.) 1959. *The Travels of Fa-Hsien*. Reprint. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- GOKHALE, S. 1991. *Kānheri Inscriptions*. Pune: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute.
- LÜDERS, H. 1984. "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions". *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. X. Reprint. Delhi: ASI.
- PANDIT, S. A. 2003. "Kanheri: A Study In Its Sustained Patronage". *Buddhism in Global Perspective*. Edited by K. Shankarnarayan, Motohiro Yoritomi and Shubhada Joshi. Mumbai: Somaiya publication.
- PANDIT, S. 2006. "An Evidence for Mahayana from Kanheri". *Contribution of Buddhism to World Culture*. Vol. II. Edited by K. Sankaranarayan, Kanchan Mahadevan, Ravindra Panth and Motohoro Yoritomi. Mumbai: Somaiya Publication.
- SANKRITYAYAN, R. (tr.) 1994. *Vinayapitaka* (Hindi). Bauddha Akar Granthamala. Varanasi: Kashi Vidyapitha.

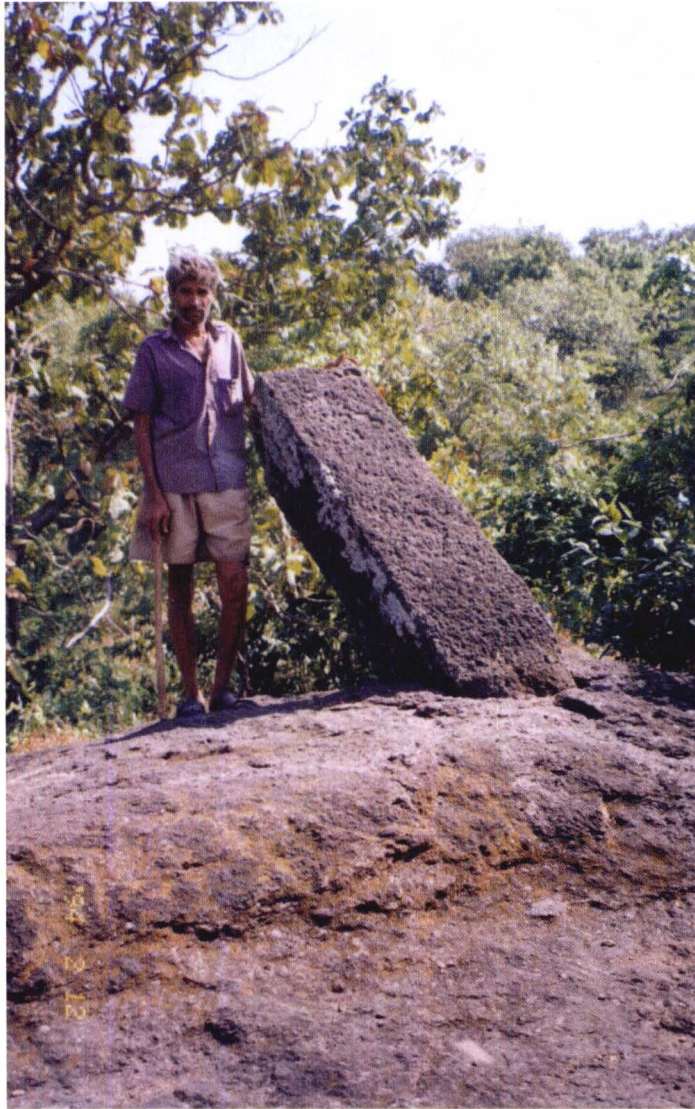


Plate 5.1: Cimaṇī, on the hill top of Eastern Hill



Plate 5.2: Cave No.3



Plate 5.3: Unapproachable Caves in the Eastern hill, View from the Cave 4



Plate 5.4: Stūpa in Cave 5

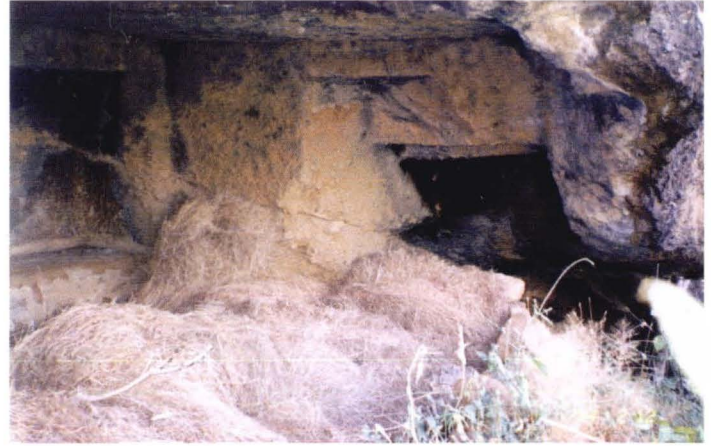


Plate 5.5: Cave No. 6



Plate 5.6: Veranda, Cave No. 7



Plate 5.7: Cave No. 7



Plate 5.8: Rock-cut Bench in the forest, Eastern Hill



Plate 5.9: Rock-cut benches and a water channel (behind), Eastern Hill



Plate 5.10: Steps leading to Hill Top



Plate 5.11: Path leading to Cave No. 7

NEWLY DISCOVERED INSCRIPTIONS FROM AMBULGE IN NANDED DISTRICT AND DHARMAPURI IN BEED DISTRICT

CHETAN SHANKAR SALI

Ambulge Inscription of Jagadekamalla II

In the year 2009 an inscribed slab lying near Ambulge, a village in Deglur Taluka of Nanded district was brought to my notice by Shri M.M. Ansari, sub overseer of the Department of Archaeology, Nanded. I visited the place and copied the inscription in the same year. The inscription is actually lying in a field on the left side of the road leading to Ambulge from Deglur.

The inscription is in Kannada script and language. Its photographs were sent to Prof. Shrinivas Ritti of Dharwad* who read the inscription for us. Following is the text provided by him.

TEXT

- 1 Svasti || Srimach-Chalukya-Chakravarti Jagadeka
- 2 malla-varsada 6 neya Rudhirodgari samüva-
- 3 tsarada Marggaśira śuddha pamüchami Somava
- 4 radamüdu [||] Svasti samadhigata-pamüchamahaśabda
- 5 Mahāmandaleśvara Amaravatipurava-
- 6 reśvara Ísvarapadaravimüd-anamüda-madhuka
- 7 ra satya-Yudhis/t/i(s/t/hi)ra | Kat/akada go=va niga-
- 8 lamüka-malla märko=la-Bhairava VāladeviÇ-labdha-va-
- 9 raprasa=damü S~riÇman-mahāmaṇḍal/e=śvaramü Er<e
- 10 yamarasaru avara kumāra Bammarasa

- 11 tamma maga Madal/eya Ma=ran/a tanna ma-
 12 gana tamma pesarit/t/ad/e Amübulgeyalu u=-
 13 ra bad/agalu ghal/eya mattaru aydu ka=
 14 la mattaru gadde omüdu maneya nive=san/amamü
 15 hannasāgi dhārāpu=rvakamü ma=d/i bit/t//aru [||*] Aruvan/a
 16 mattarimüge chavvalamamü kon/d/u sarvabādhā-parihāramā-
 17 [gi] kādu=d/uvaru ||

“Be it well. On Monday the 5th day of the bright half of the month of Mārgasira in the year Rudhirodgāri in the 6th year of (the rule of) the Cālukya emperor Jagadekamalla.

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara who was endowed with the privilege of using five great musical instruments, the lord of Amarāvātipura the bee in the pleasure of the lotus feet of Ísvara, Yudhis/t/hira in truthfulness, the protector of the army camp, *nigal/ankamalla*, *mārkolabhairava* and the obtainer of the favour of Vāladevī made a grant of five *mattar* (of land) measured by a rod, one *mattar* of wet land measured by the foot and a house site.

(The grant was made on the occasion of) the naming ceremony of the son of madaleya Mārana, who was the son of Bammarasa who, in turn, was the son of Ereyamarasa.

The grant should be protected, free from all encumbrances, by collecting one *cavvala* per *mattar* as *aruvana* (tax).”

The inscription gives the name of the Kalyāa Cālukya king Jagadekamalla and his regnal year 6 in first two lines. This jagadekamalla is Jagadekamalla II. The other details of the date are Rudhirodgārin, Mārgasira śuddha Pañcamī, Monday, corresponding to 1143 A.D November 13, which was Saturday. It is known that this king ruled between 1138 A.D and 1149 A.D.

The inscription then introduces *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Ereyamarasa who bears the titles, among others, *Amarāvātipuravareśvara* and *Vāladevīlabdhavaraprasāda*. Next is mentioned his son (*kumāra*) Bammarasa and his son Madaleya-Mārana. In Kannada *Maddale* means a musical instrument like

Mṛdaṅga and Mārana or Māranna's association with this instrument is interesting. The next expression in the inscription seems to state that on the occasion of the naming ceremony (*pesarit/t/ed/e*) of the son of Māran/n/a, Ereyamarasa made a grant of five *mattar* of land measured by rod (*ghal/e*), one *mattar* of wet land (*gadde*) measured by the foot (*kālu*) and a house site situated to the south of the village in Ambulge. The name of the donee is not specified. The inscription concludes by saying that the grant should be protected free from all encumbrances, by collecting a *cavvala* of *aruvana* tax per *mattar*.

The main interest lies in the mention of Ereyamarasa as a subordinate of Jagadekamalla II. It is to be noted that this Ereyamarasa is known from other inscriptions also in the same region viz., Deglur Taluka in Nanded district. These inscriptions show that he served three generations of the Cālukya kings as a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* or *mahāsāmanta* right from Vikramāditya VI down to Jagadekamalla II. The earliest inscription mentioning Ereyamarasa comes from Bimra in Deglur Taluka of Nanded district.¹ It is dated in 1122 A.D. An inscription from Tadkhel also from Deglur Taluka dated 1070 A.D.,² and belonging to Bhuvanaikamalla Someśvara II mentions a chief Karkkarasa who also bore the titles *Amarāvatiṭpuraveśvara*, *Nigalānkamalla* etc., like Ereyamarasa. Obviously, he was the predecessor of Ereyamarasa. There is however no means to know the relationship between the two. It can be presumed that Ereyamarasa succeeded Karkkarasa as the subordinate of Vikramāditya VI. That he served under Someśvara III in the same office is vouchsafed by an inscription from Karadkhed dated 1130 A.D.³ He also figures in an inscription of 1138 A.D., from Yerigi in the same taluka.⁴ Our Ambulge inscription shows that he held this office under Jagadekamalla II in 1143 A.D. An inscription dated 1149 A.D also mentioning as a subordinate of the same king.⁵ 1149 A.D, is the last known date of Ereyamarasa.

The inscription from Yerigi dated 1130 A.D., mentioned above states that this chief was governing Erad/-ischa=siraba=d/a i.e., an administrative division of 2000 villages comprising two divisions of 1000 villages each.⁶ Though it is difficult to identify the location of this division, since all the inscriptions mentioning Ereyamarasa come from Deglur taluka. It can be presumed that the said division comprised of Deglur region.

Two fiscal terms figuring in the inscriptions are interesting. They are *Aruvana* and *Cavvala*. The *Aruvana* figures frequently in the medieval Kannada inscriptions such as those of Cālukyas of Kalyāna and it stands for an agricultural

tax or tax on agricultural land. The term *Aruvana* literally means six *panas*, *aru* standing for numeral six (*āru* in modern Kannada) and *pana* denotes a coin which was in currency in that period. Originally it denoted a tax of six *panas* but in course of time it stood for tax in general.⁷ *Cavvala* stood for a coin which perhaps was one eighth of a bigger coin possibly *pana*. The term was in vogue till recently in Karnataka and Maharashtra and was known as *cavali* which was one eighth of a rupee. Likewise *pāvalī* stood for one fourth of it. *Mattar*, also a term commonly figuring in inscriptions stood for a particular measure of land usually measured by a rod (*ghal/e*) or even a foot (*kālu* or *pāda*).⁸ *Maneya niveśana* denoted a house site.

Dharmapuri Inscription of Vikramāditya VI

This inscription is found engraved on the wall of the temple of Kedāreśvara at Dharmapuri which is located on the northern side of the present village. The place is well known for its antiquities and inscriptions from this place have been published by Prof. A. B. Kolte.⁹ The temple also is studied by scholars.¹⁰

The inscription under discussion is a part of the sculpture adorning the southern wall of the *garbhagṛha*, where a lady is shown writing an inscription on a stone block. The script of the inscription is Kannada and the language also is Kannada. A similar inscriptions depicting a lady writing is found on the wall of Siddeśvara Mahādeva temple of Hottal in Nanded district. Another example of this kind is found on the northern wall of *garbhagṛha* at the Mahādeva temple of Dharasur in Gangakhed Taluka of Parbhani District. A very artistic representation of this type was found at Jalasangvi in Gulbarga district of Karnataka.¹¹ A few other similar inscriptions are also reported from Karnataka.

The interesting part of the inscription is the artistic way in which the lady is depicted with the stylus in hand. Fortunately the inscription is well preserved. The following is the text and translation provided by Prof. Ritti.

1. Sursāil/amügettu Nārāyan/a-nilayaman-ut[sa=]hadind-c=r<i tad-vista-
2. ra-sānu-prāmūta-bha=sval-lal/ita-phal/akadol/- Vikrama=mükamüge
lo=ko=ttara-
3. māgil<d-amükamālāval/iyane palavumü bhamügiyimü kitti (kiÇrtti)
suttamü baredal/-cha-

4. ndr-ārka-tār-amübaram-esedire ku=rtt-arttiyimü kitti(kiÇrtti)sutta ||

Climbing with zeal, the temple of Nārāyaṇa, comparable to the mountain of Gods (i.e. Meru), (this lady) wrote with affection, the series of exceptional epithets of *Vikramāṅka*, singing his glory in manifold ways, on the shining 'board' (*phalaka*) (situated) on the top of the temple, so that it may last as long as the Moon, the Sun and the Sky last.

The inscription from Jalsangvi is in Kannada script and Sanskrit verse. It is similar to this inscription in the sense that it also contains the praise of Vikramāditya VI and calls him the 7th Viṣṇuvardhana. As mentioned above there are a few more inscriptions of this type but the writing on most of them is not legible. In some it is totally erased.

The temple of Kedāreśvara of Dharmapuri as known today is dedicated to Śiva with the epithet *Kedāreśvara*. Though the temple is in most ruinous condition, fortunately the portion of *garbhagṛha* is in much better state of preservation and adheres large number of sculptures on the exterior of *janghā* portion of *mandovara*. It has the image of Gaṇeśa on the *lalāṭa* of the *garbhagṛha* entrance and Vaiṣṇava figures at the base of third doorjamb of the entrance doorway. The *dvārapāla* holds *chakra*, *gadā* and *śaṅkha* and the fourth hand is in *varada-mudrā*. On the exterior of the plinth and *mandovara* of the *garbhagṛha* there are a number of sculptures of divinities and semi divinities as also secular, among which the Vaiṣṇavite figures dominate in number.

The *garbhagṛha* has three *devakoṣṭhas* each on east (backside), south and north sides. The eastern niche has Vāsudeva sculpture, the southern has that of Keśava and the northern niche holds the figure of Narasiṃha. Moreover, along the northern wall there are a few sculptures lying in the debris, among which there are two Vaiṣṇava sculptures viz. one is of Narasiṃha and another is of Vāmana holding his *chatra* facing King Bali with pitcher in his hand and his wife Vindhyāvali standing behind the king. There is one more sculpture of Narasiṃha on the north-eastern corner of the *maṇḍapa* wall where he is shown fighting with a male figure. Thus the Vaiṣṇavite figures dominate the scene and are located at major places like cardinal niches.

The inscription on the *phalaka* clearly mentions that this is the temple of Nārāyaṇa i.e., Viṣṇu. This, including the occurrence of Vaiṣṇavite sculptures at prominent places like cardinal niches and at the base of doorjambs of *garbhagṛha*

entrance proves that this was originally a Vaiṣṇava temple. From the effigy i.e. *Śivaliṅga* installed in the *garbhagṛha* it is difficult to say when it was consecrated but it appears to be a later addition.

It can be easily said that Vikramāmka mentioned in the present inscription was clearly Vikramāditya VI of the Kalyāna Cālukya family. The inscription indicates that the temple was built during his reign period. Stylistically also it belongs to Kalyāna Cālukya period. On plan, it consists of a *garbhagṛha*, *antarāla*, a hall with three porches. The last named architectural element is dilapidated and from the remains it appears that it was quite large and had three porches. It had a brick *śikhara* remains of which are still seen.

Notes and References

- * I am very much thankful to Prof Shrinivas Ritti, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy (Retd.), Karnataka University, Dharwad, for the prompt help in the decipherment of the inscriptions and Prof (Mrs.) Kumud Kanitkar who introduced me to Prof Ritti.
1. Ritti, Shrinivas and G. C. Shelke, Inscriptions from Nanded District, No. 23, part III-Text, pp.144–54, 1968.
 2. Ibid., No. 8.
 3. Ibid., No. 29.
 4. Ibid., No. 32.
 5. Ibid. No. 35.
 6. For a discussion on this administrative division see *Inscriptions from Nanded District*, p. lii.
 7. For detailed discussion on this term see Ritti Shrinivas (et.al. *Descriptive Glossary of Administrative Terms in Ancient Karnataka*), pp. 41–2, 2000.
 8. See Ibid., p. 94.
 9. Kolte, V. B. "Dharmapuri Shilalekh". *Maharashtratil Kahi Tamrapata Va Shilalekh* (Marathi). Mumbai, pp. 118–43, 1987.
 10. Deglurkar, G. B. *Temple Architecture and Sculpture of Maharashtra*. pp 39–41, 1974.
 11. Journal of the Karnatak University, 1962.

The reading of the inscription (along with the diacritical marks) appears as provided by the author of the present article.

-Editors

ॐॐॐॐ

PROGRESS OF MODIFICATION OF NĀGARĪ ALPHABET AND OTHER SIGNS: A STUDY BASED ON PARAMĀRA INSCRIPTIONS

ARVIND K. SINGH

The Paramāras, initiated their political career as feudatories of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch¹ in the ninth century CE, be successful in building a strong kingdom in the heart of the central part of India in about the middle of the tenth century and played a leading role in the history of the country for more than four hundred years, till they were subjugated and overthrown by the Muslims in the fourteenth centuryCE. During the course of their political existence, the Paramāras ruled over various territories, which includes Mālava proper as well the adjacent districts of Vidiśā in the east, Ratlām in the west, Indore and the parts of Hoshangābād in the south-east. Besides the imperial royal house of Mālava, there were other royal houses of the Paramāras, held control more or less at the same time, over Arbuda-maṇḍala, Maru-maṇḍala, Jālor, and Vāgaḍa. The house that grew to power in the region around Arbuda-maṇḍala or Mount Ābū, subsequently extended their territories in the neighboring region of Bhinmāl-Kirāḍū, and Jālor and those houses were known after these places. The rulers of all these houses were semi-independent chiefs. Paramāras of the Ābū branch owed their fidelity to the Caulukya dynasty, while those at Vāgaḍa were subordinate to the main line of Mālava.

Paramāra rulers were great scholars and virtually each of them patronized the art and literature. Some of the rulers were renowned for the aptitude and interest in the field of learning and knowledge. Vākpati-Muñja was illustrious as a poet and a patron of the men in letters, even in the records of his opponent like the Western Cālukya he is described as a *kavi-vr̥ṣṭā*² (poet of high rank). Eulogy of the Udaipur inscription admires him for his learning, expression and poetic gifts (no. 24)³. He is credited to have written the *Muñjapratideśavyavasthā*, a geographical description of India. During his reign Brāhmaṇas and learned persons migrating to Mālava from distant places situated in Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Ahicchatra. The paramount king Bhoja name will endure as a brilliant ruler who encouraged literature and art and a patron of scholars. His versatility is

evident as he himself was a polymath, a distinguished poet, a celebrated multitalented scholar, who has over forty works on a variety of subjects including literature, poetics, grammar, lexicography, philosophy, *dharmasāstra*, astrology and astronomy, architecture, engineering and medicine. He is truly described as 'kavirāja' in the eulogy of Udaipur while Pānāhedā inscription (no. 83) refers him with the epithet of *vidyānidhi*. Apart from this, Bhoja also reconstruct and given a face-lift to the city of Dhārā, made it a seat of learning and held his literary court in the Sarasvatī-mandira, also known as Bhārati-bhavana and Śāradā-sadan, and popularly called Bhojaśālā. Plausibly, due to his versatile achievements the Vaḍnagar *praśasti* of Kumārapāla called him Mālavacakravartī⁴. Other ruler, Udayāditya was famous for disseminating education among his subject. He is attributed to develop the education institutes at Dhārā by engraving charts including the Nāgarī alphabet and grammatical terminations. Naravarman was a great scholar and a gifted poet, as is verified by the *praśasti* composed by him. Jayasīmha patronized learned person and poets, and gifted land in the favor of *mahākavi-cakravartin* and *thakkura* Nārāyaṇa. Arjunavarman was acknowledged as a scholar, a poet of high rank and a supporter of literary persons. There are ample of references to validate the existence and dissemination of high profile of learning under the Paramāras. Besides, the name, merits and work competence of numerous poets, scribes and engravers are found mentioned in the Paramāra inscriptions.

I

In general, inscriptions of the Paramāras are composed by distinguished poets⁵, written (possibly copied) by skilled scribes, and incised by engravers. The engraver incised the letters according to the drawing to retain the accuracy and perform his work neatly. However, this practice is not universal, as in some instances, the job of all three categories, namely the author, the scribe and the engraver was performed by the same person. The relevant epigraphic data provide significant details concerning these professionals, and sometimes mention their predecessors as well as native place, role, occupation and designation as applied to poets, scribes and engravers. It is obvious from the examples of good epigraphic poetry that high talented poets were employed for composing the inscriptions. The poets were honored by different ways, even by donating land. Atrū stone inscription of the time of Jayasīmha: V.S. 1314 (CE: 1258) records the donation by Jayasīmhadeva of the village Mhaisadā (Bhainrā) in the territorial division of Paṁvītha in favor of a *kavīcakravartin*, *thakkura*

Nārāyaṇa (no. 55). Tilakwādā copper-plate inscription of the time of Bhojadeva: V.S. 1103 (CE 1046) was composed by Sobhika, son of the Kāyastha Aiyala of the Vālabhya family, at the request of the king (no. 15) and with an appeal to excuse him for the mistakes that may have occurred in the composition, “*ūnātiriktamajñānāllikhitam śāsanetra yat / pramāṇameva karttavyaṃ samtaḥ sarvvasahāyataḥ*”. Paṇḍita Mahīpāla, son of Paṇḍita Śṛṅgavāsa was the poet of Udaipur stone inscription of the time of Udayāditya: V.S. 1137 (CE 1080) (no.19). The poet Aśvatthāma composed the verses of the Jainād stone inscription of the time of Jagaddeva (no. 29). The composition is here said to be heart-touching, “*hṛdayamgama*”, and this epithet is really befitting in view of its pleasing, elegant and graceful style. Nāgpur Museum stone inscription of Naravarman: V.S. 1161 (CE 1105) stated to have been adorned with many eulogies and hymns composed by the king himself “*tena svayamkṛtāneka-prasastistaticitritam*” (no. 33). The record of the Vidishā stone inscription of the time of Naravarman was composed by *thakkura* Śrī Mādhava, a son of the *thakkura* Sūpaṭa and a grandson of *thakkura* Nījāsa and a *dvija* belonging to the Māthura clan (no. 36). Eulogy of the Sun-God was composed by Paṇḍita Chittapa, who enjoyed the title of *mahākavi-cakravartin*. Sircar agrees with Thomas who held that Chittapa was a contemporary and probably a court-poet of the Paramāra king Bhoja (no. 37). Madana was a renowned poet who composes at least four inscriptions of the Paramāras. Pipliānagar copper-plate inscription of Arjunavarman: V.S. 1267 (CE 1211) was composed by Rājaguru Madana at the instance of *mahā-panḍita* Śrī Bilhaṇa (no. 47). Two Sehore copper-plate inscriptions of Arjunavarman: V.S. 1270 (CE 1213) and 1272 (CE 1215) were also composed by the same poet but first was composed with the consent of Bilhaṇa as *mahāsāndhivigrahika* while the second with the consent of Rājā Salakhaṇa as the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (nos. 48, 49). Māndhātā copper-plate inscription of Devapāla: V.S. 1282 (CE 1225) was also composed by Madana (no. 51). Harsaudā stone inscription of the time of Devapāla: V.S. 1275 (CE 1218) was composed by Devaśarmaṇa (no. 50). The learned Brāhmaṇa Vāmana was the poet of the eulogy of the Moḍī stone inscription of the time of Jayavarmadeva: V.S. 1314 (CE 1258) who composed it in ‘*sadalaṃkāra*’ (no. 56). Māndhātā copper-plate inscription of Jayavarman: V.S. 1317 (CE 1261) was written (*likhitam rājāsāsanarī*), probably composed by the learned Harṣadeva, the son of the learned Gavīśa, under the approbation of Paṇḍita Mālādhara, who was employed a minister of war and treaty by the *mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Jayavarmadeva at Maṇḍapa-durga, and that it was revised by the grammarian (*śābdika*) Āmadeva, a disciple of the wise Goseka who was well versed in legal science,

“*smṛti-śāstra*” (no. 57). Other Māndhātā copper-plate inscription of Jayavarman: V.S. 1331 (CE 1274) was composed by Śrīkaṇṭha, who was a member of the assembly of Jayavarman and Trivedin by heritage, “*kulakramāyātrāividyatvena*” and appointed by the king himself (no. 60). Vasantagadh stone inscription of the time of Pūrṇapāla: V.S. 1099 (CE 1042) was composed by Brāhmaṇa Mātrśarinā, the son of Hari (no. 62). Bhādūṇḍ stone inscription of the time of Pūrṇapāla: V.S. 1102 (CE 1045) is the composition of Arbādīya Vyāsa, the son of Upādhyāya Mādharma of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, who composed it through the grace of Sarasvatī (no. 63). The revered and the illustrious, Tilakaprabhasūri was the poet of Jhāloḍī stone inscription of the time of Dhārāvarṣa: V.S. 1255 (CE 1198) (no. 73). Vaijāditya composed the Giravaḍ stone inscription of the time of Pratāpasimha: V.S. 1344 (CE 1288). His parents were Paṇḍita Dharaṇīdhara and Cāmpala (no. 82). Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of Cāmuṇḍarāja: V.S. 1136 (CE 1080) told that in the Sādhāra family was born one Sumati, an ear-ring of the goddess Bhārātī (Sarasvatī), and his son was Vijaya, whose younger brother Caṇḍra composed the *praśasti* (no. 84). Arthūṇā image inscription of the time of Vijayarāja: V.S. 1165 (CE 1107) was composed by Nārāyaṇa (no. 89) while another Arthūṇā stone inscription of the same ruler: V.S. 1166 (CE 1109) informs us that the sixteen stanzas beginning from the fourth, along with the first were composed by the learned Katuka while the rest (stanzas 2–3) was the work of Bhātuka, son of the Brāhmaṇa Sāvaḍa and grandson of Bhāilla of the Valla family (no. 90). Kirādū stone inscription of Someśvara: V.S. 1218 (CE 1161) states that the eulogy was composed, with the order of king, by Narasimha (no. 94).

The author of the records many times wrote it in the sense that they gave the final draft of the record to the scribe who was proficient for writing or copying it on stone, metal and other similar objects with a skilful hand⁶. For clear and beautiful writing of the royal inscription, in general, skilled scribes were employed⁷. Of the scribes of the Paramāra inscriptions, Guṇadhara was the Kāyastha who had written the two Harsolā copper-plate grants of Sīyaka: V.S. 1005 (CE 949) (no. 1–2). Chaddaka, son of Amnaka was the writer of the Moḍāsā copper-plate inscription of the time of Bhojadeva: V.S. 1067 (CE 1011) (no. 8). The charter is neither carefully engraved nor shows the symmetry or beauty in formation. British Museum image inscription of Bhojadeva: V.S. 1091 (CE 1034) was written by Śivadeva (no. 14). The minister of peace and war, the illustrious Jogeśvara of the twice born race was the writer of Kālvaṇ copper-plate inscription of the time of Bhojadeva (no. 16). Doṅgaragāon stone inscription of

the time of Jagaddeva: Śaka Saṁvat 1034 (CE 1112) was written by Viśvsvāmin (no. 28). Paṇḍita Rājapāla has written the Amerā stone inscription of the time of Naravarman: V.S. 1151 (CE 1094) (no. 30). Arthūṇā stone inscription of Cāmuṇḍarāja: V.S. 1136 (CE 1080) told that *praśasti* was written on stone by Āsarāja, a son of Śrīdhara, a Kāyastha belonging to the Vālabhya (hailing from Valabhi) family (no. 84). However, other Arthūṇā image inscription of V.S. 1165 (CE 1107) was written by Anarīta (no. 89). Ropī inscription of Devarāja: V.S. 1059 (CE 1012) was written by Sūryaravī, a son of Nyāsa (no. 91). Kirādū stone inscription of Someśvara: V.S. 1218 (CE 1161) states that the eulogy was written by Yaśodeva (no. 94). Some correction was also done after aware of the fault. For example, in line 29 of Māndhātā copper-plate (no. 51, plate XLIX) '*kātyāyana gotrāya*' was left that was added between the lines 28–29 in smaller shape.

Inscriptions of the Paramāras also furnish information regarding their engravers, listed here. The record of the Jhālrapātan stone inscription of the time of Udayāditya: V.S. 1143 (CE 1087) is stated to have been engraved by Paṇḍita Harṣuka (no. 22). Amerā stone inscription of the time of Naravarman: V.S. 1151 (CE 1094) was inscribed by Saumatika (no. 30). Vidishā stone inscription of Trailokyavarman: V.S. 1216 (CE 1158) was engraved by Vāsudeva (no. 42). Sehore copper-plate inscriptions of Arjunavarman were engraved by Paṇḍita Bāpyadeva (nos. 48, 49). The artisan (*rūpakāra*) Kānhaḍa was the engraver of two Māndhātā copper-plate inscriptions (nos. 57, 60). Dhārnna, son of *sūtradhāra* Sarūka was the engraver of the Varmān stone inscription of the time of Pūṁpāla: V.S. 1099 (CE 1043) (no. 61), while Vasantagaḍha stone inscription of the time of same ruler was engraved by Śivapāla, who was the son of the *sūtradhāra* Deuka, the grandson of Durga and the great-grandson of the *sthapati* (architect) Nāga (no. 62). Dhāreśvara, Deua, Devau and Lahampa were the engravers of Pūṁpāla's Bhādūṇḍ stone inscription of V.S. 1102 (CE 1045) and possibly also the excavators of the well (no. 63). Ajhārī stone inscription of the time of Yaśodhavalā: V.S. 1202 (CE 1146) was engraved by *sūtradhāra* Cāḍadeva (no. 64). In the end of the Kārṁṭal stone inscription of the time of Dhārāvarṣa: V.S. 1274 (CE 1216) the name of Mahidhara appears who might be the engraver of the inscription (no. 75). Girvaḍ stone inscription of the time of Pratāpasīmha: V.S. 1344 (CE 1288) was engraved by Gāṁgadeva, son of Sūmadeva, a resident of Rohedā (no. 82). Pānāheḍā stone inscription of Maṇḍalīka: V.S. 1116 (CE 1059) was engraved by Asarāja, a son of Śrīdhara, who belonged to the Vālabhya Kāyastha family (no. 83). Arthūṇā stone inscription of Cāmuṇḍarāja: V.S. 1136

(CE 1080) told that the eulogy was engraved by *sūtradhāra* Guṁdāka, a son of *sūtradhāra* Nannā (no. 84). Nānāka was the engraver of the Arthūṇā image inscription of the time of Vijayarāja: V.S. 1165 (CE 1107), who also carved the image of Hanumāna (no. 89), while *viññānika* Sūmāka was the engraver of another Arthūṇā stone inscription of the time of same ruler: V.S. 1166 (CE 1109) (no. 90). Kirādū stone inscription of Someśvara: V.S. 1218 (CE 1161) states that the eulogy was engraved by Yaśodhara (no. 94). The information about Paṇḍita Harsuka, Paṇḍita Rājapāla and others reveal that the profession of engraving became respectable at that time.

II

The main factors which are responsible for the progress of modification of Nāgarī alphabet in the Paramāra inscriptions are concerned professionals for writing and engraving the epigraph and writing materials. As for the professionals, individual mannerism has an effect on the writing. In general, the engraver incised the letters according to the drawing of the scribe to retain the accuracy and perform his work neatly. However, due to an illiterate or unskilled engraver sometimes the form of the letter is misshapen. On the other hand, it is easier to draw wedge head-mark, thin and thick line by wedged pen while linear head-mark and uniformity in thickness may be easily drawn by stylus pen. Difference in progress of writing also might be observed in term of centre and periphery. Naturally, the skilled professionals of the court were more skilled and well aware with the latest development than those of the remote places.

Inscriptions of the Paramāras are written in Nāgarī script, also known by the name Devanāgarī, is the most popular script of India, is now used over a large part of Indian subcontinent for writing Sanskrit and some other Indian languages, though it is seldom realised by the common people that its origin lies in Brāhmī through a chain of successive evolution⁸. However, passing through its various developmental stages, some or the other part of every letter of the Mauryan Brāhmī is still retained in the Nāgarī forms, with only some ornamental or simplified additions and modifications. From Mauryan to mid of the sixth century CE only a few letters resembled counterparts in Nāgarī. Most of the letters from the seventh century onwards underwent the process of development in their formation which mislead some scholars to consider that Nāgarī begin in the eighth–ninth centuries or even more earlier⁹. Moreover, passing through its developmental stages in north India Brāhmī grew into a script called by the palaeographers as Siddhamātrka, Kuṭila, acute-angled, etc¹⁰. The new innovation,

by which it differs from Brāhmī, is the inward bending in the vertical limbs of the letter resulting in the formation of an acute-angle with the base line on the right end of some letters. In addition, the top of the letters grow into a triangular shape and the medial signs prolong with twists and bends. These features are developed mainly due to the pen technique which can be seen in the forms of the letters that become more decorative in the medial signs¹¹. The main features of the Kuṭīla script remained almost the same excepting for ornamentation. The ornamentation and the shape of letters differ in different regions due to the writing materials, regional traits, as well as personal habits and mannerisms of the scribes¹². In the last phase of seventh century more advanced letter forms developed, which paved the way for Nāgarī and is now called by the name proto-Nāgarī. In proto-Nāgarī, the triangular head-mark become broader, or is replaced by a small stroke, and tail or footmark is developed at the bottom of the letters. Most of the earliest proto-Nāgarī specimens reveal the mixture of triangular and linear type of head-mark. The writing material and writing technique played an important role in the emergence of the simple forms of the writing and Nāgarī alphabet. The main characteristics of Nāgarī, i.e. full covering head-line, straight vertical, uniform medial signs, mutilated consonant in ligature and *halanta* sign, is exhibited in Bhārat Kalā Bhavan copper-plate inscription of Pratihāra Harirāja (CE 983)¹³ and Kauthom plates of Caulukya Vikramāditya V (CE 1008)¹⁴. The script of these epigraphs approaches the mature Nāgarī form which is fully developed by the 13th centuryCE. But it does not mean that the Nāgarī of the 13th century is same as of the 21st century¹⁵ and since no development took place in the form of the letters.

To discuss the progress of modification of Nāgarī alphabet and numerals signs, I have selected seventeen inscriptions of the Paramāras of different branches that are represented in sixteen columns, of which signs of two inscriptions are in column ten and of one in each column. Of them, ten inscriptions, represented in nine columns (1, 2, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15) belongs to the Paramāras of Mālava, three (columns 3, 9, 16) to the Paramāras of Mount Ābū or Candrāvātī, one (column 12) to the Paramāras of Bhinmāl, one (column 8) to the Paramāras of Jālōr and two (columns 5, 7) to the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa. Here, I indicate only some unusual features and need not go into the details of the formation of the individual letters in different periods and localities as the tables (I–III) are self-explanatory. Among noticeable features, Harsolā inscriptions of Sīyaka (column 1) display an interesting feature about the head-strokes of the letters. Most of them show curvatures of zigzags in the middle and a few looks

like a small crescent. The left limb of the initial *a* curve with a slanting stroke below and sporadically it also represents a form in which the curve is surmounted by a small vertical stroke and looks like counterpart in Nāgarī. Initial *i* is shown by two loops placed horizontally and subscribed by the sign for medial *u* ending in a sharp curve below. Of the consonants, *kha* is represented by two triangle joined by a horizontal line above. The forelimb of *ga* is also formed as a triangle with its apex above. The letter *ṅa* looks like the modern *la*. The letters *gha*, *ca*, *ja*, *ta*, *na*, *bha* and *śa* continued their traditional shape. Of the two forms of *dha*, in one the left limb of the letter is endowed with a horn above, but generally this letter is without the horn. The peculiar form of *pha* in *phalam* line 24, differs entirely from other form of the record. There are variations in the representation of letter *ra*, one formed by a vertical stroke with a horizontal bar attached to its middle on the left, another with the bar originated from the top stroke itself and the third with the horizontal stroke has a wedged attached to it in the middle. As for the medial signs, *a* sometimes replaced by a crescent attached to the right extremity of the top stroke of a letter. The vertical of the medial short *i* is often slightly bent to the right at the bottom. Medial *e* is also in crescent or twisted top stroke form. Above all, the characters show a transitional stage. The letters and medial signs of the ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ copper-plate inscription of Vākpatirāja (column 2) are more cursive. Initial *a* is formed by the sign of the initial *u* joined to a vertical stroke with a horizontal and a footmark below. Initial *i* is represented by two circles subscribed by the medial sign *u*. Of the consonants, *ṅa* has not developed a dot, and *ca*, *dha*, *va* are almost alike in form; *kha*, *cha*, *ja*, *na*, *bha* and *śa* continued their old forms. The letter *ṅa* is similar to *ṅa*. As for medial signs, ornamentation might be observed in the formation of *e*. Further, in the Vasantagadh inscription (column 3) initial *i* is denoted by two dots, subscribed by medial *u* like symbol the tail of which is extended in hook form on the top of the dots; *ṅa* is without dot and there is no apparent difference in the forms of *ca*, *dha* and *va*, but *ba* has a separate sign of its own. The letters *kha*, *ta*, *la* and *sa* have generally not developed the tail of the left limb. The difference between the forms of the palatal and dental sibilant is often marked in that the form of these is engraved with a tail of the left which is missing in the latter. The letters are not deeply engraved so that occasionally the impression shows only dots of the loops of letters *na* and *ma*, with the strokes overall missing. The medial *a* is often denoted by a stroke above the top of a letter, and occasionally the form of short and long medial *i* is only a curve above the top and not taken below. Sometimes, the strokes of the medial signs have been ornamentally treated (table III, column

3) and there are some decorative designs in lines 21–22 and at the end of the inscription.

The engraver of the Tilakwāḍā inscription (column 4) has fared very slovenly in his task and the expected shape of the letters are often transformed, a number of them also received the arbitrary touch of the chisel. It is also of noteworthy that the writing is sparser on the last two sides in comparison with the first. As far the forms of the letters, in archaic form initial *i* is shown by three dots, two above and one below, initial long *ū* is presented by adding a curved stroke in the middle of the short *u*, initial *e* is almost a triangle with the vertical point below while *ai* is denoted by adding medial sign *e* in its form, *dha* and *va* are more or less similar in form, *śa* is sometimes devoid of the slanting stroke below and head-mark. Likewise, the Pānāheḍā inscription (column 5) display initial *i* represented by two hollow circles subscribed by the sign for the medial short *u* and the same vowel in its long form is distinguished by a horizontal stroke above. The letter *na* is still without dot and the letters *ca*, *dha* and *va* are looks like similar in form. The rare *jha* is shown which is similar in formation to the modern *kra*. The form of the letters *ta*, *na*, *va* and *la* are occasionally confused with each other, which might be due to an error on the part of the scribe or the engraver. Furthermore, *pa* has similar form as *ya*, and *bha* is often baffled with *ha*. Distinction between the formation of palatal *śa* and dental *sa* is that the loop which begins the first of these letters assumes the form of a stroke curved above whereas that of the second is curved downwards. Both these letters are in a transitional state, rarely assuming the modern forms.

The general peculiarity of the Jhālṛāpāṭan inscription (column 6) is that the vertical of letters and the *pr̥sthamātrā* shows a sudden bend to the right at their lower extremity. The initial *i* is formed of two circles placed side by side with hooks in the opposite directions with some ornamentation below, triangular form of initial *e* is yet to develop its tail, *kha* is formed of two loops suspended by vertical strokes, the top of which are joined by a horizontal line and left limb is without tail, the right portion of *gha* is still to move below to develop modern form, *dha* has not developed a horn on the top of its left limb, the loops of *na* and *ma* are often below, and the fore limbs of *ha* and *ta* ends in sharp tail, *tha* is formed of two hollows placed vertically before a horizontal stroke, *ra* is generally wedged while *bha* is rather peculiarly formed. Letters *ca*, *cha*, *ja*, *śa* and *sa* are yet to develop modern form. Some ornamentation is noticed in the formation of medial sign *e*. Further, Arthūṇā inscription (column 7) shows the form of initial *a*

which has begun assuming its modern shape, and the initial short *i* is represented by two dots followed by a sign like medial *u* while long *i* is denoted by three dots and a rightward hook in lower left, *ca* is distinguished from *va* in showing its loop angular, The letters *kha*, *gha*, *ja*, *bha* and *sa* are in developed or dēveloping forms while without horn *dha* still continues to resemble *va*. Jālor inscription (column 8) display initial *a* begin with a dome-shaped curve and *i* is in older form, letter *pa* and *ya* have often the matching form, *dha* continues its antique form without horn, *ra* is in transitional stage, and other letters are almost in developed Nāgarī form.

Giravaḍ stone inscription (column 9) represent antique form of initial *i* and *cha*, *bha* is in transitional form, while other letters shows developed counterparts in modern Nāgarī, whereas there is some ornamentation in the formation of medial *e*. As far the forms of letters of Ujjain inscriptions (column 10) initial *i* is formed by a horizontal stroke, with ends slightly curved below, in level with the top strokes, and subscribed by a sign resembling the medial *u*, initial *ai* is represented by adding a sign of medial *e* in the form of initial *e*, *ca* is occasionally distinguished by a triangular loop from *va*, but *bha* and *ha* are sometimes written ?!;ke in which the slanting stroke of the second of these letters is missing; the right limb of *ja* is yet to develop vertical form.

Sarpa-bandha inscriptions from Ujjain, Dhār and Ūn are of educational significance, also showing the high interest of the public in teaching and learning grammar. Of them, I have selected the Ujjain Mahākāla temple inscription (column 11) which dedicates the *varṇa-nāgakṛpāṇikā* to Udayāditya. This serpentine sword of king Udayāditya, intended to for the protection of letters or learning and social classes has been set up as a badge for the poets and kings. The inscription mentions that the string of poetic gems was composed by *vandhu* of the talented poets “*sukavivandhuna*”, presumably refers to king Naravarman himself, who appears to have composed the *praśasti*¹⁶. Lines 18–19 comprise the letters of Nāgarī alphabet, class-wise, each group being followed by a numerical indication showing the number of letters in it. Thus the number 14 in line 18 indicates the vowels from *a* to *au*, then the number 2 the *anusvāra* and *visarga*, and following it, again the number 2 is engraved at the end of the sign of *jihvāmuliya* and *upadhamānīya*. Line 19 consist the consonants from *ka* to *ha*, signifying their total number 51 at the end. The subtotal is also pointed out just after each of the groups. Line 20 of the inscription offers the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ṛ*, and *ḷ* and following these, in lines 20–22 the well known *Māheśvara-sūtras*. At

the end of *Māheśvara-sūtra* begins the *bandha*, was known as *varṇanāga-kṛpānikā*, which is, as expression indicates, a scimitar or a dagger formed by the combination of the letters and a snake (no. 25). The characters of the Mahākāla inscription (column 11) are beautifully written and deeply engraved. As far the individual letters is concerned, *ṇa* is devoid of dot, dental *dha* has begun to developing a horn, *ḍa* is formed so as to resemble *ra*, *ba* has a separate sign of its own that resembling a parallelogram. It is of noteworthy that in the alphabetical list letters *pha* and *bha* are in archaic forms while in lines 3 and 15 respectively their modern and developing Nāgarī form is engraved.

Kirāḍū inscription (column 12) displays the developed form of most of the letters, except the letters *ja* and *bha* which continue their old forms. Examples of wrong stroke of the chisel are occasionally to be noticed in the formation of *ta*, *da*, and *va*. Bhopāl inscription (column 13) display initial *a* begins with a semi circular form, first curved above and then bent below, *i* is in archaic circles and hook form, medial *e* of initial *ai* shows ornamental features, left limb of *ca* is triangular but yet to develop upper leftward extension, dental *dha* has developed a horn on its left limb which is in stroke or more developed curved form. There are some confusion in the forms between *pa* and *ya*, again in *ra* and *ca*. Letters *ja* and *bha* are in the process of development. Further development could be seen in the Māndhātā inscription (column 14) where *a* is formed by placing a curve below another and superimposed by a vertical stroke, *i* is formed of two loops placed side by side with a fine bend below and thus being almost as a precursor of the modern letter, *e* is formed by two curved horizontal lines with their ends joined and the initial *au* by joining the upper loop of *a* with the vertical by a bar, loop of *ca* is developing left stroke as in modern Nāgarī, and the initial top-stroke of *dha* shows a beautiful bend, represents developed stage, but *tha* is engraved as *vva* while *ja* and *bha* are in transitional form. Medial *e* is in both, top-stroke as well in *prṣṭhamātrā* form. Another Māndhātā inscription (column 15) displays the letters in developed forms. Initial *i* show a form which is precursor of the Nāgarī counterpart, initial *e* with its vertical not fully developed occasionally resembles the letter *pa*, and the initial *o* almost resembles the same symbol of inscription at the beginning. The initial *r* is in modern shape. The letters *cha*, *ja* and *bha* have almost begun to assume its modern form while others shown developed shape. Giravaḍ inscription (column 16) exhibit developed form of the signs of vowels and consonants, though the persistence of ornamental feature in the medial sign *e* is of noteworthy.

III

Like alphabets, the Indian numeral also reveals a history of gradual evolution. In ancient times, before the tenth century CE numeral notations were denoted in two ways-letter numerals and numeral figures of the decimal system. In letter numerals separate signs are used for the units, tens, hundreds and thousands. Other composite numbers are represented by the combination of units with tens, hundreds and thousands. This type of notation was employed exclusively up to the later part of the 6th century CE and thereafter sporadically survived alongside the decimal system till the 10th century CE. Very useful researches on the letter-numerals have been done by E. Thomas¹⁷, E. Clive Bayley¹⁸, Bhau Daji¹⁹, H. R. Kapadia²⁰, Bhagawanlal Indrajai²¹, G. Buhler²², G. S. Ojha²³, Awdhesh Narain Singh²⁴, Shobhana Laxaman Gokhale²⁵ and Om Prakash Lal Srivastava²⁶. The

Vowels Signs

Table I

Key	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
A	अ	ऊ	इ	ए	ऋ	ॠ	ऌ	ॡ	ऒ	ॣ	थ	द	ध	न	ऩ	र
Ā		आ	शा	आ	वा		अ	आ			अ	आ		आ	आ	आ
I	इ	उ	ऌ	ऍ	ऎ	ए	ऐ	ऑ	ऒ	ओ	औ		क	ख	ग	घ
ī				ऌ		ऍ				ऎ			ए			
U	उ	उ		उ	उ	उ	उ		उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ
ū			ऊ								ऊ			ऊ	ऊ	
R											र				अ	
E		ए	ए	ए	ए	ए			ए		ए			ए	ए	ए
Ai			ऐ							ऐ	ऐ		ऐ			
O											ओ				उ	
Au											अ			अ		

modern system of using nine unit figures and zero for all purposes of notation and calculation, arranged in decimal order seems to be of a later period. To the best of our knowledge, the earliest epigraphic instance of the use of the decimal notation is the Gurjjara inscriptions from Sankhedā of Cedi year 346 (CE 595). Here, neither I am going to deal with the typology, old and new of the numerals nor wish to enter into the controversy of numerals being evolved with the letter forms or independent symbols but have taken the general resemblance of the numeral signs with the letters of the period and trace the history of evolution of Nāgarī Numerals (table IV).

The sign of zero is circular in shape as in modern times. Sometimes it is oval. The earlier numeral 1 is denoted by a vertically placed stroke. In further developmental stage a hook, a knob or a small circle is added to the top of it. Out of them, small circular variety is accepted in modern Nāgarī. Sign for 2 is two parallel horizontal strokes joined by a third cursive stroke and added with a slanting stroke. Old form of the numeral notation 3 is formed with three parallel horizontal lines. In the first developmental stage right tip of the upper two bars slant to meet with the lower bar, which is extended to the right. The further developmental stage shows a form in which the right tip of both upper bars became cursive by which three limbs joined with each other. Finally, from the 9th century, upper two lines are shortened and form almost a double curved shape and a slanted tail is attached at the lower extremity. This form is retained in Nāgarī. The modern form of the sign for 4 occurs in 9th century, before that it was represented by a sign like letter *ka* or ligature *pka*. The numeral 5 is represented by a sign of letter *ja* or an upward curve with notched left limb. The next developmental stage shows the right limb forms a straight line, but left limb still is notched. Finally the right limb became straight and the left one cursive. From this form modern Nāgarī shape evolved in due course of time. The earlier specimens frequently show the letter form of *ja* for the numeral notation 6. In the further developmental stage, upper curve is turned to right and lower slanted stroke develops into a hook shape and finally both limbs of the vertical become cursive with a vertical tail. In tracing the development of Nāgarī numeral 7 it is observed that it was shown by a downward curve in the earlier period. In developing stages, the right limb of the curve extends downward, progressively turned to left in various degrees and finally prolongs upwards. To trace the developmental stages of Nāgarī form of numeral 8, earlier it is represented as a rightward curve, gradually upper portion become flattened with a downward slanted stroke, lower slant transforms into a rightward curve and finally upper flat

Key	Medial Signs										Table-III					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
A	प	ब	ई	द	र	डा	ण	म	ल	दा	वा	पा	का	दा	वा	मा
I	रि	ए	कि	ति	दि	दि	नि	वि	शि	मि	ति	नि	धि	नि	लि	रि
I	मी	शी	ली	पी	पी	शी	यी	वी	शी	णी	नी	दी	री	णी	शी	
U	गु	ख	सु	न	सु	नु	पु	रु	धु	पु	हु	गु	रु	कु	पु	
U	रू	सू	प्र	रू	र	मू	रू	सू	प्र	रू	रू	सू	भू	रू	सू	
R	ए	रु	शु	कृ	शु		ए	रु	शु	रु	हु	हु	कृ	शु	रु	हु
E	के	र	ई	से	वे	ने	मे	ते	दे	ख	वे	त	वे	ठ	ई	
Ai	के	ते	मे	शै	र	ति	के	ने	ते	के	वे	ते	के	ते	ते	वे
O	भा	मे	मै	को	ल	दा	मी	को	ली	ला	ल	र	रौ	मू	सौ	यो
Au	यो	ल	ई	दौ	के		ते	मौ	दौ			गौ	दौ	लू	णौ	कौ

In the Paramāras inscriptions several signs and symbols are to be found and very often we are not sure about the phonetic or symbolic value of these signs. Some scholars read the signs found in the beginning of the inscriptions as *siddham* and other prefers to read them as sign for *om*. There are also signs for *Jihvāmūliya* and *Upadhamānīya*. As for the punctuation marks, it is generally averred that the various modern signs of punctuation were not employed in the inscriptions, true to some extent. A *danḍa* or stroke is drawn to mark the completion of a sentence or a hemistich of a verse and two *danḍas* or strokes to indicate the completion of a verse. Some *maṅgalas* and ornamental signs are also drawn in the later portion; or at the end of the inscriptions. A very common sign of this description is a large circle with a smaller one in side.

Numerals Signs											Table-IV					
Key	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
0	०	०			०	०	०		०		०	०		०	०	०
1		१			१	१	१	१	१	१	१	१	१	१	१	१
2		२			२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२	२
3	३	३			३	३	३		३	३	३	३		३	३	३
4		४			४	४	४	४	४		४	४		४	४	४
5	५	५			५		५	५	५		५	५	५	५	५	५
6					६		६		६		६	६	६	६	६	६
7					७		७	७	७		७	७		७	७	७
8		८			८		८		८		८	८		८	८	८
9					९		९		९	९	९		९	९	९	९

Index of the Palaeographical Tables

(I-IV)

These tables contain sixteen columns, properly numbered. Each column bears vowel signs, consonant signs, medial signs and numeral signs of a class of inscriptions which are given below:

1. Harasolā Copper-plate Grant of Siyaka (Vikrama) year 1005 (CE 949), Harihar Vitthal Trivedi, 1978 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (CII): Inscriptions of the Paramāras*, Vol. VII-Part 2, New Delhi, no. 1, plate I.
2. Ganorī Copper-plate Inscription of Vākpatirājadeva: year 1038 (CE 981), *CII*, VII, no. 6, plates V-VI.

3. Vasantagaḍh Stone Inscription of the time of Pūṃapāla: year 1099 (CE 1042), *CII*, VII, no. 62, plate LXV.
4. Tilakwāḍā Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Bhojadeva: year 1103 (CE 1046), *CII*, VII, no. 15, plates XVI B–XVII.
5. Pānāheḍā Stone Inscription of Maṇḍalīka: year 1116 (CE 1059), *CII*, VII, no. 83, plate LXXXIII.
6. Jhālrapātan Stone Inscription of the time of Udayāditya: year 1143 (CE 1086), *CII*, VII, no. 22, plate XXIII.
7. Arthūnā Stone Inscription of the time of Vijayarāja: year 1166 (CE 1109), *CII*, VII, no. 90, plate LXXXIX.
8. Jālor Stone Inscription of the time of Vīśala: year 1174 (CE 1118), *CII*, VII, no. 96, plate XCII.
9. Giravaḍ Stone Inscription of the time of Pratāpasimha: year 1181 (CE 1124), *CII*, VII, Part 3, no. 187, plate XCIII.
10. Ujjain Copper-plate Inscription of Yaśovarman: year 1192 (CE 1135), *CII*, VII, no. 38, plate XL A; Ujjain Copper-plate Inscription of Jayavarman, *CII*, VII, no. 39, plate XL B
11. Ujjain Mahākāleśvara Temple Sarpa-bandha Inscription, *CII*, VII, no. 25, plate XXVII.
12. Kirāḍū Stone Inscription of Someśvara: year 1218 (CE 1161), *CII*, VII, no. 94, plate XC.
13. Bhopāl Copper-plate Inscription of Mahākumāra Udayavarman: year 1256 (CE 1200), *CII*, VII, no. 46, plates XLVI–XLVII.
14. Māndhātā Copper-plate Inscription of Devapāla: year 1282 (CE 1225), *CII*, VII, no. 51, plates XLIX–L.
15. Māndhātā Copper-plate Inscription of Jayavarman: year 1331 (CE 1274), *CII*, VII, no. 60, plates LX–LXIII.
16. Giravaḍ Stone Inscription of the time of Pratāpsimha: year 1344 (CE 1287), *CII*, VII, no. 82, plate LXXXII.

Notes and References

1. On the basis of the verse 24 of the Sanjan copper-plates inscription of Amoghavarṣa dated 871 CE (*Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, pp. 235–57), it has been concluded by Harihar Vitthal Trivedi, (1991 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, VII-1, p.2) that Govind III entrusted the charge of the administration of Malava to one of his vassals, who admittedly taken to have been Upendra, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty.
2. *Indian Antiquary*, VIII, p. 11.
3. Number within brackets indicates inscription numbers in Harihar Vitthal Trivedi, 1978 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum: Inscriptions of the Paramāras*, VII-2, ASI, New Delhi, 1978.
4. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 297.

5. It is believed that man to become a poet must equip himself with *vidyā* (learning) and *upvidyā* (auxiliaries). Rājaśekhara mentions in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (Gaekwad Oriental Series, p. 49) that grammar, lexicography, metrics and rhetoric constitute essentially '*vidyā*' or more precisely, '*kāvya-vidyā*', i.e. requisite learning for making poetry and the sixty four fine arts, for instance, painting, music, sculpture and so on. or '*upvidyā*' or accessories: '*nāma-dhātu-parāyana abhidhāna-koṣaḥ chandovicitiḥ alamkāra-tatraṇca kāvya vidyāḥ kalāstu catuḥsasthir upavidyāḥ*'.
6. In, any of the cases, the writings were done by the professional scribe of the court and the engravers incised the letters according to drawing, although sometimes the engravers themselves wrote the text on the plates or engraved the text without drawing the letters on them. The practice of writing the text of a document on the plates first in ink is clearly indicated by Kasiā copper-plate inscription, which bears 13 lines of writing of which only the first line is incised while the remaining 12 lines are written in black ink. In some records, the letters of which are painted on stone, the intention of engraving them at a later date remains un-materialized. This was meant to facilitate the work of engraving and also to ensure the correctness of the inscription. For detail see, D. C. Sircar, 1965, *Indian Epigraphy*, Motilal Banarasi-dass, p. 85; Arvind Kumar Singh, 1986 "Impact of writing materials on the evolution of Brahmi Script", *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Varanasi, pp. 133–40; and 2004 "Poets, Scribes and Engravers of Jejakabhukti: A study based on Candella Inscriptions", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai*, 77–8, for 2002–2003), pp. 161–70.
7. Very often expert craftsmen undertook the task of engraving. The lay public, though well educated, sought to avoid writing as the scribe's handwriting was distinctly superior. This is evident from the remark of Cānakya that even though written with utmost care the letters of a *Śrotṛīya* (Vedic scholar) like himself would be far from clear (*Mudrārākṣasa*, Act I) and he prefers the services of a scribe; and when the final draft is brought to him he admires the letters. For detail see, C. Sivaramamurti, 1952 *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts*, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, III- 4, (reprint 1966), pp. 32–5.
8. H. K. Bhattacharya (1959, *The language and scripts of ancient India*, Calcutta, pp. 113–4) has emphatically asserted that Brahmi cannot be called the mother of Nāgarī and that the latter has a different origin.
9. G. Buhler (1959 *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta, pp. 69–70) recognised the sign-manual of Gurjara princes of the 7th–8th century as first example of Nāgarī, while N. N. Vasu, (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, LXV, pp. 128–33) takes it back into 5th century CE.
10. David Diringer, 1948 *The Alphabet*, London, p. 357; D. C. Sircar, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIV, p. 161; J. Princep, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, VI, p.779; J. F. Fleet, *Epigraphia Indica*, III, p. 328; Buhler, G. 1959 *Indian Palaeography*, p. 68.
11. C.f. A. K. Singh, 1991, *Development of Nāgarī Script*, Delhi, fig., 4–5.
12. A. K. Singh, 2002, "Brāhmī alphabet in India and abroad (6th–8th century CE): Progress of modification", *Prāgdhārā*, no. 12, pp. 203–20.
13. D. C. Sircar, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXI, pp. 309–13.
14. J. F. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, XVI, pp.15–24.
15. A. K. Singh, 1996, "Progress of modification of Nāgarī alphabet as revealed by inscriptions of fourteenth–nineteenth centuries", *Prāgdhārā*, no. 6, pp. 189–222.
16. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXI, p. 26, n. 4.

17. "On the Dynasty of the Sah kings of Surashtra", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XII, pp. 32–47.
18. "On the Genealogy of modern Numerals", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, XIV, pp. 335–76 and plate.
19. "The ancient Sanskrit Numerals in the Cave Inscriptions and on the Sah coins, correctly made out; with remarks on the Era of Salivahana and Vikramaditya", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, VIII, pp. 225–33 and plate.
20. "Foliation of Jain Manuscripts and Letter Numerals", *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVIII, pp. 171–86 and plates.
21. "On the ancient Nāgarī Numerals", *Indian Antiquary*, VI, pp. 42–8 and plates.
22. *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 96–107 and plate.
23. *Bhāratīya Prāchīn Lipimālā*, Ajmer, 1918, pp. 102–27 and pls.
24. "On the Evolution of Alphabetic Numerals in India", *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, VII, pp. 42–53.
25. *Indian Numerals*, Poona, 1966.
26. *Uttara Bhārat me Añko kā Vikās*, Varanasi, 1986.
27. For detail see. Pratipal Bhatiya, 1970 *The Paramāras*, New Delhi, pp. 242–6.

Bibliography

- Bhatiya, Pratipal. 1970. *The Paramaras*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Bhattacharya, H. K. 1959. *The language and scripts of ancient India*. Calcutta.
- Buhler, G. 1959. *Indian Palaeography*. Indian Studies: Past and Present. Vol. I, Parts 1–3. Calcutta.
- Diringer, David. 1948. *The Alphabet- A Key to the History of Mankind*. London: Hutchinson's Scientific and Technical Publications.
- Gokhale, Sobhana Laxman. 1966. *Indian Numerals*. Poona: Deccan College.
- Singh, A. K. 1991. *Development of Nagari Script*. Delhi: Parimal Publications.
- Sircar, D. C. 1965. *Indian Epigraphy*. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass.
- Sivaramamurti, C. 1952. *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts*. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. III- 4, (reprint 1966).
- Trivedi, Harihar Vitthal. 1978. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum: Inscriptions of the Paramaras*. VII-2. New Delhi: ASI.

A KANNADA VARIANT IN SCULPTURE OF THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀNA

ANILA VERGHESE

The temple art of southern India is rich in sculptural renditions of the epics and purānas. This is true both of the temples of Karnataka as well as of Tamilnadu. The art historian Anna Dallapiccola (2011: 181) informs us that the “epics and the Purāna, especially the Bhāgavata Purāna, provided Indian artists with inexhaustible sources of inspiration. The artists incorporated and expanded on episodes which they felt were especially relevant for their own region, their religious and literary tradition. This resulted in many diverse renderings of the core story.”¹ Such variations that occur add to the interest of our study of narrative sculptures of southern India. In this paper we explore a local story that is inserted into the core tradition of the Bhāgavata Purāna, which delves into the life-story of Kṛṣṇa, one of the most important and popular *avatāras* of Viṣṇu.

The earliest carvings of the narratives of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāna occur in temples of the Early Cālukyas at Badami, Aihole and Pattadakal around seventh-eighth century AD. The tradition of narrative sculptures was continued by the Hoysalas (circa 1006–1306 AD): Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and *Kṛṣṇacarita* appear on the basement mouldings of numerous Hoysala temples. Such carvings are also found in the Cola temples of Tamilnadu. In general, in the early Cālukyan, Cola and Hoysala temples the reliefs of the epics and *purānas* are found on the basement mouldings. Occasionally, these three narratives, such as the splendid sets on the Amṛteśvara temple, dated 1196, at Amṛtapura, adorn the outer face of the seating arrangements, the *kakṣāsana*s, of the *mukhamāṇḍapa*. The tradition of carving reliefs of the epics, mainly the Rāmāyaṇa, and of the Bhāgavata continued during the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka periods (mid-fourteenth to mid-eighteenth centuries) in south India. In the placement of such reliefs there is now a major difference, namely they are found on the wall surfaces and not on the plinth mouldings.² Also, in temples of the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka phase narratives are no longer as ubiquitous as in temples of the earlier periods. Again, when they do occur, the *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives are more common;³ Bhāgavata narrative sculptures are also

found in a few monuments.⁴ However, narrative sculptures of the Mahābhārata are no longer as popular as they were in the earlier periods.

An exception to what has been mentioned above is the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Jambitige, which has detailed narrative carvings of both the great epics, and also of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, as well as some *sthala-purāṇas* etc. Jambitige is in the Chikamagalur district of Karnataka, in the lower reaches of the Western Ghats. The Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple is located within an *agrahāra*. The Jambitige *agrahāra* and temple are situated very picturesquely by the side of the Tuṅgā River, about one mile from Hariharapura on the Koppa road.⁵ The nearest pilgrim site to this little visited place is Sringeri. The Jambitige *agrahāra* has about fifteen Brahmin houses, of these ten are located in an enclosed double-storey structure of wood and tile with an open veranda all around at the ground level, facing inwards into an open courtyard in the middle of which is situated the small Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple (Plate 1). The Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple is in the Karnataka Drāviḍa style that became the dominant style in Karnataka during the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka periods. Unlike the majority of the temples of the Ghat region which are made of brick, timber and tile, the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple is built entirely of stone, although the surrounding *agrahāra* structure is of wood and tile. A Kannada inscription on the stone basement reveals that this tiny temple was built in 1733 AD.⁶ Jambitige is completely off the tourist track and the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple is rarely visited either by the art historian or tourist. However, in January 2009 I had the good fortune to visit this temple, which although rather nondescript architecturally is a treasure-trove of narrative sculptures.

The Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple has some interesting pillar reliefs, such as one depicting the origins of the rivers Tuṅgā, Bhadrā and Netrāvātī, and another of Siva as Tripurāntaka. However, its best sculptures are the narrative reliefs carved on the outer walls of the temple. There are a total of five large panels of narrative reliefs: two each on the south and north sides and one on the west. The themes carved are as follows: the south-east panel comprises seven bands or friezes of reliefs of the *Mahābhārata* story. The south-west panel has four bands of *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs. The west side panel comprises four tiers; the *Rāmāyaṇa* story continues from the south side on the lower three bands here; while on the top-most band there are some carvings of the Mahābhārata. The north-west panel has four friezes of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The north-east panel, which also has seven bands of sculpture, is unique in so far as we find here themes that, although

they occur in paintings, are extremely rare in sculpture: on the top-most band we have a representation of Kailāsa. The middle four friezes depict scenes from the kingdom of Yama. The two lowest tiers have narrative carvings related to the descent of the river Gaṅgā and the holy *tīrthas* located on this river; at the end there is also a depiction of the *sthala-purāṇa* of Gokaṛṇa. The quality of these narrative carvings may not be very high; however, the imaginative and vivid manner in which the scenes are rendered make up for that. Also unusual are local legends added in the depictions of the great stories of Indian tradition: For example, in the Mahābhārata narrative there occurs the story of Bhīma presenting to Dhṛtarāṣṭra a dummy of himself. The Rāmāyaṇa narrative opens with Dasaratha looking at himself in a mirror and his barber pointing out to him that he is aging, for some grey hairs have appeared on his head, yet he is still without an heir. Among the Bhāgavata narrative reliefs appears the incident of Vasudeva placating the donkey. The first two local legends, inserted into the well-known and much loved stories of the great epics, are outside the scope of this paper which focuses only on the last.

In the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa reliefs are carved in continuous narration all along the four tiers of the north-west panel. The narrative begins with Adi-Viṣṇu with consorts and attendants and the gods requesting Viṣṇu to rid the world of the demon-king Kaṁsa (Plate 2). The next scene is of the birth of Kṛṣṇa, in which the new-born baby is shown in the lap of his mother Devakī. In this tableau we also see Kaṁsa trying to kill the baby girl who has been exchanged for Devakī's son, but she flies up heavenwards; for in fact the baby girl whom he has cruelly done away with, thinking that it was the child born of Devakī, was a manifestation of the divine and indestructible Devī, who had taken the form of Yaśodā's girl-child in order to assist the gods in their plot to destroy the evil Kaṁsa through the *Kṛṣṇvatāra*. This incident is out of place in the sequence of events. For the exchange of babies has not yet been shown. In one corner of this scene of the birth of Kṛṣṇa we find Vasudeva holding on to the feet of a tethered donkey. This is the representation of a popular Kannada addition to the Kṛṣṇa story: when Kṛṣṇa was born at the dead of night, and this birth was to be kept a great secret in order not to invite the wrath of the evil king Kaṁsa, a donkey that was tied nearby began to bray. Vasudeva gave grain to the animal to keep it quiet and held its feet to prevent it from getting restless. This local story has resulted in a saying in Kannada, "one who wants something badly will even hold the foot of a donkey"!⁷ The Bhāgavata story continues in the tiers above: Vasudeva crossing the Yamuna with the baby Kṛṣṇa; the exchange of

Kṛṣṇa with the baby daughter of the sleeping Yaśodā; various pranks and exploits of the child Kṛṣṇa and so on. In the upper tiers the story ends with Kṛṣṇa pulling down Kaṁsa from his throne and the final scene of Rukmiṇī-*svayamvara*. Thus, we have here a fairly complete representation of this much-loved Purāṇa, with the local addition of Vasudeva placating the donkey at the birth of Kṛṣṇa.

The question in my mind, after the visit to Jambitige, was whether the story of Vasudeva placating the donkey to keep it from braying was a purely local, Ghat, tradition of the late-medieval period or if it was one with a wider provenance. Therefore, I studied the Bhāgavata reliefs in temples that were more or less contemporary to that at Jambitige, namely the temples of the Gowdas in and around Bangalore. In some of the latter, both Rāmāyaṇa and Bhāgavata reliefs are found. The main Bhāgavata themes in Gowda temples are the following: Bālakṛṣṇa stealing butter, Dāmodara, Gopikāvāstraharaṇa, Veṅugopāla and Govardhana-dhara; however, scenes relating to the birth of Kṛṣṇa do not occur. Also studied were the Bhāgavata narrative sculptures of the earlier period of Karnataka temple art in order to check whether this story occurred in any of them. In particular, I looked at such narratives in Hoysaḷa temples, some of which have extensive sculpted series of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, e.g. at the Hoysaḷeśvara and Kedāreśvara temples of Halebid and the Amṛteśvara temple at Amṛtapura. In the Kedāreśvara temple of 1219 AD, the Bhāgavata narratives, carved on a plinth moulding, begins with Adi-Viṣṇu and the birth of the Kṛṣṇa and ends with the destruction of Kaṁsa. However, the incident of the donkey is not found in the birth story. The Bhāgavata narrative sculptures at the Hoysaḷeśvara temple of the mid-twelfth, carved on a plinth moulding, are also fairly complete; however, some of the carvings of the birth of Kṛṣṇa seem to have been damaged. A fairly complete set of Bhāgavata reliefs, twenty-five panels in all, from the birth of Kṛṣṇa to his going to Mathura, are found in the Amṛteśvara temple. Here, once again the incident of the donkey was observed.

The Amṛteśvara temple is located in the small village of Amṛtapura, fifty kilometres south-east of Shimoga. This temple, which is an outstanding example of Hoysaḷa architecture and art, was constructed in 1196 by a general of the Hoysaḷa king Ballāḷa II. The *kakṣāsanaś*, or peripheral seating slabs, of the front columned hall of this temple are decorated with panels of Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata narrative reliefs. Models of temples with complicated towers are seen beneath these sculpted panels (Plate 3).

The narrative reliefs at Amṛtapura, though they are in continuous narration, are set in small panels separated from each other by pilasters. The Bhāgavata story commences with the birth of Kṛṣṇa. In the first panel, Devakī is seen lying on a bed in her palace. Below the bed are seen a cradle and a water pot. Devakī is attended by female servitors and armed male guards (Plate 4). In the next panel the birth-story continues. Devakī is seated on the bed, below which appear a cradle and water-pot; the new born baby is placed besides her; her female attendants and armed male guards surround her; they all look rather alarmed. The reason for this is probably the braying of the donkey, seen on one side, which would alert the wicked Kaṁsa. Vasudeva kneels before the donkey with his head down in an attitude of supplication (Plate 5). In the next panel the birth-story continues. In spite of all Vasudeva's efforts, Kaṁsa was obviously alerted about the birth of a child to Devakī. In this panel Devakī is shown seated on her bed (below which the cradle and water-pot are visible), with a child lying by her side; by her side is Kaṁsa who has seized the infant and is in the act of dashing it to its death; above him the triumphant *devī* flies skywards. The scene is one fraught with much tension and action, as seen by the three depictions of the baby. In the next panel, Vasudeva is shown carrying Kṛṣṇa across the Yamuna for the exchange of the baby Kṛṣṇa with the girl child born to Yaśodā.

It is very interesting to note that both at Jambitige and at Amṛtapura, the dashing to its death of the exchanged girl child, who is actually the divine goddess, by Kaṁsa presuming it to be the child of Devakī that is predicted to be the cause of his downfall, precedes the actual exchange of the babies. This has obviously been done deliberately in order to add drama to the story of the braying donkey that alerted Kaṁsa about the birth of the infant Kṛṣṇa, in spite of Vasudeva's desperate attempts to placate it with grain and to keep it quiet by holding its feet.

The presence of the incident of the donkey braying at the birth of Kṛṣṇa and of Vasudeva trying to placate it in sculpted narratives of the Bhāgavata story in these two Karnataka temples separated from each other not only by geographical distance but in time by nearly five and half centuries (for the Amṛteśvara temple is of the late twelfth century AD and the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple of the first half of the eighteenth century AD) and the great similarity in the two sculptural renderings, reveals that this story was a commonly held and popular one in the Kannada region. It provides a glimpse of the addition, both in

the oral and visual traditions, of local legends and stories into the great literary and religious masterpieces of Indian culture.

Notes and References

1. Anna L. Dallapiccola. 2011. "Rāmāyaṇa in Southern Indian Arts: Themes and Variations". *South India under Vijayanagara: Art and Archaeology*. Edited by Anila Verghese and Anna L. Dallapiccola, 181–93. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
2. Ibid, 181–2.
3. Ibid.
4. Anila Verghese. 2008. "Bhāgavata Purāṇa Reliefs in Two Vijayanagara Period Temples of Andhra Pradesh". *The Mirror of Indian Art: Kalādarpaṇa* (Krishna Deva Commemoration Volume). Edited by Devangana Desai and Arundhati Banerji, 106–13. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.
5. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Survey*, Report for the Year 1931, pp.12–13.
6. Ibid.
7. Information about this small, local addition to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa story was provided by a Brahmin gentleman from the Jambitige *agrahāra*. We are indebted to him for the explanations he gave in Kannada of all the narrative sculptures as well as other reliefs of the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple.

Illustrations

(All the illustrations are by the author unless mentioned otherwise)

Plate 1: Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple, Jambitige, 1733 AD

Plate 2: Bhāgavata Purāṇa Details, Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple (photo courtesy Purnima Srikrishna)

Plate 3: Amṛteśvara Temple, Amṛtapura, 1196 AD

Plate 4: Birth of Kṛṣṇa, Amṛteśvara Temple

Plate 5: Vasudeva Placating the Donkey, Amṛteśvara Temple

Plate 6: Kaṁsa Attempting to Kill the Baby, Amṛteśvara Temple



Plate 1: Nīlakaṅṭheśvara Temple, Jambitige, 1733 AD



Plate 2: Bhāgavata Purāṇa details, Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple



Plate 3: Amṛteśvara Temple, Amṛtapura, 1196 AD

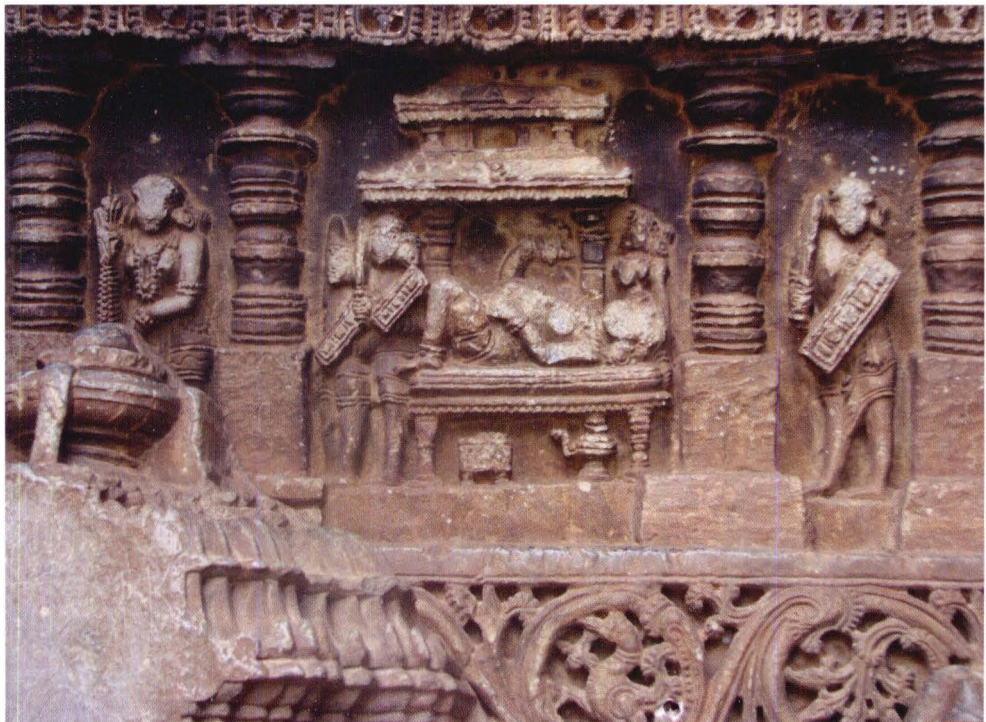


Plate 4: Birth of Kṛṣṇa, Amṛteśvara temple



Plate 5: Vasudeva Placating the Donkey, Amrtesvara Temple



Plate 6: Kamsa Attempting to Kill the Baby, Amrtesvara Temple

DHARMAŚĀSTRA AND MODERN AGE

M. L. WADEKAR

Introductory

The word *Dharmaśāstra* means the science of *Dharma*. The *Śāstra* is a science–methodical and systematic presentation of the visualized or experienced truths of a particular discipline. The word is derived from the root *śas* (2 *parasmai*) and is explained as *śāstīti, śiṣyate'nena, śāsti ca trāyate ca*, that which enjoins certain positive and prohibitive rules and regulations of a particular discipline.¹

The word *Dharma* has so many connotations that it can not be exactly translated in English. It is not simply the religion. The word religion has some limited connotation. It may be a particular system of faith or worship.² Some translate the term *Dharma* as Law, derived from *lege*, which means “I bind” which seems to be nearer and better word, but it is sometimes delimited by calling it by Hindu Law. The law is the body of rules, whether formally enacted or customary, which a state or community recognizes as binding on its members or subjects, in early use it meant– code or system of such rules.³ The comparison may be made with *Jus* (Latin), *Droit* (Italian), *Derecho* (Spanish), *Recht* (German) etc.

The word *Dharma* is to be derived from the root *dhṛ* (1 *Parasmaipada-dharati*, 6 *Ātmanepada-dhriyate*, 10 *Ubhayapada-dharayati-dharayate*) to hold, to sustain. As per the *Uṇādisūtra*⁴, When root *dhṛ* is enjoined with the *pratyaya man*, the word *Dharma* is formed. From this point of view, it is the underlying principle of everything that sustains the entity. It sustains, holds or protects the entity from destruction and decay. The Vedic principle of *Rta*– the permanent order that upholds everything or the Upaniṣadic principle of the eternal principle of *Ātman*, pervading and sustaining everything may be understood as the entity (*padārtha*), denoted by the term *Dharma*.⁵

This Vedic passage is significant from this point of view. The Mahābhārata⁶ has clearly echoed this in one of the famous verses, incorporating the most ideal and present day relevant definition of the word *Dharma*.

If the term is properly understood in this sense of preservation or sustenance, it has connotation that can be identified with the modern science of ecology, which aims at protection of the entire cosmos, incorporating the Nature, human beings and animals. The *Dharmaśāstra* enforces the ideal human behaviour for the said purposes. The other traditional definitions also ultimately lead to this final aim of *Dharmaśāstra*.⁷ Thus *Dharma* is that by the practice of which assures the personal and social good in this world and also spiritual upliftment.

The Modern World

The modern world is the world in which all of are living and experiencing in our day to day life. It is the fast developing world of science and technology. It is the world of globalization. It is the world of supercomputers, which can do wonders in life. Scientific discoveries and inventions have contributed to the greatest luxuries of life, but still there is search for physical health, mental peace, spiritual happiness. There are tensions, stresses, worries in individual and social life. These are regional discriminations, religious distinctions, communal disharmonies, social injustices, mental tortures and absence of equilibrium and disturbances in the environment. The uncontrolled extraction of sources of Nature has resulted in the unbalance in atmosphere. Man has surmounted the Moon and entering in the newer world, but is not able to know how to behave in this world. Man is rational and social individual, quite distinct from animal. His behavior affects his fellow human being, animal world, Plant and the entire natural environment. The inventions of destructive missiles are ready to destroy the entire world in a fraction of second, if handled by undeserving individuals. The human being needs to be trained as to how to live peacefully and to let others live in peace.

The entire narration leads us to the question of human behaviour. Man lives in this world. He behaves in a certain manner. It affects himself, fellow beings in the society and ultimately the entire world. The psychology is a science of human behaviour. It analyses and studies the good and bad behaviour of an individual. Sociology is a science of social behavior of an individual in relation to society at large, but *Dharmaśāstra* is science of ideal human behavior. It sets

some precepts of ideal behavior. *Dharmaśāstra* is Science of Righteous human behaviour. It enforces the rules and regulations, in other words, the code of conduct of an ideal human being. There are several definitions of *Dharma* as found in the different Smṛtis and systems of Indian Philosophy, including Mīmāṃsakas. Religion is a particular mode of worship for personal worldly wellbeing and spiritual upliftment. Dharma in its essence is for the stability of the entire world. It is also for the stability and wellbeing of all and all-round development and upliftment of the individual: Physical, Mental-Psychological and spiritual. It enjoins certain rules of action for good of all. The ideal human behavior is that which conducive to the happiness and peaceful living of the fellow beings, entire environment and the world. Right from the Vedic period, the Seers aimed at making the entire world the Aryas⁸- was one of our mottos. By becoming the leaders, the seers also aimed at awakening the entire world.⁹ Manu has also incorporates a grand concept that the human beings of the entire world should learn the code of conduct from the cultured social leader born of this particular region.¹⁰

The Ārya is one, who believes in the Supreme Natural Power and behaves in conformity with the precepts laid down. While the Dasyus, Vṛtra, Ahi, Vala etc. are those who do not follow such dictates and they try to trouble others by not allowing rivers to flow. When Indra with his thunderbolt kills them and lets the rivers to flow. Such evil-minded people are always there in the society, who try to trouble others. Ārya is a person, who behaves as per the rules of ideal human behaviour.¹¹

Ācārah prathamō dharmah (Manusmṛti 1.108), *ācāraprabhavo dharmah* are such proverbial statements enjoining the good conduct. The duties of the *Varṇāśrama* and the *sadācāra* are the main inquiries of the sages to the social reformers of those days.¹²

Besides the formal education students are to be trained in the discipline and are taught *śaucācāra* (purity). Besides, the *Varṇāśramadharmā*, the seers also enjoined the rules and regulations of personal hygiene (*niyamas*), which is by and large conducive to social health.¹³ By the practice of virtues of *yamas*, one can be free from psychological vices of *rāga*, *dveṣa*, *moha* etc. The *japa*, *dhyāna* and *Yoga* are meant for spiritual upliftment.¹⁴

The *saṁskāras* or sacraments are meant for the inculcation of virtues and removal vices.¹⁵ They are 48 in number relating to culturing the *sthūla*, *liṅga*, *kāraṇa* and

mahākaraṇa dehas- in fact, purifying, sanctifying and culturing the entire cosmos as it were. But this presupposes the existence of a permanent entity the Ātman. Śaṅkarācārya has referred to these forty-eight sacraments.¹⁶

Significance of *Vyavahāra*

Though these sociologists enforced the Mode of individual, religious and social conduct and Ideals/models of Moral conduct for personal and social good, it is but natural that there may be lapses in individual behaviour due to omission in observation or commission of mistake by transgressing of law, advertently or inadvertently. Moreover, there always has been a rivalry between the good-observers of rule and the evil- transgressing it. The Vedas talk of Dasyus etc. The Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣad starts with *dvayāḥ prājāptyāḥ / daivās cāsuraś ca*. The Bhagavadgīta explains the *Daiva-Āsura sampad* in the 16th chapter. All observe the law due to fear of *daṇḍa* (regulating power) of the king.¹⁷ He should see that all behave appropriately. It is his duty to punish them for non-observance or transgression of Law.¹⁸

The *vyavahāra* is also an important topic of Smṛtis. It comes from *vi + ava + hr̥*. It deals with the civil and criminal disputes.¹⁹ The disputes may be of different kinds. They are of eighteen kinds according to Manu:²⁰ 1) about debts- by whom, where, in what manner, rules about loans and recovery- debtor and creditor (daily, monthly, *cakravṛddhi-* interest on interest), 2) deposit, 3) sale by one not owner, 4) joint venture- partnership, 5) resumption of gift, 6) non-payment of wages, 7) violation of compacts or conventions, 8) repentance after purchase or sale, 9) master-servant, 10) dispute about boundary, 11) abuse or defamation, 12) beating, 13) theft, 14) assault, 15) having many wives, 16) divorce, 17) partition of ancestral property, and 18) gambling and prize-fighting: horse-race.

The rules of crimes and punishments can be compared with rules in the Indian Penal code. Several penalties and punishments are prescribed for the social justice. Yājñavalkya mentions punishment can be of four kinds- reprimand, reproof, fine and capital or corporal punishment (1.367). The bodily, psychological and Sexual crimes described by the Smṛtikāras are to be recorded under Indian Penal code ch. XVI as offences affecting the human body including 1) hurt, assault, kidnapping, sexual offence, 2) abuse or defamation, and 3) adultery with women. The crimes of Deception and adulteration in business recorded in the ch. Xii and Xiii of IPC are also mentioned in the Smṛtis. Under

the crimes relating to King and social justice as noted under IPC ch. Xi have also found place in the Smṛtis.

The burning social problems of civil nature are carefully considered, such as: 1) division of property (when it is to be done, how and to whom the property should devolve and is not to be given, portion to be given to mother, sisters etc., *strīdhana*, distribution of the property of a sonless), 2) divorce— in which circumstances the divorce is admissible, when can a person get divorced from his wife, what about her subsistence, when can a lady get divorced from her husband, and 3) adoption— under which circumstances adoption is possible, who can be adopted, the procedure for adoption. All these equally pertinent issues are considered by this part of *Dharmaśāstra*. The question of Ideal Judges, Advocates, witnesses, evidences, civil and criminal laws are minutely elucidated in a systematic manner.

Mental and Psychological Purification

The penalties and punishments are outward means and necessary for social justice, but real rehabilitation of the culprit is possible only through *Prāyaścitta* (mental purification by penance).²¹

Certain sins such as individual lapses that do not affect society, but the individual life only are to be clarified by Expiations. Individual observances like *Kṛcchra*, *Cāndrāyana*, *Japa*, *Dāna*, *Tīrthayātrā*, *Upavāsa*, *Pañcagavyaprāśana*— all are meant for the personal mental purification and rehabilitation.

Practice of Yoga

The practice of Yoga is enjoined for spiritual upliftment by all the prominent *Dharmaśāstrakāras* like Manu, Yājñavalkya, Devala, Dakṣa etc.

Rehabilitation of the Converted

Not only the purification of the oneself is enjoined by the *śuddhi*— purification of *artha* (wealth), *dravya* (objects) as also of those unfortunate individuals, made impure and willingly or forcibly converted to other Religions (*Mlecchīkṛtaśuddhi*).

Conclusion

Pt. Jagannath Gharpure²² explains the connotations of the word *Dharma* from several angles. To quote, “The religious man will see Dharma as divine law of God, the Ethical person will see it as inner principle that affords standards of good and evil, the lawyer will see it as law, as plan of protection of right and security, psychologist will stress tradition, common law and the social mind, the idealist will see it as ideal, the realist as the la behind the existent show of life, the practical mystic will see in it the force impelling to brotherhood, building the community and bringing about harmony in unity.”

Dharmaśāstra includes also Kalpasūtras such as *Śrautasūtras*, *Gṛhyasūtras*, *Dharmasūtras* and *Śulvasūtras*- all these four kinds of Sūtra works constitute Kalpasūtras. The *Śrautasūtras* are in fact Manuals of Vedic Sacrifices, while the *Gṛhyasūtras* are manuals of domestic Rituals. The *Gṛhyasūtras* are the first books, which incorporate the earliest descriptions on the *Vastuśāstra*. The *Śulvasūtras* are the first books of Indian Geometry.

Like Āyurveda, Vastuśāstra, Jyotiṣaśāstra and Karmakāṇḍa, the *Dharmaśāstra* is most relevant Science, which is definitely concerned with day to day life. The Hindu law and Indian Penal code are deeply influenced and primarily based upon it.

Notes and References

1. *Pravṛttir vā nivṛttir vā nityena kṛtakena vā | puṁsām yenopadiśeta tac chāstram abhidhīyate ||*- Śloka-vārttika of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, Śabdaparicheda 4; *yac chāsti vaḥ kleśaripūn aśeṣān santrāyate durgatito bhavāc ca | tacchāsanāt trāṇaguṇāc ca śāstram etad dvayam cānyatameṣu nāsti ||*- Nāgārjunakārikā 5.
2. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles, vol. II, p.1697.
3. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 1115.
4. *Artistusuhudhṛbhiksubhāyāvāpadiyaksinibhyo man-* Uṇādisūtra 1.1.45.
5. *Dharmo viśvasya jagataḥ pratiṣṭhā | loke dharmiṣṭham prajā upasarpanti | dharmeṇa pāpam apanudati | dharme sarvaṁ pratiṣṭitam | tasmād dharmam paramam vadanti |*- Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 10.79.
6. *Dhāraṇād dharmo ity āhur dharma dhārayate prajāḥ | yat syād dhāraṇasanyuktam sa dharmo iti smṛtaḥ ||*- Mahābhārata Śāntiparvan, 110.11.
7. *prānimām abhyudayaniḥśreyasahetuḥ sa dharmah | pravṛttirūpo nivṛttirūpaś ca jagataḥ sthitikāraṇam |*-Śāṅkarabhāṣya on Bhagavadgītā, introduction 1.1; *sukhārthāḥ jīvajantūnām matāḥ sarvāḥ pravṛttayaḥ | sukham tu na vinā dharmāt tasmād dharmam samācāret || ūrdhvabāhur viraumyaīṣa na ca kaścit śṛṇoti mām | dharmād arthaś ca*

kāmas' ca sa dharmah kim na sevyate // yato' bhyudayaniḥśreyasasiddhiḥ sa dharmah /- Vaiśeṣikasūtra 1.1.2; *devamanuṣyayor dvividhaḥ puruṣārthaḥ | abhyudayo niḥśreyasaṁ ca | tayoḥ abhyudayaḥ pūrvoktaḥ | dvividham niḥśreyasaṁ | sām̐khyayogāv iti | pañcaviṁśatitattvajñānaṁ sām̐khyam | viṣayebhyo nivartyābhiprete' rthe manaso' vasthāpanaṁ yogaḥ | etau sām̐khyayogāv adhikṛtya pūrvapraṇītāni viśālāni gambhīrāṇi tantrāṇiḥa sam̐kṣipyoddeśato vakṣyante //* Devalasmṛti 2201–10; *athātaḥ puruṣaniḥśreyasārthaṁ dharmajijñāsā /-* Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra 1.1; *abhyudayaniḥśreyasahetur dharmah /-* Budhaḥ 1; *codanālakṣaṇo' rtho dharmah /-* Mīmāṁsāsūtra 1.1.2; *vedapratipādyāḥ prayojanavad artho dharmah /-* Arthasaṅgraha p. 3; *na dharmādharmau carataḥ- āvām svaḥ iti | na devagandharvāḥ na pītara ācakṣate ayam dharmo' yaṁ dharmā iti /-* Āpastambadharmasūtra 1.20.6.

8. *Kṛtvanto viśvam āryam /-* Ṛgveda 9.34.5.
9. *Vayam rāstre jāgrayāma purohitaḥ /-* Yajurveda 23.9.
10. *Etaddeśaprasūtasya sakāśād agrajanmanaḥ | svam svam caritraṁ śikṣeran pṛthivyām sarvamānavāḥ //* Manusmṛti 2.20.
11. *Kartavyam ācaran kāryam akartavyam anācaran | tiṣṭhati prakṛtācāre sa ārya iti smṛtaḥ //* Apte, V. S. 1924. *Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*, 3rd edn. Bombay, p. 229.
12. *Bhagavan sarvavarnānām yathāvad anupūrvaśaḥ | antaraprabhavanānām ca dharmān no vaktum arhasi //* Manusmṛti 1.2; *yogiśvaraṁ yājñvalkyam sampūjya munayo' bruvan | varṇāśrametarānām no brūhi dharmān aśeṣataḥ //* Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1.1.
13. *Śaucācārās ca śikṣayet- Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1.15.*
14. *Ijyācāradamāhimsādānasvādhyāyakarmaṇām | ayam tu paramo dharmo yad yogenātmadarśanam //* Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1.8; *vedātharvapuraṇāni setihāsāni śaktitaḥ | japayajñprasiddhyartham vidyām cādhyātmikīm japet //* Yājñavalkyasmṛti 5.1.101; *ahiṁsā satyam asteyam śaucam indriyanigrahaḥ | dānam samo ddayā kṣāntiḥ sarveśām dharmasādhanam //* Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1.122; *dhṛtiḥ kṣamā damo' steyam śaucam indriyanigrahaḥ | dhīr vidyā satyam akrodho daśakam dharmalakṣaṇam //* Manusmṛti 6.92; *ahiṁsā satyam asteyam śaucam indriyanigrahaḥ | etam sāmāsikam dharmam cāturvarṇyebrevān manuḥ //* Manusmṛti 10.63; *athāstāv ātmaguṇāḥ | dayā sarvabhūteṣu kṣāntir anasūyā śaucam anāyāsaṁ maṅgalam akārpanyam aspr̥heti /-* Gautamadharmasūtra 1.8.23–24; *śaucam dānam tapaḥ śraddhā gurusevā kṣamā dayā | vijñānam vinayaḥ satyam iti dharmasamuccayaḥ //* Devalasmṛti 8; *śrūyatām dharmasarvasvam śrutvā caivāvdhāryatām | ātmanaḥ praktikūlāni pareśām na samācāret //* Devalasmṛti 50; *yamān seveta satataḥ na nityam niyamān budhaḥ | yamān pataty akurvāno niyamān kevalān bhajan //* Manusmṛti 4.204.
15. *Sam̐skāro nāma padārthasya guṇādhanam doṣāpanayanam vā /*
16. *Yasyaite' ṣṭācatvāriṁśat sam̐skārāḥ /-* Brahmasūtraśāṅkarabhāṣya 3.4.34; *garbhādhanam aho hi puṁsavanakam sīmantajātikriyābāmānādanacaulakopanayanam vedavratānyāpyatha | catvāri snapanam vivāhakarānam pañcāpi yajñāpy aho sam̐sthāḥ sapta ca sapta sapta gaditās triṁśad daśāpy atra tu // evam cānaśanena vedapāthanam karṇe japas tvom iti prānotkrāntir athaurdhvadehikam ataḥ sam̐vūhanam bhasmanaḥ | asthnām sañcayanam tataḥ param api śraddhāni sāpiṇḍakam catvāriṁśad iti smṛtau nigaditāḥ sam̐skārakāḥ hyaṣṭa ca //* Vidhānapārijāta, pp. 370–72.
17. *Daṇḍasya hi bhayāt sarvam jagad bhogāya kalpate /-* Manusmṛti 7.22.

18. *Yo daṇḍyān daṇḍayed rājā samyagvdhyāms ca ghātayet / iṣṭam syāt kratubhis tena samāptapraradakṣinaiḥ* // - Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1.359; *api bhrātā suto'rghyo vā śvaśuro mātulo'pi vā / nādaṇḍyo nāma rajñosti dharmād vicalitaḥ svakāt* // - Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1.358.
19. *Vi nānārthe' va sandehe haraṇam hāra ucyate / nānāsandehaharaṇād vyavahāra iti smṛtaḥ* // - Kātyāyanasmṛti- *ṛṇādānādinānāvivādapadaṇḍyaḥ nirākriyate'neneti nānāsamśayaharo vicāro vyavahāraḥ / prayatnasādhye vicchinne dharmākhye nyāyavistare / sādhyamūlas tu yo vādo vyavahāraḥ sa ucyate* //
20. *Teṣām ādyam ṛṇādānam nikṣepo' svāmivikrayaḥ / sambhūya ca samutthānam dattasyānapakarma ca // vetanasyaiva cādānam samvidaś ca vyatikramaḥ / krayavikrayānuśayo vivādaḥ svāmipālayoḥ // sīmāvivādadharmāś ca pārūṣye daṇḍavācike / steyam ca sāhasam caiva strīsaṅgrahaṇam eva ca // strīpumdharma vibhāgaś ca dyūtam āhvayam eva ca / padāny aṣṭādaśaitāni vyavahārasthitāni iha* // - Manusmṛti 4-7.
21. *Prāyo nāma tapaḥ proktaṁ cittam niścaya ucyate / tapo niścayasanyuktaṁ prāyaścittaṁ vidur budhāḥ* // - Kane P. V. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, p. 59. fn.
22. Gharpure, G. R. *Teachings of Dharmaśāstra*, p. 99.

REVIEWS

RELEVANCE OF THE TEACHING OF THE BUDDHA AS IN EARLY SCRIPTURES TO THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY. Edited by Kalpakam Sankarnarayan. Somaiya Publications, Mumbai. Pp. 382. Price- Rs.800/-. ISBN: 978-81-7039-279-8

The book attempts to deal with the teaching of the Buddha and its relevance as reflected in scriptures and to the contemporary society.

The work consists of sixteen exhaustive articles of different scholars. The editor has contributed six learned articles. Every aspect of culture expresses the ethical genius of that period and carries the spiritual fragrance.

The vast Buddhist literature is always a perennial source of wisdom. 'Dukkha' constitutes the most important point of the teaching of the Buddha. To overcome this, Buddha prescribed the practical ethical philosophy. Buddha taught universal truth and everlasting principles. His simple teachings in the course of time, turned into precepts. The editor has explained the term relevance. It is beneficial in today context. The editor has made explicitly clear that the term ethical value is used in place of spirituality.

The present volume provides an excellent account of Buddhist literature and has put forward the development of Buddhism, how Theravadin's concept of mind and taught the healthy attitude of humanity.

The book deals with many aspects of Buddhism and therefore it has included the review of Nikāyas, Suttas, Dhammapada Jataka literature, Aśokan inscriptions, modern Economics and Buddhism, Environment and inner Ecology, Management ethics as in Buddhist literature. All these aspects of Buddhism have been explained by giving multiple examples. Buddhist teachings have given a deeper insight in understanding human behaviour and this divine fragrance pulsates in this book.

In Aśokan edicts simple ethical norms have been propagated. The king in the fourteenth rock edict records that 'I am telling the principles of behaviour again and again, so its sweetness would increase'.

Buddha was not against family framework. In Uggahasutta Buddha was requested to advise the daughters of Uggaha, who were on the verge of getting married, how to conduct themselves after marriage. Buddha tells about the values and behaviour of married women as much as he has explained in Sigolavadasutta.

Buddha taught universal truths and ever lasting principles and therefore they could be applied even in today's life. For ordinary man the world is not an illusion but it is the manifestation of divine and the human divinity. The idea of *dāna* is explained in the article of modern Economics and Buddhism. How it is beneficial in today's context is fully explained.

Dhamma stands for eternal quality, morality, justice and virtues. The editor has shown how they play the vital role in the present situation of globalization. The life in modern times is marked by western ideas. There is a difference between greed and need which in Buddhist principle are desire and craving, therefore moderation is always desirable in everyday life.

In the article Environs and inner Ecology emphasis is given to increasing inner virtues. The term ethics means moral behavior. The principles of Buddhism have given a deeper insight in understanding human behavior. The editor has taken an intelligent account of all these principles and their relevance to the modern living concepts. For the protection of environment the Buddhist monks planted medicinal trees. Bhesajyapariskāra is giving medicine to give relief to sufferers and thus it was considered as an important factor in the accumulation of merit.

In ancient times the Buddhist monasteries and trade activities had close relations. Traders gave munificent grants to monasteries and monasteries promoted academic activities and participated in the activities of art and architecture and supervised the work which was under taken according to the Buddhist norms.

The present volume provided a new approach to Buddhist studies and has offered an excellent account of Buddhist literature. The book is a brief encyclopaedia of Buddhist scriptures. An index would have increased the value of the work. Even now a supplementary index to the volume could be published which would add its merit.

-Shobhana Gokhale

GOLD COINS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY. Edited by Sutapa Sinha. The Asiatic Society, Kolkata, April 2010. Pp. xiv + 138. Price-Rs. 2500 / US \$ 250.

Even if one was aware of the fact that most of the coin collection of the Asiatic Society of Kolkata had been transferred to the Indian Museum in 1866, one was expecting that it would still have a substantial holding of coins. The Asiatic Society, after all, is the oldest amongst various Societies in the world devoted to Asian studies. It was established in 1783, half a century before the Asiatic Society in London came into being. Besides, its collection was built by numerous donations and acquisitions of coins over a long period of time. The paucity of the gold coin collection, as revealed by the volume under review, therefore, is disappointing.

It is mentioned in the Introduction (p.1) that no records of the acquisitions of coins are available with the Society. So it is not clear as to how and why the 120 gold objects that are covered in the present volume remained in the collection of the Society even after the transfer of its numismatic collections to the Indian Museum following the Act XVII of 1866.

In 1997, the Council of the Asiatic Society decided to prepare a detailed Catalogue of its gold coins. The counting and the first inventory work was done in the same year under the supervision of Dr. Rita Sharma, the then Keeper of National Museum, New Delhi, Dr. P. K. Mitra, Keeper of State Archaeological Museum, West Bengal, and Sutapa Sinha, the then Fellow at Centre of Archaeological Studies and Training, Eastern India, West Bengal. Subsequently, Dr. Rita Sharma was entrusted the responsibility of compiling and editing the Catalogue. Due to her unfortunate tragic death in a train accident in 2008, the completion of the catalogue was delayed. Subsequently, Dr. Sutapa Sinha, currently Reader in the Department of Islamic History and Culture, University of Calcutta, was given the responsibility of writing the introduction and completing the catalogue. This she did and the Asiatic Society brought out the Catalogue, under review, in 2010.

The volume running into 138+xiv pages presents details and photographs of 120 gold objects. Of these only 104 including one broken half piece are coins. The remaining includes 7 tiny pieces of metal, 5 other metallic pieces, and 4 tokens. The bulk of the coins is South Indian and there too the Vīrarāya fanams alone constitute nearly 29 percent of the total coins. The coins are arranged as per

their dynastic affiliation and a brief summary of their respective numbers is as follows: Kuṣāṇa– 02; Pallava (Viṣṇukuṇḍin)– 01; Pāṇḍya– 02; Kashmir– 01; Telugu Choda: Bhujabala Series– 04; Western Ganga– 01; Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa– 03; Greater Ganga– 13; Gaja Series– 01; Yādavas of Devagiri– 03; Medieval Rajput–01; Alupas of Uḍupī– 01; Vīrarāya fanam– 30; Vijayanagara– 03; Successors of Vijayanagara– 05; South India (Unidentified)– 02; Star pagoda– 01; Bahmani– 01; Bijapur pagoda– 02; Mughal– 14; Ottoman Sultan– 05; Malay Sultan– 03; Durrani– 01; Venetian– 03; Unidentified broken– 01.

There are, however, some errors in attributions and some attributions are not as certain as proposed in the Catalogue. Accession nos. 1/6, 1/8 (pp.24–5) are called Pandyan Panam (or, fanam) probably on the basis of the fish motif which was the dynastic emblem of the Pāṇḍyas. But such a delineation of the fish motif, as seen on these two coins, is not seen on the Pāṇḍya coins. It is much closer to the coins of the Alupas, and in fact some such coins have been attributed to the Alupas (see G. Prabhu and N. Pai, *The Alupas, Coinage and History*, 2006, Pl. 17.10). Besides, the second coin (no. 1/8) weighing only 0.1 gm is a smaller denomination than the fanam. Five coins (accession nos. 5/6, 5/9, 5/10, 5/14, 5/16– pp. 87–91) are identified as issues of Successors of Vijayanagara. The type is, however, not known for any of the successors of Vijayanagara. Some scholars have, in fact, attributed such coins to the Hoysaḷas, who ruled before the Vijayanagara rulers (see K. Ganesh and Dr. Girijapathy, *Coins of the Hoysalas*, 1998, pp. 27–8; also M. Girijapathy's article in *Studies in South Indian Coins*, vol. xvi, 2006, pp.44–9). It must, however, be said that those who attribute these coins to the Hoysaḷas too have not adduced any cogent reason apart from the evidence of the provenance to substantiate their attribution. One coin (acc. No. 4/14– p. 94) is identified as a South Indian coin of an unknown ruler. It is a wrong identification. Such coins bearing the inscription *Sri/Sivasya* have been attributed to Śivadeva (c. 1098–1126 AD) of Nepal (see NG Rhodes, K. Gabrisch and C. Valdetaro, *The Coinage of Nepal from the earliest times until 1911*, London, 1989, pp. 51–2). Such coins have also been reported from Champaran in Bihar and were earlier attributed to Siva Simha of Mithila. The identification of accession no. 3/2 (p. 52) as a medieval Rajput coin also does not seem to be correct. It looks more like a South Indian coin. Further, coin accession no. 3/21 (p. 108) is of Shah Alam I and not Shah Alam II. The inscriptions are read correctly on coin no. 4/9 (p. 110) but in the heading the issuer's name is wrongly given as Shah Alam II; it is actually Muhammad Shah. Coin no. 3/13 (p.98),

attributed to Akbar, is too heavy at 12.2 gm. Besides its crude calligraphy also make it suspect; it may be a copy.

Finally, a few words about the lay out. One page each is devoted to all the coins. The coin images are in enlarged size though no scale of enlargement is provided. In fact, in case of smaller coins like fanams, the image appears too big. Though visually appealing, a lot of space could have been saved with a different lay out and without compromising on any of the details. This would also have helped reduce the cost and thus the price of the volume which is simply too high even for big libraries.

In the end, though the relatively smaller size of the gold coin holding of the Asiatic Society has come as a disappointment to the expectations of the students of Indian numismatics, one is happy to know at last what coins are there. For this the authorities of the Society and the Editor deserve our thanks.

-Amiteshwar Jha

IMAGES OF SKANDA–KĀRTTIKEYA–MURUGAN An Iconographic Study.
By HariPriya Rangarajan. Sharada Publishing House, Delhi, 2010. Pp. xiv + 268,
Black and White Plates 87. Price- Rs. 2700/-.

The author of the book under review places well planned lay out of the chapters, in her Preface, and proceeds to state the progress of her balanced arguments in the following chapters as she delineates the origin and evolution of the southern deity Muruka and its subsequent melding with the northern Skanda Kārttikeya.

In first chapter, the interesting factors regarding the parentage of the deity Skanda are brought out. The author observes the Vedic mentions about the similarity and proximity of the gods Rudra and Agni and that there is no anomaly when the parentage of the god Skanda shifts from the former to the latter. Their fierce quality is inherited by the offspring, in references to the god as a malefic *graha*. But this is a common quality in the evolution of a deity that he is ambivalent at this stage or becomes benevolent or protective as the cult evolves. The name Skanda, which is also one of the names of Śiva, is derived from the word *skanna* which means 'trickled down' or 'emitted', and not sperm as the

author mentions. She interprets II.2.1 as clearly denoting the Supreme Self as Kumāra. But this reference (Advaita Ashrama Publication, commentary of Sankaracharya, 1975) clearly states that it is the calf which is the vital force and its abode is the body. Nowhere is there a suggestion of Kumāra.

The second chapter traces the varied accounts of the birth of Skanda in the Epics and Purāṇas. In the Mahabharata there is a flux in the parentage till finally Brahma tells Skanda that Śiva and Pārvatī are his parents (3. 220. 8–10). Sincē this is the first instance of the creation of a god, though there are innumerable instances of the emanations of one, the confusion could be justified. In one episode, since Skanda is born for the express purpose of killing Mahiṣa, Śiva desists from killing the demon, remembering his son's role. Similar to Skanda attaining fixed myths by variations of his background, the Mahiṣa episode may have gone through earlier variations before being fixed to the goddess Durgā. Iconography supports the goddess' claim to the Mahiṣavadha, and there is not a single icon pertaining to Skanda's similar involvement.

The third chapter discusses the popularity of the god Skanda–Kārttikeya in literary mentions in Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina works of the 2nd–1st centuries BCE. Accepting the fact that the autochthonous cult must have been taken over by the Kuṣāṇas, there does not seem to be any proof of its earlier popularity as there are no terracotta or metal icons of the deity found anywhere, as in the case of the goddess cult. This chapter indicates clearly the cult's progress under various dynasties in the north.

In the 4th chapter, the important development of the fusion of the northern war god with the cult of the southern god of the hill territories is put forward. She puts forth the theory that the Adichanallur burials prove the god's antiquity. But these burials in urns which contained skeletons tied in the embryonic position along with the bronze figurines of a variety of domestic animals (amongst which is also the bison), and a mother goddess figure in gold fillet work would connect this find with the goddess cult, since cocks were also used for sacrifice. The urn particularly resembles the womb and the concept of mother Earth putting forth and taking back Life into her womb is an archaic one. While examining the spread of the Skanda cult southwards, she cites one of the causes as the southern migration of the Brahmins, and the change this wrought in the cult. It is to be remembered that Siva himself was of non-'Aryan' origin.

The reasons for the Brahminisation or the Sanskritisation of Siva and his family has various cultural, social and political reasons behind it and a study of this itself should throw up some interesting facts. As a corollary, the cult and the mode of worship undergoes a sea change. Rangarajan reasons that the Tamil Muruka came to be known as Subrahmanya when the Naga cult spread in the south and merged with that of Muruka, but she does not mention when and how this religious process took place. The name Murukan means 'the younger one, Kumāra'. Muruku from which Murukan is derived has all the meanings ascribed by the author to the god's name. In the book it is puzzling to see 'g' replace the original 'k' in the deity's name. This malaise has crept into popular Tamil misspelling of "Vināyaka" also with a 'g'.

The next chapter deals with the esoteric significance of the god, his form and weapons, etc. are discussed. The birth of the god in the pools of water reeds and thence his name as Śaravanabhava is of great cultic significance. The mantras arising from the various combinations of the letters of the name are considered to have great potency and of diverse efficacies. The subsequent chapter deals with the popular temples of the god under worship in the south and the few temples in the north. The next chapter explains the iconographical details of the god with appropriate quotations from the iconographical texts.

The 8th chapter has collected photographic illustrations from the Museums all over India as the author acknowledges with her useful comments highlighting certain aspects of each of these icons. The conclusion encapsulates what she had set out to accomplish. In the five Appendices that follow, devotees of the god would find interesting details. The *Subrahmanya bhujāngastotram* ascribed to Śāṅkara contains a few errors which corrected would be of help to devotees.

The book covers all aspects of the deity's origin and development with the background of references from a wide range of sources, as also from some with a devotional perspective. It should provide a springboard for further study of the topic by those whose interest may have been kindled on a perusal of this book.

-Indira S. Aiyar

PHILOSOPHY OF AESTHETICS. Edited by Parineeta Deshpande, General Editors Kalpakam Sankarnarayanan and Shubhada Joshi. Somaiya Publications, Mumbai, Year of Publication not mentioned. Pp. 119 + 14 plates (black and white) + 7 figure drawings. Price- Rs. 300/-.

The book under review is a collection of papers presented at the National Seminar to mark the golden jubilee year of Somaiya Vidyavihar.

Art is an activity by means of which man realizes his striving for beauty. The word aesthetic in singular means the philosophy of the beautiful/ art, a system of principles for the appreciation of the beautiful. Justifying our appreciation of any form of art may raise the question of the moral effect it has on the audience. But pure philosophical aesthetics is arid without the vivid enjoyment of a work of art. The key note address of this seminar sets the tone of most of the papers with an emphasis on the Indian view of the philosophy of aesthetics. There are two ways of characterizing our appreciation of art, according to various Indian aestheticians—the viewer and the viewed. But this duality ultimately ends in the experience where all differentiations dissolve and the unity of the viewer and the viewed is achieved. Thus the philosophy of aesthetics is a lived experience for the betterment of human existence. Further, Bhatt affirms that Truth and Beauty should be present in an eternally satisfying experience for it to be a permanent thing of joy.

Ookerji lays out the factors in Western music and explains the different kinds of religious music. He describes how these put together enhance the mood of the composition leading to the increased aesthetic appreciation of the listener. The next paper by Jetly sustains our interest such that even a lay person's attention is drawn by the arguments put forward in support of her objective to give an 'Integrated View of the Relationship among Morality, Knowledge and Art'. Though Plato distinguished between Beauty, Goodness and Truth, Jetly presents an integrated view of the subdivisions of each of the above, viz: aesthetics, ethics and knowledge. There is a structural unity between these. As humans we seek to be morally good, seek after knowledge and create and appreciate beauty. She ends her paper that if she were confronted with a question of choice between these she would certainly give primacy to beauty which makes a wondrous presentation of truth, making possible an eternal enjoyment of human nature and history.

There is a natural division between works that elicit aesthetic appreciation and those that do not. Ramanna accepts that it is impossible to have a set of rules which would cover all arts. To really appreciate a work of art it is necessary to have some understanding of the artist's "philosophy" in the context of his period; otherwise his work remains a work put together arbitrarily. The most important factor of course is the viewer's sensibilities. After presenting views on artistic representation/imitation, she concludes that a piece of art contains influences of politics, culture and religion of that period which justifies 'to some extent' the phenomenological basis of aesthetic experience which she finds crucial to justify the nomenclature 'art'. The next paper examines with various examples of figurative expressions (*alamkāras*) in Sanskrit literature. We learn an interesting piece of information that figurative language has been found to be used in our conversations in particular instances.

The topic of aesthetics has been discussed and dealt with from Bharata up to Jagannātha, with the former held as an authority on the subject. The *rasa* theory connects semantics, aesthetics, religion and metaphysics. According to J. N. Mohanty the *sthāyibhāvas* connect aesthetic theory to psychology and physiology.

Urmi Shah in her paper derives the word *rūpaka* which denotes drama from the word *rūpa* which means an object of vision, a visual spectacle in which the world *rūpa* is superimposed (*āropa*) upon the actors. After a detailed examination of the components of a play vis-a-vis the *rasas*, she cites the popularity of Sanskrit plays even today, when they are staged and appreciated.

Joshi examines various aspects and forms of *dhvani* (suggested sense) in the Sanskrit tradition, and observes that it makes an expression artistic and hence poetic art attains perfection in our appreciation. Meenal Kapadia analyzes the factors that make Ajanta paintings aesthetically beautiful. Meenal Katarnikar examines the importance of language (*śabda*) in classical Indian tradition in her paper. Like the 'chicken or the egg' theory our rhetoricians have argued whether the word meaning or the sentence meaning comes first. Naiyāyikas follow Kumārila's school of Mīmāṃsā which accords priority to word meaning and is termed the *abhihitānvayavāda*. Prābhākara school of Vedānta followed the theory that sentence meaning is prior to word meaning, and was called the *anvitābhidhānavāda*. It has been mooted that these two schools are thought to be the Indian equivalents of Frege's principles of composition and context. It has to be mentioned that this and a few weighty papers present thought provoking

subjects, but leave it to the readers to find a connection, however tenuous, to the main topic under discussion.

Ashok Ranade presents a refreshing discussion on ‘The Necessity of Aesthetics: Music’ He justifies the topic that critical assessments harmonizes creative efforts. There is no cultural homogeneity in any society, and a particular kind of music reflects the substratum of culture of that society. Further, each subsection of a society makes use of certain musical components out of its total repertoire. Despite this, he avers, there is a common song style underlying the music of the region, showing a unity of the entire community. Thus musical categories in India expose layers of individual creative minds which at the same time have varied quality-oriented structures underlying the life of the entire area. He goes on to list the categories of music. The astonishing number of categories only reflects the varied layers in the human personality. He next lists chief features of each category and his observation distinguishing between Confluence and Fusion music is very interesting. He concludes his paper with the comment that discussion of aesthetics should not be confined to classical music alone, but expand its scope such that all forms of our varied musical categories co-exist harmoniously, resulting in the enrichment of our cultural life which would lead to a better understanding of our country.

Badami in her paper brings to our notice the ongoing debate between the traditional style where an experience of the Ultimate is the objective, whereas the contemporary form tries to enlarge the repertoire by trying innovations in its contents Ganesh Rao surprises us with his statement that Patañjali’s *Yogasūtras* have a unique aesthetics of its own ‘as regards its structure, logic of ideas and content’. Emphasizing the spiritual objective of the work, he rightly laments the present emphasis of Yoga as a means to build a healthy and good body.

This collection of papers treats some facets of the vast topic chosen for discussion and succeeds in giving the reader a keener understanding of the subject.

-Indira S. Aiyar

BUDDHIST CULTURE IN ASIA: UNITY IN DIVERSITY. Edited by Supriya Rai, General Editors Ravindra Panth, Shubhada A. Joshi and Kalpakam Sankarnarayan, 2 Vols. Somaiya Publications, Mumbai, Year of Publication Not Mentioned. Pp. lxx + 414, + 61 Black and White Illustrations + 2 Maps. Price-Rs. 850/-

The two Volumes under review are a collection of Papers presented at the 5th Bi-annual International Conference in 2008. They are divided into sections covering different aspects of Buddhism, its past history in the countries where it spread, and its present position there.

Vatsyayan requests the Buddhist scholars to preserve and uphold the Sanskrit tradition of Nalanda, where logic and philosophy were honed to perfection. Ramakrishna Rao, in his interesting Address, tries to arrive at a cohesive framework for understanding consciousness, by extrapolating the varied thoughts in the different schools of philosophy. Buddhaghosha of the Theravada school used the concept of *bhavanga* which is 'the continuous subconscious medium subsisting in our subjective existence' to explain the different states of consciousness, as well as the progression of rebirths towards nirvana. Rao distinguishes between 'being' consciousness of *bhavanga* and 'knowing' consciousness of cognitive consciousness. Buddhist philosophy he states contains a blue print for the systematic study of the study of consciousness. The usefulness of Buddhist psychology in Psychotherapeutic procedures and the therapeutic value in mental stress, he feels is immense.

Ven. Heng Sure in his Address warns that as in the US, globalisation and multiculturalism will effect a sea change in Asian Buddhism. In unitary families where children live by choice, isolated lives, they have to learn from the Buddha's teachings the value of compassion, virtue, generosity and, ethical integrity.

In the section on Theravada Buddhism, Karunadasa contrasts the Buddhist guidelines for moral action with the rigid code of conduct that the Middle Eastern religions lay down. The Buddha refused discussions on the permanence or otherwise of the soul as he felt these had no relevance in solving the problem of sorrow in human existence and the moral discipline which will remove it. Kulkarni in his paper brings this out in his discussion on the *Pothapada Sutta* in the *Dighanikaya*. It is interesting to learn that in pre-Buddhist times the Buddha used the words *sukha* and *duhkha* from the derivative *kha*

which meant an aperture (the 9 apertures in the body), and also an axle hole. If the axle hole is good then the wheel aligns well with it - *su-kha*, and if bad, then - *duh-kha*.

The author Kalupahana refutes the Chicago school of social anthropologists' nomenclatures of 'Little' and 'Great' traditions of Buddhism in South and South East Asia. In Ceylon at least, the monks followed the Theravada system whether they were educated in Pali or not; the laity followed the Sinhalese translation of Nagarjuna's tenets based on the early teachings of the Buddha. Rajeshwari Ghosh, in the section on Art and Architecture, brings out a new fact in the paintings in the Kizil caves in Kucha on the Silk Road. A mural here shows the king Ajatasatru fainting on hearing the passing away of the Buddha. Certain mss. found in Afghanistan mention the patricide of the king though there is no other literary mention to support this. Ghosh states that to match a painting to a literary source, belonging to a particular school is difficult. But, she infers that the major influence in these murals was the *Mulasarvastivada* tradition.

In the 8th paper, Cheng Mei Ku discusses two political works of Nagarjuna: *Suhrlekha* and *Ratnavali*. Nagarjuna is said to have influenced the Satavahana king Vasisthiputra Pulamavi to build and worship Buddharaja Maitreya in Caityas. The concept of the king as a *cakravartin* also started around this period. Further, the author avers that this same Nagarjuna was also the founder of the Vajrayana cult. Many eastern countries saw in Avalokitesvara a founder and protector of kingdoms, as he came to symbolize royalty. The last paper of this group narrates how in China Guanyin as he was called underwent a startling transformation in the 10th century, and by the 16th century he changed into the goddess of mercy. What is even more intriguing is that the Miaoshan legends which stabilized Guanyin as conforming to the Chinese model of divinity gave women an ideal to follow by refusing marriage and continuing their religious practices either at home or, in a *Saṅgha*.

Coming to the second Volume, under the Mahayana Buddhism heading, there are a few papers where the authors recount the state of Buddhism, past and present in their respective countries. Some are happy and full of confidence, while others are despondent at the present state of the religion and hope for an improved future.

In his paper, Gokhale compares Nāgārjuna's approach to language and logic with that of Dharmakīrti. While the former felt language tends to distort and present an erroneous picture of fact, the latter stated that language, using *anumāna* and *pramāna* can help in reaching reality. Ven. Prajnalankar Bikkhu presents an interesting fact that Buddhism at present practiced in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is Vajrayāna, under the custodianship of *Raulis* who claim to be the followers of Rāhula, the Buddha's son. There is no historical support for this claim. There is a Table appended enumerating the sacred texts of this clan, along with their meaning and usage. Sarao (21st Paper) observes that the Buddhist *vihāras* in Sind were concentrated along the Trade route to the Sind ports. Violence against these *vihāras* was politically motivated he states, and supports this with the local history. In certain cases Buddhists tended to side with Arabs against the Hindus because it was monetarily profitable to do so. When these Buddhists converted to Islam, the monasteries naturally fell to disuse, and the monastic system disintegrated. As against this we see that the resistance and resilience of Hinduism helped its survival right up to today!

In an interesting paper Sharrock reasons on the imposition of Buddhism in Angkor by Jayavarman VII. There are numerous motifs of Garuḍas and Nāgas, in the temples he built. We learn a new symbolism that Nāgas are a bridge between the mundane and the heavenly worlds. Vajrapāṇi was thought to be a powerful protector of those converting to Buddhism, and along with Garuḍa defended the faith. The author concludes that both these icons were very popular in that period and they fuse into one in some representations in Jayavarman's temples. This leads to the idea that the Garuḍa form of Vajrapāṇi gave protection to those who entered the temple precincts. The last section has some informative papers ending with one on the popular Vipassanā system of meditation by Chaudhary.

Though the Buddhist teaching had spread over a vast terrain, it did not seek to change the existing religion of those places, but was inclusive of the local beliefs. This resulted in the Dhamma having a variety of interpretations; but the set of papers presented here seek to show the strong undercurrent common to all these versions. Repeatedly the Papers bring out the current relevance of the Buddha's teachings and the need for us to follow these tenets so that the tensions across political borders are obliterated and we are fused into one coherent caring ideal of tolerant humanity. The two volumes cover a wide range of topics under

the umbrella of Buddhism, and should be on the 'must read' list for scholars on Buddhism.

-Indira S. Aiyar

GAÑITASĀRAKAUMUDĪ BY THAKKURA PHERU Edited with Introduction, Translation and Mathematical Commentary. Edited by SaKHYa. Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi. Pp. 278. Price- Rs. 995/-

Gaṇitasāraakaumudī (GSK), the text of Indian Mathematics is composed by Thakkura Pheru in the first quarter of the fourteenth century in Delhi. He came from present Haryana state and belonged to Srimal Jain community.

Though not much known about Pheru's early life and education, still his studiousness is judged from the *saptagranthas*, including GSK composed by him. Moreover writings on varied subjects enlighten his practical experience in the trade of gems, perfumery articles, in minting and money exchange. When the Muslim rule was established (12th Century AD) in Delhi, the Sultans continued with the then existing system of coinage, for which cooperation of Srimal Jains was sought. As Pheru belonged to this community he was readily appointed by Ala-al-Din Khalji around early fourteenth century. There he remained for long during which his writing skill was in bloom.

The present edition of GSK is due to the efforts taken by the editors Sakhya, which is a group name suggested by Tako Hayashi, one of the members of the group of scholars working on Sanskrit texts in astronomy and mathematics in the ancient city of Kyoto of Japan. The four scholars Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, Takanorikusuba, Takao Hayashi and Michio Yano chose Thakkura Pheru's GSK for critical study and met every week during the year 2002. The text by Agarchand Nahata and Bhanwarlal Nahata published in 1961 was used for this purpose.

The group met beyond six months to translate the Sanskrit text, write mathematical commentary and prepare a draft for publishing. Prof. Hayashi acting as a team editor put together individual inputs and prepared a press copy.

The fruitful outcome of this struggle is the present GSK that is 'Moonlight Essence of Mathematics', published in 2009.

It is claimed that besides procedural mathematics or *Pati-Gaṇita*, Pheru inserts some diverse topics from daily life where numbers play a role. In doing so, his aim was to produce a practical manual useful for professionals like bankers, traders, accountants, contractors, masons etc. who are concerned with reckoning. While writing for GSK Śrīdhara's (991AD) *Pati-Gaṇita* and *Triśatika* so also Mahāvīra's (9th Century AD) *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha* were sources of inspiration to Pheru.

The first three chapters of GSK provide fundamentals of algebra along with plane and solid geometry. The fourth and the fifth chapters contain supplementary material of different nature based on contemporary life. The editors feel that these additional topics might enable the readers to visualize the living conditions of the society around Delhi.

Next chapter speaks about the Muslim sultans, who had cultural bonds with the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, intended to introduce innovative architectural structures. Therefore Pheru provided mathematical rules so that the site supervisors would be able to estimate the building material.

The editors exerted hard in doing the commendable job of arranging the matter systematically, interpreting Pheru's formulae and algorithms in the modern notation and providing the parallel references from other authors. They have subdivided the matter in four parts as:

- a) Pheru's life, works and mathematics of GSK;
- b) Pheru's Sanskrit text in five chapters;
- c) English version of the text;
- d) Mathematical Commentary.

How Pheru differs from the other authors is judged from his algorithm for the rules of 5, 7... etc. His method consists of arranging in pairs of quantities in two vertical columns, with an additional quantity (unknown) in one of them and then dividing the product of longer side by the product of the shorter side for the answer. Incidentally Hon. G. K. Gokhale, in his well known book on *Arithmetic* (second edition 1898), puts the quantities in joint proportion, as a middle step before the division.

So also Prof. N. H. Phadke follows the same technique of Hon. Gokhale while explaining the verses 81, 83 and 85 of Bhāskara's *Līlāvātī* in his book *Līlāvātī Punardarsan* (1971). Next where there crops up commercial value of a group, of same kind of living beings, being inversely proportional to their ages, Pheru's illustration involves the selling price of camels depending on their ages. Whereas Bhāskara's verse 81 of *Līlāvātī* speaks for the sale of sixteen year old slave maiden, who fetches more price than the older one, as an inverse rule of 3.

Pheru's method for proportionate distribution of the gain of capital amount invested by two or more partners in the business exactly agrees with the verses 93 and 94 of *Līlāvātī* which is shown equally extended to loss in business as well as to the mixture of gold of different carats.

Now about some unusual topics in GSK are presented here such as, procedure for piling, sawing, mound of the grains placed on the even ground and erection of walls. Thereby Pheru lays down the rules for calculation of volume. Before constructing a wall ascertaining the volume of wall space especially for estimating building material for different types of unusual structures like minarets, domes, *ghumats*, arches was necessary. This was imperative because while Pheru was writing GSK, Ala-al-Din Khalji constructed a dome with pointed arrows called *Alai Darvaza* in Delhi in 1311 AD. In all these case rules are jotted down for the net volume of walls excluding the space of windows, doors or empty space occupied by arches in case of bridges. Along with this Pheru considers columns with circular cross sections, square spiral stairways and cylindrical wells. In case of sawing, while explaining how to (i) obtain the number of planks out of a log of wood (ii) judge wages for sawing, Pheru does not ignore the hardness of the timber. For heaps of grains, rules are given subject to the mound piled (a) against a single flat wall (b) (i) inside (ii) outside of a corner of two walls. In his book, Prof. N. H. Phadke explains verse 223 of *Līlāvātī* by drawing six different diagrams, showing ground plan of heaps as well. Relevant to shadows the rules for finding the height of a pillar together with the formula for calculating the time of a day from the shadow are given.

The chapter four includes (i) Region (ii) Cloth (iii) Magic Squares and (iv) Miscellaneous Topics such as (a) offering of flowers at the temple (b) meeting of two runners (c) mind reading and so on. Pheru's intention of making region an item of discussion seems to teach *Dera-legha-Paddhati*, which probably means 'Regional Method or Manner of local writing and calculating'. Further the method of converting dates from Vikram era into that of Hizri era and vice-a-

versa is given. Such a transformation from one system chronology into another was supplied by Loka. B. G. Tilak's guru Prof. Kerunana Chhatre (1824–1884) by compiling *Kālasādhānācī Koṣṭake*, that is tables changing *Tīthi* (day) of Indian almanac (*Pañcāṅga*) into the date of Gregorian calendar and vice-a-versa along with the day from the known date/*tithi*. In case of cloth, Pheru mainly deals with the stitching of tents of different sizes, as the tent was an asset to Muslim rulers while on tour or encamping during warfares. The Magic Square (MS), not at all touched by any of the earlier authors, described here in eight verses mention three types subject to odd, even and evenly odd depending on the number of cells on each side of a square, followed by one method of construction with one illustration each for the first two and an example of the last one. However, for MS of 'n' cells or MS of order 'n' Pheru does not record the formula $n(n^2+1)/2$, for the constant sum that makes the square magic. This chapter ends with miscellaneous topics.

Although Pheru's name appears in verse 5.3, it is presumably claimed that the fifth chapter—Quintet of Topics—did not belong to the original GSK, because it deviates from the material that constitutes GSK, and several of the foregoing verses are repeated here. Still readers will come across mere lists of (i) the annual produce per *bighā* of many crops in Delhi and Haryana region (ii) quantities of products obtained from sugarcane juice and (iii) quantities of oil seeds, also butter and ghee produced from milk. The section of regional tax has a bearing on price regulation and tax reforms introduced by Ala-al-Din Khalji.

This is in brief what GSK presents. The rigorous scanning done above, informs the readers that Pheru gives more prominence to the problems of money matters rather than the procedural mathematics. Naturally Pheru's purpose of it being useful as a working manual might have been served during that period.

As an article of this kind has its limitations, so the readers are advised to go in its entirety for the full grasp of the subject.

Lastly but not the least the pains taken by the editors in handling the tedious job of presenting Pheru's work in a language easy to understand is appreciative/appreciable and praiseworthy.

-S. P. Deshpande

ŚRĪNIDHIH (Prof. Shrikant Shankar Bahulkar's Gratitude Volume). Edited by Shripad G. Bhat, Shilpa Sumant and Ambarish Vasant Khare. Saṁvidyā Institute of Cultural Studies, Pune, 2009. Pp. 4 + lxxvi + 563 + 8 Plates. Price- Rs. 500/-, ISBN: 978-81-920907-0-2

Śrīnidhiḥ is an articulation of gratitude for Prof. Shrikant Bahulkar, Retd. Professor of Sanskrit, and Head and Dean, Shri Balmukund Lohia Centre of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, India to felicitate his 60th birthday.

As clearly mentioned in the editorial, adhering to the professor's wish the contributors are only his students who have really worked for one complete year to give justice to the topic in hand. So it is a combination of 18 articles titled as 'Memorable moments' and 31 research articles. While sharing with the readers the unforgettable moments of their Guru, some of the Professor's students have penned their feelings towards him in poetry too. In addition to this, we find an editorial, curriculum-vitae of Prof. Bahulkar and a lively bi-lingual article on him by his close friend.

The 31 research papers are divided in three sections on the basis of the medium i.e. Sanskrit, English and Marathi. The subjects vary from Vedic and Buddhist Studies to Ayurveda and Ancient Indian Art.

The first section comprises of four articles written in Sanskrit. It includes topics like discussion on etymology by Dr. Ravindra Mulay and a detailed description of the Darśapūrṇamāsa ritual by Mr. Parashuram Paranjape.

The English section forms the major component of the research articles of this volume. Prasad Joshi has attempted to support the idea of late creation of the Atharavaveda with the help of its linguistic attributes in his paper 'Peculiar forms of the Atharavaveda Saṁhitā.

A paper entitled 'The Śāntiyudakavidhi in the Atharvavedic tradition' analyses the concept and use of pacifying water in all the important Atharvavedic texts like Kauśikasūtra, Keśava's commentary etc. This comprehensive paper is written by Julieta Rotaru.

Next paper is 'The Savayajñas' by Ambarish Khare. It may be said that this paper appends some more facts to the detailed study of the Savayajñas by J. Gonda. It focuses on the re-arrangement of the sūtras by Keśava in his

Kauśikapaddhati. It shows the possibility of assimilation of mantras from the Paippalāda Samhitā to the Śaunakīya one.

Shripad Bhat has focused on the secondary meanings of the mantras according to the Mīmāṃsā-perspective in his paper entitled 'Gauṇī Vṛttiḥ'. He has explained the Gauṇī Vṛtti with the help of the concepts like *Tatsiddhi* (accomplishment of purpose), *Jāti* (origin), *Sārūpya* (similarity), *Praśamsā* (praise) and *Bhūma* (large numbers). He clarifies that Guṇavṛtti becomes important when the sense of a word or mantra yielded by *mukhyārtha* or primary meaning is useless.

Shilpa Sumant has written on the topic Mitādipūja in the Atharvavedic tradition. This paper points out the incorporation of Hindu practices in Vedic rituals. The author has mentioned the similarity between the deities like Mita etc. and the Lokapālas-Dikpālas etc. The paper also explains the Paippalāda method of worshipping these deities. The explanation about these deities and their worship reminds one about importance of Gaṇeśa-worship and his epithets in Maharashtra.

Manjiri Bhalerao discusses about the standing *yakṣa* figure from Pitalkhora caves nominated as Saṅkārīn by its excavator with reference to the text Mahāmāyūrī. She also cites other opinions about Saṅkārīn. Per contra, she correlates the figure in question with the Pixies from Scottish mythology on the basis of their pointed ears.

Although not divided on the basis of subject-matter, this volume contains a group of six consecutive papers on the Buddhist studies. We find a paper entitled 'Marketing Morality: The Economy of Faith in Early Indian Buddhism' in the beginning of this group which is written by Andy Rotman. It is based on many stories from the Buddhist text called Divyāvadāna. In this interesting paper, the author elucidates the notion of moral economy or market morality where money and morality do mirror each other. Further he explains 'faith' as an imperative for being a Buddhist. However, he concludes the paper by highlighting the futility of both money and faith for the monks who desire to obtain nirvāṇa.

As the name itself illustrates a paper namely 'A Bibliography on Bhāviveka, the Madhyamakahrdayakārika and the Tarkajvāla' is an updated list of publications regarding the above-said text, commentary and author. This paper

is written by Chikafumi Watanabe. Papers like ‘Language and Social Justice: A Buddhist Perspective’ by Mahesh Deokar and ‘Mahāvṛyutpatti: The first Bilingual Lexicon’ by Lata Deokar are also worth mentioning.

‘Pañcakośa: Śārīra-Nidāna-Cikitsā’ by Prama Joshi is a noteworthy paper from the last i.e. Marathi section. She expounds the principles of Āyurveda with the help of Advaita Vedanta theory in the first half of her paper. The second half consists of the importance of the *vāyu* or wind element for the human body both physically and spiritually.

These comments on only a few papers are indeed representative. There are several other papers—that are equally interesting—written by, for example, Nirmala Kulkarni, Roy Tzohar, Hiroshi Nemoto and Andrea Pinkney. All the articles in this volume seem to be a genuine effort towards research work though not all the contributors belong to the research field. Except some typographical errors, the editors deserve to be congratulated on this volume.

-Mugdha Gadgil

THE GEOPOLITICAL ORBITS OF ANCIENT INDIA The Geographical Frames of the Ancient Indian Dynasties. By Dilip K. Chakrabarti. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010. Pp ix + 198. Price- Rs. 650/-. ISBN: 9780198069898

Animals build tools of offence and defence in their bodies as per the requirements of the environment. It is not only the wild animals that develop sharp nails, strong fangs and jaws, but also innocent looking animals and birds develop crane like necks, skin with changing colours and even insects become capable of injecting dangerous chemical fluids for their own defense; in fact for survival. Man develops extra-somatic tools with a similar objective in his mind and adjusts with the environment around. This much is for the preliterate man. In fact environment and his survival instincts induce man change his life style; domestication of animals and plants are examples of this.

It was because of this or similar reasons that a group of Scholars, F.J. Richards followed by OHK Spate, must have thought in terms of the

geographical factors that shape history. The latter in the case of India conceives in all four divisions viz. i) Indus Valley, ii) Hindustan, iii) Peninsula south of Narmada and iv) the North East (F. J. Richard had earlier proposed four zones in order of size like a) the Gangetic plain, b) the South , c) the Krishna - Godavari Delta and d) Gujarat).

Dr. Chakrabarti is absorbed in understanding this theory for a long time and on the basis of his archaeological understanding came to a conclusion that such an approach is nothing else but a geographical determinism. Instead of trying to identify the recurring patterns of political forces or dynasties seen working in given geographical orbits, it is better, he thought, to examine closely the range of geographical possibilities of regional power centres of various periods. He emphasizes the need of understanding closely the web of inter-regional interactions of these political units within the pan -Indian geographical limits. For want of the precise archaeological data about the capitals and small centres in the form of detailed excavations and study of the historical geography as understood from the inscriptions, only general observations can be made on the basis of location of major trade centres, distribution of various raw materials and broad alignments of trade routes he observes.

It was only twice that India experienced a pan-Indian rule, when the Gangetic Doab played an important role, during the Maurya (B.C. 320–187) and the Gupta rule (A.D. 320–530). Otherwise the different orbits in the north, south and the west had own areas where they extended their influence and rule. Twice again in the history of India Oxus- Indus orbit played an important role: when the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas in initial centuries of Christian era, and the Turks at the turn of the first Millennium, spread their field of influence in northern and Western India.

Dr. Chakrabarti traces Political history of India from the oral tradition of the Vedas and Purāṇas, obviously because we are in the dark about the history of the Harappan times. The Gangetic orbit of early India was replaced by the Oxus-Indus orbit during the Achaemenid period, (when Gandhāra and Indus become part of their empire). The Gangetic orbit comes into prominence again during the Mauryan period with three sections those of a) Doab to Oxus- Indus, b) Pāṭalīputra to Avanti, and the third being c) Kāśī to Deccan.

II

After the disintegration of the Mauryan empire (c.187 BC), because of the inroads of Bactrians, Parthians and central tribes there was resistance in the West, the Deccan and the East in a form of Satraps, Sātavāhanas and Khāravēla. A similar situation again arose after the Gangetic orbit established itself in the form of Gupta rule (c. AD 320–530) and as a result Pratihāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Pālas (c. AD 800-1000) emerged as important powers. Dr. Chakrabarti draws a parallel between the emergence of Maratha power in (17th Century) and that of Sātavāhana in 2nd / 1st Cent. BC, after decline of Maurya Śuṅga power in the north. In the case of the decline of the Gupta power in Gangetic Doab, he observes that smaller but strong kingdoms arose all over north India.

What Dr. Chakravarti wants to convey is that certain orbits seem to be becoming powerful at given times and exerting influence, outside the orbit, as major orbits like Oxus-Indus and Gangetic Doab orbit often seem to be doing. Within the orbits there are sub-orbits that seem to be getting activated. Within Deccan there are sub orbits, For example like Yādavas of Devagiri, Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudram, Kākatīyas of Warangal, Śīlāhāras of Sthānaka (Thane) and Kolhapur. In short the limits of geographical units of royal dynasties were not rigid in fact they were very much fluid. A factor that contributed to such a fluidity were trade centres, resources of raw material such as timber and spices, semiprecious stones, spices and other commodities in demand, trade routes that joined the areas of demand and centre of supply. Even if the areas through which these trade routes passed were difficult because of terrain (like thick forests,) these became viable. Dr. Chakrabarti thus has made a very valid point in favour of economic conditions that induce political units in a given geographical set up, to cross the natural barriers and play a dynamic role.

But a more vigorous consideration of the economic history would have made the argument of Dr. Chakrabarti more forceful. Long distance trade is one of the ten criteria of urbanization put forth by V. Gordan Childe and as is known plays an important vote in the formation of the state. Recent Studies in the economic conditions of early Historical Deccan have shown that merchants of Gangetic Doab along with Buddhist Bhikkhus have played seminal role in the urbanization of the Deccan; and indirectly such an internal trade, along with the maritime trade, had played a significant part in the political relations of Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas and Sātavāhanas in the first two centuries of Christian era. Similarly one is reminded of the seminal work done by Moti Chandra in the fifties of the

last century (*Sārvabhāva*, Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, 1956, English version-Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India (1977), Abhinav Publication, New Delhi) wherein he has discussed in detail the main trade routes and their history through the ages. If Dr. Chakrabarti would have put to scrutiny the data therein, his arguments would have been understood in a better way.

There is another dimension to the economic history as understood through archaeological remains of the historical period, or as the part of the framework of the Indian History. Damodar D. Kosambi while pointing out the lack of academic rigor in the contemporary Indian Historical Studies pointed out that Indian History till at least the fifties of the twentieth century was studied either from the colonial point of view or as reaction to it from the national point of view. It is therefore proposed in his paper 'six stages of history' from the Marxist point of view. This framework and arguments were further refined by R. S. Sharma who traced the roots of feudalism, to the Śūṅga-Sātavāhana period and propounded that feudalism emerged during the Gupta period, matured and continued in the later medieval period. For this hypothesis Dr. Sharma used literary (ancient *Dharmaśāstras*, *Purāṇas*) and archeological evidence. Kosambi used the evidence from anthologies (esp. *Subhāṣita-ratnakośa* of Bhikṣu Vidyākara of 8th Cent. AD) to fortify his evidence. Dr. Sharma's main argument is that in the post-Kuṣāṇa period, and due to the troublesome situation India's commercial relations with outer world were snapped and due to the slack in Indian economy, feudalism took roots in India during the Gupta period. Prof. Dhavalikar further adds that the de-urbanization and deteriorating socio-political conditions resulted more due to environment, i.e. drought conditions that were faced all over the world. He strengthened his arguments with data from archeology (explorations and excavations) as also evidence of poor environment as conditions. If Dhavalikar has modified the feudalism model, Champakalakshmi has shown that peninsular India at least is an exception to it. B. D. Chattopadhyaya who has studied the emergence of smaller new states, does not accept the interpretation of land grants that came in a large number in the Post Gupta period; and asserts that the new smaller kingdoms emerge because of the rise of Kṣatriya castes other than the traditional ones, and legitimizing of the new ones.

The observations made above would show that Economic History, state formation and environment also are factors that would have to be taken into

consideration in order to understand relations between geographical factors and political units or dynasties.

In his book Dr. Chakrawarty has taken a review of a sizable period covering more than 1500 years of Indian History. There are some minor details which Chakrabarti seems to have overlooked such as concepts of *sāmrajya*, *bhaujya*, *svārājya*, *vairājya* and *pārameṣṭhya* as also *sārvabhaumatva* connected with different types of states / kingships that inspire Yayāti to divide his kingdom into five regions ruled by his five sons, including Puru who seems to be the Parameṣṭhin of the above scheme. These concepts already appear to be in early Brāhmaṇa literature (like Aitareya).

These concepts are important as these have a geographical significance. There is another dimension of geographical factors that goes with language and dialects. Sanskrit was something like a lingua franca, but the popular speeches (Prakrit) are known by geographical units. Examples are Māgadhī, Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī. Apabhraṁśa that followed these Prakrits appears to be similarly Pan-Indian but the *Desi bhāṣās* are enumerated in the Kuvalayamālā a religious didactic story (8th Cent. AD). Most of these dialects are associated with geographical units. Every cultural system, i.e. language subsistence pattern, economy social institutions, religion has a unique relationship with environment.

Richards, Spate, Schwartzberg had put forth their own understanding about geographical factors and political units earlier. It was necessary to reassess and to take a review of the concept after the publication of the volumes in *The History and Culture of Indian People*. Dr. Chakrabarti has done this and let us congratulate him for that. This monograph would definitely stimulate young Scholars to make more comprehensive contributions on this interesting subject.

-A. P. Jamkhedkar

IMITATIONS IN CONTINUITY Tracking the Silver Coinage of Early Medieval India. By K. K. Maheshwari. IIRNS, Anjaneri, 2010. Pp. 319. Price- Rs. 2400/-

Imitations in Continuity– Tracking the Silver Coinage of Early Medieval India is a revised version of K. K. Maheshwari's thesis on 'Indo Sassanian Coins'

submitted successfully to the University of Mumbai in 2008 for the degree of Ph.D. Since their first publication by James Prinsep in 1835, Indo Sassanian coins are known in plenty through various published and numerous unpublished hoards and stray finds and present a plethora of countless varieties and sub-varieties which have been confounding scholars for long and have defied satisfactory attribution and specific chronology. To work on such a vast subject is in itself a very challenging task. Maheshwari deserves to be appreciated for taking up such a complicated and challenging topic for his research and accomplishing it not only satisfactorily but with great success.

The author has reviewed all the important studies undertaken on Indo Sassanian coins in India and abroad during the last more than a century and a half and introduces the subject by giving a historical perspective leading to the introduction of such coins by the Hunas as imitations of Sassanian king Sjahapor II's coins. It goes to the credit of Maheshwari to establish for the first time that the earliest imitations were introduced by the Mer tribe in the Ajmer region, known after them as Merwara in Rajasthan thus establishing a firm beginning for the introduction of the series. He has recorded the finds very meticulously and sifted the whole material very judiciously classifying the various types and varieties supported by epigraphic evidence and metallgraphic analysis. The coins illustrated by him in his catalogues well present the data on which he has based his arguments. It must also be pointed out that many of the coins listed by him are also from private collections like those of Jan Lingen, John Deyell, R. Bhat and others, not known to most of the numismatists earlier. And here lies his originality. This work illustrates the largest number of Indo Sassanian coins of various series, divided into groups and varieties, presented by any author till now. Maheshwari's classification and steps of development or devolution of a series are well attested by visuals presented in the Catalogues supported by the figures / line drawings hinting at even the minutest changes and details. The numismatists know very well the difficulty of sifting the material from innumerable coins many of which lie in the different hoards and collectios. Having studied the coins and hoards from different regions Maheshwari has successfully distinguished the various series which circulated in different regions. His analysis of the motifs to show their evolution or devolution, getting them assayed for mettalographic analysis, bringing out their distinctive features and visual presentation makes it an ideal study accomplished rarely by research scholars in India.

This excellent piece of research is well substantiated with the help of 9 maps, 13 tables, 23 charts, 153 text figures and 1759 coins listed in 39 catalogues, many for the first time. The comprehensive bibliography at the end indicates the large number of sources tapped by the researcher.

Technically sound and rigorous in methodology the work shows critical and analytical acumen of the author, his originality of approach, studying numerous unpublished hoards and holdings and presentation of the data in a very logical way. It illuminates a hitherto somewhat dark period of Indian history revealing many interesting and fascinating facts which throw welcome light on a chaotic age and ensemble. Beautifully printed on art paper and presenting an enjoyable reading it will surely remain a standard reference and model work on the subject for a long time to come.

-Devendra Handa

SOUTH INDIA UNDER VIJAYANAGARA Art and Archaeology. Edited by Anila Verghese and Anna L. Dallapiccola. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011. Pp. 326 + numerous photographs, illustrations and maps + 3 tables. Price: Rs. 1450/-. ISBN: 978-0-19-806861-7

The book is a collection of 24 essays on various aspects of the Vijayanagara Empire. It is divided into two sections, Hampi-Vijayanagara and Vijayanagara City and Empire. It documents the multidimensional and interdisciplinary work in the past thirty years by dedicated scholars.

In the excellent and concise introduction, Anila Verghese has given an overview of the subjects covered by the book. A fairly recent trend, interdisciplinary and collaborative, namely, the material-cultural approach to Vijayanagara Historiography, is used here. It focuses on material remains (monuments, sculptures, pottery, carvings on the rocks) and gleans from them information regarding organisation, structures of power, beliefs and religious practices and many other aspects. For example, triple tiered authority is seen reflected in temples sponsored by Imperial government, territorial chieftains and wealthy trading guilds. The textual material is used to support and corroborate the conclusions so reached.

Section I has twelve chapters. Each chapter is written by a specialist in the discipline. The first, by Carla M. Signopoli, outlines the template for Interdisciplinary scholarship. The subsequent chapters provide an incredible variety of aspects of the present study. The eminent scholar and administrator M. S. Nagaraja Rao provides an overview of 25 years of Archaeological work at Hampi. John M. Fritz describes the Hampi Archaeological Atlas Project. Kathleen D. Morrison concentrates on the Vijayanagara Metropolitan Region. Nalini Thakur discusses the case of Hampi as a guideline for responsible heritage site management. B. Saratha Chandra outlines the conservation of cultural heritage. Abha Narain Lambah discusses the Public-Private Partnership in Conservation.

George Mitchell discusses the earliest photographs of Hampi, and rues the unbridled development and illustrates a photograph showing a beautiful brick tower capping the small chariot shaped shrine with stone wheels. The tower has since disappeared.

S. Rajasekhara in discussing inscriptions related to Monuments at Vijayanagara, cites an amazing variety of places, language and periods from which over 400 inscriptions are available for analysis. These include label inscriptions, inscriptions from pre-Vijayanagara period temples, some from Rāṣṭrakūṭa and late Cālukya periods. One instance is the tall *mānastambha* set up in front of the *basadi* which contains an inscription in Sanskrit and records the construction of a *caityālaya*.

Anna L. Dallapiccola analyses the sculptures on the great platform at Vijayanagara. Phillip B. Wagoner describes how the Cālukyan past is retrieved, through an example of relocation of the stepped tank in the Royal centre.

Anila Verghese talks about the sacred topography of Hampi Vijayanagara. Diverse aspects such as natural features, foundation myths, Rāmāyaṇa traditions are discussed, as also weaving of local deity Pampā with Virūpākṣa-Pampāpati, shifting prominence of cults with dynasties such as Śaiva Saṅgamas (1336–1485) and Sāluva (1485–1505) and Tuḷuva (1505–1565) Vaishnavas. She makes an important observation that after the Talikota defeat, indigenous cults survived, imported ones disappeared.

Section II highlights gleanings about organisation and structures of power. Alexandra Mack looks at temple inscriptions as a rich documentary of

social and political changes and display of power and wealth and varying incentives. Sadāśivarāya, the last king to rule from Vijayanagara, gave only one endowment whereas local rulers gave 18, which can be considered evidence that power was shifting away from the centre. Between 1450 and 1700, there was a marked increase in construction of shrines dedicated to local goddesses and concurrent decline in the construction of Śiva temples. This may have been a means by which local traders and landed sub-castes consolidated their control locally.

The development of *Gopura* in south Indian temple art is analysed by Anila Verghese. Anna L. Dallapiccola explores Rāmāyaṇa themes in south Indian art. John Henry Rice finds assertion of autonomy in architecture of the of 'Kanara' coastal zone. The area was important for international trade (e.g. war horses from Arabia and Persia) and communications link, and this is reflected in the distinct identity of architectural style.

Purnima Srikrishna while discussing the art, architecture and philosophy of the Vidyāśaṅkara temple, has illustrated the unusual iconography through photographs of the *adhishthāna* which show *Yogins* on scorpion, fish, snake etc.

S. K. Aruni has concentrated on the Art and Architecture of the Yelahanka Nada Prabhus, also known as Gowdas of Yelhanka. Examples listed are 8 forts and many temples including the Ulsoor temple with a variety of episodic sculptures. In addition to the usual Rāmāyaṇa themes, Girijā Kalyāṇa and Bhāgavata Purāṇa and Navanāthas are also portrayed.

Richard Shaw has focussed on Śaivite Ascetic Iconography. He calls the Śrīśailam *Prākāra* wall 'single most important sculptural archive on asceticism' in south India. Crispin Branfoot points out changing norms reflected in changing depictions of Kings, donors and elites in temples from round 14th–18th century; small low reliefs gave place to life size images, in the round.

Brigette Khan Majlis has studied the Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa images on Textiles and Monuments of South India. Anna Dallapiccola has pointed out the inclusion of subjects like Soldiers with muskets with non plug bayonets in Vijayanagara and Nāyaka paintings. Barbara Mears looks at coinage of Vijayanagara as a tool for propaganda and power. The last chapter by Choodamani Nandagopal provides a retrospect of Vijayanagara art.

The book provides an excellent template for the study of one area or style or dynasty studied by many scholars, providing a much more complete picture, bringing out aspects hitherto unnoticed in the traditional studies.

-Kumud Kanitkar

NOTES ON NEW FINDINGS

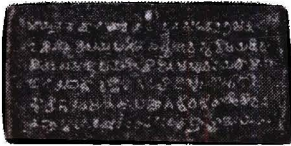
A NOTE ON THE COPPER PLATES OF UNKNOWN DONORS

Shobhana Gokhale

This is a preliminary report on two sets of copper plates which have come to light recently. One of them has been reported from the city of Nashik and the other has been reported from Ozar, Dist. Nashik.

- 1) Copper plates from Nashik: This set of two copper plates was reported by Mr. Prabhakar Pagar and Mr. Mahendra Sonawane. These plates were preserved traditionally in the family of Mr. Prabhakar Pagar, originally a resident of Pathave Digar, Taluka Baglan, District Nashik, now settled in the city of Nashik. The details are as follows:

Plate 1 –



Size: 16.1 cm x 8.5 cm x 0.4 cm
gms

Weight: 126

Plate 2 –



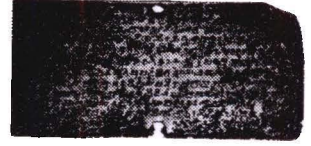
Size: 15.7 cm x 8.2 cm x 0.5 cm
gms

Weight: 86

The preliminary study of the plates reveals that the present set is incomplete and the first (and last?) plate/s is missing. The set records the donation to a “*Karahātaka-brahmana*” of Bharadwaja *gotra*. As the first (and the last) plate /s are missing it is difficult to get any information about the donor.

- 2) Copper plate from Ozar, Dist. Nashik: A photograph of a single copper plate has been reported from a small village Dist. Nashik. The photograph was

received long back by Mr. C. N. Parchure of Bharatiya Itihasa Sankalan Samiti, Pune, from Mr. Pramod Kulkarni in 1992. Mr. Kulkarni had visited the house of Mr. Sitaram Pawar resident of Ozar. When he saw the copper plate kept in the domestic shrine of Mr. Pawar, he took a photograph and gave it to Mr. Parchure. Mr. Pawar told Mr. Kulkarni that there were two more plates belonging to the same sct. However their whereabouts were not known then. As only the photograph has been received the details of the plate in terms of its size and weight could not be known.



A further study of these plates is being carried out with Manjiri Bhalerao, Ambarish Khare and Kalpana Rayarikar.



A NOTE ON BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM VASAI-SOPARA

Siddharth Kale, Suraj A. Pandit and Manjiri Bhalerao

Total Two Inscriptions in the area of Vasai-Sopara (District Thana, Maharashtra) were brought to the notice of Siddarth Kale by local people, while one of the inscriptions is reported by Suraj A. Pandit with the help of local people at Sopara. One of the inscriptions is highly weathered and reading of those can not be given here. Though this is so, Manjiri Bhalerao has given the reading of two other inscriptions. All the Three inscriptions are fragmentary and written in Brahmi Script.



Inscription I

The inscription is probably in Sanskrit language (though it is really difficult to draw any conclusion on the basis of this fragmentary evidence). This inscription is engraved on a rectangular stone in two lines. This inscription seems to be a fragment of an original longer one. The inscription can be placed

palaeographically in the 5th century CE. On the basis of the decorated shape of the letter 'vi'. The vowel is shown in the form of a circular ring as also noticed in the Matvan copper plate of Madhyamasena. Anusvāra is clearly visible and is shown on the top of the letter instead of showing it to the right of it. This feature is also seen in the inscriptions at Kuda. The reading could be-

... ye ..bhume..ha sa ...

..nan sa ..(?) bha vi...

This seems to be the only epigraphical evidence from Sopara-Vasai region which can be dated to 5th century CE.

Inscription II

This inscription when found was up side down and the photograph of the same which is provided in the same position. Whereabouts of the inscriptions are not known as only photograph was provided. The inscription is written in two lines in Brahmi Script. It was said that the inscription was seen in the Vasai Fort lying on the ground near entrance. It is quite possible that it was brought there by people of Archaeological Survey of India from the neighboring region. Paleographically this can be dated to 3rd-4th century CE. It resembles to few Kanheri and Kuda Inscriptions. The script is more ornamental than seen at Junnar. The Anusvāra is given on the top of the letter instead of giving it in front of the letter. This feature is noticed in some of the inscriptions at Kuda. The reading could be



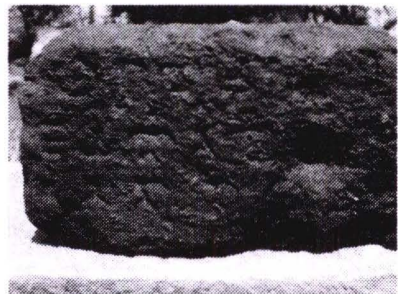
.....Pya..... gha no nda....

ka ra ha ba (?) rsa gan (?) tha ...

The inscription is mutilated and only partially available. Further exploration in this area might reveal some more fragmentary inscriptions.

Inscription III

There is one more inscription reported from the same region. This inscription is highly weathered. It was written in three lines. It was found lying in the vicinity of the Vasai



fort, when it was reported. Paleographically this seems to be more or less contemporary to the other two inscriptions.



**A SHORT NOTE ON THE EXPLORATIONS AT THE SITE OF CHANDHORE,
DISTRICT RAIGAD, MAHARASHTRA**

Kurush F. Dalal

Introduction

The Ancient Temple complex at Chandhore (18° 09' 52" N; 73° 11' 02" S) is situated near the hamlet of Chambharpada at Chandhore Village, Tal Mangaon, Dist Raigad, Maharashtra. The site was discovered during explorations carried out by a joint team of members from the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies (CEMS), University of Mumbai and the India Study Centre (INSTUCEN), Mumbai.

These explorations were carried out in March 2011. The exploration team comprised: Shri Dhananjay Karnik, Smt Mugdha Karnik, Dr Abhijit Dandekar and the author ... joined ably by Shri Karnik's maternal aunt Kunda *maushi* (and her extended family) who had first informed the team about the site.

The Site

The site is located less than half a kilometer to the east of the modern village of Chandhore, opp the hamlet of Chambharpada. This site is essentially a cluster of Temples/Temple Plinths and lies close to the coastal site of Diveagar and the medieval port sites on the Rajapur Creek. It is presently located along the very road that leads from the interiors of Maharashtra to the Rajapur creek and eventually the coast. It thus lies on one of the most viable trade routes in this region.

The ancient site is made up of a complex of temples/temple plinths and assorted structural and sculptural members. The temples include a single temple (Temple 1) with an adjacent tank/step well on the northern side of the road and two more temples (Temples 2 and 3) on the southern side of the road.

Temple 1 is flanked on its northwest by a small stepped tank/well cut into the laterite bedrock and on its northeast by a *nandimandapa* with a broken Nandi image. All that is presently left of the temple is a disturbed squarish plinth with two clear layers of dressed laterite blocks. The plinth is partially buried. The Tank/step well is located to the northwest of the plinth. The well, which was probably also the quarry for the laterite used in the construction of the temple, is square in shape with a narrow flight of steps leading into it. The steps are cut along the well's southern wall and they extend outwards from the southeastern corner of the well. The well is partially covered by shrubs and bushes and partially filled with debris. Along the southern wall (alongside the steps) are two clearly defined and deeply cut square niches. This is a unique feature. One of the niches is empty whilst the other retains an icon of *Uma Maheshwara*. The icon, made out of basalt, is extremely weathered and at first glance apparently belongs to the later medieval period (also known to Art Historians as the post-Yādava period in Maharashtra). This period (post 12th century AD) is almost unknown to Archaeology in this region. The preliminary identification of the icon was done by Dr Abhijit Dandekar and Dr Suraj Pandit. The identification was subsequently corroborated by Dr A. P. Jamkhedkar.

Lose sculptural and structural members dot the landscape around the site and its vicinity. All of them are made of basalt. Notable amongst these are a damaged Nandi lying on a disturbed square plinth made up of laterite blocks and located immediately to the northeast of Temple 1 and a very weathered Ganesha icon. A number of broken and complete Hero-stones and Sati-stones are seen resting at the base of the 'nandi-mandapa'. To the east of this plinth and its adjacent features is a cemetery made up of numerous small laterite block lined squares. Some of which are cemented and parts of the cemetery appear to be in current use by the members of the *chambhar* (cobble/leatherworking) community whose hamlet Chandhore Chambharpada is located across the road.

Temples 2 and 3 are located opposite Temple 1 on the southern side of the road. They are roughly 75m south of Temple 1. Temple 2 is also represented only by a plinth. But this plinth is in much better shape and is almost intact. This includes the partial survival on its western side of the flight of steps leading to the top. The plinth is square and is made of well dressed laterite blocks. There are a total of seven visible courses of blocks. The plinth is divided into distinct two layers by a rounded laterite moulding which runs completely around the plinth above four courses of blocks from the bottom. There are three more courses

succeeded in turn by a square sectioned moulding with small hemispherical rosettes pointing downwards approximately every 40cm. The plinth is flattened on top and partially disturbed.

Temple 3 is an ill-defined plinth-like low rectangular mound east-southeast of Temple 2. Nothing more can be said of this plinth in its present state. Adjacent to this is a small square plinth made up of a single course of small slim laterite blocks. A number of small battered sculptural members are seen scattered nearby.

Enroute to the temples (2 and 3) is a very intricate Multi-panelled Memorial Pillar. This Pillar is reminiscent of similar Rashtrakuta (Rajashekhara 1982: 227–30; Fig and Yadava (Sontheimer 1982: 261–81; Fig 1, 29a, 29e) Period examples. This basalt pillar has a rectangular face with a square section. It is single faced. The face is divided into three very clear panels flanked on each side by small decorative pillars. The top is capped with a very well carved header and there is a plain flattened portion at the base which was left undecorated as it would have been buried underground upon erection. The pillar is presently lying on its back and appears to have collapsed. This pillar is also well weathered due to exposure but its features are clearly visible.

An additional sculptural slab depicting an icon of *Sheshashayi Vishnu* is also seen in the vicinity. This rectangular basalt slab is presently heavily covered by moss and lies at the village square of Chandhore. Stylistically it appears to belong to the same tradition as the Uma-Maheswara icon seen in the niche of the well, adjacent to Temple 1.

Indravan

Two kilometres to the south of the ancient site at a location known locally at Indravan is a small Rock-cut cell/cave. This cell has been excavated from the laterite lithounit/bedrock of this region. It is a plain square cell with a small (partially buried) rectangular doorway. The façade around the entrance is plain but has visibly been flattened. This feature (the rock cut single cell cave) — in this medium and at this location — is unique to Maharashtra, whilst being quite common to Goa where many such cells have been recorded (Mitragotri 1999: 230–2). The investigation and mapping of this feature is also an important part of the proposed archaeological investigations.

The CEMS in partnership with INSTUCEN has applied to the ASI for permission to carry out clearance works at the site in the present field season. Permission is awaited.

Bibliography

Mitragotri, V. R. 1999. *Socio Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar*. Goa: Institute Menezes Braganza.

Rajashekhara S. 1982. "Rashtrakuta Hero-stones: A Study". *Memorial Stones- a study of their origins, significance and variety*. Edited by S. Settar and Gunther D. Sontheimer, 227–30. I.A.H. Series 2; South Asian Studies: No. XI/II. Manipal: Manipal Power Press.

Sontheimer, Gunther D. 1982. "Hero and Sati-stones of Maharashtra". *Memorial Stones- a study of their origins, significance and variety*. Edited by S. Settar and Gunther D. Sontheimer, 261–81. I.A.H. Series 2; South Asian Studies: No. XI/II. Manipal: Manipal Power Press.



A NOTE ON BRAHMANICAL CAVE AT KHIRESHWAR, JUNNAR, DIST. PUNE

Saili K. Datar

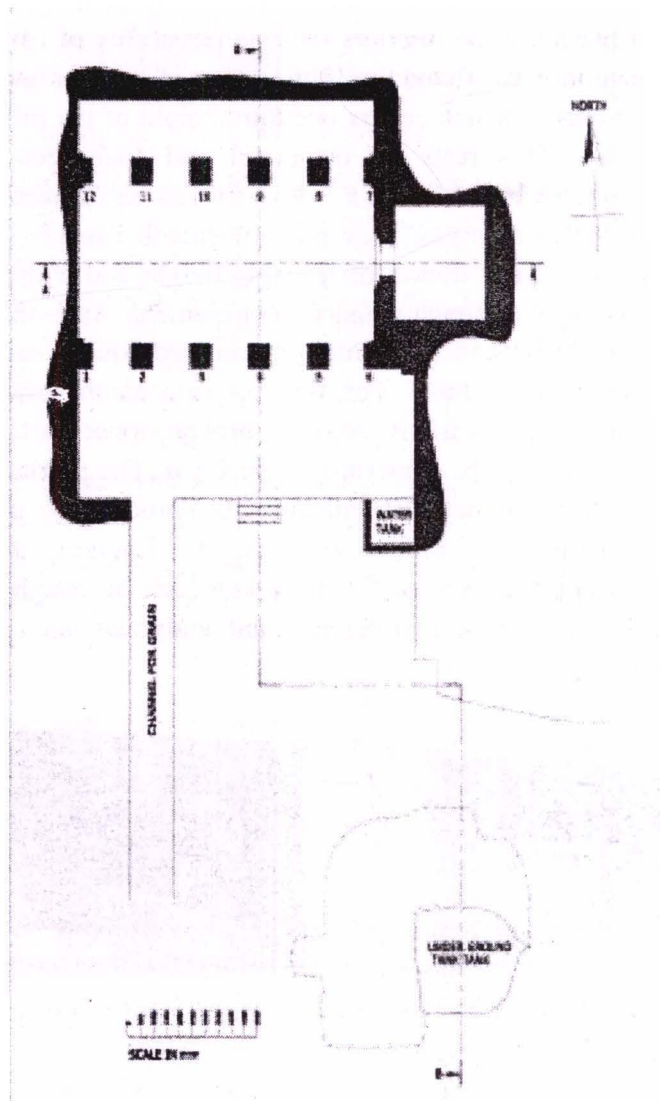
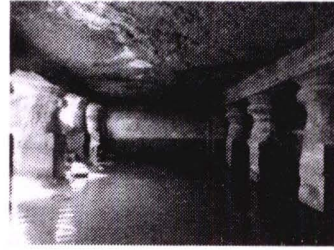
About 27 km from Junnar, Dist. Pune and few km northeast to the Naneghat, is Khireswar village located at the base of Harishchandragad Fort in Sahyadri mountain range. A locally known but undocumented cave has been recently reported near Khireswar village (19°21'58.95" N, 73°48'24.39" E). The excavation is located near the wall of modern Pimpalgaon Joga dam and consists of a single cave and a separate water tank.

The water tank has small irregular opening (4.5 m x 3.7 m) and expands underground (7.7 m x 9.3 m). The walls of water tank are well finished. The cave is excavated below ground level and can be approached from south with flight of stairs. Stairs enter into a wide rectangular open courtyard (13 m x 4.2 m) with a small rectangular water tank to the right. The left side of the courtyard is unfinished. However, attempts were made to excavate a symmetrical water tank

to the left. A water channel left of stairs to drain excess water from cave is filled with debris, thus submerging the entire cave into 5 feet deep water. The water was pumped out with diesel pump to study the details. Left portion of façade of the cave has collapsed; façade of the cave seems plain in character.

The main hall of the cave is lined with two rows of 4 pillars and 2 half pillars. The main hall is flat roofed and has rectangular plan (8.67 m x 11.5 m x 2.6 m). The roof and the walls of hall are devoid of any decoration or sculptures but all walls and roof surfaces are well chiselled. The plain chiselled walls and few remnants of plaster in the interiors indicate possibility of cave been painted. All the pillars have inverted fluted top (fluting vary in number and size) followed by fluted cushion capital which covers one third height of the pillar, followed by fluted curved base. This rests on octagonal and four-sided banded shafts culminating into square block (0.8 m x 0.8 m) for last one third of height. To the right of the main hall is doorway leading to antechamber inside. The doorway is plain with three rectangular frames of receding height and width. The inside of the doorframe has niche to attach wooden door element. Ante-chamber is square in plan (3.6x3.7mx2.6m) and the centre is occupied square cavity and square block of now damaged Śivaliᅅga. The walls of antechamber too, are plain and devoid of sculpture or decorations. Another broken upper part of Śivaliᅅga in three fragments is lying in the courtyard of the Cave. The presence of Śivaliᅅga and architectural details indicate Brahmanical affiliation. The pillar types here shows stylistic affinity to pillars at Cave 1- Kanheri, Jogeshwari and Mandapeshwar. Thus, the cave under discussion can be roughly dated to 6th centuryCE. Further explorations in the area and analytical study of the cave are under progress.





DATED *PĀDUKĀS* ?
A DOCUMENTATION FROM PULUNJ, DIST. SOLAPUR, MAHARASHTRA

Varada Khaladkar

This note is a preliminary documentation of an interesting archaeological artefact from the village of Pulunj, famous for a Yādava period inscription, dated to Śaka 1121 or 1200 AD, recording various land-grants for the temple of Siddha-Somanātha-deva (Khare, 1934).

The village Pulunj was surveyed by the author as a part of her systematic archaeological explorations of middle Bhima valley (Khaladkar 2007–08).

Pulunj (17038'57"N; 75031'35"E), is located on the left bank of Bhima, Taluka Pandharpur, District Solapur. At present the archaeological evidence in the village constitutes a habitational mound going back to the early historical period, 2 early medieval temples, 2 Yādava period inscriptions, 3 hero-stones and early medieval and medieval images of Vidaraṇa-Narasimha, Umā-Maheśvara, Śiva, devotee, etc. (Khaladkar, 2007–08).

Today, the temple of Siddha-Somanātha-deva is known as that of Liṅgeśvara and the priests belong to the Lingayat / Vīrśaiva community. The paraphernalia of the deity Liṅgeśvara also includes three metal masks of the god and three corresponding pairs of metal footwear (*pādukā*), viz. the elder, the middle and the younger ones, located in the three families of the priestly clan. These three masks have fixed roles in the religious life of the village ranging from the annual fest (*yātrā*) and procession of the god to the family level celebrations like marriages.

However, a very interesting observation was made during this documentation. The footwear (*pādukā*) in front of the middle mask seems to be dated. There is a short inscription in late medieval devanagari script “śak(e) 11(6)9” on the left-side *pādukā*.

A part of the inscription is not very clearly visible but the above reading is easy enough to reconstruct. This partial visibility could be accorded to the wearing process caused by daily worship practices like washing and anointing it with “*gandha*”.

The script very clearly belongs to late medieval period and thus raises a question about the authenticity of this text. There are two versions of the

explanation regarding this artefact, informed by two villagers from the priestly clan. According to one version, these *pādukās* have always been there with the inscription since the “very old times”. However, another story explains that many years ago the older *pādukās* were replaced with new ones (due to wear and tear of the old ones) which were made to be the exact copy of the earlier ones including whatever was written on them.

The context of *pādukās*, along with the mask and their place in the elaborate structure of community-level ritual practices makes it less likely that these are the forgeries and thus leads the author believe that the date could have been copied from the earlier *pādukās* which it replaced sometime in the late medieval period.

If so, this certainly becomes unique evidence since the reading of *śaka* 1169 translates into 1247 AD, and thus possibly provides an interesting insight into the establishment and elaboration of the cult practices immediately after the royal patronage was endowed.

Bibliography

- Khaladkar, V. 2007–8. Archaeological Investigations in the Middle Bhima Basin: A Preliminary Report. *Puratattva*. Vol. 38: 24–38.
- Khare, G. H. 1934. “Puḷuñj yethīl Kānaḍī śilālekh” (Marathi). *Sources of Medieval History of Deccan*. Vol II: 56–70, Pune: Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal.



CAVES IN THE VICINITY OF PATAN

Pravin Patil

Patan, (Patan T; 17° 20' N, 73° 50' E) is located in Satara District on the Karad-Kumbharli road at the junction of the Koyna and Kera rivers about 40 km south-west of Satara. There are many Buddhist caves located near Patan.



Plate N5.1: Set of *pādūkās*



Plate N5.2: Close-up of the Inscription



Plate N5.3: Close-up of the Inscription

There are fairly two well known Buddhist groups situated near Patan, they are Yerphale and Tamkane caves. In addition to this, there are also 3 other cave groups situated in the vicinity of Patan which are not known to scholars and are not documented. They are: 1) Kusarund, 2) Dhareshwar, and 3) Tamkane (on the bank of Kera river)

Kusarund

Kusarund is a small village 8 km to the south of Patan. There is a natural cave located to the south of the village about a kilometre, on a small hill. This cave is locally known as *Yamācī Gha!*

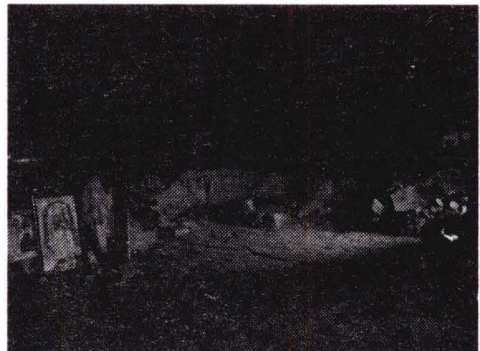
This cave consists of a veranda which is 14 meters long, 8 meters deep and 2.5 meters in height. This veranda is with 10 rock-cut cells, four of them are on the left hand side, four in the front and two on the right. Now, only half portion of these cells from ground can be seen. These cells are with small rock cut benches.

At the centre of the veranda, a small circular impression (6 feet in diameter) of rock can be seen which approximately 2.5 cm in height. The circular configuration on the floor suggests the possibility of rock-cut or structural Stūpa.

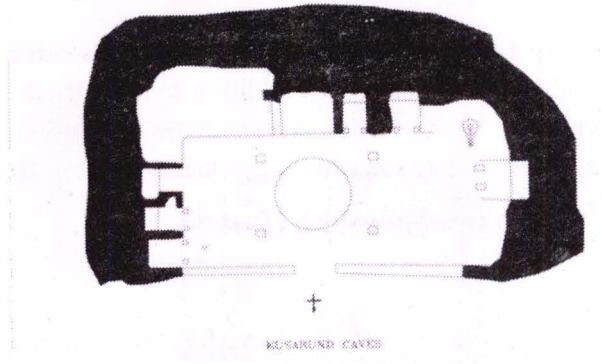
The Gazetteer of Satara mentions the Name of village known as Kusarund. But the description given does not completely match.



Kusarund-(from outside)



Kusarund-(from inside)



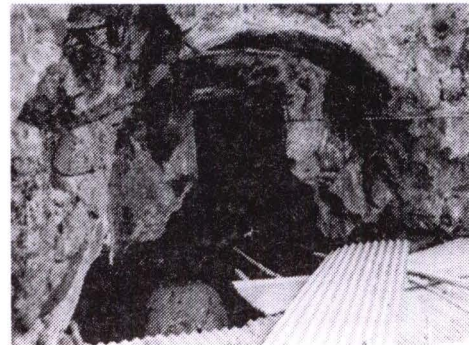
Dhareshwar

Dhareshwar is located 15 Km to the north Patan. This is a natural cave located in west side of the hill. This natural cave is near about 35 meters long and 15 to 20 meters deep. This cave is now closed with brick wall by villagers. At the centre of this cave there is a small worshipping place for Śivaliṅga. The sanctum is approached through a doorway provided in a brick work. It is very interesting that the Śivaliṅga is placed on a height of 6 feet from ground level and is in the center of the sanctum.

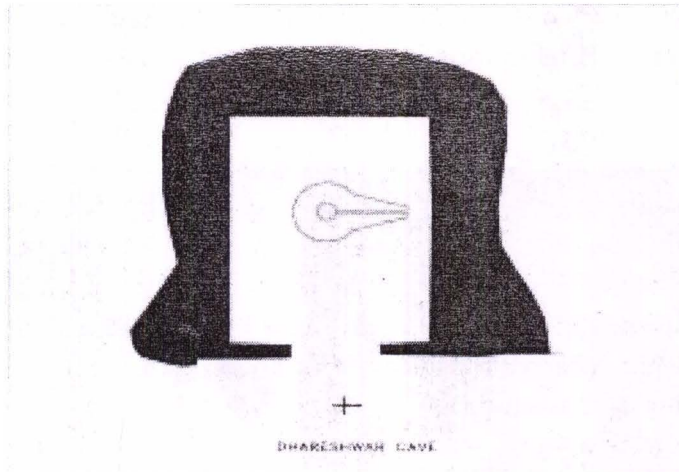
If carefully seen from inside, the roof is vaulted in shape. The front wall of this sanctum, if seen from top, reveals its vaulted shape and a square window at top carved in the stone. This type of arrangement is very much similar to façade of the Yerphale Caitya. (See photo). All features of Caityagṛha are to be observed in this cave. Here too, the Śivaliṅga is placed on a higher level.



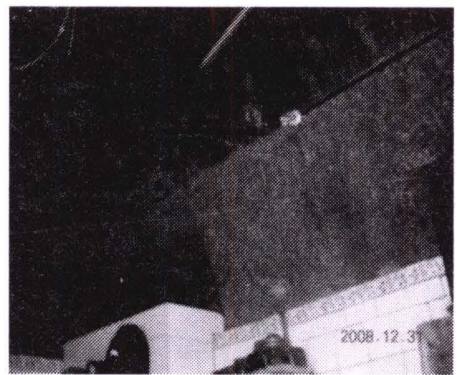
Dhareshwar (Caityagṛha Façade)



Yerphale (Caityagṛha Façade)



Dhareshwar (from outside)



Dhareshwar- (Caityagṛha inside- vaulted Roof)

Tamkane Caves

Tamkane cave group is located 8 km to the north of Patan and has been noticed earlier by scholars. These caves are located on a hill which is on east side of Tamkane village. There are also two small caves located on west side of village on the bank of river Kera. One of them is near about 6 meters long, 5 meters wide and 2 meters high. The features of this cave are very much similar to those of a Buddhist Vihāra. No traces of bench are to be noticed. Now this cave is converted into a Hindu shrine. The deity called “Bhairoba” is placed inside the

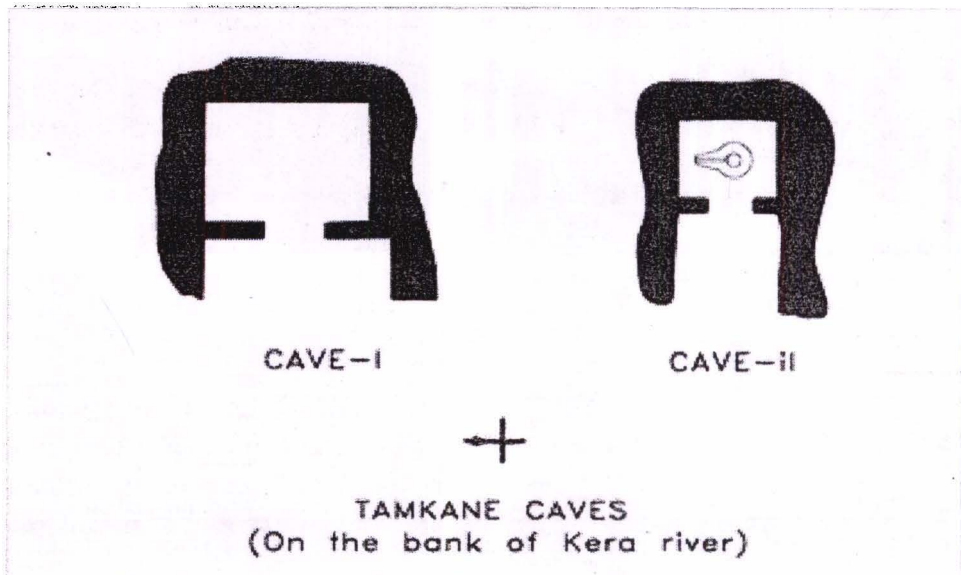
cave by villagers. Another cave is of smaller size, 1.5 meters long 1.5 meters wide and 1.2 meters high. This cave might have been used for meditation purpose. Its plan is very much similar to that of a Buddhist cave. Now this cave is also converted into a Hindu shrine. A Śivaliṅga is placed inside the cave.



Tamkane (Cave-1)



Tamkane (Cave-2)



PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS IN VASAI-SOPARA REGION

Siddharth Kale

Introduction

The town Nalasopara (19°24'55"N, 72°51'41"E) was the administrative head quarter of Aparānta and was known as Sopara, Sopparaga, Soparaka, etc in ancient literature and inscriptions. The remains of the Buddhist stūpa and edicts of Aśoka evince the importance of the place. The remains of ancient Hindu temples also can be seen in fragments in the region. Archaeological and literary sources help us to understand the history of this region from 3rd century BCE to 18th century CE.

Location of the Antiquities

The cluster of archaeological sites is located between two creeks in this region viz., Vasai Creek and Vaitarana Creek. This is a preliminary report and documentation of the archaeological findings. Intensive explorations and scrutiny of the archaeological remains in the region has been undertaken by the author.

This report will talk about the Archaeological remains in the following villages: Gass, Umrle, Sopara, Vasai, Sonarbhat, Taki Pada, Brahmatekadi (locally also known as Dongari) (Gass), Upavana Nivara, Bolinj, Agashi, Ran Pada, etc.

Description of Archaeological Findings

Brahmatekdi (Gass)

Brahmatekdi is located in south west of village Sopara. On the top of the hill, a village is situated on the right side of the road where on a platform some sculptures and remains of temples are kept. People have been worshipping these remains for many years. These remains are known to the archaeological community. It is said that a few of these sculptures have been found from a water tank not far from the platform, along the road. Opposite to the tank, on the left side of the road, there is lane leading to the house of Mr. Ashok Bhoir. Near the house, in a small shrine, an image of Viṣṇu can be seen. (Plate N7.1) This image is a recent finding, from the Gass Tank. This is a part of some architectural element.



Photograph 1



Photograph 2

Durgā Temple, Gass

Durgā Temple is located in the village Mugami and virtually became a part of Gass. We can find a few sculptures kept on the back side of the Durgā Temple. Among these a few are of Viṣṇu (Photograph 1- above), Aindrī (Plate N7.2), a Hero-stone (Photograph 2- above) and other fragments of some structure.

Gass

Gass lies in the southwest of village Sopara. In the agricultural fields in the village, large number of architectural fragments can be seen (Photograph 5). Apart from this one can see the scattered images, brackets, *vyālas*, and other architectural elements in and around the fields and also near the water tank (Photographs 3 to 8). Not far from this place is an image of goddess Kālī, placed on the bank of water tank (Photograph 9).



Photograph 3



Photograph 4



Photograph 5



Photograph 6



Photograph 7



Photograph 8



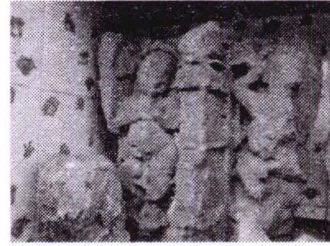
Photograph 9

Taki pada

In the east of the above mentioned field is an area called Taki Pada. Padmavati temple and Mankoji temple here have Jain remains (Photographs 10 and 11). Some sculptural remains also can be seen in this area on the bank of a water tank, popularly known as Bagbhati (Plate N7.3; Photographs 12 and 13).



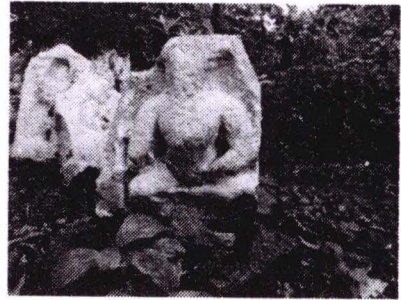
Photograph 10



Photograph 11



Photograph 12



Photograph 13

Sonarbhat

Sonarbhat is 2.4 km from the Vasai fort. It is a small village near link road to Vasai Papy. In the village, Bhandkodi Lambwadi area a sculptural frieze has been preserved by Mr. Raju Bhurkhud for last 35 years, which was found from the pond nearby (Plate N7.4).

Bolinj

The distance from Sopara to Bolinj is 5.6 km. an area called Upavan Nivara has a small park known as Nana-Nani Park. In the clearance of the tank from here, an image of Ganesha has been found. Not far from this place is a locality called Ranpada Bandar, where a very late image of some warrior is found. This might be a hero-stone of late medieval period.

Umarale

An image of Gaṇeśa was found in the clearance of the Umarale water tank in 1954. This image is placed now in a temple on the bank of the same water tank. On the Umarale Bolinj road, there is another water tank known as Karmala. A Viṣṇu image has been reported in the clearance of the tank, which is placed along the road.



Plate N7.1: Viṣṇu



Plate N7.2: Aindrī



Plate N7.3: Remains near Bagbhati



Plate N7.4: Remains near Bagbhati

On the road leading to Virar from Sopara, near Devali Pada, another image of Viṣṇu is found. These images are the representative images. There are many more to be reported from this region.

Agashi

Agashi is 6.6 km from Sopara. There is Peshwa period Śiva temple beside the constructed huge water tank which is decorated with stone sculpture. Till the recent past (may be before 6-7 years), in the middle of the water tank there was a free standing wooden pillar, which was removed by villagers.

Apart from above mentioned remains there are few sculptures kept in the Chakreshvara Temple near Sopara. One of the most important images among these is of Brahmā.

These are the results of the preliminary survey of the explorations conducted in the Sopara-Vasai Region. Few inscriptions also have been found from the region. This region needs to be studied and serious archaeological explorations need to be undertaken.

Acknowledgement

I express my feeling of gratitude towards my friends Mr. Rupesh Shahapur, Mr. Bhaven, Mr. Vighnesh Pachare, Mr. Abhaya Singh and Mr. Sachin Nair who helped me in this work.

Illustrations

Plate N7.1: Viṣṇu

Plate N7.2: Aindrī

Plate N7.3: Remains near Bagbhati

Plate N7.4: Remains near Bagbhati

OBITUARY NOTICES



Mr. B. G. Deshmukh
(26th March, 1929 to 7th August, 2011)

Mr. B. G. Deshmukh, who passed away on 7th August, 2011, at the age of 82, was a man of many facets. He has left his indelible impression on many educational, cultural and social institutions not only in Bombay or Maharashtra State but the entire country.

Mr. Deshmukh was born on 26th March, 1929 in Pune and had his education in Nutan Marathi Vidyalaya and Ferguson College, Pune. Throughout his career, he always topped the list and won many laurels. He entered IAS in 1951 and in independent India, his was the first batch. He was appointed Assistant District Collector at Palanpur. During his tenure he came under the influence of Mr. V. Shankar, Sardar Patel's Personal Secretary and learnt his first lessons in bureaucracy. He could not have hoped for better. Later he moved to Delhi and was Secretary in various Ministries and became the Home Secretary from where he was sent to Maharashtra as Chief Secretary and later took over as the city's Municipal Commissioner. As the BMC Commissioner, he took some landmark decisions such as protection of heritage buildings and opening up of the Standing Committee Meetings to the Media.

After this stint he was invited to Delhi to take over as the Cabinet Secretary and in this position he served three subsequent Prime Ministers. Thereafter, he became Secretary to the Prime Minister, the highest position in bureaucracy where he left his indelible mark. He had by then already earned name and fame as an astute administrator and brought that 'no nonsense' touch to all his activities. On his retirement, he returned to Mumbai and the TATAs invited him to join as a Senior Director. During this period, he plunged into many social activities. As an environmentalist, he gave valuable advice to the Bombay Natural History Society (BNHS). As a lover of tangible and intangible heritage, he served on the Board of Trustees of the Museum and later became its Chairman. As a booklover, he gave his valuable years to the Asiatic Society.

Institutions in Mumbai vied to seek his guidance and Mr. Deshmukh happily gave it.

He frequented the Asiatic Society Library in the early nineties when he became busy writing his books. He quietly came to the Library, got the required books issued and left. Once he came to my desk. I was the Honorary Secretary then and had always held him in awe. He said, "why don't you improve the atmosphere here? I shall find some money for the purpose. Prepare the plan and we can work out something." I told him about the serious money crunch and the staff problems, the two serious issues. He was a good listener and I felt that some relief would come Society's way.

Once during the same period, I had been gheraoed by the staff. He came and inquired why there was slogan shouting, display of black ribbon and a gherao? I told him that the State Government had not released funds to pay their salary and hence they were agitated and were on strike. Next day we went to Mantralaya, he talked to the Education Secretary and the money was released in four days.

The Society had made a plea to the Central Government to make a one-time Corpus Grant of Rs. 2 crores. Mr. Deshmukh was aware of this fact and kept a close watch on the development. Exactly four days before 31st March, he phoned the then President, Dr. D. R. Sardesai and informed him that some senior office bearer of the Society has to go to Delhi and personally follow the movement of files. This was an important clue. Dr. Sardesai's presence in Delhi did make all the difference and Rs. 2 crores came to the Society. At this time, the State Government had promised a matching grant but the grant came ten years later when Mr. Deshmukh became the President of the Society and discussed the matter with Mr. Sushil Kumar Shinde who was then the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. The money helped ease problems of the Society. The first donation to refurbish the reference room in 1993 transformed the situation. More and more members sought table for their reference work.

When Mr. Deshmukh took over as the President of the Society, there were many problems. There were staff issues and financial crunch. In addition, the Bi-Centenary of the Society was just two years away. Within a month of his taking over as the President of the Society, Mr. Deshmukh brought matters under control and slowly but surely his plan started working. He created a strong team to decentralise work.

It was Mr. Deshmukh again who took up in Delhi with the Culture Ministry, the matter of getting funding under the Five Year Plan. And for the first time the Ministry of Culture sanctioned one crore of rupees to the Society under the Plan scheme. This further eased the funding problem of the Society.

The Bi-Centenary of the Society was extremely well organized and carried out under his supervision and guidance. Visit of the President and the Vice President of India during the same year enhanced the prestige of the Society. The year was packed with conferences, seminars, lectures, cultural events and the outreach programmes of Asiatika.

Mr. Deshmukh in his last days had immersed in rural development activities. He felt that social upliftment of the underprivileged alone could improve the lot of the rural poor. He toured the state extensively and identified problems and found solutions.

At meetings, he brought that special 'Deshmukh' touch. He listened to everyone's views very carefully. He believed in consensus and the meetings were conducted without tension in an atmosphere of cordiality. He had an exclusive knack of dealing with the staff. His sympathy lay with them and their problems gained top priority. He settled many issues of the staff with a lot of sensitivity and they in turn held him in high esteem. He was a stickler for rules and time and he followed them with all sincerity.

In Bombay every major institution sought his advice. He headed the Museum Board, Bombay Natural History Society (BNHS), AGNI, PRAJA and many more. BNHS attracted a large number of enthusiastic youth and PRAJA too had young men and women. When asked about this phenomenon, Mr. Deshmukh quietly replied that he only encouraged and emboldened them to go ahead in their activities. "I have tremendous faith in the young men and women of India. What they need is direction for right action. I just provide that and nothing more."

Mr. Deshmukh's 'mantra' for every institution was "good governance." It was his firm belief that good governance alone would provide growth and development of any institution and this is precisely what Mr. Deshmukh provided to all the institutions under his leadership.

He has left a rich legacy of good governance behind, and as if only to remind us of the importance of governance, he has made a munificent donation of Rs. 10 lakhs to the Asiatic Society to hold an annual lecture, seminar or

workshop on the subject of 'governance.' We in Bombay will be reminded of importance of this message year after year.

Just a few weeks before his death, I had the opportunity to talk to him. He said that he was going to Gadchiroli for a discussion with the District Officers. "Gadchiroli, Sir, of all places? Naxal infested area!" Pat came his reply, don't worry, nothing will happen. I have been asked to go alone. Everything will be alright.

Deshmukh, the man of 82 dared to go to Gadchiroli to discuss succour for the under privileged in that difficult region. He believed that rural under privileged needed to be brought into the mainstream for overall growth and development of the country.

B. G. Deshmukh faced vicissitudes in his personal life with a brave face. He emerged stronger with every new challenge. He kept a brave face and carried on his activities without any complaint or murmur.

Men like BG are born once in a long while and leave their indelible impression on whatever they touch. It would be difficult to reconcile to his absence from our midst.

- Vimal Shah



Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao
(3rd June 1932 to 24th December 2011)

Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao, former Director of Archaeology and Museums in Karnataka and Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, passed away on 24 December 2011 after a prolonged illness. In his death Indian archaeology has lost one of the foremost experts in many branches in the broad fields of Indology, field archaeology, excavations, epigraphy, iconography, conservation, and many others. This expertise was the result of Nagaraja Rao's

tutelage under the great historian Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his early years, and then his training under one of the foremost Indian archaeologists, Professor H. D. Sankalia.

Nagaraja Rao was born into an indigent family of artists, with an itinerant lifestyle and unreliable livelihood. Much of his boyhood was spent in a boarding house in the Shrirampet area of the old Mysore city managed by one gentleman named Shri Narayan Rao, where other poor boys also lived. This must have been in the late 1940s, but Nagaraja and his friends never forgot their foster-guardian: in 2009 or 2010, over fifty years later I was witness when twenty or so men, in their seventies and eighties, unveiled their benefactor's bust in the house in which they had spent their childhood years.

After his early schooling, Nagaraja did his Master's in Indology in 1955 under Professor Nilakanta Sastri, securing a First class. He then joined the Archaeology department of the old Mysore as an epigraphist, then, in 1957, the Archaeological Survey of India as exploration assistant. He conducted village-to-village surveys, discovering and documenting important prehistoric sites such as Tekkalakota (which he later excavated), temples, sculptures and inscriptions. The photographs he took at that time with a small (Agfa?) camera perhaps still exist in the Dharwar office of the ASI.

In 1962 Nagaraja moved to Poona to study for his doctorate under Professor Sankalia. He received a monthly stipend of two hundred rupees with which he managed his household: himself, his wife and their three sons, his mother—and *his dog*, as he used to tell his friends, with a sense of loyalty and pride. The stray dog came with the family all the way from Dharwar by bus and was kept till its death of old age.

At Deccan College Nagaraja chose as his problem the neolithic period in the Deccan. The promising sites of Tekkalakota, and another site, Sanganakallu, discovered by him were considered to be so important that they were also excavated later by Deccan College.

After completing his Ph.D., Nagaraja proceeded to Cambridge for further study under Professor F. Raymond Allchin, and also obtained a diploma in museology in the US under Dr. Stella Kramrisch. On returning to India he was appointed Director of Archaeology and Museums in Karnataka, 1972–84. He worked towards creating heritage awareness by establishing many museums in

the districts of the state and undertaking publications. He had a life-long passion for Hampi, on which he concentrated, along with other agencies, which resulted in the inclusion of this Vijayanagara centre as a world heritage site.

In 1984 Nagaraja was appointed Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India in New Delhi (1984–87). In Delhi he undertook the publication of pending excavation reports and the back issues of ASI's bulletin *Indian Archaeology—A Review*. In this he was carrying out the practice of his mentor Professor Sankalia, who always had promptly published all the reports of the excavations that Deccan College had carried out. Nagaraja also established some additional circles within the ASI.

After demitting the post of Director General, Dr. Nagaraja Rao returned to Karnataka in his position as Director and retired in 1990.

One aspect of Dr. Nagaraja Rao's interest in the preservation of the country's heritage, the repatriation of art stolen and smuggled abroad, is not so well known: a precious Cola bronze known as the Sivapuram Nataraja was smuggled out of the country, to land into the museum of the rich American Norton Simon. The bronze was detected, but under an agreement between the ASI and Norton Simon, the collector was allowed to retain it for a specified period, after which it was for the ASI to reclaim it. When Nagaraja Rao became Director General he found that a very short time remained for the Nataraja's restitution after which India would lose its claim for ever. Nagaraja Rao urgently formed a committee with himself, Stella Kramrisch and another scholar as members, and brought the Nataraja back.

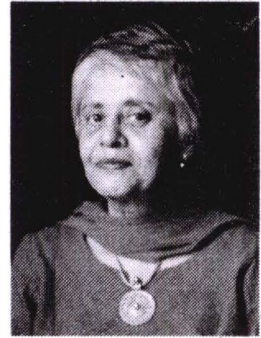
Similarly, Nagaraja Rao was instrumental in the repatriation of the figure of Pawanraja stolen from a shrine in Uttarakhand.

And there must have been other instances: Antique dealers such as Christie's and Sotheby's in the US are notorious for selling smuggled Indian art. Peter Watson's *Sotheby's: The Inside Story* (Random House 1997, pp. 249–50) reproduces a letter from the ASI under Dr. Nagaraja Rao pressing the auction house to reveal the sources of over one hundred and fifty Indian antiques that they had imported and advertised for auction.

Nagaraja Rao never abandoned the idea that all attempts should be made to reclaim art smuggled away in contravention of India's laws and had persuaded the ASI to have a catalogue prepared of art stolen since India's independence.

In his last years Dr. Nagaraja Rao was associated with the Dhvanyaloka and then Vivekananda Institutes in Mysore, where he conducted orientation courses in Indian art for students from American universities. A felicitation volume, *Nagabhinandanam*, was brought out to honour him by his friends. The Asiatic Society of Bombay elected him a Fellow in 2010. Dr. Nagaraja Rao breathed his last early in the morning of 24 December 2011.

-Kirit Mankodi



Mrs. Sharada Dwivedi
(1942–2012)

Sharada Dwivedi, who passed away on 6th February, 2012 at the age of 69, after a brief illness in Bombay, will be remembered as a walky-talky encyclopaedia of Bombay. She insisted on Bombay and not Mumbai. She loved the city, its history, culture, buildings and monuments and dedicated many years of her life to the study of Bombay's tangible and intangible heritage. She wrote and recorded British India's rich legacy.

Born and educated in Mumbai, Sharada graduated in Commerce and went out to study Library Science. Perhaps it was this course in Library Science that provided the right approach and direction to her research.

Her research led her to look at the rich legacy the British had left behind the Bombay city, social infrastructure, the buildings that revealed history, monuments that spoke volumes and they became the subject of her study. She imbibed it all with tireless zeal. Sharada wrote about them all and her first book *Bombay, the Cities Within* received global attention and she never looked back. Books on Banganga, Western Railway and Jahangir Art Gallery followed and these books too received attention and critical appreciation. All the books that she wrote reflected the hard work she had put in.

Besides writing books, she also became an activist. She found that the beautiful heritage points were getting neglected due to general apathy. She put together a team of likeminded prominent citizens of the city and started a movement to protect them all. She also initiated programmes to bring about awareness of the British legacy. The Kala Ghoda Festival, protection of the Oval Maidan and maintenance of the Fort area, became subject of her crusade.

Sharada was a Life Member of the Society and frequently visited the Library for her reference material. Often during her first book *Bombay, the Cities Within*, she would be seen buried amidst the old newspapers. She loved the Asiatic Society of Bombay and joined the selective team of Bal Mundkur to raise funds for the Society and help organise exhibitions, events and other academic programmes to create awareness among the Bombay public of this rich heritage institution.

Sharada spread warmth wherever she went. Her friendly nature brought many friends and she helped all those who sought her help in their research efforts. She had rare photographs and other material which she readily gave to those who sought her help.

Sharada will sadly be missed by all Bombayites.

-Vimal Shah



Mr. Sadanand Bhatkal
(8th December 1922 to 26th July 2011)

Sadanand Bhatkal, a writer, publisher and a skilled book-seller passed away on 26th July 2011 at the age of 90 due to cancer.

Sadanand Bhatkal was born on 8th Dec. 1922 at Dharwad, Karnataka. He came to Mumbai at a very young age and remained as Mumbaikar till he breathed last. His schooling was completed from Gokhale Education society's

school at Girgaon and he completed his masters in Sociology and Economics. He was interested in law as well and so achieved LL.B. simultaneously.

Being the eldest son, he decided to join his father in their family business of book-publishing. By that time the Popular Book House had really become "the popular". Since then Sadanand Bhatkal contributed a lot in the field of book-publishing.

Bhatkal had written extensively in English. His first book, *Nirmal and Other Poems* was well received. But soon this young romantic poet turned to serious and sociological writing. He wrote 'The Future of Indian Youth' describing and expressing his ideas about the position of youth in the independent India. 'The Horizon' was a book, edited by him. By writing a preface to this book, Dr. Radhakrishnan had appreciated Bhatkal.

For 35 years, Bhatkal carried out the difficult task as the editor of a magazine namely *Indian Publishers and Booksellers*. He was able to put forth the complete picture of contemporary Indian publications. He had always taken up big and time consuming, but very valuable projects. He co-edited 18 volumes of *Indian Writing Today* in which he tried to introduce in English, the literature from various Indian languages. His was the first Indian bookstall in the well known Frankfurt Book Fair.

From his young age Sadanand Bhatkal had developed qualities like patriotism, generosity and helpfulness. He voluntarily went to Vijapur and helped the needy during the times of famine and drought. He had participated in the Indian freedom struggle as well.

In 1959 he represented India in an international seminar chaired by Mr. Henry Kissinger. He contributed a lot in putting Indian publications on the international literary map. He also worked as one of the trustees of the National Book Trust, Delhi.

He was a voracious reader himself, was a regular visitor to the ASM and used to keep himself updated by reading the new arrivals in the bookshops. He also encouraged and guided various literary activities.

Sadanand Bhatkal was the first publisher in publishing books on medicines in Marathi on a large scale.

He really never thought of anything else than book-publishing, bookselling, reading and writing. But he never became a book-worm. His great contribution to Marathi literature was the Marathi Vangmayakosha in 3 volumes which he had taken up and completed while fighting with cancer.

Sadanand Bhatkal will always be remembered as a passionate book lover and visionary book-publisher.

-Meena Vaishampayan



Dr. Ashok Ranade
(1937–2011)

The sad demise of Dr. Ashok Ranade, eminent ethnomusicologist on July 30, 2011, has caused a great loss not only to the music world but to all those who are concerned with Aesthetics, even from other disciplines. Although Dr. Ranade's focus was music, his knowledge of aesthetics had wider application. He was not conservative in approach towards music but would welcome innovation in music and also emphasized its significant role in culture.

Dr. Ranade firmly believed that Indian music was not only restricted to 'classical', but forms like folk and popular music are integral part of the Indian culture. This approach, I think is very close to contemporaneous concept of visual art.

Dr. Ranade was born in 1937. He was M.A. in Marathi as well as in English and Bachelor in Laws from the University of Bombay. After working for a while at the All India Radio, he joined Siddhartha College of Commerce as a lecture. He was the first Director of the University Music Centre, Mumbai. In the National Centre for Performing Arts he was the Deputy Director, Theatre Research and Ethnomusicology (1984–1994). Besides this, he was a Visiting Professor in Ethnomusicology in the Queen's University, Belfast, N. Ireland

(1989) and Distinguished Visiting Professor in Colorado College of Music, U.S.A. (2003 and 2007).

Dr. Ranade was a prolific writer and has published several books on music and many other related subjects. To mention a few of his books are *Sangeetache Saundaryashastra* (1971), *Lokasangeet Shastra* (1975), *Music and Drama in India*, *Bhasharang-Vyaspeeth te Rangpeeth* (1995), *Hindi Film Songs* (2006) and *Sangeet Vichar* (2009). He composed music for several plays and a feature film *Devi Ahilyabai* (2004).

He was trained in Hindustani classical music under Pt. Gajananrao Joshi (of Gwalior, Jaipur and Agra *Gharana*), Pt. Laxmanrao Bodas, Pt. Prahlad Ganu and Prof. B. R. Deodhar.

In 1970s he conducted several interviews, for 'Doordarshan', of eminent musicians like Pt. Mallikarjun Mansur and Pt. Bhimsen Joshi. I was impressed by his method of unfolding the topic systematically and making musicians to speak out to explain technical aspects and if it was difficult to understand for a novice, he would as an interviewer explained the point in gist, avoiding jargon. Therefore, he was a vital link between the audience and the music. He also being a practising vocalist, had ability to demonstrate the point in question. He initially started studying North Indian music but his interest and immense knowledge of other related subjects, probably emerged/radiated from extensive grooming in music, i.e. voice culture, voice and dramatic speech, auditory communication, acoustics, etc.

After watching interviews conducted by Dr. Ranade for 'Doordarshan' I was eager to meet him to have some insights conversation. But I could meet him only around 1990 at the National Centre for the Performing Arts, where he was working as Asst. Director. It was in connection with a project he was contemplating which would create interest among economically unprivileged classes in Indian art. This gave me an opportunity to establish rapport with him. Subsequently, I attended a few sessions of tuitions in music at his residence in Kalanagar, Bandra. That was another enlightening experience as it revealed some of the intricacies of music.

Dr. Ranade would sometimes address me as "O, my namesake, come here" and invite me to join conversation even if he was surrounded with scholars. This gave me confidence to discuss certain issues with him.

In 2001, I wrote an interview of Dr. Ranade for a Marathi periodical *Navabharat* on the topic *Sangeetachee Aswadprakriya*. This was more for myself to understand the nature of communication between musician and audience. While transcribing the interview from the recording, I realized that his answers were lucid and articulate and my job was simply to write it down.

Dr. Ranade was a Life Member of the Society and frequented the Library for his books. Whenever invited, he delivered highly researched lectures in the Town Hall, of course, on Music.

Dr. Ranade was invited to deliver the Coomaraswamy Memorial Lectures at the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastusangrahalaya (formerly known as the Prince of Wales Museum) in 2008. The topic was 'Making Sense of Musical Instruments: The Indian Experience.' It was a different experience for the audience at the museum as generally the topics for these lectures are about Indian Art and Archaeology. Later in 2010, he also presented 'Baithakichi Lavani,' a program highlighting the development of Marathi musical form of Lavani. The audience was literally enthralled. The museum was planning a lecture series by Dr. Ranade in 'Music Appreciation' and musical programme on *Ragamala*. Unfortunately that did not happen and we feel sorry to have deprived large number of *Rasikjan*.

Sometimes, after a prolonged conversation with him on telephone, I would apologize to him for taking time, he would reply "don't worry, busy man always finds time."

-Vimal Shah

Acknowledgement of Books Received

The Book of Demons: Including a Dictionary of Demons in Sanskrit Literature, by Nanditha Krishna, Penguin Books India Pvt. Ltd, 11 Community Centre, Panchseel Park, New Delhi- 110 017. India.

Kamasara of Kamadeva, by Amal Shib Pathak, Chaukhambha Publications, 4262/3, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj, New Delhi- 110 002.

Appreciation of Music: A Guide Vol. I & II, by Geetha Ravikumar, LKM Publication, 33/4, Ramanathan Street, T Nagar, Chennai- 600 017.

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

FORM IV
(see Rule 8)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Place of Publication | Mumbai |
| 2. Periodicity of Publication | Annual |
| 3. Printer's Name
Nationality
Address | Mr. Vaibhav G. Barve
Indian
102 Mahalaxmi Metro Square
41, Budhwar Peth, Pune- 411 002. |
| 4. Publisher's Name
Nationality
Address | Mr. V. V. Ganpule
Indian
Honorary Secretary,
The Asiatic Society of Mumbai
Town Hall, Fort,
Mumbai- 400 023. |
| 5. Editors' Names

Nationality
Address | Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar
Dr. N. B. Patil
Prof. Kalpakam Sankarnarayan
Indian
The Asiatic Society of Mumbai
Town Hall, Fort,
Mumbai- 400 023. |
| 6. Names and Addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners, shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital | The Asiatic Society of Mumbai
Town Hall, Fort,
Mumbai- 400 023.
(Maharashtra State). INDIA. |

I Mr. V. V. Ganpule, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

V. V. Ganpule
Hon. Secretary
Signature of the Publisher

**TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS**

अ	.....	a	अी	.....	au	ऽ	.....	pha	फ	.....	bha
आ	.....	ā	क	.....	ka	ह	.....	ḥa	म	.....	ma
इ	.....	i	ख	.....	kha	ड	.....	ḍha	य	.....	ya
ई	.....	ī	ग	.....	ga	ण	.....	ṇa	र	.....	ra
उ	.....	u	घ	.....	gha	ट	.....	ṭa	ल	.....	la
ऊ	.....	ū	ङ	.....	ṅa	थ	.....	tha	व	.....	va
ऋ	.....	ṛ	च	.....	ca	द	.....	da	श	.....	śa
ॠ	.....	ṛī	छ	.....	cha	ष	.....	ṣha	ष	.....	ṣa
ऌ	.....	ḷ	ज	.....	ja	न	.....	na	स	.....	sa
ॡ	.....	ḷī	झ	.....	jha	व	.....	va	ह	.....	ha
ऋ	.....	ṛ	ञ	.....	ña	क	.....	ka	ळ	.....	ḷa
ॠ	.....	ṛī	ट	.....	ṭa	ब	.....	ba			
		(Anusvāra)			m̐	×	(Jihvāmūliya)				h
		(Anundātika)			m̐	)	(Upadhānīya)				h
		(Visarga)			ḥ	s	(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	.....	d
ث	.....	th	ص	.....	s	م	.....	m	.....	i, e
ج	.....	j	ض	.....	ḍ	ن	.....	n	.....	ā, ā
ح	.....	h	ط	.....	ṭ	و	.....	w	.....	ai, ay
خ	.....	kh	ظ	.....	ẓ	ر	.....	r	.....	au, au
د	.....	d	ع	.....	ʿ	ي	.....	y	silent t	h
ذ	.....	dh	غ	.....	gh	ه	.....	h		
ر	.....	r	ف	.....	f	ا	.....	a		

PERSIAN

پ	p	چ	ch	ج	zh	g
---	-------	---	---	-------	----	---	-------	----	-------	---

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE JOURNAL

1. Papers submitted for the publication in the Society's Journal may be offered by any Fellow or Member of the Society. Papers of the non-Members must be communicated through a Member unless the non-Members have been specially invited to contribute.
2. All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editors, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, Town Hall, Mumbai- 400 023.
3. Papers must be presented in a final form completely ready as copy for the press prepared in accordance with the regulations printed below. Soft copy prepared in Gandhari Unicode font in two formats: MS WORD 2003 compatible and PDF should be submitted.
4. Foot notes numbered consecutively throughout the article should appear at their proper place, that is, at the bottom of each page.
5. Both the photographs and line drawings, including maps, will appear as "plates" and "figures", numbered consecutively in Roman and Arabic numerals respectively, throughout the article. Captions should be typed on a separate sheet.
6. The Editorial Committee will determine whether a paper shall be printed and, if printed, in what form.
7. Contributors are urgently requested to use the system of transliteration adopted by this Society. A transliteration sheet has been appended in the issue of the Journal.
8. Contributors are urged to study the conventions employed in recent issues of the Journal, particularly the Chicago Style of citation of books and periodical articles and the bibliographical information inserted at the head of the reviews. Titles of the books / works should be in italics. The titles of the books / works should be cited in full at their first appearance in the article, followed by an abbreviation in the parenthesis. This abbreviation should be used in the article afterwards. The uniformity of the abbreviation(s), however, must be maintained throughout the article.
9. Titles of the articles should be cited in the quotation marks; the name of the periodical should be printed in italics. The following abbreviations for the Journals of the principal oriental societies should be adhered to: *Ep. Ind.*, *Ind. Ant.*, *JA*, *JAOS*, *JASM*, *JBBRAS*, *WZKM*, *ZDMG*. Volume number and pagination should be indicated after the name of the Journal, separated by colon. Common digits should be omitted while indicating the last page (e.g. Vol. 54: 134–67). Use of punctuation marks such as M dash, N dash and hyphen should be done properly and consciously at appropriate places. For example, the page numbers should be shown using N dash (e.g. 2–30), and hyphen should be used to link the words (e.g. rock-cut).
10. The greatest possible conciseness in the papers is desired of the contributors for the sake of economy. Additional printer's charges for alterations other than corrections of printer's errors must be borne by the contributor. Later corrections which would involve overrunning will not be accepted without express permission of the Board of Editors.
11. Fifteen off-prints of each article will be supplied to the contributor free of charge. Additional copies, if desired, may be obtained by giving due notice to the Hon. Secretary, on payment.



THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF MUMBAI
(FORMERLY THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY)

PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

JOURNALS: NEW SERIES

20 Volumes, no.s 26 to 60–61 (1950–51 to 1985–86) & 69 (1994)	Rs. 200/- each
1 Volume, no. 62 (1987–88)	Rs. 300/-
8 Volumes, no.s 64–66 (1989–91), 67–68 (1992–93) and 70 to 75 (1995 to 2000)	Rs. 350/- each
1 Volume, no. 76 (2001)	Rs. 400/-
7 Volumes, no.s 77–78 to 84 (2002–03 to 2009–10)	Rs. 500/- each

(Subject to availability, on a first come first served basis.)
Foreign Price US \$ 55 inclusive of postage for each volume of the Journal.

Volumes I–III of the **Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay** are out of stock. Volumes I–XXVI / 1841–1923 (Old Series) and Volumes I–XXV / 1925–1949 (New Series) are available with Messrs / Kraus Reprint, F. L. 9491, Nendelin, Liechtenstein, Europe.

BACK ISSUES OF ASM JOURNAL

The ASM Journal (New Series) (Vol. 1/1925 to Vol. 23/1947) are available for sale to our members and scholars for Rs.5/- each and package priced at Rs. 100/-. The Society has received good response for the package containing 40 back issues of the ASM (Vol. 24–25 / 1948–49 up to Vol. 82/2008) which was sold at an attractive price of Rs. 1000/-. This scheme continues this year also. A Sample package is available for view with Mr. Vijay S. Rikame, In-charge of the Journals. The Journals are required to be picked up from the Library on payment.

MONOGRAPHS

1. *Buddhaghosa* by Dr. B. C. Law, Rs. 60.00
2. *Some Jain Canonical Scriptures* by Dr. B. C. Law, Rs. 150.00
3. *An Illustrated Parvan in the Asiatic Society of Mumbai* by Shri Kari Khandalavala and Dr. Moti Chandra, Rs. 300.00
4. *Kavindra-Kalpadruma of Kavindra Charya Sarasvat* Ed. by Prof. R. B. Athavale, Rs. 200.00
5. *James Darmesteter Remembered*, Editors Prof. G. Lazard and Dr. D. R. SarDesai, Rs. 300.00
6. *On the Meaning of the Mahabharata* by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Second Edition, Rs. 150.00
7. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, compiled by Prof. H. D. Velankar, Second Edition, with illustrations, Rs. 1200.00/ US \$ 70

N. B.: This price list cancels all previous lists.

Demand Draft or Cheque should be payable to The Asiatic Society of Mumbai.

Printed by

Mr. Vaibhav G. Barve, Shri OM Printers Pvt. Ltd., 102 Mahalaxmi Metro Square, Jogeshwari Lane, 41 Budhwar Peth, Pune- 411 002.

Published by

Mr. V. V. Ganpule, Honorary Secretary, for The Asiatic Society of Mumbai, Town Hall, Mumbai- 400 023.